Appendix

Address by Dr. Jose A. Mora, Secretary General of the Organization of American States, Delivered at the Pan American Union, on Tuesday, April 19, 1960

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JOHN W. McCORMACK

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 2, 1960

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, due to cultural influences and geographical position, as well as other basic influences, the peoples and governments of the Western Hemisphere have a strong community of interest with each other. Instead of creating and extending tensions and areas of disagreement, to obtain to a maximum extent what that "community of interest" calls for, leadership and efforts in all of the countries of the Western Hemisphere should be directed toward extending areas of agreement, thereby lessening tensions and reducing areas of disagreement or misunderstand-

The views of dedicated leaders of all of our countries in the Western Hemisphere are important in this respect.

On April 19, 1960, at the Pan American Union, Dr. Jose A. Mora, Secretary General of the Organization of American States, delivered a splendid address.

The address of Dr. Mora was deep, profound, penetrating, frank, and above all, constructive.

It should be as widely read and considered as possible, particularly by those in positions of leadership and responsibility in the various countries of the Western Hemisphere.

In my remarks, I include the splendid address delivered by Dr. Mora:

Address by Dr. Jose A. Mora, Secretary Gen-ERAL OF THE ORGANIZATION OF AMERICAN STATES, DELIVERED AT THE PAN AMERICAN UNION ON TUESDAY, APRIL 19, 1960

When Mrs. Mora prevailed upon me to address this study group made up of wives of leading officials in Washington—the ladies of the Cabinet, wives of Supreme Court Justices, Latin American Ambassadors, and Members of the Senate and House of Representatives—I confess that I accepted because I felt it my duty to contribute in some measure to the success of so noble an effort. Your desire to inform yourselves concerning relations among the American Republics, more particularly between Latin America and the United States, corresponds to a real need today. Once we have learned where the causes of friction or contention lie, we can then seek the means of eliminating misunderstanding and advance together toward the achievement of our common goal—the realization of the abiding ideals of the Pan American movement.

Relations between Latin America and the United States have become critical of late.

They have provoked discussion and aroused profound political interest in all of the Republics. At the same time, American much confusion has been created in their regard.

Speaking of this topic to so distinguished and well-informed group, I am reminded of a story concerning a lady who wished to know more about economics. She decided to hear a discussion by a panel of experts. Returning home after listening to the experts for a good 2 hours, she said to her husband: "I was all confused in my thoughts before I went to that meeting. Now I'm still confused, but I feel better about it; I'm confused on a much higher plane."

I am sure that this will not be the case today. In the first place, you are women of intelligence; and, in the second place, I am no expert. (I may say, however, that a large part of my job consists in keeping experts busy.) All I shall attempt to do is to bring out a few facts, to identify certain factors-political, social, or economic-which can have an adverse effect on good rela-tions, and to indicate possible steps which might be taken to bring about better understanding.

The rapid changes now taking place in Latin America are in large part a reflection of ideological and social struggles occurring all over the globe. As a result of the two World Wars, the formerly slow evolutionary processes of history have been speeded up to a dizzy pace. The Americas today are greatly different from what they were when the first measures were taken for the creation of our regional organization and, in-deed, as late as the time of the First World

A recent study reports:

"The transformation [in Latin America] of the economy from rural and agricultural to urban and industrial was the fundamental cause of the rising social disturbance. The absorbing force of manufacturing activity, in cities such as Buenos Aires, São Paulo, Santiago, Rio de Janeiro, Montevideo, and Mexico City, sucked in labor from the countryside, swallowed up the bulk of the postwar immigrants, and created conditions and opportunities which stimulated the growth of the middle class and labor groups. All this led to even larger concentrations of populations in metropolitan areas.

This concentration in urban areas has brought about, in many countries, a decline in agricultural production and in the food supply of the population. The Latin American economies depend primarily on the production and export of raw materials. decd, such exports represent as much as 90 percent of the total. They are the principal source of revenue for the governments; they determine the countries' capacity for importing, and for meeting the service charges on foreign loans and investments. In a majority of Latin American countries, one or two basic products account for 75 percent or more of the total exports. Fortyfive percent of Latin America's exports go to the United States, where they represent 30 percent of the total imports. Unfortunately for Latin America, the prices of these basic products have not kept pace with the increased prices of manufactured goods.

Meanwhile, the annual rate of population growth in Latin America has risen from 1.3 percent in 1930 to 2.5 percent in 1959, and it is expected to reach 2.7 percent in 1975.

Thus although the gross product of Latin America is increasing at a steady rate, a rapidly rising population and relatively lower prices for exports have kept the per capita income stationary.

Meeting the needs and desires of a population whose growth is so spectacular that it is often referred to as an explosion is a matter of urgent necessity for the Latin America nations. Anything which can be done to speed up their development will, however, be of benefit to the United States as well. Some 30 or 40 cents of every dollar invested in Latin America go for capital goods, which must be imported. Thus every measure which tends to raise the rate of investment is reflected in an increased demand for imports. Here then is an opportunity for the United States to aid in developing a market of exceptional importance for its foreign trade.

Direct private investments by U.S. citizens and enterprises in Latin American have risen from less than \$3 billion at the end of 1945 to more than \$9 billion in 1959. Indeed, they now account for more than onethird of U.S. private investments abroad-more than have been placed in any other region of the world. Trade between the United States and Latin America has Trade between the undergone a similar expansion. It stands now at an annual volume of \$7 to \$8 billion, an amount exceeded only by U.S. trade with Western Europe.

The figures I have just cited show clearly that Latin America has reached a level of economic maturity greatly surpassing that of many other similarly large geographical areas. Like Canada and Western Europe, Latin America has shown itself capable of meeting through its own efforts a large part of its needs in dollars and foreign currencies.

Despite these striking figures, people continue to ask whether the United States is really interested in expanding Latin American development. As I see it, even if there were not many other reasons—politics, security, historic friendship, and regional solidarity-the United States, with its recognized ability in economic and financial matters, would be strongly inclined to strengthen what is perhaps its best foreign market. Differences of opinion may arise over the choice of the best methods for achieving this objective, but there is no argument as to the objective itself. Definite progress has been made, moreover, in developing and carrying out a policy of economic cooperation.

On returning from his recent goodwill tour, President Eisenhower said of Latin America: "Indeed, no other area of the world is of more vital significance to our future." Due importance should be attached to this statement, for it is doubtful whether so strong and sweeping a declaration had ever been made before by a President of the United States.

The Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs, Mr. Roy R. Rubottom, Jr., recently wrote:

"The economic policy of the United States of America vis-a-vis the other American republics reflects two fundamental objectives: (1) To foster close economic relations on the bases of mutual benefit and the greatest possible freedom of private enterprise, and (2) to encourage the sound economic development and progress of Latin America in the best interest of its inhabitants. This policy implies a continuing expansion of trade with, and direct private investment in, Latin America. It also implies substantial governmental cooperation. The plain truth is that the problems of the United States of America's neighbors must be considered as the problems of the United States, too."

It is understandable, considering its tra-ditional economic and political philosophy, that the United States should stress "the greatest possible freedom of private enterprise." One should take due note, however, of Mr. Rubottom's qualification: "[This policy| also implies substantial governmental cooperation." The way is opened thereby to an understanding with those Latin American nations that insist upon some degree of acceptance of their own traditional system of government centralization of, and State participation in, economic development. It also implies recognition of Latin America's need of capital from public sources, to permit the long-term planning required for accelerated development, with due consideration for loans for projects of social interest and for public works which pay off heavily, but only in the long run.

The United States has recently changed some of its former points of view. Thus, it has given strong support to the establishment of the Inter-American Development Bank, so long desired by Latin America. Again, although the country is essentially a consumer of basic products, it took an important part in the work of the Inter-American Coffee Study Group and, thanks to its active collaboration, the International Coffee Agreement could be signed in September 1959. the terms of that agreement the principal coffee producers of Africa as well as of Latin America cooperate to regulate the marketing of coffee, controlling sales so as to minimize price fluctuations, which formerly had been violent in the coffee trade. An improvement in the economies of Latin America will naturally come about upon the stabilization of coffee prices. The significance of this for the United States lies in the fact that 10 percent of its total exports go to the 14 coffee-exporting countries of the Western Hemisphere.

The United States is also taking greater interest in similar measures with regard to other basic products, such as lead and zinc. The countries of our hemisphere here affected are Bolivia, Mexico, and Peru, also Canada. It is to be hoped that, within an established policy for the consideration of commodity problems on a case-by-case basis, attention can be given to situations arising in regard to such important Latin American products as petroleum, copper, tin, cotton, wool, wheat, bananas, cacao, sugar, et cetera.

A drop of a few cents in the price of any of these products can have tremendous repercussions in the Latin American economy. In some cases, it is sufficient to cancel all that has been received in the way of foreign loans—loans which must, moreover, be repaid in dollars coming from the sale of those basic products.

In view of the great importance of commodity problems, it has been advised that they be accorded highest priority in inter-American economic discussions, along with matters of economic development and financial and commercial policy. Similarly, recommendations have been made for abondonment of the view that stabilization agreements are suitable only in exceptional cases.

The question is often raised in the United States as to whether Latin America wishes some sort of Marshall plan for that area. The Latin American government have declared repeatedly that their desire is not to receive direct aid, but to promote their trade and to assure themselves of foreign markets where they can sell their products regularly and without great fluctuations in prices. With regard to the capital required for development, the desire is for long-term loans at low rates of interest, with provisions for

special operations involving the use of local currencies.

All this, however, is not enough. It is obvious that neither free trade nor financial assistance from outside will assure the evergrowing foreign-exchange income needed for a satisfactory rate of development in Latin America. If the countries of that area—producers of one or two commodities. dependent on uncertain foreign markets-are to be saved from the crises into which they are recurringly plunged, they must of necessity undertake plans for industrialization. By diversifying their production they will be able to create inter-Latin-American markets and meet the needs of their growing population. Latin America must strive for economic unity, through the establishment of a common market or free-trade zones. To this matter I shall return.

I wish to emphasize that Latin America desires to assume full responsibility for the development of its peoples, using all its resources to the full extent of its possibilities. Thus when the United States enters upon programs of cooperation, it can do so with the assurance that it is helping people who are helping themselves. Take, for instance, the case of the Inter-American Development Bank, with its capital of \$1 billion. This sum which adds substantially to the means of financing Latin American development, is 40 percent U.S. capital, but 60 percent capital supplied by the Latin American nations themselves. In this joint effort Latin America is making the greater contribution, despite the financial difficulties in which nearly all the member states from that region now find themselves.

Another evidence of Latin America's determination to advance under its power is provided by movements toward economic integration among the various countries. Seven Latin American nations this year took the forward step of establishing a broad freetrade zone. By joining the so-called southern cone of Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Paraguay, Peru, and Uruguay, Mexico opened the way for the later transformation of this system into a common market embracing the whole of Latin America. In Central America, El Salvador, Guatemala, and Honduras went further still, entering into a treaty aimed at establishing a customs union of the three countries within a few years. They will doubtless soon be joined by Costa Rica and Nicaragua. The United States has viewed these two movements with sympathetic in-The Government has declared officially "that it was prepared to assist financially in the establishment of solvent industhrough appropriate agencies, under suitable conditions, with a view to promoting regional markets through public and private investments.

If we are asked whether there is a master plan for the development of Latin America, the answer is "Yes." It is not, however—nor has there ever been any suggestion that it should be-a master plan in which all responsibility falls upon the United States. It is a master plan for whose execution all the American Republics are responsible. It states a common responsibility for combating poverty, sickness, and illiteracy. It represents a conviction that these are not inevitable evils. It voices the determination of the men of today to do away with the indignity of poverty. It is a joint plan, now being carried out by the Organization of American States, in part through its regular economic, social, cultural, and technical training programs, and in part through the so-called Operation Pan America. The aim of Operation Pan America, as a distinguished Brazilian statesman recently wrote, is to bring to the fore the problem of economic underdevelopment. It recognizes that the responsibility for dealing with the problem is a collective one; and it calls attention to the menace that, if a solution is not soon provided, the tensions and pressures generated by the economic inequalities now existing among the American nations might destroy the political solidarity of the hemisphere.

In 70 years of active existence, the Pan American movement has succeeded in creating an order of law and peace to govern relations among the American Republics. This order, based on the principle of nonintervention, has evolved precepts of international law which are applied and respected as nowhere else on the face of the earth. In all cases which recourse has been had to our system for the maintenance of peace and for collective security-either through the application of the Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance or by appeal to the Bogotá Charter, the constitution of the Organization of American States-the conflicts have been resolved, the threatened aggression or intervention has been avoided. American countries are setting a good example in turning to the International Court of Justice when occasion warrants. This has recently been the case with Argentina and Chile and with Honduras and Nicaragua, as it had earlier been with Colombia and Peru.

Well-nigh perfect machinery has been devised for dealing with problems of international law: it has but to be set in motion when the occasion arises. But there are also problems of human welfare, economic conflicts, the growing pains of an America in social ferment. These cry out for attention. If nonintervention is the fundamental principle of peaceful, friendly relations among the American nations, in promoting the welfare and economic development of their peoples the fundamental principle must be positive action and effective cooperation. Organization of American States, with all its organs and agencies, stands ever ready to serve as the instrument of that collective operation.

The American community is made up of interdependent states, constantly exposed to influences from one another. The rapidity of modern communications permit men to travel from one country to another in a matter of hours, or even minutes. The press, radio, television, and newsreels know no frontiers; through them we are brought into daily contact with the problems of our neighbors and of the entire world.

The Latin American peoples will not walt much longer. The problems of their economic and social development in this day and age cannot be coped with by traditional methods, within the terms of an evolutionary process that is measured in centuries. There has come about, in the underdeveloped areas, a reaction that has been described as "the revolution of rising expectations."

A plan for successful economic development must take into consideration: natural resources, capital know-how, manpower, and a will to, and human aptitude for, change. Social scientists are generally agreed, as regards the Latin American nations, that the overwhelming reality of the area today, and in the foreseeable future, is the social revolution. The entire region is in the throes of a painful process of fundamental social, economic, and political transformation.

This is for Latin America the moment of a great awakening, with broad horizons and new dimensions. It is imperative that we make of our hemisphere—already a major area of expansion for the peoples of Europe—one of the principal centers of power of Western civilization.

In any examination of methods for coordinating plans for the hemisphere's development, it is readily apparent that participation by the OAS must be a paramount factor for success. There is general agreement as to the advantages of multilateral cooperation. Political suspicions within a given country as to the purpose of aid programs are less likely to be aroused when the assistance comes through an international agency than when it is provided directly by a single great power. The role of the Organization of American States is, therefore, obvious.

At the meeting of the Presidents of the American Republics at Panama City in 1956, the Chief Executives called for a more dynamic effort by the OAS. They expressed the desire to make of it a more effective instrument of cooperative action, especially in fields affecting the welfare of the individual. A special Inter-American Committee of Presidential Representatives was set up to seek practical suggestions which the Organization might appropriately adopt in its work in the economic, financial, social, and technical fields.

As a result of the recommendations which were offered, the OAS has expanded its programs for the introduction of better methods in agricultural production, for the promotion of industrialization, social welfare, education, technical cooperation, and the training of personnel. It has initiated new activities in the fields of science development and the peaceful applications of nuclear energy. As regards public health, great impulse was given to the campaign to cradicate malarth completely from our hemisphere, Remember that the removal of a disease is equivalent to the extension of a frontier or to the discovery of a new land.

In the last analysis, any plan for promoting higher standards of living is resolved into a matter of education. Under the program of technical cooperation of the OAS, Whose first decade of operation we observe this year, more than 5,000 persons have received training or engaged in research in centers established throughout the hemisphere. These centers cover such fields as economic and financial statistics, housing and planning, rural education, the improvement of agriculture and rural life, the evaluation of natural resources, the combat against foot-and-mouth disease, the control of zoonoses, the planning and administration of social welfare programs, problems of iron and steel production in Latin America, business administration, and applied social sciences, not to mention still others.

The fellowship program of the OAS is a further example of positive action which has been taken through our organization. One hundred and seventy fellowships were awarded in the first year of operation, and the number is being gradually increased, and is now approaching 500 annually. Grants are made to teachers and professionally qualified students for advanced study and training and for research. This year the OAS will begin a similar program for the interchange of professors among the universities of the Americas.

One of the characteristics of these programs is that, not only are professors and students brought to the United States from Latin America, or vice versa, but there is also an active interchangs among the Latin American institutions of learning. The results have exceeded our expectations. Letters and other expressions of support have poured in from teachers and students alike. The governments have acknowledged that, in mobilizing the human resources of the hemisphere for the development of the whole area, we are effectively achieving one of the main purposes of the inter-American system. Indeed, we may say that these programs give a new interpretation to the pan-American movement.

Without reducing technical and scientific exchange, more emphasis should be given to exchange in the humanities—in philosophy, letters, the arts, the social sciences, journalism, public administration, and democratic and labor-group leadership. One of the fun-

damental conditions for successful social development lies in respect for the original culture of the peoples undergoing change and in the avoidance of any attempt to warp their tendencies. Thus, in addition to economists, specialists are required who can reinforce the cultural and spiritual heritage of the peoples. In consequence, the Pan American Union does not confine itself merely to programs for the eradication of illiteracy, for the extension of education at all levels, and for the exchange of scholars. It also sponsors exhibits by rising painters and sculptors and concerts by promising young musicians, in an effort to bring wider attention to the new artistic values of the Americas.

An increase in contacts between persons in the United States and Latin America holding similar responsible positions in business, educational, and civic institutions has been highly recommended. Similar recommendations have been made for the Boy and Girl Scouts and for student organizations. A broadened program of this type would perhaps serve to correct some of the serious misunderstandings which have provoked increasingly adverse reaction of late on both sides. Most of the prejudices which embitter relations between Latin America and the United States have their root in a lack of good human communications.

A measure which I feel personally could contribute much to better understanding would be the translation into our several languages—English, Spanish, Portuguese, and French—of certain key works of analysis and interpretation of the situations facing the nations of the Americas today and the solutions proposed for their various problems. The observations and counsels of our wisest scholars and statesmen should be made readily available to all.

I am not one to underestimate the power of a woman, least of all when I have before me a group whose members must often be called upon to provide inspiration and advice to those who shape the policies of the United States. I say therefore with confidence that you personally can make an excellent contribution to better mutual understanding among the peoples of the Americas, both here and in the countries south of the Rio Grande. When you travel in the latter, you can do much to present a clearer picture of what your own country really is like. In this regard, allow me to offer a word of advice: Do not lay all your emphasis on material comforts—on the production of automobiles, frigidaires, and television sets. Seek, rather, to bring out the cultural values of the United States and its political philosophy-a philosophy which stresses the supreme importance of the individual, and the idea that it is the people who run the Government and not the Government that runs

I would conclude my remarks today by expressing my deep confidence in our common destiny.

The United States is known for its philosophy of optimism as an attitude toward the future. It has been called a national characteristic, and perhaps it finds justification in the country's historical experience. It cannot, however, be considered peculiar to the United States. It is an attitude in which all the peoples of the New World participate. In times such as these, we should not allow optimism to lull us into complacency, trusting that history will, of its own accord, and without effort on our part, bless the Americas with still greater wonders. We must work, united, in a common endeavor. There are authentic democratic leaders in Latin America today, men of extraordinary capability, to whom, however, we must lend a helping hand in the titanic efforts they are making. We are currently witnessing a great advance in strengthening popular govern-ment in our hemisphere. The voice of the

people is drawing closer. The voice is loud, and rude, but it is sincere. The only problem is to direct the desires and aspirations which that voice expresses into orderly channels, so that the effective exercise of democracy and due respect for human rights may be achieved, under law; for all.

If we wish to serve the supreme interests of our hemisphere, we must strive to see opportunities, not obstacles, in the challenges

which we face in this hour.

West Virginia's Coal Resources—A Tremendous Power Potential for New Industry

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. EUGENE J. McCARTHY

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, May 2, 1960

Mr. McCARTHY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the Record a statement by the senior Senator from Minnesota [Mr. Humphrey] entitled, "West Virginia's Coal Resources—A Tremendous Power Potential for New Industry."

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STATEMENT BY SENATOR HUMPHREY

In my extensive travels throughout the State of West Virginia in the past several days, I have been deeply moved and troubled by the desperate economic conditions which are to be found there.

It is not a pleasant experience to see thousands upon thousands of able workers without jobs, to see families without adequate food and clothing, to see abandoned houses and factories. Yet, this is the situation and we must face up to it. The Federal Government has an obligation to come forth with programs designed to aid in the growth and development of West Virginia's economy. Its people are doing all that they can to improve the economy, but they cannot do it alone.

Today I wish to discuss one particular program which the Federal Government should give top priority to. Namely, the finding of ways to make greater use of coal, West Virginia's greatest natural resource.

West Virginia is by all odds the most important coal producing State in the country, accounting for 30 percent of the total production excluding anthracite. As such, it has shared in the depressed condition of the coal industry during the past decade. Output in both West Virginia and the inclustry as a whole was down by about one-third in 1958 from the peak year 1947. The State has been hit especially hard, however, by the fact that coal mining is its most important industry.

West Virginia does not lack reserves. According to official Government figures, the recoverable reserves remaining are more than eight times the total of all the coal the State has produced to date. The important task, then, to aid West Virginia's recovery from the depressed condition of its major industry is to find or create new markets for its coal.

Of particular interest to West Viriginia are the technological advances which have taken place in long-distance transmission of electricity. Shipment of coal by wire is now technically and economically possible.

Traditionally, the cost of transmitting electricity over high voltage powerlines more than 200 to 250 miles has been greater than the cost of transporting coal. As a result, electric power for large consuming centers has been generated near those centers, and the coal has been brought to them. the growth of demand, however, large blocks of power are now required at the big consuming centers, and the combination of this large-scale demand and recent advances in the art of electricity transmission at extra high voltages has created exciting new opportunities. Sweden and the Soviet Union have demonstrated that it is technically feasible to transmit power 500 miles and more at voltages of 500,000 volts and higher. Both countries have ambitious programs for still higher voltages and longer distances. At extra high voltages and with large blocks of power, the cost of long-distance transmission falls below the cost of coal transport over the same distance.

Heretofore, the economics of power and coal transport have meant that West Virginia was too far from main consuming centers to allow power to be generated in its coalfields and transmitted to those centers. This is no longer the case. In fact, West Virginia is ideally located to become the site of power stations situated at the mine mouth and supplying power to many of our great industrial and urban centers.

Half of the American people live within 500 miles of the State. Four out of the five largest cities are within the same area.

The opportunity to aid West Virginia's depressed coal industry is evident, but large obstacles are in the way. Existing power systems are not set up to take advantage of this situation, and legal and administrative difficulties must be cleared away. The solu-tion to West Virginia's problem is clear, however: There must be a concerted Government program to encourage the location of industry in West Virginia to take advantage of "mine-mouth" power, and to assist the development of "mine-mouth" power stations whose electricity will be sent to major consuming centers in the eastern half of America. This would not be a program involving large expenditures of public funds. What is needed is leadership, encouragement and stimulation for private enterprise to take advantage of cost-saving opportunities. This is a way to get West Virginia's coal industry back on its feet so that it again becomes a source of strength in the economic life of the State. It is a bold program that puts to work our country's technological prowess.

There is a need for close Federal-State and private industry cooperation because the market for West Virginia power will lie in the huge metropolitan areas from the Mississippi River to the Atlantic Ocean. This means Federal leadership in the joint effort because the program involves interstate cooperation, Federal Power Commission rate structures and probably partial Federal fi-

nancing.

The distinguished chairman of the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, Mr. Murray, has introduced a resolution, S. Res. 71, calling for a study of the electrical power supply situation of the United States with the view in mind of recommending legislative proposals to assure development and organization of bulk power supply to enable our country to maintain an expanding economy, higher standards of living, and the strengthening of our position in the world.

This is an excellent and timely resolution and I hope that it will be approved in this session. And I would hope that if such a congressional study is undertaken that this subject of the transmission of electrical power by way of high-voltage transmission lines directly from the coalfields will be fully explored, and recommendations for

legislation to encourage its development set forth.

The development of huge, new, low-cost energy resources in West Virginia, can be the single greatest attraction to new industries in many parts of the State. The paper and chemical industries which consume large quantities of electrical energy and use coal, water and forest products as basic raw materials could not resist the powerfully attractive combination of inducements which would mean more jobs.

Brotherhood in Action—A Significant Occasion

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. SEYMOUR HALPERN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 2, 1960

Mr. HALPERN. Mr. Speaker, in my district during Brotherhood Week a distinctive occasion in human relations took place. It truly reflected democracy in action. Its effect is so inspiring and its meaning so significant, especially at this time when the subject of human rights is of such deep concern to the whole world, that I call it to the attention of all the American people through the forum of this House of Representatives.

I refer to a gathering of peoples of all faiths and races, the aged and the young, homemakers, professional people, labor and management, in the true spirit of brotherhood, at a meeting of the Brotherhood Council of Eastern Queens, New York, on February 25, for the presentation of the council's annual Community Brotherhood Award.

This outstanding organization, of which Mr. Melvin Gerard, a distinguished community leader, is president, is composed of groups comprising a cross section of races, religions, and civic functions. It has dedicated its activities to the furtherance of programs designed to promote greater understanding among peoples—programs of brotherhood.

One of the council's fine activities is the presentation each year of its Community Brotherhood Award to a citizen who has demonstrated through his actions his dedication to the community and to the precepts of brotherhood. This year's occasion marked the fifth annual presentation of the award.

I was privileged to address the ceremony—quoting in part some of my remarks made that same day in this House—and to make the presentation to Mr. Albert Greenblatt, pioneering civic worker and attorney of Floral Park, who has devoted the greater portion of his time to community activities and to providing legal assistance to individuals and groups regardless of race, religion, or creed.

This inspiring meeting can proudly stand as a model for other communities in America. Because it exemplifies the very essence of our democratic beliefs, I would like to describe the occasion in the permanent Record of this Congress.

The event was held in the auditorium of Junior High School 172 and, in spite of inclement weather, more than 300 people turned out to participate.

Although the announcement of Mr. Greenblatt as the winner of the Community Award was the highlight of the occasion, the impressive gathering also included the dramatic presentation of awards to 18 public school children who had been selected as the winners of the B'nai B'rith brotherhood poster contest.

These awards were presented by Mrs. Shirley Brody, chairman of the Anti-Defamation League branch of the independence chapter of B'nai B'rith and corresponding secretary of the Brother-hood Council. Mrs. Brody, incidentally, is an indefatigable worker for good causes and has done much to promote the objectives of the council. She presented the awards to:

Laurie Maloff and Carol Glaser, from Public School 18; Philip Davis and Stephen Karafiol, from Public School 33; Ronald Fromkin and Mark Nerenberg, from Public School 115; Simon Winnik and Donna Schatz, from Junior High School 172; Myra Handelman and Nancy Rudd, from Public School 85; Eugene Giardina and Elissa Lowenstein, from Public School 191; Steve Fromkes and Dominick Durante, from Public School 133; Elleen Burton and Kenneth Fisher, from St. Gregory's; and Veronica Bond and Richard Ohlinger, from St. Paul's.

Throughout the evening the Hillside Junior High School Glee Club, directed by Herman Schuckman and Lillian LeBarbara, gave numerous musical selections. It was literally thrilling to listen to their exceptional harmony and talent. The Human Relations Drama Workshop of Andrew Jackson High School presented a playlet entitled "The Third Defendant." It was magnificently performed, and the entire cast and its direction calls for the highest commendation.

The big moment of the evening was, of course, the naming of Mr. Greenblatt as this year's winner of the fifth annual Community Award. He succeeds four other outstanding advocates of human rights and civic conscious residents of Eastern Queens, all previous recipients of the award—Mr. Herman Dunsay, Pastor Paul Lorimer, Mr. Melvin Gerard, and Mrs. Bess Smith. I was truly privileged to be the one to announce the selection of Mr. Greenblatt and to present him with the plaque.

Mr. Greenblatt was well deserving of the honor. He is a leading civic worker in Floral Park, N.Y., president of the Lost Community Civic Association, and past commander of the Stein-Goldie Jewish War Veterans Post 552 in which he is still very active. He has also donated continually of his time and efforts for many years in providing legal counsel and support to the many religious organizations and good causes in the community. He is the legislative chairman of the PTA of Junior High School 172 and is a member of its executive board. He is associated with the Eastern Queens Youth Clubs which sponsor summer dances for teenagers. Added to this

are his countless other activities and contributions to community betterment and the ideals of brotherhood.

I would be remiss if I did not cite the names of the runners-up for the award. My one regret is that there were not 10 awards to be given that night, for surely each of the 10 nominees were richly deserving of the honor. Each, in his or her own way, has contributed greatly to every concept and principle upon which the selection was based. These most praiseworthy individuals were Mrs. Sylvia Bachner, Mrs. Shirley Brody, Mrs. Jaye Celano, Mr. Alexander M. Fix, Mr. Martin Hande, Mrs. Henrietta Henschel, Mr. Bernard Krueger, Mrs. Sue Noreika, and Mrs. Adeline Rubin.

The selection of the winner was made by three impartial judges on the basis of community service as expressed by activities in local groups in behalf of community betterment and for the promotion of the ideals of brotherhood, through word and deed, in the interreligious and inter-racial field on a local level. The judges were Mrs. Harold Prucha, librarian of the Glen Oaks Library; Mr. Nils Mathisen, manager of the Glen Oaks branch of Manufacturers Trust Co.; and Mr. David Allison, editor of the popular community newspaper, the Glen Oaks News.

The impressive ceremonies were under the chairmanship of Mr. Paul Denn, the highly respected principal of Martin Van Buren High School. His comments, along with those of Mel Gerard, contributed greatly to the occasion as did the highly significant speech made by Hon. Louis Wallach, the distinguished New York State assemblyman from the 10th district of Queens, who is honorary chairman of the Brotherhood Council of Eastern Queens. Also most meaningful to the event was the participation of Pastor Daniel Pierotti, of St. Paul's Lutheran Church, and Rabbi Meyer Bilitsky, who delivered the invocation and the benediction respectively.

Mr. Speaker, this inspiring action can broudly stand as a model for other communities in America. It exemplifies the very essence of our beliefs and ideals in free government. It is, as I said earlier, truly democracy in action.

Problems of Domestic Shipping Industry

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. GEORGE A. SMATHERS

OF FLORIDA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, May 2, 1960

Mr. SMATHERS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the Record excerpts from a speech made in San Francisco by Mr. Randolph Sevier, president of the Matson Navigation Co., outlining some of the problems facing the domestic shipping industry in the nonsubsidized field, and their possible solution. This segment of the industry has its obstacles which it is trying to overcome but which

Congress may have to give more serious attention to-in the near future. Mr. Sevier's remarks are a definite contribution to the subject.

There being no objection, the excerpts were ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

HIGHLIGHTS OF SPEECH BY MR. RANDOLPH SEVIEZ, PRESIDENT OF MATSON NAVIGATION Co.

Fortunately, there is a growing recognition among Government and maritime leaders of the problem of the nonsubsidized domestic operators. Recent studies, aimed at revising the U.S. transportation policy and programs, discussed the need for Federal assistance in replacement and rehabilitation programs of domestic shipping companies. The accomplishment of this, however, will require a high degree of cooperation and understanding between the industry and Government. * *

Government. * * *

In 1959 Matson retained as profit from combined shipping operations only one and a half cents of every revenue dollar. This earning ratio will have to be improved in the years ahead for the company to stay in business and replace vessels of the Matson fleet. When the time comes for replacement decisions, it may be necessary to call upon the Federal Government for assistance. * *

Now over 70 percent of Matson Navigation stock is held in Hawaii. For the new State, this ownership pattern is reassurance of responsible transportation from a predominantly island-owned and oriented company whose principals themselves have a major stake in the State's economy. * * *

Matson, as a citizen of Hawaii for more than 75 years, has never sought acclaim for its contributions to the economic growth of the islands. But, I do not believe Hawaii could have reached its high state of development without the dependable and specially adapted shipping services of an ocean carrier, attached—sentimentally and financially—to the islands. * * *

A lively atmosphere of boom pervades the islands. The prevailing predictions indicate a future of great vitality. To quote from one recent report: "Hawaii has now reached a point of maturity, with a broad economic base and the prospect for continuing growth. It is making itself an increasingly important part of the country's economy." For Matson this means the opportunity to continue to grow with the new State and to provide day-in and day-out dependable transportation tailored to the specific requirements of the economy. * * *

Matson may find new competitors springing up in the future as other steamship companies find the lure to the islands irresistible. Under present law, Matson opposes entry into the Hawaii domestic trade of any subsidized, tax-aided carrier in direct competition with our unsubsidized service. We could not do otherwise. * *

Being the principal carrier in Hawaii service imposes a stern obligation on the company. It must put forth maximum effort to assure each individual freight customer of the best service and attention. These are musts for a major carrier in a domestic steamship route. They become difficult, if not impossible, to provide without losing money when the major carrier is forced to compete with operators out only for the more lucrative and easily accessible cargoes. * * *

Matson's ability to earn a sultable profit under the obligations and requirements of the Hawalian economy will depend on many other factors. Probably the most important will be the latitude we achieve in making fundamental changes in operating methods which are a product of progress. The advances made in adapting Hawali's cargo to the container system of movement, and adapting the system to the cargo, must con-

tinue at an accelerated pace. And they must be sustained under a labor-management atmosphere that recognizes the benefits for each that are possible through automation ashore and afloat. * *

The container operation is one of the outstanding products of Matson's accelerated research program, now entering its fourth year. All elements of the program—size of containers, methods of handling ashore and afloat, and so on—were arrived at only after thorough basic research into the complexities of the Hawaii trade of today and tomorrow. In the decade of the 1960's there will be even greater reliance on modern research methods for keeping pace with the Hawaiian economy. * *

The question might also be asked: Can an insular tourist industry afford to be without passenger liner service—to break so sharply with the past—in the competitive years ahead? We say the answer is an emphatic "No." Part of the answer lies in closer working relations with various airlines so that the air-sea travel packages, which offer such a desirable variety to the vacationer, will become even more popular. * *

For the Country's Welfare

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JOHN TABER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, May 2, 1960

Mr. TABER. Mr. Speaker, pursuant to the consent granted to me on Monday, May 2, 1960, I submit the following article by Walter F. Wilcox, which appeared in the Cornell Alumni News of April 15 last:

FOR THE COUNTRY'S WELFARE

EDITOR: In 1931, when I retired from my professorship at Cornell, Senator Vandenberg wrote to President Farrand about what he called "from the standpoint of the country's constitutional fundamentals, the outstanding achievement for many years." That was the passage of an act providing for automatic apportionment after each future census. After the 1920 census, Congress had failed to apportion Representatives and might do so again. The Senator wrote to Farrand to acknowledge what he called my "indispensible cooperation with him in this work."

I have asked for space in your columns because I hope that the work, which first the Senator's death and now my weakness have endangered, will appeal to others. Senator Vandenberg's outstanding achievement is illustrated by the sharp angle in the diagram below at the year 1910. [Not printed in RECORD.]

If the policy of increasing the size of the House after each census to a point at which no State would lose a seat, a policy which had been followed for 50 years 1860-1910, or the alternative policy, tried after 1920, of having no apportionment at all, had been continued, and one or the other hung like a cloud over the country's future, our Federal system of government would have been in grave danger.

The present situation is this: No significant change has occurred in the size of the House since 1910, but after each census since then 11 seats have been transferred from the group of slowly growing to that of rapidly growing States. An amendment which has been before the House Committee on the Judiclary for many years would reduce the size of the House by 10 members

after each future census. If it were adopted, it would affect only the slowly growing States; they would then lose about 21 seats after each future census, 11 as now by transfer and 10 outright.

Some 40 years ago, when the House de-bated the subject of its growing size, 15 leading Representatives expressed their opinions. Thirteen of the fifteen wanted it smaller and one who had been in Congress for 40 years said, "I began when there were 325 Members of this body, and the disad-vantages in the transaction of business now (it was then one-third larger than it had been) as compared with then are beyond my powers to describe."

With the size of the House stabilized, the average decennial increase in the population of a congressional district has been about 44,000. If its size should fall by 10 after each future census, the average increase in that population would be 49,000, one-tenth more than now, a difference which would probably be imperceptible to the average Congressman.

The real change needed is in us. Too many ask, "How can we get help from our Congressman?"; too few ask, "Can we help our Congressman to do his job in any better way than by letting him alone?"

WALTER F. WILLCOX.

Union County, N.J., Residents Assist in Polaris Submarine Training

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, HARRISON A. WILLIAMS, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Monday, May 2, 1960

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. Mr. President, the defense effort of this Nation calls for many skills from many persons. Our know-how is often put to work in many little known, complex efforts.

In the Elizabeth (N.J.) Daily Journal of April 18, reporter John Spinale describes the pride felt by those residents of Union County who are working on the fleet ballistics training facility which will be used to train Navy technicians for Polaris-firing submarines. The article gives us greater understanding of the major preparations which must be made for our new weapons of peace.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous con-sent that the article be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD. as follows:

COUNTY RESIDENTS AID POLARIS TRAINING-EMPLOYEES AT CURTIS-WRIGHT PLANT CON-TRIBUTE TO MULTI-MILLION-DOLLAR FACILITY THAT SIMULATES SUBMARINE LAUNCHING CONDITIONS

(By John Spinale)

Many Union County residents are working on one of the most costly training aids in military history for sallors who will deliver the Sunday punch of missile-carrying sub-marines if it's ever needed.

They are among the 500 employees producing the "fleet balistics training facility" at the electronics division of the Curtis-Wright Corp. in Carlstadt.

The mammoth device is an exact reproduction of the deadly Polaris missile and the section of the submarine from which it is fired.

NEED BY POLARIS CREWS

The multi-million-dollar facility is a must for the trigger men who will roam the seas in such nuclear-powered, Polaris-firing submarines as the Patrick Henry and George Washington.

The project began about a year ago. More than 250 engineers and a like number of production workers and clerks have been on the job as many as three shifts a day every day of the week.

The first section of the device was shipped this week to the Submarine Training School in New London, Conn.

In the shipment were two inner and outer firing tubes, two missiles and the submarine's launching section.

SUB WOULD CARRY 16

Although a Polaris sub would carry 16 of the missiles, only two have been made for training purposes. To know a couple is to know them all.

The weapons and tubes, almost three stories high and about 6 feet in diameter, and the launching section are made of metals similar to those used in the real things.

A complex firing mechanism and a monitor for instructors will be finished in a few

When the device is completed, the sailors won't know the difference between the simulated setup and an at-sea operation.

OPERATE IN CLOSE QUARTERS

They will move about in close quarters; they will learn to set the all-important guidance package; they will develop the knowhow of handling doors weighing hundreds of pounds without losing fingers or time.

They will become familiar with but most respectful of one of the free world's top weapons. For them, it will all seem real. Only the water will be missing.

"This is one of the most sophisticated and most complete training devices that has to this day been developed," said Anthony H. Lamb of 66 King Street, Hillside, chief engineer of the Electronics Division.

COST EXCEEDS MILLION

"It's worth over a million dollars, not including the new building in which it will be located."

Is it necessary to spend so much money on a training device?

His answer: Can too much be spent to train a fighting man who might be expected to walk up to a nuclear missile and send it on its way?

He points out that sailors firing the missiles will not be in block houses hundreds of yards from the firing pads.

He stresses that finger slips can lose shipsubmarines—and adds that training aids are an abolute necessity whether for million dollar missiles or \$10 hand grenades.

HUMAN ERROR BLAMED

The engineer says a "significant" centage of military equipment that comes off production lines is lost through human error.

This rate of loss cannot be tolerated with The training aid will help Polaris missiles. to determine which applicants will make the grade as crew members.

A major advantage of the facility is its ready availability in all kinds of weather for the training of large numbers of men. It will also simulate almost every trouble imagin-

The monitor, which would not be part of a real submarine, will enable instructors to judge the reaction of the sailors to given situations and score every man by every move he makes.

POINT OUT ERRORS

Instructors using the monitor will be able to "freeze" all operations at any time to no time for this during war," Mr. Lamb said.

Psychologists will also have an opportunity to study reactions of the crews during train-

ing in the realistic device.

Physical and psychological phases of the training will get equal attention as the Navy searches for the best all-around missile men through the expensive weeding-out facility.

Union County (N.J.) Educational Finance Problem

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. CLEVELAND M. BAILEY

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 19, 1960

Mr. BAILEY. Mr. Speaker, I am in receipt of a letter from Mrs. W. H. Baumer, legislative chairman, Union County Council, PTA, Westfield, N.J., which appraises so realistically the problem of financing local education that I desire to invite it to the attention of all my colleagues.

Union County, by no stretch of the imagination, could be considered an area of economic depression. When we know what the problem is in such an area, I do not see how we can reject a proposal for a modest school construction program such as is contained in H.R. 10128. I hope this bill will be considered within the very near future.

I include Mrs. Baumer's letter as a part of my remarks:

WESTFIELD, N.J., April 21, 1960. The Honorable Cleveland M. Bailey, The House of Representatives, Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: As legislative chairman for the Union County PTA's in New Jersey, I am writing you to urge passage of as generous a Federal aid program for education as your committee thinks feasible.

In company with the rest of the State and the country at large, the 21 communities of Union County are fighting a constant battle to keep abreast of rising school costs. Perpupil cost has risen from \$250 in 1950 to \$450 in this school year. The result has been double sessions in most of the towns and mounting unrest with school budgets.

In Westfield, the homeowner's tax is \$9 per \$100 of evaluation. Of this \$9, \$6 goes for school costs. This is not an unusual percentage. The homeowner needs relief, which the New Jersey Congress of Parent Teacher Associations is trying to alleviate in two ways. We are backing a Statewide broad-based tax, and also urging Federal support for education.

We were gratified at the passage of the Federal school-support bill by the Senate on February 4, 1960 and hope that the House will see fit to pass a similar bill.

We thank you for your continued interest in Federal aid to education and hope that our support will help to facilitate passage of equitable legislation.

Sincerely yours,

ALICE B. BAUMER, Legislative Chairman, Union County Council, PTA. "Jobs for the Handicapped—Passports to Dignity"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. HOWARD W. CANNON

OF NEVADA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, May 2, 1960

Mr. CANNON. Mr. President, the President's Committee on Employment of the Physically Handicaped will meet in Washington on May 5 in their annual meeting

It is with great pride that I call to the attention of this body the fine essay written by Miss Gail Marie Chadwell, of Reno High School in Reno, Nev., entitled "Jobs for the Handicapped—Passports to Dignity." The essay was awarded first prize by a panel of judges appointed by President Eisenhower.

With great originality, impact, and clarity of expression, Miss Chadwell has forcefully presented the cause of the physically handicapped, which has been so greatly neglected in this country. I am sure that Members of this body, Mr. President, will be interested in reading this essay, and I ask unanimous consent to have the essay printed in full in the RECORD

There being no objection, the essay was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

JOBS FOR THE HANDICAPPED—PASSPORTS TO

(By Gall Marie Chadwell)

"In these demanding times, the labor force of our Nation is our most precious asset. Working shoulder to shoulder, the handicapped can add spirit and power to America as we seek to promote the strength of the whole free world." With these words President Dwight D. Eisenhower urged the American people to extend to the handicapped that equality of opportunity which Americans believe to be the inherent right of all individuals. Although the handicapped may be limited in physical capacities, they are not disabled in mind and spirit. Their capabilities can add power to our Nation.

Because, as our President indicates, the times are demanding and because we must safeguard our basic rights, we must both utilize the potential of all individuals and extend to them the equality of opportunity which we so esteem as Americans. Specialized areas of labor can utilize the skills of the handicapped. Given the opportunity to prove their worth, the handicapped can acquire their rightful status in our society. From a sense of security and belief in his own worth the handicapped individual acquires the dignity which is his sicht.

quires the dignity which is his right.

Because the population is growing rapidly and because the lifespan of human beings is longer, the number of handicapped individuals is growing proportionately. Therefore, the problem of finding jobs for the handicapped looms larger. However, this problem exists only because the handicapped are thought by some to be incapable or inferior. It is often forgotten that the ability of a person constitutes his potential for

employment rather than his disability. Employers are often afraid to hire the handicapped because they believe that the impaired workers are prone to injury and will therefore boost insurance rates. Surveys show that the safety records of the handicapped equal or exceed those of the non-handicapped. Many States have "second injury" funds which protect the employer from having to pay total disability compensation for injuries to impaired workers. Furthermore, tests and research have repeatedly disproved the idea that the handicapped are not good workers.

Today many tax-supported rehabilitation-centers exist throughout the United States. At these centers the disabled individual is given therapeutic aid and psychological support. He is offered psychotherapy so that he may regain his perspective and reestablish himself in society. A guidance counselor gives him advice and helps him find the type of work for which he is best suited. Having been given excellent training in his specialized field, he is thoroughly trained in a trade which permits him to compete with able-bodied workers.

When he is prepared both physically and vocationally to make himself self-supporting, he must have a job. His next step is to utilize his training and prove that his work is equal to that of an able-bodied worker. Too many times he is not given this opportunity to prove himself. Prospective employers fail to realize that it is not logical to differentiate between the handicapped and the nonhandicapped. Every individual is handicapped to some degree in some field or another; he may be entirely untrained in or incapable of carrying out certain tasks whether they be physical or mental tasks. In order to ascertain that which a person can do best, an individual's personality. education, experience, interest, and motivation must be matched to the requirements of a particular job. The handicapped individual is not asking for sympathy, pity, or charity. He is asking only for the opportunity to prove that he is capable of fulfilling the essential jobs. He prefers to be hired on his merits and asks for the opportunity to sell himself on the basis of his ability. employer need not hire a person because he is handicapped; he is obligated to hire the best qualified person without favoritism or discrimination; and frequently that person may be handicapped, but in a way which does not affect the job at hand.

After the prejudice of the employer is overcome and the handicapped individual is given the opportunity to prove himself, the disabled worker usually has no trouble proving that his work is equal to that of an able-bodied person. In the complex world of industry, in the burgeoning field of science myriad jobs exist. With training the handicapped can fill some of those jobs.

Because of increased incentive in trying to prove their worth and ability, the handi-capped are frequently better workers than the able bodied. Some employers have found that the handicapped are better workers than they were before they were injured. Statistics from a recent survey published in "Hire the Handicapped," a pamphlet prepared by the President's Committee on Employment of the Physically Handicapped, show that handicapped employees revealed greater capacity for training and adjusted more readily to jobs than did other employees. Their attendance and safety records were superior; employee turnover was lessened. These facts are corroborated by many other statistics. For exemple, the December 7, 1959 issue of Business Week presents a joint survey compiled by the Labor Department and the Veterans' Administration showing that the production rate of the handicapped is slightly higher

than that of unimpaired workers. Furthermore, the handicapped have proved to be morale builders as well as pace setters.

What the handicapped are capable of doing is attested to by a thriving business in Albertson, Long Island, known as Abilities Inc., founded by Henry Viscardi, Jr., who is physically handicapped. Its employees are recruited from those who are handicapped. Although the business was started as late as 1952, today it is a million-dollar concern with 421 employees. Its purpose is to train, give employment to, and transfer to private industry skilled employees who have previously been regarded as disabled. The work of Abilities Inc. proves that dignity can be restored to the handicapped individual and that he can lead a normal and productive life.

The mitigation of the increasing problem of finding jobs for and restoring dignity to the handleapped must begin in the community. Each citizen must rid himself of his prejudices against the handleapped and accept him on a par with the nonhandleapped. Employers can contribute to the program of aiding the handleapped by hiring such individuals whenever possible. They should remember that the handleapped do not want sympathy, pity, or charity but opportunity. Citizens may be of service in aiding the handleapped by helping them to rehabilitate themselves. Providing help for the handleapped may be a passport to dignity not only for the handleapped, but for the citizens aiding them.

"Give me the man with determination, for he is a doer. No physical handicap will deter a man who believes he can learn to do a job safely and well and is determined to prove it." said Philip D. Reed of the General Electric Co.² Men like Mr. Reed possess dignity which stems from sensitivity to the problems of others. By helping the handicapped to restore their dignity, we as Americans are but reiterating our belief in the intrinsic worth of the individual, our belief that every individual must have the freedom to develop to the ultimate his potential for securing life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. As we practice real democracy, we help to secure our democracy. Thus we enhance the inherent dignity of man.

²Philip D. Reed, "Hire the Handicapped," ed. President's Committee on Employment of the Physically Handicapped (Washington, D.C., 1958), p. 4.

Welcome Archbishop Damiano

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. WILLIAM T. CAHILL

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 2, 1960

Mr. CAHILL. Mr. Speaker, I am delighted to bring to the attention of this Congress a very happy event for the people of the First Congressional District of New Jersey. Archbishop Celestine J. Damiano will be installed tomorrow as the third bishop of the diocese of Camden. Having lived in the First District of New Jersey since boyhood, I have observed the diocese very closely since its founding in 1938. I can recall very vividly the 4th of May 1938, when the late and beloved Bartholomew J. Eustace was installed as the first bishop of Camden. I was also present

Dwight D. Eisenhower, "Hire the Handi-capped," ed. President's Committee on Employment of the Physically Handicapped (Washington, D.C., 1953), p. 3.

when the beloved and recently departed Justin J. McCarthy, the second bishop of Camden, was installed as the chief shepherd. It was my good fortune to know both Bishop Eustace and Bishop Mc-Carthy personally and I can, therefore, attest to their holiness, devotion to duty, and inspirational leadership. All of the people residing within the territory of the Camden diocese, regardless of religious beliefs, felt a personal loss at the death of these devout leaders and saintly priests.

Today, however, the people are joyful because we have been signally honored by Pope John XXIII in having an archbishop as our spiritual leader in the person of Celestine J. Damiano, D.D. A native of Buffalo, N.Y., Archbishop Damiano comes to us from South Africa where he served with distinction as the apostolic delegate to South Africa. Rich in experience as the personal representative of the holy father, he will bring new blessings on the people of the Camden diocese. I am sure I speak for all of the people of the First District of New Jersey when I say: "Welcome, Arch-bishop Damiano. May God grant you many fruitful years in his vineyard."

I am also happy at this time to insert in the Congressional Record an editorial which appeared in the April 29, 1960, issue of the outstanding newspaper of the Camden diocese, the Catholic Star-Herald, which is ably and forcefully edited by the Right Reverend Joseph B. McIntvre:

WELCOME, ARCHBISHOP CELESTINE J. DAMIANO

Pope John XXIII has appointed to the diocese of Camden His Excellency, Arch-bishop Celestine J. Damiano, who will be solemnly installed as the third ordinary of the diocese on Tuesday, May 3, 1960.

His Excellency comes to a diocese that received its firsh bishop on May 4, 1938, in the person at Bishop Bartholomew J. Eustace. In the records of the Church of God on earth as measured by time, our new archbishop-bishop begins his reign over a diocese that is not yet silvered with years. Less than 22 years ago the newly created diocese of Camden enjoyed a Catholic population of 105,246; today it boasts a conservative Catholic enumeration of 232,065 souls. In the wake of the phenomenal development of New Jersey the parishes of Camden diocese have multiplied from a modest sta-tistic or 49 parishes to the present figure of 89 parishes with resident priests.

His Excellency succeeds Bishop Justin J. McCarthy, second bishop, who was fated to be chief shepherd of the church at Camden only 2 years and 9 months. During a tenure of episcopal office interrupted sudden and saddening death to his flock, the second bishop of Camden carried for-ward the work of his predecessor and left behind him the enduring monument of new spiritual and material heights to which the young diocese ascended under his leadership.

And now the youthful diocese of Camden welcomes most heartily Archbishop Celestine J. Damiano as its third bishop and father in God. A native son of Buffalo diocese, but well acquainted with the church universal after 7 years spent as apostolic delegate to South Africa, His Excellency takes over the spiritual and temporal destiny of Camden spiritual and temporal destiny of Camden diocese. Rich in experience as the personal representative of the Holy Father on the continent of Africa, sometimes designated the Church of the Future, Archbishop Damiano comes to bless and inspire the Church of God in Delaware Valley, U.S.A.

In his unique treatise on Sacerdos et

Pontifex, the beloved author-bishop, Francis

Clement Kelley, uses a very commonplace but realistic symbolism to portray the ideal bishop of a diocese which will doubtlessly be realized in the person and gifts of Archbishop Damiano, third bishop of Camden. We should like to draw from this fountain of wisdom and grace which the aging and venerable Bishop Kelley has created out of the exceedingly rich storehouse of personal knowledge and memories:

"There are those who, as human mirrors, reflect God more faithfully than others, for the human mirrors can be brightened and their power of reflection intensified. are the saints, benedictions to us because from them we can catch glimpses of God that we may not get from our own mirrors, so often are ours clouded by sin and human imperfections. The saints are inspirations, not only as examples, but as the most effective doers of the divine will and of the divine truth. They never cease to give us glimpses of the glory of God. Who are these saints? In truth and fact, they are the only realists. * * * They have lived on earth in every century since the coming of Christ into the world. They are those who knew and taught others to know.

Who should be the greatest among the saints? In what rank and place in life should be found the overwhelming majority of them? Surely in ordained and consecrated leaders: priests and bishops."

Then in his concluding sentences concerning the symbolic likeness of the ideal bishop as the mirror of the great high priest, Bishop Kelley gives the world a poetic description of the bishop of his flock:

"You are the heart of Christ, His beating heart

That drives its love through every flowing vein.

You are the mind of Christ that shoots its light

Through all the world and back to Him again.

You are the mirror that reflects the might That won our battle with a sword of pain."

The 20th century application of Saint Paul's exhortation to be "all things to all imposes ever new and grave burdens upon the bishop of the youngest or the oldest dlocese. For this reason the bishop can never receive enough help or helpers from priests to laity. His labor envisages not only his own flock but all those who are not yet of his fold. Like the artist he paints the tree on the canvas of his own soul deeprooted in the soil of love with branches thrust upwards towards the heavens.

May the years and the tasks of Archbishop Damiano be abundantly blessed. May his priests and people of Camden diocese stand gallantly grouped about their chief pastor and bishop of their souls. May his life and that of the church of Camden entrusted to his care flow on quietly under the sunlight of God's love and grace until a happy tomorrow in eternity where His Excellency, their Shepherd, may joyfully claim them for His sheep again. Welcome, Archbishop Damiano, a thousand times welcome to your new diocese of Camden.

Old-Age Assurance

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. HARRISON A. WILLIAMS, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Monday, May 2, 1960

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. Mr. President, the expression of concern about the problems of our aging and aged in this Nation is expressed in many ways throughout the United States. As

the debate about several major issues continues, it is reassuring to realize that major efforts are now underway to understand the problems and to do something about them.

One such effort is housing for the aged. In many communities local officials, often with State and Federal help, are putting local plans into effect to meet local needs. An editorial in the Jersey Journal of April 22 expressed this newspaper's interest in several such projects now under way in Hudson County. It was a pleasure to see the editorial and to receive its progress reports on the work now underway there.

I ask unanimous consent that the article be printed in the Appendix of the

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

OLD AGE ASSURANCE

Tenants are scheduled to start moving tomorrow into Guttenberg's first housing project containing apartments for the aged. Centennial Towers, the name of the project, has 76 apartments, 36 of them designed for senior citizens. Nor is this the only project of its kind in the town or in the county.

Bids are scheduled to be received by Gut-

tenberg before summer for another 36-unit project to be built next to Centennial Towers. In Hoboken, Harrison Gardens is approxi-

mately halfway to completion.

Jersey City has learned that Federal approval of its plans for a 282-apartment development is imminent.

And West New York, which led every community in the State in housing for the aged. has its Sunshine Gardens, tenanted last summer; will receive bids next month for a 36-unit project, and is seeking Federal approval for still another development of 100 apartments.

It is good to see Hudson County municipalities progressing in this area. The role of the senior citizen is not an easy one; he needs a home which he can call his own and the availability of easy association with his contemporaries. These things are provided by such housing projects.

Lumber Grademarking

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. LINDLEY BECKWORTH

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 2, 1960 Mr. BECKWORTH. Mr. Speaker, I

wish to include in the Congressional RECORD a letter written to me by one of the fine, experienced and successful lumbermen of the congressional district I have the honor to represent. I feel homeowners and prospective homeowners will be interested in the observations made by Mr. Gordon Darnell, of Carthage, Tex. Also I include a letter written to me by Mr. C. F. Warden, of the Federal Housing Administration.

DARNELL LUMBER CO., Carthage, Tex., April 18, 1960. Hon. LINDLEY BECKWORTH,

Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN: At the recent annual meeting of the Southern Pine Association, I had the pleasure of hearing an address by Mr. Julian Zimmerman, Commissioner of the Federal Housing Administration, during which he explained the new lumber grademarking requirement that became effective April 1.

He frankly stated that this move, intended to protect the homeowner, was running

into some opposition.

Now, I'm just a small mill operator myself and make as good a product as any mill in Texas. My lumber is grademarked, and I know that every small mill can meet the FHA requirement if he wants to. But there are some who either don't understand the FHA requirement, or who are not too concerned with giving the homeowner a square deal. Every mill operator, regardless of size, can easily meet the FHA requirement, and in 99 cases out of 100, the honest producer Won't charge a cent more for grademarked lumber of the same quality as unmarked

I think Mr. Zimmerman is an able and courageous Government official, and we certainly hope that the constructive ruling which requires framing lumber to be grademarked will not be permitted to be dis-turbed by attacks that cannot be supported.

Thank goodness for a Commissioner like Mr. Zimmerman, and I surely hope you will let your colleagues in Congress know how

The home buyer is entitled to the protection of the new FHA requirement. Let's give it to him.

Yours very truly,

GORDON DARNELL.

DIRECTOR, FHA. Houston, Tex., April 26, 1960. Hon. LINDLEY BECKWORTH,

Member of Congress, House of Representatives,

Washington, D.C.
DEAR CONGRESSMAN BECKWORTH: Thank from the Darnell Lumber Co., of Carthage, While Carthage is not technically in the territory of this insuring office, I will take the liberty of giving you the information that you probably want. Enclosed is Underwriting Letter No. 1777 which is the rule change Mr. Darnell refers to. I have underlined the item which I think is pertinent to your inquiry.

If you should want specific FHA information from the FHA insuring office covering Carthage, I am sure that Mr. Ellis Charles, our director in Dallas, will be glad to accommodate.

For the information of Mr. Charles, I am sending a copy of your letter and my reply; and in the event he feels it necessary to supplement, I am sure he will do so.

We are most pleased as I am sure you are, too, to have a compliment once in awhile, because you and we seem to receive some of the other kind of letters now and then. Sincerely yours,

C. F. WARDEN,

Acting Director.

Newark's Youth Week

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, HARRISON A. WILLIAMS, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Monday, May 2, 1960

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. President, the city of Newark, N.J., is about to begin its 40th annual Youth Week celebration. Citizens of that city

are planning and working together for two purposes: to express their interest in youth, and to help the youngsters of their community to express themselves in many ways.

The intensity of interest by the youth and their seniors is expressed well, I believe, in an article which appeared in the May 1 edition of the Newark Sunday News magazine section. I believe that the programs outlined in the article may be of interest to other communities which already have, or are planning to have, similar youth weeks.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have the article printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

NEWARK'S YOUTH WEEK

Newark's 40th annual Youth Week celebration begins Saturday. It is sponsored by the city and the Civic Clubs Council in cooperation with the Newark Board of Education.

From a small school hobby show in 1920, Youth Week has grown to an extensive program in which hospitals, banks, public utility installations, department stores and insurance companies as well as other agencies and businesses cooperate.

"We not only show the youngsters we are interested in what they are doing, we give them an opportunity to see what adults are doing," Bruce Friedman, general chairman

of Youth Week, said.

Youngsters from high schools are taken to plants according to their interests-potential engineers go to Bell Telephone Co., aspiring nurses and doctors head for Martland. lumbus, St. Barnabas, Beth Israel or Presbysterian Hospitals, and those interested in retailing food will be welcomed at several supermarkets.

Other hosts to young Newarkers during the week will include Kresge-Newark, Linde's, Prudential Insurance Co., United Airlines, American Airlines, Eastern Airlines, General Mills, Howard Savings, National Newark & Essex Bank, Newark State Teachers College, and the Port of New Authority.

This year, students also will have the opportunity to get behind the scenes at the Newark Public Library.

The municipal career men of Newark have volunteered to show 20 boys government in action. Each boy will work beside a man in the morning. Then the career men will hold a luncheon in the boys' honor and follow the event by allowing the students to attend a regular meeting.

The 24 companies participating will assign the youngsters to jobs, serve them lunch in the cafeterias with the regular em-ployees and generally show them "just what it's all about."

The chairman of the Youth Week job visitation committee, Mrs. Alice Ruotolo, said very often the management is so impressed with the abilities of youth that the youngsters are offered jobs on the spot.

"And just as important," she said, "students often find out the job they originally had in mind is not what they want at all.

She gave the example of girls who wanted to be nurses and found, when they visited hospitals, they couldn't stand the smell of ether and felt faint at the sight of blood.

And there are boys who believe they want desk jobs only to find sitting all day is not for them.

"Job visitation may save youngsters time and heartbreak," Mrs. Ruotolo said, "but it may also prove to them that what they dreamed of doing is exactly what the job entails."

Job visitation, though one of the most important phases of Youth Week, is by no means all of it.

The first 2 days are spent in synagogues and churches. Services stress youth, value, and responsibilities.

Monday, Music Day, is under the direction of Dr. William M. Weiss. The sound of music, produced by elementary, junior and senior high school's bands and ensembles, will be heard day and evening.

On Tuesday, Dr. Edward F. Kennelly, su-perintendent of schools, will direct the citizenship awards. Citations will be given to outstanding students and guests of honor at the annual fellowship luncheon.

Wednesday will see the hobbies and art work displayed in schools, playgrounds, and agencies. A safety poster exhibit will be shown in the city hall rotunda.

Thursday, with Mrs. Ruotolo directing, will be job visitation day, although visits will be made on other days throughout the week.

Friday will be recreation day under the chairmanship of Joseph A. Liddy of the board of education. Picnics and games will be held on Newark playgrounds, as well as excursions to the Orange Mountains.

Each day, safety will be emphasized. Students will go from school to school speaking on the subject. William O'Toole of the board of education is chairman of the committee.

The budget is relatively small, \$1,500, but the lack of funds is made up in hard work

and enthusiasm.

Mayor Leo P. Carlin is honorary general chairman and the councilmen are honorary committee chairmen. Samuel B. Finkelstein, city personnel officer, is in charge of finance; Louis A. Carnarelli is coordinator and Mrs. Stephanie P. Koplin of the recreation de-partment of the Newark Board of Education, is the secretary who is responsible for tying all the many loose ends together. George R. Sweet, Jr., of Sweet Advertising, Linden, is assistant general chairman and director of publicity.

Anthony M. Surano, president of the Civic Clubs Council and vice president of Carteret Savings & Loan Association, sums up the efforts of all the persons who work for months to make Youth Week a success:

"Newark wants to demonstrate once again that youth is our most important asset, and the time expended in working with youth of our city is rewarding and gratifying."

Watershed Project of the Year 1960

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF SE

HON. JAMES W. TRIMBLE

OF ARKANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, May 2, 1960

Mr. TRIMBLE. Mr. Speaker, Arkansas was honored on April 19 when the Six Mile Creek watershed project in the district which I am honored to represent received the award as the 1960 Watershed Project of the Year.

My heartiest congratulations go to the people of Logan and Franklin Counties and to the Soil Conservation Service at the local, State, and National levels. The conservation of our soil is one of the great challenges of this day and of the future.

I would like to insert as a part of my remarks for the consideration of my colleagues the press release concerning the 1950 Watershed Project of the Year

Award, a narrative summary of progress on the project, copy of an editorial from the Arkansas Gazette, excerpts from a clipping from the Arkansas Democrat, and an editorial by C. F. Byrns from the Southwest American of Fort Smith, Ark.:

ARKANSAS WATERSHED PROJECT WINS NATIONAL AWARD

The 1960 watershed project of the year award was conferred tonight on the Six-Mile Creek Watershed project in Arkansas' Logan and Franklin Counties at the annual banquet of the Seventh National Watershed Congress.

The award was given to representatives of the Magazine and Franklin County Soil Conservation Districts for their "high degree of initiative and decision in advancing the

project over a period of 8 years."

Other factors which were cited as influencing the award committee's decision were the "interest and participation of the community's agencies and organizations, both public and private * * * because the project has demonstrably inspired the imagination and confidence of the people of the watershed and as a result its purposes have progressively expanded to include municipal, industrial, recreational, and agricul-tural water supplies as well as flood prevention and watershed conservation * cause the land treatment throughout the 164,000 acres of the watershed together with 24 reservoirs of the project, have, with eminent success, met the test of torrential rainstorms and either eliminated or minimized flooding * * * because the additional supplies of water and the major reduction in flood hazards throughout the watershed have been directly and substantially responsible for improving the economy and living standards of the entire area * * * and fi-nally, because the accomplishments in Six-Mile Creek Watershed are of such quality and effectiveness that the watershed has become a demonstration and an inspiration to the people of other watersheds in other parts of the Nation."

The "Watershed Project of the Year" award is conferred by the more than 25 national agricultural, business, industrial, conservation and civic organizations (see reverse side) that join in staging the annual National Watershed Congress. The purpose of the public meeting is to provide a forum for the exchange of ideas and information on ways of advancing the small watershed

development program.

That program relies on local, State and Federal participation to control water flow and halt soil erosion in upstream tributary areas where more than one-half the annual flood damage occurs. It is administered nationally by the U.S. Soil Conservation Service.

NARRATIVE SUMMARY OF PROGRESS, SIX MILE CREEK WATERSHED PROTECTION PROJECT

The project in brief: Authorized October 1, 1953. Essentially complete in fiscal year 1959. Area—164,000 acres (90 percent privately owned, 10 percent National Forest). Sponsors—Franklin County Soil Conservation District and Magazine Soil Conservation District. Estimated total cost \$3 million. (\$1,548,014, Federal and \$1,395,502, non-Federal.) Principal problems—Floodwater and sediment damage to agricultural land. Land ownership and use—10 percent tenant operated; 200,00 acres of cropland, 110,000 acres of grassland (53,000 acres of tame pasture and 57,000 acres of rangeland), 34,000 acres of woodland.

Progress in land treatment: Land treatment estimated to cost \$1,300,000, was planned for the 20,000 acres of cropland, 34,000 acres of woodland, and 110,000 acres of grassland. Of the 1,111 farmers in the project, some 1,063 have signed cooperative

agreements with the two sponsoring soil conservation districts. One thousand and thirty-eight of these landowners have basic conservation plans. It is estimated farm that 95 percent of the planned land treatment measures are applied. Seventeen thousand acres of cover crops have been planted on cultivated land and 109 miles of terraces have been constructed. Some 47,000 acres of permanent pasture have been established and 62,000 acres of rangeland is being managed to improve and protect the native grass cover. Land treatment was given high priority by all agencies and groups working with farmers, including Agricultural Conservation Stabilization Service, Farmers Home Administration, Agricultural Extension Service and Soil Conservation Service.

Progress in structural measures: Twenty four floodwater retarding structures and 28 miles of channel improvement work have been completed. These measures have a benefit ratio of \$1.51 to \$1. Three com-munities are planning to augment municipal water supplies by obtaining water from structures 6, 7, 8, and 14. These towns are Bonneville, Charleston, and Ratcliff. Two new industries have located in the area, and the final decision to establish in the locality was contingent on adequate water supplies. These are the Ace Comb plant at Booneville and Seam Prufe plant at Ratcliff. The town of Charleston plans to increase the storage in site 14 at a cost of \$25,000 to more than double the present municipally-owned water supply.

Progress in obtaining easements and rights-of-way: Easements and rights-of-way valued at some \$75,000 were acquired by the sponsoring local organizations from 250 landowners. Construction of two retarding structures is being delayed because one landowner on each site has refused to sign an easement. The easements covering 28 miles of channel rights-of-way have been obtained. Local sponsors are still hopeful of obtaining clearance on the remaining two

structures.

Cooperation of local groups to assist the sponsors to obtain easements has been excellent. A great deal of local effort went into this phase of the project activity

cellent. A great deal of local elloft went into this phase of the project activity. Effectiveness of project proved: In a special storm report by Soil Conservation Service following a heavy rainstorm in April 1957, it is reported that the works of improvement installed at that time (structural measures 90 percent complete) reduced the flood damage by 50 percent. Had a complete program been installed and in operation at the time of this storm, the reduction in damage would have been an estimated 77 percent. Clyde Hiatt, Chairman of the Franklin County Soil Conservation District Board of Supervisors, one of the local sponsors, stated that "after a period of extreme and continued rainfall, the greatest since 1902, the Six Mile Creek Project performed Henry Gray, according to expectations." a landowner in the lower floodplain, experienced some flooding for less than 24 hours following the April 1957 storm referred to above. He indicated that this was the only time that Six Mile Creek overflowed his land. Gray stated that had the Six Mile Project been in operation his farm would have been flooded at least 12 times during the spring of 1957, when the Arkansas River remained continuously at floodstage some 55 days.

[From the Arkansas Gazette, Apr. 23, 1960]
"Six Mile" Example Worthy of
EMULATION

The selection of Six Mile Creek in Franklin and Logan Counties as the "Watershed Project of the year" represents considerably more than attaching an impressive title to a coordinated system of conservation efforts. The National Watershed Congress studied reports on all similar projects in the United

States before it decided that the Arkansas conservation effort came nearest to measuring up to these requirements:

1. The extent of participation of all agencies and groups within the watershed such as the soil conservation districts, county and municipal governments, business and other organizations.

2. The adequacy of the project in meeting the conservation and utilization needs of the

watershed.

The status of the project—meaning the degree to which the installations were serving their intended purposes.

In order to understand the purposes of the project it is necessary to know something of the objectives set out in the Watershed Protection and Flood Prevention Act (Public

Law 566 of the 83d Cong.)

This law provides for a complete conservation plan in the selected watershed. Logically, the work must begin at the tops of the hills where the tiny fingers of the streams reach for their first trickle of water. The hills are to be terraced or protected by cover crops to prevent the first hint of erosion or rapid runoff.

Ponds trap the water in the small valleys and lakes with automatic drawdown outlets delay the potential flood in the larger streams. Little knowledge of engineering is required to understand that if this thorough treatment were applied to a watershed all the way from the source to the mouth the flood problem would be solved and natural resources would be preserved for present and future use. The rule would apply to the largest rivers as well as to the streams in

the Six-Mile Creek class.

Some idea of what this could mean, both agriculturally and industrially can be seen in the results already obtained in the two counties. Two industries that are of major importance to the area—a comb factory at Bonneville and a hosiery plant at Ratcliff—were induced to move into the watershed only because of the availability of water from the lakes. Other towns obtain water for their normal needs from the impoundments. Agricultural benefits include protection of the flatiands from flooding, soil conservation on the hills, and adequate water for livestock. Recreational facilities, improved habitat for wildlife and other fringe assets make the project even more attractive.

Auditors of Six-Mile Creek have estimated that the ratio of benefits to costs in the project is \$1.51 in assets to each \$1 spent. Unfortunately, few of our other public undertakings show such favorable returns.

COOPERATION WAS KEYNOTE OF SIX-MILE CREEK WORK

(By C. F. Byrns)

The Six-Mile Creek watershed project in Franklin and Logan Counties in Arkansas was declared the outstanding project of the year at the annual convention of the National Watershed Congress at a dinner in Washington Tuesday night.

That is an achievement worthy of highest honors. The Franklin County Soil Conservation District, Magazine Soil Conservation District, and Federal Soil Conservation Service pioneered in this relatively new effort to harness floodwaters, protect land and add to the water supplies in watersheds tributary to larger streams.

The Six-Mile project was one of about 60 pilot tests under conditions determined by Congress. Arkansas was scheduled in the original bill to have one of the projects. The Six-Mile Creek area was chosen in late 1953 and construction work began in early 1954. Twenty-four reservoirs have been completed and are in service.

The cooperation of many people was essential to the project. It was no easy task.

Landowners were required to provide rightof-way, to comply with the broad soil con-servation measures approved by the Federal Soil Conservation Service, to assume responsibility for changes in roads, utility lines, and other factors, all adding up to a total contribution by the landowners roughly equal to half the total cost. Responsibility for these agreements was in the hands of the locally operated soil conservation districts.

The value of this project has been fully demonstrated by events since the work started. Flash floods which had formerly ravaged much of the bottom land in the Six Mile and Hurricane Creek areas were brought under control. Lands which had laid idle for years because of the danger of destruction of any crops planted in the flood areas became usable. Even the continuing floods of 1957 were tamed by the completed reservoirs.

The apparent success of the project led to an intensive study by the U.S. Geological Survey staff in Arkansas. The findings have been used as a pattern for many other such

projects in the Nation.

Changes in the law have been made since the original act, to make easier the development of watershed projects. Requests for approval of such projects have far exceeded the available funds in Arkansas and elsewhere. The Arkansas project, now heading the parade on the national scale, and other pilot tests have caught the imagination of landowners all over the Nation.

Watershed protection is one of the many phases of flood control and water conserva tion. There is no real conflict between the Soil Conservation Service program on the small watersheds and the Corps of Engineers and reclamation organizations on the major streams. Each needs the other, and the critics have virtually faded away.

Conservation of water and land protection in big or little areas are essential to the Nation's future. Arkansas can be proud that its own people have won top honors

in this important program.

BANKER SUPPORTS WATERSHED

Clyde Hiatt, Charleston banker and rancher who accepted the award for the Six-Mile Creek watershed supporters in Franklin County, is sold on soil conserva-tion work. Active both in his local district as chairman of the Franklin County Board of Supervisors and in the State as secretary-treasurer of the Arkansas Assoclation of Soil Conservation Districts, Hiatt travels hundreds of miles each year to take part in soil and water conservation meetings.

Hiatt supervises many conservation practices on his C-Bar ranch near Charleston, where he raises commercial Hereford cattle on a 4,500-acre spread. The Republican was born 5 miles north of Charleston on a

40-acre farm.

Hiatt has been bank director for 37 years and has built the American State Bank into a leading one serving Franklin, Sebas-

tian, and Logan Countles.

Hlatt is a member of the board of directors for the Franklin-Logan County Industrial Development Corp., which helps draw industry to the area.

[From the Arkansas Democrat, Apr. 20, 1960] CORLEY SEES CHISMVILLE GROW MODERN

Jack Corley of Chismville one of the local persons to be present for the Six-Mile Creck award in Washington, is of pioncer stock. His father, Bob, helped settle Corley community and the post office was named for Corley is a member of the Magazine Soil Conservation District and recognizes the value of land protection and soil improvement to supply the Nation's needed foods.

Now in semiretirement at the farm, com-monly known as Nubbin' Ridge in the com-

munity, Corley has a 430-acre grass farm, about half of which is in the soil bank program. Corley sees a future for the area as more oil and gas exploration is being done in Logan County and is hopeful of running one those gas wells on his farm.

He attended school in Walnut Grove and Booneville and taught school 12 years. He was a road overseer with the highway department 6 years, and helped build Government roads on Mount Magazine and Cove Lake areas.

When Corley helped with 1940 census there were few modern homes in the area and their farmhouse was the only one in the community with a bath tub; today, over 50 percent of the homes are as modern as city homes.

National Business Leaders Organize Export Drive

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. ALEXANDER WILEY

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Monday, May 2, 1960

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, during a brief lifetime, our free enterprise system has made unique progress in developing an agricultural-industrial production capacity—the greatest in the

Today, our farms and factories are fully capable not only of fulfilling the needs of our citizens for peacetime purposes and defense but also of serving a far wider consumer area around the globe.

Overall, the advancements under this free system have been tremendous-establishing for our people the greatest strides of economic progress and highest standard of living in history.

At the same time, however, problems are emerging for which we need dramatic, creative solutions.

The technological advancements, for example-both in farming and in manufacturing-have enabled our system to produce far more than can be consumed at home.

Consequently, we face the challenge of finding new markets for this tremendous output of products-if we are to maintain high levels of employment and of economic activity.

We realize, of course, that there is a tremendous market in other lands around the globe-both for food, as well as machinery, equipment, and a wide variety of other materials turned out by the U.S. economy.

What is the market?

Today, a great many people, esti-mated at almost one-half of the nearly 3 billion people in the world, exist on inadequate diets. At the same time, the economies-industrially and agriculturally, as well as in general standards of living-of many countries have a long way to go in terms of increasing economic activities as well as providing better standards of living for their people.

Less developed areas of the world, of of course, cannot handle the same products utilized by the more advanced U.S. economy. Rather, it is going to require a realistic appraisal of the potential market, as well as the need for adaption of commodities, to take full advantage of the opportunities.

For the economic health of farms, business, industry, labor, and others, as well as the Nation itself-now experiencing a decline in exports-however, a realistic effort must be made to expand exports.

To meet the great challenge in this field, the business leaders of the Nation are organizing to expand our export program.

In addition, the Department of Commerce, as well as the Department of State and other Federal departments, and agencies, are providing leadership in promoting more world markets for U.S. products. The efforts-both of leaders in private enterprise and Government-I believe, represent a commendable, constructive effort to brighten the outlook and promote a better. stronger economy.

Recently, the Foreign Commerce Weekly published an informative article reflecting progress in this field.

I ask unanimous consent to have the article printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD. as follows:

NATIONAL BUSINESS LEADERS ORGANIZE EXPORT DRIVE

The national export expansion program recelved new impetus when a group of outstanding business executives met with President Eisenhower, assured him of their support, and later held morning and afternoon sessions with Government officials at the Commerce Department to initiate plans for organizing private industry to increase export sales. Emphasis will be placed on ways to interest management of companies that have not been active in the foreign market.

The group are members of the new Export Expansion Committee appointed by Commerce Secretary Mueller on March 31 to organize a sustained effort by private industry to promote the American export trade expansion program, initiated last month by the President.

Leonard F. McCollum, Houston, Tex., chairman of the committee and president of the Continental Oil Co., said after last week's meeting:

"Businessmen welcome the fact that it is now U.S. Government policy to promote export trade and that the President in his recent message to the Congress initiated a national program to increase such sales.

"The postwar era is over and an entirely new pattern is beginning in world trade. Continuing peace, growing interest in American products, and oversea prosperity are creating new opportunities for American companies to sell more goods abroad.

"The committee initiated steps to organize 33 regional groups of representative business leaders in local communities to enlist the support of business organizations and individual businessmen in alerting the business community to these new opportunities and to the need for export expansion to offset deficits in the U.S. balance of payments."

ORGANIZATIONAL PLANS LAID

Initial organization activities will be centered in the Commerce Department's 33 field offices and a central headquarters will be maintained for the Committee in the Commerce Department Building in Washington. Paul H. Brent, Director, Business Relations

Division, Bureau of Foreign Commerce, has been appointed Executive Secretary of the new Export Expansion Committee of business executives. Communications should be addressed to him: Export Expansion Committee, Room 5527, U.S. Department of Commerce, Washington, D.C.

In addition to Chairman McCollum, members of the Committee are: Vice Chairman Morehead Patterson, New York, N.Y., chairman of the American Machine and Foundry Co.; Rudolph F. Bannow, Bridgeport, Conn., president of the National Association of Manufacturers; Donald K. David, Osterville, Mass., vice chairman of the Ford Foundation; and Arthur H. Motley, Larchmont, N.Y., president-elect of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States.

Secretary Mueller, in announcing the appointment of the Committee, said its membership includes executives with wide experience in world trade, international affairs, industrial production, small business, distribution, publishing, education, and civic

organization leadership.

Chairman McCollum currently serves as a Vice Chairman of the Business Advisory Council for the Department of Commerce and as Chairman of its Committee on International Trade and Commerce. Rudolph Bannow is a founder and president of Bridgeport Machines, Inc. Donald David is Chairman of the Board of Trustees of the Committee for Economic Development, and was formerly dean of the Harvard Graduate School of Business Administration. Arthur Motley is publisher of Parade magazine and was formerly Chairman of the National Distribution Council of the Department of Commerce. Morehead Patterson is a member of the Advisory Committee of the Foreign Commerce Study Group of the Senate Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee.

PRESIDENT EXPLAINS PURPOSES

The President in his message of March 17 identified the purpose of the Committee and its functions as follows:

"Government promotion, however, can be effective only to the extent that it stimulates and encourages private business effort to expand sales abroad. Government can help enlarge export opportunities, but it is American business that must supply and sell the goods that world markets demand.

"To this end I have asked the Secretary of Commerce in cooperation with other Department heads to enlist the efforts of the business community. Consultations have already been held in connection with the preparation of this program.

"In addition, a group of business leaders will be asked to organize an export drive by business, to enlist the active support of existing national and local business groups, to discover the sectors in which better results can be obtained, to assist and encourage businessmen newly entering the export field, to strengthen contacts with business groups abroad, and to develop as organization structure adequate to these purposes."

RESTRICTIONS BEING REMOVED

At the initial committee meeting it was reported that a number of American firms previously active in exporting had withdrawn in recent years because their efforts had been handicapped by foreign discriminations, red tape, and other restrictions. Others, hearing about these barriers, had not attempted to enter the export field. But the picture is now changing and fresh opportunities are opening for everseas trade, especially for smaller business firms manufacturing exclusive goods, so-called innovational products, and luxuries.

Secretary Mueller and other Government officials pointed out that with the assistance of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade and the International Monetary Fund, much progress already has been made in

getting rid of restrictions adversely affecting our exports.

In 1959, Secretary Mueller said, our allies removed many barriers against dollar imports. Additional restraints were eliminated in the first quarter of this year. He said he anticipates a considerable easing of discrimination against dollar imports by the first of next year. "We are working for the removal of all discriminatory restrictions," he explained.

INDUSTRY ADVICE OBTAINED

The Commerce Department is now holding meetings every week with representatives of specific industry segments seeking their advice on measures Government might take to accelerate exports and their views on what particular trade restrictions handicap their sales. Forty such meetings are planned for the year. The Department intends to use the facts and arguments presented at these Commerce conferences to advocate further favorable response when U.S. representatives meet on GATT negotiations later this year.

"Business singlehanded would never be able to convince foreign governments to lower the bars," said Secretary Mueller. "But today the administration is using all of its many means of persuasion to convince our friends to let their own people purchase more American goods to increase their own standard of living."

AGENCIES TO EXPAND SERVICES

The cooperation of business in the export expansion drive is supported by a series of coordinated measures by the executive branch—especially the Departments of State and Commerce and the Export-Import Bank—to improve and expand Government services to private industry.

Representatives of Government agencies are explaining the new trade drive at business conventions and other meetings and through publications and Commerce Department field offices. Simultaneously and overseas the State Department and the U.S. Information Service are describing the program and its objectives, including the promotion of vigorous economic growth both at home and abroad.

Various private oragnizations, trade associations, and similar groups in the United States with an interest in world trade also are holding special meetings or are using portions of convention programs to discuss exports and explain the new Government-business partnership in export promotion, frequently emphasizing that more sales abroad make more business and more jobs at home.

Among Government officials at the all-day sessions of the Committee were: Under Secretary of Commerce Philip A. Ray, Assistant Secretary of State Thomas Mann, and Acting Assistant Secretary of Commerce for International Affairs Bradley Fisk.

The Export Expansion Committee will meet in Washington with Government officials later this month for a prograss report on organized efforts.

On Behalf of Syngman Rhee

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. WALTER H. JUDD

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 2, 1960

Mr. JUDD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I include the following article by William S. White, putting recent events in Korea in perspective, and recalling the eternal debt the people of Korea and of all free people owe to President Syngman Rhee for the heroic service he has rendered in fighting the greatest enemy freemen have ever faced worldwide:

[From the Evening Star, Apr. 29, 1960] Some Thoughts on Behalf of Rhee

The Old Man of Korea has gone out of office in heartbroken disgrace. The world's most exclusive club is shrunken yet a little more as Syngman Rhee passes from its membership. This is the Association of Indestructible Elder Statesmen.

Chancellor Konrad Adenauer of Germany, who is 84, leads the surviving band of those who, past 70, still carry crushing responsibilities. With him are Prime Minister Ben-Gurion of Israel (74) and Prime Minister Nehru of India (70 plus some months).

At 85, Mr. Rhee has ceased to be President of the Republic of Korea. And so has come to its close a career of 65 years as a public

man.

Much has been written that this aged symbol of Korea's long struggle for independence had overstayed his time. It is said, no doubt rightly, that he permitted police brutality, and worse, to stain his regime. It is said, no doubt justly, that a farce of "democracy" was being made in his country. So it is said that he had to go, and the United States was wholly justified in helping to push him out.

There is no quarrel with this reasoning—so far as it goes. To the world Korea is our creation and thus our responsibility. For Korea's sake (and for the sake of collective security everywhere) was shed the blood of so many of our people in a bitter war a

decade ago.

Perhaps it is possible, however, without defending corruption and antidemocratism, to raise reservations about this episode. Is the U.S. Government as ready to act to maintain the future integrity of Korea from Communist penetration as it was ready to oust bad old Mr. Rhee?

Is our righteous decision to overturn one regime—which was at any rate a determined regime—matched by equal determination to insist on a fair and strong successor regime? And having acted against Rhee on standards that are valid enough—that he had become a right-wing despot—are we ready for one other action?

Are we ready to apply these same standards to the left-wing despot in another country in which there is an undeniably close and historic U.S. responsibility? Will we now help to oust the Communist-backed dictator in Cuba, Fidel Castro, as we helped to oust the supposedly pro-Fascist dictator in Korea, Syngman Rhee?

Or is there a double standard here? The Eisenhower administration has no difficulty in justifying a naked intervention in Korea, call it what we will. But that administration finds enormous difficulty in even thinking about intervening in any way, naked or polite, in Cuba. After all, other Latin American nations might not like it. And the Organization of American States would "forbid" it anyhow.

A nation which wants to act can find the fine print oddly hard to read. A nation which does not want to act can find the fine fine print compelling, indeed.

So this one columnist is not quite able to join the almost universal and unqualified satisfaction that we have succeeded in casting out old Syngman Rhee in his 86th year and sending him off to end his life in the House of the Pear Blossoms in Scoul. It has been a famous victory. But one columnist, not denying the evils connected with the old man, also does not forget the past heroism of that old man against imperialist communism.

This much, anyhow, history must grant him. How much does history owe to Castro,

Whose victims in Cuba are quite as dead as Rhee's victims in Korea? How much of the free world's struggle against inperialist communism has Fidel Castro ever borne?

What Socialized Medicine Means

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON, THOMAS B. CURTIS

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 2, 1960

Mr. CURTIS of Missouri. Mr. Speaker. under leave to extend my remarks in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, I desire to include "History of Socialized Medicine in Great Britain":

HISTORY OF SOCIALIZED MEDICINE IN GREAT BRITAIN

The foundations for socialized medicine in Great Britain were laid down on a limited basis with partial Government plans dating back as far as 1911.

Then on July 5, 1948, the National Health Service Act of 1946 went into effect in Eng-

land, Scotland, and Wales.

The act provided free medical, hospital, and dental care, free drugs, and other appliances. It covered inpatient and outpatient services as well as supplementary services such as midwifery, maternity and child welfare, health visiting, home nursing, domestic help where needed on health grounds, vaccination, and immunization against diseases, additional special care and after care in cases of illness, ambulance service, blood transfusion and laboratory service and a host of other things.

The national health service was part of Britain's social security system. for weekly contributions of over \$1 per person and slightly more from the person's employer. British leaders predicted that with these funds, free medical and health care could be given to everyone for £170 mil-

lion (about \$476 million) annually. In Britain the first full year NHS was in Operation (1949-50) the health service cost £440 million or \$1,230 million—nearly triple the estimate of the men who originally sold the idea to the people. Of this total, Patients paid only £5 million, another £28 million coming from social security deductions. The Government had to pick up the tab on the rest.

What has happened to the cost of NHS 10 years later? A recent issue of the London Sunday Express points out that, "No less an authority that Lord Beveridge had predicted that there would be no increase in

the cost before 1965."

In 1958 the NHS bill cost £705 millionan increase from the original £170 million estimated for its yearly operation. The "free" service was costing each British famlly £50 a year (\$140 a year), compared with about half that sum the first year.

British Chancellor of Exchequer, Derick Heathcoat Amory, told the House of Com-mons in 1958 that the "free health service, whatever it may be doing for the health of Britons, is leaving the Treasury gasping." In 1959 the cost was estimated at £740 million (\$2 billion), about five times the original estimate.

One out of every 100 Britishers (400,000) is employed by the Ministry of Health—two and a half clerks for every doctor in the British Isles. In the United States a Governmented-operated medical system would on that basis call for additional employment of 1,740,000 clerks, and it would call for a Washington office building that would make

the Pentagon look like an anthill next to a mountain by comparison.

Patients are hospitalized in Britain three times longer than in the United States. The average length of hospitalization for an American patient is 5 or 7 days. In 2,400 hospitals of England and Wales in 1953 the average stay was 20 days.

Hospital construction ceased with the initiation of the National Health Service. Limited funds have been used for the renovation of existing structures. Some new hospital building is finally underway. But there is a waiting list for admissions to hospitals of perhaps half a million persons.

Lecture on the Relations Between Panama and the United States Delivered by His Excellency the Chargé d'Affaires of Panama, Dr. Arturo Morgan-Morales, at Catholic University, Washington, D.C., March 13, 1960

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. A. S. HERLONG, JR.

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 2, 1960

Mr. HERLONG. Mr. Speaker, the American tradition of fair play suggests that both sides of a question be presented by reputable authorities. Then, in the light of the principles and facts elucidated, it should be possible to draw the right conclusions. It is in this spirit, without the slightest partisan bias, that the following exposition is brought to the attention of my distinguished colleagues: LECTURE ON THE RELATIONS BETWEEN PANAMA

AND THE UNITED STATES DELIVERED BY HIS EXCELLENCY THE CHARGÉ D'AFFAIRES OF PANAMA, DR. ARTURO MORGAN-MORALES, AT CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY, WASHINGTON, D.C., MARCH 13, 1960

I have been asked to speak to you this afternoon on the relationship between Panama and the United States, as seen from some of its fundamental aspects. We all know that the subject with which we deal today has recently been the object of some publicity. Therefore, those who have invited me consider it of interest that I speak broadly about this problem, which has deep roots in the historic past, and which as a whole is little known and sometimes mis-The construction of the Panunderstood. ama Canal is one of the most outstanding achievements of the 20th century, and one of the most brilliant and vigorous expressions of the North American genius. Every national of this great country should feel extremely proud of belonging to a State which has been able to accomplish a work of such magnitude.

Insofar as the construction of the canal, all the glory belongs to the United States; but one must not forget that this could not have been realized without significant legal complications, if the country across which the two great oceans were connected had not rendered positive cooperation. This cooperation has its legal roots in the treaties signed between Panama and the United States, among which the treaty of November 18, 1903, known as the Hay-Bunau Varilla Treaty, is one of the most renowned in the history of international law.

During the last months it has been repeatedly claimed, in the United States, that

the Hay-Bunau Varilla Treaty granted to this country absolute sovereignty over the Canal Zone. Panama, however, rejects such an assertion. Inasmuch as this old diplomatic controversy has reemerged to public view, we are going to review it summarily; and with this in mind, we shall first study the problem of the sovereignty in the Canal Zone, which will then enable us to clarify the juridical status of said territory; and to conclude, we shall make reference to some of the present problems.

PART I. THE PROBLEM OF THE SOVEREIGNTY OF THE CANAL ZONE

According to recent assertions in the U.S. Congress, the Panama Canal Zone is "a constitutionally acquired territory of the United the sovereignty of the United States" and States over the Canal Zone is absolute. Panama categorically rejects this thesis.

Inssmuch as such an assertion implies that the Panama Canal Zone territory is part of the territory of the United States of America, it is necessary above all to look for any deed which grants to the United States title over the Canal Zone.

The first significant document in this connection is the act of June 28, 1902, known as the Spooner Act, by which the President of the United States was authorized to acquire from the Republic of Colombia perpetual control of a strip of land across the Isthmus of Panama for the purpose of constructing, maintaining, and protecting a sea-way canal between the Atlantic and the Pacific.

As a result of the Spooner Act the United States and Colombia negotiated a treaty known as the Hay-Herran Convention of January 22, 1903. The U.S. Senate ratified this convention on May 17, 1903. Article IV

states:

"The rights and privileges conceded to the United States by the terms of this convention shall not affect the sovereignty of Republic of Colombia over the territory within whose limits such rights and privileges are to be exercised. The Government of the United States fully recognizes this sovereignty and disclaims any intention to minimize it in any manner or to increase its own territory at the expense of Columbia or of any of the sister republics of Central and South America; it desires, on the contrary, to strengthen the power of the republics on this continent and to promote, develop, and preserve their prosperity and independence."

It is certainly not here that we find a grant of sovereignty over the Canal Zone to the United States. On the contrary, the, convention contains the solemn promise that not only did the United States not intend to acquire sovereignty over the Canal Zone, but that furthermore it did not intend ever to acquire it or to increase its own territory at the expense of another American republic.

The Hay-Herran Convention, however, was not ratified by the Colombian Senate. resulted in the secession of Panama from Colombia, and the recognition of the new Republic of Panama by the United States and the other countries of the world.

Based on the Spooner Act, and having in mind the solemn promise concerning sovereignty which I have quoted, a new treaty was negotiated with the Republic of Panama for the same purpose as the Hay-Herran Treaty.

In the preamble of the new treaty it is stated that "the United States of America and the Republic of Panama being desirous to insure the construction of a ship canal across the Isthmus of Panama to connect the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, and the Congress of the United States of America having passed an act approved June 28, 1902, in furtherance of that object, by which the President of the United States is authorized to acquire within a reasonable time the control of the necessary territory of the Republic of Colombia, and the sovereignty of such territory being actually vested in the Republic of Panama, the high contracting parties have resolved for that purpose to conclude a convention."

The preamble, therefore, states clearly that the sovereignty of the old Colombian territory, as of November 18, 1903, was vested in the Republic of Panama.

Now then, what was the object of the new convention? Was it to purchase a territory like Louisiana or Alaska? Certainly not. The object was to grant a concession for an international public service; and if the contracting parties had not been sovereign states this would have been accomplished by a simple administrative contract rather than by treaty.

In order to be able to support the thesis that the Panama Canal Zone "is a constitutionally acquired territory of the United States where the sovereignty of the United States is absolute" one would expect to find in the text of the convention some provision similar to the one contained in the treaty for the cession of Louisiana, where it is said that "the first consul of the French Republic desiring to give to the United States a strong proof of his friendship doth hereby cede to the said United States in the name of the French Republic forever and in full sovereignty the said territory with all its rights and appurtenances as fully and in the same manner as they have been acquired by the French Republic."

Or, in the same line of thought, a provision similar to the one found in the convention ceding Alaska, according to which "His Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias agrees to cede to the United States, by this convention, immediately upon the exchange of the ratification thereof, all the territory and dominion now possessed by his said majesty on this continent of America and in the adjacent islands."

No such provision, and nothing even remotely resembling it, is to be found in the Hay-Bunau Varilla Treaty. This convention has 25 articles, by which the Republic of Panama granted a series of concessions similar to, although greater than, the concessions made by the treaty with Colombia. The similarity is logical, since both conventions had the same object: to grant to the United States a concession for the operation of a public service of maritime transportation, a service of public utility.

It is also interesting to observe that if any of the 25 articles of the new treaty granted to the United States the alleged absolute to the United States the alleged absolute sovereignty over the Canal Zone, then many of those 25 articles would make no sense. Logically, it would have needed only a simple provision like the ones I have quoted in the cases of Alaska and Louisiana, and there would have been no further argument. On the contrary, the Hay-Bunau Varilla Treaty takes pains to define specifically the rights which are granted. For example, there is no doubt that under the Spooner Act, and for the purpose of the canal concession, the United States was granted the use, occupation and control of the Canal Zone. The United States therefore has full right to operate and maintain the Panama Canal; but that right at the same time constitutes only reason for its presence in the Isthmus of Panama.

Article III of the Hay-Bunau Varilla Treaty has caused the greatest confusion. This article grants to the United States the exercise of all severeign rights it would possess and would exercise if it were sovereign of the Canal Zone territory to the entire exclusion of the exercise by the Republic of Panama of any such sovereign rights. This article is the basis for those who claim that the United States is absolute sovereign of the Canal Zone. However, from merely a cursory reading of the article it can be seen that Panama grants to the United States the exercise of the rights "it would possess if it

were sovereign." Right there is the admission by the United States that it is not sovereign. Panama, on the other hand, excludes herself entirely from exercising sovereign rights. Since this is the point that has led to so many errors, it becomes indispensable to explain a little more thoroughly what was granted by Panama: the exercise of sovereign rights. We must differentiate between the ownership of rights, and the grant of permission to exercise rights owned by another. The owner of a share of stock in a corporation may give a proxy to someone else to exercise the voting of that stock, without in any way relinquishing his ownership.

In international law we also find cases where the enjoyment of certain rights belongs to one country while the exercise of those rights, for various reasons, has been entrusted to another nation. So, for instance, in 1878 Turkey granted the exercise of sovereign rights over the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina to the Emperor of Austria-Hungary. In that same year Turkey also granted to Great Britain the exercise of sovereign right over the Island of Cyprus but in both cases, Turkey retained the ownership of those sovereign rights.

In 1898 China granted to Great Britain the exercise of sovereign rights in Wei Hal Wei only while Russia occupied the peninsula of Port Arthur. But China continued enjoying sovereign right.

In 1898 China also granted to Germany the exercise of sovereign rights over the Port of Kia-Chau for 99 years. Thus, it is very important to emphasize that article III of the Hay-Bunau Varilla Treaty grants to the United States only the exercise of sovereign rights, but not the rights themselves.

With the above in mind, we come to the second part of our conference, which is to establish the juridical status of the Canal

PART II-JURIDICAL STATUS OF THE CANAL ZONE

In a preliminary way, we can say that in the Canal Zone, Panama possesses the enjoyment of sovereign rights but that the exercise of those sovereign rights has been entrusted to the United States to insure the efficient operation of the public service offered by the seaway canal.

Panama is, therefore, the titular of her sovereignty, or as is more commonly said, Panama has titular sovereignty. The United States has the exercise of the sovereign rights that belong to Panama, just like Great Britain and Germany, at other times, exercised rights that belonged to Turkey or to China. It should be realized here that I am making this explanation in general terms in order to facilitate the understanding of such a complicated matter. And, as we shall see later, Panama has not entrusted to the United States the exercise of all sovereign rights in the Canal Zone. This can be verified by examining other articles of the treaty of 1903. As a matter of fact, the very general concession of the exercise of sovereign rights provided in the above mentioned article III is strongly limited by other articles of the convention. In other words, if article III is taken out of context, and more importance is attached to it than to the other articles of the treaty, very erroneous conclusions can be reached; however, even article III, carefully read, gives no sovereignty to the United States, but confers permission to exercise Panama's sovereignty. And when one examines the treaty as a whole one can easily see that Panama did not grant to the United States the full exercise of sovereignty. For example, article XIII of the treaty permits the United States to import into the Canal Zone, free of Panamanian duties, articles necessary and convenient for the construction and operation of the Canal, as well as provisions, medicines, clothing, supplies, and other articles necessary and convenient for

the employees of the canal and for their families. As can be clearly seen, only merchandise which can be classified as "necessary and convenient" may be introduced into the Canal Zone free of Panamanian duties. Therefore Panama retains the exercise of her sovereign fiscal right to impose taxes on merchandise imported into the Canal Zone not classified as "necessary and convenient."

Another example: Article VI deals with the property rights of Panamanian citizens in the Canal Zone and provides that any damage caused by reason of the canal concession must be appraised by a joint commission appointed by the two countries. Now then, if the United States obtained absolute sovereignty over the Canal Zone, how can the establishment of the joint Panamanian-American Commission be explained? It is logical then to maintain that Panama did not grant the full exercise of jurisdictional sovereignty.

The same article provides that the grants contained in the treaty must not interfere with the right of Panamanian citizens to travel over the public roads passing through the Canal Zone, provided that said right does not interrupt the proper administration of the public service. How can this precept be explained if the United States were absolute sovereign? Panama retained the exercise of her right of transit through the Canal Zone and thus the United States does not have the faculty to prevent Panamanian citizens from traveling through that territory.

It is also interesting to observe the reason for article X. We have seen that Panama did not grant to the United States the full exercise of powers of taxation and thus it was necessary to specify that Panama would not impose taxes on the canal, the railroad, tugboats, and other vessels used in the operation of the canal, storehouses, workshops, offices, quarters for laborers, factories, warehouses, wharves, machinery and other works appertaining to the canal, and also that there would not be imposed contributions or charges of a personal character upon the employees of the canal. The fact that such a clause was included in the treaty is clear proof that if it had not been included. Panama would have had the right to impose the taxes that were exempted.

It would take a long time to enumerate all the clauses of the treaty; for this reason I invite you to read its 25 articles. One point, however, is of capital importance; namely, that all and each one of the articles of the convention refer solely and exclusively to the concession of a public service of maritime transportation; in other words, to the construction, maintenance, operation, sanitation or protection of the Panama Canal. Those who find some difficulty in understanding some of the parts of the convention should remember this common denominator which embodies the single and only object of the convention: the construction and the efficient operation of a canal; not the cession or lease of territory.

For this reason the United States could not, like the Emperor of Russia with Alaska or like the first French consul with Louisiana, sell the Canal Zone territory. Neither could it use the Canal Zone for any other purpose than the operation of a canal; and neither could it internationalize the canal without the consent of the titular sovereign.

And thus we arrive at the conclusion of the second part of our lecture, namely that in the Canal Zone Panama maintains the enjoyment of sovereign rights and the exercise of those sovereign rights which she did not specifically grant the United States, and that the United States possesses the exercise of only those sovereign rights necessary for the efficient operation, maintenance, and protection of the canal.

PART III

Finally we come to the third part of this address concerning some of the recent inci-

dents in the relations between Panama and the United States.

I have already explained in detail the basis upon which the U.S. Department of State, and even the President of this great country, have declared on several recent occasions that Panama has titular sovereignty over the Canal Zone. Unfortunately they have been severely and unjustly criticized for this. Notwithstanding what titular sovereignty means: Namely that the United States exercises Panamanian rights in the Canal Zone and Panama possesses the enjoyment of her inherent sovereign rights, it has been said in the U.S. House of Representatives that the assertion on the part of the State Department that Panama possesses titular sovereignty of the Canal Zone has introduced a new element into the Panama-United States relations, and that in making this assertion distinguished officials of the State Department have acted "stupidly." This accusation could not be more unjust. The expression "titular sovereignty" is an old one. It appears in numerous documents of the period during which the United States superseded a French company in the construction of the canal. For instance, William H. Taft, then Secretary of War of the United States, in a declaration made before the Committee on Interoceanic Canals of the U.S. Senate, on April 18, 1960, stated that article III of the Hay-Bunau Varilla Treaty does not confer sovereignty directly upon the United States but gives to the United States the powers which it would have if it were sovereign. This leads to the obvious deduc-tion that the titular sovereignty rests with the Republic of Panama. He then added:

"The truth is that while we have all the attributes of sovereignty necessary in the construction, maintenance, and protection of the canal, the very form in which these attributes are conferred in the treaty seems to preserve the titular sovereignty over the Canal Zone in the Republic of Panama.

Similar phrases appear in various pro-nouncements made by President Theodore Roosevelt, by the first Governor of the Canal Zone, Maj. Gen. George E. Davis, by General

Goethals, and others.

Later, the fact that Panama is the territorial sovereign of the Canal Zone and that the United States exercises in this territory Panamanian rights and especially jurisdictional rights, was confirmed in the general treaty celebrated between Panama and the United States on March 2, 1936. Article I states:

"In view of the official and formal opening of the Panama Canal on July 12, 1920. the Republic of Panama and the United States of America declare that the provisions of the Convention of November 18, 1903, contemplates the use, occupation, and control by the United States of America of the Canal Zone and of the additional lands and waters under the jurisdiction of the United States of America for the purposes of the efficient maintenance, operation, san-Itation, and protection of the canal and of

its auxiliary works."

And if this express delineation of the nature of the international agreement providing for the concession of a public service is still not found to be sufficiently clear to indicate that titular sovereignty is vested in Panama, paragraph 6 of article III of the Same treaty of 1936 determines that the Canal Zone is "a territory of the Republic of Panama under the jurisdiction of the United States." Thus we see that public treaties proclaim that the Canal Zone territory is Panamanian but that in this territory the United States exercises rights which, Were it not for the existence of the canal Concessions, would be exercised by the territorial sovereign.

Further to substantiate this thesis there have been decisions by United States courts, handed down even before the treaty of 1936 came into existence. On January 6, 1920, for example, in the case known as the Luckenbach Steamship Co. v. U.S., the Supreme Court of the United States, through an opinion handed down by ex-President Taft, then Chief Justice, declared that Canal Zone ports are foreign ports. Now then, if the Supreme Court of the United States has declared that Canal Zone ports are foreign ports, logically it must be deduced that they belong to the territorial state, that is Panama. Even the Supreme Court, therefore, does not admit the United States sovereignty over the Canal Zone. (U.S. 280, U.S. 173.) Also in this connection the Court of Appeals of Illinois, in the case of Macomber and Whyte Co. v. United Fruit Co., resolved that the Canal Zone must be considered as foreign territory for the purposes of the Bill of Lading Act. (Ref. Court of Appeals of Illinois, vol. 225, p. 286 (1922).) The Attor-ney General of the United States has also pronounced judgment to this effect.

Thus, when we see that treaties, President Eisenhower, officials of the State De-partment, the Attorney General, and even the Supreme Court of the United States admit the titualr sovereignty of Panama over the Canal Zone, the commotion roused in certain circles of this great country due to the petition formulated by Panama that its be flown jointly with the American flag in the Canal Zone, causes great surprise. In this connection it is interesting to review a little history. As is well known, the secession of Panama from Colombia caused great enthusiasm and the inhabitants of the territory which is known today as the Canal Zone adorned their residences with the new Panamanian flag, which was also flown from public buildings. American authorities that arrived in Panama after the celebration of the 1903 convention did not feel that they had a right either to remove the Panamanian flag or to raise the United States flag. In this connection, on March 30, 1906, an interesting dialogue took place before the Committee on Interoceanic Canals of the United States Senate, between Maj. Gen. George W. Davis, a member of the Isthmian Canal Commission and first Governor of the Canal Zone, and Senator Morgan, which I am going to quote

"Senator Morgan. You consider the flag of the United States as being entirely at

home in the Zone?

"General Davis. Yes, I consider it is en-tirely at home there, but whether or not technically we have a right to fly the flag of the United States in the Zone—I say technically-it seems to me might be questionable.

"Senator Morgan. Have you ever raised

"General Davis. No, and it never will be raised, I think; but since titular sovereignty resides in Panama, I think that proposition has been stated many times.'

As can be readily seen, this is another case where the expression titular sovereignty was used. However, the interesting thing to observe is that in 1906 it was the American flag which had never been raised in the Canal Zone because the first Governor considered that the United States right to raise it might be questionable. Furthermore. Governor Davis thought that it would never be raised there. Then one fine day this was done; the Government of Panama did not protest, and today we find that certain circles are opposed to the raising of the flag of the country to which the territory belongs. However, I am fully convinced that justice will be done to my country in this sense. We have seen, however summarily, that the problems arising from the Panama-United States relations are highly technical and little known in large segments of public opinion; but the experts agree with us in this case and that is the most important thing.

One thing is clear. The friendships between the peoples of our two Republics are so strong, and have endured so long, that no meer legal technicality is apt to upset them. We may be confident that both countries, through the actions of their responsible leaders, are dedicated to just ettlements of such disputes, and that the Panama-United States kinship will continue undisturbed.

Diamond Jubilee of St. Joseph's Benevolent Aid Society, Lawrence, Mass.

> EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON, THOMAS J. LANE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, May 2, 1960

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include my remarks to the St. Joseph's Benevolent Aid Society at Lawrence, Mass., on the occasion of its diamond jubilee, May 1, 1960:

Greetings, to help those who are in need, and to be kind to the unfortunate, is to live the great Christian virtue of charity.

That is what the members of St. Joseph's Benevolent Aid Society have been doing for 60 years.

As one of the oldest parish organizations in our community, it has given the members of the congregation an opportunity to do good in fulfillment of the inspired teachings of the Catholic Church.

The charter members brought their faith with them from Poland which embraced Christianity as early as year 966. Even though Poland has been separated from the free world by the Iron Curtain and by the Communist puppers who rule the country against the will of the people, her faith grows stronger through persecution.

It is a happy coincidence that your diamond jubilee takes place only 2 days before May 3, which is the anniversary of Poland's

Constitution Day.

For the past 20 years the Congress of the United States has observed this day with special tributes and for a twofold purpose: (1) To remind the Polish people that Americans have not forgotten their pledge to help Poland restore her freedom and independence, and to facilitate her return to the western family of nations; and (2) in order to review and place in proper perspective Poland's contribution in the development of Western civilization and culture.

These observances have a beneficial impact on the hopes and aspirations of the Polish people who, through no fault of their own, have been forced to endure Soviet tyranny and to live in a twilight zone between the darkness of spiritual and physical oppression from the East, and, as yet, the steadily flickering rays of encouragement and moral and economic aid from the West.

Over 7 million Americans of Polish origin. including a large group in Greater Lawrence, remind us of the generous contributions made by Polish freedom fighters to the winning of American independence.

There are strong ties between the people of Poland and the people of the United States, based upon our mutual respect for the dignity of man.

It is a spirit that is exemplified by St. Joseph's Benevolent Society of Holy Trinity

Through 60 years of service you have earned the gratitude of those you have helped, and the respect of the entire community.

And you have done this through voluntary cooperation, that reflects credit upon yourselves, your church, your Polish heritage, and your American citizenship.

In honor of this occasion it is my pleasure to present to you a flag that has flown over our Nation's Capitol at Washington, D.C.

I know that you will cherish it, for what it means to all Americans, and for the hope it symbolizes to the captive nations who look forward to the day of their liberation, when all persons everywhere will be free to express the God-given spirit of benevolence that characterizes the members of St. Joseph's Society.

A diamond jubilee is a very special event to celebrate, and to remember. The program

Opening remarks: Richard M. Plonowski,

past president.
Our national anthem: Assembly.

"Boze, Cos Polske": Assembly.

Memorial program: Direction of Benjamin

Remarks: Anthony Turkosz, vice presi-

Award of past presidents' medals by John Pelczar, past president, to Richard M. Plon-

owski and Augustyn Stopyra.

Reading of messages: Secretary Julian
Michaelwicz and Treasurer John Serwatka.

Michaelwicz and Treasurer John Serwatka. Invocation: Rev. Stephen Musielak, O.F.M., Conv., pastor and spiritual director. Dinner.

Toastmaster: Stanley J. Dziadosz. Introduction of guests at head table.

Presentation of 50-star flag: Congressman Thomas J. Lane.

Remarks: Massachusetts Executive Councillor Augustus G. Means.

Remarks: Massachusetts Senator William

X. Wall. Remarks: District Attorney John P. S.

Remarks: District Attorney John P. S. Burke.
Principal speaker: Rev. Stephen Musielak,

O.F.M., Conv.

Introduction of souvenir program book: Chairman Stanley Maciejewski.

Closing remarks: Toastmaster Stanley J.

Our national anthem and "Boze, Cos Polske."

Panama Canal: 1950 DAR Resolution

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 2, 1960

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, it was my privilege on April 18, 1960, to address the national defense meeting of the National Society, Daughters of the American Revolution on the subject, "Panama Canal: Key Target of the Fourth Front," which address was quoted in a statement to the House on April 19 by Representative Francis E. Walter of Pennsylvania. Subsequently, this splendid organization passed a reso-

CONTROL OF PANAMA CANAL—NATIONAL SO-CIETY, DAUGHTERS OF THE AMERICAN REVO-LUTION, 69TH CONTINENTAL CONGRESS

lution on control of the Panama Canal

which I quote:

Whereas the United States in 1903 acquired full sovereignty by grant in perpetuity of the Canal Zone from Panama; and

Whereas the Thomson-Urritia Treaty between the United States and Colombia aimed, through a generous compensation to Colombia, to restore the friendship between that country and the United States which had been threatened by the loss of territory and revenue occasioned by the secession of Panama from Colombia, and defined the rights of the United States and Colombia respecting the Panama Canal; and

Whereas forcing the abandonment of the Panama Canal, and accomplishing the internationalization is a Communist tactical ob-

ective; and

Whereas retention of sovereignty and control of the Panama Canal Zone is a vital necessity to the defense of the United States:

Resolved, That the National Society.

Resolved, That the National Society, Daughters of the American Revolution, urges that the United States refuse to permit the flag of Panama to be flown in the Panama Canal Zone; and

Resolved, That the National Society, Daughters of the American Revolution, urges the President and the Senate of the United States to refuse to enter into any treaty or make any executive agreement with Panama whereby this country would lose its sovereignty and control over the Canal Zone and the Panama Canal.

Milk Fight Advances

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, FRED MARSHALL

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 2, 1960

Mr. MARSHALL. Mr. Speaker, the Subcommittee on Health and Safety of the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce is performing a real public service in its hearings on the National Milk Sanitation Act.

An editorial in the St. Paul Dispatch of April 27, 1960, takes note of the fact that for the first time a representative of the executive branch has testified in support of the bill. We hope that this is evidence of progress in the fight against the artificial barriers which discriminate against our quality milk products in interstate commerce.

The editorial rightly pays tribute to our colleague, Lester Johnson, the author of the bill. He is recognized as the able and conscientious friend of dairy farmers and the dairy industry. His tireless effort in behalf of the bill is another example of his genuine interest in the welfare of the American farmer and his concern over the need for quality products for the American consumer.

The editorial follows:

MILK FIGHT ADVANCES

Just 10 years ago, in May of 1950, these newspapers began systematically publicking the need to abolish a maze of capricious State and local sanitary barriers against the free movement interstate of wholesome dairy products.

On Tuesday for the first time, an official of the U.S. executive branch formally supported such legislation. In a House Commerce Subcommittee hearing, Assistant Surgeon General David E. Price, of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, endorsed the Lester Johnson bill. It would permit the sale everywhere of milk and cream meeting uniformly high Federal standards of health and safety.

This official backing by the U.S. department that is primarily responsible for public health and welfare represents a great gain

for this measure. It would be a mistake, however, to jump to conclusions that final victory is now in sight or will be easy. Strongly entrenched behind their milk walls and skillfully represented in Congress are local milk monopolies like that of Washington, D.C., which profit from exclusion of competition of Midwest milk and cream.

But it would be a still worse mistake for Midwest dairying to do anything but press ahead with renewed vigor in its fight. The Johnson measure has the backing, without regard to party, of 20 House Members and 4 U.S. Senators, and of the Minnesota and Wisconsin State governments.

Lately it has gained support of the statewide consumers organization in Connecticut. It is backed by the General Federation of Women's Clubs. Its uniform sanitary milk code was developed by the U.S. Public Health Service. Most Midwest States are already voluntary adherents of that uniform code.

The pattern of guaranteed freedom of commerce under Federal inspection of meat has established itself through more than half a century of service to meat consumers and producers in this country. On Tuesday a Pioneer Press editorial on extension of that pattern to wholesome poultry products was read into the hearing record by Representative Johnson. It showed the immense free movement of U.S.-inspected poultry from the South and East into Midwest city markets. Representative Johnson rightly said that all Midwest dalrying asks is an equal deal with the poultry and meat industries from the U.S. Congress.

Whether it takes another year or another decade, the fight for Federal guarantees of freedom of commerce in wholesome milk and cream must go on to victory. The principles of fairness and justice under law, the best interests of producers and consumers, and the advancing techniques in sanitary production and transportation of milk unitedly demand it.

Kaplan Student Is Louisiana's Homemaker of Tomorrow

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. EDWIN E. WILLIS

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 2, 1960

Mr. WILLIS. Mr. Speaker, it gives me much pleasure to call attention to the State honors won in Louisiana by a young lady from my congressional district, Miss Vivian Couvillon, of Kaplan.

Miss Couvillon was among the winners from the various States who were in Washington for the final events of the 1960 Homemakers of Tomorrow Search, climaxed by an American dinner table banquet at the Statler-Hilton Hotel. Each received a \$1,500 scholarship plus an all-expense trip to Washington, New York, and Williamsburg, Va.

More than 370,000 senior girls in high schools across the Nation took an examination on "Homemaking Knowledge and Attitudes." The contest, sponsored by General Mills, is designed to further the prestige and dignity of the American home and to stimulate interest in the art of homemaking. Another purpose is to emphasize the outstanding contributions being made by high school teachers throughout the United States.

Louisiana's homemaker of tomorrow is the daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Roy Couvillon of Kaplan. Her father is a school principal and her mother a homemaker—both very much interested in the welfare of children. Their daugh-ter's broad knowledge as demonstrated in attaining top honors in Louisiana in the nationwide competition emphasizes the culmination of teachings she has had in home, church, and school.

Mrs. W. E. Douglas, homemaking teacher of Kaplan High School, accompanied Miss Couvillon on her trip to the Nation's Capital and to New York and

Williamsburg.

Senator Lyndon Johnson "Keeps the Store"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. BOB CASEY

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, May 2, 1960

Mr. CASEY. Mr. Speaker, we Texans are extremely proud of our senior Senator, the Honorable Lyndon B. Johnson, not only in the way he has represented our great State, but in the manner he has fulfilled his tremendous responsibility as majority leader of the Senate.

One of the many reasons we are proud of him is that no matter what his personal political ambitions may be, he has recognized that his first responsibility is to the people of Texas as their Senator, and to the people of this Nation as their majority leader. That he has discharged this responsibility—and is continuing to do so-is a matter of record. It is gratifying to me that the Houston Post, in its editorial of April 25, commended Senator JOHNSON for placing whatever personal amibtions he may have secondary to this great responsibility as majority leader: SENATOR LYNDON JOHNSON "KEEPS THE STORE"

In his Houston press conference Thursday Senator Lyndon B. Johnson, of Texas, used an expression which in a way is the key to his situation. Asked about his unwillingness to be an announced presidential candidate, he replied that he felt honored at having his name mentioned, but that "somebody must keep the store."

In old times, "keeping the store" meant re maining in the emporium, particularly while everyone else connected with it was out gallivanting, to slice and sell the customers rattrap cheese, crackers from the barrel, and side meat from the butcher's hook. Senator JOHNSON, the Senate majority leader, gives the expression a modern meaning. And he is

a particularly appropriate person to do so. Answering another newsman's question, as to whether he would be receptive to the bresidential nomination, he said, "I now have a job to do in the Senate, and I will attempt to do it the best I can." In that declaration LYNDON was not just whistling Dixle. He is known and acknowledged to be the hardest Working Member of the U.S. Schate, in season and out. When the Senate sits day and night, he works from the floor day and night. Often the author of a bill will absent himself, entrusting its management to Senator Johnson. That is a true example of "keeping the store." Besides, he must work between Senate sessions, getting bills in shape

for action, conferring with colleagues, planning strategy. That is the majority leader's business. It has been said that Senator Johnson maintains five different offices, manned with members of his staff, in all of which he has daily work to do.

Whatever his intention or hopes may be with reference to the presidential race, as long as Lyndon Johnson is majority leader of the Senate, there will be someone to "keep the store."

Grazing Fee Study Initiated

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. WAYNE N. ASPINALL

OF COLORADO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, May 2, 1960

Mr. ASPINALL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Rec-ORD, I include extracts from a report of the Comptroller General and portions of an exchange of correspondence from which there has been generated an interdepartmental study of inconsistencies in grazing fees on Federal lands.

I appreciate the cooperation of the Departments of Agriculture and the Interior in undertaking the study as proposed by the Comptroller General.

It is my hope that through this study unjustifiable inconsistencies can be removed and the grazing administration of Federal lands can be strengthened. The extracts and letters follow:

EXTRACTS FROM REPORT TO THE CONGRESS BY THE COMPTROLLER GENERAL, SEPTEMBER 1959 ON REVIEW OF ACTIVITIES IN NORTHERN RE-GION (REGION 1), ROCKY MOUNTAIN REGION (REGION 2), CALIFORNIA REGION (REGION 5), FOREST SERVICE, DEPARTMENT OF AGRI-CULTURE, SEPTEMBER 1958.

In our report to the Congress dated June 7, 1957, on the audit of the Forest Service for 1955-56, we recommended that the Service reexamine its policies and practices with the objective of obtaining fair compensation for the use of its lands. This matter was also included in our January 1959 report to the Committee on Appropriations, House of Representatives, on significant findings developed during the course of audits and other examinations. It is repeated in this report because as yet there are no firm plans for

revising grazing fees.

In our fiscal year 1958 audits, we found that Forest Service grazing fees were still greatly below fees charged on comparable State and private lands. There is also a wide variation in charges made by the Federal land managing agencies for grazing on Government range land.

Forest Service and Department of Agriculture officials believe that comparable rates among all Federal land managing agencies are desirable and that any fee study undertaken by the Service should be made simultaneously and on a coordinated basis with studies conducted by other Federal agencies. In letters dated February 10 and April 24, 1958, in response to Bureau of the Budget Bulletin No. 58-3 concerning user charges for certain Government services, the Department stated that there is currently a wide variation in charges made by Federal agencies for grazing privileges on similar range land, that present inconsistent practices should be made uniform, and that joint action within the executive branch is needed. To advise the Congress and obtain its support, the Department suggested that the Bureau of the Budget initiate a joint resolution endorsing cooperative study by the Departments of Defense, Interior, and Agri-However, in its reply dated July ' 25, 1958, the Bureau of the Budget took the view that the agencies concerned should work out mutually agreeable procedures. In a letter dated August 25, 1958, to the Budget Director from the Under Secretary of Agriculture, the Department again suggested that prior congressional concurrence in the form of a Joint Congressional Resolution might be desirable for the executive branch study.

As of July 1, 1959, no further action has been taken on the matter by either the Department of Agriculture or the Bureau of

the Budget.

To eliminate present inconsistencies in charges for grazing on Government lands managed by different Federal agencies, and to obtain fair compensation for use of these lands, we recommend that a joint study be undertaken with the objective of arriving at a uniform basis for establishing grazing fees. We believe that the study will not be undertaken without congressional sanction.

> COMMITTEE ON INTERIOR AND INSULAR AFFAIRS, Washington, D.C., March 4, 1960.

Hon. FRED A. SEATON,

Secretary of the Interior, Department of the

Interior, Washington, D.C.
DEAR MR. SECRETARY: This refers to Under Sccretary Elmer F. Bennett's letter of February 4 in which it is stated that the Department of the Interior would be pleased to cooperate in a joint study directed toward the objection of eliminating certain inconsistencies between Federal agencies with respect to grazing fees.

You have already been provided with a copy of a letter dated November 25 from the Department of Agriculture in which it is stated that that Department believes that practices among Federal agencies should be made uniform and that any adjustments in grazing fees should be based on a joint study by the Federal Departments (Agriculture, Defense, and Interior).

In view of the conclusion of both Departments that this study would be bene-ficial, I would suggest that the study be initiated and carried out at the earliest convenience of the Departments concerned. At the completion of the study a copy of the resulting report should be furnished to the committee and at that time consideration will be given to the possibility of printing it as a congressional document.

Please advise me from time to time on the progress of the study.

Sincerely yours,

WAYNE N. ASPINALL,

Chairman.

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR. OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY, Washington, D.C., April 25, 1960.

Hon. WAYNE N. ASPINALL,

Chairman, Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, House of Representatives,

Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. ASPINALL: Your letter of March 4 suggests that a joint study directed toward the objective of eliminating certain inconsistencies between Federal agencies with respect to grazing fees be initiated and carried out at the earliest convenience of the Departments concerned. This Department is currently engaged in informal discussions with the Departments of Agriculture and Defense designed to initiate such a study. We will keep you advised from time to

time relative to its progress and upon completion of the study furnish your committee with a copy of the results.

Sincerely yours, ELMER F. BENNETT, Under Secretary of the Interior.

Justice for My Children

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. THOMAS J. LANE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 2, 1960

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I wish to include an article by Francis J. Brown, doctor of philosophy, professor of economics, DePaul University, Chicago, Ill., wherein he protests the violation of the civil right of religious freedom for his children in H.R. 10128; Justice for My Children—How Long Will.

CONGRESS TREAT MY CHILDREN AS SECOND-CLASS CITIZENS?

(By Francis J. Brown)

Margaret Rose Brown is a bright young scholar of 7 years, an American citizen born of American citizens and, as such, entitled under the Constitution of the United States to the equal protection of the laws; but as yet Congress, in its numerous proposals for Federal aid to education for children of ages 5 to 17, apparently has nothing to offer her or her brothers and sisters, for they belong to a family that prefers private education through religious conviction.

Typical of congressional legislation for this age group is the widely advertised Murray-Metcalf bill which proposes to make Federal grants for construction and teachers' salaries but only to the elementary and secondary public schools. In this and similar bills no provision is made either for private schools or for those children who attend them through religious conviction.

Recently a few unsuccessful attempts have been made both in the Senate and in the House of Representatives to amend the basic legislation to provide long-term construction loans to private schools at low interest rates. Perhaps the leaders of the private school systems accept such loan arrangements as at least something in a cold cruel world, but as the spokesman for my children I regard them as public symbols of discrimination.

In this article I shall explore some of the implications for my family of the Federal education legislation. But before proceeding, I want to caution, first, that this is to be a case not for or against Federal aid but only for freedom and equality; and secondly, that I speak only for my children as American citizens, and not for any school system or church.

In this matter it is most important to distinguish the rights of churches and those of individuals. Whatever may be the rights of their church in our society, my children are guaranteed by the Constitution the free exercise of their religion as a personal civil right. To deprive them of general Federal funds when they exercise this right through religious education is to impose upon them a civil disability of the very type that the first amendment was intended to outlaw.

Many argue that religious education does not come under the protection of the civil right of religious freedom. But in this sphere of human conduct, people of one religion or of none tread on dangerous ground in attempting to determine the content of someone else's conscience. In dealing with my family, the Congress of the United States must reckon with the fact that we have considered religious education essential to our religion for the past 1,500 years.

People say that it is not true to claim that the Federal Government has nothing to offer to our children; they maintain that we can freely choose to send them to the public schools and thus have them enjoy not only the educational benefits provided by the State but also any that might issue from the Federal Government.

My reply is that an offer to bestow Government benefits only on condition of accepting conditions unacceptable to one's conscience does not present a true choice. Such a proposition has always been, is now, and will always be a religious test. This is so in Moscow; it is so in Madrid; it is so in Chicago, Ill.

We are told that we have the religious freedom to build our own schools. This is, admittedly, better than being compelled to attend a State school and, if unaccompanied by any penalty or loss, is most pleasing. But the State governments and the current Federal proposals say in effect, "Choose the government schools or forfeit all public educational benefits." Is this liberty? Is this true religious freedom?

Yes, we have the privilege of developing our own schools, but what are we supposed to use for money after having paid the increasingly heavy taxes for the education of other people's children? Currently on the State and local level my wife and I are paying taxes of approximately \$400 a year, and now the Federal Government wants to add to the burden. The loose talk about privileges in this matter glosses over the fact that our family may through economic pressure eventually be forced, as so many others have been, to abandon our cherished dream of religious education for our children. What kind of religious freedom exists when a family is effectively denied even a reasonable economic opportunity to pursue its conscience?

In this connection it should be noted that Margaret Rose and all other children of ages 5 to 17 who attend private schools are counted in the determining of the size of the Federal grants to be given to the public schools. I submit that it is bad enough to deprive my children of their share but to count them in for a share that is then assigned to other children is doubly discriminatory.

In a recent Senate debate on Federal ald, Senator Lausche, of Ohio, called the attention of his colleagues to this glaring inequity—but he was quickly voted down. One of those who spoke against him was Senator McNamara, of Michigan, who dismissed Senator Lausche's protest with the statement that the Office of Education had always done things this way. Apparently Senator McNamara believes that if something is done one way long enough it somehow or other becomes the right thing to do.

Some people seem to think that repeated invitations to send our children to the public schools constitute a sufficient answer to our pleas for justice. In view of the fact that my family has persisted in building private schools for over 100 years in Illinois, one might expect that the community and State of Illinois and the Federal Government as well would realize that we are quite serious about this matter and that we are by no means appeased by invitations that we have rejected for a century.

The Federal bills seek constitutional justification in a national interest in public schools, but they fail to explain why the Nation has no interest in my children. Our oldest boy, Frankie, has an excellent mind and an inclination to science and might well prove to be a valuable asset in the service of his country, but he, too, is presently outside the pale of the proposed program. Does Congress appreciate that such a position hurts not only Frankie but also the national effort? May a parent who believes in religious education be excused a bitter complaint in seeing that, as this Nation girds for survival against the forces of atheistic

communism, an atheist or Communist who prefers the public system stands to gain more from the proposed education bills than this parent's children?

It would seem to be in the national interest to have a vigorous private school system competing alertly with the public schools and producing that diversity of thought that has been such a bulwark of our democracy, but with the increasing State and Federal taxes the private schools may eventually collapse economically, leaving the public schools with an educational monopoly. Is this in the national interest? Has Congress thought of the possibility that it may be playing into the hands of forces that would be delighted to spend the private system out of existence?

My most strenuous objections to the proposed Federal bills is that they would incorporate into Federal law the discriminations, religious tests and second-class citizenship under which Margaret Rose and Frankle presently labor on the State and local level.

The history of the public schools differs whether told by the majority which decided things or the minority which had to adjust to the majority decision. And when in the 19th century the dominant groups established the public school system and determined the use of all public educational benefits without regard to the conscience of our family, we protested—but being in a minority our pleas for justice were brushed aside. But we still protest.

In recent years our protests have taken on new intensity as the public school has in many areas become a center of all types of social, medical and athletic services having little connection with its original educational purposes. Thus, for example, it now embraces a transportation system, medical examinations and elaborate athletic programs leading up to exhaustive tournaments for State titles, and its equipment includes swimming pools, gymnasiums and football stadiums seating thousands of people. Does this society expect me to go on paying for this proliferation of activity while my children are sitting in classrooms with 50 other pupils?

A community that thus spends the education tax dollar or that uses it lavishly for all kinds of educational frills while their neighbors who believe in religious education are struggling under unsatisfactory conditions or else being forced to abandon their ideals should not be allowed the illusion that it is practicing religious freedom.

Before discussing some practical approaches to this problem, I would like to indicate one or two more objections to my position. Some object to paying taxes that might in any way end up in some connection, even the most remote, with religious education; but they fail to explain why I must pay for a secular education repugnant to my conscience.

And then there are the objections arising out of fear and dislike of my church. Here I would like to remind America that, after enduring centuries of religious persecution, the people from whom I have sprung have established a model system of religious education for all faiths. My family needs no lessons in the love and preservation of religious liberty, least of all from people who are still subjecting my children to religious tests for such a simple thing as a safe ride to school.

Actually, if my family were to inconvenience the conscience of others as ours is being hindered in the American educational world, our conduct would be trumpeted as another example of our intolerance; but when the dominant groups of this society impose such conditions on my childrentheir conduct is heralded as a shining example of religious freedom.

And if I complain, then I am thought by many to be somehow or other unpatriotic or ungrateful; and were I to be a candidate for the presidency, some spokesman would undoubtedly spell out my unworthiness to his flock. Truly America has a long way to go in search for religious freedom when the effort of a father to free his children of long-endured religious tests is considered by many to border on subversion.

Many people assure me that even if Congress has the best of intentions, nothing really can be done for my children. But I am unconvinced. There are, it is true, current difficulties in giving money to religious institutions, but I ask nothing for any church.

I ask only for justice and equality for my children, and certainly nothing in the Constitution or in any decision of the Supreme Court prohibits Congress from giving an educational grant to them on equal terms with any other young American citizen.

There was nothing therein to prevent some 36,000 excellent young men and women from using their individual Federal grants under the G.I. Bill of Rights to study for the ministry in the Protestant seminaries of America, or to hinder millions of other citizens from studying in the colleges and universities of all leading religious groups. What is there now to block a grant to my five?

Even at the present time the National Defense Education Act of 1958 makes available on the college and university level all kinds of individual and institutional loans and grants without regard to the religious affiliation of students or schools. This should demonstrate that the unwillingness to do anything for my children at the elementary and secondary level stems not so much from constitutional difficulties as from other factors. Some of these arise from sheer misunderstandings and from the hue and cry set up by secularists who would sterilize our society of all religious values; some from the uncertainties of the representative of the private schools; some from the fact that the Parents of the private school children have not made known their desires to their Congressmen; some from the efforts of those Who would "democratically" force all children into a Government system of education; and some from the National Education Association.

In analyzing the fact that the Federal-aid-to-education bills make grants available only to the public-school system we need not go too far before we encounter the guiding hand of the National Education Association, the Washington lobbyist for the public schools. In its drive to obtain all Federal-education benefits at the elementary and secondary level this group has sponsored and promoted only that legislation that funnels all funds into established State public school patterns.

But there is no reason why a Congress willing to recognize the American principle that all schoolchildren are entitled to the equal Protection of the laws could not establish a program of grants to individuals that would allow them to bring their grant to the school of their choice as was done under the G.I. Bill of Rights. And on the State level as well there are many things that a society sensitive to the consciences of its members might promote. Thus, for example, many of the Welfare services such as bus transportation can be removed from the "education package" and made available to all. Similarly, Programs can be worked out for individual grants for the nonreligious aspects of educa-

Progress in these matters shall not always be easy. Things have gone on for many decades with too little understanding and too much bitter feeling. Some fear that the public system might be splintered and damaged by a system of individual grants, but others fear that the tremendous advantages of competition and wholesome diversity might be crushed by an educational leviathan. Other peoples have tackled these and other problems with notable success. Certainly there is every reason to expect that America can solve the thorny educational problems that presently confront her.

Some people think that the conflict in

some people think that the connect in the area of education is fundamentally religious. It is true that at one time this was probably so, and perhaps still is to some extent today, but we must not overlook the fact that with the increasing secularization of the public school system, many of the representatives of the dominant religious groups are having serious misgivings about the course of events. It would seem to be a safe bet that in the years to come the representatives of all the leading religious groups will draw closer together to make common cause for the preservation of religious education.

In view of my criticisms in this article some may think that I am opposed to the public school system. Indeed not, for I actually think that historically it has been one of the great educational ideas in the history of mankind. I certainly wish it success and am willing to pay a fair share of taxes for its continued support; but I also happen to believe that my children should have the right to choose a type of education in accordance with their conscience without suffering the loss of their fair share of the general educational funds.

Perhaps the simplest but yet most amazing discovery that my wife and I have made in our discussion of the problems of Federal aid is the absolute necessity of our assuming direct responsibility for the protection of the civil rights of religious freedom and education of our children. We deeply appreciate the devotion of those private-school leaders and teachers whose sacrifices have made possible the religious education so close to our hearts, but we believe that such people must of necessity evaluate Federal education primarily from the standpoint of their institutions and only secondarily from the standpoint of the civil rights of the children who attend them.

Recently there has arisen in St. Louis, Mo., a nonsectarian association, the Citizens for Educational Freedom, which is an organization composed primarily of parents who have finally grasped the necessity of exercising their citizenship in the preservation of the rights of their children to a free choice in education.

Inspired by the motto "A Fair Share for Every Child," CEF proposes a tuition-certificate plan through which the individual student is free to bring his share of the general educational fund to the school of his choice. CEF pursues its ideals with an ardor and intelligence that augurs well for its future. Its members write and talk to friends, strangers, neighbors, and lawmakers; they also vote. In a word, they do all those things that an active citizenry should do in the pursuit of a legitimate goal.

But before justice and equality will be obtained in this matter of the education tax dollar, many more parents must take up the struggle. For only through the efforts of many will it be possible to establish the conditions under which the children of America can grow up as first-class citizens with all rights respected, including that most important one—free choice of education without penalty,

The Monitor, the Official Newspaper of the Catholic Diocese of Trenton, N.J., Advises Its Readers, in a Significant Editorial, That if a Catholic Cast His Ballot for a Candidate Because He Was a Catholic and Passed Over a Non-Catholic Who, in His Estimation, Would Make a Better President, He Would Be Guilty of Sin

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. FRANK THOMPSON, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 2, 1960

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, the official newspaper of the Catholic diocese of Trenton, N.J., the Monitor, has some extremely pertinent things to say to its readers and the members of the Catholic diocese there. This advice is sound, and it is timely and of interest to Catholics and Protestants alike throughout the United States.

I include this excellent editorial here for the information of the Members of this House:

> [From the Monitor, Apr. 15, 1960] Our Moral Obligation in Voting

If non-Catholics assume that Catholic citizens of the United States are morally free to give their political support to a Catholic candidate for public office exclusively on the basis of the faith he professes they are wrong.

And if Catholic voters hold and act on such a belief they are not only wrong but are in danger of committing sin. In politics, as well as in business and professional life, in private employment, and personal conduct, conscience intervenes. And its dictates cannot be ignored.

Catholics naturally would find gratification and pride in the election of a member of their faith to the Presidency of the United States. The same emotion would be experienced by the members of any other denomination under similar circumstances. As a matter of conscience, as well as of patriotism and loyalty, the welfare of their country must be their first consideration when they go to the polls on election day.

The moral obligation of a Catholic citizen in casting his vote for the Presidency, or any other public office, is presented in unequivocal terms by Father Francis J. Connell, C.Ss.R., former dean of the School of Sacred Theology of the Catholic University of America, writing in the American Ecclesiastical Review.

"If a Catholic cast his ballot for a candidate because he was a Catholic and passed over a non-Catholic who, in his estimation, would make a better President, he would be guilty of sin," says the eminent theologian.

Catholics have nothing to gain for their church or for their personal interests by the election of one of their faith to the Presidency. They have never suffered from prejudice or intolerance in the White House. The tradition has been one of fairness and justice and the church has flourished over the years with a proper respect for its rights and the rights of its people.

Catholics could not expect any improvement under the administration of a Catholic President. In fact, as Father Connell emphasizes, "It might be detrimental to the church or to Catholics to have a Catholic President, because almost any national misfortune or calamity that would occur would be ascribed to his religion by many non-Catholics, however free from responsibility he might be."

If Catholics cannot in conscience give their support to a Catholic candidate for reasons of religion alone, neither can they accept with complacency, any denial of their full rights as citizens, including the right to aspire to any office in the land, including the

Presidency.

There is nothing in his faith that should prevent a Catholic from being a good President. And there is nothing in the Nation's Constitution or in the principles of justice that disqualifies him from holding this office. A Catholic, in short, cannot be supported for office or denied office simply because he is a Catholic.

The High Cost of Drugs

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JOHN W. McCORMACK

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 2, 1960

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, under permission to extend my remarks, I include a letter that I have sent to the Honorable Patrick A. Tompkins, commissioner, Department of Public Welfare of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, in which letter I sought certain information. In my remarks I include a most interesting and amazing reply that I have received from Commissioner Tompkins, showing that a sharp increase to recipients of old-age assistance in Massachusetts on fair trade prices established by manufacturers for medication and drugs prescribed by physicians over a 3-year period.

If this charging of unreasonable prices for fair trade medicine or drugs for which a physician's prescription exists in Massachusetts to the extent that it does, certainly, a similar condition probably exists in other States of the Union, and the proper official of such States should make a special survey and in-

vestigation.

Furthermore, if such a situation exists among recipients of old-age assistance, to what extent does it exist among persons not receiving old-age assistance. As Commissioner Tompkins said in his letter:

I have officially concluded that these markups generally are unconscionable and indefensible, not only as related to public welfare recipients, but also as related to the general sick public who, in absolute fact, have no choice when medication is prescribed for a sick relative. They must purchase the unknown prescription at the price charged by the druggist.

The letters follow:

Congress of the United States, Washington, D.C., March 26, 1960. Patrick A. Tompkins,

Commissioner, Department of Public Welfare,

Boston, Mass.

DEAR COMMISSIONER: You will remember a few years ago, after consultations you had with me, I introduced a bill to permit Federal grants and aids for all public welfare vendor medical care payments. I will appreciate it if you will advise me as to the result of the passage of that bill insofar as Massachusetts is concerned, and the result outside of Massachusetts of which you have knowledge.

During our talk you mentioned to me, as I remember it, that charges were being made for medicine on prescription where the person or patient was charged a higher amount than where they could purchase the same medicine at the fair trade prices and where a prescription was not essentially necessary. At that time you told me the passage of the bill that I introduced, would enable you to make a thorough survey of this situation particularly in relation to Massachusetts and the facts (1) in relation to extra charges and (2) the saving the same might bring to the Commonwealth in connection with the payments made by the Commonwealth for persons receiving public assistance.

If you have made any study of the latter, I will appreciate it if you will convey to me such information you have on same.

With kind regards, I am,

Sincerely yours,

JOHN W. McConmack.

THE COMMONWEALTH
OF MASSACHUSETTS,
DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC WELFARE,
Eoston, April 8, 1960.

The Honorable John W. McCormack, House of Representatives, Office of the Majority Leader, U.S. Congress, Washington, D.C.

My Dear Congressman: I regret the delay in responding to your letter of March 26, 1960, seeking information as to the efficacy of the operation of the public assistance titles of the Federal Security Act with particular reference to the vendor medical care payments which were made possible by the successful enactment of legislation which you so graciously introduced at my request in 1957 and 1958.

The immediate result was to permit the Massachusetts public welfare system to introduce, effective October 1, 1958, a universal mandatory vendor payment system for all medical services. This also made possible, of course, the kind of cost research and medical social research that the Federal Government's sponsored legislation of 1956 not only prevented but militated against in a very positive manner. There should hopefully never be a return to special matching formulas for vendor medical care payments because of the unfair discrimination financially and in terms of long-range planning and medical research that results in those States which have, in fact, by policy established a comprehensive and adequate medical service program.

For example, because of our long concern over the mounting cost of medication and drugs prescribed by physicians over a 3-year period in old-age assistance, this department conducted a massive cost study of all prescriptions paid for in the 12 largest municipalities of the State during the month of May 1959. It should be noted that only by the enactment of your medical care public welfare bill was it possible to initiate and conduct such a study in the first place. The general data secured from this study of drugs for old-age assistance has reflected the following specific information:

- 1. The average cost per month for drugs for each old-age assistance recipient rose from \$3.48 per case in January 1957 to \$5.16 per case in December 1959—over a 40-percent increase
- 2. For the same strength quantity prescriptions, different and extremely disparate prices were paid for over 40 percent of all such prescriptions. (This pattern even prevalled on numerous occasions with respect

to the same patient purchasing the same drugs in the same drugstore.)

3. Of the 250 most frequently prescribed drugs, 70 percent had fair-trade prices established by manufacturers. Despite this fair-trade price, 45 percent of all prescriptions for such fair-traded drugs were paid for at prices from moderately to excessively higher than the established fair-trade prices.

4. Of the 50 most frequently prescribed drugs and the 20 most expensive prescribed drugs, the price paid to the drugstore consistently exceeded 100 percent of the wholesale cost, and, with some rare exceptions, ranged upward to 300 percent markup over wholesale cost to the druggist.

I have officially concluded that these markups generally are unconscionable and indefensible, not only as related to public welfare recipients, but also as related to the general sick public who, in absolute fact, have no choice when medication is prescribed for a sick relative. They must purchase an unknown prescription at the price charged by the druggist.

Lastly, we have discovered that unfortunately many prescriptions are written for such normal over-the-counter purchases as aspirin and aspirin derivatives, such as Bufferin and Empirin compound; antacids, such as Maalox and Milk of Magnesia; and the price markups for small quantities, because of the fact that a prescription was written, ranged fantastically into the thousands of percent.

This department has presented to a committee of the Massachusetts Pharmaceutical Association a more modest and, in our judgment, reasonable price schedule which is basically predicated on the principle that under no circumstances do we pay more than the established fair-trade prices for fair-traded drugs, plus for non-fair-traded drugs a 50-percent markup over wholesale costs with a small breakage fee for broken packages of either capsules or liquids.

May I additionally point out that there is no way presently of determining whether a fair-trade price for retail sales of drugs is, in fact, a fair price, as the price is established by the manufacturer and his profit over his cost in his sale to the retailer is, of course, unknown.

Since this study of drug prices is probably the most massive and detailed such study in any public welfare department covering as it did 1,634 different drugs and 30,000 prescriptions, we are hopeful of constructive results representing high-quality service to sick recipients of public welfare and substantial dollar savings to the municipalities of the Commonwealth and the Commonwealth itself.

Very truly yours,

PATRICK A. TOMPKINS, Commissioner.

STATEMENT OF COMMISSIONER TOMPKINS ON STUDY OF INCIDENCE, PRICE MARKUPS, AND GENERAL TREND OF DRUG PRICES PURCHASED BY OLD-AGE ASSISTANCE RECIPIENTS

Because of the widespread concern over the continued rise in the cost of drugs per case and the percentage of assistance dollar allocated to drugs, the Department under took a massive study of all prescriptions paid for on behalf of old-age assistance recipients in the following 12 communities for the month of May 1959: Boston, Brookline, Everett, Somerville, Brockton, Quincy, Fall River, Haverhill, Worcester, Fitchburg, Springfield, and Holyoko.

On the four programs of public assistance for which the State department of public welfare exercises by statute some responsibility, 1,500,000 original prescriptions are being authorized by attending physicians. Many of these prescriptions, particularly for the chronically ill or long-term illness case, are subject to automatic and authorized re-

fill. The total payment to retail pharmacists for drugs for public assistance recipients has been running at an annual rate of \$5,900,000 to over \$6 million annually. Approximately \$4,400,000 of this amount is spent for prescription drugs for old-age assistance recipients; the remaining \$1,500,000 to \$1,600,000 is spent on recipients of disability assistance, aid to dependent children, and general assistance. Because of the tremendous expense in old-age assistance, this category of public assistance was selected for a specific study.

The sample of these 12 communities represented 25 percent of the caseload of the State for 1 month; 29,916 prescriptions paid for in the month of May 1959 were analyzed; 93 percent of all the prescriptions paid for were for drugs prepared for by the manufacturer and requiring no further compounding by the retail pharmacist; 2 percent of these prescriptions were for supplies; 5 percent of the prescriptions were for drugs which had to be compounded by the druggist.

On 1634 different drugs prescribed, 205

On 1634 different drugs prescribed, 205 drugs represented 67 percent of the prescriptions studied, and the 50 most frequently prescribed drugs represented 40 percent of

all prescriptions studied.

The attached material indicates item by item the major findings and the price plan that has been presented and will be distributed to the cities and towns of the Commonwealth for payment of drugs prescribed in the future.

FINDINGS OF DRUG STUDY

1. The average cost per old-age assistance recipient for a month for drugs has risen from \$3.48 per case in January 1957 to \$5.16 per case in December 1959.

2. For the same strength quantity prescriptions, different and extremely disparate prices were paid for 40 percent or more of all such prescriptions. (This pattern even occurred on numerous occasions with respect to the same patient purchasing drugs in the same drugstore.)

3. On the 50 most frequently purchased drugs and the 20 most expensive drugs, the price paid to the druggist consistently exceeded 100 percent over the cost of wholesale and, with some few exceptions, ranged upwards to 300 percent markup over wholesale.

A small group of drugs—namely, the aspirin and barbiturate derivatives and digitalis—reflected price markups over wholesale that ranged into the thousands of percent.

4. Of the 200 most frequently prescribed drugs, 70 percent were fair-traded-price drugs. Of these, 45 percent of the prescriptions on such fair-traded-price drugs were paid for at prices from moderately to excessively higher than the fair-trade price.

CONCLUSION

The continuing rise in the average cost per case for drugs in 3 years, the fact that on 40 percent of the prescriptions on the same quantity strength dispensed were paid for in 40 percent of the cases at unexplainable different and disparate prices, the fact that in 45 percent of all fair-traded drugs higher than fair-trade price was charged and paid, the further fact that in only 5 percent of all the prescriptions studied were the drugs compounded by the retail pharmacist, and the further fact that unusual and unjustiflable price markups were charged in the most frequently dispensed prescriptions (fairtraded or otherwise), is a clear mandate to the Commonwealth to establish a reasonable and uniform price formula for all drugs authorized for and purchased by recipients of public aid. The following price formula is presented and will be developed in chart form and distributed to all local boards of Dublic welfare for purposes of auditing for payment of drug bills to retail pharmacists:

for at the fair-traded drugs are to be paid

(b) The minimum payment for prescription is 50 cents.

(c) On all prescribed drugs which cost the druggist \$5 or less the price markup over cost to be paid to the druggist will be 50 percent.

(d) On all prescribed drugs which cost the druggist from \$5.01 to \$10 the price markup to be paid to the druggist will be one-third.

(e) On all prescribed drugs which cost the druggist in excess of \$10 the price markup to be paid will be 25 percent.

(f) Since only 5 percent of all the drugs purchased were compounded, no professional fee will be paid.

(g) Since the volume of repetitive business in the same quantity strength drugs is so massive, there will be no special allowance for broken packages.

PATRICK A. TOMPKINS, Commissioner.

Dr. Virgil Hancher Honored for 20 Years' Service as President of the State University of Iowa

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. FRED SCHWENGEL

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 2, 1960

Mr. SCHWENGEL. Mr. Speaker, on April 20, Dr. Virgil Hancher, president of the State University of Iowa, was honored by the Alumni Association of the university for his 20 years of service as president of this renowned institution.

Those who gathered to pay tribute heard President Hancher, who has headed the university for a longer period than any other man, described as an "educational statesman" by Arthur S. Adams, president of the American Council on Education.

Others speakers included two men who were college classmates and later served on the university's governing board when it was known as the State board of education. They are W. Earl Hall, managing editor of the Mason City Globe-Gazette, and Dwight G. Rider, Fort Dodge attorney.

Another part of the tribute was formal presentation to the university of a portrait of President Hancher, painted by William F. Draper, of New York. The portrait, a gift of the SUI Alumni Association, will hang in the memorial union until June when it will be moved to the board room in Old Capitol where portraits of S.U.I. presidents are located.

In paying tribute to Dr. Hancher, Judge Rider said that he and Mr. Hancher both were law students at the university but their contacts at that time were not very close because Hancher was a campus leader while he was only a student.

Mr. Rider said that later when Hancher became SUI president—

I thought that all college presidents did was to make specches and meet prospective football players at the airport.

I found out different—

He said-

when the time comes for Dr. Hancher's retirement we can all say, "There was a man—we will not see his likes again."

An educational statesman-

Said Mr. Adams-

is not simply versed in the principles of art and government of an educational institution nor is he simply one who shows unusual wisdom in treating or directing public matters.

Over and beyond these two estimable qualities is the rigid discipline he imposes upon himself to push forward with zeal the high and broad objectives he sees so clearly. He is a man who thinks straight, who feels deeply, who reasons carefully and who acts courageously even in the face of great obstacles.

Virgil Hancher is such a man. He is known nationally and internationally as an educator of discerning judgment, of enduring patience, and of effective action.

Another tribute came in a letter from Henry Cabot Lodge, U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations, who said that President Hancher gained friendship for the United States when he served recently as a delegate to the world organization.

In responding, President Hancher thanked the speaker for the deserved or

undeserved tribute.

He expressed the hope that "the spirit of excellence will so pervade this university in the years to come that it will continue to be a source of strength for the students, the community, the State, the Nation, and men of good will everywhere."

A tribute from the alumni association declared that few universities today reflect more widely the cumulative administrative impact of one man than does the State University of Iowa.

The program for the occasion noted that President Hancher has awarded 33,400 of some 79,300 degrees granted by the university in the past 102 years. He has named all but one of the university's 13 incumbent deans.

President Hancher has achieved an economy and efficiency in the operations of a complex institution of higher learning that has caused distinguished heads of other universities to ask how it could be done, the program stated. It cited his skill in inspiring interdepartmental cooperation as one explanation of how he has been able to accomplish much with comparatively modest sums available.

"Where dollars lacked, determination and desire have helped to obviate some of the need for them. What one department could not have accomplished alone, two or three or a half dozen have accomplished in partnership," the program continued.

Breaking away from a longtime semidetachment of the university from the world of other Iowans, the university under President Hancher has been woven more directly into the fabric of the State's own changing life, becoming more surely the architect of its spirit and outlook, the program explained.

"Such areas as the bureau of business and economic research, the bureau of labor and management, the institute of public affairs, and the school of social work are oriented strongly to the Iowa scene," it pointed out, also citing

the development of broad programs in university and alumni relations, the first such formalized programs in the university's history.

Not only has President Hancher strengthened immeasureably the resident faculty and staff, but he has demonstrated the ability to stimulate their productivity, the tribute pointed out.

Recounting some of the major problems which President Hancher has faced in his 20 years at Iowa, the program recalled the great variations in enrollments for which plans had to be made during and after World War II. It also pointed out that money for building and improvements has not only been "hard to come by" in these years, but "it was a constant race with time to turn it into bricks and mortar fast enough to preserve something resembling the value of the original allocation."

Loren Hickerson, executive director of the alumni association, presided at the dinner. The invocation was offered by Prof. Emeritus M. Willard Lampe, former director of the school of religion, " and the portrait was presented by S. David Peshkin, of Des Moines, president of the alumni association.

In recounting the highlights of this tribute to Dr. Hancher, I have quoted liberally from a news story appearing in the Iowa City (Iowa) Press Citizen.

In further recognition of Dr. Hancher's great contributions, not only to the University of Iowa and the thousands of students and faculty members with whom he has come in contact, but to the entire field of college administration as well, I would like to call attention to an editorial which appeared in the Iowa City (Iowa) Press Citizen on Thursday, April 21. The editorial follows:

HANCHER: SYMBOL OF IOWA

"For almost 20 years, Virgil Hancher has symbolized the University of Iowa. He has been at once the chief architect of its contemporary spirit, and a bright and constant reflection of its spirit in the world. During much of that time, the university's affairs were marked and marred by wars and violence abroad, and by regional dissonances and frustrations at home in Iowa. These were fractious years in the university's life, and throughout their course, Virgil Hancher has given the university a continuum of integrity, devotion, and faith.

"Of itself, the president's service in the cause of Iowa and her people has been rich and abundant. It continues, and the values of it will last into the distant future. But not in Iowa alone; for the president of the University of Iowa is known and highly respected in every corner of the world of learning. In the course of his distinguished service in American higher education, he has joined the select company of the leading educational statesmen of his time."

Thus begins a stirring and all-encompassing tribute to President and Mrs. Hancher contained in the program for the University of Iowa alumni association's dinner held Wednesday evening honoring President Hancher. The occasion marked his 20 years as president of the University of Iowa.

President Hancher's tenure, the longest any university president has so far served, covers the most significant years of the university's 102-year growth and development. There may have been greater shortterm strides in some years before 1941, but certainly there never have been any greater university accomplishments or developments in a similar two-decade period that would have had to include more than one university administration.

President Hancher now has brought the university to the threshold of what is sure to be another era of great expansion, an era during which he continues to serve the institution. That the university stands ready to meet its grave new challenge is a solid tribute itself to the administration of President Hancher over these important developing years.

It is especially fitting that President Hancher's distinguished service to the university and the State of Iowa be recognized at this time, the 20-year milestone, with the grateful appreciation of university alumni and associates.

The Issue in Housing

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM B. WIDNALL

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 2, 1960

Mr. WIDNALL. Mr. Speaker, the editorial "The 'Issue' in Housing" published in the Washington Post, May 2, 1960, should be read by all who voted last week for the so-called emergency homeownership bill. It points up clearly and supports the arguments used by the Republican minority when it vigorously opposed the bill and labeled it fiscally irresponsible and a bill no one seemed to really want. The editorial follows:

THE ISSUE IN HOUSING

There is certainly a potential housing issue to be developed in this and future election campaigns. But the bill passed by the House on a party-line vote won't do the job even if it reaches the White House and is vetoed, as expected. All that the superficial and partisan proceedings in the House demonstrated is that neither supporters nor opponents of the pending legislation seem to have any very clear notion of what this country's housing problems are.

The problem is to provide decent, safe and sanitary housing for the millions who still live in slums. The problem is to provide decent housing for minority groups. The problem is to provide something better than the typical suburban crackerboxes for lower middle-income families. The problem is to accelerate the eradications of slum housing. The problem is to help cities discipline and harness their forces of growth so cas to preserve existing good housing and facilitate the provision of more livable and economical new neighborhoods for all in-

The bill passed last week would do none of these things. It would merely pump \$1 billion of Treasury funds into the conventional mortgage market; and under circumstances that are quite conceivable for the year ahead, this might or might not represent a net addition to housing finance. At best, a tiny portion of the private housing starts expected this year would be slightly facilitated with easier money. The need for this kind of help at this time is far from clear, although we think the Federal National Mortgage Association ought to have standby authority of this kind to help ward off any new recession.

But at most, this is a peripheral matter which cetrainly doesn't pose the great issue that its Democratic sponsors are trying to raise. For that, they must dig deeper. The Hinge of Our Heritage

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. ALEXANDER PIRNIE

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 2, 1960

Mr. PIRNIE. Mr. Speaker, yesterday, my good friend, Dr. Harold Blake Walker of Evanston, Ill., occupied the pulpit of the National Presbyterian Church. He did so under a program recommended by the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of the U.S.A. calling for presenting annually a representative preacher of the church in the pulpit of the National Presbyterian Church for the purpose of proclaiming the principles of the reformed faith as a strengthening and sustaining force in American democracy. The series was inaugurated in 1950 and Dr. Walker became the 11th outstanding preacher to be so recognized.

The naming of Dr. Walker as "The National Church Preacher of 1960" is a well merited honor.

Dr. Walker has ben pastor of the First Presbyterian Church, Evanston, Ill., since 1947. The national church preacher for 1960 completed his undergraduate work at the University of Denver, and received his master's degree from Boston University before graduating from McCormick Theological Seminary, Chicago. Prior to coming to Evanston he had pastorates in Chicago, Utica, and Oklahoma City. Dr. Walker has received honorary doctor of divinity degrees from Emporia College, Kans., Hamilton College, N.Y., and the University of Denver. Lake Forest College, Ill., conferred the degree of doctor of humanities on him in 1959. He received the Freedom Foundation Sermon Prize in 1950 and 1956, and was the recipient of the Distinguished Citizenship Award of Denver, Colo., in 1958.

Dr. Walker is president of the board of directors of McCormick Theological Seminary, where he is a lecturer in homiletics. He was a member of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church, U.S.A. from 1944 to 1958, and for a time served as its vice president. In the United Presbyterian Church, U.S.A., he is a member of the Commission on Ecumenical Mission and Relations, and the Commission on Consolidations.

Dr. Walker is the author of "Upper Room on Main Street" and "Power to Manage Yourself" among others. His latest book is "Venture of Faith, a Guide to Marriage and the Home," of which Mary Alice Walker, his wife, is coauthor. He is a contributor to the "Pulpit Digest," "Christian Century Pulpit," as well as a daily columnist for a Chicago newspaper.

His sermon on this important occasion has such timely significance for all concerned with the survival of our free society that I insert its text in the Congressional Record, confident that it will inspire us with deeper devotion and

greater personal responsibility. In stressing our role as the hinge of our heritage, Dr. Walker asserted that the same moral and spiritual values which gave rise to our freedom and strength are required for their preservation. In effect, he calls upon us to be faithful to our trust and in our time "to do something worthy of being remembered;

THE HINGE OF OUR HERITAGE

(By the Reverend Harold Blake Walker, D.D., L.H.D.)

"Therefore, if any man is in Christ, he is a new creation"—II Corinthians 5:17.

We who occupy the stage of contemporary history are the hinge on which our heritage swings. The free society we cherish is ours by the courtesy of our ancestors, but the future of freedom is in our hands. Xenophon eoncisely summarized the difficulty of Preserving liberty, or any of the ultimate values of human experience. He noted that Cyrus, having captured Babylon, spoke of the necessity for continuing in valor. The conqueror remarked that "to have been once brave men is not sufficient; it is harder to hold what you have than to gain it."

Arnold Toynbee sounded the same note When he remarked, "It would seem that the more civilized we become, the more incapable of maintaining civilization we are." Quite possibly our human achievements have obscured the spiritual and moral values without which our triumphs become tragedy. We have won our way to greatness as a nation of influence and power. Our standard of living is unrivaled in the world. Nevertheless, We need to remember there is no ultimate greatness without goodness. "Shall not the nation tremble for this?" Amos asked after reciting the sins of his people. Then came the challenge, "Seek good and not evil, and God will be with you." The words come ringing across the ages as a summons to moral and spiritual greatness in our era.

The Protestant reformers, grappling with the issues of freedom, were haunted by the moral incompetence of individuals. Like Plato in the golden fifth century they sus-Pected that a democratic order gives the individual more freedom than he can manage. They knew nothing of psychoanalysis, and Freud had yet to discover the "id," but they were aware of something in man needing to be overcome in the interests of order and civilization. The simple injunction to "Seek good and not evil," left the major problem untouched. A small boy put his finger on the primary issue when he asked: "How do You make yourself do what you ought to do?" It was clear to John Calvin that civiliza-

It was clear to John Calvin that civilization depended on men and women who could make themselves do what they ought to do. A better world required men and women of moral competence to manage it. I was startled recently when I read what appeared on the surface to be a confirmation of Calvin's view from an unexpected source. Hans Bjerkholt, secretary of the Ostfold Trades Council and cofounder of the Norwegian Communist Party, put it this way: "The Problem of a new type of man remains a Problem on the agenda of the Soviet Union. At conferences in Russia," he went on, "It was always the theme, 'How can we create new men?' No system, however good it may be, ever will bring peace and freedom if we do not find a new type of man."

The Communists, however, are far removed from Calvin. They seem to want a type of man who is pliable, who can be managed by propaganda and persuaded to accept the judgments of the party without question. The reformers, on the other hand, war,ted men and women of independent integrity and dynamic courage, dedicated to Jesus Christ. The Soviet system requires beople who can be managed; a free society

needs people who are capable of managing themselves.

The ultimate question facing our free society is: Are we able to make ourselves do what we ought to do? There are times, of course, when it is not easy to know precisely what we should do, but as James Breasted noted, the primary difficulty is that we do not do as well as we know, and we are troubled. An anonymous letter to the tax bureau at Albany, N.Y., suggested as much. The writer confessed he had cheated on his income tax for 3 successive years, and he was so bothered by his conscience he couldn't sleep. His letter concluded, "I enclose \$50. If I still can't sleep, I'll send the balance."

The Reformers were acutely aware of the moral inadequacies of human nature. They found hope, however, in the transforming power of Jesus Christ. Paul summarized their hope when he wrote, "If a man is in Christ, he is a new creation." They knew such a man would be not the product of ethical effort, but rather the consequence of spiritual rehabilitation. Moral competence, they were aware, is our response to the love of God in Jesus Christ.

If Paul and the Reformers are right and there is something in us capable of responding to the seeking love of God revealed in Christ, then there is hope we may be able to do what we ought to do. We may be able to manage ourselves in a free society in the interests of social order and peace. hope lies as the Reformers made plain, not in what we can do for ourselves, but rather in what God can make of us if-and the if is crucial-if we respond to the love of God. "If a man be in Christ, he is a new creation," the "id," made manageable, mastered by the new focus of the self's devotion and loyalty. Survival of a free society then becomes more than a possibility. It becomes a probability.

11

Curiously, "the new type of man" is not really free. As Paul said, he is a "bond slave of Christ." That is to say, he is free except for something in himself. Hosea fashioned the truth in a poetic symbol when he wrote concerning Israel and in the name of God: "I led them with chords of compassion, with the bands of love." As Christians we are free except for "the bands of love" that constrain us. We are free within the limits of our own faithfulness and obedience to what Carl Sandburg called, "* * * lights beyond the prison of the five senses," and to "* * * keepsakes lasting beyond hunger and death."

In faithfulness we are not free to betray the spirit or the mind of Christ. The "love of Christ constrains us" to be true both to ourselves and to Him. There is a suggestion of what I mean in the comment of a traveling salesman whose son inquired, "Dad, how did you stay straight spending so many nights in the rundown hotels of mining towns?" The answer was simple and it was eloquent, "I loved your mother, son." And, of course, the salesman's love was his response to the love of his wife for him. His freedom was limited only by his faithfulness.

The moral fibers that sustain the fabric of a free society are the bequest of faithful men and women. Theirs is something more than "liberty in law," it is liberty constrained by love responding to the love of God in Christ. It is freedom in faithfulness that requires no law and no coercion. It is willing obedience to the highest laws inspired by loyalty to the Son of God.

The fatigues of freedom that threaten us are the consequence of the erosion of our faithfulness in a world of moral indifference. We never are able completely to escape the siren voices of the world around us, voices that challenge our faithfulness. Robert Hutchins wryly observes that we are constantly beset by "the huge army of the

world's desires," urged "to buy things from one another that we do not want at prices we cannot pay on terms we cannot meet because of advertising we do not believe." Our cultivated wants constantly threaten our ethical faithfulness.

Barnard Shaw paints a vivid portrait of the fatigues of freedom in his play "Heartbreak House." Its setting is the England of the era between 1913 and 1916, when World War I was devouring the energy of the nation. One episode sums up Shaw's protest against the apathy and the futility of British society. Captain Shotover comes to the point with asperity. He compares England to a ship: "The captain is in his bunk, drinking bottled ditchwater; and the crew is gambling in the forecastle," he says. "She will strike and sink and split. Do you think the laws of God will be suspended in favor of England because you were born in it?"

when the captain's son-in-law inquires, "What am I to do?" the old man answers scornfully: "Do? Nothing simpler. Learn your business as an Englishman * * navigation."

Learning to navigate with faithfulness through the moral ambiguities of modern society requires spiritual discipline. Our wisdom and our courage are dependent on keeping spiritually fit. Paderewski could not navigate the intricacies of great music without incessant dedication to his Muse. "If I do not practice for 1 day, I know it," he said. "If I do not practice 2 days, the critics know it, and if I do not practice for 3 days, everybody knows it." His freedom to make great music hinged on his faithfulness to his art.

So the Reformers knew that faithfulness is contingent on the disciplines that keep us in Christ. As Stanley Jones remarked, "I find myself better or worse as I pray more or less." And Luther sensed that his fidelity depended on his fellowship with the Highest in what he and Calvin knew to be "the only rule of faith and life." Love and loyalty that inspire faithfulness require steadfast cultivation lest they lose their power to hold us steady in our freedom. "If a man be in Christ, he is a new creation." Sometimes "it is harder to hold what you have than to gain it."

m

Freedom in faithfulness inevitably involves responsibility. Indeed, our heritage hinges on men and women who accept responsibility for renewal of the creative powers that are in mortal combat with the forces of sterility and decay. The Calvin memorial in Geneva, Switzerland, with the figures of the great Reformers carved in stone, is a reminder that those who gave us the Protestant Reformation were men who believed faith works. They did not believe we are saved by works, but their lives testify to the fact they exercised responsibility and toiled to make their faith effective in society.

The report of the World Council of Churches meeting in Evanston noted wisely that it is the duty of the church to develop a responsible society, a society where freedom is the freedom of men who acknowledge responsibility. As a priesthood of all believers, we are also a priesthood of responsible citizens.

There is trouble afoot when we retreat from responsibility. Consider the measured words of Nehru, India's great leader. He notes that through days of struggle for freedom there were extremists who sought to turn India into a bloody battlefield. They threatened the security of the nation and nearly turned it down the Communist road of violent revolution. And, says Nehru, "Frightened by this new development, the moderate elements dropped out and sought safety in seclusion." The moderates, whose sanity and integrity were the hope of India,

joined in a massive retreat from responsi-

bility.

"The debacle of freedom," says Paul Scherer, "is the debacle of a faith that has been leaning back in its chair with its feet on the table." The time has come for us to take our feet off the table in the knowledge that a free society will stand or fall, depending on the possibility of maintaining the faith and justifying it by works. We have been chosen for greatness in the 20th century, not to be pampered, but rather to shoulder double responsibility.

The Reformation spirit suggests one aspect of our responsibility falls in the area of thinking. Luther and Calvin took Jesus seriously when He said, "You shall love the Lord your God with " * * all your mind." It is easier, I dare say, to love God with our hearts than it is to grapple intelligently with public issues with neither prejudice nor partisanship, seeking the will of God. Conrad Henry Moehlman put the mood of the Reformers in his lines:

"Let me die thinking. Let me fare forth still with an open mind.

Fresh secrets to unfold, new secrets to find, My soul undimmed, alert, no questions

blinking: Let me die thinking."

Apart from clarity of thinking the "Whiffenpoof Song" describes our plight. "We're poor little lambs who have lost our way."

Faith works in dedicated thinking and in courageous action. It justifies itself in responsible integrity meeting the issues of life and society. Ignorance and irresponsibility are luxuries a free people cannot afford.

IV

One thing more needs to be said, namely, that if we are to be the hinge on which our heritage swlngs into the generations yet to be, we are constrained to speak the truth in love and in loyalty to conscience under God. The reformers never were pliable conformists. They conformed neither to the political nor the ecclesiastical patterns accepted in their time, but rather explored new avenues of hope and promise.

If we are free in faithfulness we do not easily conform either to the dubious customs of contemporary society or to public policies that appear to us to threaten the common good. The "new creation" in Christ is not easily coerced by what everybody says or believes or does. He is God's man. He may seem at times to be like "Mary, Mary, quite contrary," but he is not merely stubborn. He is out of step because, as Henry Thoreau observed, "He hears a different drummer."

The prophets of Israel were quite contrary, challenging the policies of kings and courts with the thunder of "Thus saith the Lord." With all the eloquence at their command they summoned the people to repentance, and their leaders to spiritual obedience. They were by no means disloyal in dissent. On the contrary, they stand now as towering figures who glorified the nation they criticized, and who honored their faith in God with costly political and moral responsibility.

The freedom to dissent in faithfulness is a priceless element in our Protestant heritage. "If liberty is to be saved," Amiel wrote in his journal, "it will not be by the doubters, the men of science, or the materialists; it will be by religious conviction, by the faith of individuals who believe that God wills man to be free but also pure; it will be by the seekers after holiness, by those old-fashioned, pious persons who speak of immortality and eternal life, and prefer the soul to the whole world; it will be by the enfranchised children of the ancient faith of the human race."

If any man is in Christ, he is a new creation, one of the enfranchised children of the ancient fatth of the human race, dedicated in faithfulness to responsibility for the kingdom of God.

Israel's 12th Anniversary

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. MARTHA W. GRIFFITHS

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 2, 1960

Mrs. GRIFFITHS. Mr. Speaker, 12 years ago the United States acquired a new ally and friend when the Republic of Israel was established. The people of Israel won their freedom by overcoming almost insurmountable obstacles. As Americans we can be proud that our sympathy, encouragement, and support contributed to the fulfillment of her destiny. However, Israel is still an infant in the family of nations; she will continue to need our encouragement and support until such things as boycotts and blockades are past history. The following editorial by Mr. Philip Slomovitz, editor of the Detroit Jewish News, points out clearly that the freedom Israel has won can be lost. This we cannot allow to happen to a government that is one after our own hearts; a government pledged to freedom. to equality of opportunity for all, and to respect for the dignity of the individual:

ISRAEL'S ANNIVERSARY: OBSTACLES DUE TO

Israel's anniversary is always a great day. It is a day to accept literally the words of the Psalmist that "this is the day created by the Lord, let us rejoice in it."

Yet it also is a day for stocktaking. Nothing could be more detrimental to Israel than overconfidence. It would be sheer folly to assume that all is glorious, that Israel is secure, that the world accepts the reality of the State's reemergence.

The fact is that there still are elements who begrudge Israel its existence, that there are many who would gladly destroy the small state.

Perhaps the worst enemy facing Israel is the ignorance about it in many ranks and the misinformation and lies that are being spread by her enemies.

An interview with Nasser that was broadcast widely last Sunday on a TV program was the best indication of the deceptions that are being perpetrated. Men who purportedly are acquainted with the situation in the Middle East permitted themselves to ask questions that enabled the Egyptian dictator to propagate hatred of Israel unchallenged. His lies were so apparent that it was appalling to witness American correspondents serving as tools in a scheme of hate spreading.

While we often are deceived into believing that all is honey, there are poisons in many spheres. The press is misled too frequently. Deceptions are the order of the day. Israel is constantly compelled to be on guard. Even the amazing gestures of sympathy to Israel by the maritime unions may peter out into a vacuum.

And so, as we rejoice on Israel's 12th anniversary, we also are forced to admonish the celebrants: Remain on guard, do not become too complacent and never weaken in the de-

fense of Israel. The dangers have not yet passed. Be vigilant, lest a great and sacred idea that emerged with Israel's independence—the end to Jewish homelessness—should again be endangered.

Bureaucracy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, JAMES B. UTT

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 2, 1960

Mr. UTT. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the Record. I ask permission to include my newsletter of April 14 to my constituents on bureaucracy.

WASHINGTON REPORT

(By Your Congressman James B. UTT)

Hearings have commenced on several bills relating to the District of Columbia involving home rule, and including the milder approach of granting the residents of the District the right to vote for President and Vice President and have a nonvoting Delegate in Congress.

The battle cry used by the early colonies in the War of Independence, "Taxation without representation is tyranny," is the current slogan of the District citizens. The old bromide comes to mind that if you think taxation without representation is tyranny, just look at the tyranny we have with representation. Actually, the citizens of the District of Columbia have more appellate representation than the average citizen in America, with the exception of voting rights. A citizen here can appeal for redress to the District Commissioners and from there to the House District Committee and the Senate District Committee and to the courts.

The tyranny which we have in this country even with representation is startling. The average citizen will tell you that we have a government of laws administered by elective officers and therefore it is a government of, for, and by the people. This is what it should be, but let's examine the facts.

There is more administrative law on the books governing our citizens than there is statutory law enacted by Congress. This administrative law has the force and effect of statutory law, and while it is supposed to be within the purview of the statute authorizing it, there is no assurance that it will be-As a result, every bureau, board, and commission in Washington writes a set of regulations according to its own interpretation of the Federal statute, places those regula-tions in the Federal Register, and that be-comes the administrative law which governs you. We are rapidly coming to a point where a complete change of your federally elected officers, including both Houses of Congress and the White House, can mean little change in policy. You are governed by people for whom you have never voted, for whom you never will vote, whom you have never seen, and whom you cannot recall by your vote-They are entrenched in the boards, bureaus, and commissions, even at the policy level-For example, you may think that the Secretary of Labor sets the policy of his Department, but I know that much of the policy of that Department is set by civil service employees who have been with the Department for 20 years, and they have no intention, now or ever, of recommending to the Secretary of Labor any policy which does not fit their personal philosophy of government. and you cannot remove them or replace them by your ballot.

That same situation exists in the State Department, and in fact in every bureau, board, and commission. This is a form of invisible government and can lead to the

most oppressive type of tyranny.

Congress must assume a great deal of the blame for constantly delegating powers and duties which rightly belong to Congress. These delegations of power generally take place under a temporary emergency situa-tion, and once delegated they are never returned. We are currently being asked to delegate to the Executive, which in this case actually means the State Department, the authority to allocate sugar quotas to other countries than Cuba, should the State Department see fit to do so. Of course, the temporary emergency is Fidel Castro, but I know that once that authority is delegated it will never return to Congress. Congress generally delegates these powers without sufficient guidelines and limitations so that it is impossible to determine whether the administrative law which follows falls within the intent of Congress

What we need are 250 Representatives and 51 Senators who will pledge themselves to recapture most of these powers and duties, thereby returning the Government of the United States to its people.

VISITORS

We were happy to welcome the following recent visitors: Mr. Peter Atherton, Mr. George H. Frazier and Miss Gall Frazier, Miss Helen M. Johnson, Mr. James H. Kindel, Jr., with his two sons, Bob and Bill Kindel, Santa Ana; Mrs. Robert J. Hitt, Orange; Mrs. John Barbour, La Mess; Mr. and Mrs. W. G. Paul, Jr., Yorba Linda; Mr. William Sample, Jr., San Diego; Mr. George Osborne, Fullerton, and Mr. Ray E. Badger, Rancho Santa Fe.

National Defense Education Act

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. TORBERT H. MACDONALD

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, April 28, 1960

Mr. MACDONALD. Mr. Speaker, I have introduced today a bill which would amend the National Defense Education Act in order to give added incentive and educational opportunity to those young men and women in this country who plan to serve the Federal Government as members of the U.S. Foreign Service and related agencies.

The National Defense Education Act Serves the worthwhile purpose of helping to meet the needs of our country in this Deriod of international tension. The act presently provides for the expansion of educational facilities and scholarship assistance in the sciences and teacher training.

The state of international tension demands these expanded facilities and the resulting means to secure a greater number of qualified scientists and teachers. But the same international tension certainly demands the expansion and continued development of a qualified personnel to conduct our foreign relations. These needs can be met by the existing private educational institutions in the field of international relations and through our encouragement and support for those institutions.

I am pleased to represent the district of one of the foremost institutions in this field—the world famous Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, a graduate school in international affairs at Tufts University in Medford, Mass. The Fletcher School has for 26 years provided the State Department, and other Government departments and agencies with highly qualified graduates who today ably help to conduct our foreign relations.

The bill I have introduced today would amend title IV of the National Defense Education Act. Title IV presently provides for scholarship assistance to graduate students who are pursuing a graduate course of study leading toward a teaching career. The amendment I have introduced would provide for scholarship assistance to graduate students who are pursuing a course of study leading toward enrollment in our Foreign Service.

The provisions of my bill encourage those highly capable students who have decided on a career in the foreign relations agencies after having concentrated in other fields on the undergraduate level. Through aid and encouragement to the present private educational institutions in this field the need which is so apparent for qualified personnel to formulate and execute our foreign policy can and will be met. It is, therefore, my hope that this bill will soon be enacted into law.

H.R. 10932

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. LEONARD G. WOLF

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 2, 1960

Mr. WOLF. Mr. Speaker, in connection with my bill (H.R. 10932) which is pending in the Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee which would make it impossible for a natural gas pipeline company to make one rate increase effective while it still has a prior rate increase application pending before the Federal Power Commission, I wish to insert into the Congressional Record a copy of communications which have been made available to me by the director of the public utilities department of the California Farm Bureau Federation, pointing out the millions of dollars which California consumers are paying annually because of rates which have been imposed before they have been approved by the Federal Power Commission. Similar situations exist all over the United States.

It is time that Congress found out exactly why the Federal Power Commission is several years behind in its regulatory duties, and to insure that corrective steps are taken.

The two communications follow:

CALIFORNIA FARM BUREAU FEDERATION, Berkeley, Calif., April 28, 1960, Hon. Leonaed G. Wolf,

House Office Building, Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN WOLF: In response to
my letter of April 18 to President Rozzoni, a

copy of which is enclosed, President Rozzoni addressed a letter to each California Congressman and the American Farm Bureau Federation under date of April 28, as per enclosed copy.

Yours truly,
California Farm Bureau Federation,
Public Utilities Department,
J. J. Deuel, Director.

California Farm Bureau Federation, Berkeley, Calif., April 18, 1960. Mr. Louis A. Rozzoni,

President, California Farm Bureau Federation, Berkeley, Calif.

DEAR MR. ROZZONI: We want to call your attention to a situation that merits some serious consideration because of its effect on many farm bureau members in California, both directly and indirectly. It concerns this department very much on account of its effect on the work we are responsible for, but it does not come directly within the scope of the work this department is expected to do.

We refer to the complete failure on the part of the Federal Power Commission to give proper attention within reasonable time to applications for rate increases which are filed with it by natural gas pipeline companies, and which are not heard or decided within the full statutory period for which the increases can be suspended pending review by the Commission.

While the unfavorable results that concern us so much are due to complete failure to act on the part of the Federal Power Commission, some of the blame could logically rest with present legislation and some court decisions which, taken together with the attitude of the Commission, creates an impossible situation that Congress should take immediate action to remedy, since that is the only source from which proper relief can come.

There are at least two bills, H.R. 10932 by Congressman Leonard G. Wolf and H.R. 10309 by Congressman Lawrence Brock and a resolution, House Resolution 474 by Congressman Ken Hechler, now pending in the House of Representatives. The subject is so important and affects the cost of living of so many people that it merits prompt action and most vigorous support.

This letter is not intended to support a particular piece of legislation but to alert you, through you, the American Farm Bureau Federation and California Representatives in Congress, of a very serious situation, the dollar effect of which is substantial here in California. It is not only important to domestic consumers of gas for fuel but electric companies, fertilizer manufacturers, and industrial plants generally, and not only applies here in California but in many other States.

We will now present the problem as it affects the work of this department. At the present time more than 70 percent of all the natural gas used in California is delivered to the main gas distributing companies by a gas transmission system owned by the El Paso Natural Gas Co. which operates under the jurisdiction of the Federal Power Commission. The present volume now imported exceeds 2 billion cubic feet per day and the El Paso Co. is the only source of supply available to meet more than 70 percent of California consumer demand for natural gas fuel.

Under the Federal Natural Gas Act, if a gas pipeline company files an application for a rate increase, during the first 30 days the Federal Power Commission can suspend the increase for a total of 6 months, but if the Commission does not hear the case during that time the increase automatically goes into effect subject to refund if the Commission later decides some part of the increase was not justified.

Since under present Federal law a gas supply company can put a gas rate increase into effect 6 months after it applies, if the Federal Power Commission has final action upon its request for higher rates, and since the Commission is several years behind with its regulatory duties, California gas consumers are now paying in their regular monthly gas bill three rate increases that total \$73 million annually, based on the present volume of use. They are also faced with another application filed in February that will become effective August 24, 1960, and will increase the California consumers' cost \$20 million more.

One rate increase that became effective in April 1955 and has not yet finally been adjudicated is now costing this State \$24 million annually. Another effective January 1958, \$21 million, and one effective August 1959, \$28 million. No date for trial of the last two increases has even been considered yet, and the \$20 million increase due in August will raise the total annual amount to \$93 million. That kind of regulation offers no consideration of the public interest.

These increases first apply against the three California gas distributing companies— Southern California Gas Co., Southern Counties Gas Co., and Pacific Gas & Electric Co.—but because the California Public Utilities Commission, in the public interest, keeps the return, California utilities are permitted to earn very close to the average cost of money. Whenever a utility experiences some unusual increase in cost our commission has to increase retail rates as an offset against the increase in the price paid by the distributing companies.

That means three California rate cases in which we must take part in order to see that rural people are required to pay no more than their fair share of the increase and are protected in case refunds are later ordered. The sad part is the validity of the pipeline companies' rate increases is very doubtful, but they have to be paid by consumers for several years while waiting for the Federal Power Commission to determine the facts.

Whatever you can do to assist in finding an answer to this impossible situation will be of much benefit to many people.

Yours truly, California Farm Bureau Federation, PUBLIC UTILITIES DEPARTMENT, J. J. DEUEL, Director.

CALIFORNIA FARM BUREAU FEDERATION, Berkeley, Calif., April 28, 1960.

A problem of considerable importance to California agriculture and consumers in gen-

eral has been brought to my attention.

I refer to the apparent inability on the part of the Federal Power Commission to give appropriate attention within reasonable time to applications for rate increases which are filed with it by natural gas pipeline companies, and which are not heard or decided within the full statutory period for which the increases can be suspended pending review by the Commission.

While the results of this situation are due to failure to act on the part of the Federal Power Commission, some of the responsibility could logically rest with present legislation and some court decisions which create a situation that apparently only congres-

sional action can remedy.

I am informed that at the present time more than 70 percent of all the natural gas used in California is delivered to the main gas-distributing companies by a gas transmission system owned by the El Paso Natural Gas Co., which operates under the jurisdiction of the Federal Power Commission. The present volume now imported exceeds 2 bil-Hon cubic feet per day and the El Paso Co. is the only source of supply available to meet more than 70 percent of California consumer demand for natural gas fuel.

Under the Federal Natural Gas Act, if a gas pipeline company files an application for

a rate increase, the Federal Power Commission can suspend the increase for a total of 6 months if it acts within 30 days. But if the Commission does not hear the case during the 6 months, the increase automatically goes into effect subject to refund if the Commission later decides some part of the increase was not justified.

Therefore, a gas supply company can put a gas rate increase into effect 6 months after it applies, if the Federal Power Commission has not taken final action upon its request for higher rates. As the Federal Power Com-mission is several years behind with its reg-ulatory duties, California gas consumers are now paying in their regular monthly gas bill three rate increases that total \$73 million annually, based on the present volume of use. They are also faced with another application filed in February that will become effective August 24, 1960, and will increase the California consumers' cost \$20 million

There are two remedial bills, H.R. 10932, WOLF, and H.R. 10309, BROCK, and a resolution, House Resolution 474, Heckler, now pending in the House of Representatives

This situation appears to be one which merits attention.

Sincerely,

LOUIS A. ROZZONI, President.

A Doctor's Ordeal Along Death Row

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 2, 1960

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, in further support of my bill, H.R. 870, to abolish capital punishment, I commend to the attention of our colleagues the following article by Dr. William F. Graves who, although himself a medical doctor, could not continue to remain at San Quentin because of the imposition of the death penalties and the cruelty attendant thereon:

A DOCTOR'S ORDEAL ALONG DEATH ROW (By William F. Graves, M.D.)

Unlike animals, man knows he must die one day, but the saving grace is that he does not know when. But a condemned man has this tormenting horror constantly before him. This seems to me savage on the part of so-called civilized society.

When a man is scheduled to die at San Quentin, there is an atmosphere of emotional disturbance, an uneasiness, an edginess you can't help but notice, not only among the prisoners, but among the prison officials as well. I think it is felt most acutely by those involved in carrying out the execution. It is important to remember these are people who have gone into this profession as sociologists and psychologists because they have been dedicated to helping people.

In a sense they are physicians and they are called upon in this instance to take their patient and kill him. This is as far from any natural act as can be imagined. It is something they do with the greatest sense of misgiving and moral indecision. Words cannot express the emotional disturbance that this arouses.

It is probably the main reason I left San Quentin. I felt even though there were great needs there, I just couldn't involve myself any longer in this kind of an act.

A case which illustrates the inadequacy of our laws regarding criminal responsibility is that of Henry Ford McCracken. Certainly

he belonged in a mental institution rather than in death row. He required two series of electric shock treatments before he could be executed. He had become completely uncommunicative. He became a vegetable; he wallowed in his own excreta in his cell.

I was the doctor who removed him from death row under those circumstances and took him to the prison hospital where he was given a series of shock treatments. Then he was taken back to the row. ever, he was not considered sufficiently well to be executed; and he was brought back for another series of shock treatments before he was finally considered well enough to appreciate he was being punished and therefore fit to be executed.

There was a man with cancer who required repeated surgery before his execu-tion. He was an older man, about 65 or 70. He had been, as far as we could tell, a responsible businessman in Santa Rosa. Most of his life he had operated a cosmetic salon there. His wife had left him for another man, and on the day the divorce had become final, he had gotten drunk. He wanted to see one of the children; so he went to the house where she was living. She refused this request, and in a rage he grabbed up a butcher knife which happened to be handy and slashed her. As soon as this happened he realized what he had done and he called the police. However, his wife

He was prosecuted for murder in the first degree. To my mind, this wouldn't seem to be first degree murder, and this was the way most of the people in the prison felt about it. They felt his sentence would probably be commuted. It never was. We took care of him for about 2 years while his bladder cancer slowly developed and while he exhausted his legal avenues. I think he probably wouldn't have lived more than a few weeks if the execution had not occurred. Moreover, if he had died of the cancer, his children would have received the sum of \$30,000 which was the life insurance he had carried.

I'll never forget the members of that family when they came to see him. His children, tears streaming down their faces, as they would enter and as they would leave.

Basically, these people who commit serious antisocial acts are all mentally disturbed. We should stop using the word "prison" and look upon our correctional institutions as maximum security hospitals. As a matter of fact, this would have much more de-terrent effect. The men in San Quentin fear more than anything else being considered insane.

A man like Chessman, in every sense, is the prodigal son. He has come back, and we are refusing to accept him. Of course, he personifies a problem which is much larger than himself. We do this to many other people as well, but the Chessman causes capital punishment to stand out in all its gruesomeness because unlike others on death row, Chessman will not allow us to escape the fact that he is a human being.

Transportation-Modern Concepts

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. JOHN W. McCORMACK

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, May 2, 1960

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, in my extension of remarks I include an excellent address made by Morris Forgash, president of the U.S. Freight Co., before the Traffic Club of New York at New York City on April 7, 1960, on the subject of "Transportation—Modern Concepts." Mr. Forgash is not only an outstanding businessman of America, but there is none more qualified to discuss transportation problems confronting our country than he. His views are worthy of profound consideration by everyone, particularly those in the transportation business, and interested in the same:

TRANSPORTATION-MODERN CONCEPTS

(Address by Morris Forgash, president, U.S. Freight Co., before the Traffic Club of New York, New York, N.Y., April 7, 1960)

I appreciate this opportunity to talk to you for a few minutes on a subject which holds a good deal of fascination for me. You will understand that I labor under some difficulty. The announcement of this meeting states that I am to give you a "tantalizing picture." I am not sure whether the reference is to the picture of me which was emblazoned on the flyer, or to the message I am supposed to convey. In either event, I am in trouble.

If it is true, as the old adage goes, that a man is not without honor save in this country, I stand at the bar of a stern court. I am consoled by the fact that the advance billing referred to me as your "long-time" friend. I hope no one leaves here calling me his "former" friend. For my part, I know that I count many of you as my very close friends—and friends should be able to speak frankly with each other. I intend to be frank, and if I cannot tantalize you I will at least try to challenge your imagination.

You will have taken note that the title of my talk is "Transportation-Modern Concepts." A thing is modern in contrast to something that is ancient or outmoded. Surely no one will contend that transportation in this country is outmoded. traditional American enterprise and ingenuity we year by year continue to build up massive transportation plants and facilities-to construct and improve roads-to dig channels and improve waterways. But what are we doing in the "idea" department to improve method and technique, to eliminate waste and duplication, to tailor transportation service and rates to the changing demands of industry? That is the field I want to explore.

There are hopeful signs that we are at last beginning to come out of our mental shells and tackle some of the problem areas in which a great deal of "deferred maintenance" has accrued. It is none too early if we wish to continue to be the architects of our own

destiny.

One fundamental fact ought to condition all of our thinking about transportation. The common carrier, charged with the responsibility for serving the whole public, is essential both to the economy and defense of the Nation. Private carriage, no matter how significant it may become, or how well it may serve individual segments of the economy, can never meet the needs of the commerce of the United States or the demands of national defense.

Our choice, then, is not whether, but how we shall maintain a strong and adequate common carrier system. If common carriage cannot survive under free enterprise with private management it must be maintained by Government. There is no middle ground, for interference that usurps the functions of management will ultimately lead to control and there is no point in

temporizing.

I am not trying to scare anybody with the spectre of imminent nationalization of transportation in this country, but there are certain inescapable facts that we cannot ignore. For a long time now the percentage of total intercity ton-miles of traffic handled by common carriers of all types has been dropping at a rate of about 1 percent per

year. Common carriers handled only 67 percent of the total traffic volume in 1959. The position of the railroads in particular is deteriorating at a much more rapid pace than that of the other carriers, but the others have no cause for complacency.

In the decade of the 1950's the railroad share of total intercity ton-miles of traffic dropped from 56.2 percent to 44.9 percent. In the 20-years span, 1939–1958, the ratio of railroad revenue to national income dropped from 5.7 percent to 2.7 percent. We ought to be worried about how far this trend can be projected before it passes the thin line of decision—the point where decision cannot be deferred.

Big problems always generate a lot of heat. You are familiar no doubt with the recent report of the U.S. Department of Commerce titled "Federal Transportation Policy and Program." Each man will evaluate the report in the light of his own interest, but it reaches some conclusions with which I think all will agree. One is that the responsibility is and should be with the common carriers themselves to develop service standards and rate structures which will enable them to hold their own against private and exempt transportation. Another is that we must achieve greater coordination in transportation. Regarding coordination, the report concludes that:

"The best means should be left to the industry—containers, piggybacking, and fishybacking, standardization, joint bills of

lading, etc.'

It seems obvious to me that we cannot coordinate a system of transportation made up of a countless variety of carrying units, with specialized, special-purpose equipment, requiring physical rehandling from vehicle to vehicle. By joint rates, through routes could be established but the resultant coordination would not be very efficient. This kind of coordination, always possible, has remained in the realm of probability. of the prerequisites for successful coordination is standardization of the unit of haulage. There must be free interchange among modes of transport and this can only come about in the development of a container of one or more compatible multiples which will ride with equal facility on the rails, the highways, the waterways and the high seasultimately even in the air. Our planning must be based upon economic factors and not upon an emotionalism.

Coordination is perhaps the most overworked word in transportation. The first thing we need to do is to coordinate our thinking about coordination. To me, coordination means a combination of services that complement each other, the one taking over where the other leaves off, and with each mode of transport performing that part of the through service which it is best fitted, costwise and servicewise, to perform.

Stated in the negative, coordination does not mean the mere substitution of one type of transport for another, as where a motor carrier, to complete its own transportation contract with its shippers, within its own territory, employs a railroad to pull its trailers over the rails in lieu of transporting them over the highways. Transportation will remain compartmentized under such a scheme. The benefits, if any, will flow to the carriers and not to the shippers.

Substitution is, of course, the basis of what is called piggyback plan I—the substituted service plan. I would be less than candid with you if I did not tell you that, whatever merits the plan may have from the standpoint of any interest involved, I do not think it is the answer to coordination of transportation.

From the time three-quarters of a century ago when produce wagons and teams were hauled aboard Long Island Railroad flatcars, down to very recent times, "piggy-backing" meant simply placing the vehicles

normally used by one mode of transport aboard railroad flatcars designed and used for other purposes. We are coming to the realization, based on experience, that this hit or miss method will not work.

As you know, a wide variety of equipment is used in piggyback service today. Perhaps the system still in most general use is the handling, on flatcars, of truck semitrailers on their own wheels. Under another system flanged wheels are added to the trailers or containers, for which a specially built flatcar with a center sill for a track is required. Still another system employs containers with detachable wheels or "bogies," which are sideloaded onto special flatcars turntables. These and other systems have advantages and disadvantages. The crux of the matter is they are all different and obviously they cannot all be universally employed without a great duplication of equipment which in the end could outweigh the advantages of piggybacking altogether. We must, therefore, move toward standardization, not only of containers but of other

equipment and methods.

The very complexity of our transportation system, and the differences in the characteristics of the various modes of carriage, make standardization a difficult problem. The starting point must be standardization of dimension-from that we can move to standardization of method. Progress is being made in the standardization of sizes of containers. For almost 2 years now I have had the honor of being chairman of the special subcommittee on containerization of the National Defense Transportation Association. About 8 months ago we believe we crashed the dimensional and size barrier in agreeing on a standard container 20 feet by 8 feet by 8 feet. In arriving at this con-clusion we made it clear that this did not rule out the development of other compatible multiples, such as, 10 feet by 8 feet by 8 feet or even 5 feet by 4 feet by 4 feet. You will observe that all of these sizes are mathematically related to what is rapidly being accepted as the standard-size trailer for over-the-road operation, namely 40 feet by 8 feet by 8 feet. The Army is testing prototypes of the National Defense Trans portation Association recommended 20 feet by 8 feet by 8 feet container.

Standardization will not come without experimentation and experience, but we can expedite the process by fixing a target. That we have done—perhaps with an excess of boldness, but at least with courage and determination. This is everybody's problem

and all can help.

Despite the lack of uniformity of equipment and method, piggybacking has moved further, faster, and with more enthusiastic public acceptance, than any development on the transportation scene in modern times. In 1955, the first year in which piggybacking achieved significance, the average weekly loading of piggyback cars was 3,000. In 1959 an average of 8,000 piggyback cars was loaded each week. More than 10,000 cars were loaded in the week ended March 5, 1960. In the first half of 1959 piggyback loadings totaled 209,000 cars, an increase of 62 percent over the loadings in the first half of 1958. In its latest annual report to Congress the ICC quoted from an independent survey which showed that 20 railroads are participating in plan I piggyback, 43 in plan II, 21 in plan III, and 18 in plan IV. Since then a few railroads have entered into plan V arrangements. The statistics do not show the proportion of total piggyback loadings broken down according to the various plans.

It may be appropriate at this point to mention briefly the various plans of piggybacking that are currently in use. In addition to the substituted service represented by plan I, you know that the railroads operate plan II service, using their own trailers in lieu of traditional boxcar service. Plans III and IV are based on published tariff rates, the former covering movement of shipper-owned trailers on rail-owned flatcars and the latter covering movement of shipper owned or controlled flatcars and trallers with the railroad supplying only the motive power. Plan V is based on a true toint rate between motor and rail, with endto-end truck-rail service.

Equally as important as standardization is to the success of coordination through piggybacking is modernization of pricing of this totally new service. Again adverting to the Commerce Department report, I was struck by this comment and I quote:

"Common carrier rates of all kinds are rapidly becoming regulated by competition whether the common carriers like it or not the competition of highly developed private

and exempt carriers."

The shipper by private truck determines his cost per truck movement and it is affected only to a slight degree by the commodity or content of the truck. Similarly, the railroads' cost of pulling a flat car with trailers from terminal to terminal—with all terminal handling eliminated and practically no risk of loss and damage—is almost wholly unaffected by the content of the lading.

Thus the railroads have been able to fix a charge for piggyback service, under plans III and IV, of so many dollars per flatcar movement, terminal to terminal. The plan III rate works out to 25 cents a trailer mile or 50 cents a car mile. Plan IV rates come to about 42 cents a car mile. Simple and scientific. Profitable to the railroads and sensible to the shippers. Plans III and IV piggybacking eliminate the factors that complicate costing-terminal handlings, transfers, empty car mileage, freight loss and damage, investment in and maintenance of equipment. Surely the railroads can accurately determine their cost of pulling a flatcar over two steel rails from one point to another-all other costs and hazards eliminated.

Classification is one of the time-worn principles of ratemaking, but it has largely lost its significance in today's highly competitive system. Such meaning as it has is now largely reflected by density of lading—how many pounds of straw hats or of nuts and bolts can you load into a container of standard cube? The space limitations of the trailers used in piggyback service—their cubic capacity-classify the freight loaded therein on the only basis that makes good sense to most shippers. Thus classification is not ignored, it is modernized.

Assuming that the railroads can accurately determine their cost for the line-haul movement of flatcars in piggyback service, and that they fix a rate on a flat basis which is just and reasonable, then we get down to the question: Who can match or better the rate, at comparable speeds, and for what distance? That is where economics will come into play in the coordination of rail, truck, and other transport services under modern concepts of piggybacking. Wasteful, duplicative service, and unnecessary physical handling, will be eliminated by the economics of the situation,

If shippers can buy transportation, performed and priced as transportation should be, the cost will make it profitable for them to leave transportation to the professionals and concentrate their energies in their own field of endeavor. The return of tonnage from private to common carriage will be beneficial to the whole transportation system. Transportation will gradually get back in balance. The railroad-in recent years symbolized as the "sick man" of transportation-will be able to cure himself without the aid of Government nostrums. A rapidly decentralizing industry will obtain a new and coordinated distribution tool-a transit pipeline combining the maneuverability, flexi-

bility and speed of the truck with massdistance economy of rail and water.

In the progress that we have made to date in the field of containerization, piggybacking and fishybacking we have only scratched the surface of the vast potential of the concept. The advantages already demonstrated, with the equipment so far in use, have permitted us to look over the horizon to even more fabulous developments. Tre-mendously increased speed, charges based on even larger quantities reflecting the economy of mass transport, the all-purpose container virtually eliminating empty car miles.

In the matter of speed, I have made some predictions that have raised evebrows. I make no retractions, but of course I tied time limits to some of my suggested targets. We are moving toward them even faster than I had supposed. Looking just around the corner I predict we will have 50 hours service Chicago to the Pacific coast-65 hours from New York.

Reasonably priced rail piggyback service, at speeds which are entirely feasible, can hold its own with the best that can be produced for long distance over the best superhighways or in the air even in a jet age, More than that, a combined freight-passenger service, already functioning in certain places, can reduce the overall passenger deficit that inflates the freight-rate structure. Passengers have never objected to riding in the same train with baggage and express. Why should they object to riding in the same train with freight moving in containers that can be made as attractive to look at as a streamlined passenger carespecially if it insures a payload that will keep the passenger service going?

The necessity for interchangeability, and the demands for standardization which piggybacking inherently is bringing about, inevitably will lead to the all-purpose container and ultimate elimination of specialized one-purpose equipment. In that direction lies the only hope for solution of the toughest economic problem in the entire field of transportation—empty car and truck

mileage.

We have come to take for granted, because it is a fact that nobody seemed able to cope with, that about 40 percent of freight car mileage is and must continue to empty car mileage. We have assumed that this is a natural result of the imbalance of traffic, without stopping to consider that it is not so much the traffic but the equipment that is out of balance. Trainloads of fruits and vegetables moving to the North and East—trainloads of manufactured products moving South and West-special purpose equipment that has to make a round trip with a one-way payload. This means that the freight shippers of the country have been buying a lot of round-trip tickets to get a one-way ride.

Empty car mileage will never be entirely eliminated because some freight always will require specialized equipment that cannot be used in the return direction for anything else. But the enormous waste of carrier resources and shipper dollars can be materially reduced if we devise equipment that has the absolute maximum of utility. It is my considered opinion that an all-purpose container is capable of reducing empty car miles. by at least 50 percent-a potential saving of such magnitude that we ought to be enthusiastically excited about it.

An all-purpose container that will carry everything adaptable to the ordinary box-car or truck trailer, plus automobiles and liquids, or combinations thereof, is already in production. A collapsible rubber tank holding 3,000 gallons of liquid freight will fit into this container, with two automobiles in retractible ramps riding above. Take out or fold up the tank and two additional automobiles will fit into the trailer.

On the drawing board and just about to emerge is a trailer carrying the all-purpose

concept even a step further. Insulated and refrigerated, this trailer will hold four large or six small automobiles. It will carry a collapsible rubber tank with 4,300 gallon liquid capacity. It will carry dry freight, perishables-or various combinations of all these items.

Obstacles to the use of this all-purpose equipment ought to be brushed aside like cobwebs because the results in terms of elimination of waste, reduction in empty haulage, encouragement to coordination, flexibility of transportation, and economy to the country outwelch all other considerations.

These new concepts which are right now knocking at the door of acceptance—as well as others which are already on the horizon of our vision-promise a new era in transportation. It is an era in which the shippoint public will get a long deferred and well deserved new deal. We are on the eve of accomplishing, by initiative and enter-prise, what we have long sought by policy and study-coordinated transportation based on the best elements of rail, highway, water, and air carriage, in any combination.

We have too long permitted the vast potentials of our system of transport to be obscured by tradition, ignoring basic economics, content to do things in the old order because it was old and respected. short, we have failed to use the basic tools that we have at hand-to exploit the inherent advantages of the greatest physical transportation plant on the face of the globe—and to apply new concepts in an era where the only constant is change,

I have described without too much elaboration, certainly without doing them full justice, some new concepts which I believe will revolutionize transportation in the decade of the sixtles. We are standing be-tween yesterday and tomorrow in transportation, and we cannot stand still or we will lose by attrition. We must move ahead boldly.

Politics at the Summit

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. STEVEN B. DEROUNIAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, May 2, 1960

Mr. DEROUNIAN. Mr. Speaker, the bipartisan approach to foreign policy. seems to be slipping away from some Members of Congress. David Lawrence comments on this in his article, which appeared in the Washington Evening Star on April 29, as follows:

DEMOCRATS GETTING WORRIED?-GROUP IS CHIDED FOR CRITICIZING PRESIDENT ON POS" SIBLE NIXON SIT-IN AT SUMMIT

(By David Lawrence)

Are the Democrats getting more and more scared of being defeated by Vice President NIXON in the next election?

Fifty-five Democrats in the House of Representatives were so sensitive about the favorable publicity the Vice President might receive if he attended the summit conference at Paris during a possible absence of President Eisenhower that they signed a public protest. They called on Mr. Eisenhower to "explain why during this election year he has suddenly decided to relinquish his job as President to the candidate he has endorsed as his successor." They added:

"By this obvious and transparent partisan move, the Republican administration has subordinated the hopes of Americans and free man everywhere for peace in the

world to the political ambitions of Vice President Nixon."

Such a statement seems incredible. Without bothering to look into the facts and circumstances surrounding the President's decision, the 55 Democrats jumped to the conclusion that it was all just a brazen political move. What probably happened is that some publicity man in the Democratic camp prepared the statement and rushed to signatures on Capitol Hill.

What, however, are the facts about the President's decision? They could easily have been obtained. Mr. Eisenhower said to his press conference on Wednesday:

'Congress is in session and there are a number of bills that are important before the Congress. If they should come at an awkward time for me, and I felt that they should be vetoed-now, I have quite a tough time schedule because any important bill that requires a veto, not only requires the most, the deepest study in the departments concerned, but it demands daily consultation with me because I am the one that has got to be convinced that this is a bad bill or a good bill, and therefore you cannot do this-if these bills are important-from a distance.

"Now, the only reason that I happen to have said this in this particular case is that We don't know how long this summit meeting is going to be. In 1955 we had a rather, a pretty good understanding of the number Everybody agreed that this time of days. it should go as long as it was felt necessary. So, since I am leaving on the 14th and had to fix a date for my visit to Portugal on Sunday, I took the 23d to the 24th. This is getting along at a rather long period. So I said if domestic requirements did bring me back, I would have to ask Mr. Nixon to serve for me as the head of the delegation. This does not mean that I expect him to be there but I was-simply put the warning.'

The key to the President's purpose may be read between the lines. The Soviets want a long conference. Mr. Elsenhower doesn't Want to spend several weeks in Paris. In the 1955 conference at the summit in Geneva, a time limit was placed on the whole thing, This has not been done for the coming Paris conference.

It was natural, therefore, for Mr. Eisenhower to utter a word of warning. It was a difficult and delicate subject to handle, internationally speaking, so the President decided to serve warning indirectly that he would not engage in a prolonged palaver at Paris. This is a maneuver in the conduct of foreign relations which the President ought to be able to make without the sabotaging tactics of partisans on Capitol Hill.

Surely the President of the United States ought to be free from petty sniping as he prepares for a summit conference on which hope for peace and disarmament is being based throughout the world. Surely there must be ample time between June and November of this year for the snipers and the smearers to carry on their partisan attacks against Mr. Nixon. Surely mere attendance for a couple of days or even a week at the summit conference by Vice President NIXON, as he sits in for the President until Mr. Eisenhower can return to Paris or until the conference adjourns, is not something so catastrophic to the Democratic Party's hopes for victory in 1960 as to cause so many of Its Members in the House, as well as some In the Senate, to lose perspective.

Former President Truman by his statement approving President Eisenhower's plan to substitute the Vice President at some Paris session, dissociated himself from the critics. It has also been suggested on Capitol Hill that Secretary Herter should have been designated to head the delegation in the President's absence. But those who made the suggestion don't know protocol. When heads of State meet, a Foreign Secretary cannot serve as a substitute. A Vice President of the United States is considered the No. 2 man, just as is a Vice Chairman of the Soviet Union.

The Night I Met Lincoln

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. WALTER H. JUDD

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 2, 1960

Mr. JUDD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following wistful and moving account of the impression made on a student from abroad by his first encounter with the statue and spirit of Abraham Lincoln, as interpreted to him by the night guard, an American student who understood and showed forth the spirit of this Nation as truly as did Lincoln himself.

> THE NIGHT I MET LINCOLN (By Andrés Berger-Kiss)

Washington, Jefferson, Franklin-those names were large ones for me as I journeyed to the United States for study. But to me-"foreign" student-the most exciting American personality was Abraham Lincoln. It was through him that I came to know better his country today.

Hitchniking about the United States, I had visited the Lincoln homeland. I had visited his log-cabin birthplace in Kentucky and his finer home in Springfield, Ill. For the climax of my pilgrimage, I had saved the Lincoln Memorial in Washington.

As it happened, my ride let me off at midnight on the west side of the Potomac River, which meant I had to walk across the Arlington Memorial Bridge. As I approached the memorial, all I could see was the enormous structure silhouetted in the moonlight. I walked through the wide, empty avenue and up the deserted steps. To my disappointment, halfway up the long steps a sign, barely legible in the night, warned visitors that entrance was allowed only at certain hours.

Suddenly the beam of a guard's flashlight fell on me. "What are you doing here this time of night?" he asked, approaching

me. He was a big Negro in a neat uniform.
"Sorry, fellow," he said, when he heard my stammered reply, "but we're closed now. Come back tomorrow morning."

"Can I sit here on the steps for a while?" I asked. "I've carried this suitcase a long way."

"Sure." In the bright moonlight he noted the college sticker on my suitcase. "I see you're a student. I'm saving some money myself to go to school—law school," he went on, "by taking care of Old Abe."

We chatted for a few minutes and when he learned that I was a stranger to his country he said, "There's a lot of talk in other lands about the Negro problem here in the United States-about discrimination and prejudice. And yet, there's no single minority group in the whole world that has made as much progress in a hundred years as we have. The people of this country have made that progress possible. Other nations expect us to settle our problems overnight. They can't seem to accept that a slow understanding is much more permanent.'

The guard looked at the place where the monument stood enshrouded by darkness. "Lincoln here, he freed my grandfather, who was a slave. I take care of Lincoln now and he's going to put me through law school. It's all part of our system, and it works out pretty well. There's a certain dignity about Lincoln," he added, "which is our own heritage; something that has lasted and has become a part of all us Americans, regardless of the color of our skins; something very good that can't ever be taken away from us. All those who come here sense that and they leave better human beings than when they came. Maybe if other foreigners like yourself would come here, maybe they'd understand."

"I will tell my friends abroad what you've just told me," I said, getting ready to leave. I bade him goodby, picked up my suitcase, and was about to descend the steps when he called:

"Guess Old Abe won't mind a foreign student visitor. Come with me and meet him.

I followed the guard, passing the massive columns, through the portal, and into the spacious darkness.

"Stay here," he said, "while I put on the lights. Look up, boy—you're gonna have the treat of your life."

I stood quietly, waiting in the stillness.
And the lights shone first on Lincoln's

head, casting the shadow of his full stature on the wall and leaving the rest of the chamber in a strange twilight; and then the brighter lights fell upon him. His presence

filled the structure with such an aura of greatness and human warmth as I had never experienced.

Long I stood there awed by all the serene humbleness of the man who now sat in stony silence but whose voice and deeds had guided his nation. I wondered about the people who had made such a nation possible. In the spell of Lincoln's presence, the spirit of their million joyous voices answered, ringing out in unison all the wondrous words of liberty.

The National Cultural Center

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. CARROLL D. KEARNS

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, May 2, 1960

Mr. KEARNS. Mr. Speaker, the National Cultural Center Act-approved in September 1958—specifies a narrow and somewhat awkwardly placed plot of land in the Nation's Capital on which the National Cultural Center is to be built.

Part of the land within this site description is already owned by the U.S. Government, and part of the land is held by private owners. In order to carry out the intent of the National Cultural Center Act-namely, that the Government provide the land on which the building would be built, and the building itself would be paid for by private contribu-tions—the Board of Commissioners of the District of Columbia allocated \$705 .-000 of Capper-Cramton Act appropriations for the purchase of the privately held land within the site described in the

The board of trustees and their architect adviser tried to work out a design for facilities on this site but concluded that real justice could not be done in this way to the objectives of the National Cultural Center Act.

Accordingly, in conversations with Conrad L. Wirth, Director of the U.S. National Park Service, the idea arose for placing the National Cultural Center partly on land within the original site description and partly on U.S. Park Service land in order that a park and river setting could be achieved for the Na-

tional Cultural Center.

Incidental to such a shift in the location of the building would be the relocation of Rock Creek-Potomac Parkway so that it is moved out of the way of the proposed building. This shift of the parkway necessitates the acquisition of certain small parcels of private land not already included within the original site description in the act.

At the time this site shift was considered in 1959, it was generally believed that the \$705,000 of Capper-Cramton money would cover most of the cost of buying the privately held land, and that any small balance would be covered by funds collected from fund raising. On this basis then, the board of trustees approved an architectural concept which, in accordance with the law, was sub-mitted, for approval, to the Commission of Fine Arts, with a full explanation of the change in plans. The Commission of Fine Arts enthusiastically endorsed the building plan, as did the National Capital Planning Commission and the District of Columbia Board of Commissioners.

PROBLEM

In the past year, active work has been proceeding in redeveloping the Foggy Bottom area of the Nation's Capital. This factor, as well as announcement of plans for a National Cultural Center in this area, have caused land values to nearly triple. Informal appraisals by the appraisers employed by the National Capital Planning Commission, indicate that the \$705,000 of Capper-Cramton money is no longer adequate to complete the purchase of the privately held land.

The trustees are beginning to experience fund-raising difficulties because of inability to show that they have a clear title to the land on which the Center is to be built, and no funds are available with which to buy the land. Part of the difficulty is that prospective donors do not want to give to a project which does not have a clear title to the land, and they had understood that the Govern-

ment was providing the land.

In the second place, the National Cultural Center Act limits the life of the Board of Trustees to 5 years. In the event that the National Cultural Center project fails, all lands acquired for this purpose revert to the U.S. Government, Hence, prospective donors are either refusing to give in the face of this uncertain situation, or they are exercising their rights under the section of the law which provides that they may designate an alternative beneficiary for their donations in case the National Cultural Center project fails. As a consequence of these reservations, no funds are available with which to buy land.

The Board of Trustees is not even in a position to go to a bank and obtain a mortgage on the U.S.-owned land earmarked for the Center because of the 5-year death sentence in the act. In other words, no bank will give a mortgage on a piece of land which reverts to the U.S. Government in 1963.

In the face of these problems, the Board of Trustees authorized its officers on March 31, 1960, to explore with the appropriate Members and committees of Congress the possibility of:

First. Amending the National Cultural Center Act in order to enlarge the Center site so that the structure can be built in accordance with the approved plan as shown in the National Capital Planning Commission File No. 1-8-618.

Second. Obtaining from the Congress an appropriation of such funds as would be required to secure all of the private lands needed to built the Center in accordance with the approved concept.

In seeking this appropriation, the Board of Trustees notes that the expenditure of the additional funds may be considered a prudent investment for the U.S. Government for the following

First. Purchase of the privately held land as soon as possible will halt the rising value thereof at 1960 prices.

Second. Even should the National Cultural Center project fail by 1963, the land which will revert to the U.S. Government can be used for another governmental purpose, and the price of the land would have been held to the 1960 price.

Third. Should the United States desire to sell the land for a nongovernmental purpose in 1963, the Government could profit from the general rise on land values in the Foggy Bottom area and make the sale at a higher price than the 1960 purchase price.

Imported Agricultural Labor Doesn't Take Jobs Away From Our Own People

> EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. CHARLES S. GUBSER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, May 2, 1960

Mr. GUBSER. Mr. Speaker, many opponents of Public Law 78 base their opposition upon the belief that importation of foreign labor takes jobs away from our own people.

Each week the Gilroy Evening Dispatch prints a news story which clearly shows that this argument is false. In the issue for April 27, 1960, the Dispatch quotes Mr. Arnold Hamilton, manager of the State Department of Employment Office in Gilroy, Calif., as stating that there is an urgent need for men and women to pick strawberries. The Dispatch story further reports the situation as so desperate that housewives and schoolchildren are urged to help in harvesting the berry crop.

Another portion of the same news story reports that during the week previous to April 27 there were 458 continued claims for unemployment insurance and 150 new claims.

The sense of this news story is not unusual; in fact, it is normal during the harvest season in California.

To editorialize on the Dispatch news story I should like to offer this com-ment: "Isn't it apparent that unemployed domestic workers will not pick strawberries? If this is true then do we not need imported field labor if we are to harvest highly perishable crops?"

Panamanian Election Issues

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, May 2, 1960

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, an informative news story in the April 25, 1960, issue of the Christian Science Monitor by Mr. Ralph K. Skinner, experienced Isthmian correspondent of that newspaper, supplies some highly pertinent information about political and sociological trends in the Republic of Panama, which are now being brought into focus by the May 8 presidential election in that country.

The article follows:

PANAMA GIRDS FOR MAY 8 VOTE (By Ralph K. Skinner)

PANAMA CITY, PANAMA.—Panama's May 8 presidential elections will be held against a background of somewhat eased tension between Panama and the United States and with the usual welter of last-minute charges and strategy changes.

A political party recently founded here carries the name, Third Nationalist Party.

If this implies that it became a third party to two existing parties, it is a misnomer.

In the current campaign there have been nine legally inscribed parties, and nine can-didates for President. Included are eight opposition groups and the incumbent administration.

With the presidential elections imminent, there has been some opposition consolida-tion. Four parties rallied behind Victor F. Goytia, a perennial politico with much man-in-the-street sympathy. The other four opposition parties support Roberto F. Chiari, a sugar and dairy tycoon.

ELECTION SEEN LIKELY

The incumbent National Patriotic Coalition continues dominant because it counts on thousands of Government employees to vote for its candidate, Ricardo M. "Dicky" Arias, to safeguard their jobs.

The consensus here is that if the two present opposition candidates joined forces and put up one candidate, he would trounce administration candidate Arias. (By re-maining split, as they are likely to do, they practically guarantee the election of Senor

Opposition strength is based on the peo ple's desire for a change. The people are not just opposed to Senor Arias; they are opposed to continuation of the current administration which they say has done nothing

Although, traditionally, the people in Panama want a change every 4 years, the record shows they seldom get it; the party in power usually perpetuates itself.

It is freely admitted here that electoral probity has been missing from most presidential elections; that administration backing is tantamount to being announced the winner.

This year things are expected to be different. There is more citizen interest than in any prior election. Much is at stake.

For the first time, votes are to be counted immediately at the balloting locations. It is forecast that the results will be announced in 48 hours instead of the customary several weeks.

Local merchants, who have suffered drastically from the Panama-United States strife of recent months and the voluntary boycott of Panama by Americans in the Canal Zone, are said to have laid down the law.

POLITICIANS SOBERED

Politicos have been told that, unless they produce a stable government, establish an environment to attract outside capital, and allow local business to get back on its feet, they face (1) a bankrupt economy and (2) certain overthrow by the disgruntled populace.

Also, the merchants are adamant that whoever is elected President must include businessmen in the Government and consult with them in the formulation of administration and national policy.

Another contribution to possible peaceful elections is the realization by powerful political manipulators that they no longer control the people of Panama as they once did.

Political leaders do not dare to use the press and radio to whip the populace into a frenzy as they did last November 3. They were sobered by their inability to stop or control the violent November 28 demonstration which the leaders sincerely did not want.

A realization that violence begets violence has frightened and sobered some of Panama's political leaders. Preelection rabble rousing has been less than anticipated.

Despite rumors of coups d'etat, student uprisings, etc., the presidential elections are expected to be reasonably orderly.

More than ever before, the race issue has been injected into this year's campaigning. Full page advertisements in local newspapers extoll what each candidate has done for the large Negro population here.

For campaign purposes, the term "Criollo" is used rather than "Negro." Opposition newspapers accuse candidates of racial discrimination.

DEVELOPMENT PLANNED

Panama's most experienced political strategists recognize that when Negroes in this country develop effective leadership, Panama may well become a "Negro Republic."

Currently lacking leadership, Panama's Negroes have split into many divisions and are not prominent in the political scene here. Barring a last-minute consolidation of the

Barring a last-minute consolidation of the opposition behind a single candidate, Senor Arias is considered almost sure to win.

Senor Arias has served as President for 2 years following the assassination of President Remon. Senior Arias, who has been Ambassador to Washington for the past 4 years, is said to be the epitome of the family-ruling-class official.

It is freely forecast that Senor Arias, if elected, will be the last Fresident of Panama from the privileged class. Observers say that the growing strength of the lower and middle classes, augmented by militant student groups, will force election of a candidate from the people, a middle-class president, responsive to the man in the street.

Despite this, Senor Arias says he is confident that he will be elected.

He has told intimates that during his administration, he will restore Panama-United States relations to their traditional pattern of friendship.

If he becomes President, Senor Arias says he will press the United States for a raise in tolls at the Panama Canal. This, he says, will enable the canal administration to pay higher salaries to Panamanian employees.

To solve Panama's economic problems,

Senor Arias plans large-scale development of Panama's retarded interior. He lists penetration roads, wells to furnish sanitary drinking water, and electricity as the greatest needs of the interior provinces.

Israel's Independence Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 2, 1960

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, today, May 2, 1960, the State of Israel celebrates the 12th anniversary of its independence.

In May 1948 less than 700,000 Palestinian Jews defied the threats of the six surrounding Arab States and implemented the United Nations resolution by proclaiming the State of Israel. In the 12 years that have passed since that day the population of Israel has almost tripled. Nearly 1 million immigrants entered the country. Fleeing from the displaced persons' camps of Europe, the Russian and Communist rule of the satellite nations, and from the poverty and squalor of north Africa and the Middle East, these immigrants were welcomed by the Israelis and absorbed into the new country. The Government of Israel housed and trained them; it gave them immediate employment and provided them with steady jobs; it built new villages and towns and expanded public, social, and educational facilities; it made them productive citizens of the new

During its brief period of independence, Israel has also greatly increased its already high standard of living. It has expanded both the industrial and agricultural production of the country. Since 1948 nearly 700,000 new acres have been cultivated, and the acreage under irrigation has increased from 62,000 to 306,000. Towns and cities throughout the state are growing. This is especially true of the Negev, Israel's southern desert area. One of the main goals of the Government has been to make the desert bloom and become able to support large numbers of people. As a result, Beersheba, the "capital" of the Negev, has grown from a city of 3,000 before the state was declared to a present population of 44,000. Eilat, "frontier" of Israel, is at the southern tip of the country on the Red Sea. It is fast becoming the country's second largest port.

Israel is not, however, narrowly restricting its progress to within the country itself. It has embarked on an ambitious trade and aid program with the new states of Asia and Africa. The Israelis are sharing with he new nations of the world the knowledge they have gained since their independence. They are offering the benefit of their experience to smooth the road of the new African countries toward economic stability. At the same time Israel offers the

example of a nation which has built itself up without resorting to dictatorship, communism, or even guided democracy. It is a living example of the democratic type of government that we Americans hold so dear. As such, it offers a hope to the free world of winning over the new emerging Africa to the side of liberty.

The State of Israel has accomplished all this, not only in a rather short span of 12 years, but also in the face of persisting hostility and enmity on the part of its neighbors. Since Israel's armies defeated the Arab forces that sought to prevent its establishment, a constant barrage of propaganda has been turned on it. President Nasser, King Husein, and Prime Minister Kassim vie with each other in their sharp verbal attacks against Israel and call for its destruction. The country's ships are denied passage through the Suez Canal. It is boycotted by all the Arab States, a boycott which also affects American ships, for example, which touch at Israeli ports. Egypt has for years encouraged "fedayeen," guerrilla, attacks on the peaceful villages of Israel.

It is to the problem of continuing strife in the Middle East that we Americans must rededicate ourselves on Israel's 12th independence day. The Middle East is an area to which peace could offer much. It is to a large degree the duty of the United States to see that it is accomplished.

I fervently hope that by May 1961 we will have seen great strides in that direction so that both Israel and its Arab neighbors can live and grow in peace and harmony.

This Far and No Farther

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HASTINGS KEITH

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 2, 1960

Mr. KEITH. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I include the following editorial with reference to Loyalty Day on May 1, which appeared in the New Bedford (Mass.) Standard Times on May 1, 1959.

LOYALTY DAY

Many times in our history, beleaguered men have faced the enemy with the challenge, "This far and no farther."

Thousands said it against the murderous iffs of Normandy.

cliffs of Normandy.

Thousands more said it in the cold and hunger of Valley Forge.

Thousands more said it in the brutal Aisne-Marne offensive to turn the tide in World War I.

To those who stood, it was more than a matter of loyalty. It was their way never to see freedom lost, to die in the last ditch.

Today, the cause is no less crucial. An enemy more ruthless, more evil, more cunning, pressures all civilization into what could be a century of conflict, political as well as social, shooting war as well as economic struggle.

The attack comes from every side, within and beyond the Nation's lines.

An unarmed plane is shot down. A helpless prisoner of war is sadistically tortured in body and soul until his brain is washed clean of all resistance.

A ballet troupe, a smiling murderer, a group of farmers, eat away at the Nation's heart and will to resist.

The brainwashing is relentless. The War of Revolution was no revolution but a class struggle, the brainwashers say. The men at Philadelphia in July 1776, were no more than crafty, money-seeking, power-grubbing conspirators.

Soak the rich. Share the wealth. The slogans pour out; the battle never ceases

the minds of all.

It would come as a shock to the men of Lexington, of Normandy and Iwo Jima, that there would ever be need for a Loyalty Day.

Yet, today is Loyalty Day in New Bedford and in cities across the country.

It is a day dedicated to the American

Heritage of liberty and of human decency. Sponsored by The American Heritage Committee of Greater New Bedford, it is a day for patriots to relive the glorious past and

to replenish the iron for the troubled future. It is a day to turn to the enemy, inside and foreign, with the battle cry, "This far and no farther."

Two-Party Press-Good or Evil?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. THOMAS B. CURTIS

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 2, 1960

Mr. CURTIS of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include an editorial which appeared in the St. Louis Globe-Democrat on April 6, 1960, as

TWO-PARTY PRESS-GOOD OR EVIL?

In an adjoining column is a thoughtful letter from Mr. Ernest M. Potts linking the decline of the Republican Party in Missouri with the nonpartisan approach which this newspaper has taken in recent years.

Mr. Potts makes an eloquent case and one in which we thoroughly concur, in the need for a two-party system. We demur when he states that this requires a twoparty press. His conclusion is that the resurgence of the Republican Party in Missouri is linked to the Globe-Democrat once again becoming the organ of republicanism.

Mr. Potts' interest in good government, we are sure, is equal to our own, although he is not quite as aware of the trend of journal-

ism in recent years.

The day of the party organ, either Democratic or Republican, faded when radio and later news magazines and television came upon the communications scene, and well it

In the early days of this century, when the citizenry had nothing but newspapers from which to get its news and commentary, editors could and frequently did stand sim-

ply as spokesmen of a party.

Nor was this always altruistic. The papers of those days were not in the strong financial position of those who survive among today's metropolitan newspapers. quently, political advertising, to put a kindly light on it, meant the difference between

solvency and bankruptcy.

Today if a newspaper is to have any believability, it comes only in calling 'em as it

sees 'em.

The true function of a newspaper is to give study and thought to the candidates and to arrive at its own conclusion as to which is the better man, regardless of party

Well-documented reasons for approving one candidate over another, or one issue against another, are believable and persuasive to the electorate. On the contrary, believability and persuasiveness would be lost if a newspaper followed the tradition of bygone days and endorsed all candidates of one party simply because they carried, by its lights, the proper party designation.

It is the function of a newspaper to print the news as it is-not as that newspaper may wish it to be. By the same token, it is the duty of a newspaper in its editorial page to support those candidates of whichever party who most clearly measure up to the ideals

for which that newspaper strives.

We share with Mr. Potts a deep-seated concern for two-party government in Missouri. We ardently hope, in the interests of good government, that the Republican Party will present candidates for election to all offices who will be worthy of the support of the electorate.

We would have better government in Missouri with a strong two-party system. As illustration, Governor Blair, a Democrat, who has been a perfectly superb Governor, would have fared better in the last session of the legislature if there had been stronger Republican representation in Jefferson City.

Instead, the Governor's program was hacked up by members of his own party and those portions which were enacted became law when certain Democratic senators like Hogan and Hillsman were absent, and the Governor received the solid support of the Republicans plus the best members of his own party.

Nevertheless, Mr. Potts puts the cart before the horse. It is up to the party to nominate good candidates—not to the Globe-Democrat to try to pull the Republican Party up by its bootstraps and foist candidates of inferior stature upon the electorate simply because they are Republicans. The Globe-Democrat, while mindful of

the problems of two-party government in a state which has been too heavily Democratic in recent years, nevertheless will con-tinue to endorse those candidates of either party, both in the primaries and the general election, who will best serve the people.

We will likewise continue to urge the participation of all the people in the nomination and selection of better men and women to run for public office. Therein lies the only solution to the problem which Mr. Potts poses so eloquently.

Mr. Speaker, I also include a letter addressed to the editor on the same subject:

WANTS A PRESS SPOKESMAN FOR GOP To the EDITOR:

I hope you will give it a very long thought before you endorse STUART SYMINGTON over RICHARD NIXON for the Presidency, as your editorial the other morning seemed to imply you might do.

This would be a cruel blow to a Republican Party here, and in the State that is just now beginning to show signs of struggling back to its feet, after a long drought of defeat.

It may outrage you for me to say that the Republican Party here expects more from the Globe-Democrat than your nonpartisan approach, but it is, nevertheless, true and rightly so, in my judgment.

Until recent years the Globe-Democrat was a frankly Republican newspaper, and the decline of our two-party system in this city began with the decline in the Globe-Democrat's partisanship. The Democrats have enjoyed an almost unbroken ascendancy since, principally because of the espousal of their cause by the Post-Dispatch, day in and day out, year after year, no matter how wretched the candidates.

The biggest joke in this community is the laughable fiction of the Post-Dispatch's nonpartisan ideal, and there are fears that Globe-Democrat may be on its way to making it a two-way comedy act.

A healthy two-party system needs a twoparty press, not a press that avoids its responsibilities in the matter. Our political system is based on the two-party approach. Anything which weakens it is bad, no matter what the excuse given may be.

In my judgment, advocacy of its cause by a newspaper is vital to a party. Traditionally the Globe-Democrat did that job for Republicanism in St. Louis, and the party can never regain its place in the community until that condition returns.

ERNEST M. POTTS.

Development Center of the United Cerebral Palsy of Northern Virginia

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. JOEL T. BROYHILL

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, April 27, 1960

Mr. BROYHILL. Mr. Speaker, among the hundreds of organizations, large and small, that are engaged in trying to mitigate human misery, once in awhile a relatively small one is particularly, noteworthy because of the importance of the work it is doing, and because of the devotion with which members of the organization approach their task. I would like to call attention to one of these, the Development Center of the United Cerebral Palsy of Northern Virginia.

There can be no more worthy a goal than that of this center—the alleviation and cure of the much dreaded cerebral palsy that affects so many of our chil-

A baby afflicted with cerebral palsy is born every 53 minutes, but if a special development center in nearby northern Virginia has anything to do with it, children stricken with this dread crippler will have a much easier time of it. And, eventually, cures for this feared scourge may be found through research efforts spurred by the center.

The devotion to the task by those participating in the activities of the center can best be illustrated by tracing the development and operation of this wonderful organization.

In a sense, the story of the genesis and progress of the center, which is located at 111 North Cherry Street in Falls Church, is nearly as exciting as the work being done there.

Some 10 years ago a small but determined group of northern Virginians. alarmed by statistics that 1 out of every 300 children born is afflicted with cerebral palsy and by the fact that no facilities were available locally to fight the Nation's No. 1 multiple crippler, decided to do something about it.

nucleus of this group was made up of parents, relatives, and friends of the children who had been stricken with

this type of brain injury.

Although victims of cerebral palsy were to be found in great numbers in the arca, these leaders were shocked to realize that there was a complete lack of facilities there for treatment and education on the subject. Through their efforts, United Cerebral Palsy of Northern Virginia, a nonprofit, nonsectarian, voluntary organization came into being.

Focal point for operations of the group is the Northern Virginia Cerebral Palsy Development Center for preschoolchildren. Provided rent-free by the city of Falls Church, it is the only facility of its kind in northern Virginia. It operates solely through contributions from area

United Cerebral Palsy of Northern Virginia also contributes to national and State research activities on cerebral palsy, particularly at the University of Virginia, and conducts an extensive educational program for parents, volunteers and the general public.

A visit to the Cerebral Palsy Development Center is an inspiring yet sobering event. Here one sees, face to face, the grim manifestations of this dread crippler. Here one witnesses men and women dedicated to the task of easing the lot of those afflicted, and striving desperately to restore usefulness and happiness to stricken children.

In truth, a whole new world of opportunity and joy is opened up for the 24 youngsters who are fortunate enough to share the facilities of the center. They come from assorted families in the area, since wealth or poverty play no part in the selection of students.

At the center, preschoolchildren who had little or no hope of attending regular school, yet who might be considered educable, receive daily training, therapy, companionship, and friendship. These ingredients are essential to a program of emotional, educational and physical development.

Some of the students were unable to swallow, or talk, or walk, or even stand, when they first enrolled at the center. Long hours of patient training, under the guidance of experienced teachers has resulted in slow but sure progress for these students. More than 10 percent have been rehabilitated to the point where they have been able to move on to regular schools.

At present, the center maintains a staff of two full-time and four parttime employees. In addition to these professionally trained staffers, many volunteers have cheerfully donated their

services to the cause.

Although in the short span of 5 years enrollment has increased from 4 to 24, much more remains to be done. Scores of other cerebral palsy children in northern Virginia could benefit from the Wonders the center has to offer.

Those who are interested in the development center know that they have just scratched the surface, and are currently engaged in an expansion program. I want to take this opportunity to wish them well, and to assure them of my full support.

Medical Needs

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. JOHN D. DINGELL

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, May 2, 1960

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, time marches on. There appears to be very little disagreement that our older citizens cannot afford the minimum adequate care they need. It is an accepted fact that medical attention costs considerably more these days, particularly hospital care. No one will argue that older persons have larger medical needs or that their incomes are lower than those of our younger, employed citizens. It is also generally recognized that both the number and proportion of older people are rapidly increasing.

Obviously, a sensible solution to the pressing problem of adequate medical care for our older citizens is imperative.

Private health insurance plans are not the answer for the simple reason that the aged are in a high-risk, high-cost group and the premium that might be charged to provide them with the necessary medical benefits is far more than most of them can afford to pay.

There are over 15 million citizens 65 years of age or older. Every 3 years a million more people become 65 years of age. How can these people meet the cost of increased medical needs at a time when their incomes are lowest? The tragic answer is all too often they cannot. Moreover, our aged population contains a great many widows and widowers. Of all women 65 and over. more than half-55 percent-are widows: of all men 65 and over, about one-third are widowers. How much income do they receive? To get an accurate view of the income of the aged, it must be realized that only one in every five of them have any kind of paying job whatsoever, and this includes part time and intermittent work. That is why 3 out of 5 people 65 and over have less than \$1,000 in income per year, and only 1 in 5 has more than \$2,000 in income

per year.

I believe our aged should have the benefits of the recent advances in modern medicine. There was a time when chronic illness, epidemics, diseases and the illnesses of old age, were more fatal to elderly people than they are today. Older persons can benefit from the new developments in the field of medicine only if they can afford the cost of the hospital and medical care involved. Surveys show that older folks recover from illness more slowly and often require more involved types of medical

The cost of hospital care has skyrocketed. The Consumer Price Index, used by the Bureau of Labor Statistics, shows that over a 20-year period, the price of hospital care has tripled. Although much of this increase reflects a change in the character of hospitals, as well as a greater utilization of hospitals occasioned by the growth of health in-

surance, the increased cost of medical care falls heaviest upon those who need it most and can afford it least-the aged.

Legislative proposals for governmental assistance to the aged for health care have been increasingly numerous in recent years. They range from my own bill for a national health insurance program (H.R. 4498) to Federal loans to health service organizations (S. 2009-Senator HUMPHREY). Perhaps the most discussed proposal is the Forand bill, H.R. 4700, which would provide social security recipients with up to 60 days of hospitalization per year and some nursing home care and surgical benefits. I am the sponsor of an identical bill H.R.

Every industrialized nation in the world provides medical care in some form or another for all or most of its citizens. All European countries, except Finland. have some type of governmental health and maternity program in operation. Most of the 59 countries of the world which have such programs provide medical benefits under a social insurance system. Some countries, like Australia, Sweden, U.S.S.R., and England provide medical services under a separate governmental program covering all its citizens. In countries like Belgium, Denmark, and Japan, the government subsidizes private mutual sickness funds.

It seems inconsistent to me that the United States the champion of human dignity, possessor of a vast economic system second to none, and leader of the Western World, should fail to quickly resolve this problem so fundamental to every human being in our Nation. How can our Federal Government respond to the needs of its citizens, when there are those in the Congress and the executive branch who drag their feet and raise academic questions regarding the necessity of a program for which the need is obvious to all who have studied the problem?

I know not what logic or reasoning can successfully be employed to move those who would delay passage of the Forand bill. Our older citizens are deserving in their autumn years of receiving the modest medical benefits this bill would pro-

Now is the time. We must expend our every effort to secure passage of this legislation which deals with a human consideration more powerful than any other measure to come before this session of Congress.

Loyalty Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF HON. PETER W. RODINO, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, May 2, 1960

Mr. RODINO. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I should like to pay tribute to Loyalty Day, 1960.

The establishment of Loyalty Day is another of the significant contributions of the Veterans of Foreign Wars. It was the VFW who, some years ago, began the commemoration of May 1 as Loyalty Day as a positive and highly effective countermeasure to the May Day celebrations of the Communists. Since then the idea has spread rapidly throughout the Nation. Numerous Governors and mayors have issued Loyalty Day proclamations, and, in 1959, the President gave the day national recognition.

Americans throughout the Nation, under the leadership of the VFW and other patriotic organizations, take this occasion to sponsor parades and demonstrations. It is on this day that we express our loyalty to our great Nation and to the great ideals of freedom and democracy which make up our American way of life.

Needless to say, Loyalty Day falls not only on May 1 but on every single day of the year. Only if we constantly rededicate ourselves to our country and to the ideals which she represents can we expect to strengthen our national purpose and retain our greatness as a world leader.

Automation and Its Economic and Social Challenges

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. THOMAS J. LANE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 2, 1960

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include a very interesting article written by Mr. Solomon Barkin of the Research Department, Textile Workers Union of America, in New York:

AUTOMATION AND ITS ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL CHALLENGES

(By Solomon Barkin)

Automation means more than the introduction of a set of new tools. If it meant merely the innovation of transfer machinery, servomechanisms and electronic computers, the effects would not necessarily be of a larger magnitude than most previous technical innovations. What makes automation important is that it introduces a new system of management and industrial organization. It inauguates the third industrial revolution.

The first two initiated significant changes. The first lead us into the era of mechanization. Machines displaced supplemented manpower. The standardized production ushered in the age of mass production. Then followed the factory and the assembly line.

The second revolution brought scientific management with its emphasis on measurement and specialization. Control could be exercised through standards and measures. Functional management would promote the greatest efficiency.

The third revolution replaces specialization with integrated business conduct which unifies all parts into a responsive and interrelated entity. All branches are responsive to the feedback directions from the central intelligence. A unitary system is created in place of coordinated components. Now there must be a close and immediate interweaving of product design, materials, processing, mechanising, selling, and planning.

The consequences for the economy are most far-reaching. The rate of increase in productivity is magnified so that output per man-hour will rise in an ascending rate. Industries and plants will become obsolete at a faster rate. Economic change will be heightened. Skills will be quickly and widely scrapped. Knowledge will spurt ahead. In-novation will be quickened. The rate of displacement will be accelerated. More communities will be left stranded. New capital demands will increase as the investment per job rises. The economy will become more rather than less vulnerable to business fluctuations as its dependence on a rising volume of new capital investment becomes more critical. Economic instablity will become more threatening. As turnover rises, the problems of personal, communal and na-tional adjustment will become more significant and demand greater and greater atten-

The new problems will be visible in more accentuated forms. Retraining and upgrading needs within the individual plant will become more significant as transfers to new jobs and processes will be commonplace. Educational programs will be in greater demand and provisions for support during retraining periods more elaborate. Companies will be required to help workers transfer to new locations and adapt themselves to new environs or the Government will have to take over this job.

But even more pressing will be the problems of the displaced. They are the people whose plants and jobs will have been eliminated and for whom employments will not be available in their previous occupations. They will need redirection and retraining. Many must be helped to advancement in their levels of achievement as jobs are generally upgraded in the community. The new openings must be filled from the ranks of the unemployed. There are many human needs of sustenance and physical and mental rehabilitation which must accompany the occupational training. Here again some help may be needed for relocation.

There is need not only of personal rehabilitation but communal redevelopment. The cities and towns which lose their older industries must also be modernized to make them suitable sites for the new industries and services which the modern economy is producing. Older communities have been adapted to older industries. Many services and facilities, public, philanthropic and private, need to be modernized. In some cases, buildings and services must be cleared away to make place for entirely new ones. In others renewal is possible. Finally, many new services and facilities will be essential to create the base for new industrial and commercial complexes.

The declining industries cannot be permitted to slip away. In some cases little can be done to help. But we have learned too much about the opportunities for industrial redevelopment to let them die and to waste the resources of knowledge, talent and capital invested in them. Research teams have made a growth industry out of paper and pulp; chemical studies are renewing the growth cycle of the bituminous coal industry; reforestation is starting a new lumber industry; metallurgists are making an economic asset out of taconite. In the textile industry research has opened up new industrial uses for textiles. Assembly halls, radar equipment, missile parts are now built in part from fabrics. Much can be done to revitalize declining industries to maintain the tremendous human and capital resources they represent.

We have the arsenal of ideas for catapulting the new economic age of automation into existence. What we need most is to learn the principles of and create the permanent instrumentalities for adjustment to the new era. The new age of rapid change demands higher emphasis on conservation. We must save our human and industrial capital and utilize them to the utmost. Waste will be costly in an age when the rate of obsolescence will be heightened. To enjoy the full benefits of the new creativity and productivity, we must be kept abreast of the many changes it inaugurates. Our emphasis must now be on renewal, rehabilitation, and redevelopment; and only secondarily on clearance and demolition.

The age of automation must be coupled with a program for adjustment built on upgrading people and exploiting capital for

human development.

Gov. J. Millard Tawes Honored

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JOHN R. FOLEY

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 2, 1960

Mr. FOLEY. Mr. Speaker, on April 28, 1960, the B'nai B'rith, of Maryland, honored Gov. J. Millard Tawes of Maryland by establishing the Interfaith Youth Fellowship in his name at the University of Maryland. During the evening we were fortunate to hear the national president of B'nai B'rith, Mr. Label A. Katz, of New Orleans. Because of their compelling interest and timeliness, as well as the broad humanitarian objectives of B'nai B'rith, I insert Mr. Katz' remarks in the Appendix of the Record:

REMARKS OF LABEL A. KATZ OF NEW ORLEANS, PRESIDENT OF B'NAI B'RITH, THE JEWISH SERVICE ORGANIZATION, AT B'NAI B'RITH DINNER ESTABLISHING THE GOVERNOR J. MILLARD TAWES INTERFAITH YOUTH FELLOWSHIP, APRIL 28, 1960, UNIVERSITY OF MARYLAND, COLLEGE PARK, MD.

It is appropriate to the evening that we are assembled at a center of great learning, the University of Maryland. We are gathered for the concomitant purposes of extending our profound respects and homage to the chief executive of this illustrious State, in particular for his perceptive efforts to advance the opportunities for education, career and service among our youth, and by your splendid support, to give expression—a practical and productive expression—to our esteem for the Governor by establishing a youth-serving fellowship in his name. There is no more comfortable or responsive locale to accomplish these objectives than that of a college campus.

I speak for an organization that is now in its fifth generation. B'nai B'rith, when it was founded in 1843, was the first national service organization in our country. Like most enduring things, it began in humble circumstances. Where we now have 470,000 in our ranks, we began with only 12 men. But they were farseeing souls. And so it is a revealing fact of B'nai B'rith history that one of the earliest concerns of the movement 117 years ago persists as one of its dominant programs today. That is, the opportunities for creative maturity and constructive citizenship among American youth.

Styles change and the social order advances. So we in B'nai B'rith have progressed far beyond the simplicity of an orphans' fund that was the very first community program in our organizational history. We have also had to progress far beyond the simple measures of an earlier day

in maintaining our voluntary programs of community service.

The orphans' fund was supported by fines and assessments against members for infractions of the Victorian rules of the era. If you appeared at a meeting in improper dress—that is, without swallowtail coat and stovepipe hat, or if your accuracy with the cuspidor in the meeting hall was negligent—why, misdemeanors like these accumulated tidily to the benefit of the orphans' fund.

But that was a century ago. In the meantime, all of us have managed to complicate our lives with the intricacies of a shrinking world, where the problems of youth are no longer the emotional turmoils of the neglected orphan. The problems now, it seems to me, revolve around the intellectual shortcomings of our adult generation in approaching its responsibilities toward the generation that follows.

The basic problem of youth is not youth. It is the spirit of truculent indifference with which we threaten to endow our age. I don't think our greatest danger is the intercontinental missile or the thermonuclear bomb. I do think our greatest danger is a smug and comfortable oblivion to the intellectual and ethical demands of the modern society in which we live.

If we are to be an educated people we must destroy any lurking myth that the mere accumulation of wealth and the achievement of comfort are the ultimate objectives of our civilization. We must beware being sloganized into a habit of "Enjoy Now, Think Later."

I do not say this in order to breast beat against material comforts * * * against the idea of two cars for every family. I like that concept. I firmly believe that the road to permanent peace and brotherhood among men is accelerated by an abundant society. It is easier to achieve universal goodness in a state of plenty than in a state of poverty.

Today, we Americans have come closer than ever to an affluent society. But the question is: for what purpose? Is our affluence being used for universal goodness? Or are we making it an end in itself, a principle of personal comfort over cause?

We adults these days are buffeted by the competitive demands of the status society. It is a society of false values. Yet its sins are not visited on the fathers alone when our youth is thrust into it long before it has the capacity to develop a faith and a value system predicated on the sanctity of human living.

We give our children vitamins and elaborate summer vacations. But do we give them insight into the glory of righteousness, and the honor of truth? Do they grap the marvel and mystery of just being allve?

On the whole, we have raised a generation of youth healthier, better fed, better clothed, better traveled, and better read than before. Yet, we are confronted with more youthful waywardness and sharper rebellion.

Waywardness and sharper rebellion.

What are our youth rebelling against? Almost every American generation rebelled in one form or another. But with few exceptions these were rebellions for reform and improvement. They were rebellions that struggled to establish new values, not just the negation of old values.

We have the curious posture of an astonishing increase in church and synagogue membership among our youth at a time when we Americaus, and particularly our youth, are the most lawless of the major Western peoples. The record shows that 63 percent of all youth under 21 are enrolled in Sabbath and Sunday Schools. It also shows that in a recent year the District of Columbia had 116 murders compared with only 3 in Amsterdam. New York had 466 felonious homicides in a year when London had 35.

The sociologists tell us that a primary cause for the bewilderments of modern

youth is delinquent parents. There is a revealing commentary in the fact that while every parent wants his child to possess a personal religious faith, he doesn't always find it necessary for himself. In their religious institutions, our children may hear of humility and plety and the immutable strength of a moral code. But at home, they are more likely to hear the glorification of the status society. And from the television set comes the blandishments of the hidden persuaders.

But it is not as parents in the home that we expose our delinquency. American parents are loving parents—and any youngster will tell you they're the best kind. we fail, it seems to me, is in our diffidence and debilities as an adult group. The general outlook on life that is fashioned among our young people is a byproduct of the ethical environment we offer them. make the rules; they don't. We, the adults, are the power structure in the community. And if our idolatry is the worship of things instead of ideas, if we are to be seized by a passion for possessions that overwhelms all intellectual, moral, and spiritual values, then we are adding a new, a distorting, di-mension to the American Creed as it was spelled out by the Founding Fathers of this Nation.

The Founding Fathers neither feared knowledge nor acknowledged fear. Because they foresaw the expanding opportunities of freedom the men who made this Nation would not be astounded by the bigness that has grown out of their creation—the bigness in business, in Government, in labor, in the military. But they would be disillusioned, I fear, by the bigness of mass thinking, of the packaged cliche, that is becoming the social identity of our generation. They would look askance at the false comforts of conformity that they themselves had rebelled against; the ebb of debate and discussion, the rise of machine-produced thoughts and phrases all wrapped up in gray flannel trimming.

We live in an atomic and automated age. The question is creeping up on us: between man and his machines, who is master and who is slave? It is precisely to retain the mastery of the human spirit that in our massive bigness, and the conformity it produces, there is need to encourage a youth's wonder about the natural world and all the people and things in it; and there is an important place for a child's fantasy which looms large in his inner world, and for a child's happy sense of adventure.

Education is the admirable companion of youth, and it was a clever Adam Smith who suggested that the great secret of education is to direct vanity to proper objects. My own notion is that American education to-day is not as bad as the pessimists decry. Nor is it as good as its apologists contend. But whatever its virtues or faults they are a clear reflection, not of the youth who engages in it, but of the adult power structure that conceives and commands it.

In these explosive times there is no doubt, except in the minds of the myopic, that we must probe new ways of growing closer to peoples all over the world. American education needs to embrace a commitment that is universal in scope, not one that is merely an expedient adjustment to a single affluent society.

But what are we making of American education? We urge our youth to study, telling them that knowledge means success. We uphold the doctrine of learning as a young man's answer to the question, "How will I get the most out of life?" Forgotten is the corollary question, "How will life get the most out of me?" In other words, must we justify the value of education in terms of expediency? Must we believe that the sole purpose of the universe is to satisfy our

needs? Must we seek the maximum comfort through the minimum use of energy? Is this the height of our stars?

True learning, my friends, is the astronomy of the spirit. We are blessed with a high standard of living. We must have an equally high standard of thinking.

We have power. We must constantly seek the wisdom to use it constructively.

We have the system. We must be certain that the system retains its ethical values.

For the one thing I fear most is a generation of youth that sees the world all neatly calculated and explained.

If your children and mine are to be heirs to a payola civilization in which ethics and intellect are corrupted in favor of rigged television contests and ghost-written doctoral theses, it is a shoddy legacy indeed. We shall have robbed them not only of their ethical fortitude but we shall have robbed them of their freedoms and material strength as well.

We owe the next generation a better heritage than that. We owe it to the self-respect of our own generation.

I interpret your participation here this evening as an awareness that American youth is not an entity unto itself but a part of the continuing process of the American experience that has made of us a bold, a strong and a creative nation.

And I hope you join with me in the awareness of our responsibilities as the adult generation that holds the reins. The true adult, it has been said, is the man who has ceased to grow vertically, but never horizontally.

We honor one such adult this evening. The Governor is a composite of the virtues that are fitted to the American creed—and the American need—of democratic leadership. It is not for me, an outsider from New Orleans, to detail for this assemblage the human qualities of goodness and greatness that are the dimensions of the man. You know them better than I; you chose him as your chief executive.

I approach my pleasant assignment this evening with one vivid impression of the Governor which, I believe, it is fitting to relate.

When the representatives of B'nai B'rith first met with the Governor he exposed his personality in something he said. In the relaxed and informal atmosphere of that brief meeting, he reviewed with sincere respect the achievements of preceding administrations in Annapolis. He recited some of the enduring things that had been done by men who had occupied the Governor's chair before him.

Then, he added: "I am human enough to want to have a lasting monument to my administration. I would like that to be in the field of higher education. I would want the State of Maryland to meet its responsibility to its young citizens in a way that will encourage every boy and girl to enjoy the advantages of a college education and will provide the opportunity and the facilities for every boy and girl who wants it."

Governor, I know I speak for everyone here when I tell you there can be no greater monument to public service than that.

Therefore, it is a special privilege for me, on behalf of the members of B'nai B'rith in this State and elsewhere throughout the Nation to present to you * * in the presence of your charming wife and members of your family, in the presence of so many distinguished political leaders and colleagues in your administration, and in the presence of your many friends and well-wishers gathered here in your honor this evening * * this token symbolizing the establishment of the Gov. J. Millard Tawes Interfaith Youth Fellowship.

There are better words than mine to express the sentiment of this gathering in its

admiration of your leadership and your humanitarian interest in the future of our The words are from Malachi, as inscribed on this plaque:

"And He shall turn the heart of the fathers to the children and the heart of the children to their fathers."

Governor, my warmest congratulations.

Persecution of Italians in Tunisia

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. VICTOR L. ANFUSO

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, April 27, 1960

Mr. ANFUSO. Mr. Speaker, the new state of Tunisia, which was established as an independent nation only a few short years ago, is setting a bad example of rabid nationalism and racial persecution of the Italian minority living There are some 50,000 people of Italian origin living in Tunisia, most of whom are second and third generation natives of Tunisia.

The Tunisian Government has instituted a policy of discrimination and per-secution of these people with but one purpose in mind; to drive them out of the land. They are being deprived of their jobs and of every opportunity to earn a livelihood, they have no citizen-ship status, no political rights. They are simply outcasts whose only choice is either to emigrate from Tunisia or face starvation. Although for the overwhelming majority of them Tunisia is their land of birth, under the circumstances it is not surprising that they prefer to leave this land which is today persecuting them and mistreating them.

The question is, Where could they go? They are practically stateless people. For the most part they are workers who possess various skills. I believe that if these people, or the greater part of them, could be admitted to the United States they would prove to be a good asset. They are a hard-working and industrious group.

I have discussed their problem with our colleague, the Honorable EMANUEL CELLER, the distinguished chairman of the House Judiciary Committee, who is preparing an appropriate immigration measure for their admittance under our immigration laws. That measure will be ready for introduction in the near future and I shall be glad to be a cosponsor of it.

In the meantime, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to insert the text of a resolution or racialism in Tunisia adopted on April 26 by the United-Italian American Labor Council in New York, The resolution reads:

RESOLUTION ON RACIALISM IN TUNISIA

Whereas it is a matter of public record that the United-Italian American Labor Council has consistently struggled against fascism and communism and always has supported the policies of the American and international free trade union movements against all forms of colonialism and for the complete independence of all colonial peoples; and

Whereas it comes as a painful shock to learn that the Tunisian Government is embarking on a policy of rabid nationalism and persecution against workers of Italian origin who have greatly contributed to the development and economic progress of Tunisia; and

Whereas according to the latest information, there are, at present, in Tunisia 51,702 Italians, of whom almost 40,000 are secondand third-generation born Tunisians who have, technically speaking, kept Italian citizenship on the basis of international agreements then existing; and

Whereas about 11,000 of these Italian nationals have already been compelled to leave Tunisia and return to Italy as a result of discrimination and persecution ordered by the Tunisian Government: because though not classed as such, these thousands are refugees who are deprived of all benefits under the program of assistance directed by the United National High Commissioner for Refugees; and

Whereas in pursuit of its discriminatory and rabid nationalistic policy, the Tunisian Government is replacing all non-Arabs and forcing them to leave the country by re-fusing to grant them work permits, the European population in Tunisia has already fallen from 300,000 to 77,000; and

Whereas 1,751 heads of families, most of them workers, with 6,750 dependents, have thus been deprived of their jobs and their source of livelihood; and

Whereas official circles in Tunisia believe that, with the exception of about 6,000, the remaining 45,000 Italian nationals in Tunisia, who are mainly workers, will be compelled by starvation to leave the country within the next 2 or 3 years; and

Whereas this most deplorable situation demands action, in the best spirit of labor solidarity and humanitarianism: Be it, there-

Resolved by the executive committee of the United-Italian American Labor Council. To urge:

- 1. The President and Congress of the United States to enact a special law providing for the admission of an extra quota of immigrants to our country since these are qualified and skilled Italian workers forced out of Tunisia as refugees.
- 2. The American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations to take note of our deep sense of indignation against these discriminatory policies of the Tunisian Government.
- 3. The International Confederation of Free Trade Unions to put this matter on the agenda of its next executive bureau meeting to be held in early July with a view of using its good offices and great prestige for the purpose of having the Tunisian Government discontinue these terrible policies and, instead, assure justice to all the people of Tunisia regardless of race, color, or creed.

Israeli Independence Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. PETER W. RODINO, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, May 2, 1960

Mr. RODINO. Mr. Speaker, in May of 1948, subsequent to the memorable November resolution of the United Nations. David Ben-Gurion declared Israel an independent state. On the same day President Truman extended U.S. recognition to the new nation.

Today we celebrate the 13th aniversary of Israeli independence. In those 13 years the state has had to face many difficulties and hardships. From May of 1948 to January of 1949 Israeli was embroiled in a war with her Arab neighbors, and since that time has lived in an uneasy armistice, surrounded on all sides by unfriendly powers. Despite the need to maintain a defense system, and despite the obligation to absorb thousands of refugees from Europe and Asia, this tiny nation has, nevertheless, often by sheer determination and effort, harnessed her meager resources into a rapidly expanding economy.

Most important, Israel stands as an outstanding example of democracy in the Middle East. Freedom-loving peoples everywhere have come to respect and admire this new nation, whose own respect for democratic ideals and for the dignity of man is so much like our own.

The greatest problem in the Middle East is the continuing feud between Israel and the Arab nations. Over 12 years after the armistice, no peace treaty has vet been signed. Border disputes break out with unfortunate regularity; boycotts and blockades continue: and regional agreements for economic development are still far from possible.

The security of the free world depends on security and stability in the Middle East. The United States must make every effort to see that the parties are brought together, that intransigent policies are eliminated, and that a just and amicable settlement of differences is arrived at.

Profile in Courage

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. STEVEN B. DEROUNIAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, May 2, 1960

Mr. DEROUNIAN. Mr. Speaker, I call to the attention of my colleagues the following editorial, which appeared in the April 28 issue of the Evening Star of Washington, D.C.

It would appear that the Golden Rule should apply even to "front-running" presidential candidates:

VERY DIRTY POLITICS

As the West Virginia primary campaign moves toward its day of decision, both candidates are resorting to tactics which will hardly be a source of pride as they look back on them. It seems to us, however, that Franklin D. Roosevelt, Jr., campaigning for Senator Kennedy, has hit a new low in dirty politics.

After extolling his man's war record, Mr. Roosevelt said of Senator HUMPHREY: "There's another candidate in your primary. He's a good Democrat, but I don't know where he was in World War II."

The implication is that Senator Hum PHREY was a slacker, hiding out in the hills while Senator KENNEDY was facing the enemy. But the publicly reported facts are that Senator HUMPHREY, married and the father of three childern, was first put in a deferred classification. When he tried to volunteer for the Navy he was turned down for physical disability. Then an Army physical in 1945 revealed a double hernia. If Mr. Roosevelt does not think these really are the facts, that is one thing. But to simply say that "I don't know where he was in World War II" is a slur which all decent people will resent.

It would not have been so bad if Senator Kennedy had repudiated the Roosevelt remark. But he didn't. With an above-the-battle air, he merely said: "I have not discussed the matter (of war records) and I am not going to. Mr. Roosevelt is down here making his speeches. I'm making mine."

making his speeches. I'm making mine."
This, however, will not wash. For Mr.
Roosevelt is making his speeches in Senator
Kennedy's behalf. And Senator Kennedy
cannot shrug his shoulders and escape all
responsibility for what his campaigner says.
By trying to do it, he is making certain that
the scars left by the West Virginia campaign
will not be quick to heal.

Economist's Ouster Puts China's Great Debate on View

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. THOMAS B. CURTIS

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 2, 1960

Mr. CURTIS of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Congressional Record, I wish to call to the attention of my colleagues an article which appeared in the April 22, 1960, issue of Business Week, as follows:

ECONOMIST'S OUSTER PUTS CHINA'S GREAT DEBATE ON VIEW 3

This week a Reuters dispatch from Peiping reported that an aged scholar, Prof. Ma Yin-ch'u, the dean of Chinese economists, has been fired from his post as president of Peiping University.

Peiping University.

And this week visitors coming out of Red China to Hong Kong and Tokyo told of a new phase in China's drive for rapid industrialization: The organization of city communes, paralleling the tightly regimented rural communes, has begun.

These two events, coming together, signalize what may be the end of Communist China's great debate on the fundamentals of its economic aims and procedures—or may be a sharp turn in that debate. The issue has ranged relative moderates such as Professor Ma and his sponsor, Prime Minister Chou En-lai, against the more orthodox Stalinists headed by Liu Shao-ch'i, first deputy chairman of the Chinese Communist Party. Its outcome has an important bearing on the line of succession to the top post held by Mao Tse-tung.

Professor Ma's downfall, and the communal regimentation of the cities, strongly suggest that Liu, the doctrinaire party man, has won out over Chou, the more pragmatic government leader. This outcome has enormous implications both for China's internal development policies and for her external relations.

Persistent critic: Professor Ma was more than a pawn in a power struggle; he has been playing the traditional role of Chinese intellectuals, the mandarins, in challenging, with considerable independence and courage the basic concepts of China's policies. And Ma's attack, which now appears to have been ended, throws a sharp light on the economic development problems and programs not only of Communist China but of all other poor countries bent on rapid advance.

Politely, and in the appropriate style that is a mixture of Communist idiom and florid Chinese metaphors, Ma attacked the mammoth public works projects currently being planned or constructed, the "disregard of consumer interests" (a politer phrase for grinding misery), and the reliance on Soviet technology and ideology.

Ma criticized the principles behind the so-called great leap forward of the orthodox party group—the idea that, to break through into rapid and continuous growth, a nation should pour massive resources into one or two critical sectors, particularly power projects and heavy industry. Instead, Ma argued for a more balanced approach to growth, in which progress would go forward along many lines at the same time, thereby avoiding bottlenecks that hinder growth, as well as inefficiencies, and unnecessary hardships for the people.

Chou's support: Chou En-lai has discreetly backed this line for the past few years. "We should," said Chou in the fall of 1956, "set a reasonable rate of growth * * * to insure a comparatively balanced development of the national economy." Chou clearly saw eye to eye with his venerable mentor. For Ma, years ago, had been one of Chou's teachers in Chou's student days.

I. WHO MA IS

Professor Ma's life story is fairly typical of that of many Chinese intellectuals who grew up in the chaotic century since the opium wars of the 1840's brought China into the modern world. He was born Ma Yuanshan, the son of well-to-do parents, in 1884. As a young man, he reportedly led a dissolute life—not uncommon among the wealthy youth caught in the crush between two civilizations. But he reformed and became almost an ascetic; from then on, he displayed a traditional Chinese dedication to scholarship.

In 1907, he won a scholarship to Yale, where he graduated in 1910. He went on to study economics at Columbia, got a Ph. D in 1914 after submitting a dissertation on "Finances of the City of New York."

Back in China the next year, he became professor at the National Peking University and dean of economics. Five years later he helped found the College of Commerce at the Southeastern University in Shanghai. He became, at about that time, a department chief of the Bank of China and a member of the Chekiang Provincial Government.

From 1928 to 1947 Ma was a member of the Legislative Yuan, the law-giving assembly of the Republic of China under Chiang Kai-shek. But he was critical of that regime, wound up with several years of house arrest.

Work with Reds: In 1949, when the Chinese Communists had taken over, Ma accepted an invitation from Chou En-lai to help form a new government. Though not a full-fledged Communist Party member—despite longtime Communist sympathies—Ma was elected a member of the first Consultative Conference and became deputy director of the Committee of Financial and Economic Affairs. Three years later, in 1952, he was named president of Peking University, one of China's most respected educational institutions.

Ma stayed out of the Communist Party; he held his jobs because of his technical economic ability, and because his independence of thought and judgment were respected—certainly by Chou, his former pupil. Ma's views were published—and drew spirited rebuttals from government bureaucrats.

II. GREAT DEBATE

Ma's debate with his orthodox Marxist adversaries on economic development planning was carried out in learned journals, particularly one called New Construction. Such pseudo-public debates are not unprecedented in Communist China. Sometimes, to be sure, criticism of the government has been encouraged just to ferret out "counter-revolutionaries" or to provide a foil for the party line.

But the debate of the last few years overbalanced growth versus great leaps has clearly had a deeper meaning. It is an issue on which the top man, Mao Tse-tung, was not anxious to shut off debate prematurely. And if Professor Ma was right—and the "great leap forward" leads to disastrous breakdowns, failures, misery—the issue is bound to recur.

Dangerous infatuation: Setting himself stubbornly against the "big push" school, headed by party leader Liu Shao-ch'i, Ma argued that the various parts of an economy are closely interdependent, that the effects of progress in one area will spill over into related areas through increases in demand for the products and services of these areas, or through the impact of more intensive competition.

This interdependence of parts of an economy—carefully spelled out by Western economists since Walras and Pareto some 70 years ago—had been de-emphasized in China in favor of deep thrusts on particular sectors, especially iron and steel and machine tools.

Indeed, something like this is the commonest line taken by poor countries that aim at fast growth; their view is usually that heavy industry should get all the attention. A steel mill is the most dearly cherished aim of many poor nations. Like many a U.S. foreign aid economist, Mathinks this infatuation with huge industrial projects is frequently excess, even dangerous for sustained growth.

Communist business cycle: Ma has broken new ground, in the Communist world, in suggesting that even Communist economies may be subject to "business cycles." He holds that in a controlled economy the downside of such cycles is unlikely to invoive actual reductions in output, but rather will show up as a period when production levels off, or as a marked slowdown in the rate of growth.

This, he suggests, is a natural phenomenon. Economic expansion depends upon success in breaking bottlenecks. But it's hard to foretell the timing of a particular breakthrough. In fact, a number of them are likely to come in close succession, permitting relatively rapid growth, before another major bottleneck impedes progress again.

This theory of wavelike advances is reminiscent of the late Prof. Joseph Schumpeter's view of the business cycle: He thought it arose mainly because of the inevitable "bunching" of innovations. Ma similarly suggests an uneven rate of progress for the Chinese economy.

Record: This obviously is not pleasing doctrine for China's revolutionaries. They reject Ma's theories as nonsense, insist that growth results from a headon collision of conflicting pressures that are synthesized into a new force. In plain language, this orthodox Communist "dialectic" means violently forced industrialization.

Yet the record does not show interruptions in the rate of growth in China. One such pause occurred during early 1957, at the end of the first 5-year plan, when a disastrous harvest threatened to undo the progress that had been made.

Mao Tse-tung called for a reexamination of past policy, with the suggestion: "Let a hundred flowers bloom and a hundred thoughts contend." Many observers think, however, that this was simply a ruse to smoke out the opposition. In any case, it brought no fundamental change in China's growth policy; indeed, that policy became

more extreme—it developed into Liu's "great leap forward."

III. GREAT LEAP

How great that leap has actually been is hard to evaluate, since official Chinese statistics are extremely inaccurate. Indeed, published figures that recorded enormous achievements of the great leap had to be reduced drastically later on. U.S. experts have calculated the growth in Chinese gross national product since 1953 at rates varying all the way from I percent a year to 8 percent. Most of them, however, lean toward Chinese growth rates nearer to the upper end of that range; a rate of 6 to 7 percent seems probable.

Per capita growth has, of course, been much slower. China's population of 670 million is estimated to have grown by about 2½ percent per year. And in human terms—measured primarily by food on the table—it's doubtful that China's masses have advanced

at all.

On the masses' backs: This worries the Chinese Communist leaders hardly a bit. Their program aimed, after all, not at a rise in consumer welfare, but at building heavy industry—from which, they hoped, continuous national growth would result.

The Chinese have been sweating capital out of their masses of people at a fantastic rate. Progressively larger shares of GNP—ranging above 20 percent—have gone into domestic investment. That's a record few highly developed countries can match; for an underdeveloped country, it's outstanding.

Soviet aid: China originally expected substantial foreign aid from the Soviet Union and Eastern European countries to help finance its development program. How much of that aid has materialized is doubtful. The record shows, since 1950, only two loans totaling 1.7 billion rubles (\$170 million at the tourist rate of 10 rubles to the dollar). That's equivalent to only 11 percent of Chinese imports from the Soviet Union in the 8 years from 1950 to 1957. No new loans have been announced since 1954, and meanwhile China is under obligation to repay the earlier loans.

However, other forms of Sovit aid have been extended freely to China—blueprints and other technical assistance given in connection with industrial plant construction, education for Chinese students and workers in the Soviet Union, personnel and equipment sent to China to help set up facilities for advanced research, and visits of experts in many scientific fields.

Premier Chou reported late in 1959 that, in the past decade, 10,800 experts from the Soviet Union and another 1,500 from Eastern Europe had visited China.

This may be tapering off now. Last week the Chinese official journal, Planning and Statistics, published a report by Soviet experts that may signal such a change. It cautioned that China would have to begin to place less reliance on technical aid from the Soviet Union and "fraternal countries" in eastern Europe for the development of metalurgical, machine-building, fuel, and electric power industries.

And, curiously enough, the Soviet report sounded a warning almost like Professor Ma's (a warning couched, however, in a quotation from Lenin): "A balance which is regularly maintained indicates that it has been well planned."

IV. LOGIC OF EVENTS

In the past, the Chinese Communists have at times been driven to strive for greater balance, not by such theoreticians as Ma but by the force of events. In 1956, for example, their lack of concern for the level of agricultural investment had serious repercussions: The entire economy suffered from severe shortages that threatened the progress of the industrial program as well.

As a result, they began to give greater attention to agriculture in the basic development program. Not that the priority accorded to industry was abandoned—but there was a genuine shift. From 1957 on, Chinest planners increased the share of national investment going to farm production, reorganized the collectives into communes to improve their management, inaugurated a program of sending labor to rural areas from the citles—where industrial growth was not sufficiently rapid to absorb the large additions to the urban population.

Even so, the Chinese have done little to improve farm methods or economize on labor in farm production. This policy is at variance with what is going on in industry, where their plans call for very high use of capital in raising production. Apparently, the Chinese feel that more than enough labor is available to boost agricultural output without extensive investment in new

methods or equipment.

Cheapest resource: This apparent recognition that a sizable surplus of labor exists is in conflict with China's present population policy, now in retreat from an earlier support of birth control. Professor Ma stubbornly pointed out this contradiction for years. He consistently argued that China's real problem is overpopulation.

But China's leaders appear to have reached the conclusion that people are the cheapest and most abundant resource avail-

able.

Cost to Ma—and Chou: Though frequently denounced as "bourgeois," Ma stuck to his guns—on population policy, and on eco-

nomic development planning.

In one article he noted that a good friend (assumed to be a reference to Premier Chou) had advised him to retreat from the conflict. Ma said he apologized to his friend, but added: "One must uphold and protect the dignity of science, and therefore I could not do otherwise than to refuse to make an admission of error. Having written, one should have the courage to admit mistakes; but if one is sure of the truth, then one must face all consequences, even if they do not serve one's own interests or even one's own life."

It is not at all clear at this point whether Ma's persistence will, in fact, cost him more than the loss of the presidency of Peking University, or how much it may cost his more powerful, more flexible friend. Chou En-lai.

Possibilities; Speculation on that last point varies greatly among observers outside China. Some consider that the hard Stalinist line has definitely triumphed, and that this means loss of ground for Chou, gives the inside track to Liu as potential successor to Mao. Others insist Chou has very close ties with Stalinists, has assumed a moderate line to mislead Indian and other nations. Still others insist that, though there have been differences among Chinese leaders, they are still so submerged and diffuse as to eliminate the possibility of cliques contending for power.

Certainly Chou still has enormous prestige in China—quite possibly, greater prestige than Liu. Yet it seems clear that Mao has consistently, in favoring Liu, been centering the control over economic policy in the party, strengthening the party at the expense of the administration and the army.

Still, there are signs that the line on more balanced economic growth and greater moderation, taken by Professors Ma and Chou, has had some impact on MAO's thinking and on Chinese policy. There are reports, for instance, that the Chinese are remodeling the village communes again—more on the lines of Soviet collectives—and that China's second 5-year plan (1958-62) is being redrafted to correct bureaucratic excesses, decentralize administration, improve planning between sectors, and disperse development projects more evenly across the country.

Such acceptance of an opposing line—once the advocate of that line has been personally rejected, as in the case of Professor Ma—is common enough in Communist countries. That's what Stalin himself did on industrialization of Russia, after Trotsky was destroyed, and what Khrushchev did on increasing consumer goods production, after Malenkov was out of the way.

Washington Report

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. BRUCE ALGER

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 2, 1960

Mr. ALGER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I include my newsletter of April 30, 1960:

WASHINGTON REPORT

(By Congressman Bruce Alger, Fifth District, Texas, April 30, 1960)

H.R. 10213, a bill to amend the National Housing Act (short title, "Emergency Home Ownership Act") provoked one of the hottest, most controversial and partisan political debates of the year. The controversy surrounded the authorization of \$1 billion additional Federal funds for the purchase of FHA and VA mortgages on new home construction. The bill's preamble became an outline of the conflicting views. The preamble states, "A bill to amend the National Housing Act to halt the serious slump in residential construction, to increase both onsite and offsite job opportunities, to help achieve an expanding full employment economy and to broaden home ownership opportunities for the American people." The disagreement focused on the short title. "Emer-Home Ownership Act." Members chose sides over whether there was (Democrats) or was not (Republicans) an emer-

Arguments for the bill: (1) Employment is off in residential construction, estimated housing starts of 1,100,000 in 1960 are 150,000 less than 1959; (2) tight money market requires Federal aid; (3) "little man" needs additional help to acquire home. Arguments against: (1) The estimated 1.1 to 1.2 million housing starts will be a good year, 1959 was the second best year in history; 4½ million unemployed is not alarming, employment is at the highest point in history; bad weather accounts for some dropoff; (2) tight money is the result of (a) business boom and demand for money to expand, (b) Government borrowing in short-term field because of interest ceiling in long-term field takes much of money available otherwise for home financing: (3) "little man" is not helped but financing: (3) "little man" is not helped but hurt by this \$1 billion Federal spending and its inflationary impact; actually, this is & subsidy for one segment of our economy.

Here is a good example of the basic clash between the liberal and conservative philosophies as championed by the Democrat and Republican Parties respectively. The liberals believe growth and economic well-being of the Nation depends on Federal spending, while the Republicans believe that private initiative, spending, and investment promote the only healthy growth. How can Federal handouts, as "aid," help the people when all the money must be taken from them? The redistribution of money through taxation has been accomplished so thoroughly already that more Federal aid can come only from taxing the low and middle income brackets. Then when

we borrow to spend more than we take in, we inflate, that is, cheapen, our money. Inflation again hurts most those in the lower

income groups.

Challenge on fiscal responsibility: The minority report on the Housing bill, pre-pared by Republic Members, points it up as, a clear-cut challenge to the Congress on the question of fiscal responsibility." minority said, "Even the title of the bill-Emergency Home Ownership Act-condemns this proposal. There simply is no emergency. Last year our economy and the well-being of our people moved to new highs. Virtually all competent observers agree that this year will be even better. And yet, this bill, a billion dollar back-door raid would be made on the Treasury for the purchase of mortgages at subsidy prices. In this time of prosperity, fiscal responsibility requires that the Congress achieve a noninflationary Federal budget. Irresponsible spending proposals of this type must be stopped."

New housing starts are not the whole picture: In considering the role of housing in our economy, one important fact should not be overlooked. New housing construction is only one part of the picture. People also become homeowners by buying existing homes and get better homes by expenditures for modernization. A breakdown of the \$15 billion in loans made by member institutions of the Federal Home Loan Bank Board last year shows only a third of that money borrowed for new home construction. rest of it went into purchases of existing homes and for repair and remodeling. The liberals were playing a housing-starts numbers game by alluding to only one part of the picture in presenting the Housing bill.
Indiana Congressman Charlie Halleck,

Republican leader, summed the thing up pretty succinctly stating, "The bill repre sented a billion dollars worth of baloney." Needless to say, the bill cleared the House by a vote of 214 to 163. Should the Senate pass it as well, it faces an almost certain Presidential veto, but will remain very much alive as an election issue.

Figures in last week's newsletter: Last week the figure for the foreign aid bureaucwas given as 12,500 people; actually, the foreign aid program gives employment to more than 50,000 people, a figure I hope,

desperately, we can reduce.

Military Leadership

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. L. MENDEL RIVERS

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 2, 1960

Mr. RIVERS of South Carolina. Mr. Speaker, Anthony Harrigan of the Charleston News and Courier-America's most independent newspaper-has written an excellent article titled "Military Leadership." His splendid article, appearing in the Charleston News and Courier under date of May 1, 1960, calls the attention of the Nation to the magnificent contribution our military leaders have made to freedom and in keeping America safe.

When this world witnesses the mistakes this Nation has made on the advice of certain civilians in the diplomatic field, the Nation should thank God for its military statesmen.

The article follows:

MILITARY LEADERSHIP (By Anthony Harrigan)

It used to be said that war is too serious a business to be left to the generals. But nowadays it seems that the military mind offers the best hope of this world-embattled

It is the generals and the admirals-men such as Gen. Maxwell D. Taylor, former Army Chief of Staff; Adm. Arleigh A. Burke, Chief of Naval Operations, and Gen. C. P. Cabell, USAF, Deputy Director of the Central Intelligence Agency—who are helping the Nation face the totality of Communist ag-

These men study the threat to the national security-it is their profession-and know how the enemy works from the Caribbean to the China Sea.

In refreshing contrast to the State Department's refusal to face the facts in Cuba is the statement of General Cabell in an appearance before Senate Committee on the Judiciary that "collaboration with and infiltration of popular movements, for example that of Batista in the 1930's and of Castro in the 1950's—has been communism's most effective weapon in Latin America."

General Cabell boldly stated that the "so-called national liberation strategy seeks to offset Communist numerical and political weakness through international organizational support and clandestine techniques of infiltration and coordination."

Military leaders like General Cabell are trying, in the face of foolish talk of coexistence. to explain to the American public how this Nation is at war and that the hour is late for counterattacks against the enemy.

One hopes that the American public will listen carefully to the statements of these military men. They serve as pathfinders and guides to the American people that must make transitions in thought and action in the years ahead.

The counsel of the military is in marked contrast to the unrealistic discussions of those civilian elements who urge disarmament and coexistence and who would block U.S. action by spreading fear of a nuclear holocaust.

The appearance of Castro, the H-bomb protest marchers, the advocates of recognition of Red China, the friends of vast U.S. financed United Nations programs (as a substitute for military defenses) are all of one mind. They would have the United States accept coexistence with the Communist enemy and act passively and appeasingly before Red imperialism.

The American people should ignore the counsel of passivity before a terrible threat. They should remember George Washington's advice "to choose peace or war as our interest, guided by justice, shall counsel.

The military leaders of the United States understand that this Nation cannot win the war with communism by thinking or acting with passivity. They know that con-flict cannot be avoided by any treaty, any scrap of paper or verbal agreement with the Soviet enemy. Conflict is the history of mankind. It is the history of our own time, We haven't the option now to choose whether or not we want war; we have it-and right in our own hemisphere.

Edmund S. Whitman, vice president of the United Fruit Co., an American company whose properties in Cuba were recently confiscated for Soviet-style collectives, has said:

"The international Communist conspiracy in the Western Hemisphere acts like the buzzards. The disciplined agents from Moscow hover over a country waiting for it to soften up to a point where they can move in and devour it * * *. The disciplined for-eign agents know how to roll with the punch. Their ring tactics are highly flexible. when a movement by force falls, they adopt

the Trojan horse tactic of temporary coexistence. That is the stratagem the free world is confronted with today."

Thus it is absurd for civilian officials to talk about avoiding all war. The task of true national leaders is not to run from conflict but to strengthen the will to win. They also have the task of shaping national policy in such a way that the outcome of the protracted war with communism will be favorable to the United States.

The transitions in thought and action that the military can help the American public make are from absurity to realism in foreign relations.

American ideas about national conflict are vague and lacking in realism. The American approach to foreign relations is that peace and mutual satisfaction is natural among nations. Many citizens have the unsound no-tion that because various territories have their own flag that all nations are morally equal, that self-determination is a basic right the United States should respect in all in-

This is folly. Castro's Cuba is not deserving of the same kind of respect as Canada. Neither is national self-determination in Castro's Cuba, where a Communist-front regime controls, as valid as it is in England.

That every people has the right to choose its own kind of government, to go its own way—as in Castro's case forging links with Red China and the U.S.S.R .- is a notion that handicaps the United States in its struggle to preserve freedom against Communist tyranny. It is this notion that leave the United States unable to decide between the claims of an old friend and a new nation.

The Algerian situation is a case in point. The peculiar idea prevails that the Algerian rebels, who accepted aid from Red China's military advisers and who engage in terroism, are deserving of no less consideration than France, a pillar of Western civilization.

Too often a spurious moralism becomes involved in national policy as a result of foolish ideas about the sovereignty and rights of foreign states. War becomes in this view, a way to protect rights that are illusory.

Thus, after World War I President Wilson considered not U.S. strategic needs but the alleged rights of various Balkan peoples. the conclusion of World War II, the same error was repeated.

America's Dutch allies were forced out of the East Indies. The result was a Javanese Government that is leftist and no ally of the United States. The spurious, moralism resulted in denial of military aid to Chiang Kai-shek with the harrowing result of the loss of free China to world communism.

Imprecise, pseudo-moralistic aims have been the undoing of the United States since World War II. The only cautionary force in the United States have been the professional military people. The determination to hold Formosa stemmed from the military instance on its ncessity. The Panama Canal Zone is still under firm U.S. control because the military regard it as essential. Spain is a free world bastion, no longer scorned by the U.S. Government because the military know its importance for air and naval bases. And Cuba may be liberated from Castro because the Navy considers its Guantanamo base of too great importance to lose.

America's best military minds share the idea that Prime Minister Palmerston once enunciated, namely that "England has no permanent friends; England has no permanent enemies; England has only permanent interests." If the United States keeps its eyes on its strategic interests, leaving aside other considerations, it will be able to resist Communist attack.

Despite good counsel from the military, U.S. opinion is still a captive of the oneworlders, the coexisters, and the America lasters. Because of this the United States fares ill in foreign affairs. It will continue to fare badly until realism dominates in our national councils, and that means until the military, which is to say the strategic point

of view, is more widely appreciated.

As George Santayana, the philosopher said, "Those who will not learn from history are condemned to repeat it."

What the American people must learn is to look at the world around them in a new They must look at it, with the United States and its interests always at the center-with one goal always in mind-U.S. survival.

The military leaders of the United States can play a great role in the education of Americans by constantly reminding their fellow citizens that the cold war they are in is the protracted war of communism against freedom.

This war may continue for decades; the enemy's unchanging objective is defeat of the United States. "We will bury you," said Nikita Khrushchev. The only thing that will change is the method of Communist at-It may be conventional military operations, subversion, or the cultivation of a public philosophy of weakness, defeatism and appeasement in the United States.

The military leaders of the United States can serve their countrymen by stressing time and again that in the struggle against communism there is no substitute for victory.

Realism of Idealism-The Only Way To Deal Successfully With World Communism Based on Atheistic Materialism and Cynicism

> EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. WALTER H. JUDD

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 2, 1960

Mr. JUDD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article by the distinguished Chaplain of the Senate, Dr. Frederick Brown Harris. The article itself illustrates the high idealism guided by practical realism on the part of Dr. Harris which in the article he so properly commends. The article from the Washington Star of May 1, 1960 follows:

SPIRES OF THE SPIRIT-REALISM OF IDEALISM (By Dr. Frederick Brown Harris, Chaplain of the U.S. Senate)

In the present world situation we need idealist who see visions and dream dreams. But we desperately need idealists who are also realists. The dictionary tells us that idealism is "the tendency to see things as they should be instead of as they are," and that realism is "the tendency to concern oneself with actuality of fact. A surgeon is an idealist who is also a realist. He isn't the sort of idealist who puts a mustard plaster over a malignancy and just hopes for the best. He knows that some things have to be cut out before the recuperative powers of the body have a chance to be mobilized.

Those who understand the present peril the world is in because of the malignant growth of atheistic communism are idealists who dream of a healed and happy world, but who vividly realize that you cannot compromise with a cancer in the body politic. Bishop Gerald Kennedy of the Methodist Church is

both an idealist and a realist. Returning to America after recent weeks in Soviet Russia, he declares: "The issue is joined at last. Either God is or He is not. Either a man is of value only as a citizen of the state or he is of value because God created him. Christianity is true or communism is true, but not both. Coexistence is a pleasant term, but one of these systems is going down."

Again and again church leaders have failed their time tragically, because they were unreal idealists. Sincere church people were back of a British Prime Minister when he went to Munich with an umbrella, but with no righteous sword. It was then that for "peace in our time" a glorious little democracy in the heart of Europe was thrown to wolves of appeasement. And now, in this year of our Lord 1960, there are religious leaders especially ecclesiastical bureaucrats—who are as gullible and blind as were the church leaders to whom Jesus spoke sad-The Master said to the leaders of His day, You can prophesy about the weather. You read the signs in the sky, but you cannot read the signs of the times." Now, remember, He was talking to religious leaders when He said: "If thou hadst known in this, thy day, the things which belong to thy peace, but now they are hid from thine eyes, for the time shall come upon thee that thine enemies shall lay thee even with the ground and shall not leave one stone upon another because thou knowest not the time of thy visitation." And Christ's dismal prophecy came to pass when the armies of Titus pul-verized Jerusalem. Jesus' heart was heavy because those at the head of the church were not reading aright the signs of the times.

A leading professor in one of our bestknown theological schools some time ago issued a petulant, scolding message to all the churches. Because it has in it idealism without realism the statement might just as well have been written in the Kremlin. This is exactly what he said: "We should avoid a position of hostility to them (that is, to the regimes of Russia and China) and cease the practice of moralizing and the practice of continual lectures to them by our leaders." What that church leader is really saying is let the Red secret police arrest innocent peasants by the truckload; let the interrogators brainwash and torture them; let the official butchers kill, or perhaps merely send them to a slave camp where the terrified peasants will be reformed through labor. But—let no gentle Christian in America whose life by comparison is a bed of roses say a rough or accusing word about such atrocities. To do that might postpone the time when Red China will be received into the United Nations as peace lovers. And then to thus speak out will interfere with Russia's ideas of coexistence. All that is idealism without realism. Now I can tell you, out of my personal knowledge, that to the enslaved people of the captive countries for the missionaries of the Cross in Korea, Taiwan and the Philippines, and for all those across Asia yearning for freedom, that sort of a call from church leaders in America advising padlocks on the lips of our churches is frightening, disturbing, and devastating to the morale of Christian churches in those lands

I am not charging that any of these mistaken church leaders are Communists. I do not go into that controversy at all. I am simply saying that the thinking of some who are as prominent today as spokesmen for the church as the Pharisees were in Christ's day is akin to those to whom the Master said: "You do not rightly discern the signs of the times."

The thing that alarms me is so much idealism divorced from realism is that many in the religious forces of the Nation seem to be affected by a moral flabbiness, an absence of indignation at appalling

crimes, a tendency to forget, not as God forgets when there is genuine repentance, but forgetting which indicates a sort of moral blackout-a willingness to grasp unrepentant, bloodstained hands in cooperation and partnership.

With the precious things we hold nearest our hearts being attacked by sinister forces without pity or conscience, let us pray every day as this struggle rages: "From a dangerous idealism bleached of the common sense of a sanctified realism, good Lord, deliver us."

The Folly of the Buy-European Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. GERALD T. FLYNN

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, April 13, 1960

Mr. FLYNN. Mr. Speaker, my thoughts turn to the folly of the buymy European program because of a letter written by one of my constituents to Mr. Charles Coe, editor of the Whitewater (Wis.) Register. The letter is set forth as follows:

MARCH 23, 1960.

Mr. CHARLES COE, Whitewater Register, Whitewater, Wis.

DEAR CHARLES: I do not know whether this information is of interest to your readers or not. Sometimes I think there is no interest, again I believe there is interest but they do not know what to do about it.

As you know 80 percent of our production is in plastics. We have just received a letter from the Society of the Plastic Industry telling us that a total of 6,547,000 plastic raincoats were imported to the United States from Japan and other foreign countries in When this is a broken down against our labor in Whitewater it means a total of 4 coats per hour or a total of 818 people working 40 hours per week for 1 year's time.

This is what is happening to the plastic raincoat industries in the United States. Now, this is but a small example, what about the 1,001 other products and industries in the United States where imports are taking command.

I would think that if politicians and union leaders would get out and promise relief and fight this infiltration of foreign goods it would mean a lot more to our economy than many of the things being promised and offered to get votes.

It can only mean that many a worker will be seeking unemployment compensation and then relief if this situation continues. Any worker that goes out and buys foreign products is asking for trouble, as we cannot have our cake and eat it too. I am beginning to think we should again think in terms of "Buy America First."

Very truly yours,

LEO PERRY.

It has been brought to my attention, through a committee in which I serve, that this country is a customer for 12,000 fishing vessels in the next 10 years. These vessels can be bought in foreign shipyards for one-half of what they can be purchased for in this country. Our committee is informed that it is the policy of the administration to permit these fishing vessels to be purchased in foreign shipyards. Our committee is almost unanimously opposed to this policy. have a special interest in that particular contract, because most of the powerplants in these boats will be manufactured by Fairbanks, Morse Co., a substantial industry in my district.

I have many cases in my district where manufacturers have reported to me that they were the low American bidder, and that the bid was so low that they could not reduce it and make out on the job: nevertheless, because of low wages in foreign countries, coupled with a lower standard of living, which means a lesser cost for raw materials involved, and because the manufacturer is not paying American taxes, the 6-percent preference granted to American bidders was wholly insufficient to make up the difference in cost and the work is going to Japanese, German, Italian, or other European concerns. I refer to a wire cable company in my district, a fine organization with a background of about 100 years of manufacturing, which lost a large contract in competition with a European bidder. I refer to a \$6 million contract for locomotives at the Panama Canal where several American bidders, including one in my district, lost out to the Mitsubishi Co. of Japan. Each of you who read this article can add many specific examples to this list, I am sure, and I could, also, add many others. These, however, pinpoint the fact that American business is going European. When this happens, it means that American citizens lose employment. When they lose employment, the Government loses taxes for the reason that the Government is a partner with every individual workman and manufacturer. The manufacturer loses the normal profit and suffers idleness of his plant, causing harm to his corporation and loss to the entire community, because of the loss of payroll and subcontract work in the area where the manufacturer is located. If the manufacturer takes the contract at a price competitive with European bidders, it means that he must lower wages in his plant and lower other costs. The result of this is that his workmen and those dealing with him must, because of their lowered income, reduce their standard of living. This tends to lower the American standard of living and brings it down to the standard of living of people in European or Asiatic countries.

I do not believe this is proper. I believe it is the duty of every elected representative to support, maintain, and improve the standard of living of all American citizens. People, the world round, desire American citizenship because of the fact that this country has been able to offer its citizens a better way of life and a higher standard of living than they have known in other countries. It is the duty of all of us to maintain this and to continue to build our country and to improve the way of life in our country.

It is appalling to most of us to see the Eisenhower administration supporting, encouraging, and promulgating the "buy European" program. We all know that we must buy abroad if Europe is to buy from us, but—there is such a thing as Government control—such as we had during the days when Cordell Hull was

Secretary of State when he negotiated independent trade treaties with each foreign country and thereby improved trade relations for American merchants throughout the world and at the same time kept a balance of trade in favor of this country. This kept moderation in the "buy European" programing and prevented unnecessary high tariffs. Today, we have a steam engine running without an engineer. There appears to be no one steering the ship of State. American purchasing power is being spent abroad to improve the standard of living in Europe, while American manufacturers have idled their factories, and American workmen are unemployed because they cannot secure American orders unless they reduce their standard of living to that of Europe or Asia. The result of this is loss of taxes to the United States and a lower standard of living for American citizens.

I believe that Leo Perry of Whitewater, Wis. was entirely correct in the position that he took in his letter to the editor of the Whitewater Register. His small industry is typical of the thousands like it throughout the country who have suffered, and will continue to suffer, if this country permits the "buy European" program to grow without the imposition of controls and regulations.

Resolution on Federal Excise Taxes on Communications Services

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. LEONARD G. WOLF

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 2, 1960

Mr. WOLF. Mr. Speaker, the people of the Second Congressional District of Iowa have indicated to me over and over again that they are in favor of the elimination of the Federal excise tax on communications.

The following resolution, adopted by the 65th annual convention of the Iowa Independent Telephone Association last month, sets forth clearly the widespread views on this subject:

RESOLUTION ON FEDERAL EXCISE TAXES ON COMMUNICATIONS SERVICES

"Whereas the anticipated condition of the Federal budget holds some promise that some lowering of taxes can be done; and

"Whereas the Federal excise tax on communications services constitutes a heavy burden on telephone users throughout Iowa; that it is discriminatory to apply this tax only to telephone service and exempt the other household utility services; that it was originally adopted as a wartime effort; that under present taxing provisions it is classified as a luxury along with liquor, tobacco, cosmetics, and jewelry; that, if not dropped at the first opportunity, the telephone tax may become a permanent part of the tax structure: Therefore be it

"Resolved, That the Iowa Independent Telephone Association go on record as favoring the elimination of the tax on local telephone service in June 1960 as now scheduled and repeal of the other communications excise taxes as soon as practicable." Resolution adopted unanimously April 6, 1960, by the 65th annual convention, Iowa Independent Telephone Association, held at Hotel Fort Des Moines, Des Moines, Iowa, April 5 and 6, 1960.

Attest:

WILLIAM F. MILLER, Secretary-Treasurer.

The Balance of Payments Problem

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. WILLIAM B. WIDNALL

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 2, 1960

Mr. WIDNALL. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to call to the attention of the Congress the excellent article by Secretary of the Treasury Robert B. Anderson, entitled "The Balance of Payments Problem," which appeared in the April 1960 issue of the magazine, Foreign Affairs. The Nation is confronted with a balance-of-payments problem that must be resolved if we are to fully and effectively discharge our responsibilities of free world leadership. Secretary Anderson's article presents an analysis of the causes of the deficit and, noting that the dollar has become the reserve currency of the world, stresses the vital importance of moving to correct the im-

The solution is by no means simple, and Secretary Anderson proposes a firm, many-faceted attack combining sound domestic fiscal policies directed at keeping the dollar stable, with a foreign exchange policy that will maintain international confidence in our currency. Rejecting the temptation to solve the problem by restrictive action in our international economic policy, Secretary Anderson cites the role of both the Government and the private sector of the economy in resisting inflationary pressures, and describes the need for a united effort by the whole American economy to seek foreign markets on an increasingly intensive scale. The article is appended under unanimous consent:

THE BALANCE OF PAYMENTS PROBLEM (By Robert B. Anderson)

It is a new thing for Americans to be concerned with our balance of payments. We are accustomed to thinking of ourselves as a Nation with almost limitless productive resources—a Nation capable of turning out goods and services sufficient for our own needs and for a sizable foreign demand, without undue monetary strain. After all, didn't World War II demonstrate that the United States, with a very small proportion of the world's population, could produce much of the material needed to win a world war, maintain high living standards at home, and afterward provide an unprecedented amount of assistance to war-torn countries elsewhere?

All this is true. But time moves swiftly. Our resources did in fact make it possible for us to act quickly after World War II in easing the balance of payments problems of others. The destruction and economic dislocation of the war had wiped out much of Western Europe's monetary reserves. Export earnings had greatly diminished. The United States recognized that the war-

devastated countries had little ability to pay for imports of food, materials, and equipthe foundations on which swift and effective rehabilitation had to be built.

It was clear that capital was required in the underdeveloped areas of the world also. During the war and afterward, people in many formerly isolated areas were brought into abrupt contact with both the institutions and the advanced technology of the West. Not only were old customs and allegiances weakened; there was an urge, stronger than any ties with the past, to achieve the conditions making for improved standards of living. For this, too, capital was needed.

was against this background of re habilitation needs in Western Europe and the thrust toward economic advancement elsewhere that the United States supported the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development and the International Monetary Fund, devised the Greek-Turkey ald program and the European Recovery Program, and has continued during the post war period to participate actively in broad programs of aid and foreign loans. As a re-sult of all of these efforts the balance of payments problems of many countries have been reduced to manageable proportions; indeed, in some cases, they have been eliminated. What is new in our present situation is the realization that we now have a balance of payments problem of our own.

This recognition has been forced on us by the sudden and substantial increases in the deficits occurring in our balance of payments during 1958 and 1959. Deficits had occurred earlier. But it is the sharp recent uptrend which has caused concern-and rightly so. The events of the postwar period have made the U.S. dollar the major reserve currency of the world. Never before has it been so important to us and to our friends abroad that the balance of payments should be in a healthy equilibrium so that the dolcan continue to be a strong currency fully justifying the confidence of our own

and other countries.

In brief, one can say that if excess drawings on reserves are to be avoided over a period of time, total outpayments must equal total inpayments (both on current and capi-tal account). In this respect, there is a cer-tain analogy between the situation of a nation and of a region within a nation or of an individual. Mr. Micawber, in one of his more reflective moods, remarked that a person who persistently ran a deficit in his monetary affairs was doomed to misery. Not dissimilarly, a community which does not currently "earn its way" in transactions with the rest of the country will soon feel the adverse effects of the defict in its balance of payments. Both the individual and the community can borrow to offset the deficit in their current account, and this is constructive if the borrowed funds are wisely used, and it can continue for a long time. But neither can expect for very long to solve the problem of deficit by borrowing for consumption or by using up reserves. However, it is not wise to push these analogies very far, because there are two important differences between the balance of payments of an individual or a part of a nation, and of the nation itself. These differences are the separate monetary sys-tems of nations and the problem of transferring funds from one country to another to which this gives rise.

The mechanism of adjustments by which a balance of payments tends toward equilibrium is a complex subject on which many books have been written. But before turning to an examination of the U.S. balance of payments, it may be useful to summarize some general conclusions:

(1) Large deficits or surpluses in the balance of payments should not persist.

(2) The reason for this is that large oneway movements of gold or large increase in foreign short-term holdings currency will not continue indefinitely

While there is a tendency toward equilibrium in the balance of payments, the rapidity and effectiveness with which a country moves from unbalance back to balance varies from case to case.

(4) Over a period of time, net movement of capital into or out of a country is made possible by appropriate shifts in the current account of the balance of payments. The ways and means of bringing about these shifts comprise the balance-of-payments problem.

There need not-and generally will not-be a balance in any single year; that is, some movement of short-term funds or gold is normal. But how much movement is normal and sustainable and how much is abnormal and unsustainable cannot be laid down by rule.

Let us now examine the balance of payments of the United States.

Table I gives a summary of our balance of payments since 1946; and table II gives greater detail for the years since 1950. In the 14 years shown in table I, the total payments of the United States increased greatly, from about \$13 billion in 1946 to more than \$28 billion in 1959. The current account was in surplus every year before 1959, but there were wide fluctuations in the surplus, and in 1959 there was a small deficit for the first time since World War II.

Notwithstanding the surpluses on current account, there was an overall deficit (as measured by recorded foreign gains of gold and liquid dollar balances in transactions with the United States) beginning in 1949 and running every year since then except in 1957. This deficit averaged \$1.3 billion, 1950-57, and was \$3.4 billion in 1958 and about \$3.7 billion in 1959.

In every year shown in table II, total U.S. payments exceeded total receipts. Consequently, in every year except 1957 (when the balance of payments and receipts was very close), foreigners increased their gold and liquid dollar assets. In 6 of the years foreigners gained both gold and dol-lars. In 3 years the United States gained gold, but foreigners' gains in dollars exceeded U.S. gold gains. In 1957 alone, U.S. gains in gold exceeded increases in foreign dollar holdings.

How does it happen that the United States has had a current account surplus year after year and still has an overall deficit in the balance of payments? Table II supplies the answer.

Table I .- United States balance of payments, 1946-59 1

1946		100	(In oth	ons or donaisj		10 C 11 C		THE PARTY	
ments States (errors and omissions) foreigners U.S. U.S. exports imports B				receipts on	gold and	Current			
1947	pi		pay- in United	transactions (errors and	gains by			Balance	
1949	1947 1948 1949 1950 1951 1952 1963 1963 1954 1955 1955 1956 1957 1958	4 18. 8 16. 8 16. 5 17. 5 19. 9 19. 8 19. 7 19. 9 21. 9 25. 8 27. 4 27. 1	19.6 16.6 16.0 14.0 19.0 18.2 17.3 18.2 20.3 24.2 27.1 23.2	1, 2 8 (9) .5 .5 .3 .2 .4 .6 .7	4-1.8 -1.0 2 3.6 .3 1.1 2.1 1.5 1.1 1.0 5	19, 7 16, 8 15, 9 13, 9 18, 9 18, 1 17, 1 17, 9 20, 0 23, 7 26, 7 23, 2	8.2 10.3 9.7 12.1 15.1 15.8 16.6 16.1 17.9 19.8 20.9 21.0	7.7 11.5 6.4 6.1 1.8 3.7 2.3 0.4 1.0 2.1 3.9 5.8 2.2 2.1	

1 Excludes grant-financed U.S. military supplies and services.

\$ Public and private U.S. capital outflow and remittances are entered net in U.S. payments; foreign payments in United States include foreign long-term investment here.

\$ Includes military expenditures shown separately in table II.

\$ Includes subscriptions to the International Monetary Fund and the International Bank amounting to \$300,000,000 in 1947.

\$ Less than \$50,000,000.

\$ Excludes \$1,375,000,000 subscribtion to International Monetary Fund.

Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, (Detailed figures may not add to totals because of rounding.)

First, the net outflow of U.S. private capital was large throughout the period, and in 1956-58 averaged \$3 billion. In 1959 it de-creased to \$2.3 billion. Second, U.S. Government nonmilitary loans and grants (minus repayments) averaged \$2.5 billion during the 10 years, and would have been close to that level in 1959 except for some exceptional repayments received. Third, the surplus of exports of goods and services over imports of goods and services fell short of covering these capital outflows. As table II indicates we normally include in imports of goods and services not only merchandise brought into the United States and payments for services performed for us here by foreigners, but also various payments abroad such as our tourist expenditures and our military expenditures in various countries for services and goods used to support our troops stationed there. These military expenditures were determined by national defense considerations rather than by economic forces of demand and sup-

ply; they increased steadily from \$576 million in 1950 and exceeded \$3 billion a year in 1957-59.

If we add together military expenditures abroad, net private capital outflows and net Government nonmilitary loans and grants, we find that they averaged \$6.3 billion in the years 1950-57. They amounted to almost \$9 billion in 1958. They were greater than the excess of U.S. exports of goods and services over imports of goods and serv-ices (excluding from our imports in this calculation our military expenditures abroad). In 1959, although they were smaller (\$7.5 billion) because of special debt prepayments to the U.S. Government and the reduction of private capital outflow, they still exceeded the export surplus which dropped sharply for the second consecutive year. Consequently, foreigners again greatly increased their holdings of liquid dollars although they converted a smaller portion of these dollars into gold in 1959.

m

Two principal facts emerge concerning the balance of payments of the United States. We have been running an overall deficit for 10 years and it has become relatively large in the last 2 years. This overall deficit results from a net outflow of public and private capital larger than the surplus on current account-and it should be kept in mind that military expenditures abroad are included in the current account.

But after these facts are established, we still have the question of why-there is currently a "problem" connected with our balance of payments. After all, the economy of the United States is very large, the gross national product is currently running around \$500 billion per year, and our total merchandise exports are little more than 3 percent of GNP. Why need we be concerned about so small a segment of our total economic activity?

Or can it not be argued that, with a gold reserve of more than \$19 billion, and with foreigners continuing to show a willingness to hold increasing amounts of dollar deposits, even a relatively large deficit in the balance of payments should cause trouble?

Table II. U.S. balance of payments, 1950-59 1

[In millions of dollars]

	1950	1951	1952	1953	1954	1955	1956	1957	1958	1959 3
U.S. payments, total	17, 526	19, 858	19,843	19, 685	19, 876	21, 944	25, 846	27, 374	27,079	1 28, 500
Imports	12,098	15, 142	15, 760	16, 644	16,088	17, 937	19, 829	20, 923	20, 951	23, 500
Merchandise	9, 108 2, 414 576	11, 202 2, 670 1, 270	10, 838 2, 965 1, 957	10, 990 3, 119 2, 535	3, 131 2, 603	11, 527 - 3, 587 - 2, 823	12, 804 4, 070 2, 955	13, 291 4, 467 3, 165	12, 946 4, 589 3, 416	15, 3(8) 5, 000 3, 200
Remittances and pensions. Private capital (net)	523 1, 265	457 1,068	545 1, 158	617 369	615 1, 619	585 1, 211	665 2,990	702 3, 175	707 2, 844	800 2,300
Direct	621 495 149	528 437 103	850 214 94	721 -185 -167	664 320 635	779 241 191	1, 859 603 528	2,058 859 258	1,094 1,444 306	(4) (4) (4)
Government loans 1	156	156	420	218	-93	310	629	958	966	
Long-term Repayments Short-term (net)	414 -295 37	458 -305 3	847 -429 2	716 -487 -11	306 -507 108	383 -416 343	545 -479 563	993 -659 624	1, 272 -647 341	11,900
Government grants (net)U.S. receipts, total	3, 484 13, 954	3, 035 19, 045	1, 960 18, 246	1,837 17,287	1, 647 18, 193	1, 901 20, 349	1, 733 24, 235	1,616 27,094	1, 611 23, 223	23, 900
Exports Merchandise Services *	13, 901 10, 117 3, 784	18, 863 14, 123 4, 740	18, 105 13, 319 4, 786	17, 081 12, 281 4, 800	17, 949 12, 799 5, 150	20, 003 14, 280 5, 723	23, 705 17, 379 6, 326	25, 733 19, 390 7, 343	23, 199 16, 227 6, 972	23, 400 16, 200 7, 206
Foreign long-term investment in United States.	53	182	141	206	244	346	530	361	24	500
Errors and omissions Increase in foreign gold and liquid dollar assets	-30 3, 602	470 343	505 1,092	296 2, 102	167 1,516	446 1,149	643 968	748 -468	441 3,415	900
Gold	1, 743 1, 859	-53 396	-379 1,471	1, 161 941	298 1, 218	1, 108	-306 1,274	-798 330	2, 275 1, 140	3,000

¹ Excludes grant-financed U.S. military supplies and services.

Source: U.S. Department of Commerce.

Finally, even if it has to be concluded that the deficit was too large, wouldn't it be simple enough merely to cut back on imports or to decrease the outflow of capital and take care of the deficit in this way?

It would be comforting to reason the balance of payments problem out of existence by those arguments. Unfortunately, how-ever, none of them can be accepted. The United States must be able to sustain an increasing amount of international payments and obligations as the years go by for several reasons.

First, merchandise imports have become Increasingly essential to the United States. As our economy grows, our demand for im-ports will also grow. It is, of course, evident that our capacity to pay for imports is bas-ically dependent on the foreign exchange earnings which we receive from our exports of goods and services.

Secondly, as a great power with far-flung responsibilities and with worldwide financial and economic interests, both public and private, the United States to a surprising extent must depend on a reasonable equilibrium in its balance of payments to carry out its re-ponsibilities and to acomplish its political and economic aims. We make military ex-penditures abroad, we carry on private investment in foreign countries, and we extend grants and loans with public funds, not as a matter of chance and relative indifference but cause these activities are important to us and to the rest of the free world. We can carry out these activities on a large and continuing scale only if we have a reasonable equilibrium in our balance of payments.

Moreover, this equlibrium should in large part be achieved through a surplus on current account of substantial size chiefly by an expansion of exports. Large and continuing outflows of gold and long-continued and substantial increase in foreign holdings of U.S. dollar balances cannot be relied on as the way to deal with the balance of payments deficit of the United States.

It has long been a truism of international economics that a capital-surplus country which is to transfer savings to capital deficit areas over a period of years must do so primarily by means of a surplus in the current account. Within reasonable limits the United States can export long-term capital and solve the transfer problem by an offsetting inflow of short-term funds. This has happened since the war on a large scale as table II shows. In fact, since 1949 foreign holdings of short-term dollar balances and other liquid dollar assets have increased from \$6.4 billion to approximately \$18 billion.

On the whole this has not been an undesirable development. Foreigners have been prepared to hold dollars, especially in view of the status of the dollar as a reserve currency and the reassurance of a large U.S. gold reserve. These dollar balances have comprised a considerable part of the foreign exchange reserves of other countries, and are an important means of economizing the gold reserves of the free world. However, at least in the intermediate term the amount of foreign liquid dollar holdings which can with confidence be maintained is not unlimited. The increase in such balances under the impact of overall balance of payments defi-cits of the size of those of 1958 and 1959 would certainly threaten to reach that limit if so rapid a buildup continued much longer.

The same considerations serve as limiting factors on gold outflows. The U.S. gold reserve is large, exceeding \$19 billion. But it should be large in order to provide a cushion against various contingencies and to secure our short-term liabilities. It seems to me that substantial changes in that reserve can be viewed with equanimity only if they are likely to be of relatively short duration and not persistently in one direction. It does not seem that the proper function of our gold reserve is to be heavily drawn down on a large scale over a period of years to transfer capital to the rest of the world.

Overall deficits in the balance of ments of the United States in 1958 and 1959 clearly were too large to be safely sustained for very long. Moreover, the circumstances which have led to a persistent balance of payments deficit for 10 years and a sharp worsening of that deficit in the past 2 years have certain qualities of persistence which must be given serious consideration. What seems to have occurred is a coincidence of several developments.

There has been a reemergence of the competitive strength of the other industrial countries. This is not a surprising develop-

Rounded estimates,

Excludes \$1,375,000,000 subscription to International Monetary Fund, of which \$344,000,000 was paid in gold.

Not available.

¹ Including other capital.
⁸ Including military transactions for each and credit.

ment. The political, economic, and defense policies of the United States since the war have been aimed at this rehabilitation of the other industrial countries, most of which had suffered tremendous damage.

The success of these policies has been outstanding, and is shown in the statistics. Between 1952 and 1958 Germany's share of total world exports of manufactured goods increased from 12 percent to 18.6 percent, and Japan's from 3.8 percent to 6 percent; while the share of the United States declined from 26.2 percent to 23.2 percent. The United States share of total world exports was 17.3 percent in 1958, which is about the same as the figures for 1950, 1953 and 1955, but below the figures for 1951, 1952 and 1956, which ranged from 18.2 to 18.6 percent, and much below the peak of 19.6 percent in 1957 which was due to very special factors.

Detailed analyses have been made by the Department of Commerce of changes in our share of major world export markets. the whole, these analyses have been encouraging because they showed that serious reductions in our share of export markets have been confined to comparatively few classes of goods, especially motor vehicles and steel, Nevertheless, the aggregate losses in these classes have been substantial and they have occurred at a time when the need is to expand our current account surplus rather than to allow that surplus to shrink

Another development has been the continuous increase in our merchandise imports. In 1955 imports were \$11.5 billion, while in 1959 they reached slightly more than \$15 billion. In the same 5 years, exports increased by about \$2 billion. As our economy grows, there is reason to expect a rising trend in imports.

Unofficial estimates for 1960 are for an increase in our exports; and while our imports are also expected to expand, the improvement in the current account will reduce the year's overall deficit in the balance of payments below the 1958-59 levels. This, of course, is all to the good. But the deficit will still be large-probably substantially larger than the 1950-57 average. Moreover in a year of boom conditions abroad, when foreign demand for our exports should be high, it seems particularly unsatisfactory that the deficit be so large.

The conclusion is quite clear: We have a balance of payments problem. The essence of it is how to bring our total inter-national transactions into a reasonable equilibrium which will enable the United States to carry out its responsibilities in the world without provoking large and persistent gold outflows or excessive increases in foreign holdings of dollar balances. However, I do not feel we are confronted with an emergency. We have time to find a proper solution and I am confident we will.

Our solution must be found along lines consistent with our international economic policy, which emphasizes the expansion of world trade on a multilateral basis and a continuing attack on barriers to trade. In terms both of our own economic interest and our responsibility as a leader in the free world, we must set ourselves resolutely against any temptation to solve the balance of payments problem by restrictive action. Of course, any country can tackle its balance of payments problem by deliberately cutting imports or by imposing restrictions on capi-tal outflows. But the kind of balance which would result from such measures would be based on contraction and not expansion. It would push us back into the beggar-myneighbor policies which were so disastrous in the great depression of the 1930's. It would mean an abdication of our role of leadership.

Within the framework of broad and established U.S. foreign economic policy, we must pursue our task from many sides. Our balance of payments problem is not simple in its causes and we are going to find that the solution will not be simple. I suggest that this many-sided attack can proceed along several lines.

We may expect that to some extent corrective forces are at work and will continue to be at work. Our balance of payments deficit itself results in the transfer of purchasing power to surplus countries and there will be a tendency for this increased pur-chasing power to have an expansionary effect on total economic activity in those countries. Some of this increased activity should be reflected in increased purchases in the United States. In addition, import competition is undoubtedly exerting an influence on product design and prices in the United States.

However, we cannot comfortably relax, hoping that automatic correction of our balance of payment deficit will solve the problem. We must take the actions on the domestic front which will not only help preserve the value of the dollar but let the nations of the world who have such a real interest in how well we manage our affairs know that we intend to do everything to keep the dollar stable. We must maintain sound fiscal policies with a budget surplus in times of prosperity, as the most recent budget submitted by the President proposes. We must have flexibility and freedom from artificial restrictions in the management of our debt so that the world will know that we can handle it in the least inflationary manner. Our monetary policy must be keyed to the containment of the strong demand for capital which otherwise might break through as a major inflationary pressure. And certainly we must do all in our power to maintain the proper relationships between wages, prices, and productivity so essential to our competitiveness in world

These domestic actions, coupled with a foreign exchange policy which would leave no one at home or abroad with any doubt concerning our intent or capacity to maintain the dollar as a fully convertible cur-rency at the existing official price for gold, should bring about two good results.

Producers in the United States will be assisted in competing abroad. There has been much concern of late as to the competitive position of our goods in world mar-An examination of price and wage trends and of changes in our share of world trade (especially in manufactures) does not provide clear evidence that the United States has priced itself out of world markets. However, there are examples which can be cited on the other side; and there is ample indication of intensified competition in world markets and of increased world capacity to produce goods for export. What we conclude is that the United States has little margin of competitive superiority. This means that we cannot risk any erosion in the stability of U.S. prices if American producers are to succeed in expanding their exports.

Foreigners will have no reason to lose confidence in the dollar as a reserve currency. Confidence in a currency, particularly so far as concern persons outside of the country, is not something which is won by promise of pleas. Confidence is based on evidence and expectation that the purchasing power of the currency is-and will be-dependable.

American producers must seek foreign markets on an increasingly intensive scale if our exports are to expand to the extent called for to correct our balance-of-payments deficit. It will not be enough to maintain our exports at their 1959 level of about \$16 They should increase at least by some billions of dollars if the United States is to maintain a net outflow of capital and to make military expenditures abroad in the amounts of recent years. For some time

following 1946 other countries—and especially other industrial countries—undertook export drives of great intensity, and they have shown that even in the United States market, so long thought to be a hard nut to crack, there is great room for success. The time has come to mount our own export drives: no American producer who has a product susceptible of export should fail to explore the possibility of expanding foreign sales. The Government is examining the facilities available to American exporters, in comparison with those enjoyed by their foreign competitors, to determine whether or not improvement is needed particularly in the field of export credit and export insurance. The administration also is working to improve the factfinding fa-cilities of our Foreign Service and the services of Washington agencies in analyzing foreign trade information so as to enable more American businesses, large or small, to participate in export sales.

But we cannot rely solely on Government action to increase our exports on the substantial scale which is going to be needed. This requires the united effort of all American industry, labor, and agriculture-the

whole American economy.

Developments in the other industrial countries may help us in our task. Europe is in the middle of a very substantial boom and some of this surge of economic activity is likely to be reflected in the demand for American goods. Moreover, in Europe and in other parts of the world we can expect that during 1960 most of the task of dismantling discrimination against American goods will be completed. The timing of this action is fortunate, because it coincides with our own need to leave no opportunity lost to expand our export business.

At the annual meeting of the International Monetary Fund in Washington in September 1959, I suggested the need to look at the world payments situation as a whole and not exclusively at the balance of payments

of the United States.

In 1958 and 1959 (basing the latter on figures for the first 9 months at an annual rate) acquisition of gold and liquid dollars by Western Europe was roughly \$3 1/4 billion in each year. For the 2 years taken together. about half of this amount was obtained through direct transactions with the United States. For the same period, Canada lost gold and dollars in transactions with the United States, but more than offset this by gains in transactions with other areas. The rest of the world was in balance in 1958, when large receipts from the United States were offset by payments to Western Europe and Canada. But it gained heavily in 1959 when net receipts from the United States exceeded losses to Western Europe and Canada by over \$800 million. This net gain in 1959 for the rest of the world in considerable part reflects the gain of over \$450 million by Japan.

This broad picture of the structure of world payments indicates to thinking persons that two developments seem necessary if the United States is to eliminate its own deficit through an enlargement of exports-First, in the long run there should be a more than cyclical expansion in the imports of Western Europe both from the United States and from the rest of the world, particularly by the countries grouped in the Common Market. Second, there should be an en-hanced flow of capital from the European industrial areas to the less developed areas.

VI

It is my firm conclusion that we can bring our balance of payments into reason-

¹ The figure is adjusted to exclude transactions between I.M.F. and member countries in gold and dollars.

able equilibrium. But the task is formidable.

Competition in world markets is sharp and there is no reason to assume that it will become milder. The manufacturers in the other industrial countries have reached the point in their technological advance where they are at little if any disadvantage in competing with the best which American technology can offer. It will require good will on an international scale, persistent and sober efforts by governments, and enlightened as well as energetic action by business and labor to bring about, over time, a better balance in the world's payments system.

The recent change in the Development Loan Fund policy, putting primary emphasis on financing the procurement of U.S. capital goods, should be interpreted in the light of the need to move on many fronts in seeking to bring our balance of payments into reasonable equilibrium. I would certainly oppose any limitations on the freedom of U.S. private capital to go abroad or for our capital market to extend credits to foreign borrowers under terms which seem reasonable to lender and borrower. When a foreign borrower approaches private lenders in the United States he should not be told that the proceeds of any loan would have to be spent on U.S. goods. However, the United States through the Development Loan Fund, makes public funds available on long term to underdeveloped countries on a basis unequaled by any other industrial country. The terms offered by the DLF, including repayment in local currency, represent very substantial and generous U.S. public assistance. It is important, for the reasons put forth throughout this discussion, for the United States to continue to be in a position to provide capital on a large scale to underdeveloped countries. I have also made clear that we can do so as a practical matter only if we solve our balance-of-payments problem.

Moreover, other industrial countries also are recognizing the importance of their providing increased amounts of public financing on a long-term basis to underdeveloped areas. They are now in position to do this and may be encouraged in this direction by the realization that DLF dollars are not generally available for financing portions of their exports to underdeveloped countries. In like manner, they may be encouraged to give long-term loans for capital export items which heretofore, in some cases, have been financed with short-term credits that are more appropriate to the financing of consumer items.

I have made the point that we must achieve a reasonable equilibrium in our balance of payments, and must do so in a constructive way, not only for reasons of selfinterest but because of the broad and vital requirements imposed on us by the role of leadership which we have assumed and which we must fulfill. The United States finds itself in an international financial position which is at least as much the consequence of the long course of world development as it is of our deliberate choice. We have become the leading reserve banker in the free world and the dollar has become the Principal reserve currency. Moreover, we and the countries associated with us are committed to the progressive and sound ex-Pansion of production and world trade.

The conclusions to be drawn are clear and evident. There is a discipline from which we cannot escape. It is our continuing task to maintain the purchasing power of our currency and to merit unfaltering world confidence in the dollar. Our fiscal and monetary policies, our approach to the question of the proper relationship between wages, prices and productivity, and the consequent competitive vigor of our industry and agri-

culture are all essential components of the solution to our balance-of-payments problem. In that solution the other countries of the free world have a stake scarcely less vital than our own. I am confident that with prudence and understanding the right solutions will be found.

Tobacco in War Emergencies

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. RICHARD E. LANKFORD

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 2, 1960

Mr. LANKFORD. Mr. Speaker, I am happy to bring to the attention of my colleagues an article by T. P. Headen, editor of the Charles County Leaf, La Plata, Md., which appeared in its issue of April 7, 1960:

THE EDITOR'S CORNER (By T. P. Headen)

A group of old hands in the U.S. Department of Agriculture sit down from time to time to make sure that tobacco will be ready to go into action if we have another war emergency.

This is because the histories of all major conflicts in the last century are filled with vivid testimony to the value of tobacco as a morale booster to fighting men and civilian workers alike.

Top tobacco men in the Agriculture Department's Tobacco Division have fresh recollections of the problems of getting cigarettes and tobacco to the Armed Forces in World War II and the Korean war. They want to be ready if an emergency arises again.

Three succinct sentences spoken by three great military leaders, spanning three historic conflicts and 166 years of history, tell the story of tobacco in war.

In 1776, when the first American Army was struggling desperately for independence, Gen. George Washington, who knew better than anyone what his soldiers needed to keep their fighting spirit alive, wrote: "I say if you can't send money send tobacco."

if you can't send money, send tobacco."
In 1917 Gen. John J. Pershing, commander in chief of the American Expeditionary Forces, wrote from France: "You ask me what we need to win this war. I answer tobacco as much as bullets."

In 1942 employees of an aircraft firm collected \$10,000 and wired Gen. Douglas MacArthur, commander in chief of the Southwest Pacific, asking what his soldiers needed most. General MacArthur replied: "The entire amount should be used to purchase American cigarettes, which, of all personal comforts, are the most difficult to obtain here"

Millions of Americans still recall the cigarette shortages of World War II, when long lines of civilians queued up as if by magic when word went around that a store had received a few cigarettes for sale. This was because the Government preempted a major part of the cigarette output and shipped them to the Armed Forces.

In December 1942 President Franklin D. Roosevelt issued an Executive order declaring tobacco an essential crop. Draft Director Lewis B. Hershey ordered the deferment of tobacco farmers along with others engaged in essential agriculture. The War Production Board allocated materials to the tobacco industry to assure the continued growing of leaf tobacco and the processing of the finished products.

Even after the war the story of tobacco was unique. The Government had, surplus to its needs, \$13.5 million worth of cigarettes, cigars, smoking and chewing tobacco, and snuff. Without "dumping" and by exporting most of this stock, it received in payment \$10.7 million. Other surpluses at the same time were returning only 10 to 12 cents on the dollar.

In the limited Korean war, the National Production Authority issued hundreds of priorities to tobacco manufacturers to assure delivery of scarce materials used in processing tobacco.

In World War II, the American cigarette became one of the most highly prized articles an England and war-torn France.

Lord Rhondda, the British Food Commissioner, declared: "Tobacco is a necessity, not a luxury * * * I believe that its loss would be a national misfortune."

Shortly after the World War I armistice, the popular magazine, Leslie's Weekly, wrote: "According to the men at arms * * * their

"According to the men at arms * * * their officers, from the highest to the humblest; the physicians, nurses, chaplains, and stretcher bearers who labored to save the wounded and minister to the dying; the women of the Red Cross, the secretaries of the YMCA's * * * tobacco was one of the most pronounced blessings of the struggle, one of the greatest factors in preserving the morale of the troops."

During the American Revolution, tobacco was doubly important. Virginia leaf was used to pay interest on loans from France and to pay for war material. Nor was the strategic value of Virginia leaf lost on the enemy. The 1781 campaign waged by Phillips and Arnold in the Old Dominion was later recalled as "The Tobacco War," since the British troops seemed more anxious to kill off green tobacco plants than to shoot blue-coated revolutionaries. At the close of the war, Virginia's General Assembly was fixing salaries in terms of leaf tobacco, currency having lost its stability.

In the Civil War, tobacco rations for both Federal and Confederate troops were authorized but historians say that both quality and regularity of issue left much to be desired.

Tobacco historically has played another big part in war. In the United States the first excise tax on cigarettes was levied to help finance the Civil War. For each war since then, additional taxes have been levied. The last one was the "temporary" addition of 1 cent a pack at the outset of the Korean war. That temporary tax has been extended six times since and is still in effect.

Twelfth Anniversary of the Independence of Israel

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. WILLIAM B. WIDNALL

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 2, 1960

Mr. WIDNALL. Mr. Speaker, May 2 marks the 12th anniversary of the independence of Israel. Congratulations to that courageous nation on this important day.

To better appreciate the difficulties that confront Israel in its infant years, it may be useful to remember the ordeals endured and the hardships surmounted by our own hardy forebears during the early decades following the signing of the Declaration of Independence of the United States of America. Our budding Nation was not without monumental challenges to its very existence. And

Israel today knows the hazards of growing into full stature.

Over the years the United States and Israel have seen the ties that bind closely Americans and Israelis continue to grow stronger. Our people of whatever lineage are freedom-loving and are in sympathetic support of Israel as a country where democracy has sprung up on the once-barren sands of the desert.

Israel and the United States stand together-and firmly-on their most vital interests in the Middle East. Israel's security depends ultimately upon mutual understanding and agreement with the Arab countries, so that the young nation can devote all of its resources to peaceful economic development in cooperation with its neighbors and with the rest of the free world.

Today Israel lives in uneasy peace. As we in America send to our Israeli friends our congratulations on their Independence Day, we include hopes that genuine peace soon will come to them and to all peoples everywhere.

Notable Union Contract

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. HOWARD W. ROBISON

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, April 12, 1960

Mr. ROBISON. Mr. Speaker, it is self-evident that the only news that reaches the front pages of our newspapers, and therefore the attention of most of our citizens, is that which involves conflict of some kind or another. In saying that, I am not in any way attempting to criticize our newspapers and the other news media for their reporting policies. After all, they try to cater in large measure to the demands and interests of their readers or listeners. and if the American public wants to hear or see the more sensational side of our way of life who can blame our news media for complying.

So it is easy, I suppose, for all of us to fall under a spell of continually expecting to be subjected to evidence of one kind or another that the order of the day is conflict, violence, dissension, payola, and so on, whether we are surveying the day-to-day debates in Congress, or on the international scene, or on the level of our domestic economy.

I have long been urging the American people to begin to recognize that, in order to meet the threat of worldwide communism, they badly need to seek to regain that sense of partnership that has hitherto been the foundation for the great strides we have made as a people. Particularly, it would seem, is such a sense of partnership desirable if not vital between the forces of management and labor.

I am, therefore, grateful for the fact that one of the Nation's great newspapers, the New York Times, on April 5, 1960, took the trouble to look behind the headlines and remind us that there are

segments of our economy where, though ever so quietly, that sense of partner-ship exists and flourishes to the lasting benefit of those directly concerned, and, by way of inspiration, to the benefit of all of us.

In order that the inspirational value of one such instance may have wider impact among us, under leave to extend my remarks, I herewith include the following editorial taken from the Times of that date:

NOTABLE UNION CONTRACT

The recently negotiated contract between Local 1 of the Amalgamated Lithographers of America and the Metropolitan Lithographers Association is exceptional in these days of heightened tension in labor relations and of galloping changes in technology. It is the fruit of a relationship between the union and the employers of unusual confidence and respect-also evidenced by the fact that their contracts have been negotiated for 40 years without a single strike.

This situation has been due, in turn, largely to the fact that the union has never fought against improved methods and machines. Its theory has been that the expansion of the industry due to lowered unit costs would, in the not so long run, increase employment and permit higher wages. This has been amply proved in practice. The has been amply proved in practice. The union has even encouraged and assisted in the process by setting up in the international office a technological development department. It keeps union members informed of new improvements so that they can be dealt with most effectively in the interest of greater productivity.

In line with these views the new contract calls for support by the employers of a jointly administered education and training fund. This is to be used not only for the training of apprentices at the New York Trade School but for the retraining for other tobs of the craftsmen who have been displaced by improved methods of produc-

The new contract also shows how well the union's basic policies are paying off for its members. Besides a \$10-a-week wage increase within 2 years, the employers have stepped up their contribution to a jointly managed welfare fund. It is used to cover all the medical and hospital care expenses of the workers, their families and retired pensioners for the full 52 weeks of each year. Incidentally, both the union and the employers showed their interest in the industry's stability by agreeing on the new con-tract 5 weeks before the old one will run out.

Deplorable Defense Gap

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. MELVIN PRICE

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, April 27, 1960

Mr. PRICE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Rec-ORD, I include herewith an editorial which appeared in the Belleville (Ill.) News-Democrat on Friday, April 29, 1960 entitled "Deplorable Defense Gap":

DEPLORABLE DEFENSE GAP

Secretary of Defense Thomas S. Gates, Jr., painted a very rosy picture of Uncle Sam's deterrent posture at the annual meeting of the Associated Press in New York this week. He denied that any gap exists in our

arsenal, and reasured that militarily our country is second to none. The implication is that Americans have nothing to worry about.

We earnestly wish we could share Secretary Gates' optimism. However, the hard facts contradict his glowing contention. And, notwithstanding narcotic claims to the contrary, there are indeed some disturbing gaps in our national defense setup.

An example is the alarming inadequacy of military airlift. This had been suspected for some time; it was emphatically proved last month by the gigantic simulated emergency airlift to nearby Puerto Rico.

Making an all-out effort, the Military Air Transport Service functioned very efficiently—with what it had. But that was not enough to satisfy today's requirements.

By World War II standards—to which the Defense Department has geared MATS—the "Big Slam" record would have been phenomenal. We have since progressed into a supersonic age, yet MATS is hobbled by ponderously slow, obsolete, wornout, piston-engined aircraft that properly belong on the junk pile. It has only three modern jet transports to its name, and these are reserved for the White House and State Department.

Continuing neglect in refurbishing the MATS airfleet is a challenge to Defense's smugness. For, though we may have the best trained soldiers, and the finest weapons in the world, what good are they to us if we can't swiftly move them to where they will do the most good?

Perhaps it is not healthy to run scared as regards our national might. But it is far worse to know the salient shortcomings and do nothing to remedy them.

We pray that Congress will not perpetuate this potentially fatal mistake, but will heed the urging of the Rivers group of the House Armed Services Committee and move forthrightly to close the deplorable MATS gap which Secretary Gates pretends doesn't exist.

They Are Known but to God

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. LESTER R. JOHNSON

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, April 26, 1960

Mr. JOHNSON of Wisconsin, Mr. Speaker, on Sunday, May 1, some 1,500 members of the Independent Order of Odd Fellows made their annual pilgrimage to the Tomb of the Unknowns at Arlington National Cemetery. As a member of the Odd Fellows, I took part in the pilgrimage and had the honor of placing the wreath from the lodges in my home State of Wisconsin at the Tomb of the Unknowns. I also heard the excellent address by Sovereign Grand Master Everett O. Richards. Under leave to extend my remarks, I would like to include his speech in the RECORD:

Address at Tomb of Unknowns

Once again, we have assembled here for another annual pilgrimage and ceremony. in the beauty and quietude of this hallowed place.

I am sure that no one who has lost a relative or a friend in any of the wars can approach the Tomb of the Unknowns without have a lump in his throat and a tear in his eye.

We have gathered here on this momentous occasion to pay tribute to these three who lie here unknown to all but God Himself, and who represent all who gave their lives so that we might enjoy the freedom and liberty that we do have and enjoy today.

Sometimes these ceremonies may seem futile; but, if by these exercises we can instill in the hearts and minds of even one boy or girl something of the spirit of the brave ones who have gone before—the spirit of patriotic sacrifice and high resolve—then these ceremonies will never be in vain. It is our duty to keep alive this spirit of liberty and freedom which is our greatest possession.

Livy, the historian of Rome, tells us that by some convulsion of nature, the ground in the center of the Roman Forum suddenly sank to an immense depth. The astrologers Were consulted and the response came that the Roman Commonwealth could not be Derpetuated unless the most valuable thing should be cast into the opening; Marcus Curtius, considering that arms and bravery were Rome's most valuable possessions, dressed himself in full military costume, mounted a spirited horse, and in full view of a vast concourse of his fellow countrymen, plunged into the chasm. The writer tells us that as Marcus Curtius plunged into the chasm, the opening closed.

Mighty convulsions have shaken this country—yawning chasms opened that could only be filled by the most precious thing this country had to offer, and she offered it in the lives of the flower of her manhood, and the openings closed. Let us pray in God's name that these chasms have been closed forever and ever, never to be opened

again.

We should never forget that those who have died in all the wars endured all the evils that humanity could suffer, yet they did not shrink nor faiter—and at last peace crowned the efforts of patriotism, and its banner is still floating over us—Old Glory, the Stars and Stripes—and palsied be the hand that would dishonor it.

At the close of World War II, a soldier was introduced as one of the speakers at a dinner; the presiding officer mentioned the fact that the young soldier lost an arm in the war; and he was greeted with enthusiastic cheers as he rose to speak. But the young soldier began by disavowing the introduction. "No," he said, "I didn't lose anything in the war, for when we boys entered the service, we were prepared to give to our country everything that we had, and whatever we brought back was that much clear gain."

That was the spirit of the most noble patriotism, and that is the spirit that should animate our hearts as citizens of this won-

derful country.

It is a noteworthy fact that of all the Pilgrims who landed on Plymouth Rock, despite the hardship and suffering of that first winter, when the Mayflower set sail for England the following spring, not a single Pilgrim returned with it—they stayed.

In Belleau Woods and Chateau Thierry, when the German troops in overwhelming numbers charged the Americans and the Allies, some of them broke and ran—but the Americans stood like a rock. Most of them were slain, but they stayed. The American soldler furnished a new and never-to-beforgotten exhibition of courage and bravery to the German hosts at that time, as well as to all of our enemies in the past.

In the event of war, only a small portion of our population would be actually in the Armed Forces—probably not over 10 percent at the most; but we can all fight the enemy within, for the enemy within sometimes is a far more serious threat than the enemy without. Today we have an enemy within—communism. This demon has dared to raise its ugly head within our midst. I sincerely submit to you that we must be continuously on guard lest this demon, through infiltration and otherwise, so weaken us that we might fall a prey to it.

Nations have seldom lost their liberty in the shock of battle. Babylon had fallen long before the feast of Belshazzer, when she saw the handwriting on the wall. No barbarous Goth was necessary to complete the extinction of Roman liberty. Some nations have been rotten to the core long before the invasion by their enemies. My friends, the decay of a nation, like that of an oak, begins at the heart.

Today we have assembled here to pay homage to our Unknowns, as well as to the many thousands who made the supreme sacrifice that justice might prevail, and whose work was so abruptly terminated by their untimely death. Men in their youth; men in their prime; men who walked uprightly but humbly in their chosen work—all have encountered life's inexorable end.

In Scotland there is a battlefield on which the natives and their Saxon foes met in terrible encounter. No monument marks that spot—but a little flower grows there and there alone. It is called the Flower of of Culloden because it had sprung from soil in which the bodies of patriots had been buried—the seeds were there, of course, but seemingly needed the baptism of blood to make them grow, and now every blue flower on Culloden Field, as it bends its head to the summer breeze, is a tender memorial to the brave spirits who dyed that sod with their hearts' blood. My brothers, sisters, and friends, the choicest flowers of human civilization are always Culloden flowers, because they alone spring from soil that has been watered by sacrifice.

American wars have been defensive wars. It is true that in the two world wars, and in the Korean conflict, our soldiers were sent across the sea-but these were just as much defensive wars as though the battlefront had been on American soil. The principle of self-defense which permeates all animate creation does not require that action shall be withheld until it will be of no avail. When the rattlesnake gives warning of its deadly purpose, the wary traveler does not wait for the fatal strike, but at once plants his heel upon the head of the serpent and crushes out its venom and is strength. When the hunter hears the rustle in the jungle and beolds the green eyes of the spotted tiger glaring at him, he doesn't wait for the deadly spring, but immediately sends a bullet into the brain of the animal.

If war were to be declared upon our country by an insulting foe, should we wait until our sleeping cities are awakened by the bursting of bombs?

No, my friends, I am sure that you will agree that we should send forth all branches of our military forces—we should let loose some of the weapons at our command, the thunder of which would arouse stern echoes along hostile shores—yet that would be national defense prompted by the same great principle of self protection which applies no less to nations than to individuals.

The unknowns fought and died because they believed in self protection, they believed in universal justice; they believed that right should triumph over might, that no foreign foe should ever land on our soil to endanger "the land of the free and the home of the brave."

We as Odd Fellows and Rebekahs, and as citizens of this great country, should be inspired by the heroic sacrifice of those whom we honor here today, to exert our energies to the end that the teachings of our order and the principles thereof may be spread throughout the world; that friendship, love, and truth will not be meaningless words upon our lips, but the sentiment of our hearts and the practice of our lives.

That we should be further inspired by fulfilling our pledge to those who rest beneath the sod—that they have not died in vain, by rededicating and reconsecrating our lives, not only as Odd Fellows and Rebekahs, but also as good and loyal citizens by doing

those things that are incumbent upon us as members of this great fraternity and as citizens of this great country; and to pledge ourselves, a million three hundred thousand strong, that we will do our utmost to preserve the peace in the world; and, finally, by doing those things that we have been asked to do by our Heavenly Father, so that when we shall have crossed the silent river to join the loved ones gone before, that we may hear the welcome plaudits, "well done, good and faithful servant, enter thou into the joy of thy Lord."

Careless Ad by Farm Journal

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. MERWIN COAD

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 2, 1960

Mr. COAD. Mr. Speaker, undoubtedly many Members of the Congress noticed the ads which have appeared in certain newspapers comparing the average gross farm family income with the average net family income. These ads were paid for by the Farm Journal magazine in an attempt to show the importance of the farm market to American business and industry. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I would like to insert an editorial from the April 30 issue of the Des Moines Register, Des Moines, Iowa, which clarifies the impact of the headlines in this ad upon the casual reader by explaining the reason for the comparison of gross and net incomes.

Higher production costs during the past years have forced farmers to spend an increasing amount of their gross income for the materials used to make their living. This fact coupled with lower wholesale prices on goods farmers sell, has produced a cost-price squeeze.

The operations of these forces in 1959 was, in part, the reason the average net farm family income was \$2,547 es compared to the average net family income of \$6,470 for nonfarm families. So when the expenses of doing business are deducted it is very apparent that the average farm family has precious little left to spend for their living expenses.

The editorial follows:

CARELESS AD BY FARM JOURNAL

We could hardly believe our eyes when we read this headline in a full-page advertisement Tuesday in the Wall Street Journal: "In 1959, average U.S. family income, \$6,470; average U.S. farm family income, \$9,978."

We were still more surprised when we looked at the bottom of the ad and found that it was paid for by the Farm Journal magazine. The Farm Journal, of all people, ought to realize that the figures it used are highly misleading.

The figure \$9,978 is average gross income per farm. But most of this goes for production expenses. Average net income of farm operators per farm in 1959 was \$2,547.

The average U.S. family income figure used in the ad is a net income figure and represents family purchasing power for consumer goods and services.

The Farm Journal was advertising the importance of the farm market to American business and industry. It was saying, in effect, that farm families spend more (in-

cluding their production costs) than city families, which is true.

The Farm Journal stated in smaller type than the headline that the \$9,978 was gross income, but quick readers would not notice

Unfortunately, its ad gives the impression that farm families have more income for consumption purposes than city families, which is untrue. The ordinary, unwary reader of the Wall Street Journal would conclude that farm families are earning \$3,500 more per year than city families on the average. The fact is that farm families earn less than half as much on the average as nonfarm families.

Many business readers of the Wall Street Journal might think after reading this ad that farmers are doing plenty well on the income scale and don't need any help from the Government. We're sure the Farm Journal did not intend to mean that because its editor, Carroll Streeter, recently wrote a little pamphlet called "Myths About the Farm Situation," in which he gave some facts about farm income and farm subsidies.

But that is likely to be the effect of the

ad on most readers.

Pennsylvania Highways

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, JOHN P. SAYLOR

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, May 2, 1960

Mr. SAYLOR. Mr. Speaker, an editorial that is prompting a new look at Pennsylvania's highway situation recently appeared in the Patton Press-Courier and has been reprinted elsewhere in the congressional district I represent. It is a product of Editor Thomas A. Owens, Jr., who feels that Pennsylvania cannot afford to wait any longer for the kind of highway system that will permit development of areas blessed with rich natural resources but long deprived of opportunities of unreasonable planning at the State level.

So long as the Federal Government is making funds available to the States for highway construction, I feel impelled to insist upon a new approach to Pennsylvania's highway system. I invite my colleagues from Pennsylvania and adjacent States-particularly New York, Maryland, and West Virginia-to peruse carefully this editorial. It is a key to improving the economy of some of our regions, and it may also serve a useful purpose in your own States. When the proper highway links are established among our respective States. I think that we will have removed at least one important obstacle to industrial progress in neglected areas.

The editorial follows:

[From the Union Press-Courier, Apr. 7, 1960] WE'VE GOT "TURKEY PATHS"

Drive north, drive south, drive east-or west—and there you'll find one of the big reasons why this depressed area hasn't been able to secure many new industries. For almost as soon as you get across the county line into Blair, Indiana, Bedford, Somerset, or Westmoreland Countles you'll find modern highways-many of them four-lane jobs, and the others wide enough and straight enough to make them a pleasure to drive.

"Turkey paths" are what we have here. And exactly that term was used by a Department of Commerce official in telling the Hastings Industrial Development Association representatives why it took so long to obtain a lead for their shell building, now the location of the Ace Footwear plant.

We've been listening, and we've heard a lot of things—most of them adding up to nothing for us in the immediate future as far as the State highway department construction plans are concerned. According to what Fred Hogan, district engineer, told a Patton Chamber of Commerce meeting months ago, apparently the only road building that will take place in northern Cambria County this year will be the stretch from St. Boniface to Lantzys Mills, and the few miles of road that have to be reconstructed, of necessity, in the Prince Gallitzin State Park.

Hogan did stress that Governor Mr. Lawrence was pushing for the limited access route from Somerset to the Shortway, but that will be years away. And, at that, if one draws a straight line on the map he finds the direct route after leaving Johnstown and heading for Du Bois would take one through Indiana County, via Strongstown and Heilwood. If the surveys take the road that way, we'll be just as bad off as we are now.

Meanwhile, the industries we do have here—the Phillips-Van Heusen plants at Patton and Barnesboro, the Patton Clay Manufacturing Co., the McGregor Sportswear plant at Coalport, and other concerns do most of their shipping by tractor-trailer. And who can blame a customer if he cancels his order because some other plant with a similar product can be reached quicker and easier?

We agree with the Tri-County Community Development Association that the time for action has come now-that is if we want to push for action. That time is at the primary elections on April 26. People of both parties should buttonhole the candidates for both State senate and assembly, and find out what their approach will be toward getting rid of these "turkey paths" and getting us some roads. And then, with four men elected out of those eight next fall, keep up the push from all angles so that more than promises result.

When Republicans were in office at Harrisburg we were shortchanged because Cambria County was Democratic, and with the Democrats now in power, we're still being shortchanged because it is felt the vote here is

Polish Constitution Day Ceremonies in Philadelphia

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. HERMAN TOLL

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, May 2, 1960

Mr. TOLL. Mr. Speaker, it was my privilege to attend the Polish Constitution Day ceremonies in the city of Philadelphia yesterday, Sunday, May 1, 1960, at St. Adalbert's Auditorium. It was an invigorating and inspiring sight to see nearly 1,500 Polish-American citizens listening to numerous speakers, who in fiery oration encouraged the people in their continued fight for the land of their origin.

It was particularly interesting to hear the Honorable WILLIAM J. GREEN, JR., chairman of the Democratic City Com-

mittee and a Member of Congress from the Fifth Congressional District of Pennsylvania, introduce the principal speaker, Maj. Gen. A. J. Drexel Biddle, adjutant general of Pennsylvania. General Biddle delivered an inspiring ad-

The chairman of the program was Mr. William F. Siemion, who is to be congratulated for his efforts and presentation of such an outstanding affair.

Romeo Gosselin

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. EMILIO Q. DADDARIO

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, May 2, 1960

Mr. DADDARIO. Mr. Speaker, last week in Hartford, members of the Franco-American community and other leading citizens of Connecticut gathered to pay honor to a man who has done a great deal for the people of the State. He has contributed many years of activity to religious, social, civic, fraternal, ethnic, and business programs in this country and Canada.

Romeo Gosselin is president general of the Union of Franco-Americans of Connecticut, an organization founded in 1885. He is also a successful businessman, executive vice president and general manager of the Roger Sherman Cos. of East Hartford. A native of Canada. one of 8 children in his family, he was orphaned at 15 and began work that same year as a roadway construction employee, followed by a job in the asbestos mine shafts of Coleraine and Black Lake, Canada. At 16, he was employed on the construction of dams, as an underwater diver pouring concrete, also in Canada.

He came to this country in 1822, when he was 18. His career since then has been one of hard work and dedicated effort in behalf of the charities and religious activities in which he believes so greatly. A self-made man, he is credited with 44 different inventions and innovations of use to his trade.

I am happy to note honors being paid him, and I want to add my warm congratulations. I hope the Members will have a chance to draw attention to his remarkable record so it may be an inspiration to others throughout the country who note what this Hartford man has

I also submit for the RECORD an article concerning Mr. Gosselin. It is from the column of Art McGinley in the Hartford Times:

Few men have had a more interesting of busier life than Romeo Gosselin, who is to be hailed at a banquet in St. Ann's Memorial Hall, 726 Park Street, Saturday evening and whom I am proud to list among my friends.

When only 16, Romeo was an underwater diver pouring concrete in the construction of great dams at Weedon, Province of Quebec,

Orphaned at 15, he set about earning his own living and no job was too hard work or too dangerous.

In 1922, he left Canada and took up residence in Lewiston, Maine. The next few years found him traveling about as construction jobs called him to various places. His companion on those journeys was Josephat Lesperance, who later became a missionary and who died some years ago in China. During these years of hard work and long

During these years of hard work and long hours, Romeo found time to study; he studied English evenings and also took correspondence courses, the better to be prepared for the challenges of his adopted country.

He has been described by associates as a "genius" in what has become his life's work, which now and for many years has found him a key figure with the Roger Sherman Co., but Romeo, a modest soul, rejects that high appraisal.

As a citizen, Romeo has met all the re-

quirements.

A devout Catholic, he has given freely of his time and his talents to many of the good works of the church; then he has affiliated with scores of worthwhile projects, notably the Boy Scouts.

He never has been too busy to respond to a

call for civic duty.

At the dinnerboard Saturday evening speakers will pay tribute to him for all this and they will be bearing true testimony.

Governor Hollings of South Carolina Defends New York's Right To Handle Its Own Affairs

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. L. MENDEL RIVERS

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 2, 1960

Mr. RIVERS of South Carolina. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the Record, I include therewith excerpts from a telegram addressed to the chairman and members of the House Judiciary Committee by our distinguished Governor of South Carolina, the Honorable Ernest F. Hollings, as follows:

The Governor of South Carolina is particularly privileged to join Governors Rockefeller of New York, Meyner of New Jersey, and Senators Krating and Javits of New York in their plea and fight for States' rights in preventing congressional interference in the affairs of the Port of New York Authority. I understand * * * House Joint Resolution 615, now before Congress, would require congressional approval of any further State legislation under the Bi-State Port Compact, and would also give Congress or any committee of Congress access to all books, records, and papers of the authority—a right which they do not have even for Federal agencies. * * *

I believe the fundamental questions of Federal-State relations reflected in this proposed legislation merit the special attention of the U.S. Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, of which I am privileged to be a member. • •

Mr. Speaker, the worm turns, Governor Hollings is consistent. Governor Hollings has very generously offered to assist the gentleman from New York, the Honorable Emanual Celler, in his effort to retain the right of New York to run its own business. Governor Hollings has always been for States' rights.

It is comforting to see that the State of New York is for States' rights, at least when it is in their own interest. South Carolina will always lend a helping hand to those who want to handle their own affairs whether it be against the Federal Government, the NAACP or the U.S. Supreme Court.

Governor Hollings knows that what is good for South Carolina is good for New

York.

W. C. Handy, "Father of the Blues"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. ESTES KEFAUVER

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, May 2, 1960

Mr. KEFAUVER. Mr. President, whenever any American earns a niche in the hall of fame—be he a scientist, a lawmaker, a poet, a physician, or a person of prominence in any other field of activity—his accomplishments are certainly worthy of widespread attention, recognition, and commendation.

Such a celebration was held recently in the city of Memphas, at the dedication of a statue to W. C. Handy, "Father

of the Blues."

Lt. George W. Lee, a citizen of Memphis, who is himself an author, prepared a biography of "Professor" W. C. Handy, the Father of the Blues." The biography was distributed to all those present on that occasion.

The honorary chairmen of the committee were Mayor Edmund Orgill and County Commissioner David N. Harsh.

The general chairman was Mr. Frank R. Ahlgren, of the Memphis Commercial Appeal.

I ask unanimous consent that the biographical sketch of W. C. Handy, who has brought fame to Memphis and to the Southland, be printed in the Appendix of the Record.

There being no objection, the biography was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE LEGEND OF W. C. HANDY, "FATHER OF THE BLUES"

(By Lt. George W. Lee, author of "Beale Street Where the Blues Began," "River George," "Beale Street Sundown")

The life of W. C. Handy and the story of how he originated the "blues" has been told many times. His travels with the Maharas Minstrels all over the South brought him into close contact with the true expression in song of a people. The wailing that he heard among the roustabouts, the field hands and the workers on the levee took root in his mind, and he felt in his soul the apathy and despair later expressed so admirably in his music.

Handy was born on November 16, 1873 in Florence, Ala. As a child, he was thrilled by the singing of his people. In his 10th year he could read music at sight, and he had a good tenor voice. His father and mother wanted him to be a minister and attempted to map out for him a career in the church; but Handy wanted to be a musician and he started early to acquire a thorough grounding in music.

The first step was to get enough money to pay for instruction. To this end he left home and walked all the way to Birmingham, where he taught school for a while. Later, he left the schoolroom to work for the Bessemer Pipe Co., which paid better wages than he could earn as a teacher.

When the depression that marked the Cleveland administration brought general unemployment, he joined a quartet and set out for a World's Fair at Chicago. The singers had no money, so they hopped a freight train and attempted to beat their way west. Luckily for them, the brakeman who discovered them had a weakness for song, so with coronet and guitar, as Handy says, they "soothed his savage breast," and instead of being red-lighted they were conducted to a caboose de luxe. But the World's Fair was cold to Handy and his quartet, so it dis-banded, Handy moving on to St. Louis and thence to Evansville, Ind., where he laid bricks for a while. Later he joined a band in Henderson, Ky., where the roustabouts and stevedores on the levee kept the air around the river ringing with those work songs that he had loved from childhood.

In 1897 Handy returned to Alabama and taught vocal and band music at the Agricultural and Mechanical College in Huntsville. His life at that period was restless, interspersed with travels in Mexico, Cuba, and Canada. Handy, the composer, had not

yet found himself.

In Clarksdale, Miss., Handy received the impetus which sent him eventually along the road to renown. Playing at a white subscription dance there one night, Handy, who had selected music that he thought would be most acceptable, found the dancers becoming more and more bored. They clamored for music such as they heard at Negro breakdowns on Saturday nights, such as their farm hands whistled while plowing the fields, and the guitarpicker played as he trudged down the road at midnight. Handy and his band made several attempts but were unable to satisfy these dancers. a local colored band, consisting of a mandolin, bass violin, and guitar, was sent for. The players sat down, tuned up, and started to play something about "Gwine Where de Southern Cross de Dog."

Handy had heard this type of wailing throughout his childhood in Alabama, but he never dreamed that it would attract attention anywhere except in the back alleys. An idea of its commercial value began to dawn upon him as he stood outside under the light of the stars and listened to the noisy reception it received. He found himself turning the thought over in his mind. If these kinds of songs were acceptable here, they might be acceptable elsewhere, he

reasoned.

Finally, Handy stood at the door of his big opportunity. Through the mist of the years he beheld the golden towers of his dreams rise at last against a background of reality, and a great impulse to set these songs to music and make the world sing them stirred in the young musician. He returned to Beale Street and set his pen to music paper. Memphis woke up one morning with the blues.

A political situation in 1909 afforded nationwide publicity for Handy and his new music. In that year Williams, Talbot, and E. H. Crump, were running for election as mayor of Memphis. Jim Mulcahy, political boss, hired Handy to play for Crump. Echford and Bynum were employed for the other two candidates. In order to outdo these two great bands, Handy was spurred to creative efforts. Down at Clarksdale, Miss., he had devoted himself to acquiring the material and atmosphere which would some day aid him in making a musical rendition of the plantation and levee camp songs. Now he found his store of knowledge useful in an-

other way. His band opened the campaign at Main and Madison with a piece called "Mr. Crump," a composition which took the shape of the inevitable results of the tempo of cotton-picking, work songs along the aching side of Old Man River, of happy nights in the pleasure palaces strung out along Beale Street, and the privation of poverty-chinked cabins and slender precarious meals.

The crowd in the streets literally went wild over it. They shouted until they were hourse, demanding to hear it again and again. They whistled and danced with the rhythmic sway of the music, as the words

floated out upon the air:

Mr. Crump don't 'low no easy riders here, Mr. Crump won't 'low no easy riders here. I don't care what Mr. Crump don't 'low, I'm gonna bar'l-house anyhow. Mr. Crump can go and catch hisself some air.

That tune was the vehicle which carried two to victory. Handy rode on it from Beale Street to Broadway. Crump, with the addi-tional aid of his uncanny genius for organizing political groups and with the assistance of his astute lieutenants, Frank Rice, Tyler McClain and E. W. Hale, rode on it not only to Washington and the Congress of the United States but also to 25 years of undis-

puted leadership in Shelby County.

The band that played "Mr. Crump" under the leadership of Handy was composed of Ed and Paul Weir, Jim Turner, Archie Walls, George Higgins, George Williams, Robert

Young, and James Osborne.

In 1905 Handy met Harry Pace, who was a smalltown songwriter. A common interest developed into plans for a working part-nership in which Handy was to write the music and Pace the words. Nothing came of them at the time for Pace accepted a position as Latin and Greek instructor in Lincoln University, Jefferson City, Mo. But a year later, when, at the invitation of R. R. Church, Pace came back to Memphis to act as cashier of the Solvent Savings Bank of Memphis, Handy immediately joined hands with him and they devoted virtually every Sunday evening after church services to this cooperative composing.

After the election the "Mr. Crump" song title was changed to "Memphis Blues" and offered for publication. After every publisher in the country had turned it down as worthless, it was sold to T. C. Bennett, a young white man who at that time was head of the music department of Bry's Department Store. He made a fortune out of "Memphis Blues."

Prior to this, Handy devoted himself to writing popular music, with little or no success. The popularity of the "Memphis Blues" turned him back to writing the blues. But his next number, "The Saint Louis Blues," suffered the same fate with the publishers as did the "Memphis Blues." When the publishers rejected it and laughed at him, he became discouraged and laid it aside. He and his partner, Pace, returned to popular numbers but still their efforts met with little success. Finally, with Pace he organized the Pace & Handy Music Co. to publish the "St. Louis Blues." But the success of this undertaking would never have been accomplished if Handy's band had not struck on him in Atlanta. To this circumstance the music known as the blues owes much of the renown which it now has.

Handy took his band to play an engage ment in Atlanta, and was to go from there to the University of North Carolina but his boys had made so much money out of the Atlanta engagement that they wanted to get back to strut on Beale Street. Handy was stubborn and would not yield. He was determined to fill the engagement at the university, but when he found that the boys wouldn't go he conferred with Pace, his partner, who advised him to go to New York, a city which he thought would offer a better market for their songs. Thus it came about the Handy & Pace Co. was moved to New York City in 1917 and lodged in the Galety Theater Building. Handy at the time had very little capital, but abundant faith in his product. He carried with him to New York the song, "A Good Man Is Hard To Find," that he had bought for \$125. This song created an overnight sensation on Broadway, and with its popularity the fame of Handy spread throughout the world. The revolution in music, launched when Handy wrote his first "blues" had succeeded.

Two years after Handy went to New York he was joined by Pace, who realized the value of the "St. Louis Blues" and finally succeeded in selling it to the Nation. He induced a girl to sing it for a Victor phonograph record. The result was an almost instantaneous hit. Every rival company sub-sequently sought to record it; every playerroll manufacturer took it up and recorded it. It became one of the most popular songs in the history of songwriting. It has earned more money than any other song ever written by a Negro, and probably few songs written by whites have earned more.

During his long career Handy has written and published many songs. The "St. Louis Blues," "Memphis Blues," "Beale Street Blues," "Joe Turner Blues," "Mr. Crump," "Make Me a Pallet on the Floor," "Yellow Dog Blues," "Hesitation Blues," "Ole Miss Blues," "Harlem Blues," are only a few of his scores of songs that are known throughout the country. His company during its first year in New York took in more than a quarter of His company during its first year a million dollars on "A Good Man Is Hard To Find," and "Yellow Dog Blues."

Handy has also done distinguished orchestral work, both as composer and leader. In 1919 Handy appeared as guest conductor of the Clef Club with an orchestra of 100 pieces, and it was Handy's evolution of the blues that Vincent Lopez used in his first jazz concert at the Metropolitan Opera House in 1924. He also conducted the initial Negro Achievement Hour for the Columbia Broadcasting System, with his family giving the entire program. Later he was guest conductor with Signor Mariana in a national broadcast for which "Rhapsody in Blue" and "Yamekrew" were played. On this occasion a great tribute was paid to Handy by the announcer, who said, "In this studio are 75 picked jazz artists. Mr. Handy is now approaching the conductor's stand. He is shaking hands with Signor Mariana, who now hands him his baton which Mr. Handy is just about to wave into the immortal strains of 'St. Louis Blues.' "

Handy appeared in a company of oldtimers doing a vaudeville act. The name of the act was, "Joe Laurie Junior's Memory Lane," which depicts New York's theatrical life in the days of the Bowery. Among them was a man 89 years old who danced for Abraham Lincoln, and J. Rosamond Johnson, who wrote the Negro national anthem, "Lift wrote the Negro national anthem, "Lif Every Voice and Sing." Johnson was a part ner of Cole and Johnson 30 years ago. He composed the music for "Emperor Jones."

W. C. Handy was once asked, "What is the source of your greatness?" He pondered the question for a moment and finally when he lifted his head to answer, a strange light was in his eyes. He said slowly, "Just say that I love people and I love doing things to glorify them. Somewhere in the Book it says, 'Inasmuch as ye did it unto one of these my brethren, even these least, ye did it unto me'."

Handy's life is the tale of three streets-Beale Street, Market Street in St. Louis, and Broadway in New York. But from the dust of Beale Street rose the legend of a man. He pressed his trumpet to his lips and a song rose with the drift of the wind. "I'd rather be there than any place I know."

Handy had no more irritations or problems on Beale Street than any other genius would

have in any other place that men suffer who star their age and time. He once said to friends, "Whenever I come to Memphis, a freedom comes over me that I feel nowhere else. The past fills me with a boundless joy and the present prompts me to every fond delight when I am in the midst of these comforting scenes."

Handy loved Beale Street. He spent a life-time in full service to all its demands and its traditions, its weaknesses and its ecsta-To him there was humor, pathos, and drama in this crooked little street which sprang as from a miasmic dream of a paved congo, the jerky pantomime of plaint and piety, suppression and sensuousness which was the outer soul of the Negro come to the American town.

Handy had been blind for years, but he could see though his eyes were closed. Mrs. Louise Handy, his faithful wife, was his eyes. She was the increment of his humble fortune. He had been married once before to Mrs. Elizabeth Handy, the companion of his youth, who died in 1937.

On Friday, March 28, at 3 in the morning. at the Sydenham Hospital he slipped quiety away into the unknown before he had time to see the evening sun go down. There were those about his bedside who saw him come to the end of his day long before the night had fallen from Heaven on a rope of twilight-W. C. Handy, Jr., and Wyer Handy, his two sons, Charles Handy, a brother, Mrs. Catherine Lewis, a daughter, Mrs. Irma Louise Logan Handy, his wife, and William Handy, a grandson. But from the ends of the earth there were mourners as thick as grief.

Long before his passing, he had left his beloved Beale Street to try his fortune on Broadway, but he came back to get the Cot-tonmaker's Jubilee off the ground. He came back again and again to furnish the drama for the Elks Blues Bowl Christmas charity game. All the while, he was working on Broadway to establish a Foundation For the

Rivers of muddy water have rolled down to the sea since the night back in 1909 when Handy first got a song right in his head and set it down on music paper, and gave it everlasting voice with his golden trumpet. The mood and melody of the "Memphis Blues" has resounded around the world and then back to a crossroad shack in the Montana plains. Its melody created the "St. Louis Blues" which went with President Harding's flagship to Alaska and to Wash-ington to entertain Ramsay MacDonald, England's Prime Minister.

Handy admitted to friends many times.

the part white southerners played in popularizing his music. When they went north, they clamored so loud for his music that band leaders in hotels and night clubs were forced to place it in their repretore. Matthew Thornton, the venerable mayor of Beale Street, invited him to Memphis and helped to make him one of its most glamorous figures.

The life of W. C. Handy and the story of how he originated the blues has been told many times. He has been honored by everybody. His hometown of Florence, Ala., re-cently erected a handsome ultra modern public school in his honor; Memphis has a town square named after him; and St. Louis has a scholarship fund in his name to be awarded annually to worthy Negro and white youngsters with musical talent. The fund offices will be housed in a new building to be erected on the spot where Handy once slept as a hobo. The huge clock on its facade will play the opening bars of "St. Louis Blues" on the hour.

Memphis, his home, again paid a tribute to him on his 84th birthday. The Blues Bowl game on the night of December 2 at Melrose Stadium was dedicated to him. He wasn't able to attend as he once did, but there was one-half hour of Handy's blues played and at 11 a.m. that day, at Main and Madison, Hon. Lee Winchester, Sr., an attorney, and Mr. Edmund Orgill, mayor Memphis, made speeches; this spot on Main Street is just a stone's throw from where the "Memphis Blues" was born-in its first form as a political song in the support of the late E. H. Crump. Official Memphis greetings went to the Waldorf Astoria to Handy's birthday party from Mayor Orgill, who also sent a check for the W. C. Handy Foundation for the Blind.

Soon after Handy passed, the Honorable Frank Ahlgren, editor of the Commercial Appeal, fathered the idea of a monument of W. C. Handy to be elected in Handy Park. In an editorial he coined the motto for the cause when he wrote, "If his mortal frame does not repose in the Beale Street Park which bears his name, there should be a monument there in metal and stone to serve as a material testimonial to the immortality of his music." Edmund Orgill, the mayor of Memphis, and Mr. David Harsh, chairman of the Shelby County commission, agreed to serve as honorary chairmen, and Mr. Frank Ahlgren was named chairman. The monument was assured when a \$5,000 contribution from the American Society of Composers and Publishers, of which Professor Handy was long a member, was added to what had been raised locally.

Handy made a long step from Alabama to the advancing wave of circumstances on which he advanced himself to one of the high

pinnacles of earthly grandeur and renown.
The Milwaukee Journal, in its issue of September 22, 1949, listed 20 grand old men of the world. It named W. C. Handy along with Bernard Shaw, Lionel Barrymore, Connie Mack, Toscanini, Bernard Baruch, Cordell Hull, and others

The growth of Handy's music in our times has a consequence which is still impossible to determine. I think some day this music called "blues" will provide the raw material that will be of importance in the development of an art which will stimulate American culture. For the music of Beale Street expresses a sorrow and a joy that the heart cannot tell in its own futile terms, but must borrow out of travesty and fervent plaint, the walls from which W. C. Handy drew his own great songs.

There are many people in these vast United States who have become famous in the field of music, but without a doubt the leader and an of them all is the late W. C. Handy, famous for composing and writing the "Mem phis, the St. Louis, the Beale Street Blues," and in addition many sacred songs that America is now listening to, such as "They That Sow in Tears Shall Reap in Joy."

Among the outstanding and leading books that have been written by Handy, "Father of the Blues," is his autobiography and treasury

of the blues, which he edited.

The last time Handy was a visitor in Memphis, he said that Handy Bros. Music Co. was about to publish an outstanding symphony called "Blue Destiny." The movement based on the "St. Louis Blues," the second movement on the "Beale Street the fourth movement on the "Harlem Blues" and the "Memphis Blues."

So, the dean of American music has passed. He brought to the American public songs that will live forever. The "Beale Street Blues," the "Memphis Blues," the "St. Louis Blues" hold fast to something deep inside of one. They are more than songs. They are a loving, shining symbol that only the soul of man can understand.

So, when the last evening sun goes down on the judgment day, it will reveal three bright musical mansions in the sky. The one on the right for George Gershwin, built out of "Rhapsody in Blue," the one on the left for Stephen Foster, built out of "My Old Ken-

tucky Home"; then a shaft of lightning will thwart the inky skies and reveal in the center one for W. C. Handy, built out of the "Memphis Blues" and the "St. Louis Blues" and resting on the solid foundation of "Those Who Sow in Tears, Shall Reap in Joy."

St. Peter, standing in the doorway, in extending his hand in fellowship will say, "You captured the attention of art, and music entrusted her charms to your joyous care. Your magic genius opened the closed door. Your achievement under the Stars and Stripes engaged the wonders of civilized

Israel's 12th Anniversary

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. FLORENCE P. DWYER

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, May 2, 1960

Mrs. DWYER. Mr. Speaker, one of the brightest and most hopeful developments in international life since the end of World War II has been the birth and growth of the state of Israel.

Against immense odds, and surrounded on all sides by hostile neighbors, the people of Israel have founded and developed a working democracy, a self-governing haven for many of the victims of some of the most terrible persecutions in world history.

Under the skilled and devoted hands of its people, this tiny and largely barren land has flowered into a productive and vigorous nation—a nation which, despite its youth, is already making a major contribution toward the development of other newly independent countries. The growth of Israel's cultural, technical, agricultural, industrial, and intellectual resources in a brief dozen years has been impressive testimony to the vision and indomitable courage of its founders, its leaders, and its people.

Today, Israel is an outpost of freedom and democracy in a corner of the world which historically has been the target of dictators and the victim of oppression and exploitation. It is distinctly in the best interests of our own country that Israel thrive and be made secure.

In the current dispute over the use of the Suez Canal, Israel deserves the understanding and support of all people-and nations-who believe in the rule of law, who subscribe to the goal of settling disputes by peaceful means.

The aggressive and arbitrary seizure

of the cargoes of ships bound to or from Israeli ports and using the international waterway of the Suez Canal is a violation of the basic tenets of international law. The highhanded behavior of the Government of the United Arab Republic and its President, General Nasser, is an affront to world opinion and a threat to world peace.

As a Member of Congress and a member of the House Banking and Currency Committee, it has been my privilege to join with many of my colleagues to urge our Government and the international agencies with which it is associated to use its influence to halt the depreda-

tions on Israeli shipping and to require that the Suez Canal be so administered as to assure the rights of all nations.

Mr. Speaker, we can celebrate Israel's 12th anniversary in no better or more practical way than by resolving to continue our efforts to obtain international fair play.

A Positive Program To Strengthen the Public Economy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. AL ULLMAN

OF OREGON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, April 27, 1960

Mr. ULLMAN, Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I would like to insert the following excerpts from an address to the Electric Consumers Information Committees Legislative Workshop of January 19, 1960, by Prof. Horace

M. Gray of the University of Illinois.
As can be seen, Professor Gray is highly critical of many aspects of current public policy. While there are probably few, if any, of us here in the Congress who would agree with all of his points, they are relevant to issues of great interest to all of us end are made so clearly and directly that I think they are worthy of our attention. I might add that Professor Gray is perhaps best known as a coauthor of the book, "Monopoly in America: The Government as Promoter, published a few years ago.

The address follows:

A POSITIVE PROGRAM TO STRENGTHEN THE PUBLIC ECONOMY

(By Horace M. Gray, professor of economics, University of Illinois)

Before an audience of this character, it is unnecessary to elaborate on the gross deficiencies of the public economy or to defend the thesis that the public economy is properly entitled to adequate support.
Rationalizations of inaction conceal

basic philosophy; namely, that private gain should have priority over public welfare and that government should use its sovereign powers to implement this principle. It shall be my purpose to examine briefly some of the institutional means by which this grand objective has been accomplished. This discussion centers about the allocative institutions by which resources are directed into either the private or the public economy.

FEDERAL INCOME TAXATION

The progressive income tax is the master key of the Federal Government's allocative power. By this means the Federal Government can command the resources of the Nation and determine their allocation as between the private and public sectors of the economy. That is, it can withdraw at will from the private sector whatever resources are required to sustain the public economy and then, through its appropriative power, direct them into desired areas of employment according to public need. Because of its decisive role in the allocative process the progressive income tax is the subject of bitter and continuous political conflict.

During recent years, and particularly since World War II, the system has been so riddled by evasions, exemptions, immunities, preferential treatment and loopholes that its theoretical progressivity has theoretical progressivity has been largely

nullified. As matters now stand, the Federal income tax, both individual and corporate, falls to reach well over one-half of the income actually realized, most of the avoidance being concentrated in corporations and high-income brackets. It is estimated that some \$25 to \$30 billion of potential revenue is "lost" each year by such evasions and loopholes. Obviously, an allocative device whose cutting edge is so blunted is an ineffective instrument for diverting resources from private to the public economy.

THE APPROPRIATIVE POWER

The sovereign power of the Federal Government to appropriate public funds is a crucial allocative institution. Constitutionally, it can be used only for public purposes, but seekers after special privileges have discovered many ingenious ways to clothe their selfish interests in the disguise of public purpose so as to qualify for bounties and subsidies from the Federal Treasury.

and subsidies from the Federal Treasury. Since World War II a big business—military coalition, with only minimal supervision from Congress and the President, has spent some \$485 billion for national defense. This expenditure has been characterized by colossal waste of resources—duplication of effort, extravagant military construction, vast inventory accumulation, continued purchase of technically obsolete equipment, procurement at negotiated, noncompetitive, monopoly prices, fantastic profits for contractors, and plain fraud. Much of what has been done bears no technical or functional relation whatever to military security in an age of nuclear warfare; despite our prodigality we have fallen behind in the arms race and have falled to attain the desired security.

The same indictment can be levied against much of our foreign-aid spending. Here again, a vital and necessary national program has been perverted into a planned subsidy for big business. Only recently, the administration tacitly admitted this when it attached "buy American" conditions to foreign aid, thereby branding the program as an export bounty or subsidy for American producers.

In addition to these indirect subsidies, through defense and foreign-aid expenditures, we are plagued with a multiplicity of direct subsidies for big business and big agriculture. The practice is so general that scarcely any powerful interest group lacks a pipeline into the Treasury, through which it drains off some portion of the public revenue under the pretense that it is serving some vital public purpose.

THE MONEY POWER

Money, and its substitute—credit, is a claim, or title, to resources. As such, it is a powerful allocative institution by which resources are mobilized and directed into various fields of employment. He who controls money, or credit, is thus the arbiter of the economic process; his decision determines what shall be produced and in what quantity, who shall produce it, and for whom it shall be produced.

This strategic allocative function is largely in private hands, the Federal Government, through an independent agency—the Federal Reserve Board, exercising only a general control which at best is indirect, remote, and partial. The world of private finance is populated by a variety of independent, autonomous, profit-seeking institutions engaged in the creation and allocation of money and various forms of credit, or debt. Within the broad latitude of quantitative restraint imposed by the Federal Reserve Board, they pursue their self-interest subject only to private considerations of profitability, security, risk, and liquidity. This system is socially irresponsible in the sense that it is not directed by, or answerable to, public authority for its decisions.

The public economy enjoys no special priority, or privileged position, in respect to its demand for money; i.e., for resources—how-ever urgent or socially superior its needs may be. Thus, to build a school, a road, a hospital, or even to defend the Nation against attack, Government must compete in the private money market against the totality of private demands-many of them trivial, speculative, wasteful, or even socially harmful. A company desiring to borrow \$10 million to ballyhoo a new cigarette or deodorant has just as good a claim on money as a city desirious of building a sanitary plant. It is a question of profitability and capacity to pay, not of social utility. If the pressure of private demands against the supply of money pushes interest rates upward, Government must either outbid private claimants, whatever the cost, or else forgo fulfillment of its public responsibilities.

Since World War II this uncontrolled, irresponsible private money system has generated a vast inflation of money, credit, and debt-the preponderant portion of it to satisfy private demands upon available resources. The effect has been to mobilize and direct resources into the private sector of the economy and to make it increasingly difficult and costly for Government to finance the urgent needs of the public economy. A large portion of the resources thus misallocated have been wasted or put to low-value uses, such as: Inflation of capital values, inventory speculation, excess plant capacity, aggrandizement of economic power, and catering to frivolous, unnecessary private consumption.
An important residual consequence is that mass purchasing power, having been seridepleted by the combined impact of inflation, excessive debt charges and an increased taxes of a regressive character, is no longer adequate to sustain the burden of repairing the massive deficiences which have developed in the public economy.

MONOPOLY

Monopoly is a powerful allocative institution, the malign influence of which permeates both the private and public sectors of the economy. Through its control of production, investment, technological progress, employment, opportunity and prices, it diverts private resources into its own hands. In like manner, it abstracts resources from the public sector by inflating the cost of Government procurement and by imposing on Government the added burden of caring for the victims of its exploitation. Monopoly is a principal contributor to inflation, to the misallocation and waste of resources, and to the distortion of demand by artificial manipulation of consumer choices.

If private monopoly is bad per se, its power for evil is compounded when Government intervenes to supplement private by public power. Such devices as Government price fixing, grants of special privilege, subsidies, stockpiling, noncompetitive procurement contracts, tax loopholes, patent grants and import restrictions merely serve to bolster private monopoly power and to enhance its capacity for exploitation. A government that tolerates monopoly incurs grave dangers; one that not only tolerates but actively protects and subsidizes monopoly almost guarantees disaster. • •

SUGGESTIONS FOR REFORM OF ALLOCATIVE INSTITUTIONS

If we would strengthen the public economy, we must reform the four allocative institutions discussed above—the tax system, the expenditure system, the money system and the monopoly system. Specifically:

1. Tax evasion must be stopped; tax loopholes eliminated; the progressivity of the income tax restored; and rates in the lower income brackets reduced.

2. Expenditures must be drastically reduced by eliminating all wasteful and unnecessary outlays for defense and foreign aid, all subsidies for big business and big agricul-

ture, and all stockpiling outlays beyond normal operating inventories.

3. The money power must be brought under effective Federal control; private excesses in the creation of money and the expansion of credit restrained; the national debt reduced and the remainder refunded on long term at low interest rates; the integrity of the dollar assured; and special priority given to the needs of the public economy.

4. The monopoly system must be broken and competition restored to the maximum extent technically feasible. This calls for a multiple attack—tax, expenditure, and money reforms as per above, elimination of all special privileges and subsidies, vigorous enforcement of the antitrust laws, structural reorganization where necessary, patent reform, positive encouragement of competition, and public yardstick competition in certain areas.

The resources of this Nation are ample to sustain both a flourishing private economy and a strong public economy commensurate with modern needs. The problem is to secure a balanced allocation of resources between the two sectors. As I have indicated, our present institutional arrangements are powerfully biased toward the private and against the public economy. This institutional bias results in gross inflation of the private economy and chronic malnutrition and deterioration of the public economy. My suggestions seek to correct this imbalance and to restore a better functional relation between the two sectors by shifting the allocation of resources.

These institutional reforms will be difficult because they challenge the possessors of privilege and power. Some professed liberals, appalled at this prospect and doubtful of success, would avoid the struggle by resort to fatuous expedients as inflation, deficit financing, or cheap money. They delude themselves that these artificial contrivances. by promoting economic growth and full em-ployment, will automatically strengthen the public economy. Nothing could be further from the truth. Since our allocative institutions are strongly biased in favor of the private economy, further inflation, whatever the rate of growth or level of employment. will merely worsen the present misallocation of resources. The public economy is weak from lack of resources; it can be strengthened only by allocating more resources to it. This calls for direct action by the Federal Gov-ernment to control the allocative process-

Israel's 12th Anniversary

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, HERMAN TOLL

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 2, 1960

Mr. TOLL. Mr. Speaker, today is the 12th anniversary of the institution of Israel as a nation. Israel's anniversary coincides with the hundredth anniversary of the birth of Theodor Herzl, the Viennese journalist and dramatist who founded political zionism, whose chief aim was the establishment of a Jewish homeland in Palestine.

It was Dr. Herzl's pamphlet "The Jewish State" that resulted in the convening of the first World Zionist Congress in Basle, Switzerland, in 1897.

The strong democratic character of Israel is well known, and its relationship and favorable attitude toward the United States is equally well known.

The National Zionist Executive Council issued a resolution hailing Israel's anniversary and called on the U.S. Government to "take vigorous action through all channels at its disposal to induce the leaders of all Arab countries to accept the permanent existence of Israel." It would be well for the U.S. Government to follow the recommendation in the resolution.

Martinez Veterans' Hospital: Progress Set Back 20 Years

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JEFFERY COHELAN

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 21, 1960

Mr. COHELAN. Mr. Speaker, Dr. John Lawrence, famed medical scientist from the University of California in Berkeley, Calif., takes issue with the recent action of the House of Representatives in approving the Saylor amendment to the Independent Offices appropriations bill in the following article which I submit for the Record.

The Saylor amendment included several Veterans' Administration hospitals, including one at Martinez, Calif., an out-of-the-way community with only negligible medical resources. It was passed despite the findings of the House Appropriations Committee that the Martinez facility, for one, will not well serve the veterans of northern California.

In this article from the Oakland Tribune in Oakland, Calif., Dr. Lawrence points out that in this matter the possibility of locating a new hospital near the University of California "where teaching and research facilities and staff consultants are readily available" has been completely ignored.

I wish to call it to the attention of Members of the House and our colleagues on the other side where the independent offices appropriations bill is now facing final action.

U.C. SAVANT HITS MARTINEZ HOSPITAL SITE— VA FACILITY SHOULD BE NEAR UNIVERSITY, DR. LAWRENCE SAYS

LIVERMORE, April 27.—Dr. John Lawrence, University of California famed medical scientist, said last night the decision to replace the Oakland Veterans' Administration Hospital with one in Martinez has turned the clock of progress back 20 years.

He sharply criticized the idea of building the \$11.714.000 facility in a "relatively outlying community" instead of leaving it close to the University of California.

"At the present time nearly all VA hospitals in the United States are being placed near universities or medical schools where teaching and research facilities and staff consultants are readily available," he said.

HOPES FOR REVERSAL

Dr. Lawrence is director of Donner Laboratory, a medical research center at U.C., and is the brother of the late Dr. Ernest O. Lawrence, Nobel Prize-winning physicist.

Dr. Lawrence said he hopes the Senate will reverse the House of Representative's decision. The House last week rejected its appropriations committee recommendation and approved funds for construction of the facility in Martinez.

Chances of Senate rejection are considered slim because Senator THOMAS H. KUCHEL, of California, an appropriations committee member, favors the Martinez site.

Dr. Lawrence delivered his remarks at a kickoff dinner for a drive to raise an additional \$225,000 for construction of the \$1,700,000 Valley Memorial Hospital.

He said it was very fortunate the new hospital will be near the Lawrence Radiation Laboratory at Livermore because "the modern practice of medicine is no longer possible without the aid of tools and techniques of nuclear physics."

TELLER STATEMENT

This same note was sounded last month by Dr. Edward Teller, laboratory director, who spoke at ground breaking for the hospital to be built on East Stanley Boulevard.

Dr. Lawrence said important discoveries in medicine have resulted from cooperation between physicists, chemists, and medical doctors. Dr. Lawrence was a pioneer in the use of radioactive substances in the treatment of diseases, particularly cancer of the thyroid.

The supplementary hospital building fund drive will be conducted among business and residents who have moved into Livermore since the first campaign concluded in December 1958. It will last about 5 weeks.

The hospital is scheduled to open with 46 beds in the fall of 1961.

When the State Takes a Life

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 2, 1960

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I commend to the attention of our colleagues the following editorial which appeared in the Washington Post of April 30, 1960:

WHEN THE STATE TAKES A LIFE

Barring providential intervention, Caryl Chessman will cease to exist as a person at 10 a.m., Pacific time, on Monday. He will not cease to exist as an issue. Foreign reaction to the execution of this convict nearly 12 years after his arrest would see to that, even if the grisly process of capital punishment exacting its metered toll had not already begun to haunt and sicken many Americans.

Governor Brown, who stayed the execution in February, may yet request the Supreme Court of California for clemency. But it may well be that this sacrifice in the gas chamber is necessary, as Chessman himself has seemed to think, in order to jolt the conscience of California and of the United States. That jolt is surely coming.

Capital punishment is not only brutal, it also is futile. Many penologists, including a number of prison wardens, agree that it is not a significant deterrent to crime. The seven States in this country and the many foreign countries that have prohibited or abolished it have reported no untoward problems on that account. Moreover, capital punishment makes no restitution whatever to the victim or victims of the crimes for which it is exacted. Instead, it involves the State—and thereby all the people—in a new enormity that compounds the original crime.

Whether Chessman had a fair trial and review of his conviction for the rape-kidnaping of which he was accused is pointless to argue. There are enough discrepancies to warrant some serious misgivings—in the identification by witnesses, in the transcript of the trial and in the curious technicality that subjected him to the death penalty because he transported his victim a short distance. But State and Federal courts have spoken, and the men who compose them are not unfair or insensitive. It is enough to accept the judgment that under present law Chessman has exhausted his rights. He has been convicted of a fiendish crime, and it is unnecessary to squander pity on him as an individual.

A far larger questions is that of the punishment itself. Apart from the moral issue, which is very great and which involves society in the role of God, the very finality of the act precludes any correction of error.

This is not a negligible factor. A number of men are said to have been reprieved from death row at California's San Quentin Prison in the last few years on the basis of new evidence. Howard K. Smith, in his extraordinary CBS radio documentary Thursday night, carried the account of a onetime assistant to a Governor of California who sought to flash a last-minute stay of execution because of new facts exonerating the accused, only to hear the trap on the gallows drop as he was talking to the warden.

drop as he was talking to the warden.

And then there is the brutalizing factor. Elsewhere on this page we reprint from Frontier magazine an article by Dr. William F. Graves, a former physician at San Quentin. He recounts how an insane convict was shocked back to legal sanity so that he could be executed, and how another convict dying of cancer was subjected to three operations so that the State rather than the disease could claim his life. This amounts to sheer sadism.

Caryl Chessman may die under a system of law that exacts a life for a life or, as in his case, for something less. This brilliant, warped, wretched, and dangerous man may warrant no special grief on his own account, but he has at least served to focus attention upon an archaic procedure under which others without Chessman's facile pen die substantially unnoted and without purpose. Happily, such instances in the District of Columbia should be markedly diminished when Congress passes the proposed revision of the death penalty.

What is at stake, basically, is in Albert Schweitzer's memorable phrase, "reverence for life." A society which profanes this reverence, in respect of even the most dastardly criminal, inescapably degrades itself in the process. "Any man's death diminishes me," said John Donne many years ago, "because I am involved in mankind."

How Much Does It Cost?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 2, 1960

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, it is gratifying to see that responsible newspapers are thoughtfully appraising our action last week in passing the pseudo emergency housing bill. Without further comment, I wish to insert into the Record an editorial entitled "How Much Does it Cost?" from this morning's Chi-

cago Sun-Times:

Many visitors from abroad, and, in fact, some Americans, often ask whether there is

publican and the Democratic Parties.

The vote last week on a Democratic housing bill gave an example of a basic difference between the philosophies of the two parties. The bill is designed to pump more than \$1 billion from the U.S. Treasury into housing mortgages.

The Democrats said the action is "necessary" to stimulate building of small homes

and bring down interest rates.

The Republicans said the scheme was a "backdoor raid" on the Treasury and that it would be inflationary. There is plenty of private mortgage money available to keep the housing industry humming they said, A billion dollars of Federal financing might even push up housing prices for all.

Democrats wish to use Federal power and money—and if necessary printing press money—to keep the Nation in a perpetual

state of stimulation.

Vice President Nixon summed up the Republican attitude last week when he asked, "Whose dollars are they [the Democrats] talking about?"

His answer: "Yours."

The President, said Nixon, has to consider the cost of programs in dollars. He must consider whether results of programs might be outweighed by damages that would result.

"What is the position of a conservative with regard to better housing, with regard to all the progress that Americans want?" Nixon asked. "We are conservative not because we are against the progress but because we are for it. We oppose the programs of our liberal friends not because we oppose the ends to which these programs are directed but because we know the means they advocate, however well intentioned they are, would, in the end, cost more in dollars * * * than the results achieved would merit."

The Democratic billion-dollar scheme would finance 70,000 new houses—a small number considering the total of 1,200,000 to be built this year. If the bill passes the Senate it will be vetoed by President Eisenhower. The Democrats will say the President is against housing for workers but voters should keep in mind, as Nixon noted, it's their dollars that the President must protect.

RECORD OFFICE AT THE CAPITOL

An office for the Congressional Record, with Mr. Raymond F. Noyes in charge, is lo-cated in Statuary Hall, House wing, where orders will be received for subscriptions to the RECORD at \$1.50 per month or for single copies at 1 cent for eight pages (minimum charge of 3 cents). Also, orders from Memof Congress to purchase reprints from the RECORD should be processed through this office.

CHANGE OF RESIDENCE

Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the RECORD,

CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY

The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. No sale shall be made on credit (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p. 1009).

any discernible difference between the Re- LAWS AND RULES FOR PUBLICATION OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

CODE OF LAWS OF THE UNITED STATES

TITLE 44. SECTION 181. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD: ARRANGEMENT, STYLE, CONTENTS, AND INDEXES .- The Joint Committee on Printing shall have control of the arrangement and style of the Congres-SIONAL RECORD, and while providing that it shall be substantially a verbatim report of proceedings shall take all needed action for the reduction of unnecessary bulk, and shall provide for the publication of an index of the Congressional RECORD semimonthly during the sessions of Congress and at the close thereof. (Jan. 12, 1895, c. 23, § 13, 28 Stat. 603.) Title 44, Section 182b, Same; illus-

TRATIONS, MAPS, DIAGRAMS .- No maps, diagrams, or illustrations may be inserted in the RECORD without the approval of the Joint Committee on Printing. (June 20, 1936, c. 630, § 2, 49 Stat. 1546.)

Pursuant to the foregoing statute and in order to provide for the prompt publication and delivery of the Congressional Record the Joint Committee on Printing has adopted the following rules, to which the attention of Senators, Representatives, and Delegates is respectfully invited:

- 1. Arrangement of the daily Record .- The Public Printer will arrange the contents of the daily RECORD as follows: First, the Senate proceedings; second, the House proceedings; third, the Appendix: Provided, That when the proceedings of the Senate are not received in time to follow this arrangement, the Public Printer may begin the RECORD with the House proceedings. The proceedings of each House and the Appendix shall each begin a new page, with appropriate headings centered thereon.
- 2. Type and style .- The Public Printer shall print the report of the proceedings and debates of the Senate and House of Representatives, as furnished by the Official Reporters of the Congressional Record, in 71/2 -point type; and all matter included in the remarks or speeches of Members of Congress, other than their own words, and all reports, documents, and other matter authorized to be inserted in the RECORD shall be printed in 6½-point type; and all rollcalls shall be printed in 6-point type. No italic or black type nor words in capitals or small capitals shall be used for emphasis or prominence; nor will unusual indentions be permitted. strictions do not apply to the printing of or quotations from historical, official, or legal documents or papers of which a literal reproduction is necessary.
- 3. Return of manuscript.-When manuscript is submitted to Members for revision it should be returned to the Government Printing Office not later than 9 o'clock p.m. in order to insure publication in the RECORD issued on the following morning; and if all of said manuscript is not furnished at the time specified, the Public Printer is authorized to withhold it from the RECORD for 1 day. In no case will a speech be printed in the RECORD of the day of its delivery if the manuscript is furnished later than 12 o'clock midnight.
- 4. Tabular matter .- The manuscript of speeches containing tabular statements to be published in the RECORD shall be in the hands of the Public Printer not later than 7 o'clock to insure publication the following morning.
- 5. Proof furnished.—Proofs of "leave to print" and advance speeches will not be furnished the day the manuscript is received but will be submitted the following day, whenever possible to do so without causing delay in the publication of the regular proceedings of Congress. Advance speeches shall be set in the RECORD style of type, and not more than

six sets of proofs may be furnished to Mem-

bers without charge.
6. Notation of withheld remarks.—If manuscript or proofs have not been returned in time for publication in the proceedings, the Public Printer will insert the words "Mr. - addressed the Senate (House or Committee). His remarks will appear hereafter in the Appendix," and proceed with the printing of the RECORD.

7. Thirty-day limit.-The Public Printer shall not publish in the Congressional RECORD any speech or extension of remarks which has been withheld for a period exceeding 30 calendar days from the date when its printing was authorized: Provided, That at the expiration of each session of Congress the time limit herein fixed shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee.

8. Corrections .- The permanent RECORD is made up for printing and binding 30 days after each daily publication is issued; therefore all corrections must be sent to the Public Printer within that time: Provided, That upon the final adjournment of each session of Congress the time limit shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee: Provided further, That no Member of Congress shall be entitled to make more than one revision. Any revision shall consist only of corrections of the original copy and shall not include deletions of correct material, substitutions for correct material, or additions of new subject matter.

9. The Public Printer shall not publish in the Congressional Record the full report of print of any committee or subcommittee when said report or print has been previously printed. This rule shall not be construed to

apply to conference reports.

10. Appendix to daily Record.—When either House has granted leave to print (1) a speech not delivered in either House, (2) a news-paper or magazine article, or (3) any other matter not germane to the proceedings, the same shall be published in the Appendix except in cases of duplication. In such cases only the first item received in the Government Printing Office will be printed. rule shall not apply to quotations which form part of a speech of a Member, or to an authorized extension of his own remarks: Provided, That no address, speech, or article delivered or released subsequently to the final adjournment of a session of Congress may be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

11. Estimate of cost.—No extraneous matter in excess of two pages in any one instance may be printed in the Congressional Record by a Member under leave to print or to extend his remarks unless the manuscript is accompanied by an estimate in writing from the Public Printer of the probable cost of publishing the same, which estimate of cost must be announced by the Member when such leave is requested; but this rule shall not apply to excerpts from letters, telegrams, or articles presented in connection with a speech delivered in the course of debate or to communications from State legislatures, addresses or articles by the President and the members of his Cabinet, the Vice President, or a Member of Congress. For the purposes of this regulation, any one article printed in two or more parts, with or with-out individual headings, shall be considered as a single extension and the two-page rule shall apply. The Public Printer or the Official Reporters of the House or Senate shall return to the Member of the respective House any matter submitted for the Congressional RECORD which is in contravention of this paragraph.

12. Official Reporters.—The Official Reporters of each House shall indicate on the manuscript and prepare headings for all matter to be printed in the Appendix, and shall make suitable reference thereto at the proper place

in the proceedings.

Appendix

The Constitution—Torch of Liberty and Union

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. STYLES BRIDGES

OF NEW HAMPSHIRE

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, May 3, 1960

Mr. BRIDGES. Mr. President, I recently had the pleasure of reading an excellent address which won for the author a regional title in the 1960 American Legion high school oratorical contest.

The address, entitled "The Constitution—Torch of Liberty and Union," was written and delivered by Frederick A. Jakobiez, a 17-year-old senior at Bishop Bradley High School in Manchester, N.H.

This is an outstanding piece of work, in my estimation, and one which is worthy of widespread attention. I ask unanimous consent that the complete text be printed in the Appendix of the Record.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE CONSTITUTION: TORCH OF LIBERTY AND UNION 1

(By Frederick A. Jakobiec, Bishop Bradley High School, Manchester, N.H.)

From the beginning of time freedom has been the force that has motivated and dictated civilization's advance. Its suppression has resulted in the hait of this advance, but at the time of its greatest activity the blessings of prosperity and progress have been secured.

History witnessed freedom's birth under the sunny skies of Greece, its growth in England's island empire in those who wrested from an unwilling royalty the Magna Carta, and finally its adoption in America by those lofty spirits who guided our Revolution to success. Then, in May of 1787, in the city of Philadelphia, its most baffling problem was faced by those men who took up the work of consolidating and perpetuating the fruits of victory. For the consummation of freedom's forward march was the American Constitution.

Into that Constitution went the wisdom of Franklin, the majesty of Washington, the vision of Hamilton, the jurisprudence of James Madison, and the ardent love of liberty of Thomas Jefferson. Into that Constitution went liberty and union, the gifts of the immortal framing fathers of our citadel of freedom.

But what would our Nation be today without union? We could be as distraught as Prance, which has lived under three monarchies, two empires, five republics, a directory, a consulate, and a bewildering set of constitutions.

Or, we could still be ruled under the weak and inadequate Articles of Confederation. Professedly there would be union among the States, a seat of government, and a central power. But how smoothly alien infiltrators, well-trained agents from Russia or Nazi Germany, could agitate the weakly connected States; our land could at best bargain for an ignominious coexistence, but such ruthlessly ambitious nations would not be satisfied with this, our ultimate subjugation would be their goal. How can we ever forget Hitler's cry "Today Germany, tomorrow the world"? How can we ever lose sight of the unrelenting objective of Soviet Russia to crush America?

But ours has never been nor will ever be a fear of insecurity due to lack of unity, a fear of insurgent States seceding from a superficial government as one formed by the Articles of Confederation. Our Nation has been able to survive the ravages of a Civil War and two great World Wars. For superimposed upon the several States is unity, unity which they imbibe in and use as food for strength to fight the savage onslaught of oppression, unity which gives them a oneness of purpose.

Indeed, unity is an integral part of the success or failure of a government; but, it can be overemphasized and exceed its beneficial bounds. It could convert our present Nation into an entity of strongly united States, so centralized in power that we would become like Nazi Germany or Communist Russia. The individual States would be starved of their integrity and sovereignty and become the pawns of the centralized power; we would assume the semblance of a dictatorial government. Therefore, unity must be measured that it might be distributed in wholesome doses, allowing contentment for the two parties involved, the States and the central power.

Upon investigation we perceive how our Constitution checked this threat, how our Framing Fathers infused into this document the means for a positive relationship between the States and the Federal Government. It created two check and balance systems; first of all allocating certain powers to the Government and others to the States, seeing to it that neither became sated with authority. Secondly, it afforded a check and balance system within the Government itself, providing special powers for the executive, legislative, and judiciary branches, powers exclusive to the others, and protected from infringement by the other branches.

In its Presidential message and Presidential veto, in its representative initiative and senatorial clarification, in its judicial review for constitutional violation and finally in its amendatory prerogative we see how the Constitution fused our Nation together with unity, furnishing the United States of America with the greatest written guide for law-making and potential progress ever devised by the human mind. In the words of Chief Justice Samuel Portland Chase:

"The Constitution in all its provisions looks to an indestructible union composed of indestructible States."

But Justice Chase inadvertently omitted one important fact—the Constitution in all its provisions succeeded in creating an indestructible union composed of indestructible States, a union that has risen to the pinnacle of governmental success.

But union is only one-half the explanation of the success of our Government and our Constitution. Its concomitant liberty is of equal import, and its neglect would unquestionably effect the failure of any government, no matter how highly developed and efficient its political machine might be, no matter how great and strong the unity of its members might be. A government must not become too pragmatic nor too idealistic; it must not accentuate unity at the expense of liberty nor must it accentuate liberty at the expense of unity, or the two are complementary. It is due to the realization of this that our Founding Fathers made liberty an unequivocal part of the Constitution and the Government and way of life which it created.

For the first time since governments had been instituted among men our Constitution provided for a government whose base was in the bedrock of the God-given rights of the individual; for the first time a government had been formed, which guarded its citizens against the encroachment of class and arbitrary power; for the first time man's desire for freedom found complete fulfillment in the Constitution of the United States. Freedoms of speech, religion, press, assembly, petition, and open criticism of the Government, these are what our Constitution insures us. It is these guaranteed rights that have elevated our country to an unparalleled place among nations.

Union: How man has strived to acquire it. Liberty: How man has attempted to preserve it.

And what solemn obligation is ours, ladies and gentlemen, to unite ourselves to our Government thereby sustaining its unity, and to treat our freedoms with respect, thereby strengthening our liberty.

But I ask you, how many of our fellow Americans have done this? For example, how many Americans showed up at the last presidential polls? I am ashamed to say that only 60 percent of the eligible voters fulfilled this duty and exercised their privilege.

The spirit of indifference which exists today toward our governmental institutions must be replaced by courageous and responsible citizenry. We must exercise eternal vigilance which is the price for eternity's gift of liberty. We must see that the liberty and unity of our Nation remains secure and sheltered from the insidious plans of those who are dedicated to its destruction. We must stand sentry "at the golden door." We must strengthen our democracy for posterity, for in our hands as a sacred trust is the Constitution for which our fathers died and it is the rightful heritage of posterity. Let us, then, be true to our trust and place in their waiting hands the undiminished torch of liberty and union.

How Much God Is There in Government?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. LAWRENCE BROCK

OF NEBRASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 3, 1960

Mr. BROCK. Mr. Speaker, as we go about our daily chores, and this aptly applies to the membership of this legislative body, many of us are prone to forget the divine force that guides us and very often provides the impetus leading to greater heights.

There is little we accomplish in our daily lives that is not inspired by the spiritual mentor within us, by the Creator who made us, and who will one day deliver us from our burdens.

There is religion in government, although there are too many instances where we fail to recognize it and appreciate it. It is felt by many of us, regardless of race, creed, or the faith we profess.

My good friend and colleague, the Honorable Walter H. Moeller, Representative of the 10th District of Ohio, fully recognizes this prevailing moral or religious composition within us.

He has expressed this with great clarity and feeling in a recent contribution to the religious magazine, This Day, for inclusion in their February issue. It is my belief that his article will prove a greater inspiration for all of us in our daily deliberations on the fate of and the future of a great nation.

Therefore, and with the unanimous consent of my colleagues present, may I insert this article in the Congressional Record and commend its reading to this membership and those who are fortunate in receiving the issue:

How Much God Is There in Government? (By Congressman Walter H. Moeller, 10th District, Ohio)

The answer to the question in the title of this article is probably that there is as much God in government as there is God in the hearts of the American people. We can say this in America whereas it cannot necessarily be said of more than a few other nations in the world, for we are as close to being a "government of the people, by the people, and for the people" as has ever existed on the face of God's earth.

Certainly it cannot be said of the godless government of Communist Russia, where God still lives in the hearts of millions of people despite every effort to root Him out. Far less could it be said of Poland, for another example, where a devout people are subjected to the merciless whims of an atheistic regime, leavened only by the more or less powerful influence that the Roman Catholic Church and its followers can still bring to bear.

How much God there is in the hearts of the American people reflects the quantity and quality of God, or of religious motivation, in the policies and practices of government, arriving eventually at an answer to the corollary question, "How much God is there in America?"

The people who make up our Government, who determine its policies, who pass its laws, who administer its daily operations, and who pass judgment in the courts on our crimes and on the constitutionality of our laws, are, in a large sense, a cross section of the greater population. It is true that there is something at least slightly extraordinary about them, or they would not be in government. In the cases of a President, a Supreme Court. Justice, or even a Member of Congress, there is usually something more than slightly extraordinary before such a position may be This extraordinariness, however, achieved. is not usually of the kind that makes them either more or less religious than the average individual. Thus it is fair to say that where God is concerned, He moves the man in government to about the same extent that He moves the man in the street.

From this we make the assumption that government, as far as its moral or religious

composition is concerned, and as far as its net worth Godwise is concerned, is no more or less than a summing up of net worth of the individuals who make up government.

There is, however, no human brain, nor combination of brains, nor electronic computer which can exactly assess these individual godly net worths. We have no unit of measurement upon which to rely, for God and His impact upon the minds and hearts and actions of men is not to be measured in pounds or inches, but is simply a weightless and boundless evidencing of the eternal spirit evoked by Jesus Christ when He said, "Before Abraham was, I am."

For this reason we must turn to the external evidences we can find to substantiate or disprove the existence of God in our Govment, such as the moral qualities of the laws which govern us, the mercy and the justice with which these laws are administered, and in the public acts and the private reputations of the men and women who form the Government of the United States.

As I write this, the Congress of the United States has just finished writing legislation to control the corruption and the racketeering which has dominated certain aspects of the American labor movement. Here in microcosmic form we may examine the influence of God and the Godlikeness of the motives which have touched the legislative processes since America began. Here we have an issue which is as close to Godlikeness confronting godlessness as any we are likely to find. Here we have not only the problem of individual sin, but also the problem of a great social and moral issue involving the conscience of mankind. How did we as legislators and as Christians, Jews, or freethinkers react?

Brought to bear upon us were the most powerful forces in American political and economic life. Groups representing labor and capital, the two great and often divergent economic powers, were there. Political leaders from our two great parties wielded every stratagem available to them. Cleavages developed within the parties, based on a combination of geographical and philosophical differences.

Some individuals faced the problem with a strictly practical weighing of the possibilities of political gain or loss.

Others, and I think the majority, devoted themselves to prayerful thought and to close examination of the social and moral issues involved.

Examination of the debates on this legislation discloses that many Members, for example, called attention to some passage from the Scriptures or to some generally accepted moral truth to bolster their arguments, thus indicating that the Congress is not oblivious to what Holy Scripture says, and that our legislators often do rise above their own material interests and those of their party or their constituents to a higher spiritual level.

Many may quarrel with the terms of the new law. Many have questioned the motives of those who stood on either side of the issue. Yet it is my honest belief that the new result was a clear justification of our democratic processes and of our reliance upon our legislators to permit the hand of God to guide them in the performance of their duty to Him and to the people of the United States whom they are elected to serve.

Let me turn for a moment to the morals and the mores of those who make up the Government of the United States. From my personal experiences up to this time, I am convinced that there is a basic structure composed of deeply honest and sincerely devout religious-minded people upon which the frivolous and the at times sinful is only a facade, more evident to the undiscriminating eye than the solid foundation to which it has attached itself. Further, as

we reach positions of real importance among those who exert a significant influence upon public policy and its administration, the moral stature of the individual grows with few exceptions.

On Capitol Hill and elsewhere in our Nation's Capital there are prayer breakfast and luncheon groups which meet at regular intervals and discuss their responsibilities and the issues of the day in terms of religious values. I have attended some of these gatherings, and while I am unable to accept all the conclusions reached, each time I came away with the conviction that the search was made for the divine will, and that the door opened for the presence of God in the deliberations.

It is commendable to know that in the U.S. Capitol, just off the rotunda, is a prayer room where men and women of every faith visit daily and renew in prayer and meditation their private and public oaths of devotion to God and country. Further, each of the Houses of Congress has its fully appointed chaplain, and each session of the Senate and of the House is opened with prayer.

It is by these things and by many other signs that I have come to accept the fact that the majority of the men and women in our Government do have a very definite religious influence in their lives which motivates them as they, amid all human weakness, endeavor to enact just and equitable laws for the land.

In Government, as elsewhere, the number who say, "Thus saith the Lord," and that His will must be advanced, is always too few. It raises a challenge for Christian men and women to make service in the Government their ambition. For true it remains also to this day: "Evil triumphs when good men fail to speak."

Chile's Economy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. J. GLENN BEALL

OF MARYLAND

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, May 3, 1960

Mr. BEALL. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the Record a recent statement by His Excellency, Ambassador Walter Mueller, of the Republic of Chile. This gentleman, after political success in private business in his own country, has won wide popularity in the United States of America by his clear exposition of economic principles and facts.

It may also be noted that the people and the Government of Chile accorded President Dwight David Eisenhower one of the most enthusiastic welcomes he received in the course of his recent visit to South America.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

CHILE'S ECONOMY—ADVANCED STATUS IN DIS-TRIBUTION OF NATIONAL INCOME STRESSED

To the EDITOR OF THE NEW YORK TIMES:
In your April 8 editorial "The Chilean Elections" you hailed the results of the municipal elections, calling them most heartening and a renewed mandate for the economic program of President Alessandri, all the more admirable when it is considered that the economic stabilization plan means temporary economic sacrifice for the people.

Once again the reputation of Chile as a confirmed democracy with a high degree of clvic consciousness is proved.

As Chileans we sincerely appreciate these opinions, which we feel are strictly true.

Unfortunately, we cannot say the same of the rest of the editorial, which refers to certain supposed aspects of the economy of our country as discussed in an article published by Julio Cesar Jobet in the Venezuela monthly Politica.

Your editorial states that Chile "is a nation with a striking social and economic imbalance" and that "Chileans tend to get upset when this is pointed out," even when their own authorities, such as Mr. Jobet, are cited

PROCEDURE QUERIED

We are not upset by reliable statistical citations which are found in Chile, nor by the correct consequences to be derived from them. What does upset us is that a newspaper with the circulation and influence of the New York Times should copy isolated paragraphs from a study without going deeper into the article that served as a basis for the statements made in the editorial and accepting without further analysis figures and conclusions.

To probe the inconsistency of such a procedure we shall make only a few comments

respecting them:

The editorial states, reproducing Mr. Jobet in a truncated manner, that with a population of 7,300,000 in Chile there are 300,000 persons who "have 52 percent of the national income and a mass of several millions have nothing." Omitted from the editorial but mentioned by Mr. Jobet is that there are, also, "2 million persons having 28 percent and 600,000 persons having 20 percent of the national income," a number adding up to slightly less than half the population.

Applying exactly the same criterion, we may just as well state that in the United States there are over 80 million persons that have nothing, and for the very simple reason that this figure includes youths less than 20 years of age, who are preparing to share the national income, and unemployed women and the aged.

The fact that they do not directly receive a part of the national income does not, of course, indicate that they are indigents, neither here nor in Chile, because they evident live at the expense of others receiving income.

DISTRIBUTION OF INCOME

Elsewhere there is advanced the serious argument against the Chilean economy that workers and employees receive only 57 percent of the national income. In the United States, a highly capitalized, industrialized, and mechanized country, workers and employees receive approximately 66 percent of the total national income.

We have labeled as "incorrect" the statistical conclusions cited in the editorial and we feel sure, also, that there is no justification for the statements made in Mr. Jobet's article that inspires such confidence: That Chile is underdeveloped because of imperialist penetration in mining and public utilities; that our Government is subordinated to political imperialists; that our illa are aggravated by Yankee imperialism defending its monopolies; that the United States imposes on us the hemispheric defense policy; that our copper troubles derive from control by international monopoly, etc.

There are further statements indicating the tendencies of Mr. Jobet which we do not believe are shared by the New York Times, but which may be respectable within his Political ideology.

Political ideology.

We are making a serious effort to develop and diversify our economy, to better the liv-

ing conditions of our people, and to overcome our economic weaknesses.

As opposed to what Mr. Jobet states, Chile is not semi-feudal or semi-colonial. On the contrary, it is one of the most advanced countries in Latin America in the distribution of its national income; with a solid middle class, the origin of the greater part of our political leaders; with social legislation that has been criticized at times for being too advanced with reference to our economic development. Our country has assimilated all its citizens into its civic life, and its workers and employees are organized in strong unions, defenders of their interests.

Walter Mueller, Ambassador of Chile, Washington, April 12, 1960.

Poland Must Be Free

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. PAUL B. DAGUE

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 3, 1960

Mr. DAGUE. Mr. Speaker, today is Poland's Constitution Day and marks the anniversary of the adoption by the Polish people of a constitution, much as we did in 1789, setting forth their determination to remain a free Christian nation with her destiny linked with Western civilization and Latin culture. It is also important on this anniversary to remember that in just 6 short years Poland will celebrate her millennium—a full thousands years of fearless dedication, even in slavery, to the belief that in God's sight all men are equal and, by divine sanction, should be free.

For us moderns the names Chopin and Paderewski bring visions of great masterpieces and remind us of the part these artists have made to the musical heritage of mankind as well as to its legacy of freedom. But antedating these artists and statesmen there was another great Pole—Goslicki—who laid down these fundamental principles, which are accepted as basic politics today; namely, laws must be greater than the individual, such laws must be founded on Christian principles, conflicting views must be compromised through mediation, and rulers must make law the guide of their conduct.

With such a background of Christian principle and patriotic sacrifice we are better able to understand the undiminished zeal of the Poles among us in their determination that their beloved homeland shall be liberated from the tyrant. And those who have accepted America as the land of their adoption are no less zealous for a free Poland since they well know that so long as the land of their forebears is held in bondage there can be no sure freedom for anyone anywhere. Let us then as we cherish our glorious birthright also join with these brave people in commemorating the inception of their liberty and pledge to them our moral, spiritual, and material help in the realization of their proper place in the commonwealth of nations.

The Harlem Forum Committee

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. KENNETH B. KEATING

OF NEW YORK

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, May 3, 1960

Mr. KEATING. Mr. President, an interesting group called the Harlem Forum Committee is now in the midst of a series of meetings on various topics of national and international interest. In particular, this group is concerned with the problems of civil rights and insuring equality among all peoples.

Leaders of both major political parties and experts in the subjects dealt with will help carry out the committee's purpose of taking the forums into every aspect of the Negro community. I am hopeful this group will succeed in conveying important information and strengthening all efforts toward the goal of understanding in New York City.

Mr. Horace Carter, of 961 Willoughby Avenue in Brooklyn, has sent me a statement about the aims and objectives of the Harlem Forum Committee. I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

HARLEM FORUM COMMITTEE

Harlem Forum Committee is a special group organized for the purpose of conducting forums. In general, Harlem Forum Committee gives views and information about issues, topics and questions that are vital in current and historical affairs. Our group simply recognizes those who choose to speak or consent to be interviewed on particular subjects.

Increased tempo by Americans is existing today in an effort to bring about equality and integrated climate. Issues arising out of this tempo will crystallize activities by Harlem Forum Committee. The committee further gives independent, extensive but impartial views and it is a contact outlet for the expression of ideas. The actual framework of the forums will center on the formulation of three separate units functioning with the framework of Harlem Forum Committee. These will be known as, Harlem Forum, Harlem Business Forum, and Forum at the Tayern.

For many months now, the committee has been at work designing the correct concept and format presentation. One that would reflect and reach the committee's objectives in dealing with issues and topics both current and historical. It is our intention to take the forums into every aspect of the Negro community. We will set up forums and select subject material in keeping with the Hariem Forum Committee's objectives.

It is not unusual for many organizations already functioning within a community to minimize their effectiveness due to the heavy and burdensome problems affecting their organizational setups. And at the same time overlook certain basic approaches to problems which affect them and the community.

Harlem Forum Committee can effect the proper balance through its forums by stimulating the pulse of the public and correctly presenting the issues of the day through the medium of active participation. The forum sessions will be scheduled on a weekly basis, each representing its own area of contact.

The Harlem Forum will go into the community as a whole. Harlem Business Forum will go into the business community. Forum at the Tavern going into the taverns. Each of these will be effective in reaching down and getting at the heart of the matter. We sincerely hope we will be of service to the community and you.

"Poland Will Rise Again"—169th Observance of Poland's Constitution Day Recalls Glorious History of Great Nation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. FRANK KOWALSKI

OF CONNECTIOUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 3, 1960

Mr. KOWALSKI. Mr. Speaker, it is entirely fitting that the Congress of the United States should today be paying tribute to the great nation of Poland on the occasion of Poland's Constitution Day.

Not only did Poland make a great contribution to the very birth of the United States, and not only did Poland give to America so many of her precious sons and daughters to play important roles in the tremendous growth and development of this great land, but, even more importantly, Poland today stands before the world as the symbol of man's unconquerable desire for freedom.

Poland today lives under the will of a foreign oppressor, but in the hearts of her people still burns unquenchably the fire of liberty. Poland has known oppression; her people have suffered persecution before, but the faith of the nation and her citizens has always reconquered in the end.

"Poland will raise again." These last recorded words of the indomitable Polish patriot and statesman, Ignace Jan Paderewski, are the banner under which the cause of Polish freedom marches today. Dignity for the individual will not come today, or tomorrow, but its eventual return cannot be stopped by any Communist dictators. It is beyond the comprehension of the Soviet mentality, but the human spirit is powerful, too.

This year's observance of Poland's Constitution Day has a special significance in that the year 1960 also marks the 100th birthday anniversary of the great Paderewski, to whom not only Poland but the whole Western World owes so much.

I was happy to be informed yesterday by the Postmaster General that approval has been given the request made by a number of Members of the Congress for the issuance of a special commemorative stamp honoring Paderewski. Appropriately, the stamp will be issued as one of the "champions of liberty" series, for Paderewski was certainly a true champion of liberty and a foremost fighter for freedom for all men.

The Paderewski Stamp, to be issued in conjunction with the centennial of his birth next November 6, will be another shining symbol of Poland's contribution to the cause of human freedom.

Our 1960 observance of Poland's Constitution Day is also significant for another reason. We are approaching Poland's millennium.

It will be surprising to many who are not familiar with the history of Eastern Europe, but Poland's history goes back far beyond that of many Western nations. She was already an established nation when, in 966, Poland embraced Christianity and for the first time joined her progress and her destiny with those of the Western World.

In just 6 years Poland and those of Polish heritage all over the world will be celebrating Poland's millennium. It will be a most historic occasion, and the world cannot help but give thought to the permanency of this liberty-loving land which has withstood the vicissitudes of time and fortune for 10 full centuries.

The spans of today's aggressor nations are as nothing when compared to the thousand years of Poland as a Western nation.

Mr. Speaker, as we observe Poland's Constitution Day, it is hardly necessary for me to review the great achievements of the Polish nation or the great contributions which Poland and her people have made to American democracy.

In war and in peace, Americans of Polish ancestry have served their country well. They have made their mark in the arts, the sciences, and the professions; they were among the men and women who have built America into the great Nation that she is.

From their heritage they brought to this land of liberty a fierce and burning love of independence and hatred of oppression. There have been no more loyal Americans, nor none more ready to fight for the preservation of democracy and democratic ideals.

In my own State of/Connecticut, sons and daughters of Poland have played a most important part. They worked unceasingly for the betterment of our cities and towns; they built churches and schools in every corner of the State; they established newspapers; they struggled to provide every possible educational advantage for every child.

No one can pay enough tribute to the Polish immigrants whose faith, self-reliance, love of family, and determination enabled them to perform feats of almost superhuman accomplishment. To their sons and daughters they not only taught the lessons of good citizenship, but they themselves were shining examples of what they taught.

Mr. Speaker, the cause of Polish freedom is the cause of freemen everywhere. We should take every possible opportunity to let the people of Poland know that we have not forgotten them, that we still know how strongly they yearn for a return of liberty.

It is for us to inform them, and show practically in every way possible, that we in America are their friends, and that our hearts are stirred by their plight. We must demonstrate our conviction that the days of Soviet tyranny will end and Poland can again take her place among the free nations of the world.

In these sad and bitter days in Poland, the zeal for liberty which still burns in Polish breasts should serve as an inspiration for all peoples everywhere.

Let us pray that the day will be soon when Poland will again join the community of free nations and her people can walk with heads high in a land that once again is an independent nation. Let us pray that the people of Poland can soon again enjoy the freedom for which they have fought for centuries and which they so richly and justly deserve.

The Danger of Unintentional War

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. WILLIAM PROXMIRE

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, May 3, 1960

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, a recent editorial in the Appleton (Wis.) Post-Crescent effectively underscores the urgency of continuing all possible efforts to reach international agreement for disarmament and nuclear weapons controls.

Because of the urgency of this problem and the pointedness of the editorial, I ask unanimous consent for it to be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD. There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

DANGER OF UNINTENTIONAL WAR

A couple of recent dramatic offerings have pointed up something frightening about the nuclear powder keg on which the world is sitting.

The movie "On the Beach" and the television show "Alas, Babylon," both adapted from widely-read novels, depicted the horrible state in which our world would find itself during and after a nuclear war.

It is interesting to note that we have heard both productions referred to as "science fiction tales." The nearness of nuclear war no longer is in the science fiction category. It can happen here, if current armsrace trends aren't halted.

Both stories were controversial and shocking. And, in each, it appeared that the wars may have been started by accident. The awful fact is that the world could be plunged into a fiery holocaust accidentally.

The countries currently possessing hydrogen and atomic weapons are being led by sane men. It is improbable, but not impossible, that rational men would intentionally launch world war III. The United States and Russia have vast arsenals of modern weapons with nuclear capability, standing at the ready. Both insist that they won't use them unless attacked.

Some dull day a radar watcher, on either side of the Iron Curtain, may spot some unidentified flying object, or a cluster of them, and become wrongly convinced that his country is under attack. It is conceivable that his superior could be convinced, too. And, after consultation with supreme command, the key button might be ordered pushed.

The likelihood of this happening could be increased if the United States were to adopt an airborne alert with nuclear potential; this might have influenced President Eisenhower's decision against such a move. Yet not

having an airborne alert also involves terrible risks; such is the awesome nature of the decisions our leaders must make in this era.

Can there be complete assurance that this country would never retaliate against a non-existent attack? What precautions have we taken to prevent this possibility? Have the Russians taken similar measures? And won't the Chinese Communists, when they get nuclear weapons, constitute an even greater danger because of their demonstrated unwillingness to accept the responsibilities of a great power?

The grim eventualities brought to mind by a negative answer to any of these questions tell us why we must continue disarmament negotiations despite the crushing frustrations we continue to experience in them. One chance in a million is not too long a shot, when millions of human lives are at

stake.

Helium Act of 1960

SPEECH

HON. JOHN P. SAYLOR

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 2, 1960

Mr. SAYLOR. Mr. Speaker, This bill does not come to you with the glamour of a new space agency, it does not come to you with the cloak and dagger staging of the Department of Defense.

But, unless this bill is passed, neither one of those agencies will continue to operate, because they cannot continue to operate without helium. Helium is becoming more and more important to the Department of Defense in its missile program, to the exploration of outer space, and to the maintenance of the free world. Only in our country the United States, in all the countries of the free world, has any supply of helium been discovered.

The purpose of this bill is to see to it that this great natural asset, which is irreplaceable and is now being wasted into the atmosphere, will be preserved and conserved for the use not only of the agencies of Government but for all of the people of the United States. The plants which are authorized in this bill will be built by the Government if private industry does not come along and offer to build them. There are provisions in the bill that if any of the plants are desired to be built by any private industry or private capital, the Secretary is authorized to enter into a contract and allow that construction, and to purchase and store the helium.

I would like to call the attention of my colleague, the gentleman from Iowa IMr. Gross! who has raised a question of back-door spending, that the provisions in this bill are specifically designed to prevent any back-door spending. The Helium Act of 1937 is a great deal looser in its financial arrangements than this bill. The Comptroller General of the United States called that to the attention of the committee in making his report and requested that certain changes be placed in this bill which have been made by the committee. This bill will permit the Secretary of the

Interior to use money from the sale of helium, which will be sold not only to Government agencies but also to private industry, and hold him to a general accounting so that at the end of the 25year period specified in this bill all the money used for the construction of the plants will be repaid to the United States with interest. There is every evidence that a profit to the Government will result from this project. I think that in this respect this is an unusual procedure, and some of the protections, I think, have been built into this bill, which will prevent the Government disposing of an asset at a future time at a tremendous loss.

Mr. RHODES of Arizona. Mr. Speak-

er, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SAYLOR. I yield to my friend

the gentleman from Arizona.

Mr. RHODES of Arizona. The gentleman from Pennsylvania is one of the most astute Members of the House of Representatives . He is particularly astute in determining the feasibility of projects. I have known the gentleman for many years and know his ability in figuring feasibility of reclamation projects. Now I ask the gentleman as to the feasibility of this particular expenditure. The gentleman has stated un-equivocally and clearly that this money will be repaid to the Treasury. Now, is the gentleman satisfied from the testimony before the great Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs that this, in fact, can be done?

Mr. SAYLOR. Very frankly, I am happy to tell my colleague from Arizona that that was one of the particular points which we were very interested in having Mr. Bennett, the Under Secretary of Interior, testify concerning. He not only presented to our committee facts which lead me to believe that this bill is feasible from a financial standpoint; this may even be one of the few fields in which the Federal Government will make some

money.

Mr. GRAY. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SAYLOR. I yield to the gentleman from Illinois.

Mr. GRAY. I want to first congratulate the gentleman for his forthright statement and read a portion of the testimony of Under Secretary Bennett and then ask the gentleman a question, if I may.

The Under Secretary had this to say before the committee:

Many companies have already displayed genuine interest in the program, and I most certainly can assure you that the Department will be ready to sit down with them and work out fair and equitable contractual terms as soon as it has the legislative authority this bill will provide,

Is it the understanding of the gentleman that wherever private interests can supply helium the Government will use those facilities and those plants instead of building these 12 plants? Is that the understanding of the gentleman?

Mr. SAYLOR. The understanding of the committee is that we will ask any one of these private industries to build any of these plants. If there is any other

place discovered where helium can be produced it will be necessary to come back and ask for authority to construct another plant.

Section 14 was added to the bill so that the Secretary would have the authority which Under Secretary Bennett testified to and which the gentleman has just referred to.

Mr. GRAY. The gentleman just answered the question I was going to ask, if that applied to section 14.

Mr. SAYLOR. I thank the gentleman from Illinois for giving me the opportunity to explain this section of the bill.

Mr. GRAY. I thank the gentleman. (Mr. GRAY asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. EDMONDSON. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SAYLOR. I yield to the gentleman from Oklahoma.

Mr. EDMONDSON. Mr. Speaker, I want to commend the gentleman from Pennsylvania for his very clear and convincing explanation of the purposes of this bill and for the emphasis which he placed upon the fact that this is a program in which there is very good reason to expect that the Government will come out ahead in terms of the finances involved.

Mr. SAYLOR. That is correct; and I thank the gentleman.

Making It Tough for the Cops

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. HARRY FLOOD BYRD

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, May 3, 1960

Mr. BYRD of Virginia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the Record a very able editorial appearing in the Richmond (Va.) News Leader of May 2, 1960, with respect to the so-called Mallory case.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD,

as follows:

MAKING IT TOUGH FOR THE COPS

At about 6 o'clock on the evening of April 7, 1954, a white woman, living in Washington, descended to the basement of her apartment house intending to do some laundry. Encountering some difficulty in detaching a hose from the sink, she sought assistance from the Negro janitor, who lived on the premises with his half-brother, Andrew Mallory. Shortly thereafter, a masked Negro man entered the laundry area, seized the woman, and savagely raped her.

Mallory disappeared from the apartment house shortly after the crime. On the following afternoon, about 2:15 o'clock, police arrested Mallory and took him to headquarters. He at first denied any knowledge of the crime. At 4 o'clock he agreed to take a lie detector test. Meanwhile, two other suspects (Mallory's nephews, who also lived in the basement apartment) were examined, and it was not until 8 o'clock that a polygraph operator began on Mallory. About 9:30 o'clock he broke, and confessed the rape.

At midnight he voluntarily dictated his confession to a stenographer. The following morning he was brought before a U.S. Commissioner for arraignment. In the course of time he was convicted of rape, and was sentenced to death.

On June 24, 1957, more than 3 years after the offense, Mallory's case came before the Supreme Court of the United States. By a unanimous vote, the Court reversed the conviction and set him free. The following January, Mallory was again arrested, this time on a charge of housebreaking and assault on the daughter of a woman who had befriended him; he was convicted on that charge in April of 1958. We are not advised what punishment was imposed upon him in that case, but Mallory now has been again indicted in Philadelphia for rape and

burglary. There was not the slightest doubt of Mallory's guilt in the original rape case, and the Supreme Court made no issue of the evidence against him. In an unfortunately phrased opinion-Mr. Justice Frankfurter referred to the rapist, with touching solicitude, as "a 19-year-old lad of limited intelli-gence"—the Court freed him solely because of the long delay between his arrest on the afternoon of April 8 and his arraignment

on the morning of April 9. The opinion aroused strong protest among law enforcement officials across the country. And when in December of 1957, the Court freed one Willie Moore, a young Negro sen-tenced to life imprisonment in Michigan for the murder of an elderly white woman, on the grounds that he had not intelligently waived his right to counsel at his trial 19 years before, the chief justices of State supreme courts were moved to an unusual protest. They complained that the Court "does not seem to have given any consideration whatsoever to * * * the risks to society They complained that the Court which might result from the release of a prisoner of this type."

Since then, the Mallory case has figured constantly in criminal proceedings. Defense lawyers have been quick to seize upon any delay between arrest and arraignment as an excuse to win their clients' release. Confessions freely given to police have been attacked for want of due process. In Congress, a bill to override the Mallory decision barely failed of enactment in August of 1958. Now Senators ERVIN and BYRD have introduced a new bill stating flatly that "a voluntary confession of an accused shall be admissible against him in any [Federal] criminal proceeding * * * and the finding of the trial court in respect to the voluntariness of the confession shall be binding upon any reviewing court in the event it is supported by substantial evidence."

The Ervin-Byrd bill impresses us as an admirable statement of Federal policy. "Some of us believe that enough has been done for those who murder and rape and rob," said Senator Ervin, "and that it is time to do something for those who do not wish to be murdered, or raped, or robbed." Enactment of this bill should strengthen the hand of trial courts in dealing with defendants in a wide variety of cases.

At the same time, there is something to be said in the Supreme Court's behalf. The Court erred in the Mallory case, as it has erred in many Communist cases, by failing to reach a fair balance between the rights of an individual and the rights of society. this is a delicate balance to reach, and despite the unfortunate sequel to Mallory's release, we are not disposed to denounce the Court unduly for its decision. And for this reason:

Life ought not to be made too easy for the police. If due process of law means any-thing in a free republic, it means that the

individual must be free from third degree methods, prolonged interrogations, and the infinite threats and coercions that can creep into police work. Our whole system of criminal laws rests upon the hypothesis that every defendant is presumed innocent until proved guilty, and upon the further precious right that no man may be compelled to give evidence against himself. If the door be opened too widely in this field, abuses will creep in.

The Ervin-Byrd bill, in our view, will help to correct the imbalance created by the High Court in Mallory, without tipping the scales too much in the favor of the police. But in supporting this Senate bill, it ought not to be implied that there is not another side to the story. There is.

House Concurrent Resolution 30

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. ROY W. WIER

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, May 3, 1960

Mr. WIER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks I would like to insert a letter recently reprinted in the Staten Island Advance, written by Clifford R. Johnson commending House Concurrent Resolution 30, my resolution dealing with a new peace formula for the United Nations Charter:

[From the Staten Island Advance, Mar. 25, 19601

MARCHI, AMANN HAILED FOR ACTS

As a consecrated Christian who was spiritually thrilled by reading Pope John's recent Christmas message dedicated almost exclusively to world peace, and asking for the active cooperation of all Roman Catholics in an effort to remove the causes of war, I feel that all Staten Island voters (no matter what their religious beliefs may be), who are praying for world peace, should be especially and exceedingly proud of the action of State Senator John J. Marchi and Assemblyman Edward J. Amann. They introduced resolutions recently in the State legislature, at Albany, known as Senate Resolution 85 and Assembly Resolution 106.

These bills would memorialize Congress to speedily pass Congressman Roy W. WIER'S bill, House Concurrent Resolution 30, dealing with a new peace formula for the United

Nations Charter.

Suffice it to say, that no peace formula now on the political horizon can do more to effectively utilize the universal opposition to war by all religions, than can House Concurrent Resolution 30.

It is the seed of an idea that can change the course of human history and it certainly behooves the religious leaders of all denominations, to enthusiastically support all these political measures as soon as possible with appropriate letters to President Eisenhower, Governor Rockefeller, Mayor Wagner and right down the line. All voters can join this crusade.

The high type of leadership and vision as expressed by Senator Marchi and Assemblyman Amann in this particular case, will never be forgotten at election time by this crusader for world peace. The goal of world peace should be nonpartisan and non-sectarian. * *

CLIFFORD R. JOHNSON.

GRYMES HILL.

Capital Rounds Made for Cough Medicine

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. J. GLENN BEALL

OF MARYLAND

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Tuesday, May 3, 1960

Mr. BEALL. Mr. President, recently the Baltimore News-Post performed a valuable public service in publicizing the abuses which were arising from the fact that certain cough medicines containing narcotics could be bought without prescriptions. These habit-forming cough medicines are now sold only on doctors' orders in Maryland, but addicts report-edly are traveling into the District of Columbia for their supplies.

An article dealing with this latest problem was published in the News-Post of April 21, 1960, and I ask unanimous consent that a copy of it be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD. The article was written by Mrs. Joyce Lewis.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD,

as follows:

DRUG BAN DRIVES ADDICTS TO DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA-CAPITAL ROUNDS MADE FOR COUGH MEDICINE

(By Joyce Lewis)

Washington.—Cough medicine addicts. driven underground in Baltimore, drive 40 miles over the expressway to Washington, where they make the rounds of drugstores and buy the habit-forming cough medicines banned in Maryland except on a prescription basis.

But the underground movement will be wiped out soon.

At the White House is a bill which would give authority to the Federal narcotics commissioner to remove habit-forming and abused cough medicines from the exempt (no prescription) list.

Representative Frank Karsten, Democrat.

of Missouri, introduced the bill.

The measure is expected to be signed by the President but the bill will not become

effective until January 1, 1961.

In the meantime, John Donaldson, president of the District of Columbia Board of Pharmacy, said he will send a letter of warning to all pharmacists in the area cautioning them about the influx of Marylanders into the District of Columbia to buy the medicines recently put on a prescriptiononly basis in Maryland.

Those preparations are Cosanyl, Tussar,

Endotussin, Coricin Syrup, and Deka-all containing the habit-forming ingredient,

hydrycodeinone.

Dr. F. S. Balassone, chief of the drug enforcement division of the Maryland State Health Department, said after a 9-month check of sales last year, no further information was neded in deciding there had been widespread abuse in the purchases and consumption of the cough medicines.

During January to October, four Baltimore wholesale drug firms sold 22,296 4-ounce bottles, 997 pints, and 292 gallons—a total of 1,140,096 teaspoons.

Also taken into account was that a large amount of cough medicines were sold during May, June, July, and August-months when few people should have colds.

Numerous phone calls to the News-Post indicated carloads of youngsters were going to Washington and making the rounds of drugstores there.

These reports were confirmed yesterday by LeRoy W. Morrison, agent in charge, Washington field office of the Bureau of Narcotics; Capt. Ernest P. Jefferson, commanding officer of the narcotics squad of the Washington police and Det. Sgt. Leonard J. Burnett of Arlington.

Since Maryland enacted its statewide regu-

lation April 1, Captain Jefferson said:

"Hardly a day goes by that I don't get a call from a pharmacist. One told me he had youngsters coming into his store by the

"Some druggists have asked what they can do. Since there is no law banning the sales, I suggest they sell no more than 4 ounces to a customer.

"What happens, though, is that the youth turns around and asks for a bottle of another brand."

Morrison said he too has had about a dozen calls.

"Druggists telling me they're getting a run on certain cough medicines. 'What's the story?' they ask.

"Many haven't heard the news about the

Maryland regulation.

"I heard one story that a youth demanded eight bottles and became belligerent when refused."

Morrison said druggists have asked him whether they could be sued if they refused to sell Cosanyl, Tussar and the others. "I tell them no," said Morrison. "If a

druggist questions whether a preparation is being used for medicinal purposes, I don't believe he can be forced into selling the preparation.

"Of course, he can always run out of the preparation or not carry it on his shelves." Detective Sergeant Burnett said he also has noted an increase in sales of the cough medicines and heard of boys making the rounds.

He said one druggist told him that after selling a bottle to a boy, the pharmacist noticed that as the boy walked out, he had two other bottles in his back pocket.

Donaldson said he is "afraid cough medi-

cines are a growing problem with our young

people."

Sales have doubled within the past year, he said. "I don't have the exact figures, but I know that sales are continuing to increase.

"I'm sorry to hear about the numbers coming in from Baltimore and the rest of Maryland.

"But I'm not surprised. It's only logical to go over the State line."

H. J. Anslinger, Federal Narcotics Commissioner, said before passage of the bill:
"Something has got to be done nationally

about stopping teenagers, drug addicts, and others from drinking up to seven bottles a day."

He said he had complaints from throughout the New England States, Pennsylvania, Ohio, and Minnesota.

Oregon and Washington had a "big problem" before they passed regulations, he added.

Polish Constitution Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PHILIP J. PHILBIN

OF MASSACRUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 28, 1960

Mr. PHILBIN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Rec-ORD, I include the text of the speech I made Sunday, May 1, in Boston at impressive exercises conducted by the Polish-American citizens of the Greater Boston area in observance of the 169th anniversary of Poland's Constitution Day.

The anniversary ceremonies were held under the auspices of the Polish American Congress, Eastern Massachusetts District, in the quarters of the Polish American Citizens Club, South Boston.

The material follows:

POLISH CONSTITUTION DAY

Reverend Fathers, Mr. President, and friends, it is a very high privilege and a genuine pleasure for me to join you on this very inspiring occasion honoring Polish Constitution Day and to meet with the members of your outstanding Polish-American organization, your officers, spiritual advisers, and friends.

At the outset, I heartily congratulate each and every one of you for the interest you have shown, the work you have done, and the support you have given to the ideals of American liberty and the preservation of freedom and justice throughout the world.

Loyal citizenship like yours is the most precious political contribution that you can make to protect and defend our free way of life, because it is just as true today, if not more so, as when first uttered by a great American that "eternal vigilance is the price of liberty."

You are blessed with a great and proud heritage indeed, which we so fittingly honor today. You are the descendants and the successors of a noble people who throughout the long centuries of history have never faltered in their devotion to God and their allegiance to the principles of freedom.

Time and time again the gallant Polish nation has been battered and torn by the ravages of war and its people have suffered indescribable torment under the cruel bondage of tyrants and oppressors who visited upon them every indignity, every persecution, and every torture known to man.

Right down to this very hour, your brave and noble people still suffer under the lash of a brutal tyranny, perhaps the most ruth-less, the most barbarous, and the most unspeakable of recorded time.

Other peoples shackled in slavery and whiplashed in brutality and torture by this most efficiently organized of all tyrannies have been weakened in body and spirit by the great lie, the great conspiracy of world communism, and finally became too weak, too forlorn, to fight back.

But not the Polish people. They have been beaten, flogged, and imprisoned, stripped of their loved ones, denied their rights as free men, deprived of their right to worship the God of their choice, compelled to see their priests and nuns insulted, cast into jail, driven from pillar to post, forbidden to prac-

tice their holy calling.

They have been forced to stand by unarmed and helpless while their constitution was scrapped, churches were desecrated, their sacred personages and their dear ones were cruelly attacked and slaughtered before their very eyes, and yet they have never given up.

They have never thrown in the sponge. They have never surrendered their birth-

They have never permitted bondage, persecution, torture, or any other horrible affliction upon their persons, their dignity, and upon their common rights as free men to swerve them from their unflinching purpose to stand up bravely and courageously before their tormentors and say to the whole world, "We will never give in; we will die first."

You know the background and the shameful story of betrayal, broken promises, and breach of trust that lies behind the delivery of sacred Polish soil, the Polish nation, and the Polish people to the bloodthirsty tyrants of the Kremlin and I need not recite it in detail here.

It will suffice to say that the illegal and unmoral surrender of Polish territory, the Polish nation, and the Polish people to Russian domination was one of the blackest pages in history, so shockingly devoid of moral principles, ethical doctrines, legal validity, and ordinary political rights as we have known them in the past as to constitute a gross violation of international law, and a calloused abandonment of a faithful, courageous ally.

But there is hope, believe me, and there will be hope so long as there is a Poland. so long as there is an America, and so long as there is justice in the world and a Divine Ruler governing the affairs of mankind.

Some misguided people who do not know the Polish people, and apparently do not know the American people either, although they profess sometimes to speak for them, have been of the shallow belief that after a while Russian mastery of Poland would not only become an accomplished fact, but would be accepted not only by other nations but by the Poles themselves.

Such people are totally lacking in any understanding of the loyalty, the religious faith, and the fierce determination of the Polish people for self-determination and freedom.

And these same people certainly overlook and have greatly miscalculated the attitude and purpose of the American people who in such large and overwhelming numbers are not only sympathetic with Poland in its sorrows and its enforced political and economic slavery, but are determined to do everything in their power to speed the day when Poland will be liberated from its shackles and restored to its rightful and former proud place as a member of the society of free nations.

Yes, the American people are deeply concerned about helping Poland, and the Congress of this great Nation has time and time again on Constitution Day and at other times expressed its intention to help Poland secure its liberation from unspeakable Communist tyranny, and in the spirit of humanfty and justice it has extended the warm hand of encouragement, succor, and assistance to the sorely afflicted Polish people.

Now we approach another summit conference, so-called, to try to settle some of the problems, and to try to ease some of the tensions, that are afflicting the world because of the nefarious policies and aggressive threats and actions of the Soviet Government.

We have had summit conferences before, you will recall, and many of us are wonder-ing whether the end results of this one will differ in many respects from the ones that have been held in the past.

There are some of us, indeed I think this embraces the strong majority of the American people, who are not willing to trust the further promises, nor endure the additional and blandishments of a national leadership like that of the Kremlin which has littered the fields of international diplomacy with broken promises in the past, and which even now as the allied nations are solemnly and hopefully preparing for a new summit conference continues its tirade of insult and abuse of our chosen leaders, its campaign of infiltration of helpless peoples. its stirring up of revolution and insurrection in many places, and its brazen, repeated threats of aggression against and nuclear destruction of the entire free world.

To those leaders who pursue such a course, I will say that they neither understand the temper of the American people, nor do they properly estimate the strength and power of this great Nation.

There will always be those, to be sure, of a weak and vacillating nature or of definite leanings toward the Communist system itself, who may urge and try to direct this less way of appeasement.

But the American people do not favor and will never tolerate such a craven policy.

We are free men and women, not cowards and cringers. We well know the difference between freedom and slavery, and we are not going to stand by while misguided leaders in our own country, or in any other part of the world, lead us down the road to appeasement, to Communist domination of additional nations, and the almost certain loss of our own liberties that would be the final result of a policy of appeasement.

This Nation does not seek political ag-grandizement, territorial gain, or domination and exploitation of other peoples, nor do we intend to remain silent and unmoved while the Soviet pursues these objectives.

Let the Soviet Government take due notice of that fact. Let their leaders know that while we ardently desire, zealously seek, and earnestly work for peace, a peace based on justice and equity, that we will never under any circumstances forfeit any part of our great heritage of liberty, nor will we remain impassive and inert while any other nation or any other political system moves by deceit and force to enslave mankind.

Just a word about our present posture. This Nation has great and powerful strength, let me assure you. We have an unequalled, effective, military and defense system equipped with the latest, largely unmatched, most devastating nuclear weapons and adequate means of using them against any aggressive force that dares to attack the United States, or attacks the security of the free world.

This Nation has the greatest economic strength, developed resources, and economic productivity that this world has ever seen. It is unrivaled and unmatched by any nation.

We hope and pray that these great resources of ours will never be used in warfare, certainly they will never be used for aggression.

But let those who have their eyes on the security, independence, wealth resources, and freedom of this Nation be fully notified and advised that we will fight to the death to defend our great heritage against communism or any other aggressor.

Though some would have us believe otherwise, the fact is that Russia is not the allpowerful and invincible nation that they would have us believe. We do not underestimate its progress and strength which has been impressive in some limited areas. But neither do we overestimate its potential.

Never in its 40-year history has the Soviet Communist regime faced such difficult and challenging problems, both internal and ex-

It has staggering financial, economic, and social problems at home involving diminishing food productivity, industrial inefficiency, short consumer goods supply, and need, want, and low standards of living stalking through its so-called geophysical heartland and plaguing its collectivist system.

For the first time since its unconscionable acquisition of other small, helpless nations in continental Europe, it is confronted with the most serious satellite trouble in the vigorous unrest of enslaved nations intent upon breaking away from the Soviet police state orbit of armed might and economic defici-

Worst of all from the Soviet standpoint, it views with great apprehension the great ogre of Red China looming up to threaten her from the east, and I doubt very much that with all these gigantic problems of mere survival of the Communist system and threats to its own security, and the security of its debased system on its hands that the Soviet is looking for, or intends, to start a

Government to pursue the shameful, spine- world war. Only extreme fanaticism would cause such catastrophe.

I am not suggesting for a moment that we can rely on the good will, good faith, or peaceful purpose of the Kremlin.

Knowing the Marxist aim of world conquest, we must be prepared for every contingency that may arise, militarily, economically, and above all spiritually, because it will be largely in the realm of moral principle, spiritual belief and the continued high faith, patriotism, and loyalty of the American people, as well as armed and economic strength, during the immediate years ahead that the triumph of freedom over slavery can best be assured. In this contest with serfdom, the Nation must renounce and reject the threatening softening influences of crass materialism and licentious paganism and rigorously apply our time-tested spiritual and moral values to every part of American life.

Just another brief reference. I recently introduced in the House of Representatives a resolution once more bringing to the attention of the Congress and the American people and the leaders who will represent us at the summit conference the urgency of the liberation of Poland and other subject nations being held in the ruthless vise of com-This resolution is short and I will munism. read the essential parts urging you to give it your wholehearted and most vigorous

"The Congress of the United States also urges the President to open up for discussion and settlement all those questions pertaining to the sovereignty, the control, the independence and the freedom of Poland, Lithuania, Latvia, Rumania, Bulgaria, East Germany, and other nations which remain unsettled by virtue of failure to consummate any major, comprehensive treaty of peace following World War II; and

"To express to the Soviet Union the sense of the Congress of the United States that no lasting peace can be established until;

"(a) The principle of self-determination is applied to all nations, great and small, so that the enslaved may be liberted; and

"(b) the Soviet Government ceases and desists from threats of aggression, encouragement to aggression, and conspiracy to excite aggression in other nations, and from the material and ideological support of revolutionary and subversive movements designed to supplant free governments with Communistic depotism in the Western Hemisphere and throughout the world.

(c) Proposals for international disarmament and control of nuclear weapons and energy by proper inspections safeguards."

I hope this will be done. It would strengthen our chances for a just peace.

Before I close, however, I want to leave with our glorious Polish allies this message. Stand firm. Don't be dismayed or discouraged. Continue your fight for the Polish cause, which is a holy cause if there ever was one, because it is the cause of freedom and justice and the God-given rights of man.

Continue to stand upright, fearless, courageous, and zealous in your love of God, and in your devotion and loyalty to America. Stand loyally and gratefully in support of great outstanding leaders like Monsignor Sikora, Monsignor Lekarczyk, Father Skoniecki, and the others in the lofty, spiritual field who have directed your loyalties, your ef-forts, and your objectives so wisely and so

Above all, let us all have the faith, and, God willing, the strength and purpose, to preserve and perpetuate our great free government, and to speed the day when brave, noble Poland may enjoy its own constitution day and join us in freedom and peace.

Thank you, all.

Tribute to Alfred Kohlberg

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. STYLES BRIDGES

OF NEW HAMPSHIRE

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Tuesday, May 3, 1960

Mr. BRIDGES. Mr. President, since the recent death of Mr. Alfred Kohlberg, many well-deserved words of praise have been appearing in the press across the Nation commenting on his ardent fight against the evils of communism.

A column by George S. Schuyler which appeared recently in the Pittsburgh Courier has been brought to my attention. I think it is one of the better commentaries on the life and work of Alfred Kohlberg, and I ask unanimous consent to have it printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the column was ordered to be printed in the RECORD. as follows:

VIEWS AND REVIEWS

(By George S. Schuyler)

The Nation lost a great patriot and I lost a great friend and associate a few days back when Alfred Kohlberg, importer of Chinese products, but better known as an inveterate and extremely dangerous foe of communism. here, and in Red China, passed away. Often called "the China Lobby" because of his vigorous and continuous defense of free China as embodied in Chiang Kai-shek, he was the bete noire of the clique with our State Department who sold Nationalist China down the river and are still fighting for this country and the United Nations to recognize the Mao gangsters who run Red China.

It was Alfred Kohlberg who launched the successful exposure of the Communist dominated Institute of Pacific Relations by Senate investigation which confirmed that the powerful Red cell within the organization had unduly and unfortunately so influenced U.S. policy that the free world lost continental China and North Korea to the Reds. The Korean war flowed from these initial disasters. An assiduous student of Communist line in documents and action, the San Francisco-born importer was in the forefront of every effort to stem the flood of Communist subversion.

I became associated with Alfred Kohlberg shortly after the war when he came to the aid of the Negro ex-Communist party executive, George Hewitt (alias Tim Holmes) whose exposures incurred the undying enmity of the Reds who tried to starve him to death. Mr. Kohlberg gave him work. Hewitt had previously done a series of articles for me on Red efforts to subvert the colored Then we were together on the brethern. editorial board of that pioneer anti-Communist monthly Plain Talk, edited by Isaac Don Levine, which performed yeoman service in exposing the Red conspiracy.

In 1951, I was voted director of the American China Policy Association, of which Kohlberg was founder and chairman, and in 1953 I was elected president, a position previously held by Clare Boothe Luce and publisher William Loeb. I have been serving ever since, and in this position I have profited greatly from this knowledge, experience, and wisdom, and that of the brilliant group of China experts and anti-Communists as

associated with us.

Alfred Kohlberg was always the genial, gracious host, and his parties were famous whether at his mansion in Bronxville or his Park Avenue apartment. There was usually

present the cream of the anti-Communist corps such as Senator Joe McCarthy, Roy Cohn, Rabbi Benjamin Shultz, Irene Kuhn, Suzanne Lafollette, Dr. Maurice William, Max Eastman, Wm. Henry Chamberlain, Geraldine Fitch, former New Jersey Governor Charles Edison, Freda Utiley, Lin Yutang, Louis Waldman, Representative Walter H. Judd, and others too numerous to mention who were dedicated to keeping the world from being enslaved, including that great authority, Maj. Gen. Charles A. Willoughby.

The tables groaned, the libations flowed, the conversion sparkled, and moving among the guests was the plump, smiling little man whose value to world freedom was inestimable, and whose example inspired us all.

Gen. Sylvanus Thayer Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JAMES A. BURKE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 3, 1960

Mr. BURKE of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, Saturday, April 30, will be a memorable date in the history of the town of Braintree in Massachusetts. On that occasion, known as "Gen. Sylvanus Thayer Day," was dedicated the birth-place of Sylvanus Thayer—1785 to 1872—Braintree's most distinguished citizen, founder of Thayer Academy, of the Thayer Public Library, and of the engineering schools at both Dartmouth College and the U.S. Military Academy. Best known nationally as "the Father of the Military Academy," which he served as Superintendent from 1817 until 1833, and also as "the Father of Technological Education in America," General Thayer is presently a candidate for the National Hall of Fame.

Through the intensive efforts of the Braintree Historical Society, Sylvanus Thayer's original homestead, which dates from 1720, has been relocated at its present site on Washington Street, opposite the town hall, and over the past 2 years has been completely restored. The Sylvanus Thayer House will henceforce be a historic shrine and serve as a community historical center for the town of Braintree.

On the same day, Thayer Academy, founded in 1876 through a generous bequest by General Thayer, honored its founder while celebrating its first alumni day. Thayer Academy and the Braintree Historical Society jointly sponsored a reception and buffet luncheon in the school's memorial gymnasium, attended by returning Thayer Academy alumni, by a large contingent from the U.S. Military Academy at West Point, headed by its Superintendent, Lt. Gen. Garrison H. Davidson, and by the many public-spirited citizens and visiting dignitaries, both civil and military, assembling in Braintree for the dedication ceremonies.

Joining General Davidson at the head table at the luncheon following the reception were Mrs. Robert C. Leggett, president of the Braintree Historical Society; Dr. Gordon O. Thayer, headmaster of Thayer Academy, and Mrs. Thayer; Mr. Gilbert L. Bean, chairman of the committee in charge of the restoration of the homestead; Mr. William F. Spang, president of the board of trustees of Thayer Academy; Mr. Harry F. Rice, Jr., president of the Thayer Academy Alumni Association; Mr. A. Wendell Drollett, president of the Thayer Academy Parents Club; and the Honorable James A. Burke, Representative of the 13th Congressional District of Massachusetts.

Honored military guests included Lt. Gen. Willis D. Crittenberger, chairman of the committee sponsoring General Thayer for entry into the Hall of Fame; Lt. Gen. Anthony C. McAuliffe, president of the West Point Graduates Association; Maj. Gen. Chauncey D. Merrill, commanding the 94th Infantry Division, U.S. Army Reserves; Maj. Gen. William J. Verbeck, commanding officer of Fort Devens and representing Lt. Gen. Edward J. O'Neill, 1st Army; Brig. Gen. Alden K. Sibley, commanding officer of the New England Division of the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers; Col. Paul C. Davis, representing Brig. Gen. Robert Hackett, 56th Artillery Brigade, Air Defense; Col. Joseph Kelly, representing Maj. Gen. Otis M. Whitney, Yankee Division, Massachusetts National Guard; Col. Clement Kennedy, Massachusetts aide to Secretary of the Army Wilber M. Brucker; Col. Karl L. Scherer, commanding the Boston Army Base; Col. Ivan W. Parr, Quartermaster Corps; Col. Norton B. Wilson, secretary of the West Point Graduates Association; Col. Ralph G. Barrows, president of the West Point Society of New England: Col. John G. Booton, past president of the West Point Society of New England; Col. Edwin Allen, commanding the 13th Battle Group, USARTC; and Lt. Col. Joel B. Stevens, information officer of the U.S. Military Academy.

The afternoon parade prior to the dedication ceremonies had as joint marshals two Braintree veterans of World War II, both of whom are wearers of the Congressional Medal of Honor: Mr. Charles MacGillivray, a former U.S. Army Ranger, and Mr. Everett Pope, formerly of the U.S. Marine Corps. The line of march included a contingent of cadets from the U.S. Military Academy, a color guard from the 56th Artillery Brigade—which also included the 18man honor guard for General Davidson and his group-the 28-piece Regular Army Band from Fort Devens, and units representing the U.S. Army Reserves, the Massachusetts National Guard, American Legion, the Disabled American Veterans, the Veterans of Foreign Wars, and the Air Cadets; also several military and marching bands.

As princial speaker at the dedication ceremony, Lieutenant General Davidson expressed the warm regard and high esteem held by West Pointers everywhere for Sylvanus Thayer, who himself graduated from the Military Academy nearly 150 years ago, subsequently to become an outstanding educator, engineering pioneer, military leader and public benefactor.

The program for "General Sylvanus Thayer Day" followed.

Registration of Thayer Academy alumni, Main Building, 9:30 to 10:30. Film: "Sylvanus Thayer at West

Point," Frothingham Hall, 10:30 to 11:30, Reception for General Davidson and guests, Memorial Gymnasium, 12 to 12:30.

Buffet luncheon, Memorial Gymnasium, 12:30 to 1:45.

Military parade, Washington Street, 2:30 to 3:15.

Dedication of Thayer birthplace, Sylvanus Thayer House, 3:30 to 4:15.

Public inspection of Thayer birthplace,

Sylvanus Thayer House, 4:15 to 5:45.

Reception: Thayer Academy alumni and faculty, Frothingham Hall, 5 to 6.

Concert: West Point Glee Club, Braintree High School Auditorium, 8:30 to 10:30.

A buffet luncheon in the Memorial Gymnasium was held for invited guests of Thayer Academy and the Braintree Historical Society. The evening concert presented by the West Point Glee Club in the Braintree High School Auditorium was open to the general public. All Thayer Academy and Thayerlands School buildings were open for inspection by Academy alumni and alumnae throughout the day.

Thayer Academy, situated in Braintree, Mass., was founded in 1876 as the result of a generous bequest by the late General Sylvanus Thayer. Opening its doors in 1877 with a faculty of 3 and a student body of 30, the school has expanded and developed over the years until, with an enrollment of over 600 students, it is now the largest coeducational, country day, college preparatory school in New England. The present institution includes 3 component parts: Thayer Academy proper, comprising grades 9 through 12; Thayer-School, comprising grades 1 through 8 and the Thayerlands Preprimary School; the 3 schools make private educational facilities available to more than 30 communities of the south shore of Massachusetts. Additional service is rendered by the Academy's sponsorship of a summer school with an enrollment of 250; and, with the collaboration of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, an advance science studies program designed for 60 talented boys and girls of eastern Massachusetts high schools. The latter program, now in its third year at Thayer Academy, is participated in by 16 regional industries, and by 7 universities-Boston University, Brandeis, Brown, Harvard, MIT, Tufts, and the University of Massachusetts.

Dr. Gordon Oliver Thayer, present headmaster of Thayer Academy, is a graduate of the University of New Hampshire, and received his master of education at Harvard, and his Doctorate of Education from Boston University. He is a lecturer in education at Tufts, Boston University, and the University of Maine. He was president of the Independent School Association of Massachusetts in 1958-59; and is currently a director of the Alumni Association of the Harvard Graduate School

of Education, a delegate to the National Council of Independent Schools, and a secondary school representative to the College Entrance Examination Board. With other American secondary school and college educators, Dr. Thayer will engage in a field study of Russian education during the months of August and September, the project being sponsored by the Comparative Education Society; and he is scheduled to conduct a series of lectures on American schools and colleges in Russia, Poland, Germany, and Yugoslavia during September and October.

Merger of Armed Forces Along Functional Lines Recommended

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. CLAIR ENGLE

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Tuesday, May 3, 1960

Mr. ENGLE. Mr. President, it is my belief that a functional reorganization of our national defense is essential to meet our national security needs. I was therefore interested to note that the Washington Evening Star of April 25 emphasized the same point in an article entitled "Triple Service Flaws Cited by Consultant." This story was based on the remarks of James A. Perkins, frequent consultant to the Government on administrative management. Mr. Perkins appeared before the Senate Government Operations Subcommittee on National Policy Machinery to urge changes in the organization of both the State and Defense Departments. I would like to call the attention of my colleagues to this article and ask unanimous consent to have it printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

TRIPLE SERVICE FLAWS CITED BY CONSULTANT (By Richard Fryklund)

The traditional three-service organization in the Pentagon is largely obsolete, James A. Perkins, frequent consultant to the Government on administrative matters, told a Sen-

ate subcommittee today.
"If anything is clear," he said, "it is that modern warfare does not divide itself into problems of land, sea, or air. Functional tasks now divide along lines of strategic deterrents, limited warfare, continental military defense, civil defense and military as-

sistance to allies in support of the above. "The hard, unvarnished truth is that it has been impossible to assign tasks on a functional basis along existing service lines."

Mr. Perkins is a vice president of the Carnegie Corp. He served on the Gaither Committee, appointed by the President in 1957 to survey national security problems. He appeared today before the Senate Subcom-mittee on National Policy Machinery.

Mr. Perkins recommended changes in the organization of both the State and Defense Departments. The State Department, he said, seems unaware that foreign policy and military policy are inextricably linked. This has led to some acute practical difficulties.

He said, "An automatic reply to any Russian aggression seemed to ignore completely the existence and implications of a Russian strike capability."

'He recommended that an assistant secretary for military affairs be appointed in the State Department, that regular military briefings for State Department officers be held and that at least two dozen middle-grade officers a year should be sent to the National War College.

The Need for Constitutional Reform in Wisconsin

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. WILLIAM PROXMIRE

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Tuesday, May 3, 1960

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, last Friday, I was pleased to place in the REC-ORD a speech by the Governor of Wisconsin, the Honorable Gaylord A. Nelson, in which he called for a thorough study of the need for constitutional reform in Wisconsin and announced the appointment of a distinguished commission to study the need as well as the ways and means of achieving such reform. Even though Wisconsin's 1848 constitution has the impressive qualifications of classic brevity and great age, it seems wise to periodically look at the constitution and its amendments as a whole to see whether it meets the challenge of this and future generations.

On Sunday, May 1, the Milwaukee Journal carried an editorial praising the Governor's action and approving both the idea and the membership of the 15 member study commission.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that this editorial be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

AT LAST, A REAL LOOK AT WISCONSIN'S CONSTITUTION

The Wisconsin constitution is one of the most difficult in the Nation for the people to get at

It does not permit amendments to be initiated by popular petition. It does not provide for periodic popular votes on whether to have a constitutional convention. It does not allow amendments to be submitted to the people for ratification except by two consecutive legislatures. Only nine other States are as tough in all three respects.

And the Wisconsin constitution, as amended, is the oldest in the Nation outside tradition loving New England. All the other States older than Wisconsin have long since written more modern constitutions, six of them in this century.

It does not follow that the Wisconsin constitution is worse than most. The wisdom, of the original authors, as it happens, gave us an unusually sound document, on the whole, for the mid-19th century.

What does follow is that nobody-not the legislature nor a convention nor a study commission-has ever stood back from the trees and surveyed the forest, reappraising all at once the constitution as a whole and from

beginning to end, its outdated concepts and its patchwork of 61 amendments up to now.

Past legislatures have jealously preserved their exclusive guardianship over it, for fear that anybody else looking into the subject might not duly respect the sacred cows. The current legislature did halfheartedly direct a legislative council study, but nothing has come of this and obviously nothing is going to come of it. Meanwhile the same legislature has started a whole raft of new amendments.

So it is sound and needed statecraft by Governor Nelson now to create on his own motion a study commission to give us this whole view that we have never had. He has carefully chosen 15 people for scholarship, expertness and open mindedness, to insure against partisan impeachment. They will labor without even expense money, for there is none.

The Governor has asked them to advise whether the constitution contains material that properly belongs in the statutes in-stead, archaic material that can be eliminated, confusion that needs clearing up: whether complete overhaul or continued piecemeal amendment is preferable; whether a convention is needed or some lesser revision process is feasible.

It is cheering and exciting that such great work is now to be undertaken, under such leadership as that of Supreme Court Justice Thomas Fairchild, Madison Attorney Burgess Ela., and UW Political Scientist David Fellman. Even if the legislature remains unexcited, the product cannot fail to give the public the best information it has ever had in this fundamental field.

The Census

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ALBERT H. BOSCH

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, April 6, 1960

Mr. BOSCH. Mr. Speaker, I have had several constituents discuss with me the question of the census and they were somewhat concerned that in some instances immediate neighbors are enumerators and that the information disclosed, while not of an incriminating nature, is in the form of disclosure of personal information which the citizen would like to feel is not the subject of common knowledge or information. It was suggested that in connection with this the individual citizen might, at his option, provide and forward to the Secretary of Commerce in Washington, D.C., the information required of him in connection with the census without disclosing such information or surrendering any report or return to the enumerator.

Therefore, at the request of these citizens of my area who have evidenced this concern, I have today introduced legislation which would permit the citizen to forward the information directly to the Census Bureau. The regulations to carry out the above could be prescribed by the Census Bureau in the form of an affidavit certifying to the date when the required information was mailed to the Census Bureau, this affidavit to be surrendered to the enumerator.

My Mother, Eleanor Roosevelt

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. A. S. MIKE MONRONEY

OF OKLAHOMA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, May 3, 1960

Mr. MONRONEY. Mr. President, we who have been privileged to live in the same era with Mrs. Franklin Delano Roosevelt have formed our own pictures of her from newspaper accounts of her activities, from her daily newspaper columns, from her magazine question and answer pages, from books by her and about her, and, if lucky, from personal acquaintance.

As she has continued year after year to be listed in polls as the best loved woman in the world, following her remarkable career as first lady with another in her own right equally unsual, we still ponder how she does what she does, and how she became what she is.

The May Good Housekeeping magazine gives us some new answers to some of our unphrased questions. James Roosevelt, her oldest son, writes with Sidney Shalett, his collaborator on a recent book about President Roosevelt, a warm and moving article, "My Mother, Eleanor Roosevelt."

Because of the new insight this story provides of one of the greatest women of our time, I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD. I have inquired regarding the cost and have found that it is \$216.

I ask unanimous consent that the article be printed in the RECORD notwithstanding the cost.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

MY MOTHER, ELEANOR ROOSEVELT

(By JAMES ROOSEVELT With Sidney Shalett)

In writing of my warm and wonderful life with my mother, Eleanor Roosevelt, I never can forget that I have been privileged to have a mother, as well as a father, who is one of the great personages of our time. Yet I—and my sister and brothers—think of her not in her role as the peripatetic spokesman for democracy, champion of the oppressed and underprivileged, and crusader for a thousand and one good causes, but as our generous, ever-loyal, deeply human mother, who has taught us, inspired us, loved us—and spoiled us—all our lives.

I have written of my father, Franklin Delano Rocsevelt, that he was not one but three parents. He was the rollicking companion and playmate of prepolio days; the gallant fighter of his convalescent period, struggling not to lose touch with his children while engaged in his desperate personal battle to conquer his deadened legs; and, finally, the father of the White House period, who had to balance his family relationships against his responsibilities to the world. I have much the same feeling about mother; she has been at least four mothers, each a separate and distinct personality.

First, there was the mother of my earliest memories—shy, uncertain, afraid of her shadow, ridden by inferiority and "guilt" complexes, and dominated by an imperious, all-demanding mother-in-law. In those early days, it seemed completely natural to us children that "grannies" were the real heads of families and that mothers were only slightly above us small fry in the household hierarchy.

Then came the mother who was the hero-

ine of Father's period of illness and convalescence. When infantile paralysis struck her husband, rendering him first a helpless cripple and then a man who never again would walk without the aid of cane and braces, Mother's true strength and courage emerged. She was his nurse, his "legs," his good right arm, his wellspring of confidence. When it became necessary, the erstwhile meek and subservient daughter-in-law even stood up for him against his well-meaning but overpowering mother, who, overcome by the tragedy that had engulfed her Franklin, wanted him to retire from the public eye and bury himself at Hyde Park. Mother became the mortar that held the family together in the face of strains, separations, and financial crises.

Then, in the period of Father's return to public life—first as Governor of New York, then as President—still another Eleanor Roosevelt emerged. This was the mother who kept track of her restless, turbulent brood while she herself evolved into a roving, one-woman task force for social and international causes. Even her family marveled at her seemingly inexhaustible energy, and Father howled with glee when the British, during World War II, gave Mother the code name of Rover.

the code name of Rover.

Finally, there is the Eleanor Roosevelt of today—a woman on her own. Though I am her son, I view her unabashedly as a great lady, a great person, and, above all, a great mother. When Father died, just 26 days after their 40th wedding anniversary, Mother refused to lapse into idle widowhood. Soon she was creating a useful and productive career.

Last October 11, Mother—though she refused to celebrate it—passed her 75th birthday. I am pleased that these recollections of mine are appearing in the issue of Good Housekeeping devoted to observance of its own 75th birthday. I do not mean to write, however, of Mother as if she were an institution. She wouldn't like that, I can assure you.

Despite all the honors that have been heaped upon her, Mother remains completely natural and unassuming and absolutely without side. For example, when she was in India a few years ago, she donned a plain cotton dress and tennis shoes and devoted a long day to touring the slums. She kept going so long she was late for a reception in her honor. Not wishing to keep guests waiting while she cleaned up and changed into appropriate clothing, Mother simply went to the reception as she was and met the leading citizens of Bombay in her soiled cotton dress and sneakers.

It is no easy thing to be the son of two parents who are not only world figures but extraordinarily complex personalities. There is no doubt that my brothers, my sister, and I would have benefited had Mother and Father—particularly Father—been stricter disciplinarians and had they had more time to devote to us.

We were outrageously pampered by our wealthly grandmother. Sara Delano Roosevelt, who delighted in upsetting what parental discipline we had by giving us new cars to replace ones we had wrecked and showering us with costly gifts and trips to Europe. Indeed, Father's softness as a disciplinarian was directly attributable to the fact that his strong-minded Ma-ma, as he called her, tried all her life to dominate him. Even after he became President, she would remind him to wear his rubbers, to drink only bottled water, and to keep himself "in order" when traveling in the tropics. After resisting this sort of maternal swaddling from

childhood to manhood, father developed a psychological block against telling us how to run our lives. Mother had the same feeling.

To me, Mother's true greatness as a person lies in the fact that she is not infallible. Far from it. Her deep, penetrating wisdom often is tempered with naivete, and she will do and say impulsive things or allow herself to be used by persons whose motives are suspect. But these are slips which stem from her heart and from her boundless, instinctive sympathy for humanity.

The real miracle is that Mother ever lived down the traumas of her early childhood and became the strong character that she is. If ever there was a real-life prototype for the "poor little rich girl" character of the lachrymose Victorian novels, it was Mother. Her own mother, Anna Hall, whom Mother remembers as one of the most beautiful women she has ever seen, treated her daughter as an ugly duckling; she even shamed the little girl by calling her "granny."

It was a different story with her father, Eillott Roosevelt, brother of Uncle Theodore, who became President. He adored her and called her "little Nell" and "golden hair." When he was around, he showered her with all the love and companionship a child could want from a father. But he was not well, and he lapsed into alcoholism (which gave Mother her lifelong horror of strong drink). When Mother was 8 years old, her mother died of diphtheria, and her tyrannical Grandmother Hall refused to sanction more than occasional visits from her father. He, too, died before Mother was 10; for a long time, Mother refused to believe her beloved father was gone, and, as she has written, she lived in her private dream world in which they still were together.

There were other scars that added to her feeling of loneliness and rejection. She lived for a while with a beautiful but tragically unstable young aunt, who sometimes was warm and loving and at other times heaped her with scorn and verbal abuse. There also were two well-loved uncles who became alcoholics. But Mother had a good mind, an inner strength, and an innate sense of humanity-the qualities that eventually led her into what her detractors call her "do-gooding" activities-which enabled her, though she suffered, to survive and grow. It was Mother, incidentally, who gave Father his first closeup glimpses of what poverty meant. She induced Father, then a rather shallow, typically upperclass Harvard undergraduate, to call for her at the Rivington Street Settlement House in lower New York, where she was doing social work; then she took him to a tenement to call on a sick child. The experience left him shaken, and he exclaimed, 'Human beings can't live this way."

The early years of married life did little to build up Mother's confidence; there was always her formidable mother-in-law in the background, and Father's mother was an empire to herself. To be sure, the marriage of Franklin Roosevelt to his fifth cousin Eleanor was accomplished over his mother's objection. She had nothing in particular against Cousin Eleanor, but she had been looking forward to enjoying her handsome son's company when he had graduated from Harvard, and she wasn't ready for him to leave the nest. Granny took him off on a Caribbean cruise, hoping the romance would cool, but Father was stubborn, too, and, on March 17, 1905, he and Mother were married.

As Mother always had yearned for a mother of her own, her desire to be accepted and loved by Sara Delano Roosevelt was almost pathetic. But the young bride found herself swamped not with affection but with domination by her mother-in-law. Granny was excessively generous—she gave the newlyweds material things they never would have been able to afford otherwise—but she did love to manage. The young couple's first

rented house, conveniently close to her own, was selected by Granny. Their second home was a Christmas present from her, but she built one for herself right next to it-with connecting doors. Mother hated that house and protested to Father that she didn't want to live in it, but Granny had her way. Even our summer home at Campobello was a gift from Father's mother. She helped him meet his bills, paid his insurance, and even sent us barrels of apples and potatoes from the Hyde Park farm. Father, of course, was quite accustomed to her generosities and thought nothing of dropping hints on what he might like in the way of gifts. For instance, in November 1913, when he was Assistant Secretary of the Navy, he gally wrote her: "Dearest Mommer-I'm still alive and have wore out three sets pyjams in 1 year. If you go to Army and Navy store remember your affected son. F.D.R. Also he likes neg-ligee shirts not silk and without collar."

Mother's indecision in those days is hard to believe. It is difficult to visualize the Eleanor Roosevelt of today writing, as she did to Father in 1913: "My head whirls when I think of all the things you might do this coming year-run for Governor, Senator, go to California. I wonder what you really will do." An even more remarkable line appeared in one of her letters to "Dearest Honey"her customary salutation of that periodshortly after he had been nominated for Vice President in 1920. "Oh, dear. I wish I could see you or at least hear from you,' she wrote. "I hate politics."

Father always loved to tease Mother. On their European honeymoon, though he was almost as unsophisticated as his bride, he treated her as if she were a helpless little child. In presidential years, when Mother became such a world traveler, he referred to her as "my will-o'-the-wisp wife" and joked about her fantastic energy. her public statements differed from his own views, he told her to go right ahead and do as she pleased "because I can always say I can't do a thing with you." Mother learned to return the riposte; when he went out on the campaign trail and was lionized by women's clubs, Mother let him hear from her about the "lovely ladies" who, as she put it. "worship at your shrine."

Mother's strength and courage revealed itself when she was truly a soldier during the difficult, painful period between the time that polio struck and Father's return to active politics. Father himself had a courage that was simply unbelievable. He never let any of the children see him with his spirits sagging, and he constantly conjured up cheery ways to boost our morale. Yet, as I have since learned, he had his periods of black despair, and it was then that Mother came through for him. Working closely with the faithful Louis Howe, Father's political aid, Mother strengthened his resolve not to give in to the temptation to crawl into a hole at Hyde Park and let the world pass him by. Once the active period of his sickness was over, Mother simply refused to treat him as an invalid; she even dismissed the nurses and saw to it that he led as normal a life as was possible for a man in a wheelchair.

As time went by, Mother did more and more things for Father and for the family. Though she died a thousand deaths every time she had to stand up before strangers she began making speeches for him to keep

his name before the public.

During the four winters when he cruised off the Florida Keys in a houseboat, hoping that sunshine and swimming would restore his limbs, she stayed in New York, keeping the family together. Finances were difficult. We never were actually poor; the trouble was that we never learned to live economically, and the private schools, European vacations, servants, and chauffeurdriven cars went right on. Father frequently was forgetful about sending the monthly allowance, and Mother's letters of this period were filled with almost desperthis period were lifted with almost desper-ate pleas, such as: "I find after paying all the household bills * * * and cash for food * * * I have \$151.46. * * * Please send me what you can. * * *" And: "* * * The regular expenses go on the same as ever. * * * I just pray I will have enough. * * *** Mother taught school, wrote articles, and took an ill-fated fling at operating a furniture factory to bolster the family finances.

The emergence of this new Eleanor Roosevelt was not without its price. Father gained a valued and trusted new lieutenant and a new pair of legs and eyes, but he lost a good deal of the woman Eleanor; indefatigable as she was, Mother simply could not be the little homemaker and self-effacing house-wife, as well as the political helpmate. Perhaps the evolution was inevitable, and Mother's public career would have developed even if Father had not been stricken with polio; I suspect the drive within her was so strong that she could not have been content forever in a purely domestic role. Be that as it may, the diminution of the woman Eleanor cost Father a good deal in simple companionship and added poignantly to the burden of loneliness that beset him with the advent of polio and the beginning of his years in the glaring limelight of the presidency.
With all his outward gaiety and gregar-

iousness, it is hard to visualize Father as a lonely man, but there were times when he was dreadfully alone. The presidency can be as confining as any prison, and Father had the additional physical handicap of not being able to get around on his own; also, he had no real, personal confidents with whom he could talk over matters of a

private nature.

By this I do not mean to imply, as so many Roosevelt haters and scandalmongers have untruthfully alleged, that father, and mother were not compatible. Even in the years when both of them became so intensely busy, there was a deep understanding and an indestructible affection between them. To the end of his days, father, in his letters to mother, addressed her as "Dearest Babs"—the nickname he had given her on their honeymoon. Her tender feeling toward him is indicated in the following excerpt from a letter she wrote to him in 1931, just after he sailed to see his mother, who had been taken ill in Europe: " * * I hate to see you go. • • We are really very dependent on each other though we do see so little of each other. other though we do see so hate or each own.

I feel as lost as I did when I went abroad.

* * * Dear love to you. * * * I miss you and hate to feel you so far away * * *."

Just as Father, even when the terrible years of World War II closed in on him. never ceased trying to be a warm, close, personal father to his five children, mother, too. always had a maternal eye on us. Neither of them believed in openly interfering or attempting to dominate us. All of us. I am sure, hurt our parents many times by rash or indiscreet actions, but always we received from them the same unswerving lovalty and affection.

Mother was slightly inconsistent; while she did not intrude by injecting herself directly into our affairs and attempting to advise us directly, she constantly was writing Father about our various jams. In the case of my sister Anna, it was poor work at school and later was her interest in boys. In my case, mother fretted over my erratic scholastic record and what she considered my addiction to frivolity and expensive living. I was following in father's footsteps at Harvard by joining all the right clubs, and once, when I wrote a candid letter home admitting there had been a certain amount of financial outlay and drinking connected with

my initiation into Hasty Pudding, Mother caustically wrote Father at Warm Springs: "Too bad James needs the money; you never can get away from your many golddiggers, can you? I can't say three nights drunk fill me with any thing but disgust.

My brother Elliott liked to play cards. and mother, learning while en route to Europe that two State employees (Father then was Governor of New York) had cleaned him of \$70, sent off a hot letter to Albany: "I had a talk with him about gambling but I did not realize it was for sums like that he had played. I think perhaps you had better not tell him we know but if you get a chance say something about using judgment in all things and the right use of money. Mama gave him his Poughkeepsie Savings Bank book which I think was unwise if he is doing fool things of this kind."

As Franklin, Jr., and John came of age. Mother worried about their conduct, too. One letter to the White House asked bluntly: "Will you speak seriously and firmly to F., Jr., and John about drinking and fast driving?
[Father didn't.] I really think it's important." She also discussed with Father our various business problems and our divorces. but rarely did she mention these matters to us, except obliquely.

Mother came into her own during the 12 years Father occupied the White House. While she made some mistakes, she had become one of Father's greatest assets. Though he delighted in teasing herdoing it so subtly that Mother wasn't sure she was being ribbed-Father relied upon her in many ways. She made inspection trips, including her memorable survey of the wretched Puerto Rican slums, which left her aghast at the thought that humans could live in such misery. She also appraised sit-uations and personalities for her husband. Her comments were sharp and to the pointe.g., her 1939 letter to Father: "This WPA mess seems to me the fault of the unions. Perhaps no job should be done by WPA which would otherwise be done by regular labor, but that is the only legitimate grievance that I can see." Father valued and respected her judgment, even though he did not always agree with her or follow her rec-ommendations. He was conscious, too, that some of her supercharged activities provided ammunition for the anti-New Dealers, but he did not try to curb her.

I've always felt that Mother's true greatness of spirit revealed itself on that terrible day-April 12, 1945-when Father died in Warm Springs. Harry S. Truman, deeply shaken by the event that had precipitated him into the Presidency, came to see her at the White House. "Is there anything I can do for you?" he asked. Mother looked at him with sympathy and understanding and replied, "Is there anything we can do for you? For you are the one who is in trouble now." At the moment of her supreme grief. she was concerned about the new President's

With Father's death, Mother was confused and lost—but only momentarily. One of the most perceptive things Mother ever has written about herself is found in her auto-biographical volume, "This I Remember." Recalling her life in the White House, she observed: "* * * I think I lived those years very impersonally. It was almost as though I had erected someone a little outside of myself who was the President's wife. I was lost somewhere deep down inside myself. That is the way I felt and worked until I left the White House."

That era ended, mother began working her way out of her impersonal shell and became the President's widow but Eleanor Roosevelt, active citizen. President Truman appointed her as a delegate to the United Nations Organization meeting in London in 1946, and she served with genuine distinction.

Father, who knew mother and her overgenerous impulses well, had left a remarkable will in which Mother was the major immediate beneficiary. However, he drew up airtight provisions that restricted her from using a penny of the principal—only the interest from the estate. He had a reason for this, which he confided to me (as the eldest son, I was to be the family trustee) sometime before his death: he was simply afraid that mother, with her penchant for good causes, would give away the entire estate and be left destitute.

I think that father was partially right and that mother, if free to follow her own impulses, indeed would have given away at least a large portion of the estate. He was wrorg about one thing, however; mother never would be destitute. Immediately after his death, she weighed her situation. She could have lived more than comfortably on the estate income, but the idea of idleness appalled her. I once heard her say emphatically that she had no desire to become an old lady in a little lace cap. She decided she would earn an income of her own in order to have money to contribute to the philanthropic, political, and humanitarian causes—as well as the many private, personal charities—in which she so firmly believes.

So mother went to work. Today she earns a sizable sum as a writer and lecturer, and she gives away the major portion of it, over and above her business operating expenses. By conservative estimate, mother has given away well over a million dollars.

As one of the three trustees of father's estate, I sometimes have the unhappy duty of telling mother she cannot do something on which she has her heart set. Recently, for example, she wanted the estate to invest a considerable amount of money in a fourstory townhouse in New York City; she was going to live and work in half of it and rent the other half to her personal physician and his wife. We did not think it was a proper business investment under the terms of father's trust; also, we doubted the wisdom of her incurring such a responsibility at her age, so we turned her down. Mother was hopping mad-mostly at me-but she didn't stay angry long; in fact, I've never known her to stay peeved with any of us for any length of time. She merely went out and made private financial arrangements to buy her house and now is living there happily, with nothing to worry about except a 20year mortgage.

I can testify personally to Mother's remarkable generosity and also to the fact that she has no large sums of ready cash or other assets. In 1950, when I made my ill-fated race for Governor of California, I finished the campaign owing \$100,000. I paid it off with a personal loan from Mother, which I have secured with a life-insurance policy payable to mother or her estate. I know that her generous act in bailing me out left her with virtually no capital assets except her current income; yet she did it without

a murmur.

Similarly, to help my brother Elliott, Mother permitted him to sell off certain real estate which was not irrevocably tied up by Pather's will. As a matter of fact, this has been the subject of a fierce family argument, with sis, my brothers, and I all jumping on Elliott for permitting Father's beloved Hilltop Cottage to pass out of the family.

Mother never forgets Christmases, birthdays, or anniversaries, and the Eleanor Roosevelt Amalgamated Annual Gift List is a truly formidable institution. It includes each of her five children and their spouses (even one or two ex-spouses of whom she is fond), her 21 grandchildren, and her 12 great-grandchildren, not to mention inhumerable godchildren, relatives, and friends. She starts her yule shopping on

December 26 of each year, collecting appropriate gifts whenever and wherever she sees them and piling them in what she calls her "Christmas closet." It did not surprise me a bit when I read in the newspapers that mother, touring Israel last year, had bought a live camel for her granddaughter Nina. Fortunately, the camel was jettisoned before reaching Hyde Park.

Mother divides her time today-when she isn't in Israel, or in Moscow, or teaching her class at Brandeis University, or doing something for the Eleanor Roosevelt Institute for Cancer Research in Denver, or making a speech in any one of the 50 States-between the new townhouse in Manhattan and her rambling cottage at Hyde Park. Each of her residences has the same flavor as any place, including the White House, in which the Roosevelts ever lived. The decor, if you can call it such, is a melange of family photographs, mementos of Father, water colors the late Louis Howe and other amateur artists, autographed pictures of world figures, well-worn furniture bric-a-brac, and some plain junk from the 4 corners of the earth almost every piece, of course, with a story behind it.

As for Mother's daily schedule-any day it wearies me just to think about it. She usually arises any time between 6 and 7 a.m., never later than 7:30. Often she entertains departing house guests at the breakfast table, then herself takes off for New York or Washington or elsewhere for a full day of meetings, interviews, and speeches. Before the day is over, she will have dictated one or two newspaper columns and answered a batch of her interminable correspondence. Nightfall will find her back at Hyde Park or New York or starting off for somewhere else to make still another speech. If she is asleep by 1:30 a.m., she is lucky; often she does not get to bed until 3 a.m. Frankly, I don't know how she does it, but her energy is boundless, and she was telling the exact truth when she wrote recently: "At present I look like Methusaleh, but I feel no older than my youngest friends. am sure that I am no more exhausted at the end of a busy day than many who are half

Mother still is here—very much so—and I pray she will be with us for many years. It is gratifying to all of us who love her so dearly that the calumnies, the vicious libels, the tasteless jokes about Eleanor Roosevelt have all but vanished. True, there still is a crackpot fringe ready to condemn anyone who bears the name of Roosevelt—Hyde Park branch, of course. But from every corner, in this country and abroad, words of respect and affection may be heard whenever the name of Eleanor Roosevelt is mentioned.

Even if I am her son, I think she has earned these tributes and that she has established her place not only in the pages of history but in the hearts of her countrymen. I feel certain that Father would be enormously proud of how Mother has molded her life without him, just as she was—and is—proud of him. To have had such a father and to have such a mother is the greatest legacy a son could ask.

Low-Cost Wool Fabric Imports

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JACOB K. JAVITS

OF NEW YORK

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, May 3, 1960

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the Record a resolution by the Textile Workers Union of America, regarding the importation of low-cost wool fabrics and urging the application of the wool tariff quota separately to each category of fabrics in order to permit the importation of a fair share of each category.

There being no objection, the resolution was ordered to be printed in the

RECORD, as follows:

RESOLUTION ON TARIFFS

Imports of textiles have resumed their upward thrust. The halfway measures adopted by the administration in 1956 slowed the rise in imports of certain products but they have not afforded the degree of protection needed to prevent further serious injury to the domestic textile industry. Foreign producers have stepped up their export programs so that we are again witnessing a rising tide of foreign goods unstabilizing our textile markets.

The increase in imports of cotton fabrics

The increase in imports of cotton fabrics which resulted from the Japanese incursions of 1955-56 was halted temporarily by the negotiation of a voluntary quota by Japan. However, the expansion in shipments from Hong Kong has helped boost cotton fabric imports from 122 million square yards in 1957 to 142 million in 1958 and over 180 million in 1959. The increases in shipments of garments from the Far East have been astronomical, thereby raising the actual fabric yardage imports well above the above figures.

The rise in imports of wool fabrics was temporarily halted by the implementation of the Geneva reservation in 1956, under which the ad valorem tariff is raised from 25 to 45 percent when imports exceed 5 percent of domestic production. However, this device was inadequate to prevent a resumption of the rise in imports in 1958, when a new flood of low-cost fabrics from Japan boosted imports to 34 million square yards, from 32 million in 1957. Imports this year will set a new record of more than 40 million square yards as a result of an even greater upsurge of shipments from Italy while Japan continues to supply enormous quantities.

The administration has turned a deaf ear to pleas for relief from segments of the industry which have been particularly hard hit by imports. The cordage and twine divisions have pleaded in vain for protection on the grounds of national security. The "escape clause" petitions of the wool felt and the velvet and wilton carpet divisions have been turned down. The woolen and worsted division's request for a tightening up of the administration of the Geneva reservation has been rejected.

The Textile Workers' Union of America has been in the forefront of the struggle to achieve equitable protection from the inroads of rising imports. We have highlighted the human and social costs of the administration's irresponsible do-nothing policies. We have urged the Congress to adopt a new enlightened approach to the problems of domestic industries faced by growing incursions from abroad. Under such an approach, the growing elements of our economy would be opened up to free competition with foreign producers, while the historic level of production of each basic industry would be safeguarded. We have also urged the abolition of the two-price system for raw cotton, under which the Government subsidizes exports of raw cotton at a price of 8 cents a pound cheaper than domestic mills have to pay: Therefore be it

Resolved, That the executive council of the Textile Workers' Union of America urge the U.S. Tariff Commission to determine the perlipoint for wool-fabric tariffs at a point in excess of the 45-percent ad valorem rate currently in effect. In renegotiating the tariffs on wool fabrics next year, the U.S. Government should establish a duty in excess of

45 percent in order to prevent further serious injury to the domestic industry. tariff quota provision should be retained and applied separately to each category of fabrics so as to prevent excessive concentrations of imports on narrow segments of the market to the detriment of American producers.

We urge the U.S. Government to adopt the policy of safeguarding historical absolute levels of national production for industries essential to the economy, geographical areas of concentration, and groups of employees

concerned.

We urge immediate action to hasten the elimination of the present two-price system for raw cotton which raises costs for the American consumer, bleeds the U.S. Treasury, and handicaps the industry in competition with foreign producers and other domestic consumer uses. We recognize the proposed import fee on cotton-product imports as a temporary measure for equalizing raw-cotton costs under a two-price system to assure fair competition.

Secretary of Defense Gates

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. HUGH SCOTT

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Tuesday, May 3, 1960

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article entitled "Gates Gets Things Done at the Pentagon; Sits in With Joint Chiefs, Breaks Deadlocks," published in a recent edition of the Philadelphia Evening Bulletin

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD. as follows:

GATES GETS THINGS DONE AT THE PENTAGON; SITS IN WITH JOINT CHIEFS, BREAKS DEAD-LOCKS

(By Hanson W. Baldwin)

Washington, April 30 .- Secretary of Defense Gates has galvanized the decisionmaking process of government by the simple expedient of making decisions.

Last December, Gates announced he would join the meetings of the Joint Chiefs of Staff whenever matters in disagreement were under discussion.

This simple practice, since broadened and formalized to bring the civilian Secretary into the military decisionmaking process, has broken quite a few of the minor log jams that obstructed Joint Chiefs business.

In time, it may lead to solutions of some of the major disagreements in the Defense Department.

POWER NEGLECTED BEFORE

Secretaries of Defense prior to Gates had the right to meet with the Joint Chiefs and the authority to make decisions about matters on which the Joint Chiefs did not agree. But none of them ever met regularly with the Joint Chiefs and few of them exercisedexcept on minor matters-their power of de-

Gates' meetings with the Joint Chiefs have become periodic instead of intermittent. Each Monday at 2 p.m. he attends a JCS meeting whether or not a so-called split paper, or disagreement, is under discussion.

In a number of instances he has promised, and given, prompt decisions in matters on which the Joint Chiefs disagreed. PRESSURES NOTED

Some of the decisions may have been wrong. Some have trended toward still more centralization in the Pentagon, a process which Gates is believed to oppose. And some of them may be reversed.

The Secretary is not all-powerful and the pressures from the individual services and from industry, labor unions, politicians, and Congress are tremendous, not only in the Pentagon but in the White House.

But Gates' directive of last December already has led to a kind of chain reaction in the Pentagon and has won him much respect in the White House and praise in Congress.

VINSON PLEASED

Representative VINSON, Democrat, of Georgia, chairman of the House Armed Services Committee, told Gates to his face at a recent Navy League dinner:

"With this one directive, you have left an impressive mark on defense organization.

You have strengthened our great Joint Chiefs of Staff system and at the same time have dealt a shattering blow to the advocates of a single Chief of Staff system.

"You have vitalized and reaffirmed the constitutional principle of civilian control."

Eulogy to Mr. Bernard Weitzer, National Official of Jewish War Veterans, Who Worked Tirelessly in Behalf of Nation's Veterans

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RALPH W. YARBOROUGH

OF TEXAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Tuesday, May 3, 1960

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, one of the best friends of the veterans of this Nation, Mr. Bernard Weitzer, passed away on May 1 in his Chevy Chase, Md., home after an illness of 2 months, at the age of 68.

Mr. Weitzer for the past 13 years has been associated with the Jewish War Veterans as their national legislative director. He became well known throughout the country as one of the most sympathetic and hard working men on behalf of the Nation's veterans. No problem or person was too great or too small for Mr. Weitzer's sympathetic ear. It was my privilege to know Mr. Weitzer personally and to consult with him on many problems concerning the veterans of this Nation. I therefore have personal knowledge of his conscientious desire to do everything in his power not only for the veteran, but also for the cause of peace and the betterment of humanity.

Mr. Weitzer was a great protector of the service men and women and their dependents. He felt that his job began not when they became veterans, but from the time they became potential veterans, and he was constantly working for better housing, hospitals and medical care for service personnel.

Mr. Weitzer was especially devoted to providing educational opportunities to veterans. His efforts helped bring about the GI bill for World War II and Korean veterans, and he has given his stanchest support to the cold war GI bill now pending before the Congress.

Mr. Weitzer was well known in Washington legislative and civic circles. He graduated from Cornell University in 1913. He worked with the Alexander Hamilton Institute in New York until the outbreak of World War I when he enlisted in the Army. After World War I. Mr. Weitzer was employed successively with a New York import-export firm; as vice president of Trade Ways, a New York management consultant firm: as vice president of sales for the New York Post Encyclopedia and Book Division, and as vice president of the Bureau of National Affairs here.

I extend my sincere sympathy to Mr. Weitzer's bereaved widow, to his son David, and his two sisters, Miss Edith Weitzer and Mrs. John Shaw. Although the veterans of this Nation have suffered a great loss from his passing, I am consoled by the thought that the result of his good works will live on.

I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD the account of Mr. Weitzer's death published in the May 2, 1960, issue of the New York Times entitled "Bernard Weitzer, Veterans' Aid."

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD. as follows:

BERNARD WEITZER, VETERANS' AID, 68

Washington, May 1.—Bernard Weitzer, national legislative director of the Jewish War Veterans for the past 13 years, died today at his home in Chevy Chase, Md., after an illness of 2 months. His age was 68.

Mr. Weitzer, well known in Washington legislative and civic circles, had returned to his home yesterday after having been in the hospital for a series of intestinal operations.

He graduated from Cornell University in 1913. He worked with the Alexander Hamilton Institute in New York until the outbreak of World War I, when he enlisted

in the Army. He served in the artillery.

After World War I Mr. Weitzer was employed successively with a New York importexport firm; as vice president of Trade Ways, New York management consultant firm: as vice president of sales for the New York Post Encyclopedia and Book Division, and as vice president of the bureau of national affairs here.

He is survived by his widow, Eva; a son, David, and two sisters, Miss Edith Weitzer, and Mrs. John Shaw.

Address by Maj. Gen. D. W. McGowan Before St. George's Society

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JOHN MARSHALL BUTLER

OF MARYLAND

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Tuesday, May 3, 1960

Mr. BUTLER. Mr. President, on Saturday, April 23, I had the distinct pleasure of attending a meeting of the St. George's Society, in Baltimore, Md. .On that occasion an address was delivered by Maj. Gen. D. W. McGowan, in charge of the National Guard units throughout the United States. I ask unanimous consent that this illuminating address be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SPEECH BY MAJ. GEN. D. W. McGOWAN TO THE ST. GEORGE'S SOCIETY, BALTIMORE, MD., APRIL 23, 1960

I am very happy to have this opportunity to be here this evening with the St. George's Society of Baltimore, at your annual meeting

Dedicated to keeping warm the ties of Britain's sons and daughters with the old country, your society has, since its inception almost 100 years ago, devoted itself also to manifestations of practical Christian charity.

In the true tradition of the good Samaritan, you have comforted the bereaved and

cared for the orphaned.

In a thriving seaport such as Baltimore, the merchant seamen of the world's greatest maritime power were to be encountered in great numbers. Your practical efforts to provide a haven for British sallors on shore leave, and to assist those in distress, illuminates but one interest in your broad program of help to Britain's sons away from home.

It should be noted that our two organizations—the St. George's Society and the National Guard—have much in common, specifically in the military tradition of St. George, and generally in the recognition of Our common Anglo-Saxon heritage.

St. George, long regarded as the patron saint of the soldier, is said to have appeared to the Christian army in the crusades before the Battle of Antioch and lead them on to victory. This famous victory for the Christian knights spread the fame of St. George throughout Europe and his name became the battle cry of English men at arms: "England and St. George."

Interestingly enough, the oldest regiment of the British military forces is a territorial regiment that bore this name. It is the honorable artillery company of London, the first to be recognized of independent volunteer military bodies. The famous regiment was known originally as the fraternity or guild of St. George, as long ago as 1537. It was composed in the first instance of the archers of the city of London, and in the city of London its headquarters remains today. The honorable artillery company of Boston, Mass., is modeled upon and is closely associated with this celebrated corps.

But though all military men can invoke the aid of St. George, it is the National Guard alone that has been privileged to carry forward to this day the military tradition of our Anglo-Saxon forbearers. That tradition goes back to the earliest days of Britain when free landowners between the ages of 16 and 60 formed the fyrd, the local militia. Their term of active service was fixed by custom at 2 months in each year.

When the Danish King Canute conquered England, he did not dare to rely on the old domestic fyrd, but formed instead a royal bodyguard of about 5,000 loyal Danish warriors. Under the Norman kings the militia units, or "train bands" again flourished, and not least because—as Frederick Martin Stern but it-the Welsh longbow became the Weapon with which English infantry dominated the battlefields of the Hundred Years War. The art of the longbow was a difficult one-so difficult indeed that despite the lessons of Crecy and Agincourt, where English bowmen overthrew the armored French knights, none but English yeomen ever mastered it. England's kings not only permitted Englishmen to keep their arms, they required them to do so, encouraging proficiency in archery with contests and prizes—a tradition carried forward into our own American Constitution, which states in the second amendment that, "A well regulated militia,

being necessary to the security of a free state, the right of the people to keep and bear arms, shall not be infringed."

Our own militia system, though uniquely American in concept, actually stems from these English train bands, and has evolved through colonial times up to the present, based on our own military experience in the colonial wars and in the wars of the Republic.

The stockades that protected the early colonial settlements were garrisoned by the local militia company composed of all ablebodied males in ages from 16 to 60 years.

As mobile forces were needed for expeditions to harass the Indian and attack him in his strongholds, each local militla company was called upon to furnish its proportionate share of young, and unencumbered men who could remain in the field for extended periods of time, and who were formed into ranger-type companies called, like their English predecessors, "trained bands." These quotas were generally filled by volunteers, but any shortages were supplied from men who were drafted or impressed.

These ranger companies were grouped into battalions for expeditions against the French and Spanish (Louisburg and Santiago.) The basic and advanced training of the frontiersmen was rugged, on the job in nature, and self-assessing. Indian fighting soon divided them into either the quick or the dead.

George Washington was the most eminent product of this system. Lt. Col. Washington's "Virginia Regiment", which he trained on the western frontier (presently the 176th Infantry, Virginia National Guard), saved Braddock's veteran regulars from complete destruction in the ambush near Fort Duquesne.

The New England militia companies, which stood up to the British regulars at Bunker Hill, were worthy descendants of the companies of English yeomen I mentioned earlier. So were the men of Smallwood's 5th Maryland who saved Washington's army at the Battle of Long Island, Jefferson Davis' Mississippi Rifles at Buena Vista, Louisiana's Washington Artillery at Fredericksburg.

Frederick Funston's Kansas Volunteers in the Philippines; New York's 14th and 23d Brooklyn, with the 118th Palmetto Regiment of South Carolina in World War I, smashed the Hindenberg line in Flanders; Virginia's 116th Infantry (the Stonewall Brigade), assaulting Omaha Beach in Normandy; Maryland's 175th Infantry at St. Lo. All were successor units to those 'trained bands' and they portray dramatically the march of George Washington's well regulated militia" through the pages of this Nation's history. These were service militia units, uniformly organized, armed, and equipped, capably led and adequately trained. The soundness of the militia system in general, with its beginnings stemming from free English yeomen is attested by the combat divisions and other units the National Guard sent overseas in two World Wars and in the Korean emergency.

It was, of course, during the two World Wars that militia and regular units of both the United States and Great Britain fought side by side for the first time since the French and Indian Wars. The very presence of these units side by side in the great battles of those wars, not to mention their outstanding battle records, attests to the strength and vitality of their common military heritage.

It was my privilege to train in England during World War II in command of New Jersey's historic Essex Troop—the 102d Cavalry Regiment—in the same command with Maryland's 29th Division. The spirit of friendship, warm hospitality and comradeship that was extended us during our nearly 2 years in the United Kingdom preceding

the Normandy invasion will forever be gratefully remembered by all of us.

We arrived at Liverpool on October 7, 1942, and debarked at the Princess Stage. By coincidence, certainly not by plan, it was at this same landing that the 102d debarked 24 years earlier, on its arrival in England for service in World War I.

In February of 1943, the 102d took part in ceremonies on Washington's Birthday, together with the Kings Royal Rifles Corps at Sulgrave Manor, the ancestral home of George Washington. It was a colorful ceremoney and we were deeply impressed in being reminded that both regiments were recruited in the New York-New Jersey colonies for service in the French and Indian Wars. Our regiment, the Jersey Blues, and the KRR's originally raised as the Royal Americans.

While stationed at Chiseldon Camp near Marlborough, the 102d was directed to provide a motorcycle escort for the Queen Mother who had been invited to a baseball game between two American service teams in Bristol. Selected to explain the mysteries of our national game to the Queen Mother and her companion, the Duchess of York, was Sgt. William Glynn, who in the closing days of the war was to be awarded the Distinguished Service Cross for gallantry in action.

Our stay in England served to emphasize to many of us the common traditions of the United Kingdom and the United States.

The student of history is most impressed by the way in which the traditions we have inherited from British ancestors have weathered the test of time. It was the ancient laws of England that formed the basis of our own system of jurisprudence. Further, freedom of speech, freedom of the press, the right of peaceful assembly, the right to bear arms, restrictions upon quartering soldiers in private homes, protection against search and seizure, the right to protection by due process of the law, trial by jury: which are found in our sacred Bill of Rights—the first 10 amendments to our Constitution-but they all derive from Runnymede and the Magna Carta. They are today's heritage of freemen as a legacy from the freedom loving Englishmen who in 1215 forced King John to affix his seal to the Magna Carta.

But what of our militia tradition as exemplified today by the National Guard of the States.

In 1952, before this very group, the Australian Ambassador to the United States, Sir Percy Spender, speaking of the turbulent times in which we live, had this to sav—and I quote:

say—and I quote:

"We have nothing to fear so long as we regard the need to prepare and defend ourselves not as an emergency, but as a normal way of living for a long time to come, and so long as we maintain a balance between armed strength and economic strength."

Surely no words could more fittingly describe the military requirements of today which must be met by our National Guard. It is a force of private citizens who train in time of peace to defend our liberties in time of war; and it has long been recognized as the most effective way to train adequate numbers of men and units without an undue strain on our economy.

undue strain on our economy.

Gen. Maxwell D. Taylor, former Chief of Staff, U.S. Army, in these words sums up the key role of today's National Guard:

"The guard justifies its existence as a Federal force through its potential contribution to support the national strategy as expressed in current war plans. These plans, covering both limited and general conflicts, depend for most of their effectiveness upon the ability of the National Guard to play the important part assigned to it in and after mobilization."

In the Army National Guard we have 400,000 trained men who make up 21 infantry divisions, 6 armored divisions, hundreds of other combat and combat support type units, and most recently, Nike missile units which right now are defending key industrial and population centers throughout the United States. Here in the Baltimore-Washington area, six National Guard Nike-Ajax batteries of the Maryland and Virginia National Guard are actively engaged in the air defenses of the United States. Three more batteries of the Maryland National Guard are now training at Fort Bliss, Tex., scheduled to take over active defense missions by the 1st of July.

In the Air National Guard we have more

In the Air National Guard we have more than 70,000 men in 22 combat wings, including 40 fighter-interceptor squadrons, 14 tactical reconnaissance squadrons, and 22 tactical fighter squadrons, in addition to 2 air transport wings. Our combat squadrons are all jet equipped, many of them with supersonic aircraft such as the F-100 and the

-104.

The Air National Guard is a force in being, capable of augmenting the active Air Force instantly in case of attack. It has interceptor aircraft on full-time runway alert at 20 air bases in the continental United States and Hawaii, ready to respond on 5 minutes notice to a "scramble" from the Air Defense Command.

Air guard tactical fighter and reconnaissance squadrons represent an important share of the combat potential of the Tactical Air Command. In addition, we have just taken on a new global mission in strategic airlift. Six air guard squadrons are now equipped with Boeing C-97 Stratocruisers which enable the air guard to fly combat troops or essential cargo anywhere in the world.

This Army and Air National Guard is truly a formidable array and in the tradition of the National Guard, it is still a volunteer

force.

As informed citizens and as taxpayers, Americans are entitled to a clear picture of the National Guard in this age of highly technological fighting forces: a National Guard which is manning Nike missiles and supersonic jet aircraft around the clock; a National Guard prepared for instant mobilization, ready to follow the active forces into combat in a matter of weeks; a National Guard which because of its assigned roles and missions upon mobilization, is truly vital to the survival of the free world.

Still, to answer the question: Does the National Guard meet the requirements of today's nuclear warfare? Has lightningfast warfare outmoded the National Guard's Since my testimony on this subject could

Since my testimony on this subject could well be suspect, let me tell you what the Secretary of the Army, Hon. Wilber M. Brucker, recently stated in testimony before the Congress, and I quote:

"There are divisions of the National Guard that are so ready that they could move in right behind the Regular Forces in a matter of days—that's how ready they are."

The tradition of our Anglo-Saxon forebears lives on because it is the spirit of that tradition—the bearing of arms by free citizens—that will never become outmoded. So long as we nurture that spirit, our free institutions will live.

The Tariff Quota on Woolen and Worsted Imports

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JACOB K. JAVITS

OF NEW YORK

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, May 3, 1960

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in

the Appendix of the Record a letter to the President of the United States by Bernard Smith, Esq., of New York, counsel for the American Trade Association for British Woolens, Inc. I think that Members will see from this discussion that the wool fabric tariff quota as it now operates can be very detrimental to the small businessman engaged in the importation of higher quality fabrics, as well as to the small businessman who manufactures garments from such material—many of these being located in New York.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

AMERICAN TRADE ASSOCIATION FOR BRITISH WOOLENS, INC., New York, N.Y., February 16, 1960.

Re wool fabric tariff quota, Hon. Dwight D. Eisenhower, President of the United States,

The White House, Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. President: A year ago, for the period from January 1, 1959, to February 7, 1959, 2,755,885 pounds of imported wool fabries were charged against the 1959 tariff quota, with the breakpoint in the tariff quota being reached on May 18 of that year. For the similar period of this year, viz., from January 1, 1960, to February 6, 1960, according to the Bureau of Customs, 7,302,282 pounds of imported wool fabrics were charged against the 1960 wool fabric tariff quota, representing an increase of approximately 250 percent over the similar period of 1959, At this rate, the wool fabric tariff quota can be expected to be filled by early March of this year.

Thus, the imposition of the tariff quota in this year will result in an ad valorem rate of duty of 45 percent being applicable, for almost 10 months of the year, on all but an infinitesimal quantity of wool fabrics that will be dutiable at 30 percent after the breakpoint in the wool fabric tariff quota is reached.

A year ago, because the breakpoint in the wool fabric tariff quota was unexpectedly reached in mid-May, rather than in July, as in the 2 previous years, American importers of wool fabrics valued at over \$4 per pound were obliged to pay out large sums required to absorb the 80-percent increase in duty with respect to wool fabrics that they had ordered for delivery to be made at a time reasonably expected to take place before the wool fabric tariff quota for 1959 would be These American importers at the time they placed their orders could not possibly have anticipated the huge and unprecedented influx of reused and reprocessed wool fabrics from the Prato district of Italy, for these fabrics are sold in markets in the United States with which importers of traditionally used wool fabrics are not familiar. Moreover, it was not until 1959 that the flow of these Prato fabrics rose to such unprecedented heights.

Just as American importers could not have anticipated that the breakpoint in the tariff quota in 1959 would be reached in the middle of May, rather than in July, as in the 2 previous years, so American importers of higher cost and relatively noncompetitive fabrics could not have been expected to anticipate that the breakpoint in the tariff quota would be reached in the year 1960 in early March. Most of these fabrics of special design take from 6 to 7 months to manufacture. At the time these fabrics were ordered, American importers could not reasonably have been expected to plan their purchases on the assumption that the tariff quota would be reached so desperately early in this year.

Thus, unless relief substantially along the lines hereinafter requested is granted, important segments of American small business will not only be obliged to absorb an 80 percent increase in duty for fabrics they had ordered many months ago, but will be obliged to contract their volume of business for the last half of the year for few, if any, of these fabrics can be acquired in the United States in the specific qualities and designs required, or in the limited quantities per style that American users of these fine fabrics traditionally employ in the operation of their businesses,

It is true, of course, that these dark days that American importers and users of traditional higher cost specially designed imported wool fabrics are going through are lightened to some degree by the hope that renegotiation which you have made possible will bring relief to them in 1961. We submit, however, Mr. President, that no useful purpose is being served by maintaining in the current year the punitive effect of a 45 percent duty on the distinctive higher cost imported fabrics on which American users thereof for many years have traditionally relied.

The domestic industry in the year 1959 enjoyed the highest level of prosperity it had known since 1951 and the Department of Commerce has recently reported that the volume of business of the American industry is expected to increase in the current year. The domestic industry may point to the sharp increase in wool fabric imports from 1956(the year in which the Geneva Wool Fabric Reservation was invoked) to 1959, the year of the greatest prosperity in the domestic industry since 1951. This increase, however, was limited entirely to wool fabrics valued at not over \$2 per pound with wool fabrics valued at over \$2 per pound showing, instead of an increase, a marked decline for such period. The following is a comparison by pound weight of imported wool fabrics for the years 1956 and 1959, respectively, in the value categories established by the Bureau of Census with respect to imported wool fabrics, classified under 1109(a) of the Tariff Act:

	1956	1959	Increase (+) or de- crease (-)	
Valued not over \$1,25 per pound. Valued over \$1,25,	199, 698	4, 754, 615	+4, 554, 917	
not over \$2 per pound	1, 324, 189	3, 534, 608	+2, 210, 419	
Valued over \$2, not over \$4 per pound.	10, 289, 481	9, 418, 381	-841, 100	
Valued over \$4 per pound	5, 183, 875	4, 438, 421	-745, 454	

The tremendous increase in imports of wool fabrics valued at not over \$2 per pound has stemmed almost entirely from the accelerating flow of low-cost reprocessed fabrics produced in the Prato district of Italy. This influx of Prato reprocessed and reused wool fabrics did not begin to make itself felt until almost 2 years after you initially proclaimed the invocation of the Geneva Wool Fabric Reservation.

These reused and reprocessed wool fabrics, we are informed, are made almost entirely from worn civilian clothing that the United States exports to Italy. For the 2-year period, 1957 and 1958, for example, the United States exported to Italy, 140,000,834 pounds of used civilian clothing and old or used rags, wholly or in chief weight of wool. It is significant, on this score, to note that the second largest importer of American used wool clothing and rags was the Netherlands, to which country the United States exported only 18,490,000 pounds thereof, as against the huge quantity of 140,000,834 pounds that the United States exported to Italy. (Bulletin of the National

Association of Wool Manufacturers, vol. LXXXVIII. 1958.)

Thus, the worn civilian clothing that for the greater part Americans donate to American charities which realize the proceeds thereof when resold to Italian importers, are in effect, subsequently returned to American shores in reprocessed form, consuming an unintended major share of the tariff quota at the expense of American importers and users of distinctive higher cost imported fabrics upon which the American importer, the American garment industry, and the American custom tailoring industry have traditionally relied.

The result of the American policy of exporting American worn wool clothing to Italy is clearly evidenced by the figures compiled by the U.S. Tariff Commission from the official statistics of the U.S. Department of Commerce for the month of October 1959. In that month, the average unit value of wool fabrics imported from Italy was 58 cents per square yard as against \$1.90 per square yard for United Kingdom wool fabrics, \$2.09 for those of France, and \$2.17 for those of Ireland. We have discussed methods for dealing with the problem of these reused and reprocessed wool fabrics in our testimony at the hearings before the Tariff Commission and the Committee for Reciprocity Information in early December of 1959. These hearings, however, dealt with the peril point investigation and the proposed renegotiation, the results of which are not calculated to become effective until January 1961.

We are concerned now, however, with the problems of American small enterprises in the year 1960, for it is they who will have to absorb the penalty of an 80-percent increase in duty for having ordered specially designed quality fabrics in 1959 for delivery in this year by failing to anticipate that the breakpoint in the tariff quota would be reached in early March of 1960 as against July of 1957 and 1958 and in mid-May of The consequences thereof in this year can begin to be appreciated when the results of the unanticipated early breakpoint in 1959, which took place in mid-May of that year, is examined. When, on May 19, 1959, it was announced that the breakpoint in the wool fabric tariff quota had suddenly been reached, over 1 million pounds of British wool fabrics had either already left the United Kingdom bound for American harbors or were en route from British mills to British docksides or were being readied for shipment scheduled to arrive at American ports prior to the time when the wool fabric tariff quota could reasonably have been expected to be filled.

According to statistics compiled by the U.S. Tariff Commission from official statistics of the U.S. Department of Commerce for the first 6 months of 1959, 3,210,922 pounds of wool fabrics were imported or entered for consumption. In assessing these figures, it must be remembered that under present methods of computation employed by the Census Bureau, a considerable proportion of the wool fabrics actually imported in May are reflected in figures of imports for the month of June 1959. For the last 6 months of 1959, approximately 1,103,000 pounds of Wool fabrics valued at over \$4 per pound were imported or entered for consumption. It can be assumed that by far the greater Part of the 1 million pounds of British wool fabrics that had been previously ordered for delivery calculated to take place before the breakpoint in the tariff quota was reached in 1959, consisted of fabrics valued at over \$4 per pound. Importers faced with the Obligation of paying an 80-percent increase in duty on such fabrics, rescheduled deliveries or placed such fabrics to a large degree in bond so that they would not be obliged to absorb the 80-percent increase in duty until such time in the year as these fabrics would be required for manufacture. When to British woolens there is added wool fabrics valued at over \$4 per pound of other exporting countries that were affected by the early breakpoint in the quota, it should be clear that most of the fabrics valued at over \$4 per pound imported or entered for consumption in the last 6 months of 1959 consisted of cloths that had been ordered by American importers for delivery at a time reasonably expected to be earlier than the date the breakpoint in the tariff quota for that year was reached.

Thus, the penalty in effect imposed by the unanticipated early breakpoint in the tariff quota was visited not upon foreign exporters but basically on American importers, who found themselves obliged to absorb the 80-percent increase in duty, for they had neither a legal nor a moral basis upon which to request cancellation of orders long since placed in foreign lands because of a tariff quota imposed by their own Government being filled so much sooner than could reasonably have been expected.

With the breakpoint in the wool fabric tariff quota expected to be reached in early March of this year, rather than in mid-May, as in the previous year, American importers of high cost relatively noncompetitive fabrics are going to have to pay much greater aggregate penalties for failing to anticipate a so much earlier breakpoint in the tariff quota this year than last. The imposition of these penalties will serve no useful purpose. They will not help the American industry. They will serve only to penalize their fellow Americans, for these wool fabrics arriving unexpectedly after the breakpoint must be manufactured into cloth with American importer, manufacturer, and consumer absorbing in their respective turns the consequences of the 80-percent increase in duty.

We do not suggest a rescission of the wool fabric tariff quota for the year 1960, for, the decision to maintain the wool fabric tariff quota for 1960 having been made, we recognize that it will not now be rescinded. ask only that after the breakpoint in the wool fabric tariff quota is reached an ad valorem rate of duty of 30 percent be applied to all fabrics valued at over \$4 per pound. An amendment to your decision in keeping with this proposal will not involve any additional costs in computation, for the category of fabrics valued at over \$4 per pound is currently computed by the Bureau of the Census and is the highest value category for imported wool fabrics for which records are maintained by the Bureau of the

We submit. Mr. President, that the granting of such limited relief to American small business cannot be expected to result in any material increase in the quantity of wool fabrics valued at over \$4 per pound being imported in the current year than in the years 1955, 1956, 1957, or 1958. Indeed, if the domestic industry is concerned lest as a result of such limited relief materially increased quantities of such wool fabrics may be imported, we would regard as appropriate the inclusion of a proviso to the effect that after 5,139,360 pounds of wool fabrics valued at over \$4 per pound are imported or entered for consumption in this year, that the rate of duty thereafter be increased to 45 percent. I suggest this figure of 5,139,360 pounds because this was the amount of wool fabrics valued at over \$4 per pound that were imported in the relative recession year in the domestic industry of 1958 and before the full impact of reprocessed and reused Prato fabrics began to be felt. Indeed, from 1955, the year before the Geneva wool fabric reservation was invoked, through 1958, imports of wool fabrics valued at over \$4 per pound fluctuated only slightly. Imports thereof during such 4-year period were as

	Pounds
1955	5, 214, 381
1956	5, 183, 875
1957	5, 180, 716
1958	5, 139, 360

Only in the year of maximum prosperity in the domestic industry, viz. 1956, as a consequence of the sudden and unprecedented influx of reprocessed and reused wool fabrics from the Prato district of Italy consuming so much of the quota, that imports of wool fabrics valued at over \$4 per pound fell below 5 million pounds descending to only 4.438,421 pounds.

While clothing is manufactured to some degree in other States of the Union, New York State is basically the fashion clothing center of our country. The garment industry in New York State and nearly all the principal importers of wool fabrics are located in this State. Fashions in clothing require freedom of choice in the construction of cloth, in style, in design, and in the right to acquire them in one or two pieces to a style—quantities in which such cloths cannot be purchased in the United States even if in other respects occasionally comparable.

It is respectfully submitted that it is scarcely appropriate to disturb the economy of a great industry in one State for the doubtful convenience of another spread over so many other States of the Union. We cannot expect to persuade the American industry to support our plea for their leaders. in testifying before the Tariff Commission. maintained the position that every yard of imported cloth displaces a yard of domestic cloth. By the same reasoning, of course, every imported gallon of French wine displaces a gallon of California or New York wine, and every imported Rolls Royce dis-places one of Detroit's more costly cars. No American industry should expect to seal off the United States from foreign manufac-tures for their convenience unless the foreign economic policy of the United States dramatically changes, which is as unlikely as it is undesirable.

We therefore respectfully pray, Mr. President, that you will consider a prompt amendment of your decision with respect to the wool fabric tariff quota for the current year by providing that all wool fabrics valued at over \$4 per pound imported in the year 1960, after the breakpoint in the wool fabric tariff quota is reached, be dutiable at an ad valorem rate of 30 percent; or, alternatively, tht after the breakpoint is reached, the ad valorem rate of duty of 30 percent, shall be applicable to wool fabrics valued at over \$4 per pound until a total of 5,-139,360 pounds (the 1958 total of such fabrics) are imported, with any of such fabrics imported thereafter dutiable at 45 percent.

If, for any reason, the foregoing proposal does not recommend itself to you, may we suggest that consideration be given to an increase in the wool fabric tariff quota for the year 1960 by the amount of the increase from the year 1956 to the year 1959 in imports of wool fabrics valued at not over \$2 per pound. Since the increase in such fabrics stems almost entirely from imports of reprocessed or reused fabrics from the Prato district of Italy made of American used wool clothing, such increase in the quota can to some degree at least limit the serious adverse effect of these American exports of used clothing on American importers and manufacturers who have traditionally used higher cost distinctive imported fabrics which these Prato reprocessed wool fabrics are preventing from reaching our shores.

May we point out, Mr. President, that this is not a request for relief for foreign exporters or foreign manufacturers. This request is directed solely toward relieving important segments of American small business who rely in the operation of their enterprises on

higher cost distinctive fabrics from the heavy burdens that will be imposed upon them in the absence of such relief by the unprecedented early breakpoint in the tariff quota expected in this current year.

May we urge consideration of these proposals promptly, for, with the breakpoint in the wool fabric tariff quota rapidly approaching, such relief as may be provided, to be fully effective, should take form before the breakpoint in the tariff quota is reached.

We trust that the plight of these small

American enterprises will receive your favor-

able consideration.

Very respectfully yours, BERNARD B. SMITH, Counsel, American Trade Association for British Woolens, Inc.

Radford Code of Ethics

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. OREN E. LONG

OF HAWAII

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Tuesday, May 3, 1960

Mr. LONG of Hawaii. Mr. President, a code of ethics was recently drawn up by the student council of Radford High School in Honolulu working together with representatives of the Oahu Youth Council. This code of ethics is so excellently stated that I think it will be of interest to the membership of the Congress and, indeed, to persons throughout the Nation who are concerned with the overriding question of morality in our daily lives. I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD the Code of Ethics of Radford High School in Honolulu.

There being no objection, the code of ethics was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

RADFORD CODE OF ETHICS.

This I believe:

Knowing that all my actions reflect upon myself, my parents, school, and Nation, I as a Radford student must:

Have a high and permanent code of honor governing all things I do, for by raising my standards. I raise the standards of my school and country;

Dress neatly and appropriately for all occasions for neatness inspires pride;

Show my loyalty and support to those people in positions of leadership, for they are devoting their lives to guide us;

Feel that a really big person is one who has high goals and ideals that he will define

and follow no matter what;

Try to respect all other people and their property in such a way as I would like to be respected because freedom for me means freedom for others;

Think before acting, for one little deed may have far-reaching effects;

Broaden my experiences and help others by participating in school and community activities;

Realize that for my own sake and that of others, I should obey all rules set down by those in authority;

Know that showing pride in my school may be exemplified by protecting its grounds and reputation;

See that I, as a teenager, will conduct my-self in such a manner as to be an asset to the community;

Try to be spiritually and morally right-

Ambitiously pursue knowledge from many sources in order to be a wise and well-informed adult; and

Live every day the very best I know how and make an effort to improve myself in at least one small way every day.

By accomplishing the above, I will be able

to respect myself as well as others.

Law Day U.S.A.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. ROBERT C. BYRD

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Tuesday, May 3, 1960

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an address delivered by Charles Jules Rose at the Law Day Chapel Service of St. Albans School for Boys in Washington.

Mr. Rose is a native West Virginian currently practicing law in the District of Columbia. He has long been interested in government and law, having been awarded the DAR medal for excellence in American history when but 13.

He majored in political science while an undergraduate at the George Washington University, and, upon graduation. was recipient of the Phi Mu award for outstanding achievement in that discipline. Since 1942, he has been a member of the American Political Science Association.

After his discharge from the service, he completed his study of law at the George Washington University Law School under the GI bill, and, upon graduation, became an active member of the Junior Bar Section of the Bar Association of the District of Columbia. He has written on such varied topics as administrative law and arbitration, and is currently a panel member of the American Arbitration Association.

In addition to being a member of the bar of the Supreme Court of the United States, Mr. Rose is a member of the bars of the U.S. Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia, the U.S. District Court for the District of Columbia, the Municipal Court of the District of Columbia, the Court of Claims, the Tax Court of the United States, and the U.S. Court of Military Appeals.

The address which I am privileged to present bespeaks the glory of our system of law, it stresses the relationship between our law and our liberty, and it visualizes the bright promise of a world in which the law of nations is adhered to by all.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD. as follows:

LAW DAY U.S.A.

(By Charles Jules Rose)

In 1958 the American Bar Association decided that the Communists had used the 1st of May for their own purposes long enough and that we of the free world should avail ourselves of the opportunity the 1st of May afforded to honor our system of law.

President Eisenhower in proclaiming Law Day duly noted, "A free people can assure the blessings of liberty for themselves only if they recognize that the rule of law shall be supreme and that all men are equal before the law."

In the final analysis laws are but rules that command us to do what is right and prohibit us from doing what is wrong. Yes, laws are but rules—but without these rules we would have chaos.

You boys know that not even the simplest game you ever played was started without rules. Of course such rules are not always precise, nor are they always understood by all the players and—let's face it—the rules of the game are sometimes breached, with dissension, rancor, tears, and occasional bloody noses.

Men are only boys grown large. They, too, have established rules to govern their individual conduct in the game of life. These rules, which we call laws, to be honest do not always work to perfection. Yet they are better than no rules at all, and there is no reason that in the days to come we cannot perfect that which is good in our law and eliminate that which is not good, so that the laws that our children will inherit from us will be better than those we now have.

The primary requisite of law is to establish

There is no law in the animal kingdom other than that established by nature. As a consequence the strong devour the weak. Happily animals have no apparent desire to transfer property, pursue knowledge, or develop the arts, for they could accomplish none of these things without law. Were it not for law we too would forever remain at the animal level.

Yet in a democratic society law must mean more than order. Dictatorships through the ages have had plenty of laws and plenty of order. Nazi Germany, Fascist Italy, Com-munist Russia, and China have not lacked for laws. What dictatorships do lack is what is the essence of a democratic society; namely, justice administered equally for all. The inscription above the entrance to our Supreme Court Building proclaiming, "Equal Justice Under Law," well describes what we strive for. Justice that can be had only under law and justice that is equally administered to all.

There are three large areas of law.

First, there is the law which concerns itself with the relationships between individuals involving such matters as marriage and divorce, inheritance, contracts, personal injuries, and the ownership of property. In our modern idiom this is the law of personto-person.

The second area of law concerns that body of law between an individual and his government. In a democratic society both have rights and privileges and neither can encroach upon the other. It is vital that this area of law be precise and vallently defended against attack, for it is in the interpretation and administration of this phase of law that our liberty as free men is maintained or forever lost.

The third great category of law governs the relationship between nations. This area is assuming ever more importance in this critical moment in the history of mankind.

In the past decade more has been accomplished in dealing with the difficult problems of breaking down barriers between nations, promoting international trade and assisting the less fortunate people of the earth than ever before. Still it is not enough. It is not enough because the cry for a system of law that all nations will adhere to, which is necessary to assure world order and justice is more pressing than ever before.

Only law between nations, universally adhered to and fairly and impartially administered can relieve mankind of the bur-

den of armaments that saps the strength and resources of nations everywhere.

Only world law can dispell suspicion and permit peoples everywhere to seek their own destiny untroubled by fear.

Only world law can assure justice to both the weak and the strong, the rich and the poor, the old nations and the young.

There are those who say such law cannot be achieved, and of course it cannot unless we give to its achievement the full dedication of our energies. The hour is late and every minute counts. The choice it has been well said is between one world and no world, between the brotherhood of man and the annihilation of man.

The prophesy originally stated by Isalah and later repeated by Micah that, "They shall beat their swords into plowshares and their spears into pruning hooks: nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war anymore," shall become a reality only when we recapture the vision of Isalah and Micah and then—to continue the classical metaphor—put our hand to the plow.

May I leave you this morning with this thought, "In the final analysis it may be said of law as it may be said of truth—it not only sets men free, it keeps them free."

The 1964 New York World's Fair

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JACOB K. JAVITS

OF NEW YORK

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, May 3, 1960

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, one of the hardest tasks in the creation of anything of great and lasting value is the often unseen work that goes into its beginning. This is as true of buildings as of projects of other kinds. It is certainly the case with the plans for the 1964 World's Fair, to be held in New York City. A number of New York's leading citizens have been instrumental in the work of organizing the New York World's Fair Corp., securing participants and initiating plans for construction. One of the most gratifying effects of this groundwork has been the cooperation of the President of the United States and the Department of State in working with the foreign nations which we hope will participate in the fair. As the President has pointed out, this fair can be a powerful instrument for peace and friendship in freedom.

Among the builders of the World's Fair project for New York, and the Nation, some of whom are now retiring, their work well done, with the naming of Robert Moses as permanent head of the organization was the executive vice president, Mr. Robert Kopple, whose particular efforts and devotion merit public notice

I ask unanimously consent that a letter which I recently wrote to Mr. Kopple may be printed in the Appendix of the Record, and am pleased to note that a similar letter written by Senator Keatmag, together with a letter from President Eisenhower halling the fair have previously been so printed in the Record. There being no objection, the letter

was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

APRIL 6, 1960.

Hon. Robert Kopple, New York World's Fair 1964 Corp., New York, N.Y.

DEAR BOB: The obvious growing success of the New York World's Fair is due in great part to the devoted and unselfish spadework you did during the time it was suffering its birth pangs. Certainly your understanding role in the struggle to secure Federal recognition and support for the fair against the opposition of some mighty forces were a most important contribution to the success which has been achieved here in Washington.

New York owes you a debt of gratitude, and you yourself should have a deep feeling of satisfaction and achievement in this regard. Yours is an outstanding public service.

With best wishes. Sincerely,

JACOB K. JAVITS.

"Passport to Dignity" by Miss Kay Smith of Dallas, Woodrow Wilson High School Student, Wins Prize in National Essay Contest

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. RALPH W. YARBOROUGH

OF TEXAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, May 3, 1960

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, Miss Kay Smith of Dallas, a student at Woodrow Wilson High School, has won national recognition in the 1960 National Essay Contest with her essay on the subject "Jobs for Handicapped—Passports to Dignity."

The contest was conducted by the President's Committee and cooperating Governors' Committees on Employment of the Physically Handicapped. The essays were judged on content originality, organization, impact, clarity of expression, and neatness.

There were over 1,700 entries in the contest and all of the national winners did outstanding work to win in such keen competition.

I ask unanimous consent to have Miss Smith's essay printed in the Appendix of the Record.

There being no objection, the essay was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

JOBS FOR THE HANDICAPPED—PASSPORTS TO DIGNITY

(By Kay Smith, Woodrow Wilson High School, Dallas, Tex.)

Handicapped people do not need pity, they need help. To be loved, to feel needed, to be wanted—universal desires acutely felt by the handicapped person who needs only a job to raise him from depths of despondency to planes of dignity. "Hire the handicapped." "Believe in the handicapped." These are excellent slogans, but they should be based on a faith in people and a sincere love of mankind, not on pity or vain self-righteousness. Helping someone regain dignity is important, but the correct attitude toward that person is equally important.

According to the September 1959 Report of the U.S. National Health Survey, 17 million people in this country have disabilities which hamper their normal ability to work or to carry on the ordinary jobs of daily living. Around 250,000 people annually are disabled to the degree where they need rehabilitation and the annual cost to the Nation for assistance to these people and their dependents is over a third of a billion dollars. No matter how revealing these facts may be, they are still merely figures on paper unless American citizens help the handicapped. The time to act is now—but how? One person cannot hire 17 million people. But one person can might the plight of the handicapped known to others and maybe his earnest desire to see something done for these people will influence someone in a position to be of real help to the handicapped of this land.

America's heritage abounds with justice and an in-born love of freedom and equality. However, this sense of justice and equality is not always extended to the handicapped. Theirs is not only an American heritage, but theirs is the legacy of the handicapped, handed down to them through centuries of personal extinction, ridicule, and imprisonment. Great have been the advances made toward the disabled in the 19th and 20th centuries, and many able-bodied citizens have given and are giving the handicapped a real chance, but superstitions and prejudices are hard to overcome and many of the handicapped have not been given an opportunity to be well-adjusted and useful human beings. However, great expansion is foreseeable in America's future, and with the realization of bigger industrial dreams, maybe the dream of employment for all handicapped will become a reality.

Today many industries are helping the handicapped through jobs which are given on the basis of ability. Goodwill Industries and Abilities Inc. are two good examples of industries established for the reahabilitation and employment of the handicapped. Placing the plight of the handicapped before the eyes of the public are such committees as the President's Committee on Employment of the Physically Handicapped and similar State and local committees. The AFL-CIO has done commendable work in stressing that it is "ability not disability" 1 that counts in hiring employees. Many more committees and groups are waging successful battles against prejudice where the handicapped applicant is concerned. However, the campaign for the handicapped is not finished and there is much work to be done. Everyone can help: First, by being aware that handicapped face a problem; second, by realizing that the loss of dignity by the handicapped results from the inability to support themselves and their families; third, by pleading the case of the handicapped to family, friends, and neighbors, and by using influence with those in position to hire handicapped workers.

It pays to hire the handicapped. Why? It has been proved that, as a group, the productivity of handicapped workers is slightly higher than of nonhandicapped workers, while their injury, absenteeism, and resigning records are lower than those of nonimpaired workers. These reasons in themselves are proof that it pays to hire the handicapped. Moreover, everytime a handicapped worker is employed, his name is subtracted from the Government's dependents list and added to the list of taxpayers. But the most important reason for hiring the handicapped is that when a handicapped person is employed, an investment is made. And investments in

¹ Mason, Walter, "It's Ability That Counts," reprinted from the AFL-CIO American Federationist, January 1959.

human beings reap the biggest dividends of

Losing the use of both legs does not take away a person's right or ability to use his hands and arms. Many jobs only require that a person be adept with his hands and there are many handicapped persons who could, with a little training, fill these positions. Often it is only custom which dictates that a man must stand to do a particular job. Someone paralyzed from the waist down might prove that many of the so-called standing jobs could be done just as effectively in a sitting position. Too often the ability of the handicapped is underestimated. Operating a service station is no difficulty for a man in Corinth, Miss., who is blind. brothers in Dallas, Tex., both victims of muscular dystrophy, successfully own and operate a hobby shop. A deformed hand is no problem for a truck driver in Tulsa, Okla. With the use of braille textbooks, several blind teenagers are successful students in three Dallas high schools. The fact that they are blind has no bearing on their ability to join in the crowd and enjoy the same experiences and excitements as their classmates. In a sense the above people are not They may have deformities or handicapped. diseases, but these handicaps have been a beginning, not an end to a successful life.

There is a place in this country for the handicapped The future sees a tremendous industrial output for America, and with this output will come jobs—jobs which can be filled by the handicapped people of this land. Will these jobs be given to the handicapped? Will the handicapped person be given the chance to prove that he can be a dignified and productive member of his community? The answers to these questions lie in the future, and the future lies in the hands of the American people. In time maybe the country which is always willing to give each man his chance will provide more jobs, "the passports to dignity," for the handicapped.

Rolla Clymer

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. FRANK CARLSON

OF KANSAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, May 3, 1960

Mr. CARLSON. Mr. President, Kansas has produced many men and women who have achieved great distinction and honor, one of whom is Rolla Clymer, editor of the El Dorado Times.

This year Mr. Clymer was given special recognition by his selection as "Kansan of the Year." He is a native Kansan and today is revered as the dean of Kansas editorial writers, a position vacated some 16 years ago by the State's most noted journalist, William Allen White.

Mr. Clymer is a kindly, influential, and highly respected citizen of El Dorado, Kans. His editorials receive national recognition.

Mr. Clymer has always been at the forefront of every movement to make Kansas a bigger and better State.

I ask unanimous consent that an article entitled "Sage of the Flint Hills," which appeared in the March-April issue of the magazine Kansas, published by the Kansas Industrial Development Commission, be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

SAGE OF THE FLINT HILLS

"It doesn't matter where you were born the important thing is to die in Butler County and have an editorial written about you by Rolla Clymer." So penned one Kansas editor recently about another.

The subject of this printed remark happens to be the same relaxed gentleman, comfortably titled back in his swivel chair before a rather cluttered-up rolltop desk, scanning the newspaper in the photograph on the opposite page. This is Rolla Clymer—and it doesn't take a second glance at his surroundings to peg this man for what he is: namely, a newspaperman of the old school. This description sells Rolla short, however, for in the State of Kansas, the El Dorado publisher is revered today as the dean of editorial writers, a position, you may remember, vacated some 16 years ago by the death of the State's most noted journalist, William Allen White, of Emporia.

What other editors think of Clymer is pretty well summed up in the opening paragraph above by Stu Newlin of the Wellington Daily News: It doesn't matter where you were born, as long as you die in Butler County and have an editorial written about you by the editor of the El Dorado Times.

Kansas Journalists are not the only citizens who hold Rolla Clymer in high regard, as was evident a few weeks ago when the Native Sons and Daughters, at their annual Kansas Day banquet, bestowed upon Rolla their most signal honor as "Kansan of the Year." That this award was well-deserved, no one questions, for few Kansans ever have demonstrated their love for their native soil as has this south central Kansas writer, who piously refers to his home State as "Mother Kansas."

Coming from the lips or pen of someone else such a reference would more than likely evoke at least a choked-up snicker. But ah, from Rolla, it is genuineness and sincerity to the core, and the Kansas reader not only knows it, but respects it. And in this cynical age when even the Gettysburg Address, if attempted for the first time, would in all probability be pooh-poohed as trite and corny, many of Clymer's articles rank as pure poetry, standing out on the editorial pages of Kansas papers like a basketball center in a room full of midgets.

The high point of each day's work, Rolla admits, is when he is doing what is shown in the photograph opposite, that is, reading and absorbing the editorial pages of the scores of other daily and weekly newspapers delivered to his second-floor office in the Times Building at El Dorado. During his session with the exchange, or as other ideas pop into his mind, Rolla swivels to his left and assaults the most modern piece of equipment in his office, his standard-sized typewriter.

Once the plug is pulled on an editorial idea, the words appear to flow effortlessly as his typewriter prowls the confines of Kansas and the borders beyond, extolling, commenting, sometimes praising, sometimes criticizing. His prose and style is in a class by itself; there's no mistaking a Clymer article. His favorite subjects are the ones closest to his home: the city of El Dorado, Butler County (often referred to as the kingdom of Butler), and his beloved Flint Hills which "stand off there along the horizon, in serried ranks stretching from the Kaw to Oklahoma fastnesses, brooding over what mysteries no man knows."

For 42 years Rolla Clymer has been on the newspaper scene at El Dorado, except for a 6-month stint on a Santa Fe paper in the early 1920's. As a fellow editor remarked, "By unanimous agreement this lapse will not be charged against him, the theory being that it made him a better Kansan."

Born at Alton in Osborne County, the son of a Presbyterian minister, Clymer spent his boyhood in a number of small towns in Kansas and other States. At Miltonvale he experienced his baptism with printer's ink; it left an indelible mark which was never to leave him. He was graduated from high school at Quenemo and from the College of Emporia where he distinguished himself both in sports and oratory. While at Emporia he came under the influence of William Allen White who started him off in his career in journalism. It was White who made both a writing newspaperman and businessman out of Clymer. During his last 2 years at college, he worked as a string reporter on the Gazette and following graduation he joined the staff at the magnificent sum of \$10 a week.

Three years on the Gazette inspired Clymer with the idea that he needed more education so he enrolled as a graduate student at Kansas University. From 1914 to 1918 he was the editor-manager of the Olathe Register. Then in 1918, turned down by the Army because of his hearing, he took Editor White's advice and settled down in El Dorado on the Republican, which later merged with the Walnut Valley Times to become the El Dorado Times in 1919.

First he was coeditor of this newspaper and in 1923 he became the publisher.

Rolla Clymer's editorials are not limited to any field. They deal literally with everything and the variety of his subjects is amazing. But one thing is certain, he writes editorials for folks to read. When the occasion demands it, as it did last year when some upstart Texas editor suggested that the K. C. Steak was named for a Texas rancher. Rolla can editorially blast off with both barrels. On the other hand, when he is commenting on the death of a local citizen, his writing can only be described as touching and beautiful.

Clymer is a brilliant—but reluctant—orator, as well as the possessor of a facile penannually he is called upon to deliver the address for the award of journalistic merit given by the William Allen White Foundation to a Kansas editor. That is, except for the occasion of a few years ago, when Clymer was the recipient of the award himself.

Last December when the centennial reenactment of Abraham Lincoln's visit to Kansas was staged in northeast Kansas, Clymer portrayed the Civil War President. Typical of his desire for perfection, he spent weeks reading newspaper files to study 100year-old accounts of the speeches given by Lincoln in Kansas. He also studied works of Lincoln's biographers to glean all he could concerning the man's mannerisms, gestures, and speaking voice,

And as the critics would say, "He was a smash hit" in the role.

Clymer is a past president of the Native Sons and Daughters of Kansas and the William Allen White Foundation. In 1924 he was elected president of the Kansas Editorial Association, the forerunner of the Kansas Press Association. In the period 1939 to 1942 he served as the first director of the Kansas Industrial Development Commission.

His wife is the former Elizabeth Hoisington of Newton. They have two children: David, who is associate general manager of the Times, and half owner of the Barber County Index, the Oakley Graphic and the Rush County News; and Catherine Clymer of Los Angeles.

Politician Knows Pressure

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON, HARRISON A. WILLIAMS, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Tuesday, May 3, 1960

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. Mr. President, legislators are accused of ignoring the wishes of their constituents about as often as they are accused of yielding too easily to pressures from constituents. As usual in our particular line of work, we legislators find that we must judge each particular issue against many points of reference. We must make our decisions after having gaged many kinds of "pressures" which may be at work at any particular time.

An editorial in the Morristown (N.J.) Daily Record of April 6 points out, however, that there is always one general guiding rule which should be followed. It is "Vote 'right' with the United

States."

The editorial and a letter to the editor written after it appeared express this guiding rule in very direct terms.

I ask unanimous consent that the editorial and the letter to the editor be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial and letter were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

POLITICIAN KNOWS PRESSURE

The politician knows pressure like the farmer knows the weather. He lives with it. cannot ignore it. Depending on his makeup and his political problems, his resistance to it will vary enormously.

Yet, at the national level, if he does not manage to fend off much of the pressure group activity, he cannot really hope for

genuine stature.

A statesman is not a patchwork product of willing responses to any and all demands

but upon him.

Unluckily, many who exhibit resistance to pressure find themselves assailed and sometimes victimized at the polis. Campaigns aimed at penalizing the holdout can strike fear in political hearts.

Too often the pressure groups measure the suitability of a lawmaker by the number of times he voted right with them. Just as frequently, politicians go before the voters to boast of their rightness with labor, the

farmer, the veteran, or whoever.

No one would argue for an instant that the needs and interests of these groups should not have the fullest consideration. But the proof of good public service is not the sum of good deeds done for those who press their case so hard in Washington.

It would be refreshing for a change to see a candidate get up and contend that he had tried for the last 2 or 4 or 6 years to Vote right with the United States.

After all, that is a big part of his job. If it isn't, then he's just a water carrier for his State or district, or for whatever group can push him hardest.

Sometimes the essence of being right with the United States means resisting stoutly the demands of special groups, even if those they represent be counted in the millions.

This country will be moving toward real political maturity when men seeking office are judged on this broad plane, rather than by the narrow gauge of service to limited interests.

But, for the most part, neither the politicians nor the people they represent seem close today to the threshold of that maturity.

MENDHAM, N.J., April 13, 1960. The EDITOR, THE DAILY RECORD,

Morristown, N.J.

DEAR SIR: Compliments on your editorial of April 6, "Politician Knows Pressure." One would hope that it succeeded in inspiring the reflective attention it deserves.

Well pointed up is the horrendous pressure placed upon our elected officials at all levels of government and the unfortunate-but all true-emphasis on measurement of their performance solely by the number of times they voted for or against the promotions of limited Interest. Voting "right" with the United States is an ideal of which the elected official and the voter alike must be eternally mindful.

While we move all too slowly toward the real political maturity to which you refer, I hope you'll help by reminding us from time to time-legislator and voter-that the proof of good public service is not the sum of good deeds done for those who press their case so hard in Washington-or elsewhere. Sincerely,

G. A. LLOYD.

Wilkes-Barre Veterans' Administration Regional Office Receives Best Office of Year Award

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 3, 1960

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following news article which appeared in the Wilkes-Barre Record of Friday, April 29, 1960, reporting that the Wilkes-Barre Veterans' Administration regional office has received the Best Office of the Year Award from the Veterans' Administration in Washington for its outstanding administrative performance. I wish to take this opportunity to congratulate the entire staff of the Wilkes-Barre VA regional office for this high honor; and it is indeed most gratifying to me personally because many staff members, in fact the great majority, reside in my congressional district. In view of the great number of such offices throughout the Nation, it is a great distinction to be chosen the best. Again, my congratulations to the staff of the Wilkes-Barre VA regional office.

The article follows:

"BEST OFFICE OF YEAR" AWARD IS PRESENTED WILKES-BARRE VA REGIONAL OFFICE HEAD—CHIEF BENEFITS DIRECTOR OF VA DESCRIBES LOCAL SETUP AS "OUTSTANDING" FOR RECORD; 225 GUESTS, INCLUDING B. A. O'HARA, ATTEND

Wilkes-Barre Veterans' Administration regional office last night officially received the "Best Office of the Year" Award from William J. Driver, Chief Benefits Director of the Veterans' Administration, Washington, D.C. Approximately 225 persons, among them employees, guests, and former employees from

out of town, attended the presentation dinner at the American Legion Home.

In presenting the award together with awards to five divisions of the office recognized as outstanding, Driver commended the local office for its record. It was the best of 67 regional offices through the Nation.

The Veterans' Administration has people working in 85 foreign countries as well as the United States, 3 more countries than represented in the United Nations, Driver told the gathering. Hungary is one of the most recent countries where an office has been located and Romania is being considered, he reported. He related some of his experiences in visiting offices in foreign countries, saying the effect from benefits distributed in those countries is tremendous.

Looking into the future, Driver predicted when World War II veterans begin to reach 65 in about 1995, there will be approximately 7,250,000 pensioners receiving an estimated 85,250 million each year. This amount, he said is "just about the size of the entire budget today" for the Veterans' Administra-

Driver discussed veterans' benefits, reporting that a commission headed by Gen. Omar Bradley had examined the benefit structure in great detail and, after an exhaustive report, left it for the country to decide whether or not the veteran is a privileged character. Driver said the conclusion the American people as shown in GI legislation was that the veteran is a person of special privileges for his service in time of

The VA official stressed that those getting benefits who do not deserve them are in the minority. He told of the impact veterans' benefits, such as education and housing aid, have had on the Nation, mentioning that more than 10 million men have been educated since World War II. In addition to impact on the country from the approximately \$18 billion spent in the program, the GI bill education program changed the philosophy of the country as to what part Government should play in education, Driver added.

Impact from veterans' legislation on housing has had an immediate effect on the economy, the speaker told the VA office staff. One out of every six homes in the country built since World War II has been built under the GI bill, he reported, with approximately \$50 billion involved.

Speaking on the possibility of extending veterans' benefits to include peacetime servicemen, Driver voiced the opinion that the GI bill is good as a readjustment program, but that peacetime benefits should be planned for the entire population not just the servicemen. Debate continues on the question, he added, expressing the belief the debate will continue in Congress until the matter is settled.

Five of the seven divisions in the regional office which received national "Runner-Up to the Best Division" awards are vocational rehabilitation and education division, contact division, finance division, administrative division, personnel division. The awards were accepted by Fred J. Beers, Wilson R. Jones, Gerald C. Kelly and Michael Rushton.

A. G. Palmer, manager of the regional office, accepted the "Best Office of the Year" award. He stated the award was earned by hard work, cooperation between divisions and an earnest endeavor to interpret central office instructions correctly and carry them out fully. He added that Wilkes-Barre regional office will continue to give outstanding quality service to the veterans.

Driver received an electric clock set in anthracite coal as a memento of his visit. Miners' helmets were presented to Driver and Bernard A. O'Hara, area field director, as novelty souvenirs. Remarks were made by O'Hara.

Invocation and benediction were by Rev. T. A. Hiznay, Catholic chaplain at the Veterans' Administration hospital. Others at the speakers' table, Walter B. Rice, assistant manager of the veterans' hospital, and Mrs. Rice; Dr. John B. McHugh, manager of the veterans' hospital, and Mrs. McHugh; Mrs. A. G. Palmer; T. V. Williams, manager of the Veterans' Administration regional office, Newark, N.J., and Mrs. Williams; Harry L. Stackpole, chief, administrative management division, Veterans' Administration regional office, Syracuse, N.Y.

The Cross at Nowa Huta

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JOSEPH E. KARTH

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, May 3, 1960

Mr. KARTH. Mr. Speaker, because a plain wooden cross still stands in an empty lot there is no trouble in the streets of Nowa Huta.

The cross marks the place where the city's first Roman Catholic Church was to be built according to a promise grudgingly given 3 years ago by the Polish Government. Last week when a construction crew came to take the church site for a new school people of Nowa Huta showed dramatically that loyalty to their religion runs deeper than do their ties to Gomulka and his uneasy government. As the cross fell it was as if an alarm had been given to the people to rise. A bloody battle raged around the fallen cross at Nowa Huta during which untold numbers of the citizenry, police, and militia suffered wounds. Fighting ended when the harassed government faced with May Day preparations stopped further work and raised the cross

The city of Nowa Huta was to be the symbol for a new Poland that was to arise on the foundations of Marxism-Leninism-as forged in Moscow. Ten years ago the Lenin Steel Foundry was erected and a new town laid out for its workersbut without a church. After the Polish riots of October 1956 a concession was wrung out of the Gomulka regime for Nowa Huta's church. A prominent location was picked and a cross was erected in dedication of the holy place.

The devotion of the Polish people to their church is a strong tradition-far, far stronger than any attachment to the present Communist regime. The reverence for the church was best described by Adam Wazyk in his classic "Poem for Adults" who pictured the pioneer army that had been sent to build Nowa Huta, the new Eldorado. Wazyk pointed out that the builders wore round their necks a little string carrying the cross of Czestochawa.

As deep seated as their religious feeling is the historic love of the Poles for freedom. Today is especially important for it marks the 169th anniversary of their great Polish constitution which is a landmark in the evolution of the political order of a true democracy.

Unhappily because of Communist oppression only the free peoples of the world can today openly commemorate this solemn occasion. But the fierce spirit of liberty as brilliantly shown at Nowa Huta, the increasing flood of outspoken criticism by the intellectuals throughout the Polish nation, and the disturbances in 1956, and since, gives heart to free men and women throughout the world that soon the ranks of democracy may again be swelled by free and independent Poland.

The cross which stands defiantly on the vacant lot in Nowa Huta is a symbol of the immortality of the Polish people's passion for liberty.

On this May 3 one can then with great hope echo the dying Ignace Jan Paderewski's prophetic promise: "Polska powstanie-Poland will rise again."

Twelfth Anniversary of the Independence of Israel

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. ROBERT N. GIAIMO

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, May 3, 1960

Mr. GIAIMO. Mr. Speaker, on May 2. Israel celebrated the 12th anniversary of her independence. A tiny David in the family of nations, Israel has been forced to meet and defeat many modern Goliaths in her brief history. In so doing, she has taken her place in the vanguard of freedom-loving peoples everywhere.

The giants that Israel has confronted are the same ones that terrorize many small countries and some larger nations in our contemporary world; international communism, internal economic problems and active aggression by other nations in a world still unable to insure lasting peace. Israel has met these threats to her national integrity, Israel's Government has retained her independence, and Israel's people have preserved their freedom under a democratic state. During the same period, other peoples of greater numbers, other governments of longer experience, other nations with greater resources have succumbed to one or the other modern-day Goliaths.

If Israel accomplished nothing else, she would merit our respect and sincere felicitations on the occasion of her anniversary. But to us in the United States Israel stands as more than a symbol of the indomitable will of a free people to remain free. Throughout all of her struggles, Israel has remained a true friend to us and a stanch defender of democracy in the vital Middle East.

On the occasion of her anniversary. wish to join with my friends in this great House and with all Americans in extending best wishes to Israel and her heroic people.

philosophy of freedom, based on law and Nursing Homes Now Going Ahead by Reason of FHA Mortgage Insurance

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OW

HON. THOMAS B. CURTIS

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, May 3, 1960

Mr. CURTIS of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include a news release of Federal Housing Administration. Private nursing homes meeting high standards of safety, health, and efficiency are one of the greatest needs today in meeting the health problems of the aged both as to cost and quality. This is an auspicious report of progress:

The Federal Housing Administration formally embarked on a new service to the Nation today by accepting for consideration an application for mortgage insurance in the amount of \$200,000 on a nursing home planned for construction in Beckley, W. Va.

The project, according to FHA Commissioner Julian H. Zimmerman, is to be known as Pine Lodge Nursing and Convalescent Home. The sponsors are two local doctors and an attorney. Their plans have approved by the State of West Virginia. Their plans have been initial unit provides for 75 patient beds in a fireproof, all-masonry, one-story structure without steps.

The Raleigh County Bank of West Virginia has agreed to take the mortgage if the project receives FHA certification and approval for insurance.

Authority was given in the National Housing Act of 1959 for FHA to provide mortgage insurance to encourage the building of modern nursing homes.

"Many long hours of study went into the establishment of the new service," Mr. Zimmerman says. FHA officials worked with professional and industrial authorities to set up minimum standards for the new institu-

"What we now have will provide nursing homes where skilled nursing care and related medical services can be furnished to people of all ages-convalescents and others who are not acutely ill or in need of hospitaliza-tion, but who do require some expert care and attention."

The Pine Lodge Home will be located near the Beckley Memorial Hospital built under the auspices of the United Mine Workers Welfare and Retirement Fund.

Mr. Zimmerman also reported that a survey of the 75 FHA field offices revealed nationwide interest in the creation of approved nursing homes. It was a "toss-up" week whether the first application would some from West Virginia, from Fort Worth, Tex., or from Fort Lauderdale, Fla.

The Fort Worth project known as Fireside Lodge, is to be an 83-bed nursing home similar in structure to the one in Beckley. Its sponsors are two local doctors and the request is for FHA mortgage insurance amounting to \$450,000.

The Fort Lauderdale project is called Royal Palms Village. It will provide 120 beds when constructed and its sponsor is a former nursing home owner from Rhode Island. The mortgage insurance request is for \$500,000.

Many applicants inquiring in regard to nursing homes expect to finance the rehabilitation of existing buildings or to expand nursing homes now in operation.

Preapplication analysis of proposals is made without charge in the FHA field offices

to determine the feasibility of each suggested project and to determine the acceptability of the sponsorship as required by the National Housing Act.

A pamphlet outlining the basic requirements for qualified nursing homes is avail-

able on request to any FHA office.

Foreign Aid a Monstrous Mess

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, STROM THURMOND

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Tuesday, May 3, 1960

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, although the authorization bill for mutual security was passed by the Senate yesterday, the amount of appropriations for this program has yet to be determined. Every day greater inconsistencies and instances of maladministration of this program come to light. Surely Congress must face up to the absurdity of the socalled mutual security program before it is too late. On this issue, at least, the American people are apparently far ahead of the Congress.

On Friday, April 22, the able editor of the Augusta Chronicle of Augusta, Ga., Mr. Louis Harris, wrote a penetrating and timely editorial entitled "Foreign Aid a Monstrous Mess." The Members of this body and the House of Representatives would do well to consider What Mr. Harris has to say. I ask unanimous consent that this editorial be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial. was ordered to be printed in the REC-ORD, as follows:

FOREIGN AID A MONSTROUS MESS

Now that House investigators have accused the Development Loan Fund of earmarking millions of dollars for Toreign aid without knowing how the money would be spent, and that the House itself is about to debate the issue, the whole question of such assistance is pinpointed anew.

The DLF is the agency set up by Congress in 1957 to make "soft loans" to American business firms to finance projects in undeveloped countries, the loans to be repaid in foreign currencies. In 4 years it has received

The House committee report said it was Congress' intent that the DLF should make loans only for specific programs and pur-poses, but that it actually has been setting aside funds for particular governments and approving projects for advance commitments.

This, however, is only a part of the for-eign-aid folly which has been described and criticized repeatedly by conservative Mem-

bers of Congress.

Moreover, there have been strenuous efforts to keep the American people uninformed about where some \$85 billion of their tax has gone in the last 10 years. Even Congressmen have been unable to obtain the full facts and figures.

Many of the program's fantastic features have come to light, however, and are pointed out by the Independent American, published

at New Orleans. We quote:
"There are 86 nations in the world. are giving aid of one kind or another, financed by your tax dollars, to 73 countries and territories.

"Our national debt of \$283 billion is \$47 billion more than the debts of all the other nations of the world put together.

"Every billion dollars that goes overseas r so-called economic aid to so-called underdeveloped countries means that financial capital which could have provided jobs for 10,000 Americans at home has been

"Great Britain has again cut income taxes and sales taxes. This new cut was made possible because of the billions of dollars shipped to Britain in foreign aid."

Congressman George W. Andrews of Alabama said recently: "If we continue dissipating the wealth of the United States, we may wind up in a worse condition than a great majority of the countries we are now helping.'

And John T. Flynn, noted writer and radio commentator on economic subjects, has stated: "There is not one word in the Constitution which empowers the Federal Government to tax the people of this country to pay the bills for running other coun-

Is America spending itself into chaos? The signs most surely point in that perlious di-rection. Hence it is to be hoped, we feel, that the House will dig deeper than ever before into this monstrous mess, since it seems that the big spending liberals who control both political parties wish to continue this basic blunder regardless of ultimate consequences.

And Nero Played a Fiddle

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. JAMES M. QUIGLEY

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 3, 1960

Mr. QUIGLEY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I would like to include an editorial from yesterday's Harrisburg Evening News.

The editorial speaks for itself and needs no commentary from anyone.

I have elected to insert it in the Con-GRESSIONAL RECORD not because it is likely to inspire the youth of our land but rather as a help to future historians. Ages hence, when they are striving to determine why it was what our civilization went down the drain, the editorial which follows just might afford them a small clue:

IKE FORGOT HIS OWN WORDS

"The right, the highest privilage, the duty of every citizen is to vote."

The same man also said:

"We can have unlimited faith in America as long as America will express itself. The thing I should like to see is that every American vote."

President Dwight D. Eisenhower issued a little statement, with these brave words, back in another election year when he was on

Last Tuesday, President Eisenhower, a registered voter in Adams County, did not vote in Pennsylvania's primary election.

An early White House announcement said that the press of business would make it impossible for the President to make the short and familiar trip to Gettysburg to vote. (Under a new election law, the President could have voted by absentee ballot. Many Pennsylvanians did.)

A later announcement reported the President played golf at Burning Tree, election day afternoon.

What was it some man said once about

deeds and not just words?

Perhaps it's no wonder that Pennsylvania had a light voter turnout Tuesday. If the President of the United States won't bother to vote, how can ordinary citizens be expected to go to the polls?

Castro's True Color Is Showing

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. WILLARD S. CURTIN

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 3, 1960

Mr. CURTIN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the REC-ORD, I desire to insert an editorial which appeared in the Levittown Times of Levittown, Bucks County, Pa., on April 29, This seems to be a very good résumé of the situation as it now appears with the present Government of Cuba: [From the Levittown (Pa.) Times, Apr. 29, 19601

CASTRO'S TRUE COLOR IS SHOWING

Soon it will be a year and a half since Fidel Castro took power in Cuba. In that time he has become a pitiable figure, one of the great disappointments of the age of emerging peoples.

While he fought dictator Batista in the hills, his infectious romantic idealism capti-vated many liberal idealists in America and

other places.

It seemed fitting he should be called Dr. Fidel Castro, for he was thought of almost

as a philosopher of revolution.

Whatever there was of the true man in that image, it is gone now. The aura of romanticism is stripped away. Castro stands before the world as a weak, floundering, ineffectual man, totally incapable of govern-

Yearning still for the smell of revolution, unhappy at his desk, he has made the television studio his citadel. There, in 3- and 4-hour sittings before the camera, he shouts against America in effort to hide his total incapacity for sober, rational leadership.

If any of his one-time distant admirers are still tuned in, they must be stunned at the content of these attacks. For they are cheap, transparent imitations of the Communist and Nazi propaganda techniques.

Castro is supposed to have been something of a genuine student of government and revolution. He seems to have remembered all the wrong things.

When he should have fastened in mind the true character of American freedom and the sympathy of Americans for freedom everywhere, he remembered instead the old totalitarian lessons: when you're having trouble at home, make constant charges that foreign plotters seek to undermine you.

As a matter of fact, Castro must look to Red China as his model today. The Soviet Union long since has moved on to subtler and more mature devices of propaganda.

We cannot hope there will be any end to this, that Castro by some miracle will become again the liberal idealist he seemed, that he will settle down and govern.

Since he cannot master the arts of governing, he has no choice but to practice the arts of deceit to cloak his inadequacy from the Cuban people.

The world—and some Cubans—see through him now. In time most Cubans will see how empty a man he is.

Then Castro will go down.

In an era when crusades for independence are being mounted in many places, he will be sadly remembered as one who wore the outer garments of the free, independent leader—but lacked his heart and substance.

Civil Rights

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. THOMAS B. CURTIS

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 3, 1960

Mr. CURTIS of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Congressional Record, I also wish to include a column by Jackie Robinson, which appeared in the New York Post, Friday, April 29, 1960. This pertains to the debate in the House on Thursday, April 28, 1960, on the antiracial discrimination amendment to the Emergency Home Owner Act.

The article follows:

[From the New York Post, Apr. 29, 1960]

CIVIL RIGHTS

(By Jackie Robinson)

As I drove home from the office Wednesday night, I chanced to hear a broadcast by Martha Rountree, radio commentator on Washington affairs for the Mutual network. "Those of you who thought you had heard the last of civil rights for a while are mistaken," she announced, pointing out that the Republicans in the House were deliberately adding a nondiscrimination rider to a billion dollar housing bill they oppose in order to get southern Congressmen to help them defeat the measure.

Actually, the measure was passed after the rider was killed by northern Democrats, who had been put squarely on the spot. In voting against the rider, their civil rights records were besmirched. But if the rider had been passed, they maintain, the Republican-southern Democrat coalition—as so many times in the past—would have been able to defeat the entire bill. What all this political maneuvering has accomplished is still anyone's guess, for it seems certain President Eisenhower will veto the bill should it manage to pass the Senate.

This kind of political gobbledygook is one more reason why Negro Americans the country over are demonstrating and protesting. We deeply resent our civil rights being made the pawn in such a cheap, partisan chess game. This housing bill—and any other measure in which all Americans are supposed to share-should have had an antibias provision to insure that in practice it does become just another measure for whites only. And neither the fact that Republicans introduced the rider solely as a device to defeat the whole measure, nor that northern Democrats voted against it on the grounds that the bill could not have passed otherwise, will escape unnoticed by Negro voters. For no matter which group won this skirmish, it was at the expense of Negro Americans.

From my travels around the country, I get the unmistakable impression that Negroes are sick and tired of double-dealing by Congress and the White House. If any party thinks the meaningless proposals or excuses tossed our way are enough to insure our continued support and contentment, I can point to two strong reasons why they should change their minds: the student sitins and the presidential primary in Wisconsin. The mushrooming sitins speak for themselves. But the nearly 4-1 Negro vote for Humphrey over Kennedy is merely a hint of what could happen in sections with large proportions of Negro voters.

Miss Rountree referred to this in appraising the chances of Senator Lyndon Johnson to win the Democratic nomination. Somebody should tell Negroes, she admonished, that Johnson engineered the 1960 civil rights bill through Congress. Somebody should tell Miss Rountree that Negroes aren't at all fooled by Johnson, or by Rountree either, for that matter. Not only isn't this bill worth the paper it's written on in terms of actually insuring southern Negroes their right to vote, but I well remember Miss Rountree's constant sniping at the key provisions since struck from the measure fore passage. And her open attack on sitins is but another proof of her obvious southern sympathies.

Though she, and others like her, may be tired of hearing about civil rights, I submit that this is merely a beginning. People may try to blame the NAACP or anyone they please for what is happening in Biloxi or Tallahassee or Montgomery, but the true stimulus is what colored peoples the world over are doing. When we see Africans and Asians—with even less protection than a Negro gets in Mississippi—standing up for their freedom, it gives us a completely different outlook here in America.

For if Africans and Asians, enslaved for centuries by imperialism, can gain their full and equal liberties—sometimes overnight—you can be sure that Negro Americans will not be content with scraps. Fear is rapidly turning into pride, and no threats of violence can slow the pace. Our protest is wisely a nonviolent one, but we mean to have our rights. Let there be no mistake about that.

HUAC: "A Shaky Reed To Lean On"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JAMES ROOSEVELT

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 3, 1960

Mr. ROOSEVELT. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I am pleased to call to the attention of my colleagues a recent New York Times editorial on the House Un-American Activities Committee.

It is also gratifying to me that this eminent paper, as usual, grasped the meaning of my position when it stated:

The House is responsible for the actions of Representative WALTER'S Un-American Activities Committee. This is the fundamental point, as we see it, of Representative James Roosevell's massive attack on the committee in a House speech a few days ago.

I heartly agree with the editorial comment that—

If the security of this Nation were dependent on the kind of exposure for exposure's sake that the committee has repeatedly indulged in, whether investigating actors in New York or schoolteachers in California, then our country would really be in a dangerous condition.

Finally, may I say I certainly concur with the New York Times editorial observation that—

For such positive subversion as exists, the FBI is sufficient. The United States no longer needs—if it ever did—the aimless pursuit of heresy.

Since one of my colleagues has reported the full text of the New York Times editorial I shall not also do so. But I trust it will be obvious to all that the need for action to abolish the Un-American Activities Committee is being set forth by those of proven integrity, patriotism, and sound judgment.

Poland's Constitution Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. WILLIAM E. MILLER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 3, 1960

Mr. MILLER of New York. The greatest hope of Western civilization for the emancipation of the millions who now are slaves of communism rests in something wholly removed from hydrogen bombs, intercontinental missiles and space weapons—although we must maintain these deterrents because of the aggressive nature of our enemies who are dedicated to world domination.

The true hope for a free world rests rather in the hearts of men—men whose devotion to principles of freedom and

liberty burns fiercly.

I say this, Mr. Speaker, because this is the flame which licks most insidiously at the foundations of communism. It is a fire which cannot be extinguished even by the most awesome and cruel force the world has ever known.

Today, as it has for centuries, this blaze burns brightly in Poland, despite an oppression so heartless, so savage as to make the mere suggestion of true lib-

erty seem ridiculous.

We, who are descended of those who spilled their blood in the cause of human freedom at Lexington, at Chateau Thierry in France, on the sand beaches of the Pacific, and in the mountains of Korea, appreciate and understand the centuries-old desire for dignity and human freedom which burns within the hearts of all civilized men. We, who have fought so long and bitterly to defend our own freedoms, cannot help but feel these blessings should be available to everyone everywhere.

Along with our strong feelings about freedom is an acute awareness that the time must come when those gallant peoples, who still are held prisoners within the Poland of their birth, may see their indomitable homeland break free of Red shackles and resume its proper place among the nations of the free

world.

History has proved that nowhere in the world is the love of freedom and independence stronger than in Poland. The intense patriotism of the Polish people is not confined to any single class, or group, but is common to all people of Polish birth or descent, whether they are captives within the Soviet-erected prison of international communism or are among the 7 million Americans in whose veins flow Polish blood.

Indeed, Mr. Speaker, two of Poland's greatest patriots were better known to the rest of the world for their musical genius, and others of Polish birth, such as Thaddeus Kosciuzko and Casimir Pulaski, so intensely were devoted to freedom that they crossed oceans to fight tyranny.

Kosciusko, who contributed so much to the American fight against the British during the Revolutionary War, and Pulaski, who died for the United States in the Battle of Savannah, were military men. Kosciusko was a distinguished Polish general and become one of that Nation's greatest heroes when he led an unsuccessful but valiant revolution against Russian and Prussian oppression in 1794. Pulaski was well known as a military man before he organized cavalry units for the American military cause. To both of these, fighting was a profession and patriotism and freedom were principles. It was fortunate for America that each possessed great military ability and was so devoted to the cause of independence.

In short, both Kosciusko and Pulaski, two of the greatest military men in the history of two nations—Poland and the United States—could be expected to lead men in warfare because that was their profession. What was unusual about them was that they used their professional ability wherever it could help the cause of freedom and independence.

But even more unusual were the contributions made by Frederic Chopin and Ignace Jan Paderewski, who belonged to the world of music—not one of fighting and political principles.

And yet, even though such causes entailed the greatest possible sacrifices, each threw himself wholeheartedly into the battle for freedom, each gave his life to the Poland of his birth.

Chopin, because of his intense patriotism, lived in exile most of his life, but everywhere he went, he carried an urnof Polish soil.

In all his music, there was either the sadness of an oppressed people or the stirring strains which could arouse men to rise up against their oppressors.

Today, most of us recognize the works of this ascetic and physically tortured patriot only as the greatest piano compositions ever written. We listen in rapture to his Revolutionary Etude, his Polonaise Militaire as the products of a true genius.

But we forget that these were the works so hated by the barbarians who, more than a century ago, held Poland in bondage as she today is held.

We forget that this was the music which stirred Polish people to attack, even when hopelessly outnumbered, those who held her in slavery.

We forget that because of this music,

the Russian forces occupying Poland took Chopin's piano, hurled it into the streets and smashed it into bits. They silenced his piano, but not his soul.

We forget, too, that when this great pianist, composer and patriot died, his heart was sent to the little Church of the Holy Cross in Warsaw to rest.

Just as the greatest composer of piano music devoted his life to Polish freedom, so did the greatest concert pianist of his day—and, according to many critics, the greatest of all time.

The immortal Paderewski gave up his beloved piano at the beginning of World War I to battle for Polish freedom.

During 1917 and 1918, he served as Poland's representative in Washington and was primarily responsible for swinging American support behind Polish independence. In 1918 and 1919, he assisted in organizing the Polish Republic. As president of the Polish delegation at the Paris Peace Conference in 1919, he signed the treaty through which Poland regained her independence. He served Poland with the League of Nations, as minister of foreign affairs, as president of the Council of Ministers and as chairman of the National Council of the Republic.

While living in retirement in Switzerland in 1939, Paderewski again saw his beloved homeland threatened by its traditional enemies—Germany and Russia. Despite his age and infirmity, Padarewski came to the United States to enlist aid for his people. He arrived here November 6, 1940, his 80th birthday, and immediately began an extensive speaking tour, against the advice of his physicians.

A few months later, while addressing a group of Polish war veterans, he was stricken with an attack of pneumonia which took his life.

His last words, uttered as his brilliant and devoted battle came to an end, were: "Polska powstanie"—Poland will rise again.

Today, as we observe Poland's Constitution Day, let us pledge ourselves anew to the task of fulfilling the last expressed wish of a great man. We must assure the world that our people cannot live in peace while our Polish brothers are held in slavery. We must reassert our determination to support in every way possible independence for the Polish people.

In this pledge, I feel we can give the oppressed and the exiled some degree of hope on the 169th anniversary of Poland's Constitution Day.

In it, we may also express our appreciation to Poland in the 150th anniversary year of Chopin's birth and the 100th of Paderewski's birth for the contributions each made to music and human liberty.

In such an action, we may rekindle the flame that burned so brightly in the hearts of Chopin, Paderewski, Pulaski, and Kosciusko.

For this flame can ignite the fires which inevitably must destroy the monster of communism and cremate the last vestiges of oppression. Union-Industries Show

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. QUENTIN BURDICK

OF NORTH DAKOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 3, 1960

Mr. BURDICK. Mr. Speaker, I would like to call my colleagues' attention to the Union-Industries Show which will be held May 6-11, 1960, in the National Guard Armory, Washington, D.C.

This is a cooperative project between labor unions and management to focus attention on the day-in, day-out good working relationship that exists between union labor and employers in a free-enterprise society. There will be many exhibits shown as specific examples of the product of labor and management working and cooperating together. An exhibition of this type helps also to bring about better employer-employee relations.

The show enables cooperating labor unions to set up displays for the purpose of acquainting the public with the skills and crafts of union labor and to familiarize the public with the union label carried on union-made goods. Employers also exhibit their union-made goods or union services.

The shows have been held since 1938—except during World War II—in major cities throughout the United States. They are sponsored by the Union Label and Service Trades Department of the AFL-CIO. Employers, or companies, participate in the show at the invitation of the unions with which they have a union contract.

The booths will feature union-made goods or services. For instance, the American Bakery and Confectionery Workers will decorate cakes and give them away at their display. Other exhibits will feature wearing apparel, building equipment, furniture, radios, upholstery, and a wide range of other products. The postal unions will demonstrate their services with an operating post office. The Meatcutters will hold about five sheep-shearing demonstrations and drawings for numerous free meat cuts daily.

The International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers will give away an allelectric kitchen valued at approximately \$10,000, at a drawing to be held on May 11. The Glass Bottle Blowers Association will give away a boat; the printing trades will set up an operating newspaper and will publish daily news about events occurring at the show. The bricklayers will hold a bricklaying contest for apprentices, and the pottery workers and many others will give educational demonstrations of how they do their daily jobs.

Government agencies which will participate in this year's show include the Department of Defense, the Civil Service Commission, the Office of Civil Defense Mobilization, the Treasury Department, and the Department of Labor,

Joseph Lewis, secretary-treasurer of the Union Label and Service Trades Department, AFL-CIO, which sponsors the show says:

Our exhibitions prove that harmony between labor and management is practical and possible. The basic function of industry is to increase high quality production and obtain a fair profit. The objective of organized labor is to have security of steady employment at fair wages. Both these goals can be achieved through the teamwork of labor and management.

Over the years, the Union-Industries Show has broken every attendance record for the auditorium in which the show was held. Last year's attendance in San Francisco was over 364,400; largest attendance was in Chicago—900,000.

The show will be open to the general public, admission free. Nothing is sold or offered for sale at the Union-Industries Show.

Polish Constitution Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. ANCHER NELSEN

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 3, 1960

Mr. NELSEN. Mr. Speaker, in the last decades of the 18th century unhappy Poles were having internal as well as international troubles. Their governmental system was autocratic and unwieldy, and the country was surrounded by three powerful neighbors, always ready to overrun it. These three powers-Austria, Prussia, and Russiahad already grabbed part of Poland, and were preparing to partition it once more. Poles were fully aware of such dangers. They felt that if their governmental system could be reformed, and old obstructive methods could be abandoned, then internally the country would become stronger, and thus better prepared to face external dangers. With that definite purpose in mind they began the reforming and reconstructing move in 1788, which culminated in the Constitution of 1791.

This Constitution forms a great landmark both in Poland's history and also in the history of liberal, constitutional government in Europe. It was one of the earliest efforts, put forth without resorting to revolutionary means, in which the unlimited and autocratic authority of the monarch was reduced. Responsible cabinet form of government was established and the popularly elected legislature took on real importance. Townsmen were given certain political rights, and the peasantry was brought under the protection of the law. For all these important changes the Constitution was hailed as a real charter for the liberties of the underprivileged. It is true that the unfortunate turn of international events prevented the carrying out of the provisions of the constitution. but the fine ideas and ideals embodied in it became the political creed of freedomloving Poles. To this day they cherish those ideas as fervently as did their forebears 169 years ago.

Hoffa Purge List Revealed, It Calls for Political Demise of Members of Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRANK THOMPSON, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 3, 1960

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, some weeks ago the well-known political reporter of the New York Herald Tribune, Earl Mazo, revealed that James R. Hoffa, international president of the Teamsters' Union, had sent a confidential memorandum to trusted lieutenants calling for the political demise not only of Senator John F. Kennedy but also of such distinguished Members of Congress as our able colleague from Oregon [Mrs. Green] who were actively supporting Senator Kennedy's bid for the Democratic presidential nomination.

The Washington, D.C., Post pointed out editorially that the Hoffa confidential memo or "set of political orders" contemplated the purging of Representative EDITH GREEN of Oregon who, in the Washington Post's own words "has a strongly progressive and prolabor record in Congress" and adds that—

The recklessness of this program and its cynical subordination of union interests to personal spleen is surpassed only by the self-delusion it betrays.

I include here as part of my remarks two articles by Mr. Mazo from the New York Herald Tribune and an editorial from the Washington Post:

[From the New York Herald Tribune, Mar. 13, 1960]

HOFFA PURGE LIST REVEALED—WIDENED TO TAKE IN KENNEDY'S BACKERS

(By Earl Mazo)

Washington, March 13.—James R. Hoffa, international president of the Teamsters' Union, has sent a confidential memorandum to trusted lieutenants calling for the political demise not only of Senator John F. Kennedy but also of congressional figures actively supporting Senator Kennedy's bid for the Democratic presidential nomination.

Mrs. EDITH GREEN, a well known prolabor Congresswoman from Oregon and the Massachusetts Senator's campaign manager in Oregon, is high on this Hoffa purge list, it was learned today.

Mr. Hoffa, whose distaste for Senator Kennedy dates to the McClellan rackets committee hearings, also has urged numerous political alliances to defeat anti-Hoffa Senators and Representatives that seem strange for a labor organization.

WANTS KEFAUVER DEFEATED

In Tennessee, for instance, he proposes that the Teamsters get behind Judge Andrew (Pit) Taylor to beat Senator Estes Kefauver. Judge Taylor is considered the No. 1 segregation extremist among the leading Tennessee

politicians. Senator Kepauver a ranking southern liberal, is regarded as one of labor's best friends in the South.

AN ELECTION BLUEPRINT

Then the Hoffa memorandum added: "Recommendation: Investigate Judge Taylor's labor record and explore possibilities of having him buy our minimum program."

The memorandum, in effect Mr. Hoffa's State-by-State preliminary election blue-print, is understood to have been prepared for the Teamster president by Sidney Zagri, chief of the Teamster organization's department of legislation and political education, a new multimillion dollar political action agency of the union. Mr. Hoffa created the department in the wake of his troubles with the McClellan committee, of which Senator Kennedy was a member and his brother, Robert F. Kennedy, chief counsel.

Tomorrow night, Mr. Hoffa is scheduled

Tomorrow night, Mr. Hoffa is scheduled to speak at a big Teamsters' rally in Madison Square Garden, New York. He is, among other things, expected to call for a \$1.50-anhour minimum wage for Teamsters.

The term "prolabor" is equated in the Hoffa memorandum with pro-Hoffa and pro-Teamster-organization interests. The Teamster yardsticks vary for various Congressmen. One is the individual's vote on final passage of the compromise labor bill last year. In the Senate the vote was 95 to 2 for the compromise. The only "no" votes were by Senator Wayne Mosse, Democrat, of Oregon, and the late Senator William Langer, Republican, of North Dakota. The House vote was 352 to 52 with most of the Representatives who are regarded by the AFL-CIO as "labor's friends" voting for.

Mrs. Green was among them. She helped bring about the compromise, actually a watered-down version of a tougher labor measure known as the Landrum-Griffin bill, which probably would have been enacted except for the compromise by the liberals.

In calling for Representative Green's defeat for reelection this year—and urging his associates in her State to find "a strong candidate" to bring that about—Mr. Hoffa described Mrs. Green's part in the compromise as "her ugly role."

Then the Teamsters' chief added: "EDITH GREEN is west coast manager for Senator Kenner's presidential nomination. While there is no open break with Senator Mosse, she is aware that he will not campaign on her behalf."

Mr. Hoffa notes that Senator Jennings Randolph, a Democrat marked for his purge, probably will be supported by COPE, the political action arm of the AFL-CIO.

Therefore, the Teamster chief said, "It may be easier to defeat him by supporting Gov. Cecil Underwood who is the Republican nominee."

Mr. Hoffa's long memorandum, secretly distributed to his principal lieutenants several weeks ago, emphasizes activities in "marginal" congressional districts which the incumbents won by 5 percent or less of the vote.

The new labor law, though a compromise version of several bills, is labeled the "Kennedy-Landrum-Griffin Act," obviously to make that a "hate" phrase in labor circles, as "Taft-Hartley" has been—and thus to harm Senator Kennedy among labor leaders.

The Hoffa memorandum found potential backing in other southern States, however, and urged an all-out effort to reelect Representative Dale Alford, of Little Rock, Ark., a political disciple of Gov. Orval Faubus.

Representative Alford was elected as a last-minute write-in candidate in 1958, defeating the veteran Representative Brooks Hays, one of the best known southern liberals.

Then the Hoffa memorandum added: "Recommendation: A fight should be made to unseat McClellan."

The next major notation on the Arkansas memorandum was this:

"Support ALFORD on the same ticket with Supreme Court Justice Johnson, also a segregationist but prolabor. ALFORD deserves labor support for his independent stand on the Landrum-Griffin amendment. In this campaign the issue was not the amendment."

Then the Hoffa memorandum established the line by which his union could excuse its support of such an extreme segregationist in this way: "In this campaign the issue would not be integration versus segregation, but the support of a friendly labor movement versus restrictive labor legislation. On this basis, Congressman Alford and Supreme Court Justice Johnson deserve support. There are no candidates in the field who are not taking a segregationist line."

[From the New York Herald Tribune, Mar. 15, 1960]

HOFFA MALIGNS CONGRESS MEMBERS WHO CROSS HIM—HIS MEMORANDUMS LIST THEM AS "BAD ACTORS," "PHONY LIBERALS"

(By Earl Mazo)

Washington, Mar. 15.—To James R. Hoffa, general president of the Teamsters Union, a "bad actor" and "phony liberal" is a normally prolabor Member of Congress who opposes any of the wishes of Mr. Hoffa.

That is pointed up in the political memoranda the Teamster boss has been issuing for the instruction and education of

his principal subordinates.

The memoranda, four of which have been made available to the New York Herald Tribune, include a plan for doublecrossing other labor unions and considerable advice on achieving Mr. Hoffa's political objectives (one technique spread the word that a Hoffa foe is an alcoholic; another, "call in" "weak" individuals and threaten them with defeat for re-election).

PURGE LIST

Others in this group which Mr. Hoffa also called "bad actors" are Representatives Frank Thompson Jr., New Jersey; Edith Green, Oregon; Stewart L. Udall, Arizona; Richard Bolling, Missouri, and James G. O'Hara, Michigan. All are leaders in the House liberal Democratic bloc.

Mr. Hoffa's stated reasons for disliking these "bad actors" varies. But mostly it is because some are vigorous backers of Senator John F. Kenney, Massachusetts, for the Democratic Presidential nomination and others cooperated with the AFL-CIO instead of the Teamsters during the fight last year over labor legislation.

CALL FOR DOUBLECROSS

It is in his comments on political cooperation with the AFL-CIO that Mr. Hoffa makes his call for a doublecross.

On February 1 he sent a memorandum to all of his joint council presidents urging political cooperation with other labor organizations in the 1960 elections.

Two weeks later he sent another, more comprehensive memorandum to a few of his most trusted associates. It named names in a State-by-State breakdown, and pointed up many instances where the Hoffa organization was directed to oppose candidates backed by other unions, particularly the national AFL-CIO through COPE, its political action agency.

[From the Washington Post, Mar. 15, 1960] JIMMY'S VALENTINE

James R. Hoffa seems to have no scruples about using his position as head of the Teamsters Union for a campaign of personal political revenge. There have, of course, been previous indications that he regards the Teamsters as no more than a

vehicle to be driven to the achievement of his own ambitions; but the election memorandum published in the New York Herald Tribune by reporter Earl Mazo suggests a mind so warped by vindictiveness as to be in a real sense irresponsible.

Mr. Hoffa's consuming aim, it appears, is to "get Kennedy"—that is to throw all the weight his farflung union can bring to bear against the presidential candidacy of Senator John Kennedy. Mr. Kennedy was a member of the Senate Rackets Investigating Committee which caused Mr. Hoffa so much trouble and embarrassment.

Thus the confidential memo or set of political orders sent by Hoffa to his lieutenants contemplates the purging of Representative Edith Green of Oregon. Mrs. Green has a strongly progressive and prolabor record in Congress, but she is on the Hoffa blacklist because she is serving as Senator Kennedy's campaign manager in Oregon. To defeat Senator Estes Kefauver, Hoffa is willing to give support to one of the most notorious of Tennessee segregationists; in Arkansas, he goes so far as to urge the reelection of Representative Dale Alford, a protege of Gov. Orval Faubus.

The recklessness of this program and its cynical subordination of union interests to personal spleen is surpassed only by the self-delusion it betrays. Is it possible that Hoffa does not realize that his hatred is money in the bank to JOHN KENNEDY—or to anyone else whom he opposes?

Whirlpool Awarded Silver Anvil

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JOSEPH E. KARTH

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 3, 1960

Mr. KARTH. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I would like to call to the attention of the Congress and the people of the United States the awarding of the Silver Anvil, the highest award given by the American Public Relations Association, to the Whirlpool Corp., a large division of which is located in the city of St. Paul, which is part of the Fourth Congressional District of Minnesota. This award was granted to the Whirlpool Corp. for "an outstanding public relations program which assisted greatly at the American national exhibit in Russia in communicating the story of American homemaking to the Russian

Last spring Whirlpool was asked by the Departments of State and Commerce and the U.S. Information Agency to send two kitchens: the celebrated Whirlpool miracle kitchen—a research and engineering conception of the kitchen of the future—and a workaday model, used by countless housewives here at home. It was generally believed that these kitchens did more to say "America" in Russian than perhaps anything else shown at our first national exhibit in Moscow.

Whirlpool has again been asked by the Government to send the miracle kitchen behind the Iron Curtain. Kitchens will also be sent to the International Trade Fairs at Poznan, Poland, and to Zagreb, Yugoslavia. I would like to join the American Public Relations Association in commending Whirlpool for a job well done.

Ben E. Atkins

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. BASIL L. WHITENER

OF NORTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 3, 1960

Mr. WHITENER. Mr. Speaker, while on the floor of the House yesterday afternoon, I was very shocked to receive a message from my hometown, Gastonia, N.C., advising me that a very dear friend of mine and one of the most outstanding newspapermen in North Carolina had passed away.

Mr. Ben E. Atkins, president of the

Mr. Ben E. Atkins, president of the Gazette Publishing Co. at Gastonia and editor of the Gastonia Gazette, died early Monday morning after falling to rally from a serious abdominal operation. For 33 years he was a reporter, a publisher, and an editor. His untimely death is an irreparable loss to the newspaper profession in North Carolina.

I extend to the member of his bereaved family my deepest sympathy on this sad occasion in their lives. Their loss is shared by the countless friends of

Mr. Atkins.

The Gastonia Gazette, in whose service he labored with outstanding success, carried a very fine editorial on May 2 which very ably expresses the character and personality of this splendid citizen. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the editorial be inserted in the Appendix of the Record:

FAREWELL OUR EDITOR

"Yea, though I walk through the valley of the shadow of death, I will fear no evil * * * for Thou art with me."

Death came down the carpeted steps Sunday afternoon and took our editor by the hand.

And now, we at the Gazette work in a

We continue on our jobs, but our actions are mechanical. We are like a speeding locomotive without an engineer.

Our editor is dead.

He spent his life on the Gazette. From the time he was a little boy, he knew that, one day, he would be its editor.

That's why he sat for long hours at the linotype machine during his high school days, learning its intricate operation. That's why he pushed heavy turtles with leaded pages and read proof and hustled copy.

His father would come to him one day and say, "Son, we'd like for you to be our editor." And he had to be ready.

So, he moved up the line, step by step. He was a cool-headed, hard-working city editor who felt the city's pulse like an M.D.

And then later, when he was managing editor, it must have been fascinating to watch as he coordinated the activities of the composing and news rooms into a fast-moving, accurate body with a deadline to meet.

He moved easily across problems. He knew the why of a situation. He had come along the graveled road of experience, and that experience had given him the ability to reduce problems to hand size, where he could handle them.

Irritating situations didn't ruffle him, and the only way you could tell he was perturbed was to see the faint and red glow that came to his cheeks. He never hurried, but maintained that slow, sure shuffle that accompanied him through life. Ben Atkins was a brilliant man. He received a wonderful, basic, formal education. He read good books and, having saved his money, traveled in foreign countries. His mind was constantly seeking, prying, making notations for future use.

His reputation as a colorful, yet perceptive, writer fanned out across the country. During the war, servicemen, reading their hometown Gazette, would toss the paper to a buddy on a nearby bunk with the suggestion that he read the "Quirky Quill."

This column, filled with delightful phrases and prickly wit, brought moments of joy from shore to shore. It was looked forward to like mail from home.

Had Ben Atkins been driven by necessity to write books, his talents would have taken him on a long and fruitful journey. He had a vast, untapped reservoir of talent.

In recent years, we have noticed "Mr. Ben" walking with a slower gait. And, during the months just past, we knew that our boss was more than a little ill.

Still, even after a serious struggle at the hospital, he returned to work—a weak but determined man. And just his presence made us strong

made us strong.

Just knowing that he was in his office, just seeing him once in a while shuffling along toward the composing room where he supervised the making of his editorial page, just knowing that if anything went wrong, Mr. Ben would be there to tell us what to do—all this was a great help to us.

But, those whom the gods love die young.

Mr. Ben was 52.

His typewriter is silent today, and his desk is almost as he left it weeks ago. But the words that he wrote and the thoughts he expressed are buried now like seeds in the minds of many people. Their fruits shall be his monument.

Ben Atkins was a peace-loving man. He detested turmoil. He tried to avoid arguments. But, when his conscience dictated a course of action, he wrote with a pen of steel and the point of a diamond.

And that afternoon, the people would

Sometimes, we think we understand death for the first time when it lays a hand upon the shoulder of someone we love. Then, we look a second time and know that the riddle is just as deep as ever.

It is as natural for man to die as it is to be born, and we cover death with a sheet of gloom and mourning—not knowing whether, once visiting death, it would be death itself to come back to life.

Light has faded from Ben Atkins' brain. His own Editor has turned down the lamp and whispered that it was time to say goodnight.

We would say goodnight to our editor, remembering that there comes a night when no man can work.

BILL WILLIAMS, Gazette Associate Editor.

Polish Constitution Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. ALEXANDER PIRNIE

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 3, 1960

Mr. PIRNIE. Mr. Speaker, on May 3, friends of a free Poland and Poles everywhere will celebrate Poland's Constitution Day.

Only 2 years after ratification of our own Constitution, the Polish Constitution of 1791 was adopted. This document,

like our own, was born of a battle for independence fought against overwhelming odds. Unfortunately, Russian arms duplicity deferred the cherished hope that Poles might govern themselves as freemen.

Today, in Poland, freedom-loving citizens again are resisting Russian domination and are drawing deep inspiration and hope from the celebration of this significant anniversary. May they be strengthened in their determination by the knowledge freemen everywhere sympathize with them in their struggle.

It is fitting that we commemorate such glorious moments of history so we may preserve the noble traditions of democracy which are the heritage of every American and the goal of repressed peoples.

Russia's Claims Debunked

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. ALEXANDER WILEY

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, May 3, 1960

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, during a brief lifetime, the United States, by adoption of a free enterprise system and a political climate of freedom for its people, has created the greatest economy and the highest standard of living in world history.

Today, the Soviet Union, under communism, is challenging our system. Particularly, they brag about surpassing us in production of industrial, agricultural, and consumer goods, as well as military and scientific accomplishments.

Experience has taught us, of course, that it is extremely difficult to get authoritative, factual information out of the Soviet Union in order to make a realistic comparison of the two systems.

According to information with the greatest credibility, however, we have learned that the Communists' "ability to brag" far exceeds their "ability to produce."

We recognize, of course, that the spirit of braggadocio may well be, and probably is, inspired by propaganda purposes at home and abroad.

Time after time, however, Khrushchev's boasting about surpassing America has fallen short; in effect, their "great leaps" forward have, instead, been "short hops."

Unfortunately, the climate of an election year encourages individuals, particularly those with high political aspirations, to deprecate and downgrade the progress of our own system for political gain, hoping that it will unfavorably reflect upon the current administration.

Constructive criticism serves, of course, a useful purpose. Conversely, destructive criticism can be a disservice to the American people.

Currently, presidential aspirants, for example, are going around the country calling us, or inferring that we are becoming, a second-class nation—in effect, giving credence to the boasts of Mr. Khrushchev, the leader of the Communist system.

According to some of these predictors of doom and gloom, the American people, perhaps, should be looking out the window to watch the Soviet Union whiz by us—and, as Khrushchev says, see him "wave goodby" to us.

Well, the truth contradicts these distortions.

The American people, I believe, deserve the facts, not only because of their fundamental right to know the truth, but also to enable them to make a realistic appraisal of the challenge confronting us.

Recently, the U.S. News & World Report published an informative article, entitled "Russia's Claims Debunked."

The comparative picture presented in the article illustrates that, despite Soviet claims to the contrary, Russia is substantially behind us in almost all major fields, as follows: In steel, 19 years.

In electric power, 16 years.
In production of trucks and buses, 36 years.
In production of autos, 49 years.
In production of meat, 52 years.

In petroleum, 30 years.

In production of meat, 52 years. In production of shoes, 23 years. In production of milk, 19 years.

Overall, I well recognize that we are in a serious struggle for survival, and this includes competition of our economic system with communism.

As we attempt to prove—as I am confident we will—that our system is superior, however, I believe that, insofar as possible, our people are entitled to the truth; and, secondly, that there is absolutely no excuse for selling our economy short.

Believing that the article, "Russia's Claims Debunked," contains valuable information for the Congress and the American people, I ask unanimous consent to have it printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From U.S. News & World Report, May 2, 1960]
RUSSIA'S CLAIMS DEBUNKED—THE TRUE STORY

OF AMERICA'S RIVAL

What about the boasts of Nikita Khrushchev? Is Soviet Russia really the colossus that it pretends to be?

Khrushchev, latest dictator of the U.S.S.R., paints his country as the world's greatest power and communism as the wave of the future. He claims that Russia will pass the United States soon as the land of plenty and prosperity.

What are the facts?

All of a sudden, a Western world that had tended to swallow the Khrushchev line is beginning to question it. The drabness and poverty that actually exist inside the Soviet Union have just been pictured in British newspapers. Tourists of many nations, visiting Russia in growing numbers, are seeing for themselves how Russians really live.

Russia's Communist-controlled radio is broadcasting telltate complaints about the poor quality of goods sold to Soviet consumers, about faulty construction, about breakdowns in economic planning, and about acute shortages of workers. Soviet officials are admitting new concern about food yields of state-run farms. A revolt by farm youths in Kazakhstan has recently come to light.

Even in space, where Russia was considered ahead, Americans are finding that their

own satellites now outnumber those of the

Some of the wind is coming out of Khrushchev's boasts. When the wind comes out, what truth remains?

The graphs and charts on these pages Rive you some of the facts.

"Nineteen hundred and thirty" in Russia. What these facts reveal is that, essentially, Soviet Russia is in a stage of development about 30 years behind the United States.

Last year Russia's gross national product-total production of goods, and services-was estimated at \$200 billion. The United States was producing that much 30 years previously, if you compute the value of 1929 output in 1959 dollars.

Compare last year's figures, and you find the U.S. producing at the rate of \$484 billion a year, which is nearly two and a half times the Soviet rate.

Another thing to keep in mind when you look at Russia's production figures is this: To obtain a production total that is far smaller than that of the United States, Russla has to use more workers than the United States-and then the goods produced must be divided among more consumers.

Result is a living standard in Russia that primitive by Amercan standards, After financng his country's huge military establishment, the average Russian receives only about \$430 worth of consumer goods and services per year, while the average American enjoys consumer goods and services Worth \$1,770 a year-more than four times as much.

What the record shows. But what about Khrushchev's specific boasts? How do they stand up when set side by side with facts?

Take space, for instance-

Here the Soviets got a head start. They Were the first to put an artificial satellite in orbit around the earth. Khrushchev has bragged that Soviet missiles could "literally Wipe off the face of the earth" any country that dared to attack the Soviet Union.

The world has been led to believe that the United States was larging far behind Russia in space rocketry. But look at the record, set out in the chart. This shows that the United States has fired more successful satellites into space, has more of them in orbit, and, from all evidence, is obtaining more information about space for future exploration than the Russians.

T. Keith Glennan, Administrator of the U.S. National Aeronautics and Space Administration, sizing up the space race on April 3, said:

"I think there is no question but what We're ahead."

When it comes to military missiles, Russia is generally conceded this edge: It has more long-range missiles ready to fire than the United States. But the United States has humerous short-range missiles that can reach Russia from bases overseas or from submarines plus a powerful fleet of longrange bombing planes.

The so-called missile gap is now being described by military experts as more Soviet boast than actual fact.

In space, Russia was first, but United States

The score	Russia	United States
Parth satellites launched Satellites still in orbit around earth. Lunar and solar space probes, Planets" now in orbit around sim. Biggest satellite put into orbit, Information obtained about space.	3	18. 9. 4. 2. 1,700 pounds. Lots of data, thousands of photos.

T. Keith Glennan, Administrator of U.S. National Aeronautics and Space Administra-"I don't think tion, said on April 3, 1960; "I don't think we're behind the Russians. I have to admit that in the thrust of their rocket systems they have a substantial edge . terms of the long-range benefits, in terms of the solid accomplishments * * * I think there is no question but what we're ahead."

Education under fire. Take schools: Here in another field in which the Soviet Union has been claiming a lot of credit-and the United States has been getting a lot of criticism. The Soviet system of education was credited with turning out more and better scientists, engineers, and mathema-

Yet, all at once, you find the Soviets changing their educational system, shortening their hours of classroom instruction, putting more emphasis on vocational training. Under the new system, most Soviet youngsters will finish their formal schooling at 15, then go to work. Only a comparative few of the most gifted and "politically reliable" will go on to college.

The U.S. Commissioner of Education, Dr. Lawrence G. Derthick, recently made a week tour of the Soviet Union, studying its schools, and came back with a critical report. SOME CLAIMS ABOUT SOVIET SCHOOLS-AND SOME

PACTS-FROM A REPORT TO CONGRESS BY DR. LAWRENCE G. DERTHICK, U.S. COMMISSIONER OF EDUCATION, ON A 4-WEEK TOUR AND SUR-VEY OF APPROXIMATELY 100 SCHOOLS IN

Claim: Soviet schools stress academic training, instead of vocational work.
Dr. Derthick: "The emphasis on work ex-

perience or training is one of several vital changes being made in the Soviet changeover from a 10-year to an 11-year school system. Their new emphasis on what they call polytechnical training is apparently similar to the changes we made here shortly after World War L."

Claim: Russian students do better on tests than U.S. students.

Dr. Derthick: "In our own country, some very weak schools have high paper requirements and administer formidable tests. We also know that each Russian student has the opportunity to study the test questions in advance. These factors caused Henry Chauncey, president of the Educational Testing Service, who reviewed the Soviet tests and our own college-board examinations, to make the following comment:

"The college-board system, requiring the candidate to attempt all of somewhat over 100 questions which are not published beforehand, would seem to require a broader, surer knowledge even if it does not go quite

so deep.'

"You may be interested to know that in January 1958, the famed Russian Mathematics Olympiad examinations were administered to 32 students in two of the Cincinnati high schools. These were not the ordinary examinations required of all Soviet students, but were tests used in their national competition to select students who are to receive prizes from the Government. The University of Cincinnati mathematics professors who reviewed the tests rated the performance of our students on these tests as excellent."

Claim: Soviet schools are run without an "excess of administrators,"

Dr. Derthick: "Our study showed exactly the reverse to be true. We were astonished to see in a single school medical, supervisory, administrative, and service personnel, in addition to classroom teachers, that in numbers and variety are far beyond what one finds on the central staff of many of our good-sized school districts."

Claim: Soviet schools minimize athletics. Dr. Derthick: "Actually, we found athletics to be one of the chief interests of the Soviet people. When we visited the superintendent of schools in Moscow, for example, we found his outer office filled with cups, trophies, and other awards earned in competitive athletics with the schools of other

Here's another Khrushchev boast: That Russia has already passed the United States in milk and butter production and will overtake this country in meat production by 1963.

American experts on Soviet agriculture concede that Russia's claim about butter may be true, since Americans use large amounts of margarine. But these experts challenge Khrushchev on the milk claim. They say Russia's statistics include milk fed to calves and milk produced by goats, camels, and other livestock besides cows. If 1959 Russian production is figured on the same basis as that of the United States, the experts place it at a total of 109.8 billion pounds, or 521 pounds per person, compared with total U.S. production of 121.2 billion pounds, or 684 pounds per person.

Travelers report that it is almost impossible to buy a glass of milk in a Soviet res-

On meat, the record shows this: The average American consumes about 198 pounds of meat per year. The average Russian gets about 90 pounds a year—less than half as much.

WHERE RUSSIA STANDS: YEARS BEHIND THE UNITED STATES

In steel: Russia is 19 years behind the United States, Russia produced 66 million tons in 1959. The United States produced that much steel in 1940.

In petroleum: Russia is 30 years behind the United States. Russia produced 142.7 million tons in 1959. U.S. production passed that figure in 1929.

In electric power: Russia is 16 years behind United States. Russia produced 264 billion kilowatt-hours in 1959. U.S. electrical output hit that figure in 1943.

In trucks and buses: Russia is 36 years behind United States. Russia produced 370,500 trucks and buses in 1959. United States pro-

duced more than that in the year of 1923. In autos: Russia is 49 years behind United States. Russia produced 124,500 autos in 1959. United States produced more than that in 1910.

In shoes: Russia is 23 years behind United States. Russia produced 389 million pairs of shoes in 1959. U.S. shoe production had passed that figure by 1936.

In radios: Russia is 30 years behind United States. Russia produced 4 million radios in 1959. United States was producing that many by 1929.

In television sets: Russia is 10 years behind United States. Russia produced 1.3 million television sets in 1959. U.S. production leaped far past that figure in 1949.

In refrigerators: Russia is 31 years behind United States. Russia produced 426,000 refrigerators in 1959. United States production topped that by the year 1928.

In meat: Russia is 52 years behind United States. Russia produced 9.5 million tons of meat in 1959. United States was producing that much meat by the year 1907.

In milk: Russia is 18 years behind United States. Russia produced 110 billion pounds of milk in 1959. U.S. milk production passed that figure by year 1941.

Behind the figures. But isn't Russia supposed to be gaining rapidly on the United States in almost every type of production? Since 1950, the Soviet Union has doubled

its gross national product, more than doubled its steel output, almost tripled its production of electric power.

In percentages, such Soviet gains appear huge, look larger than American gains.

Yet examine the figures, and you discover: In that same 1950-59 period, the U.S. increase in total production was larger than Russia's gain in actual amount, even though smaller in percentage. This is because Russia started from a much smaller base.

A 100 percent gain in production for Russia between 1950 and 1959 meant an actual increase of only \$100 billion worth. For the United States, a 70-percent gain in the same period meant an actual increase of \$199 billion

Net result, in 9 years of widely heralded Soviet growth, was a widening of the gap between the rival nations. The United States was further ahead in 1959 than it was in 1950.

How, then, has Russia become such a great military power, able to frighten the rest of the world?

Figures give part of the answer. The Soviet Union spends as much for arms, armed forces and arms development as the United States spends for them—\$46 billion a year.

Statistics alone, however, do not reveal Russia's greatest military strength. That strength is a dictatorship that is able to regiment all the Soviet people with ruthlessness. Whatever is needed for the military is obtained by taking it from the civilian consumer.

Under this dictatorial system, Russia devotes 23 percent of her total national energy to military forces. This leaves only \$154 billion for civillan uses.

The United States, by contrast, devotes only 9 percent of its national effort to arms. This leaves \$438 billion for civilian purposes.

Let the United States devote a comparable effort to arms, and Soviet Russia would drop far behind in the military race. Here's what it would mean: If the United States spent 23 percent of its production for arms as Russia does. American military expenditures would total \$111 billion a year—more than twice as much as Russia's. And the United States would still have \$373 billion left for the civilian economy—again more than twice as much as the Soviets have now.

Geography lesson. Look at the Soviet Union on a map, and you see part of the reason why that country has come to be regarded with awe by many people.

It is a huge country, in area—more than twice the size of the United States, including Hawaii and Alaska. What is not generally realized is that much of the Soviet area is frozen wasteland. Most of the U.S.S.R. lies north of Quebec. Leningrad is as far north as the southern part of Alaska.

Barely one-sixth of the Soviet land mass is suitable for farming. Winters are long, growing seasons short. About a fourth of the total area is badly lacking in moisture. Almost nowhere are warmth, moisture, and soil fertility—the three requirements for successful farming—found together in the same place. There is nothing in all the Soviet Union to compare with America's Corn Belt.

To link its far reaches of area, the Soviet Union has only a third as many miles of rall-road as the United States, only 6 percent of the U.S. highway mileage, less than 2 percent as many cars, one-third as many trucks.

The Soviets have milked a lot of propaganda out of their fancy jet planes that transport high officials on trips abroad. Yet the total volume of passenger travel by air in Russia is about one-tenth that in the United States.

TAKE A CLOSE LOOK AT RUSSIA AND YOU SEE

Two hundred and twelve million people; 26 million more women and girls, about 6 million more men and boys, than in United States.

More than 100 nationalities; many speaking different languages, often resenting domination by Russians, who make up about half of the population.

Eight million and six hundred thousand square miles of area; more than double the 3.6 million square miles of the United States. But seven-eights of Russia lies farther north than Quebec, Canada. Huge areas are frozen wilderness. Most of the people live in the western one-fourth of the country.

Total national product of \$200 billion a year; less than half that of the United States, which produces \$484 billion a year, with fewer people.

Fifty million women workers; about onehalf of the Russian labor force. United States has 23 million women workers, about one-third of its labor force.

Four hundred and thirty dollars a year living standard; about one-fourth the amount of consumer goods and services available to U.S. people, on a per-person basis.

Seventy-six thousand miles of railroads; one-third the mileage of the U.S. system.

One hundred and forty-seven thousand miles of highways; 6 percent of the U.S.

One million cars; when the United States has 59 million.

Four million telephones; or one for every 50 Russians. The United States has 67 million, or one phone for about every 3 persons.

People and problems. In population, the Soviet Union also is big. It has 212 million people, about 33 million more than the United States.

Analysis of the Soviet population, however, shows that only about half the Soviet people are actually Russians. The others are of more than 100 different nationalities, speaking dozens of languages—and most of them resent having been conquered by the Russians. Moreover, about 55 percent of the Soviet population are females. This means the U.S.S.R. has only 6 million more males than the United States.

Examine the Soviet labor force, and you find this: The Soviet Union has 37.3 million more workers than the United States, yet has a labor shortage.

The way the Communists run their farms, it takes 52 million workers—47.5 percent of the labor force—just to grow food. And still food shortages are a recurring problem.

In the United States, only 5.8 million workers—8 percent of the labor force—are employed on farms. With the modern farming methods employed here, each American farmer grows enough to feed himself and 30 other people—with huge surpluses left over. Each Russian farmer produces enough to feed only three people besides himself.

Then there is the military taking another big bite out of the Soviet labor force. Russia's armed forces contain 3.6 million men, U.S. Armed Forces 2.5 million.

Take out the farmers and soldiers, and the Soviet Union is left with a smaller labor force for other occupations than the United States has, with its smaller population. The figure: 54 million in the Soviet Union; 64 million in the United States.

To give you an idea of the comparative efficiency of Soviet and American workers: Twenty million workers in Soviet factories supply only the barest of essentials for modern living to the Soviet people, virtually nothing for export. But 17.6 million Americans working in factories not only supply the United States with the world's greatest abundance of goods but also create large surpluses for export.

Why Soviet industry is short of manpower
[In millions]

	Russia	United States
Russia's labor force outnumbers that of United States. But, Russia, with inefficient farming methods, uses nearly 10 times as	109.6	72. 3
many people as the United States to do farmwork. Russia also has larger armed forces. Result: Russia has fewer workers for	52, 0 3, 6	5. 8 2. 8
industries, trades, services, other types of work	54.0	64.0

Where Russia stands today. Add up the facts, and this conclusion emerges:

Soviet achievements that have impressed the world are mostly in a few narrow fields—such as weapons and heavy industry—into which tremendous effort has been poured by a ruthless dictatorship.

Outside these fields, the Soviet Union emerges as a backward nation—years behind the United States and far short of Khrushchev's boasts.

There Can Be Labor-Management Peace in Steel

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. THOMAS B. CURTIS

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 3, 1960

Mr. CURTIS of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, in a speech I gave last September which was placed in the Record October 2, 1959, by Representative Bob Wilson, pages A8495-A8497, I stressed the value of the private enterprise system which ultizes the free market place to reach economic decisions instead of political bureaucracies or economic oligopolies. I pointed out that this was the equivalent in the science of economics and related social sciences of the laboratory technique developed to test ideas and truths in the physical sciences.

Three basic things are needed to preserve the free market place as a laboratory to test economic decisions. First-Fair and adequate antitrust laws. Second. Strong and independent laborations responsive to their membership. Third, Fair foreign trade.

I have felt that in America we were blessed with labor leaders, by and large, who believed in the private enterprise system and who understood why it was preferable to economic systems where decisions were made by small groups of men, however, benevolent, and whether their selection to power came from the field of politics or the field of economics. I am placing in the Record a speech made by such a labor leader, Mr. David J. McDonald, president of the United Steelworkers of America. He has challenged management to be equally understanding.

THERE CAN BE LABOR-MANAGEMENT PEACE IN

(By David J. McDonald, president, United Steelworkers of America)

A noted statesman once said: "Out of every catastrophe comes something good."

Those of you who remember the long gruelling crisis that enveloped the steel industry for 116 days last year will wonder what good, if anything, could possibly emerge from that regrettable breakdown of labor-management relations. What possible benefit could accrue the workers, the management, or the Nation from the longest and costliest steel dispute our country has ever seen?

I am not going to minimize the hardship and suffering endured by a half million of our members during their spirited fight for justice. Nor can anyone flippantly disregard the economic loss encountered by the stell industry, the workers, and companies in related industries or the Nation as a whole throughout that lengthy work stoppage.

And it certainly is not my intention to crow over the final terms of settlement which, after an unprecedented struggle, not only preserved for the steelworkers of America their basic job protections but gave them a fair measure of deserved economic improvement.

No, the principal windfall from this lamentable experience which was thrust upon us is one that, hopefully, may redound to the everlasting profit and gain of all Americaincluding the workers and the companies. I am referring to the far-reaching steps taken by both sides to help establish lasting peace

by both sides to help establish lasting peace and harmony between workers and management in this industry after the realization by all concerned that such industrial warfare can and should be prevented in the future.

You should know about this important development. It is a refreshing demonstration that reasonable men, if they want, can find a way to resolve their differences through free collective bargaining. But perhaps, even more important to you, it holds the promise of permanent labor-management peace in an industry where a collective bargaining war can vitally affect your economic well being—even if you are not directly connected with it.

Let me tell you what has happened and explain why I think this change in our industry is so important to you. But first allow me to point up the general problem, its essential elements and why it took the union and the management so long to find a better way

to live with one another.

During the 23 years of our union's existence, we have had a checkered pattern of relations with the steel companies.

Over the past 20 years, sometimes accompanied by conflict, we have laboriously created a relationship in which each party has respect and understanding for the day-to-day problems of the other and in which neither attempts to demonstrate that it is the master and that the other must bow.

It is and always has been the union's desire to maintain this kind of relationship. Both management and our union will readily agree that once the economic and contractual issues between them were resolved, there was a healthy period of stability for the duration of the contract term.

It is perhaps inevitable, though regrettable, that the companies and the union have had differences as to the appropriate terms of their labor contracts. Under our system of free collective bargaining, failure to resolve these issues has led to strikes on some occasions.

The principal ingredient lacking in our relationship has been an instrument to avert the turmoil and uncertainty which arises when new contracts must be negotiated. Industry and labor have not yet found a way to make an orderly transition from one contract to the next without sacrificing the interests and equity of either or running the risk of a shutdown.

Negotiating a new contract is infinitely complex and the factors involved, even in a harrow area of activity, are without number. Moreover, such collective bargaining is a social process. It involves people emotionally. Each side slugs and claws for temporary advantage and both fashion themselves into a fighting army determined to win what each deems valid points.

Our problem has centered on the fact that we of the union and the representatives of management have not had the opportunity to discuss or attempt to resolve our economic and contractual differences in a climate that lends itself to rational and objective solution. We faced our major problems and issues only when the contract deadline pressures had been built up. Then, it was sometimes too late and a crippling dispute flared up.

Our experience of last year was the climax. A5 a trade union, the United Steelworkers of America has long opposed governmental

interference of any kind with free collective bargaining. Accordingly, we proposed a variety of devices to settle our differences including some which would enlist the assistance of neutral, impartial persons.

In advocating a formula for industrial peace, we searched for a way to make disastrous disputes obsolete while preserving the precious freedoms that have made our country the best of all time in which to live and work.

On October 26, 1959, an historic agreement was consumated with the Kaiser Steel Corp. which set the pattern for somewhat similar agreements by other steel firms.

The significant thing about this settlement is that it—for the first time—included a serious program for achieving industrial harmony along the lines that we have been advocating. It called for the creation of a tripartite committee, including public representatives, to work out a method whereby workers and the public could share with stockholders in the fruits of industrial progress.

Through joint human relations committees we will sit down together and study out some of the problems that contribute toward a breakdown of good labor-management relations.

Here are new, practical and largely unexplored means for both workers and employers to conduct a search for truth. It could lead to the first honest assessment of our contractual relationship and the correction of our inadequacies when we meet to negotiate new agreements.

There are those, of course, who will tell you that there will always be shutdowns, that there will always be industrial conflict.

We of the union cannot foresee the future, naturally. But we have made a contract and we intend to keep it.

We have entered a contractual relationship in good faith and I hope the steel industry has done the same. I feel confident in my heart that if we apply all the skill ingenuity and social understanding possessed by the leadership of both sides, we will succeed in putting our house in order.

If we do find a way to amicably resolve our differences with consistency, the rewards will be phenominal not only for those of us in the industry but for every man, woman and child in our great country.

It could bring our Nation a new era of economic stability. The companies will be assured of steady, profitable production. The workers will have the promise of continuous work and high earnings, as well as decent conditions of employment. And for our Nation, it will insure a satisfactory and steady flow of a vital commodity produced by workers who are not only happy but can make their rightful contribution to economic prosperity of our land through their great purchasing power.

I regard this new effort as a sober and critical process to locate the truths by which we can establish the kind of relationship which all America will endorse. We can and must transform conflict into cooperation. We must strive to bring predictability and peace of mind to one of our greatest industries and its workers.

The ultimate goal is to remove problems of labor and management from the arena of long and costly economic warfare and project these differences into a common meeting ground which will preserve free collective bargaining and prove its worth in our democratic society.

Ours is an industrial civilization. People spend a large part of their lives in the mines, mills, and plants of America contributing their best at their machines or in their offices. America's promise of "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness" will mean little to them if their lives in industry are fraught with conflict, tension, and frustra-

tion. If we can build a better way of life within our industry, we will have gained the inner satisfaction of discharging one of the heaviest social responsibilities of modern man.

Giving labor a recognized partnership in those affairs of industrial society which affect workers, management and the general public will go far to change the old psychology of conflict to one of mutual understanding and respect.

I am confident that if this new effort to bring industrial peace is successful in steel, it will set a pattern of progress for all American industry. If it does, the sacrifices of steelworkers and the economic losses of the companies and the Nation in the longest shutdown in history will be turned to the advantage of all the American people.

Has the West Saved Its Good Earth?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. BYRON L. JOHNSON

OF COLORADO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, April 14, 1960

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. Mr. Speaker, last week we celebrated the 25th anniversary of soil conservation work in the United States. This significant occasion caused the Denver Post to publish an excellent article by Roscoe Fleming. The work of this program in our own State of Colorado is a tribute to the wisdom of Congress 25 year ago. I invite the Members' attention to Mr. Fleming's report of April 24 in the Denver Post:

HAS THE WEST SAVED ITS GOOD EARTH? (By Roscoe Fleming)

It began not primarily to save soil, but to save people.

This was in the dark days of the early thirties, when the "black rollers" were devastating the plains, and the eroding American earth was running off to sea at the rate of half a million good acres yearly.

Secretary of Interior Harold Ickes, charged with the duty to get millions of jobless people back to work, created the Soil Erosion Service, in September of 1933.

The division so proved its worth that Congress unanimously made it a permanent division of the Department of Agriculture as the Soil Conservation Service.

Secretary of Agriculture Henry Wallace formally proclaimed it April 27, 1935; so this week we are observing its 25th anniversary.

There are 40 men still in Congress who voted for it, including Senators Carl Hayden, of Arizona; Joseph C. O'Mahoner, of Wyoming; James E. Mueray, of Montana; and Frank Carlson, of Kansas; and Representatives Sam Rayburn, Wright Patman, and George H. Mahon, all of Texas.

Succeeding years have seen the Service take on one duty after another until its 25th birthday finds it a sort of national handyman in conservation.

The total of present SCS responsibilities often surprises people who think they are familiar with it, particularly in the West.

Its most important function is to supervise the original national program of soil conservation through local soil conservation districts run under State laws by elected boards of soil district residents.

But SCS also directs the important soil classification project of the Department of Agriculture, and carries out that Department's responsibilities in watershed protection and flood control.

This latter job entails supervising 11 large watershed pilot projects under the Flood Control Act of 1944; hundreds of small watershed projects started or planned by local districts under an act of 1954; and the special \$150 million Great Plains conservation program authorized in 1956.

The Service also gives technical help to farmers and ranchers, under various parts of the general farm program, including the

soil bank conservation reserve.

SCS is in general charge of the enormous winter program of measuring snowpack and water content on the western mountains, so vital to every western water user and agency; and more lately it has been assigned to measure fallout contamination of the soil.

Its accumulating files of permanent data are valuable in many unthought-of ways; for example the Colorado Highway Department is now studying SCS soil-classification maps of eastern Colorado to find suitable

gravels for road concrete.

Statistics show how big a job it is to help farmers and others to save topsoil, and to put it in shape to hand down to future generations unimpaired-all after a century of "mine it out and move on" which began to end with the conservation crusade of Theodore Roosevelt and Gifford Pinchot a halfcentury ago.

As of 1960, there are 2,865 soil conservation districts organized under State lawssome significantly call themselves soil and

water districts.

They have nearly 2 million members, and a lively national organization, regionally represented in Denver by Robert S. McClelland.

Soil within districts now totals 1.7 billion acres, including more than 90 percent of all

privately owned rural land.

All such land within 21 States is now included within SCS districts, including Kansas and Nebraska; no State has less than 70 percent included.

But the task of total conservation is so enormous that as yet, even after a quartercentury, only about 20 percent of all eligible land has received full conservation treatment.

This, generally speaking, is at the expense of the landholder or tiller, who receives technical assistance and approval from SCS through his local district.

About 1.7 million basic plans have been prepared by people desiring soil help, but only a fraction have been completed, the rest waiting their turn.

Even so the accomplishments so far are Herculean.

They include 990,000 farm ponds and 32,000 larger reservoirs, for flood control and irrigation; 34,000 miles of windbreak; 1.1 million miles of terracing, and 36 million acres contoured; 6.3 million acres planted to trees.

The face of America is being changed. Any air traveler can see the beautiful resulting patterns from above and can also see the enormous areas yet to be treated.

The SCS plans are not the only such programs, of course.

Uncle Sam's own acres are being conserved by such agencies as the Forest Service, the Bureau of Land Management, and the National Park Service.

The difficulty here is that Congress appropriates meagerly. Senator GALE McGEE, of Wyoming, recently complained that at the present pace it would take 75 years just to replant burned-over forest.

The Soil Conservation Service also is in general charge of the next necessary step in rural conservation.

Erosion doesn't stop at fence lines. Groups of farmers and perhaps others have to get together, to check it throughout the watershed in which they live.

This obvious need was met by the Small Watershed Project Act of 1954, through which farmers and others can jointly apply for SCS assistance.

By last March 1 more than 1,200 applications had been received covering more than 90 million acres, and some 200 projects were

actually underway.

Those in Colorado include Wray, Klowa, Cherry Creek, and Big Sandy. Applications from five others in Colorado are being processed, and many others are on the way.

Colorado has 96 soll conservation districts with a strong State association. These districts cover 49.5 million acres, tilled by 18,356 cooperating citizens. The 13-State Rocky Mountain empire has about 560,000 coop-

SCS also handles the special \$150 million Great Plains drought-proofing program authorized by Congress in 1956 just at the end of the disastrous drought of the 1950's.

Under this program, any Great Plains farmer or rancher within an area covering parts of 10 States, may get a Federal grant-in-aid to improve his "spread" so that it will better survive the inevitable next drought.

This didn't actually get a good start until 1958, but by now about 4,100 farm-and-ranch plans have been approved, with another 3,000 applications on file. The apother 3,000 applications on file. proved plans cover more than 11 million acres.

The average of accepted "Great Plains" plans runs about 2,700 acres, and the significant thing is that the total program calls for putting about 30 percent of crop acreage back into grass. In other words, it is a partial return from crop farming to grassland

The Federal Government is by now obligated for about \$20 million, and with increasing acceptance of the program, SCS hopes Congress will appropriate \$25 million a year, so as to get the whole program done by 1966 and before the "black rollers" come again.

So far the program is only a scratch on the Plains, since the 422 counties included in its area have 386 million acres.

All of eastern Colorado is included right up to the mountains, with about 26,000 eligible farm-and-ranch operations. (All this of course, is in addition to normal SCS assistance through the districts, and to the small watershed program, beside other pro-

grams of other agencies.)
No one can say Uncle Sam has been niggardly or backward in this matter of saving the soil. New ground has been broken, in the way of governmental aid without governmental dictation.

Politics in the partisan sense has been largely absent; and, as has been said, we have something entirely new and encouraging here in the way of cooperation between people, and all levels of government.

So, how are we doing? Can we fold our hands and let momentum carry the job? Not by any means, according to SCS Administrator Donald Williams, speaking to Colorado SCS district members here early in 1960.

He said that new soil destroyers have taken the place of the old.

We have cut water and wind erosion perhaps by half, although we are still losing the good topsoil at too rapid a rate.

But new destroying influences are man-

Some way it seems that the plans of suburban developers and of industry gravitate naturally toward the best farm soil on the outskirts of cities.

They are covering several hundred thousand acres yearly, putting the soil out of crop-production as effectively as if it had been destroyed by wind or water

Then there are the superhighways, devouring monsters which chew up many acres per mile of right-of-way, and with their cloverleafs that swallow perhaps 50 acres each.

Every highway department finds one of its most difficult and expensive tasks is to cover and maintain these raw scars with healing vegetation.

Then there are new pollutants that poison soil and water alike—the increasing load of human and industrial wastes, of new chemicals like detergents, of radioactive substances in some areas.

Sad examples are the radioactive contamination of irrigation water by uranium mills, now being ended; and the recent revelation of poisonous discharges from the Rocky Mountain Arsenal which had spread underground for several square miles.

Soils within this area have been as effectively put out of production, at least for years, as if they'd been blown away or

for years, as it taley a countries carried down a river.
Gladwin Young Assistant SCS Administrator, speaking at Durango in early April, told Colorado cooperators that the present state of "surplus crops" is one that will vanish ere we know it.

At present farm production rates, he said. the Nation will require another quarter-billion acres within 40 years, yet there are only 63 million new acres in sight with all development, including more extensive irrigation in the West.

Both he and Administrator Williams feel there is waste and inefficiency in rooting up good citrus groves, truckfarms, and dairy farms near cities, to substitute poorer soli far away. They both bespeak closer cooperation at all levels between soli conservation districts and similar organizations, and city and rural zoning boards, developers and their associations, and so on-The need is also emphasized at Colorado State University and elsewhere.

Soil conservation has taken its Jumps at times. One example was the action of the Colorado Legislature in 1945, in rescinding all SCS rules within Colorado, and giving the districts only 45 days to reinstate them and then by a three-fourths vote.

This was caused because some eastern Colorado districts whose resident members remembered with horror the "black roller" days of the thirties ("I think I'd commit suicide before I'd go through that again." 5 veteran of it once said) had attempted rigid soil-use zoning, to prevent another plowup 'blow' soils.

But land speculators all over the Nation had bought Dust Bowl soil cheaply to hold it for a rise, and the gangplow operators from elsewhere were all poised to move in and plow up thousands of acres again for wheat which was in demand because of World War II.

Voting by proxy, since a nonresident owner has as much right to vote as residents, they overwhelmed the local veterans of the "black roller" days, and threw the land open to the plowup.

We all remember what happened when the rains ceased to come in the early fifties of if you don't, the disaster was almost as com; plete as in the 1930's, despite all the talk of 'never again."

But the general principle of conservation now seems to be accepted.

What will another quarter century bring? Some people have the vision of a completely conserved America, with every acre brought to its highest use or uses, to feed and otherwise serve the people with recrea-tion and beauty, as well as with food and fiber.

Hustisford, Wis., Describes 1960 Farm Economic Problems

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. ROBERT W. KASTENMEIER

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 3, 1960

Mr. KASTENMEIER. Mr. Speaker, the current May 9, 1960, issue of U.S. News & World Report presents a profile of Hustisford, Wis., a community located in my district. The interviews set forth clearly the problem of today's family farmer and the community which serves his needs. This description of the situation in Dodge County faithfully documents the problems facing farmers throughout Columbia, Dane, Jefferson, and Waukesha, the other counties in my district. It is obvious that present farm policies are driving the family farmer off the farm. This refuge for independent-thinking individuals is being lost to the highly mechanized and highly financed corporate farms. Homesteads are being sold since the sons to whom the farms would normally pass have turned to other jobs. Rural villages find they must compete with shopping centers in the cities where the ex-farmer now works. It is clear from this article that a way of life is passing from the American scene. Twenty or more of my colleagues and I have seen this trend and have introduced the Family Farm Income Act of 1960, a comprehensive agriculture bill designed to raise the income of the family farmer, which is based on the belief that an economically healthy family farm unit is necessary to a healthy agriculture and healthy agricultural community. I submit the views of my constituents as evidence of the ailments of our present agriculture economy and its closely related community.

WHY FARMERS ARE TROUBLED-A FARM Town's Answers

(This is the farm problem, stripped of statistics and politics, and told in terms of people. To get this story, a writer-photographer team of U.S. News & World Report visited the farm community of Hustisford in southeast Wisconsin, one of the Nation's top dairy farming areas. Farmers and men who do business with them were interviewed. In their words, you learn how the farm problem is affecting life in a typical dairy farming community. The picture that emerges: Farmers selling out in droves. Sons that "don't want any part of farming." Remaining farmers caught in a price squeeze, yet living "fairly well, with no frills." A changing rural community, with ex-farmers commuting to jobs in cities.)

"MARGIN OF PROFIT ISN'T ENOUGH"-W. E. KOHN, CASHIER, HUSTISFORD STATE BANK

Question. Mr. Kohn, what is happening to

American farmers these days?

Answer. There's been quite a movement the farms. This spring has been the climax. I think the worst of it is over, be-Cause there aren't too many small farmers

Question. Is it the young fellows or the older farmers who are getting out?

Answer. Both, but the young fellows are hurt the worst. Take a fellow who doesn't have too much debt: He's able to get along

on today's prices. But the young fellow who started on a shoestring has tough sledding.

It takes a lot of money to start farming these days. Just to give you an idea: There was a farm sale the other day. The man's line of machinery wasn't anything special. He had 25 cows. The auctioneer told me the sale total ran close to \$20,000.

No, if a young fellow comes in as a tenant these days-doesn't own his land-he needs at least \$20,000 in livestock and machinery.

Question. Do farmers live pretty well? Answer. I would say so, but certainly no frills. They do a little on their homes each year. Most have running water. They all have big lockers (freezers). Several drive new cars, but I haven't seen any with Cadillacs. It's mostly Fords, Chevvies, Olds, Pontiacs, Mercurys, a Buick here and there.

Question. What about the cash-income

Answer. I don't think the income picture is too bad. The milk price could be a little higher, but hog and beef cattle prices are pretty fair now. The big trouble is the cost of machinery and equipment.

Question. If prices for farm products stay at present levels, will farmers be satisfied?

Answer. I don't think so. The margin of profit just isn't enough. They need higher prices for their milk and other products to come out on this machinery pinch.

"FARMING SITUATION LOOKS BAD"-ALVIN WILL, A FARMER WHO HAS JUST SOLD OUT

Question. Why did you decide to quit farming, Mr. Will?

Answer. All I was getting was exercise. was farming 340 acres and milking around 48 cows. That's a good-sized operation, but by the time I paid a hired man there wasn't

anything left for me.

I got two boys, but they've gone to town, and I can't blame them. With the wages they get in town, they'd be foolish to be farming. One of them's a carpenter. He gets \$3.73 an hour, 8 hours a day, 4 days a week. On the farm you work 12, 13 hours a day, 7 days a week, and you don't get anything like that. No, sir; you've really got to love farming to stick with it, when you look what you can get in town.

Question. You're not optimistic about the future for farmers?

Answer. I tell you, this farming situation looks bad. Machinery prices are way out of line with farm prices. During the war, we got \$5.25 [per hundredweight] for milk, and a tractor cost \$1,400. Now the tractor costs \$3,200, and last year the average price I got for milk was \$3.35. I bought a car back then, too, for \$1,250—a Ford. Now, just the other day, I bought another Ford and it cost me \$3,150.

Any number of farms are standing idlemaybe renting out a little land. The guys. who are trying to hold on, they chase 'em off with taxes.

Question. Don't they have to pay taxes. even if the land is idle?

Answer, I mean personal property taxes. That's the big item. A guy sells out his cows and machinery. What happens? Taxes move across the fence to the man who's still

"MACHINERY SALES 'OFF 40 PERCENT' "-A. H. WITTENBERGER, DEALER IN FARM MACHINERY AND AUTOMOBILES

Question: Are farmers buying much machinery, Mr. Wittenberger?

Answer. Our business is off about 40 percent compared to last year. What farmers do buy, they don't want to pay you anything for. I just came back from up in the country, trying to sell a plow to a farmer. He tells me he can buy it from another dealer for \$7 less than my cost.

Farmers are hurting a little too much. You hear people say they're always griping, but right now they've got a good reason.

They were promised a raise in the price of milk, but it so happened they didn't get it. Question. You hear a lot of farmers are

Answer. We've had auctions here, at least one a day, sometimes three or four in a day, ever since the 1st of February. I'd say about 50 percent more farmers sold out this year

than in past years. The farmer who sells out usually is the

one who doesn't have modern machinery. If he had new machinery, he could make it if he's a good manager. But, before he'll spend \$8,000 or \$10,000 to get what he needs, he'll quit. These sales are mostly junk, as far as machinery goes.

Question. Farmers have been living off depreciation, haven't been replacing their ma-

Answer. That's exactly the way it is. Now they've either got to replace it or get out, so they'll sell out, put the farm in the soil bank and to hell with it.

Question. What happens to your business

as farms get fewer but larger?

Answer. The little farmer who has this cruddy machinery hasn't bought anything to speak of in 10 or 15 years. When he goes out of business you lose a customer, but not much of one. If his land is taken over by a big farmer with push, he'll step out and buy the bigger machinery, and that helps the machinery dealer.

Question. What is a farmer quits and puts

his farm in the soil bank?

Answer. That hurts considerable. All he needs then is a cheap tractor and a mower to keep the weeds clipped, and, more often than not, he rents them from a neighbor. That farm is out of circulation. That takes money out of our pocket.

Question. How do you feel about the

future?

Answer. I'm fairly optimistic. This situation right now ought to improve. Last fall we had the steel strike and no cars to sell. Then we had a bad winter. Now farmers have been beat out of the milk raise. I look for things to wash themselves out by July or August, and everybody will be in a better mood.

Question. Who's your choice for President in the election next autumn?

A. That man from New York

Question. Governor Rockefeller of New York?

Answer. That's right.

When the Republicans see how poor NIXON ran out here [in the presidential primary]. they'll go get Rockefeller. He's big business, but I think that's good. He's got brains. He'll know how to run the country.

"OUR BUSINESS IS HOLDING UP"-HERB MAD-SEN, OWNER OF A GENERAL STORE

Question. How is your business, Mr. Mad-

Answer. We can't complain. Our business is holding up all right. Last year was the best we've had since we came 9 years ago.

Question. All these farmers selling out hasn't hurt you?

Answer. No, we don't seem to lose any customers. They quit farming, they go into something else and they still have to eat. We have a lot of people here that commute to Watertown and Hartford and Beaver

" 'THE LITTLE FELLOW' IS GETTING OUT"—WILLIE KAUL, AUCTIONEER AND REAL ESTATE DEALER

Question. Mr. Kaul, they say you've been handling a lot of farm sales in this area-Answer. We sure have. The little fellow just isn't going to be around any more—that seems to be the trend. I can take you

to a road west of here where we've sold out nine farmers in a row in the last 4 years. Question. What happened to their land?

Answer. Some of it was bought by neighbors. Some of it is rented by neighbors. Some of it has gone into the soil bank. Cows are being milked on only two or three farms of the nine.

Question. How big were the farms?

Answer. They would average around 100 acres. I can give you plenty of examples of what's going on. I listed a farm for a sale farming. They had 137 acres. The son's older farmer and his son decided to quit farming. They had 13 7acres. The son's going to work for a canning factory. The place was bought by a neighbor—a father and his son who already had 320 acres. The boy's 19. They'll handle the whole thing themselves. They have the big equipment you need to do the job-three big tractors and a line of implements to go with them.

Question. With all these sales, what's hap-

pening to the price of farmland?

Answer. I'd say it's up about 5 percent and it looks like it will keep on going up. So many people are after land. Not only farmers, but people want it for subdivisions. Then there's all these new highways. And the soil bank tends to force prices up, too.

Question, You mean they're subdividing land way out here in dairy-farming country?

Answer. Sure. We have about 55 people in Hustisford working in other towns—Watertown, Juneau, Lebanon, Neosho. There are people living on the lake who drive 45 miles into Milwaukee every day.

Question. Do you find that it is mostly

young farmers who are selling out?

Answer. Young and old. A lot of young fellows just couldn't make it. Some of the older farmers decided to retire. A lot are like Alvin Will—their boys just don't want any part of farming.

"FARM WON'T SUPPORT TWO FAMILIES"—MILTON RICE, SR., COLLECTOR FOR A FARM-AUCTION-ING SERVICE

Question. Do you find most of the young fellows leaving the farm, Mr. Rice?

Answer. Unless they get a lot of good help from Dad. One thing's for sure-two families can't live off one farm any more, unless

it's a mighty big one.

Question. You're a collector for an auctioneering service. I thought farmers paid

cash at auctions.

Answer. They do-hard cash or by check, but we get quite a few rubber checks. I had \$2,500 worth handed to me at the office this morning. I've got \$700 of it back.

Question. You mean they buy something and write a check that's no good?

Answer. That's right. Usually, when you show the check to the farmer and it's marked "no funds," he digs the cash out of his pocket. We get most of it in the end. We don't repossess very much stuff.

Question. Are more farmers writing rub-

ber checks this year?

Answer. I'd say we're getting about 25 percent more this year.

"WE JUST BROKE EVEN LAST YEAR"-MARVIN BISHOP, DAIRY FARMER WHO OPERATES AROUND 1,000 ACRES WITH HIS SON, LARRY

Question. How big is your milking herd, Mr. Bishop?

Answer. We milk 93 here and 42 on one of the other farms.

Question. Do you plan to make your oper-

ation any bigger?

Answer. Not right now, but you've got to operate big in farming today. The small guy doesn't have a chance. When I started farming in 1927, we milked 36 cows-by hand. After the war, we got up to 45 cows, and we've been adding more every year. I started with 171 acres in 1927. Eight years later, I bought 136 acres more. Then, 15 years after that, I bought another 240 acres.

Question. What do you figure your investment in machinery and equipment will run?

Answer. Fifty thousand dollars, at least. You've got to have tractors, combine, field choppers. We grind our own feed, so we have feed grinders and mixers.

Question. Are many farmers selling out around you?

Answer. I've never seen anything like it. There've been times this spring when we would have three auctions in 1 day within a radius of 12 miles. A lot of these fellows just can't cut 'er. It isn't in the books when you have to hire help and machinery is so high.

Question. How much do you pay for help? Answer. I have two hired men. They each get \$300 a month along with a house, all their milk, part of their meat, a garden plot,

Question. Can you make money with the

price you get for milk now?

Answer. I just got my income tax back from the fellow who figured it. We just broke even last year, but, man, we sure handle a lot of money. No, sir, something has got to happen. We're just farming for has got to happen. We're just farming for exercise out here, with the milk price the way it is. There's no reason why we can't get a decent price for milk. With milk at 25 cents a quart in town, that means the dairy companies are getting \$12 a hundred-weight for milk we sell to them for less than \$4 a hundredweight. That look fair to you? Question. Why do you keep on farming?

Answer. The only reason a person keeps on farming is that he's got kids growing up and he feels there ought to be a future ahead for them. You keep hoping, but, if the kids don't want to farm, then there isn't much reason to stay with it. Question. Is there anything farmers can

do to get better prices?

Answer. Farmers have got to organize some way, but it's hard to organize a farmer. He's such a stubborn old mule you can't do anything with him.

Question. Who is your choice for President

next November?

Answer. Truthfully, I'm not sure. I don't think it makes a lot of difference which party is in as far as farm prices go. They promise you everything, but, when they get in there, it's a different story. I think Nixon will probably be the next President.

Polish Constitution Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. HAROLD R. COLLIER

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, May 3, 1960

Mr. COLLIER. Mr. Speaker, today 7 million Americans of Polish descent are celebrating Polish Constitution Day. I know all Americans join with them in the hope that someday the people of Poland will again live under the free spirit in which the Polish Constitution of 1791 was conceived.

Judged by any standard and measured by any yardstick, that historic document remains as one of the most liberal, democratic, and quite progressive instruments of government of the 18th century. The Polish constitution made real landmark in Poland's political history and it also had great significance in Europe's constitutional history.

By that constitution Poland overhauled its old and unwieldly governmental structure and not only brought it up to date, but it also strengthened the country internally by uniting all classes of the people behind the rejuvenated government. Poland became a limited constitutional monarchy, with a cabinet type of government responsible to parliament. The popularly elected legislative chamber was vested with real legislative powers, and the basis of the electorate was considerably broadened. Townsmen were given considerably more share in the government, and many class distinctions were abolished. Religious toleration was guaranteed. With these and many progressive features the constitution of 1791 was justly hailed by all liberals and lovers of ordered democracy. Of course, we are painfully aware that the Poles never had the chance to live under this constitution because of the destruction of their country by their rapacious neighbors, but they fervently cherished the fine spirit embodied in that document, and on this 169th anniversary celebration they still cling to that spirit.

The American Role in Pacific Asian Affairs

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OW

HON. WALTER H. JUDD

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, May 3, 1960

Mr. JUDD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include a clear, comprehensive, convincing restatement of what U.S. policy is in the Far East and Western Pacific-and why. Events in that part of the world are proving the wisdom, the farsightedness and the effectiveness of the firm. sound, and patient position our Government has consistently pursued there despite much misunderstanding and even misrepresentation.

The address was given some weeks ago before the Wisconsin Bar Association meeting in Milwaukee, by the Honorable J. Graham Parsons, Assistant Secretary of State for Far Eastern Affairs:

THE AMERICAN ROLE IN PACIFIC ASIAN AFFAIRS

I. INTRODUCTION

Mr. Chairman and members of the Wisconsin Bar Association, I wish to express my great appreciation to you for inviting me to be present as a speaker on foreign affairs. It is a privilege to be here before you to present the Department of State's case on matters which concern us all. We in the Department welcome such evidence of interest in the problems we deal with and value the opportunity of discussing with you some of the more pressing of these problems. our part, we are ever mindful of the fact that "our business is your business," and that the way we handle this business is your business is your business to all of us and to our children. We vital to all of us and to our children. also realize that if the policies we advocate and the actions we take do not have the understanding and support of the American people, we may not carry them forward but must find other courses which do have public support.

II. THE NEAR WEST

The problems I deal with have to do with the Far East as your chairman made clear in his introduction. It is a misnomer, however, for us in North America to speak of the Far East. We Americans, who border on two great oceans, should more properly speak of the Far East as the Near West. Actually in the shrinking world of today, it is near. You can board an airliner hereabouts and be in Tokyo in 20 hours or so.

Apart from being 180° off course, there is another strike against the term 'Far East." It is a European term and it reminds Asians of the colonial past. That era is gone. Of the 11 Asian countries with which our Bureau in the Department deals, 8 are newly independent, while for the 3 who Were sovereign before World War II-China, Japan, and Thailand-the circumstances are also vastly different from prewar days. free peoples of Asia are determined to eliminate the remnants of colonialism which is still a recent, unhappy memory and a sensitive subject. They may not express to us an aversion to the term "Far East" but I mention this as a reminder that the new and promising relationship we have with Asian peoples requires a continuing sensitive adjustment on all fronts-political, economic, social, and psychological.

III. THE COMMUNIST THREAT

It is an unfortunate fact that the free countries of Asia have been born—or rein-carnated—at a time of crisis in the history of mankind. Nationalism, that is to say, the aspiration of peoples to be themselves, is threatened by its antithesis, international communism. The threat is compounded of course by the Communist propaganda pretense of being the friend and benefactor of nationalism and the foe of "colonialism and imperialism." And yet in the postwar period it is the Communists who have taken over 12 countries and the former colonial powers who now have sovereign equal relations with 33 countries, former dependencies.

Like all new things, these new countries were weak at birth. When our own country adopted its Constitution in 1789, it was no exception. We are all familiar with the difficulties our Founding Fathers faced in knitting together a united Nation from 13 individual colonies. But we were protected by oceans and distance and had plenty of time at our disposal.

In contrast, a glance at a map will show us that the free countries of East and Southeast Asia are all islands or peninsulas dispersed around the central land mass of Communist China whose aim is to dominate and communize them. This is the fateful central fact with which our policy toward the region must deal. It explains why our China policy is intimately bound up with their political and economic futures and with the right of the peoples of this vast region to work out their destinies in freedom.

I have said that many of the new countries were weak at birth. Between them and Communist China there is an obvious imbalance of power which, if not redressed, renders their prospects precarious. This is a matter of great significance for the United States, and it led us to the conviction that our first task in the region is to assist the survival of these countries. That is why there is emphasis on military aspects in our aid programs and posture in the area. Security is the basic essential. First, as a necessary deterrent to Communist attacks, we maintain bases and seapower in the region from which our strength may be quickly projected to meet a variety of situations. Also to promote security we render assistance to local forces through our military assistance program so that these countries may increasingly guard against subversion within and interference from without. In addition we have concluded bilateral mutual defense treaties with some of these countries, including Japan, Korea, the Philippines, and the Republic of China. Finally, just as we and others joined NATO to provide collective

security in the Atlantic area, so have we joined with seven other countries to form the South East Asia Treaty Organization.

It is sometimes argued that our policy is thus provocative to Communist China. Actually, the exact reverse is true. Our collective security structure was developed only after unprovoked Communist aggression against Korea. Our Mutual Defense Treaty with the Republic of China was drawn up only after Communist China's attacks on Quemoy in 1954. SEATO came into being only after the fall of Dien Bien Phu, when Communist armies were threatening to overrun all of Southeast Asia.

Going even further back, we were aware of the Chinese Communist hostility toward ourselves and the free nations of Asia even before the Peiping regime came to power in 1949. For example, an article written on November 1, 1948 by Liu Shao-chi, Commu-nist China's Chief of State and second most powerful leader after Mao Tse-tung, de-clared that the world was divided into two mutually antagonistic camps—the so-called "anti-imperialist" camp headed by the Soviet Union and containing the so-called "peoples democracies" of Europe and Asia, and the "Imperialist" camp made up of the United States and its "stooges." Declaring that these two camps were in "intense conflict" and that neutraltly was impossible, he called on the so-called "peoples democratic forces" in all countries to unite with the Soviet Union in order to "defeat the American imperialist plans for world enslave-This statement reveals clearly not only that Communist China was implacably hostile to ourselves and to our friends and allies, but that the Peiping regime wanted us out of the western Pacific area so that our presence would not block its plans for future expansion.

There has been no change in Communist China's views. During the Taiwan Strait crisis of 1958, Mao Tse-tung said to a Communist news correspondent that it was the task of the people of the world, and particularly the peoples of Asia, Africa, and Latin America, to put an end to what he called "the aggression and oppression perpetrated by imperialism, namely, the U.S. imperialism." Repeatedly Peiping radio called upon us to leave the Western Pacific.

Despite longstanding Chinese Communist hostility toward us, we did not automatically adopt a similar policy of hostility toward them. When they came to power and in an attempt to sound out Peiping's intentions toward us, we left our diplomatic and consular representatives on the China mainland until they were driven out by deliberate Chinese Communist persecution. On January 5, 1950, President Truman made it clear in a public statement regarding Formosa that the United States would not use its Armed Forces to interfere in the situation and would "not provide military aid or advice to Chinese forces on Formosa." In a press conference on the same day, the Secretary of State said: "We are not going to get involved militarily in any way on the Island of Formosa." It was not until after the Communists began their aggression in Korea in June 1950 that President Truman sent the 7th Fleet into the Taiwan Strait area to protect the flank of the United Nations forces. Military aid to the Republic of China on Taiwan was begun only after the Chinese Communists' intervention in Korea.

This, then, is the origin of the so-called military preoccupation of the United States in East and Southeast Asia. Out of the fires of Communist aggression in Korea and elsewhere we have forged a protective shield for ourselves and for our free Asian neighbors. It has served them, and us, well these past 5 years. We cannot afford to put it down until the threat to freedom abates.

IV. IMPROVING THE LIFE OF THE PEOPLES OF THE REGION

While our first task is contributing to the survival of these new countries, their peoples, like people everywhere, demand more than survival. After ages of relatively static, albeit highly developed, societies, they now have new horizons and they aspire to a better material, cultural, and spiritual life. As they succeed in this objective, both with our help and that of others similarly motivated, so will they consolidate the foundations of their national existence. Therefore, as our second major objective, we seek to promote self-sustaining economies to enable the free countries to achieve the rate of progress they desire without sacrificing human values as do the Communists. To the extent that we succeed in helping to promote the healthy growth of these new countries, the objectives of the international Communists become more difficult to

The Chinese Communists recognize this and seek to prevent stabilization. It is for this reason that all along their borders truculence, aggressiveness, and constant military, economic, political, and psychological pressures, are their order of the dayas for instance, their probing action in the Taiwan Strait in 1958, their support for the Communist attacks in Laos in 1959, their political and economic pressures against Japan in 1958 and 1959, and their incursions along the Indian border in 1959. This is normal Chinese Communist behavior, which experience has taught us to expect regardless of any propaganda from Peiping about "peaceful coexistence" and the "Bandung Spirit" and regardless of successive zigs and zags in their tactics of the moment.

A byproduct of such Communist Chinese activities is a growing awareness among Asian peoples of Communist China's motiva-Out of these disillusioning Communist acts and our contrasting positive assistance has come a better understanding of our own motivations, of our willingness and ability to live up to our obligations, and of the contribution U.S. power makes to the security of each Aslan nation threatened with Communist aggression. The wellknown news correspondent, Ernest Lindley, recently wrote following a tour of free Asia that a pronounced trend is developing there toward a more realistic appreciation for and understanding of the United States and its role in deterring Communist aggression. If such a trend has developed, it could not have happened without the stimulus of policies and actions which we have initiated in the last decade.

V. WHAT OF THE FUTURE?

You may agree that "so far so good," but point out that no real solutions of our problems are in sight. Communist China exists and is growing stronger. We cannot afford to Ignore, or turn our backs on 600 million Chinese. You may suggest we must therefore have a new policy.

fore have a new policy.

Let us take a look at that proposition. First of all I think that one of our better qualities as Americans is the restless driving urge we seem to have for finding something better. On the other hand, when we are faced with a particularly stubborn problem, we must not let this urge lead us to advocate change just for the sake of change in the wishful hope that all will turn out for the best. Nor should we turn to a new policy on the mere assumption that since the problem is still with us, the old policy must be ineffective. Before a group of lawyers such as this, I do not need to labor that point. However, having made it, I would like to go on and say that we would be derelict in our responsibility if we did not welcome constructive thinking from whatever quarter, did not search for new and promising ideas,

did not keep our minds open, ready to agree when some new policy or course of action was demonstrably better adapted to serve the broad national interest. It is in that spirit that we try to approach his very vital problem of China policy.

VI. A NEW CHINA POLICY?

During the last few months there have been a number of widely publicized proposals from various sources for a new China policy. Here with you I would like to take a look at one or two which are both carefully prepared and which represent a variant of an often-proposed solution known as the "two Chinas" policy.

The proponents of the "two Chinas" solu-

tion argue somewhat as follows:

"United States-China policy has as its primary objective the containment of Communist China by isolating it from the rest of the world. Such a policy, they say, is un-realistic in that it ignores Communist China's rapid growth into a strong economic and political force in Asia which cannot for long be held back by anything we do from assuming an important international role; it cuts off all contacts between the 600 million people on the China mainland and the people of the United States; it precludes any chance of arriving at a modus vivendi with Communist China in which major issues separating Communist China and the United States may be settled by negotiation; and it is unpopular with our friends and allies. conclude that the United States should abandon this policy, which, in their opinion, by its inflexibility only drives the Chinest Communists closer into the arms of the Soviet Union, and should explore more dynamic alternatives aimed at the establishment of a basis for negotiating at least some of our dif-ficulties with the Peiping regime. In the meantime, since our support for Taiwan is one of the major sources of tension between Peiping and ourselves, the critics suggest that we should seek to create a situation in which we can maintain our commitments toward Taiwan as Taiwan, not as the representative of China, and in which Communist China can be accepted by us as the spokesman of the people on the China mainland."

I would like now to discuss this line of argument, point by point. First, we do not ignore Communist China's growth into a strong economic and political force; as a matter of prudence we must accept this fact and our policy seeks to deal with it. Indeed, it is imperative that all Americans understand that in this new decade of the sixties Communist China may well grow yet stronger and the threat it poses to its neighbors may become still more dangerous. Faced with this prospect our policy must continue to promote the development and strengthening of the free countries.

Parenthetically, let me note here that the draconian measures adopted by the Peiping regime to speed its industrialization campaign have unquestionably caused widespread resentment among the Chinese people, especially in the countryside where most of the population dwells. Although the regime appears to be firmly extrenched, the possibility cannot be ruled out that the pentup animosities of the people, especially if they should infect the armed forces, might bring about the violent destruction of the regime from within. We have seen before that police states can be brittle, hard without, but rotting within, However, the point is that our China policy is not grounded in an expectation of collapse. It would be folly to base our policy on such calculations.

But simply because we cannot prevent Communist China from increasing its power in absolute terms does not mean that we should therefore abandon a policy which seeks to offset such growth; far less should we adopt measures which might abet it. So long as Peipin is dedicated to using its growing strength for aggressive purposes, we

must adhere to measures designed to cope with that strength.

To saddle our policy with the responsibility for cutting off contact between the people of mainland China and the people of the United States is simply to ignore the record. I have already recalled that the United States retained its Embassy and principal consular establishments on mainland following the imposition of Communist rule but that after some months we were compelled to withdraw them. At the same time many hundreds of private American citizens who had remained on the China mainland after the Communist takeover also found themselves systematically harried until they left, and American-supported institutions were liquidated or taken over by the Communists. Several dozen American citizens were imprisoned and many others were subjected to other harassments. In short, the Peiping regime from its inception pursued a deliberate policy of obliterating contacts between the American and Chinese people which had been built up over a century. By the fall of 1950 we were engaged in bloody combat with so-called volunteer Chinese Communist forces in Korea. Under these circumstances it was the duty of your State Department to prohibit American citizens to travel in Communist China where they could obviously enjoy no semblance of protection.

In the summer of 1957 the Department announced that it would validate passports for travel to Communist China for a substantial group of journalists. This move was made on an experimental basis. While under our laws the reciprocal admission of an equal number of Chinese correspondents cannot be guaranteed in advance, we have made it clear that the Secretary of State would be prepared to ask the Attorney General for waivers in individual cases. No Chinese Communist correspondent has applied for entry into the United States, and with one exception, no U.S. correspondent with a validated passport has been granted permission by the Chinese Communists to enter mainland China. It is clear that the whole issue was a typical Communist propaganda hoax and that the Peiping regime was not and is not really interested in an exchange of journalists with us. This, of course, is but one of many indications that the Chinese Communists do not relish objective inquiry nor do they want contacts except on their terms.

The charge that our China policy precludes any chance of arriving at a modus vivendi with Communist China on major issues through negotiation again turns matters upside down. We have negotiated or attempted to negotiate with the Chinese Communists ever since 1953-or since 1951 if you include the protracted Korean armistice negotiations at Panmunjom. We have had since 1955, 95 meetings in Geneva and Warsaw at the ambassadorial level. Our experience with these negotiations has demonstrated that the only modus vivendi that could be worked out with the Chinese Communists would be one based on surrender to their terms. These terms, when defined in their simplest form, are that the United States get out of the west Pacific and leave the countries of east and southeast Asia to cope with Peiping as best they can, separately and alone. Considering the vast disparity in power and resources between Communist China and the other countries of the region, such a retreat from responsibility on the part of the United States would be fatal. Yet this, in essence, is what Peiping offers us as a basis for negotiation.

I will not deny that our China policy—at least some fundamental aspects of it such as our opposition to seating the Peiping regime in the United Nations—has been unpopular in some countries. I do deny that differing views on China policy, for example with India, have been a significant stumbling block in our relations with such countries. Of much greater importance is the fact that countries in east and southeast Asia, who have felt and continue to feel threatened by Chinese Communist power, do not ask us to change our policy. In fact, any hint or rumor that we might retreat from it is a source of profound disquiet to such countries. It is significant, furthermore, that in the area with which my bureau deals 10 or the 13 countries do not recognize Communist China. Only one has recognized that regime since 1950. On the other hand, as I have already noted, understanding and appreciation of our China policy has greatly increased in the area, particularly in the past year and a half, as a result of the growing awareness among its governments and peo-ples of the threat posed by Chinese Communist policy.

The claim that the Government of the Republic of China cannot adequately represent 600 million people on the mainland from whom it has been almost totally cut off for nearly 10 years is a plausible one. On the other hand, the Chinese Communist regime took power by force of arms and maintains itself by the highly developed and ruthlessly applied techniques of a police state. It is the Republic of China which adheres to the traditional values and culture of the gifted Chinese people and even today I venture to say that it is more representative of the feelings and thoughts of the mass of the people than is the regime in Peiping. Indeed, the very bitterness with which Peiping assails Taipei is evidence of the value of an alternate and truly Chinese focus of loyalty to Chinese everywhere, on the mainland, in southeast Asia and overseas. It so happens that only 3 days ago in his message on the mutual security program the President referred to the vigorous and skilled population on Taiwan which through economic reform and development has achieved a standard of living in Asia second only to that of Japan. Under its leadership, which is derived from all parts of the country, the Republic of China has the potential, as the President noted, for a pace and degree of development in excess of that under totalitarian methods.

I would like next to deal briefly with the proposition that U.S. policy has driven the Chinese Communist regime into the arms of the Soviet Union. Again the record refutes the charge. Long before our present China policy was evolved, the Chinese Communists lined themselves up solidly with the Soviet Union. This relationship was formally established by an alliance between Pelping and Moscow concluded in February 1950. At that time we were still maintaining consular establishments on the maintain and had publicly declared a hands-off policy with regard to Formosa. We had no prohibition against travel and no embargo on trade.

The Sino-Soviet alliance was a logical and inevitable consequence of a policy often proclaimed even before the Communists came to power. Mao Tse-tung (as well as Liu Shao-chi) had declared that the world was divided into two camps, Socialist and imperialist, and that China would join the Socialist camp headed by the Soviet Union. This fundamental decision of foreign policy (which, I repeat, long antidates the current China policy of the United States) springs from Mao's deep-rooted Marxist-Leninist convictions. The Chinese Communist Party was organized in 1921 with a Comintern agent named Maring playing a leading role. As late as 1927 directives to the Chinese Communist Party emanated from the Soviet Legation in Peiping before it was closed by the Chinese authorities. The party has ever acknowledged Moscow as the head of the So-

cialist camp, it has ever opposed what it calls imperialism, and it denies flatly that a third or neutral road exists.

It is true that recently we have seen some algns of differences between Mao Tse-tung and Khrushchev over interpretations of Communist doctrine and foreign policy tactics. Yet there has never been any convincing evidence that Mao has considered any other course than that of solid alinement with the Soviet Union, which each partner believes to be of great political, military, and economic advantage for his own purpose. In recent years, especially since the first Soviet sputnik in 1957, Mao has talked not just about in-evitable Communist victory but has declared that the Communists are even now winning, or, to use his language, "the East wind is prevailing over the West wind." Mao's confidence that the tide of Communist victory is now rushing in cannot be reconciled with any expectation that he is prepared to abandon a policy of alinement with Moscow if an acceptable modus vivendi could be worked between Communist China and the United States. Any U.S. effort to this end would inevitably be regarded as evidence of weakness and would be exploited to the utmost.

This brings me to the final argument advanced by these critics of our China policy, namely, that we should create a situation in which we can maintain our commitments to Taiwan as Taiwan, and accept Peiping as the spokesman for mainland China. Offhand many people find this idea attractive, be-cause it appears to reflect the situation as it actually exists, with the territory of China for 10 years now divided between two hostile They therefore suggest the best way groups. out of the dilemma, and the danger, posed by this situation is to work out an agreement which formalizes and accepts the status quo under appropriate guarantees. A basic weakness of this suggestion is that the two-China concept in any way, shape or form is totally unacceptable both to the Republic of China and the Chinese Communist regime. It is in fact the one issue on which they agree. Ironically, one of Peiping's principal propaganda themes is that the United States is attempting to im-pose just such a solution. The Chinese Communists have made it repeatedly clear in every conceivable way that they will have nothing to do with such a proposal; yet it is constantly put forward by critics of our China policy as though it were a practical basis for negotiation with the Peiping regime. To propose as a serious basis for negotiation with Peiping a concept which it has repeatedly and vitriolically rejected and to which our ally, the Republic of China, is bitterly opposed, is merely to expose ourselves to ridicule by the Communists and to mistrust by our ally. We should also stop to consider the principle involved. Despite the disparity of its components, China is a divided country just as is Vietnam and Korea. Do we wish to advocate a similar solution repugnant to these allies too?

What we have done, and are doing, with regard to the Taiwan Strait problem, recognizing its inherent dangers, is to concentrate on mitigating them. To this end we have made it clear to Peiping we will not tolerate the solution of the problem by force. When Peiping forced a crisis in late August 1958 in the Taiwan Strait, it saw that we were firm and it left off further probing. At the same time in the Warsaw negotiations, we have called upon the Chinese Communists to cease fire, to renounce force, and to seek a peaceful solution. On the other hand, by means of the joint communique issued by President Chiang and the late Secretary John Foster Dulles on October 23, 1958, the Republic of China made it clear that it would pursue its policies in the area primarily by political rather than military means.

This brings me to my conclusion in regard to China and the Far East (or Near West). It has two parts.

First, I share the conclusion of the Rockefeller Brothers Fund report on U.S. foreign policy: "toward mainland China the alternatives of policy are, for the short-run, lacking

in creative possibilities."

Second, I am convinced that our China policy is not a thing which can be dealt with in isolation because it is intimately related to the future of the whole area. Viewed in this light it has demonstrated very real creative possibilities. Under the policy which we have followed, there has been survival, consolidation and growth in the free countries of Asia, including the Republic of China. Communist aggression in Korea and Indochina has not again been attempted. Com-munist terrorists no longer run riot in Burma, Malaya, Indonesia, and the Philip-pines. Communist probes in the Taiwan Strait and Laos were damped down. This has permitted the work of creation to go on in the new countries and the work of sound re-creation to go on in Japan. Our policy and presence has redressed the balance in this great area in the critical and turbulent decade of the 1950's. We must take care now not to unsettle the balance by other alternatives of policy which could under present circumstances have only disastrous possibilities for the cause of freedom.

Finally, under the present alternative of policy, there are further and great creative possibilities for all of these free countries if, in our relations with them, we continue also our policies of collective security, of mutual assistance, of warm and sensitive appreciation of their aspirations and their problems, and of sympathetic understanding of their views of us. To believe less-to believe that a policy which has helped so much to take them and us this far will not take us further-is almost to deny faith in the capacity of free peoples to build their own lives under a free system. However, a great responsibility still rests upon us to endure, to be strong, to be patient and to devote the resources required to meet this crucial and persistent challenge. I am sure that our country which has done so much will not falter.

Polish Constitution Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. JESSICA McC. WEIS

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, May 3, 1960

Mr. WEIS. Mr. Speaker, it is indeed a privilege for me to join with my colleagues in the House and Senate in paying tribute to the brave people of Poland on their Constitution Day.

Today, it is a sad fact that Poland is forced to suffer under the yoke of the barbaric and tyrannical forces which rule all of Eastern Europe from behind the walls of the Kremlin, But despite constant Communist pressures and renewed efforts to re-Stalinize the Government, the faith of the people of Poland has not been shaken and I am confident that no amount of religious and political persecution will ever destroy the will of the Poles to be again free and independent.

In 966, a full 500 years before the

discovery of America Poland accepted Christianity and irrevocably joined her destiny with Western civilization and Latin culture. I am not disposed to believe that the transitory power of a godless dictatorship such as that which now prevails in Russia will long alter the course of Polish history.

However, the present plight of the Poles is a difficult one, and we who cherish freedom as they do must grasp every opportunity to demonstrate to the people of Poland that we are their friends, that their lot is not a matter of indifference to us, that their cause stirs our minds and

This session today will serve to assure the Polish people that Americans have not forgotten their pledge to help Poland and enslaved peoples everywhere regain their freedom and independence, and I am proud to be able to participate.

The United Democratic Leadership Team Plan for the Democratic Party and Workers in Upper Manhattan, New York City-This Team Is Composed of the Elected District Leaders Representing 167 Election Districts, 1,300 Trained Workers, and 121,000 Registered Voters

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. ADAM C. POWELL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, May 3, 1960

Mr. POWELL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Rec-ORD, I include the following material:

THE UNITED DEMOCRATIC LEADERSHIP TEAM PLAN FOR THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY AND WORKERS IN UPPER MANHATTAN, NEW YORK CITY-THIS TEAM IS COMPOSED OF THE ELECTED DISTRICT LEADERS REPRESENTING 167 ELECTION DISTRICTS, 1,300 TRAINED WORKERS, AND 121,000 REGISTERED VOTERS

SECTION L MEMORANDUM OF PURPOSE

(By Borough President Hulan E. Jack, chairman, the United Democratic Leadership

Down through the ages New York City and the Borough of Manhattan have always successfully opened its arms to emigrants who were offered great opportunities to develop in continuous growing environment of democratic principles.

These emigrants came from all parts of the world and fully participated in the benefits of this society. Finally, they were absorbed and integrated into the total life of our city.

More recently migrants came from the South to Manhattan to seek opportunities. They too settled here with the hope and the determination to participate without handicap and gain full acceptance in the life of our society.

As these various national groups came, their natural foliage of security was to move into areas where relatives, friends, and members of their racial or national minority resided. In order to participate, they regis-tered and cast their votes to help elect the local officials, city, State and National candidates for office.

The zeal to have a voice in the affairs of the community took many of the given minority groups to the polis. Their homogenous relationship, born out of the desire to be together, yet a part of the whole, introduced the political identification of these minority groups.

Each of these minority groups is comprised of individuals who are linked to-gether through ethnic and cultural ties. This is the historical background of the growth of minority groups within the political structure of our city.

As the result of participation of these minority groups, a formula was developed in the political structure which is known as the method of assuring each minority a fair

share of benefits.

Therefore, in the spirit of continuation of this policy; and in order to strengthen the minority group of which the undersigned Democratic leaders are members; and, as well as to encourage the fullest participation in the total political life of our city, we now embark on a united program of action.

As elected Democratic leaders working within the framework of the New York County Democratic organization, we are fully cognizant of the political growth of our community. We are responsive to the wishes of our constituents that unity is desirable. We, therefore, have answered affirmatively in order to accord greater service to the community. Further to deserve the confidence of the people, we will work diligently to expand the channels of opportunity for all of our citizens without regard to race, creed, color, or national origin.

We recognize that the churches have given inspiration to the great progress made through the years. They are continuing their great influence in helping to shape the future of our citizens in the community by promoting the civic, social, political, and economic welfare. We hail these spiritual leaders and assure them of our wholehearted cooperation. We will also seek to solicit and attract various civic and social leaders as well as citizens possessed with technical knowledge to work with us in advisory capacities as well as develop pro-

We earnestly advocate that qualified persons of integrity be given job opportunities on a basis of full equality of opportunity. We will engage in a program to stimulate our constituents to continue to prepare them-selves through education, specialization and training to qualify for job opportunities on a competitive basis free of discrimination at all times.

To encourage the upgrading of deserving, loyal and hard working career civil servants without regard to race, creed, color or national origin to positions in the executive and administrative strata of governmental agencies.

To advocate the eradication of slums and to promote rehabilitation by construction of residential facilities at the rentals that our great reservoir of middle- and low-income people can afford to pay.

To give of our energies to promote programs that will be a part of the master plan for the better life of all of our citizens in the various interrelated neighborhoods and to achieve a more perfect understanding among all of our citizens. In this way no community will be neglected.

We are aware that all the hopes and aspirations of a people, a minority or a group rest in the strength of the political structure. For it is the platform of the political party that attracts the voter and elects the public officials to promote the programs essential to the progress through improvements which the people want.

We, therefore, deem it our profound duty, since we believe that concentrated effort rather than disorganized, will aid the common good, to unite within the framework of the New York County Democratic Organization for the achievement of these aims.

Several committees have and will be formed to implement the programs advocated by the United Democratic Leadership These will include the economic development, housing, democratic political action (register and vote), health and hospitals.

It is in this spirit of togetherness, operation, and teamwork among the many neighborhood Democratic district leaders that a greater measure of service can be rendered on behalf of the total program for the welfare of all of our citizens alike in this great Borough of Manhattan.

We, therefore, pledge to abhor racism as against the best interests of our Democratic ideals and, feeling that God has given America the role of inspiring man everywhere with the yearning for freedom, for understanding among men, for a better life and for peace, we are joined to help achieve these glorious

SECTION II. ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITIES

(By Hulan E. Jack)

In our struggle for equality, there are many areas where we of the united democratic leadership team will be concentrating our efforts. I would like to make a few remarks about our goals and our fight for economic

and financial equality.

Out of the national market of \$1 billion which Negroes spend yearly in buying, we spent about a half a billion locally another half a billion in downtown stores. This figure is mainly in retail stores and does not include rent and other services just across the counter sales,

We spend more than \$150 million a year in food stores, yet there is not a single Negro salesman for bread, milk, and many other products. We have been able to get some of our people selling in these stores, but not

selling to most of these stores.

On another area, Harlem spends more than \$60 million in the whisky business, but Negro salesmen receive only token orders from the big white merchants who own most of the bigger stores. Already your united democratic leadership team has gone on record as supporting the fight of the liquor action committee. We will support our liquor salesmen in their endeavor to get a fair share of the sales business regardless of the stand taken by the retailers, the industry, or the union. They can rest assured that in their fight for justice we are supporting them and I am appealing to all you tonight to spread the word-don't spend that dollar for beer, whisky, gin, rum, or any other alcoholic beverage where Negro salesmen are not given the same treatment as white salesmen. Many of us have relatives or friends in this struggle and we must campaign unitedly to make things better for them and our future generations.

I could go on and on pointing out that in nearly every field where selling is involved, we are not getting our fair share of jobs in our own community, not to bring up the point that outside of Harlem, we don't even get a peak in.

All of us know here that in the political arena we are getting nothing but token jobs, and this is also true in many white-collar office and professional jobs. Part of our office and professional jobs. fight in the coming months will be not only to see that our children are preparing themselves to take jobs in a completely integrated society, but to urge and to stress the use of our voting and purchasing power wisely that we, as Negroes, support those who support us by giving us equality of opportunity.

The subject of economics and finances has also a deeper significance in terms of those

of us in the community of Harlem, one which we should feel somewhat ashamed.

It is important to all of us that this community become organized economically as well as politically, and we will make a real effort to organize in this community its financial institutions, its contractors, and the entire business community—all to be mobilized for the benefit of the whole.

We have a savings and loan association which could be a great bulwark of economic stability if it were supported as vigorously

as it should be supported.

The Carver Federal Savings & Loan Association is a \$10 million institution and can be made into a \$100 million institution by proper support.

I am not saying that the Carver has not grown, for its assets have increased by \$400,000 in the last 3 months, and it has lent to people in this community a sum of half million dollars in the same period.

We intend to seek out trained and qualifled young people and help them prepare to be leaders equal to meet the competi-tion in an integrated society. We shall seek to organize small real-estate and finance companies in our own groups to support our local community businessmen who are pressured by the major chains. We intend to work together, forgetting petty differences, not thinking selfishly, but for the good of the whole and of our community toward opening up opportunity for Negro business and of seeking your support in keeping these businesses thriving.

These are just some of the challenges that face us economically. I have only scratched the surface, but I am pretty sure you get some of the ideas of what I am talking about.

A recent national survey pointed out that the average Negro family has an income of only about \$2,300, while the average white family has an income of about \$3,400. While these figures are based on a national average, they hold correspondingly true for use here locally.

This is why in all of our discussions as

a united community team of political leaders, we of the United Democratic Leadership Team will strive to erase any difference in this raio and bring to our fellow citizens

a greater economic standard.

We are tired of tokens, we now want steak or the ability to buy steak. We want it for every family in Harlem. We feel that through greater registration and voting, through pooling wisely the finances of the citizens of this community, by militant and positive fighting to open new avenues of opportunity for your youth, and by all of us, you and I, ignoring individual differences, and looking at the greater objective, we can bring the economic standard of this community equal to that of any other group.

To deviate a bit, up here we have a great deal of freedom while down South much of our freedom is curtailed. The team wants it known that they are supporting the sitins of the southern students and advocate the picketing of the variety chains that refuse to serve people on a nonsegregated basis.

Thus, I feel, we are entering a new horizon in the struggles all of us here in Harlem have fought for over the years. We now set our sights on breaking the economic stranglehold on our community. I, for one, and I have already received the assurances of all of the team that we are united in this, will not cease in this battle. We ask only your unqualified support in this fight for yourselves and your future generations.

SECTION III, REPORT ON HARLEM MEDICAL CENTER

(By Mark Southall)

There is no need to remind you of the number of years we have been struggling to get an up-to-date and modern Harlem hospital center. As you know, the board of

estimate on July 23, 1959, authorized the acquisition of the privately owned property in the westerly portion of the block be-tween West 135th and West 136th Streets for the new hospital. Title to the site vested last year. In November of last year, the board of estimate authorized a contract for the services of the architects, Ferrenz and Taylor, for the preparation of complete drawings for the new 500-bed hospital and expansion of facilities at a few of \$875,000.

This is known as phase I and is comprised of the new 500-bed hospital which will be a 19-story building. The 500 beds will be allocated as follows: 230 for surgical and aurgical specialties; 100 for gynecology; for obstetrics: 70 for rehabilitation. will be educational facilities for 250 student nurses with classrooms and laboratories, administrative and instructors' offices, offices and rooms for nurse-anesthetists schooling. In addition thereto, there will be a medical and nursing library, and a 400-seat auditorium. Over and above the 500 beds in the hospital building there will be 34 beds in the admitting division. This new hospital building will be fully air-conditioned, will have new staff quarters for interns and will have the usual ancillary facilities to serve the entire hospital center, such as administrative offices, central sterile supply, pharmacy, surgical suites, pathological laboratories, radiology, and radiation therapy, central kitchen, and dining facilities for house staff and hospital personnel, etc. The estimated cost of phase I alone is \$17,025,000. It is expected that the preliminary plans for this new building will be finished by the end of May. By late summer, authorization for the preparation of the final plans should be processed or approved. These final plans must be completed within 12 months thereafter. Construction on the new building should start not later than January 1962, although they are pressing for an earlier date. The bureau of real estate is scheduled to start moving tenants from the site in the fall of this year.

Phase 2 of the overall improvement will be started on the completion of the new building. It will provide a new nurses residence building with 250 bedrooms and with appropriate lounge, kitchenette and laundry facilities. It will also contain physical education and recreational facilities such as gymnasium, swimming pool, game and club rooms. There will be a student nurse infirmary and health facilities. There will be two suites for staff supervisors of residence and educational program.

The new nurses residence building will be erected on the site of the old Lenox Avenue building. Other parts of the second phase include alterations to the major portion of the existing women's pavilion to provide geriatric services. The kitchen and dietary services will be modernized in the women's pavilion, pediatric building and the general care building. Premature nurseries in the existing pediatric building will be air conditioned. Parking and/or garage facilities will be provided for approximately 250 cars. Recreational facilities will also be provided for doctors and student nurses.

It is estimated that phase 2 will cost an additional \$7 million.

When redevelopment of the Harlem hos-Pital is complete, there will be a total capacity of approximately 1,200 beds.

When completed the city will have spent about \$35 million on Harlem Hospital.

SECTION IV. REPORT ON HOUSING

(By J. Raymond Jones)

For many years New York City has been pushing its public housing and slum clearance program. Today, New York City is the unquestioned leader in the construction of low-rent public housing and so-called middle-income housing under title I of the Federal Housing Act. In recent years the middleincome housing program has been supplemented by the Mitchell-Lama law designed to encourage limited-profit housing, renting around \$25 a room. New and more unique attacks on blight and deterioration were commenced by the urban renewal program which is still in the pilot project stage and the community conservation program designed to arrest the deterioration of property by alteration, renovation, and relocation of families from overcrowded areas.

What is the objective of each of these programs and how effective have they been in

meeting our housing needs?

Public housing legislation was first enacted in New York in 1939. The stated objective was not only to eliminate unsanitary and substandard housing but also to provide housing for persons of low income which would not be overcrowded, and provide proper light, air, and open space. housing necessarily operates at a loss in supplying a housing need which private enterprise admittedly cannot meet.

Once started, public housing construction moved forward by leaps and bounds. By 1959, there were 109,000 apartments in public housing projects accommodating 440,000 persons. When all such projects presently in construction or planning are completed, about 600,000 persons will reside in public housing. This is almost as many people living in the entire city of Buffalo, the second

largest city in the State.

Title I Housing was designed to provide so-called middle income housing for persons ineligible for public housing but enable to afford the high rents of unsubsidized private housing. Under this program the Federal Government and the city share the loss incurred in writing down the cost of land which is sold to private housing companies for the purpose of building apartments which will rent at reasonable rates. There are 16 title I projects completed or nearly completed and eight additional projects have moved into the advanced planning stage. When these 24 projects are completed they will total 40.242 apartments. Unfortunately, too many of them are beyond the financial means of the average family in our com-

munity.

The Mitchell-Lama limited dividend and limited rent housing program has two phases, one administered by New York City and the other by the State. Thirteen projects have been approved under the State program for New York City with \$61 million ear-marked their construction. The balance of the \$150 million State funds for limited profit housing has been allocated to communities outside New York City. New York City has also made \$150 million available for construction of limited profit housing. Twelve projects have been approved and 10 additional applications are now being processed.

The Urban Renewal program is essentially in the planning stage and cannot be expected to move beyond the pilot project area which covers the area 87th Street to 97th Street from Central Park West to Amsterdam Avenue for many years.

The community conservation program during its short existence has active programs going in Chelsea, Lower Manhattan and Downtown Brooklyn. A fourth program is scheduled to get underway in East Harlem in the near future. However, it must be remembered this is a conservation activity which strived to reduce population density as one of the means of stemming further deterioration of buildings deemed worthy of saving, thus no gain in housing units will be realized.

Certainly, New York City has a forward looking and comparatively vigorous housing program. But, as residents of the Harlem community, it is of urgent concern to us the extent to which our community is sharing in and benefiting from each of these pro-

There can be no argument as to the sufficiency of the public housing in our community. One must stop to reflect whether the amount of public housing is not out of balance with the overall needs of the community. Since the construction of Harlem River houses, one of the first two public housing projects built in our city, giant low and medium rent public housing projects have continued to rise into the skyline of Harlem. Today, there are at least 10 such projects completed or under construction in our community and at least four others are in advanced planning.

We have no quarrel with this effort to pro-

vide decent housing for those of us whose incomes have failed to keep pace with the constant rising cost of living. But, you know as I do, that our community also has many hardworking persons who are ineligible for public housing and who require privately owned housing with apartments renting from \$19 to \$30 a room per month. This we must have if we are to stem the flight to the suburbs of the many families who economically have long been the backbone of our

community.

The Polo Grounds is being sought by the Housing Authority for another public housing project. This vacant land offers an excellent opportunity for the people of the Harlem community to sponsor and construct limited profit housing at a rental that persons ineligible for public housing can afford. A possible approach to housing on this site is a combination of public housing and limited rent, private housing. This would be a giant step toward the desirable goal of balance housing for the Harlem community.

To provide the kind of housing that the families of Harlem need and demand and at rents they can afford we must look to those programs designed to encourage and make it economically feasible for private enterprise to construct housing at reasonable rents. The title I and Mitchell-Lama laws were enacted to accomplish this specific goal. I have pointed out the enormity of these programs in our city, now let us take a close look to see to what extent our community has benefited from them.

Of the 16 title I projects completed or nearly completed in New York City two are squarely in the Harlem community. two are: Lenox Terrace and Delano Village. Lenox Terrace actually resulted in a loss of 352 dwelling units, while Delano Village resulted in a net gain of 646 apartments. net gain of 294 apartments from these two projects do not begin to make a dent in the continuously growing demand for housing by our middle-income families. Nor do their average cost per room of \$45 meet the re-

quirement of our community. Of the 25 Mitchell-Lama projects that have been given the green light in New York City not a single one is yet earmarked for the Harlem community. Through the efforts of the united Democratic leadership team two sites are now being processed in mid-Harlem, one of which has advanced to the preliminary planning stage, and we expect final approval by early summer. The other requires further helpful assistance by departments of city government. In this connection we request the city planning commission to rezone the areas as specified in our recent report to the commission, from a M-3 and M-1 zone to a R-8 zone. In addition, we urge the board of estimate to expedite the removal of the department of sanitation garage from its present site adjoining a developing residential area. These actions will make available an excellent site for our second proposed Mitchell-Lama development.

Housing is a human problem but housing is also an economic problem. A large number of our friends and neighbors through hard work and frugal management have acquired and improved many of the most desirable parcels of real estate in our community. The ownership of land has during the memory of men been one of the principle symbols of stability and status in the community. The advent of the blockbusters and massive housing appear to be tolling the death knell of extensive individual ownership of real property in Manhattan. Does this mean that we are destined all to become itinerant tenants in our community?

It must not come to this. The tools of government have been designed to enable men of foresight and with modest means to take the leadership in the redevelopment of their communities. However, these tools will be of little use without a sympathetic and helpful attitude of the officials in whose custody they have been placed. What good to us is a forward-looking program if it is administered in a manner that overlooks our community?

It cannot be done by a few. For a few voices crying in the wilderness cannot gain the constant attention of active and busy city officials. Housing development in Harlem is not only of vital significance to the community-it is vitally important to the entire city. Ways of moving ahead constructively and sensibly is to utilize committees of Harlem residents. A housing committee made up of competent and knowledgeable members of the community would serve as an effective instrumentality to conduct surveys, compile facts, and to present and pursue meaningful and constructive programs before responsible city officials. A finance committee headed by a man of finance and with members learned in the affairs of finance would be of invaluable assistance in working out arrangements whereby funds would be made available to responsible community groups for the purpose of constructing private rental or operative developments in the community.

The proposed housing and redevolpment board which is scheduled to take over and administer the combined functions of title I, Mitchell-Lama, Urban Renewal, and Community Conservation should utilize the wealth of professional and technically skilled persons of our community in policymaking, administrative, and technical positions. In this connection we urge Mayor Wagner to consider our recommendation that he appoint to this board the Honorable Robert Weaver, one of New York's outstanding citizens and a housing expert of the greatest

ability and highest integrity.

The community conservation program should at the earliest possible time extend its operation into the Harlem community as an aid to the homeowners in restoring and improving the many structually sound brownstones which predominate our community. These homeowners will be found to be excellent partners in conservation for they are constantly striving not only to maintain their property but to improve their entire neighborhoods.

Finally, any construction program should emphasize the use of uneconomic commercial and vacant land first. By so doing additional housing units will be available to families that will have to be relocated at some future time.

The desires and goals of the people of Harlem does not differ substantially from those of any other community. We are a community with varied incomes, varied interests and varied needs. We desire to retain the physical and economic roots which we have sunk so deeply into the Harlem community. We desire a balanced community. Public housing for those who need and desire it, private, middle-income housing for those who can afford it, and conservation of the many good and sound buildings that warrant it. But, most of all, we want to play a major part in that development. If those charged with the responsability of coordinating the redevelopment of our city will remember this and will tap

Harlem's abundant reservoir of brains, skill, and expert experience they will reap a broad base of support and goodwill from which our entire city will benefit.

SECTION IV. JOBS

(By Congressman ADAM C. POWELL)

These are the indisputable and incontrovertible facts of rank discrimination now being practiced in the city of New York.

For some reason or other, a 6 percent quota seems to be reserved exclusively for Negroes holding appointive jobs in the city of New York. They hold 6 percent of the combined commissionerships and board memberships. They hold 6 percent of the judgeships.

Yet, Negroes constitute a thumping 21 percent of the voters in New York County—121,000 registered Democratic voters.

Of the 116 commissioners, deputy commissionerships and board members that run the city's 33 major departments, only seven are Negroes—6 percent.

Of the 192 judgeships in five courts where vacancies are filled by the mayor, only 12

are Negroes-6 percent.

In the five commissions which deal primarily with the city's development, real estate and the handling of money, not a single Negro is a member.

In special sessions court where over 75 percent of the defendants are Negroes, there is not a single Negro judge in the group of 24 judges. Special sessions courts handle misdemeanors.

There are no Negro judges in the court of special sessions, county courts, surrogates court, court of appeals, court of claims, nor the supreme court.

3. Two Negro judges now sit in the court of general sessions.

 One Negro sits in the appellate division of the supreme court.

5. Negroes do not fare much better when it comes to commissionerships. There is only one Negro commissioner in the city's departments. He is welfare commissioner.

6. There are two deputy commissioners: department of hospitals and the department of correction.

7. The four other Negroes who serve on the city's boards and commissions include: board of education, board of water supply, civil service commissioner and parole commissioner.

Polish Constitution Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. WILLIAM T. CAHILL

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 3, 1960

Mr. CAHILL. Mr. Speaker, I am happy to be able to join my many colleagues in the House of Representatives in noting this day of May 3 as one of hope for all Polish people throughout the

world.

This country which is marking the anniversary of their May 3, 1791, Constitution is now more determined than ever to rid themselves of the tyrant of communism and once again return to the free world as a peace-loving nation.

The Polish people throughout the world are to be commended for their fervent fight and continued hope in this struggle against the imperialistic powers of the Soviet Union, which have constantly since 1939, schemed to envelop

this country in so-called peace treaty maneuvers.

As the Representative from the First District of New Jersey, I send hope and courage to these people who are ceaselessly endeavoring to throw off the yoke of suppression and wish to let this day stand as a constant reminder to those of us here who enjoy democracy and peace of the evils and pitfalls of the Communist regime.

The Tariff Quota's Effect on the Small Businessman

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JACOB K. JAVITS

OF NEW YORK

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, May 3, 1960

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the Record a letter sent to me by M. I. Cushing, of New York, a textile importer and stylist. Mr. Cushing discusses the serious problems caused by the wool tariff quota to the small business importers of higher quality fabrics, and to the small manufacturers of garments using such fabrics.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the REC-

ORD, as follows:

PIERRE IMPORTS, INC., New York, N.Y., March 7, 1960. Hon. Jacob K. Javits,

U.S. Senator, Senate Office Building, Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR JAVITS: Protectionist interests are now attempting to find new ways to undermine or ban U.S. trade with the world. To my mind they need go no further than to adapt the tariff-quota system that has since late 1956 been imposed on imported woolen textiles pursuant to the "Geneva Reservation." The tariff quota has with great effectiveness thwarted orderly trade development, injured importers and caused widespread dislocation through the textile-apparel industry.

I can testify to the way the system—"protection by chaos"—works. As an American importer employing 15 persons and meeting a yearly payroll of more than \$100,000, I know at firsthand the damage that this procedure has done. And I know that the tariff quota has had an equally devastating effect upon a much broader economic segment, too, severely disrupting the normal purchasing practices of the clothing manufacturers who must depend on foreign textiles for their high-quality lines. Even so, these heavy penalties have not perceptibly bolstered the domestic woolen textile manufacturers. While they have enjoyed high profits during the current boom, the displacement of wool by manmade fibers continues and will not, surely, be much affected by waxing or waning of imported fabrics.

One very recent incident from my personal experience may illustrate the sort of misadventure to which the tariff quota exposes the businessman.

Like most people in the textile-apparel industry, my associates and I have been anxiously awaiting the "breakpoint," the moment at which the import quota (which equals about 5 percent of domestic woolen textile production) is used up. After the breakpoint, the tariff soars 80 percent—to 45 percent ad valorem. At that level it is

almost impossible to bring in high-quality fabrics.

In consequence, there is great pressure to bring in as much poundage as quickly as possible. Quite naturally, therefore, the breakpoint has come earlier and earlier in each succeeding year. In 1959, for instance, the industry was shocked when the breakpoint came as early as May 19; normal trading of imported woolens and worsteds for the year had ended in just 4½ months.

It was almost immediately evident this year, however, that the 1960 marketing year would be absolute pandemonium; that the break point for 1960 would fall sometime early in March—if not before. As of January 30, for instance, some 6,015,603 pounds had cleared customs. In 1959, the somewhat comparable figure of 6,884,547 was not reached until April 4. Similarly, 9,471,323 pounds were received as of February 20, this year, against 9,845,451 that arrived as of May 2, 1959.

Against this background, my associates and I were glad to receive news that we could on February 29 clear some 180 bales of high-quality Japanese-made textiles through the New York Custom house. Our representative appeared at the customhouse, learned that the shipment had been duly cleared and was informed that, as we had anticipated, the duty at 25 percent ad valorem (not counting the additional, specific customs charge of 371/2 cents per pound) amounted to approximately \$31,000.

As we prepared our check for delivery to the customhouse, word flashed through that the customs officers had changed their minds. They would clear 105 bales at 25 percent ad valorem, but would require the last 75 to pass at the postbreak point figure of 45 percent. The reason; The local officials had decided that break point, was imminent and that they should begin to collect the higher duty forthwith—even without prior instruc-

tions from Washington.

Let me emphasize that the decision to hike the tariff 80 percent on that Monday afternoon was purely a local one. I have no idea of what sort of a divination—or whim—may have prompted the local customs officers. I know for a fact, however, that they anticipated by 2½ days the national decision to impose the higher tariff; the Daily News Record for March 4 states that customs "collectors were notified by telegram (from the Bureau of Customs in Washington) Wednesday night that the 1960 quota of 13.5 million pounds was very close to be filled and to impose the higher duty."

Whatever the cause of the New York officers' stand, its impact was clear and simple: without any warning or prior notice it was necessary for our supplier, on March 2, to pay over an additional \$9,650 in duty, which in turn is our obligation to our supplier.

To understate the case, I am sure you will agree this hardly provides the climate in which the relatively small businessman can prosper—or even survive. And the injury was double, for it is impossible to "pass on" the higher impost; the fabrics had been previously sold on the basis of a 25-percent duty. The \$9,650, then, came off the top of our potential return on the cloth and, I can say, represented considerably more than our expected profit.

I am not attempting to question the legal right of the New York customs officers in, upon their own initiative, requiring me to pay the 45-percent ad valorem duty. Instead, I report this incident only as an example of the way the tariff quota precipitates business uncertainty and, apparently, invites any degree of official capriciousness—however inimical to business operations.

To be fair, I must note that it now appears probable that we shall receive a refund for the extra tariff payment of March 2; the Daily News Record of March 7 re-

ports the breakpoint was not actually reached until sometime in the afternoon of March 3.

That's small comfort to the bulk of the textile importing industry, however, and the important business elements in transportation, factoring, promotion, and merchandising with whom they work. It must be clear that an industry cannot operate in a marketing year of 63 days.

The tariff quota is equally disastrous to the apparel manufacturers. Developments in style, color, and texture are so rapid in textiles that the clothing manufacturer is reduced to guesswork when the workings of the tariff quota compel him to place his orders as much as 16 months in advance of delivery.

Why, then, don't the apparel manufacturers exclusively rely on U.S.-made textiles? The answer is simple enough; the domestic woolen textile producers are unable to supply the high-quality needs of the U.S. clothing market. A good part of the Nation's woolen textile imports, accordingly, are made up of high-priced fabrics upon which great amounts of craftsmanship and artistic inventiveness have been lavished. The bulk of U.S. production, on the other hand, is in staple fabrics.

The shipment of 180 bales from Japan, which I mentioned earlier, is an example. The fabrics included gabardine 272, 2-ply, both ways; tropicals 266, 2-ply, both ways, and iridescents 260 and 266, 2-ply, both ways. These varieties are simply not made here in the United States in the same quality. And yet these are the sorts of textiles upon which clothing manufacturers must depend for their lines of suits in the \$100 to \$125

U.S. mass production techniques also have the effect of stimulating woolen textile imports. Very few U.S. producers are able to manufacture, or can afford to sell, in lots of one or two pieces (each piece is approximately 75 yards in length). It is upon such quantities, however, that the custom tailor relies. Imports, therefore, are again indis-

pensable.

bracket.

Not all imports, to be sure, are aimed for the top quality market. There has, for instance, been a great outpouring of cheap, reprocessed wool textiles from the Prato area of Italy during the last 2 years. But it does not appear that these fabrics compete with U.S.-made woolens and woolen worsteds, either. Instead, these Prato manufacturers have apparently gone into competition with the cheapest manmade fabrics made here in the United States.

Manmade fabrics, in fact, are the key to the admittedly difficult problems the domestic woolen textile industry has at times faced (but in a flux of high profits is not now facing) since the end of the lush postwar Consumption figures tell the story clearly; per capita woolen textile consump-tion here in the United States stood at 4 pounds per person during the 1945-49 period. It fell to 2.7 pounds per person during 1955-58. Meanwhile, manmade fiber consumption (including rayons and acetates, as well as the new noncellulosic fibers) bounded from 6.1 pounds (1945-48) to 9.2 pounds Du Pont now estimates that U.S. (1955-58). noncellulosic production this year will reach 896 million pounds, well over twice as much as the anticipated production of woolen textiles.

The domestic industry's problem has been compounded, of course, by the necessary rationalization of a plant that by the beginning of the 1950's was seriously obsolescent and by the accompanying departure of many firms from the Northeast to the South.

No objective examination of the facts can demonstrate, however, that the industry's problem arises from the natural postwar increase in imports. Any attempt to correlate the two trends will not stand scrutiny; the industry's rationalization and switchover to blends of woolens and manmade fibers was all but complete when in 1954-55 woolen textile imports first began to have any significance.

Nor can it be argued that the foreign producers have attempted to inundate the U.S. market. Japan, for instance, has over the last few years exported less than 12 percent of its production to the world and only one-third of that to the United States. Its sales to the United States have been remarkably stable, 7.110,000 linear yards in 1957, 5.686,000 in 1958, and an estimated 5.694,000 in 1959.

Are the low wages paid abroad, placing the U.S. manufacturer at a disadvantage? Most of the propagandists who so belabor this bogy should, of course, understand that it is not the wage rate that determines manufacturing cost but the amount of labor, and its cost, required for every unit of production.

In terms of economic reality, therefore, Japanese woolen textiles certainly do not have an unfair advantage. Compare worker productivity: during the first half of 1959, the average U.S. worker was producing at an annual rate of 5,982 linear yards—his Japanese counterpart at an annual rate of 1,413 yards. Only where mass production, itself, is not conducive to a textile effect do the more craft-like foreign producers gain an advantage. It is for that reason that the bulk of our imports of British, Japanese and French woolen textiles are in those high-quality lines that require the time and labor impossible in true mass production.

I have, I know, only touched the surface of these arguments. Each of the points I have mentioned—and many more—can be found in voluminous detail in the hearings and reports of the Office of Civilian and Defense Mobilization, the U.S. Tariff Commission and various congressional and Department of Commerce panels.

These heavy volumes should be read.

These heavy volumes should be read. While I believe the domestic interests could have better invested in research and promotion programs, the hundreds of thousands of dollars they have spent in their unceasing demands for ever more confiscatory tariff rates and impenetrable quota entanglements have helped produce a printed record of inestimable value.

What most impresses me, however, is that the skilled economists whose responsibility it has been to determine national policy from this evidence have again and again rejected the domestic industry's clamorings.

ODM in January, 1958 found no danger that imports threatened the domestic industry. The agency's successor, OCDM, reported the same conclusion in February, 1959.

Now it appears that the U.S. Tariff Commission has also turned down the domestic interests. The Journal of Commerce's tariff and trade expert, John F. King, reported on March 7 that the Commission has rejected the domestic industry's bid to fix the "peril point" above the present (pre break-point) level of 25 percent ad valorem. As a result there will be no "automatic" escape clause hearings on woolen textiles and the renegotiation of the Geneva Reservation (which set up the tariff-quota system) can now proceed.

The administration deserves great credit for its courage in pushing renegotiations forward. A new and sane system for permitting imports of woolen textiles will, I imagine, strengthen our position with our friends, Britain, France, Italy, and Japan, More than that, on the basis of the 36 years I have spent in every phase of the textife-apparel industry, I know an end to tariff-quota chaos is sure to be of genuine benefit

to every part of the industry—including the domestic manufacturers—as well, of course, to the consumer.

But strong forces are pitted against the administration's policy and aim to prevent a return to orderly market conditions. I write to request that you, both in the interest of New York—its importing and textile communities—and the Nation as a whole, take every step possible to aid in the specify and successful renegotiation of the Geneva Reservation.

I am,

Sincerely,

M. I. CUSHING, President.

Conference on Multiple Use of Forest Lands

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. ALEXANDER WILEY

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, May 3, 1960

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, the preservation of our forests, as well as other unspoiled out-of-doors areas, continues to be a major challenge—if we are to conserve an adequate amount of these resources for the generations of the future.

In designing programs to preserve this area of our natural heritage, there are, of course, conflicting viewpoints as to just what kind of policies should be adopted in terms of utilization, management, and conservation.

As we know, the so-called wilderness bill, S. 1123, currently is pending before the Senate Interior and Insular Affairs Committee. Generally, the bill would designate specific areas in the United States to be preserved as wilderness.

Over the years, extensive hearings have been held to iron out difficulties raised in relation to this proposed legislation.

A particularly controversial issue has been whether or not there should be single or multiple use of forest land and the areas of outdoor heritage.

Recently, a conference was held at Northern Michigan College on the question of "multiple use of forest lands." I was privileged to receive an analysis of the proceedings by Loren S. Woerpel.

The analysis reflects the thoughtful review given by the conference to the question of multiple use of forest lands; and I ask unanimous consent to have the analysis printed in the Appendix of the

There being no objection, the analysis was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

An Analysis of the Proceedings of Conference on Multiple Use of Forest Lands

(By Loren S. Woerpel)

April 15, 1960. The conference was called for the purpose of discussing the problems and obligations that private forest managers have within the multiple-use concept of natural resource management. It was to serve as a focal point around which management can work to improve the conditions of today in relation to forest land use by bringing into perspective points of conflict through discussion.

The conference was held on April 12 and 13, 1960, using the campus of Northern Michigan College as a centrally located meeting-place. The sponsoring organizations were: Michigan College of Mining and Technology, the Timber Producer's Association, and Northern Michigan College.

Following are the subjects and authors of the presentations at the conference.

"Achieving Full Use of Forest Lands," M. B. Dickerman, director, Lake States Forest Experiment Station.

"Forest Taxation and the Concept of Multiple Use," Bruce Buell, forester, Marathon

"The Public's Benefit From Multiple Use on C. & H. Timberlands," John C. Noblet, Goodman Lumber Division—Calumet & Hecla, Inc.

"Recreation and Tomorrow's Timber Today," Dr. Gene A. Hesterberg, Forestry Department, Michigan College of Mining and Technology.

"Recreation & Commodity Development of Nonurban Lands," Bernard Orell, vice president for public affairs, Weyerhaeuser Co., Tacoma, Wash. Committee member of the National Outdoor Recreation Resources Review Commission.

"Economics in Multiple-Use Management,"
Abbott Fox, president, Abbott Fox Lumber

"Forest Game in Michigan's Club Lands," Casey Westell, American Boxboard Co.

This report is not intended to be a news account of each speech embodied in the conference, but is rather an attempt to reconstruct a complete concept of the problems and solutions to the multiple use principles as asserted by the whole spirit of this conference. In this way I can bring into the picture not only the words that were presented in the auditorium but also the ideas expressed in the lobbies and across a coffee cup during the intermissions.

One of the first things that we have to do when talking about the words, "multiple use" is to define the term. Each speaker gave his definition but the predominent connotation, in the words of Mr. Bernard Orell of Weyerhaeuser Co., was that, "Multiple use is the management process by which lands may be devoted to all possible uses in a given area." It was emphasized that this does not mean that we will have every use on every individual acre of land. Dr. M. B. Dickerman called it the ultimate of land use.

What brings on this concern for the full use of our lands? The current expansion of our human population has caused much alarm in many quarters of administration. It affects the resource manager because it has resulted in a phenomenal need of the public for increased recreation room. At the same time he is faced with problems of increased future needs of forest products. Dr. Dickerman stated that by the year 2000 we will require 50 percent more hardwoods and even more conifers in the commodity market of forest products.

Mr. John C. Noblet pointed out that land is a fixed quantity. It was commonly expressed that only by intensive multiple-use management of our land can we meet both recreational requirements and commodity requirements in the future. This concept is not new in the field of resource management, for it is the principle by which Europeans are meeting their needs at the present

Given that land is a fixed quantity, then what are the variables? Population is one. With increased population comes increased demands on the land. Quality of land is another. For example, Mr. Bruce Buell stated that only one-fourth of the upper Michigan forest land is high-quality producing land. The remaining three-fourths is at the present low quality. The industrialist relies on this one-fourth to sustain his operation. The recreationalist also needs

quality lands to provide for his needs. Mr. Orell pointed out that withdrawals of commercial lands result from three main sources; expansion of urbanization; highways, transmission lines, military uses and air bases, etc.; and recreational lands that exclude commodity uses. These have resulted in the loss to the commodity market of one-fourth of the total commercial forest lands and one-third of the average annual production of forest products. He gave an example of this problem in the Weyerhaeuser holdings. On one of their 100,000-acre tree farms a total of 5,000 acres were necessarily taken out of production for the purpose of erecting transmission lines through the area. The recreationalist, too, finds his available recreation lands withdrawn for singlé-purpose use.

The most obvious conflict is that between recreational uses and commodity uses. At just what point do they conflict? recreationalist is concerned with the preservation and the ability of our forest lands to meet his requirements. He recognizes that, at the present time, by far the bulk of land in the United States is privately owned. He isn't satisfied that private owners will manage the land to the benefit of recreational needs. On the other hand, the private landowner points to problems of fire protec-tion, trespass, debris, vandalism, and liability when he welcomes the public on his land. Mr. Buell emphasized the tax problems that the forest owner has. Mr. Noblet para-phrased the problem by saying, "They relax, we pay the tax." Mr. Abbot Fox declared that when the private landowner opens his land to recreational use he must accept the total burden of support of that recreation, in both maintenance and acceptance of liability of his guests. The question of liability came up frequently. Dr. Gene A. Hesterberg said that there has not been any good test case of the matter and until then the law people will not commit themselves as to the degree of liability when private land is open to public recreation.

Where does a solution lie? Mr. Orell said that we will recognize that we need our National Park System as a strong part of our recreational facilities. He pointed to the progress of Mission 66 (the Forest Service's recreational development program in national forests.—Editor), but at the same time declared that State and local governments should augment the national efforts by intensifying their use of what they have.

Dr. Hesterberg stated in the Upper Peninsula of Michigan alone, with more intense use, 50,000 campsites could be made available on present State-owned land and adding the national forests to the picture this number could be increased to 150,000.

Mr. Orell emphasized that the multiple-use principle (as defined previously) should be applied wherever recreational use is compatible with other uses. This does not mean that there should not be areas where commercial cuts should be restricted or excluded. It depends on the purpose and significance of the area. Mr. Noblet's company manages 300,000 acres under the multiple-use principle. All their lands are open for all kinds of public recreation. They have over 1,000 miles of roads open to the public and no fee is charged. Last year they provided 2,000 specially made maps of their holdings to sportsmen who used their areas. Only four men wrote a "thank you" card. Besides this, they have leased and granted lands to both public and private agencies for recreational developments. They feel that recreation and commodity development are compatible, for all of their lands are under sustained yield silvicultural practices. The only thing that they ask is that the public should not abuse the right to use these lands.

Dr. Hesterberg charged industry with the prospect of either managing their lands more intensively under multiple-use principles of

continue to face public distrust. Along with this, he displayed a large wood "welcome sportsmen" sign which he said that he would like to see on our private lands if the liability laws were changed to protect the owner who

welcomes the public.

Casey Westell pointed out that the forester is dealing with a living forest community, not just trees. If the forest is not properly managed the whole community will suffer. He said that foresters are often accused of being too much "board-feet and fiber men." The forester must endeavor to understand the ecological relationships in the forest community. Game harvest is one means by which we must help maintain a balance in this community. Mr. Westell is working With private hunting club lands and managing the aspen for pulpwood productions under his company program. He finds that reproducing aspen after a silvical cut is vir-tually impossible without control of the deer herd. He says that we could carry twice as many deer on our lands with intensive management of both the forest and the game. In his management program he has increased the carrying capacity of the land and also the average weight of the deer killed from 100 pounds to 136 pounds in 4 years. He claims that this will continue to increase on his managed lands. He says, "Let's face it, the hunter is the only legal means by which we can control the deer herd and insure reproduction of the managed forest lands. Let's turn recreation into an asset, not a liability." On the other hand, burning or cutting our forests again is the only way we will be able to maintain our high populations of deer, A well managed, sustained yield forest is a much more agreeable method of doing the same thing and at the same time allowing other compatible uses. Mr. Westell maintains that the problem of liability, taxes, and cost of mainte-nance of recreation can be worked to benefit both the public and the private land-Owner if positive action is intensified rather than both sides reverting to defensive complaining.

That opening their lands to intensive recreational use is a public relations asset is exemplified by Weyerhaeuser Co. and Calumet & Hecla, Inc., at this meeting. companies have enhanced their public relations program by bearing the cost of developing recreational facilities on their Weyerhaeuser's efforts to benefit the recreational public are well known. C. & H. realize their asset and have gone so far as to not allow any billboard advertising on their lands that are adjacent to public wayfares in order to maintain the scenic value of their land. Thousands of travelers enjoy their scenic lands while traveling the Keweenaw peninsula in upper Michigan. It could be pointed out here that all of these lands usually observed by the traveler in the copper country as being quite wild, are, in fact, being intensively managed under the selective cut sustained yield method without their apparent knowledge. Other efforts by C. & H. have been reported previously in this report. Mr. Noblet says that industry should make their efforts better known to the public to insure a better understanding.

Summary: It is obvious that because of an increasing population, there are increasing demands on a fixed quantity of land. The solution is to intensify the variable, that is, gain fuller benefits from the available resources on that land. That the American people need increased recreational room is not an opinion but a fact. The same holds true for increased demand on the forest for commodity products. Both sides of this conflict between recreational room use and commodity use are going to have to throw aside their emotional prejudices and begin to try to understand each other's problems and needs more thoroughly. We must understand that just as there is an ecological relationship within the forest, there is an ecological relationship between man and his environment. Both recreational interests and commodity interests are going to have to give ground, so to speak; ever, they will be moving toward an ultimate, a utopia, to a point where both recreational needs and commodity needs of America can be satisfied.

History of the Polish Legion of American Veterans

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. PRESCOTT BUSH

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Tuesday, May 3, 1960

Mr. BUSH. Mr. President, in the last session of Congress, I introduced Senate Concurrent Resolution 40, which would provide for Federal recognition of the Polish Legion of American Veterans, U.S.A. This organization, often referred to by its initials, PLAV, is the largest organization of American veterans of Polish ancestry in the United States. Its membership includes over a million veterans of World War I and II, and has departments in 14 States. including Connecticut.

I have received a communication from Mr. Theodore S. Holtz, national commander of the PLAV indicating that his organization will hold a national convention in Chicago, from September 2 through September 5, and supplying me with an outline of the history, aims, and ideals of the Polish Legion of American Veterans. This outline is most in-formative and will be helpful to those Members of the Senate who are not yet familiar with this worthy organization.

I ask unanimous consent that the history of the Polish Legion of American Veterans be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the history was ordered to be printed in the RECORD. as follows:

HISTORY OF THE POLISH LEGION OF AMERICAN VETERANS

At the termination of World War I, various groups of American veterans of Polish descent of that war, throughout the United States, formed organizations and clubs to give service to the veterans and their families.

Most prominent in this activity in the early 1920's were the Alliance of American Veterans of Polish Extraction, with national headquarters in Chicago, Ill., representing Illinois, Wisconsin, and Ohio. A similar organization with the same name was organized in Michigan, with headquarters in Detroit, Mich. The third organization was in the East, consisting of New York and New Jersey, under the name of Polish Legion of the American Army, with national headquar-

ters in New York, N.Y.
In the year of 1930, the Alliance of American Veterans of Polish Extraction, with headquarters in Chicago, Ill., delegated their national commander, Stanley A. Halick, to the national convention of the Polish Legion of the American Army, for the purpose of consolidating all three organizations into one strong organization of Veterans of Polish

The three organizations met in Cleveland. Ohio, on September 5, 1931, at a convention forming the Polish Legion of American Veterans. At this convention all three organizations were equally represented by their fully entitled delegations.

The three national commanders of their organizations gave a pledge assuring cooperation and unity to the new organization known as the Polish Legion of American

The three commanders then placed a convention wreath at the monument of Thadeusz Kosciuszko, a soldier who fought in the Revolutionary War, for freedom, the basis of our American Constitution, and made their pledge for unity in the presence of all those assembled.

The ladies auxiliary was formed to advise and assist in every possible way, the Amer-ican veterans of Polish extraction and their families, to perpetuate the memory of the hero's who died in the great struggle for

democracy.

The first national convention was held in Hamtramck, Mich., in 1932, electing Mieczyslaw Glod as national commander. The sons and daughters of the members of the organization were urged to organize and adopt the Military Order of Fleas as an auxiliary organization. At the sixth national convention, The Military Order of Fleas was accepted as an auxiliary unit of the Polish Legion of American Veterans.

Due to the state of war and by unanimous consent of all the State departments, the next national convention was held in abeyance until the cessation of hostilities. True to their love of freedom, Poles fought for this freedom all over the world, with the auxiliary units working in hospitals and raising funds for the needs of the veterans everywhere.

At the convention of September 1946, in deference to many World War II veterans that attended this convention, the emblem of the organization was changed to embody the "Ruptured Duck."

On September 3, 1948, during the ninth annual convention, the adoption of the Gold Star Mothers as an auxiliary unit was confirmed, a new constitution and bylaws were adopted.

The first newspaper came off the prein 1956, which was to be known as the Polish Legion of American Veterans National News, edited by Theodore S. Holtz, commander. Today the newspaper is better known by the abbreviation PLAV News and tells of the workings all over the country.

In the years following the major conflicts of our country, The Polish Legion of American Veterans and the ladies auxiliaries have strived hand in hand to provide entertainment and small necessities for these veterans.

It is a blessing to some of these veterans, many who are a long way from home, confined for great lengths of time, to have an organization such as the Polish Legion of American Veterans, aid and ease their present welfare. Race, creed, color or nationality, have no bearing when we visit and entertain these various institutions. In a pot pourri of people as great as ours, organizations which go to these various institutions cannot single out their people.

As a living monument to over 1 million Americans of Polish extraction who served in World War I and II, in the Armed Forces of the United States of America, and to the many thousands who have made the supreme sacrifice, the Polish Legion of American Veterans aims and ideals are to maintain and preserve a true spirit of freedom and patriotism, and giving evidence of such, by support, and cooperation both moral and material, and as the preamble of the Polish Legion of American Veterans reads:

"To maintain an active interest in all manifestations and demonstrations of a patriotic nature that the glory and the security of American ideals, institutions, and liberties may be forever preserved.

liberties may be forever preserved.

"To combat the destructive propaganda of communism and all other influences alming to destroy or weaken our American institutions or Government.

"To disseminate a true conception of Americanism and all the love and understanding of American ideals, hopes, and

aspirations.

"Imbued with unbound and unrestrained loyalty to America and her institutions, yet proud of the traditions and achievements that inspire a deeper understanding and practice of loyalty, the Polish Legion of American Veterans to furtherance of such loyalty and militant service is dedicated."

Principles for Area Redevelopment Legislation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 3, 1960

Mr. FLOOD, Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks. I include an article on the principles for area redevelopment legislation written by Mr. Solomon Barkin, executive director, Area Employment Expansion Committee, New York City. This article makes a plea for the development or redevelopment of distressed and underdeveloped areas in the United States and Mr. Barkin points out that the goals expressed in the Employment Act of 1946 will be realized when the vast pockets of unemployment and the pools of underemployed will be eliminated by such a development program, as set forth in the area redevelopment bill passed last year by the U.S. Senate and now pending before the House of Representatives. The article follows:

PRINCIPLES FOR AREA REDEVELOPMENT LEGISLATION

(By Solomon Barkin)

(This article makes a plea for the development or redevelopment of distressed and underdeveloped areas. There is legislation in Congress to implement such a program, and Mr. Barkin points out that the goals expressed in the Employment Act of 1946 will be realized when the vast pockets of unemployment and the pools of underemployed will be eliminated by such a development program.)

The human, social and private waste in America resulting from unemployment, underemployment and low living standards in distressed and underdeveloped areas presents a challenge to the American people which we can no longer avoid. All but the committed economic standpatters have joined supporters of area redevelopment legislation.

There is a widespread consensus that these areas and the people within them need outside help to convert their moribund and contracting community economies into flourishing ones. The current high level of national unemployment will not be taken down to the irreducible minimum unless we vigorously attack the pockets of unemployment and underemployment located in these

The distressed areas in this country at one time represented the backbone of the American economic structure. We cannot list communities such as Lawrence, Mass.; Amsterdam, N.Y; Scranton, Pa.; Durham, N.C.; Detroit, Mich.; Portland, Oreg.; and those of southern Illinois without recalling their days of economic glory. Their present distress was brought about by vast economic changes in American industry, which witnessed the substitution of oil for coal; a rise in productivity to unprecedented new heights; changing consumer and producer demands; substitution of new processes, products and raw materials for old ones; and the growing impact of imports.

These changes have brought new economic growth and riches to the country as a whole. They have spelled the blossoming of new areas. But they have brought problems to many older areas and to their inhabitants. In some, they have meant economic disaster

and continuing reverses.

The fate which has befallen these communities might well become the destiny of many other areas now enjoying the peak of their economic growth. Economic and technical changes are continuing; they will, in the future, alter the position of many areas. No group is protected from the ravages of this highly turbulent and dynamic economy. The prosperous ones of today may tomorrow be flat on their backs.

These cycles of economic growth and decline are not new; they will continue into the future. What is new is the realization that we can no longer afford to stand idly by and let these cycles be reenacted without seeking to stop their ravages and the ac-

companying economic decline.

The proposed area redevelopment legislation seeks to help urban areas adversely affected by change. In some cases new innovations may rekindle the forces of growth. But where changes spell long-term decline, the new legislation desires to provide machinery to nip the contraction at the start and to help local areas reassess their problems, redesign their communities and plan for their ultimate renaissance. The purpose of the legislation is to provide the machinery for shortening the decline and hastening the renewal of the local economies.

In April 1959, there were at least 267 labor market areas in the United States with a labor surplus in excess of 6 percent of the civilian labor force. Of these, 147 labor markets had had a substantial labor surplus for 18 months or more during the 2 preceding years. The chronic nature of these labor surpluses is indicated by the fact that in April 1959, the above-mentioned labor markets had had continuing substantial labor surpluses for the following numbers of months: 18 months, 71; 22 months, 7; 24 months, 2; and 25 or more months, 67. Forty-seven of these distressed labor markets have had substantial labor surpluses at least since January 1955.

A considerable number of labor markets with substantial labor surpluses will probably be added to the distressed category this year. Even if unemployment were to continue to drop to the most optimistic figures which have been offered to date—to a seasonally adjusted level of 3,500,000—the number of distressed areas would be increased, leaving new significant pockets of chronic distress. Most of the new distressed communities will come from the north-central States, arising from the contraction of employment in the durable consumer-goods industries, particularly the automobile industry; the changes in military procurement, and the marked rise in productivity.

The setback in the Western lumber industry will also create permanent distress in the labor markets which have been built around this industry.

In defining "distressed areas," the writer has followed the criteria contained in the Douglas-Payne area redevelopment bill of 1958 and the House Banking Committee bill

of 1959. They identify as distressed, areas in which there has been unemployment of 6 percent or more in at least 18 of the immediately previous 24 months, 9 percent during at least 15 of the immediately previous 18 months, 12 percent during the immediately previous 12 months or 15 percent during the immediately previous 6 months. The conviction underlying this distinction is that the labor markets with such persistent levels of unemployment are generally suffering from structural defects in their economy. deficiencies are subjecting them to an intensive level of unemployment. To overcome these shortcomings, the areas must redevelop their economic structure and promote the establishment of new nuclei for economic

A contrary position has been espoused by others who have insisted that aid should be granted only to communities which, over several years, have had a rate of unemployment at least 50 percent higher than that prevailing in the Nation as a whole. The theory behind this presentation is that only distressed areas which have suffered more intensely than has the country as a whole need Federal assistance. The primary purpose is to limit the Federal Government's liability.

While area-redevelopment legislation does not seek to correct the overall national economic trends which result in unusually high levels of unemployment, it can help communities reconstruct their economic structures so as to benefit from a business upturn and thereby accelerate their rehabilitation. By restricting assistance to the extremely chronic areas, the alternative program will not be of aid to communities which can more easily improve their situation and thereby forestall the aggravation of their people's plight. The sponsors of this more restrictive definition do not deny that most communities included in the preceding group are truly distressed. They are, however, hopeful that improvements in the national economy will graduate some of them out of the distressed classification and thereby reduce the number which would be eligible for financial assistance. They want to limit the benefits to the most aggravated areas rather than to distressed labor markets generally. In approving technical assistance to one-industry communities, irrespective of the level of unemployment, they are conceding that preventive or early action can be con-structive. But they are moved to restrict the beneficiaries in order to hold down Federal expenditures for this objective.

REDEVELOPMENT ECONOMICALLY SOUND

The redevelopment of distressed areas is imperative on both humane and economic grounds. We cannot abandon these communities, as we were prone to do with the older mining sites, and permit them to become ghost towns. Modern communities are no longer makeshift arrangements. They represent large-scale public and private investments in which thousands of people have made tremendous contributions, and in which extensive permanent private and public improvements have been erected. investments made by individuals, corpora-tions, and public institutions and organizations exceed tens of billions of dollars. They reflect the efforts and savings of decades. At a time when we are faced with stupendous financial burdens to develop our military strength, to help underdeveloped foreign areas, to create the physical plant for our expanding population, and to complete the facilities required by our bulging metropolitan areas and suburbs, we cannot afford to overlook existing plants, homes, and community investments. It would be poor national economy. We must help make the most of these existing assets.

The human associations with existing sites are so profound that even in periods of great distress people are reluctant to move

from them. The advocates of out-migration and increased commutation tend to over-look the high rate of physical movement already existing in the United States. Among western countries it is one of the highest. Moreover, the high rate has been steadily maintained. We have seen some major shifts in population among regions, within States, and from distressed and declining zones. The incentives for migration exist and have been adequate to get people to move

people to move.

Despite their breadth and significance, these movements are in themselves insufficlent to solve the problem of the distressed communities. To realize this goal would require a movement many times the current rate of migration, which would involve a staggering cost for this country. Second, many communities to which people would have to move are not prepared to receive them and would not have the facilities to absorb them. Third, people are themselves unwilling to migrate and break up their lifetime of associations. Many are also vital to a healthy, balanced development of the older communities. Furthermore, the outmigrants and commuters tend to return to their native communities whenever they experience economic reverses in their new employments and areas, thereby aggravating

the plight of the depressed areas.

There are many forces currently at work facilitating labor mobility. These include company transfers of workers to relocated plants, housing and resettlement arrangements, companywide seniority rights in union agreements, widespread dissemination of information on new job opportunities among the employment offices, and interstate agreements on the payment of unemployment insurance benefits. While the introduction of travel allowances and more widespread agreements on company and industrywide transfer rights would be helpful, they are unlikely to change the problem substantially. Migration and commutation can be increased, but will hardly play a more vital role in solving the problems of the currently distressed areas.

The continuance of distress in these areas is intolerable on human grounds. To allow them to fester without hope or plan for recovery or without assistance for definitive reconstruction is to permit human beings to deteriorate and to be demoralized and to sink to levels of abject poverty and destitution and dependence upon public support which must become more meager with time, as well as to deprive them of an opportunity for constructive, dignified participation in society. The distressed area is a malignant social cancer which brings social difficulties and problems and is costly to the individuals and the community. It is a pathological economic state which breeds costly deficiencies in our society. They cannot be neglected without damage to the greater social matrix.

Distressed economic areas tend to become less and less capable of self-assertion and initiative as their condition is prolonged. It is for this reason that early assistance in redevelopment is essential. The lowered capacity for economic growth is due not only to the spirit of resignation Which ultimately suffuses a community that continually fails, but also to the outmigration of the young and ambitious, leaving behind the older and less mobile persons. As the distress continues, the graduates of the school system move out, making for a more unbalanced population. Community income drops and the quality and quantity of public services deteriorate so that the services and inducements necessary for attracting modern industry become fewer in number.

URBAN REDEVELOPMENT—FOURTH APPROACH TO ECONOMIC GROWTH

The redevelopment of distressed areas and the modernization of their facilities can save our Nation billions of dollars, hasten our rate of growth and bring nearer the day of adequate public facilities for all. If we neglect these areas, we shall have to duplicate these resources afresh in the new areas into which people will move—a truly costly process. By helping to rebuild the older communities we are sparing human and capital values and preventing unnecessary duplication.

Economic growth has hitherto been experienced primarily through expansion. We have employed more people, new land, and more capital. These traditional forms of growth have been successfully supplemented by the newer arts of scientific management which have helped to raise productivity without necessarily using any more of the above-mentioned resources. Recently, organized scientific discoveries have supplemented the processes of growth by adding new ideas and approaches.

Now we are realizing that there is a fourth approach to growth which supplements the three preceding methods. As we have increased our investment in human beings and our factories, plants, and communities, we have learned that we can grow most easily if we use, rather than scrap, our past investments. The principle has been most systematically adopted in the case of human beings. We now practice individual rehabilitation to help prolong the vocational usefulness of individuals. We have found that many a rehabilitated person has become socially and economically more productive, in addition to being happier, after he has undergone this rehabilitation. The practitioners have shown abundantly that individual rehabilitation more than pays for

The same principles have now been applied to urban slum areas. Entire sections of a city have been cleared of slums and been rebuilt through the construction of new housing units. As experience increased, it was noted in some areas that districts could be renewed through selective clearance and general redevelopment. The process of urban renewal is now helping to rebuild many of our large cities. The process has been slow, but the advantages have been abundantly illustrated.

A similar movement is now under way with declining industries. Many business leaders are seeking the help of research and scientific study to revitalize declining industries. In agriculture, research is not only increasing productivity but opening up new markets for old crops or creating new crops for areas seeking substitutes for older ones. The paper and pulp industry became a growth industry through the use of research after having suffered great reverses. Now research is being conducted in the coal industry to achieve a similar goal. Government promotion of research in the textile industry is the object of a new interagency committee recommended by a senatorial investiga-The investments in these industries are huge; the advantages to be obtained from investments in redevelopment are too promising to miss on these opportunities to enhance the value of existing capital, skills, and know-how. Successful industry is the object of a new interagency economic progress with minimum national cost.

The program for area redevelopment follows these same general principles. It stresses the economy of investment in redevelopment as compared with the cost and human suffering from neglect of existing sites and the shift of millions of people to newer communities. The plan is built on

the same outlines as those followed in the program for urban renewal. As for the responsibility, it is to be placed in the hands of the local areas. They must carry the ultimate burden. State planning bodies must be the primary group for helping these areas in organization and planning. Only where there is no State body or where local initiative is completely absent and there is a transcending national interest in economic rehabilitation, will the Federal Government step in and try to stimulate the formation of local bodies which then will carry on the responsibilities.

In defining the geographical area for such bodies and redevelopment, the scope must be broad enough to encompass a true economic region. One of the major shortcomings of current local developmental bodies is that they have tended to limit themselves to pre-existing political boundaries. Economic areas do not necessarily follow such limits. Development has often been frustrated by reliance upon older political boundaries. Unnecessary competition has been engendered by these anarchistic and uneconomic programs for development. They have induced an emphasis on appeals for location through subsidy rather than real economic advantage. Therefore, the boundaries must coincide with true economic areas.

The next task facing the local group is to construct its program of economic development. The aim is not merely to find an occupant for a building which may already exist or which will be built. It is not enough to attract a single industry and create a new pattern of distorted economic growth. The purpose must be to develop a program of balanced and continuing economic expansion built around one or more economic growth nuclei and locational advantages.

In the past we have built communities on the basis of trade routes, resources or markets. Now we can develop new locations through imaginative uses of sites and the exploitation of the positive attributes of an area. We no longer need wait for "natural forces." The enterprising community develops a program, explores its assets and builds around them, and seeks businesses to advance the area.

Economic growth demands integrated physical and community planning so that specific locational advantages must be high-lighted and developed. It therefore demands careful study, planning, promotion and integrated efforts.

After a plan of economic growth has been evolved, the community must evaluate its physical resources and determine which are obsolete, what its handicaps are, and what gaps in services and facilities exist. These must be corrected, advanced or filled, either through public or private enterprise.

As for the public facilities, the community needs a long-term program for construction, modernization and improvement. Without such a plan many communities will be unable to attract or stimulate new industries into being within their areas. One of the attributes of modern industry and its employees is desire for modern facilities. Adequate community provisions for schools and for recreational and cultural opportunities are needed. There must be sufficient water, a modern sewage system, good housing, adequate transportation arrangements, and other elementary physical facilities. Insofar as housing, continental roads, airports, flood-control canals, water reservoirs, forests, and similar projects are concerned, varying amounts of help can now be obtained from the Federal Government. But where these are not now available, communities must rely solely on their own resources. Many will also need to clear industrial or residential siums to prepare the way for new industrial sites, but will not have the funds nor the resources to tax for these purposes. It is at this point that the distressed communities are handicapped. They have usually been left economically stranded so that their financial resources, are inadequate. Any legislation designed to help the chronically distressed communities must, therefore, provide funds for public facility grants to the impoverished communities and low-interest loans to the remaining distressed communities. Provision must be made for commercial and industrial building slum clearance in the manner in which the Federal Government now provides for residential slum clearance in urban areas.

Second only to the program for physical rehabilitation must come the program for the upgrading of human resources through schooling and retraining of the unemployed. The skills of many persons have become obsolete and must be redirected to newer occupations. Many older persons may not have had adequate schooling and, therefore, are not prepared for new jobs and the demands for newer employments. These can be achieved through a program of vocational training and subsistence grants for people during the training program. These programs should supplement continuing efforts to improve the existing school systems for children and adults so that they can overcome their educational handicaps and advance their vocational proficiency.

These undertakings are designed to prepare the communities for the practical problems of redevelopment. They will provide the plans and blueprints for future lines of economic growth. The tasks which lie ahead of the various communities will vary in scope. Some will have to initiate major projects, while redevelopment in others will require more limited undertakings. Many communities have already made substantial progress in preparing their practical programs and are ready to push ahead on implementation of the work plan. Some have made valiant efforts to correct their own distress and have been limited primarily by their lack of resources and the modesty of the program which they had hitherto promoted. They are prepared for a more ambitious program of economic renaissance.

Distressed communities are generally eagerly seeking the immediate enactment of Federal legislation which will assist them in planning, provide them with loans and grants for public facilities, grants for vocational training and subsistence, and loans for industrial and commercial structures.

PROGRAM FOR URBAN AREA REDEVELOPMENT

Considerable controversy has arisen concerning the practical provisions for implementing the above principles. The congressional majority passed a bill, in 1958, which was vetoed by the President. In the 1959 session, contrasting bills have been submitted by the liberal promoters of this legislation and the administration. The latter's bill is, as already indicated, more restricted as to the areas likely to qualify for benefits and it allows for a more modest and limited program. The former seeks a measure which will help more communities with more funds and in more varied ways.

One issue dividing the groups is that of administration. Both agree on local responsibility. But the congressional sponsors of the legislation advocate an independent agency rather than the assignment of the responsibility to the U.S. Department of Commerce, which has hitherto served as a modest information center on industrial diversification in local communities. The congressional group has feared that the department would subordinate this activity and place it in the hands of a group out of sympathy with the program and with little experience with large-scale developmental activities.

In the 1958 Douglas-Payne bill, the sponsors agreed to assign the program to the Housing and Home Finance Agency, which has many similar functions to administer under the urban-renewal and community-facilities loan laws.

All groups have agreed on the need of a Cabinet-level advisory group to coordinate existing Federal services. The congressional group has also included a citizens' group which would follow the administration of the act and provide the Administrator with direct access to people vitally interested in the promotion of the program. In addition, the congressional bill authorizes the Administrator to provide for ad hoc committees for industries primarily responsible for unemployment in distressed areas, to encourage them to embark on programs to broaden the activities of these industries, thereby hoping to minimize the adversities which have been causing communities to become depressed.

As for the public facilities, the congressional committees provided for grants and loans to depressed communities where such were needed for redevelopment. Where the communities would be unable to borrow money for public facilities to make the areas attractive for economic growth, grants would be provided. Loans up to 65 percent of the project for 40 years are to be arranged where such loans cannot be secured from other sources on equally favorable terms.

The administration took the position that no such special facilities were necessary. Its bill allows only for priorities for depressed communities under existing communityfacilities loan programs with no new funds or procedures. The funds under this program are limited and no outright grants are provided. The congressional group has counted among its members many prominent sponsors of the community-facilities bill who were ready to substitute the latter, if approved, for the provisions for loans in the area redevelopment bill, but have continued to insist upon the retention of a provision of grants to distressed areas which are unable to raise funds or carry the cost of the loans. The Senate version of the bill provided for a revolving fund of \$100 million for loans and an appropriation of \$75 million for grants. The House bill reduced these sums to \$50 million and \$35 million, respectively.

All parties are in agreement that provisions should be made for loans for industrial and commercial structures. agreement exists on the amount of the funds and the terms. The Senate 1959 bill proposes a revolving fund of \$100 million each for industrial and rural areas; the House version proposes \$75 million each; the administration bill specifies \$50 million each. The latter sets the maximum on Federal participation at 35 percent; the congressional groups set the limits at 65 percent. The administration bill calls for a minimum 15 percent local contribution, which would be subordinate to Federal claims; the congressional bill asks for only 10 percent, and the Federal share would be subordinate to all other loans. The congressional bill requires a 5 percent private participation; the administration calls for none; 30 rather than 25 years is proposed by the congressional group as the maximum period for loans. The congressional group allows for funds to cover machinery and equipment; The congressional group allows for the administration group excludes these.

Most significantly, all groups are agreed upon qualifying the distressed areas with populations of 25,000 or more for planning grants under the urban planning provisions of the Housing Act of 1954. There is similar agreement on the principle of qualifying the distressed areas for assistance under the urban renewal program not only for residential areas, but also for predominantly commercial and industrial areas which can

be redeveloped for these latter purposes. Under the Senate bill this new exemption is added to the existing two exempt groups; they are all entitled to share in the 10 percent of the total amount of capital grants authorized for urban renewal purposes. The House bill provides that up to 10 percent of the new funds authorized for the 1959 urban renewal programs may be used for this program, since most of the existing funds have already been assigned to specific renewal projects.

One principle agreed upon by most sponsors of redevelopment legislation is the desirability of a lower rate of interest to reduce the cost of the redevelopment projects. The Senate bill provides for a rate equal to the current average yield on outstanding U.S. obligations of comparable maturity plus onequarter of 1 percent. The House bill retains this formula for all but public facility loans, for which the rate proposed would be equal to the average annual interest rate on all interest-bearing obligations of the United States plus one-quarter of 1 percent. Under present conditions the likely rate for the first class would be 4% percent and the latter, 2% percent. The administration bill, on the other hand, provides for the administration to fix the rate, which the congressional group fears would tend to be high and costly.

The various bills provide that the Federal

The various bills provide that the Federal Government may give advice and technical and financial assistance to State agencies in supplying vocational training facilities. The House bill assigns a specific annual fund of \$1.5 million for this purpose. Subsistence payments are also established in the congressional bills for 13 weeks of retraining to unemployed not getting unemployment compensation. An annual ceiling of \$10 million is set in the House bill for this purpose

Other provisions have been dropped over the course of congressional consideration during the past few years, largely because the sponsors have recognized that the particular proposals aroused special types of opposition or seemed incongruous to the major stress on redevelopment. Provisions for special accelerated depreciation allowances have been omitted primarily because the authority of the banking committees to handle tax matters was called into question. Allowances for out-migration appeared too difficult to support in face of the emphasis on local redevelopment. Generalized retraining of the unemployed was considered too ambitious an undertaking in light of the vague-ness of the targets. The proposed program was ultimately restricted to retraining for the new jobs brought into the areas through redevelopment programs.

RURAL REDEVELOPMENT

Equal in importance to a program of urban redevelopment for areas distressed by industrial, commercial, and economic changes is a program for relieving the poverty and economic backwardness of rural areas. The size of this problem has made it one of preeminent national importance, but only most modest programs have been undertaken to correct this weak sector of our national economy. This country, which contributes so generously to the amelioration of rural distress in other countries, has failed to adopt a similar program for domestic rural poverty. The continuance of this sore is due to an inexcusable blindness to our own challenges. Without seriously trying to solve these difficulties at home, we cannot give proper guidance to efforts in foreign

One out of every three commercial farms in this country had in 1954 gross sales below \$2,500. One quarter of the farm families had an annual income of \$1,000 or less. In comparison to the American average farm level of living in 1954, there were 52 counties in the United States in which living

standards were less than half this level. The great predominance of the counties in which people are chronically underemployed and living at such low standards of living are to be found in the Southern States, particularly in Alabama. Arkansas, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, Oklahoma, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Virginia, and West Virginia. Some clusters of counties with extreme economic problems area also to be found in Florida, Illinois, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, and New Mexico.

Basically, the population increases have outrun local resources. Even where there has been outmigration, the volume has not been sufficient in these instances to improve conditions for those who have remained behind. The farms tend to be small and capital to be inadequate for developing modern farm ventures. Managerial experience is limited and many are cultivating crops which are not profitable. These are counties in which nonagricultural employments are scarce. Even though the supply of men and women in their prime of life is abundant, they have little opportunity for a fully productive contribution to the economy.

There have been many efforts to develop the farm economy in these areas. But they have been limited in scope, inadequately financed or not sufficiently bold in scope to deal with the problems of regional and personal economic redevelopment. Those who have looked to outmigration as the solution have seen many move, but population growth has offset these losses. Migration is not easy though millions of low-income farmers have joined the movement. There are many who have been deterred from this bold undertaking through lack of knowledge of outside opportunities and funds with which to move themselves and their families.

If the movement of people out of the areas can play some part in a program of economic rehabilitation, it must be looked upon primarily as a supplement to a more Positive plan tending to create thriving economic centers where none now exist. The first part of this plan must be to rebuild the farm economies. There is need for capital and managerial advice. Unfortunately, most of the effort to date has been directed toward helping the more successful, rather than the low-income, farmers. A new emphasis on the latter is essential. To be successful in this venture, Federal facilities must be developed for intermediate-term farm credits and farm management counseling.

Important to the realization of a rural redevelopment program, however, is the creation of new nonfarm jobs in the immediate rural areas or nearby urban centers. The creation of sound farms often means the merger of existing small ones. This is possible only if the persons giving up farming have alternative local nonfarm jobs. Such employments within the area will attract many who have desisted from moving greater These jobs have the added virtue of providing local employment and creating more local income for improving public services, stimulating new demands for local agricultural products, encouraging new service industries and, ultimately, also creating new capital to be used in part for agricultural purposes.

Such nonfarm employments must be an essential part of a permanent program of redevelopment along with the promotion of more profitable farming and outmigration in areas where there is a real excess of population. Disagreements exist, however, on the best methods of effecting these ends. The administration has contended that the present rural redevelopment program is sufficient. It provides for the coordinated effort of local private business and govern-

mental agencies in 117 pilot counties to study the causes of local underdevelopment, undertake projects necessary to remove the deterrents to growth and stimulate new enterprises through voluntary efforts and the use of local resources. The Federal funds provided for this program in the 1958-59 budget was \$15 million for the Farmers Home Administration for additional local authorizations in the pilot counties, or about \$150,000 per county, and \$2.6 million for the special services and research activities by public agricultural agencies assisting in this program.

Many students of the farm problem, farm organizations, and administrators of the above program have criticized it as inade-The principal target is the underlying assumption that local resources are sufficient to remove rural poverty. While modest projects have been undertaken they can hardly have any broad significance or effect. Moreover, the limited scope of the participants makes for narrowness in point view. There has also been excessive emphasis on local phases of redevelopment, when the solution demands a broad, gated program. The Agricultural Committee of the National Planning Association has recenlty declared that "to place exclusive emphasis in the rural redevelopment program on private initiative and local leadership is unrealistic and self-defeating. If a century and a half of dependence on local initiative has failed to eliminate America's low-income rural regions, it seems futile to depend only upon such initiative to solve the same rural poverty problems still before It concludes that the problems are far too vast and deep seated to be solved by the present rural development program. Thie view is shared by the National Grange, the National Farmers Union, and by economists, publicists, and spokesmen for farm opinion.

Those most interested in redevelopment have underscored the need of building up existing distressed farm areas. They have called for outside capital and experience to come into these areas. They have been suspicious of the present development program because they have seen many areas come under the dominance of large local farmers who have resisted projects which would stimulate outmigration and industrial development as well as credit facilities to assist the low-income farmer. The large farmers have been charged with impeding the outmovement to assure themselves an abundant supply of cheap local labor.

The program has also faltered because of the difficulties of creating a voluntary coordinating agency without funds or resources to implement worthy projects. Others have found fault with the entire structure, for it allows for no easy way of extending operations from the pilot counties to the broad expanse of needy farm people.

The criticisms have led many devoted to the solution of the problem of rural poverty to join the ranks of those advocating rural redevelopment for all distressed and underdevelopment for all distressed and underdeveloped areas. All are interested in reconstructing economies which are no longer prospering. In the latest administration proposals, some recognition has been given to this point of view by providing an annual fund of \$1.5 million for technical assistance to help in the program of industrial diversification of one-industry towns and rural industrial low-income areas.

But the administration has objected to the remainder of the area development program for farm areas projected by the congressional group. The latter insist that it is not enough to plan redevelopment. It is essential to provide funds to enable communities to improve their public facilities and to build industrial and commercial structures which would attract nonagricultural employments. The congressional bill, therefore, provides that rural redevelopment areas,

defined to include the low-income counties, consisting of a minimum of 663 counties under the House bill may share in the funds for loans and grants for public facilities and in the funds for vocational training and subsistence grants to trainees. Provision is made for a special fund for industrial and commercial structures in rural areas comparable in amount to that established for urban distressed areas, namely, \$100 million in the Senate bill and \$75 million in the House bill.

CONCLUSION

The realization of the objective of employment, production, and purchasing power laid down in the Employment Act of 1946 demands that the vast pockets of unemployment and the pools of underemployed be given opportunities for full-time gainful employment. There is no such possibility while distressed urban and underdeveloped rural areas abound in this country. Unfortunately, out-migration from these areas will not solve the problem, though it may help individuals to find better opportunities. On the contrary, such an exodus can greatly inhibit the possibilities of economic redevelopment by stripping the area of its young and trained people.

The constituent elements of a venture to rehabilitate sick areas in the United States have been agreed upon, but there are differences about the extent to which the Federal Government should finance or provide loans to local agencies for these purposes. Legislation to grant such benefits to local areas was passed in 1958 and vetoed by the President. Similar legislation is being considered by Congress in the present session. Those interested in initiating constructive efforts in this field are hopeful that a bill acceptable to the divergent points of view can be adopted so that work may proceed to redevelop our own distressed and underdeveloped areas.

"Polish Constitution Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. ELMER J. HOLLAND

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 3, 1960

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. Speaker, the Poles are a great and gifted people, and they have great deeds and accomplishments to their credit. They are known not only as diligent and conscientious workers, but they are also admired as accomplished and great masters in the arts and the sciences. They are no less famous as brave and courageous warriors for great human causes. We can easily testify to this when we recall the role played by Kosciusko and Pulaski in our War of Independence. And they have also been great improvisors of institutions and governments. The Constitution of 1791 is a case in point.

Late in the 18th century when their country was under threats of aggression, and they were about to lose their independence, Poles did a splendid job in remodeling their governmental machinery. They then hoped that by such important and impressive changes, they could strengthen their government and thus be in better position to resist the aggressors. This constitution made Poland a limited monarchy, and introduced a responsible cabinet system of govern-

ment. Parliamentary representation was expanded, and the many class distinctions were wiped out. At the time, and even in later years, this constitution was regarded a liberal, democratic, and progressive document, the first of its kind adopted in any country in central and eastern Europe. As such it marked a great step in Poland's political history.

We know that the Poles did not have the freedom and the privilege to live under the provisions of this Constitution. Soon after its promulgation Poland was invaded by its aggressive neighbors, and then partitioned among them. Polish independence was gone, and the spirit of the Constitution of 1791 lived in the hearts of the Polish people. It was the working of that spirit which recreated the Polish Republic in 1918, and we can confidently hope, on this 169th anniversary celebration of that historic document, that through the working of that same spirit Poles will regain their full freedom and independence once more.

Budge Seeking Sixth Term

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. BRUCE ALGER

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, April 21, 1960

Mr. ALGER. Mr. Speaker, an editorial, appearing in the April 10 edition of the Times-News, published in Twin Falls, Idaho, has come to my attention.

The first paragraph of the editorial

It is good news that Representative HAMER H. BUDGE will be a candidate for reelection as Congressman from Idaho's Second District.

Mr. Speaker, in those words I heartily concur, as I do with the balance of the editorial which praises the gentleman from Idaho for his unwavering stand for the principles in which he believes; for his integrity, and for his statesmanship.

I am sure the gentleman's constituents also recognize his outstanding qualities, and will return him to the 87th Congress. From where I stand, this is good news for the entire Nation.

The editorial follows:

[From the Twin Falls (Idaho) Times-News, Apr. 10, 1960]

BUDGE SEEKING SIXTH TERM

It's good news that Representative Hamer H. Bungs will be a candidate for reelection as Congressman from Idaho's Second District.

A Republican who has made an outstanding record during his five terms as Congressman, Budge is the type of representative in Washington of whom everyone should be proud. He stands out in sharp contrast to some of Idaho's unfortunate experiences with representatives in public office.

Of course, there are those who will disagree with Representative Burgs along purely partisan lines, on such issues as Government spending and foreign aid particularly. But no one can question that he has

the courage of his convictions and is highly respected in Washington.

That he is a member of the House Committee on Rules, the first Idahoan to serve on the committee and the only present member from any of the Western States, attests to his ability, experience and the high regard in which he is held generally.

It is characteristic of Budge, in announceing his candidacy, that he makes it crystal clear he will campaign on his "record of

strict economy."

He knows the free spenders hate that word "economy," he is well aware that organized labor will be out to get his scalp, but he continues to call spades spades, and the voters of Idaho's Second District continue to send him to Congress.

With the whole country suffering from inflation, racketeering, and unreasonable demands by certain segments of organized labor, and Government spending that's wrecking our economy, Idaho should be proud that we have a Representative in Washington who fights all that sort of thing.

One has the feeling in talking with Congressman Burgs that he comes the closest to being a statesman of anyone representing Idaho in an official capacity in a long time.

It's refreshing to know that we have such a man in Washington—one who does not doubletalk, vacillate or pull his punches for political reasons. In fact, on numerous occasions, he has taken a firm stand on nighly controversial issues, which no opportunist politicians would dare to take.

The Times-News makes no apologies for

The Times-News makes no apologies for its frequent and enthusiastic praise of Mr. Budge. We have far too few of his type in public office any more, which is one of the main reasons for inefficiency and irresponsibility in government all the way up and down the line.

Those who uphold the type of government to which Congressman Buncz is dedicated should praise and support him at every opportunity.

Salute to Israel

SPEECH

OF

HON. EDNA F. KELLY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 2, 1960

Mrs. KELLY. Mr. Speaker, I am delighted to be afforded the opportunity to pay tribute to Israel on the occasion of its 12th anniversary of statehood.

Looking back we can all remember the hurdles which stood in the path of Israel's independence. We all remember the joy of the day on which the United Nations debate was completed and the final vote guaranteed statehood. Israel's problems did not, however, cease with the granting of statehood. This was only the formal act of creating an independent nation—the job of building the nation remained.

In those early days, Israel, with enemies on all sides, found itself in a most precarious position. But as the numbers and strength of her people increased, Israel's strength also grew. What was lacking in numbers and the material things was more than made up by the sheer determination of the people to carve out and defend a modern and progressive nation.

In but 12 short years, the entire world has witnessed, often with amazement, strides which were never before thought possible. This again, can only be attributed to the unremitting toil and determination of the people of Israel.

We must not lose sight of the conditions which prevailed in Israel 12 years ago. Israel was, from the standpoint of economic and industrial development, little different from the other nations of the Middle East. For the most part, it was little more than a sandy, arid wasteland. There was no housing and little industry. Educational facilities were at a minimum, adequate sanitation facilities were almost nonexistent, and agricultural methods dated back to the Middle Ages. The battle for survival and advancement was not an easy one.

But these matters belong to history and, while we must never forget them, I would rather speak of the present and, if I may for a moment attempt to be a prophet, look to the future.

Israel today is a strong and vibrant nation whose people have proven themselves, not only by their visible accomplishments but also by the successful defense of their homeland. While danger still exists from without and the saber rattling continues, we are all hopeful that the border clashes will soon stop and that Israel's Arab neighbors will accept her statehood as a fact of life.

Even in face of the military problem, Israel continues to grow. Its Mediterranean coast is to me a thing of beauty. Its cities are as modern as those anywhere else in the world and, most important, the bare white desert is being turned to green.

I choose to look upon Israel as the picture window of the Middle East. Unfortunately it is a reflective window but I hope the achievements will be adopted by the other nations in that region. When the other nations of the Middle East are developed, when modernization and a higher standard of living become universal to the area, then will the world realize the tremendous contribution made by the people of Israel. Those who devoted and gave their lives toward the creation and building of the State of Israel will thus be richly rewarded.

Theodor Herzl

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. LAURENCE CURTIS

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 3, 1960

Mr. CURTIS of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, the 100th anniversary of the birth of Theodor Herzl is commemorated this year, and Members have joined in tribute to him and to Israel's 12th anni-

versary.
So it is appropriate to include as part of my remarks a thoughtful and sensitive appraisal of Dr. Theodor Herzl and his life's work written by Rabbi Joseph S. Shubow, of Temple Bnai Moshe, in

Brighton, Mass., which appeared in the Boston Herald of Monday May 2. Rabbi Shubow has for many years been a respected and influential religious and civic leader of greater Boston.

THEODOR HERZL'S CENTENNIAL TODAY

On May 2, 1860, there was born to Jacob and Jeannette Diamant Herzl a male child whose name has become a household term to millions of Jews and to all those who admire and revere the spirit of genuine national rebirth and service to humanity. That child was named Theodor, a gift from God. In the Hebrew he was given the names Benyamin Zeev. He grew to manhood in an aristocratic, highly cultured Budapest Jewlish family.

He died at the age of 44 in the year 1904 and achieved world renown and unquestioned immortality. He was educated for the law in Vienna but his heart was set on journalism and literature. His early years indicated no special association with the

people of his origin.

He early realized that he could not advance as a lawyer and would never be elevated as a judge because of the prejudice and bigotry then prevalent in Vienna. Having been spared the local distinction of being an Austrian judge, he became truly a Biblical judge

and prophet of his own people.

Having a natural gift for literature he was designated as a correspondent for respectable and influential Viennese publication called die Neue Freie Presse (the New Free Press). This periodical was read by all the statesmen, diplomats, and crowned heads of Europe as well as by all members of the intelligent class. As a correspondent for this periodical, he covered the debates on the Dreyfus Affair in the French Parliament.

Until that extraordinary episode occurred, his mind delighted in writing feuilletones, plays, literary articles on numerous topics, especially on matters of State. But when the Dreyfus case broke and when he himself witnessed the terrifying exhibition of antisemitism in liberty-loving France, in highly cultured Paris he experienced a revolution of heart and mind which was tantamount to beholding a revelation. In a flash it became evident to him that the Jewish people who for centuries had suffered degradation, humiliation, and frustration, must be reborn, must refashion their destiny and must create a state that would become a member of the family of nations.

He saw the gallant Captain Dreyfus hooted, ridiculed, and jeered at; he saw his sword broken, his epaulettes and buttons torn from his uniform; he heard the mob rage and cry in its horrible wrath for vengeance against Dreyfus and his people. Herzi became a transfigured personality, newly born; all his past seemed to be as nothing compared to the prophetic vision that he now beheld.

He retired to his hotel room and wrote a remarkable little book called "Der Judenstaat," The Jewish State. When Herzl's friends heard of the new turn of his mind and pen they said: "What a pityl Herzl has became insane." He was heartbroken to see his beloved France only a hundred years after the Declaration of the Rights of Man turn back to incredible racial and religious hatred.

Dr. Herzl directed his booklet to the powerful and rich philanthropists, Baron Maurice de Hirsch and Baron Edmond de Rothschild. His appeal fell on deaf ears. Baron de Hirsch was interested in Argentina and Baron de Rothschild was frightened at first. But let it be said to his eternal glory that Baron Edmond de Rothschild later was one of the stanchest and most dedicated supporters of the struggling and suffering early colonies of Palestine.

Dr. Theodor Herzl in his disillusionment in those early years ridiculed mere philanthropy as uniting the lazy rich and the lazy Poor. He, therefore, found it necessary to turn to the great masses who hailed him as a royal scion of the house of David and because of his regal appearance and natural majesty regarded him as the Messiah.

PRACTICAL STEP

But Dr. Herzl never tired endeavoring to remove from the minds of the people all possible Messianic pretensions concerning himself and his work. His Jewish State appeared in Vienna on February 14, 1896, and was soon translated into all the languages spoken by Jews all over the world. In this way, Dr. Herzl created the Zionist movement. His first practical step was to call an assembly of Jewish leaders. It became known as The World Jewish Zionist Congress.

The first Zionist Congress attracted 204 leaders to Basle, Switzerland, August 29–31 after Munich Jews refused to be hosts. The situation seemed desperate. A helpless people were torn between the excessive zeal of some to assimilate and disappear, and the insistence of others to wait for the Messiah and for divine intervention for redemption. The great mass, loyal to the ancient traditions and to the sacred Hebrew tongue, were crying in agony in the Ghettos of the Czar for immediate hope and practical help.

FIRST IN CENTURIES

This was the first real Jewish national assembly that had been held in the Diaspora for centuries, except of the Sanhedrin called by Napoleon in 1807. At this first Zionist Congress it was decided to seek to create a Jewish state that would be "publicly recognized and legally assured."

An appeal was issued to Jews all over the world who still cherished their ancient traditions and followed their old prayers that petitioned for the restoration of Zion. As a mark of their devotion and constancy, they were asked to pay a shekel, a minimum contribution to manifest their loyalty to the ideal of Zion restored and Jerusalem rebuilt.

Dr. Herzl thus personally helped to launch the Zionist movement and to give the Jewish people a new hope; it was a God-given spirit that infused a new life into the dead dry bones of a people that seemed helpless and forlorn. He thus opened a new chapter in the long history of the people of Israel.

Casting aside personal concern, neglecting himself, his family, the life of ease, and comfort from which he came, Dr. Herzl gave the Zionist movement every ounce of his strength. He turned to the crowned heads of Europe for assistance. Through his good friend the Grand Duke of Baden, he met the German Kalser William the Second in Constantinople and Jerusalem. Dr. Herzl requested the Kaiser's assistance and influence with the Sultan of Turkey, whom he met several times. Later Dr. Herzl said of the Sultan Abdul Hamid: "I gained the conviction that the Jewish nation has a friend and well-wisher in the reigning Khalif."

In 1899 Dr. Herzl established the Jewish Colonial Trust in London, for he had great faith in England; in fact, he arranged the meeting of the Fourth Congress for London. At the Fifth Congress in 1901 he established the celebrated source of income known as the Jewish National Fund.

FORESAW FUTURE

In 1902 the Sulton offered Herzl opportunities for a Jewish settlement either in Anatolia or Mesopotamia or Syria, but not in Palestine. During these years of negotiations he sought a charter which would officially and publicly recognize Jewish rights to the Holy Land. This hope was fulfilled 13 years after Dr. Herzl's death. A new leader, Dr. Chaim Weizmann, obtained the Balfour Declaration on November 2, 1917. It was confirmed by the League of Nations in the San Remo decision of 1922. It is significant that in 1902 Herzl wrote a beautiful utopia called Altneuland (Old New Land), depicting the future of Palestine 20 years later. In this beautiful romantic dream, he coined the immortal expression, "If you will it, it is no legend."

On July 7, 1902, Dr. Herzl appeared at the invitation of the British Government to present evidence before the Royal Commission on Alien Immigration. It led to friendship with Joseph Chamberlain, then Colonial Secretary of State.

Negotiations were carried on for the settlement of Jews in El Arish in the Sinai Peninsula, not far from the Holy Land. The effort failed but the British offered Herzl

British East Africa or Uganda.

In 1903 the Sixth Congress in Basle rejected the Uganda offer, even though only a few months before there had taken place a pogrom or massacre in Kishinev, Russia. Dr. Herzl had a remarkable capacity for winning over all dissident groups and even though the Russian Zionist delegation had left the Congress as a block, he regained their confidence because of his own high seriousness and utter consecration.

In 1904 further efforts were made to convince the Sultan to grant the Zionists a charter for part of Palestine, but without success. During that year he had an audience with King Victor Emanuel III of Rome who kept Herzl's picture on his desk as long as he ruled. He also was given an audience with Pope Pius X, who was gracious and courteous. The last Congress that Herzl was to attend took place in Vienna in April 1904; and there he made a great confession when he stated: "I was the supporter of a Jewish state anywhere, but I inevitably I learned to understand that the solution to our problem was to be found only in Palestine."

VISION FULFILLED

Usually the Zionist Congresses were held in the mid-summer, but Dr. Herzi must have had a premonition that the end was near, for on July 3, 1904, he breathed his last. He had written in his tagebuch (diary) in 1897 after the First Zionist Congress as follows: "At Basie I founded the Jewish state. If I were to say this today I would be met with universal laughter. In 5 years, perhaps, and cerainly in 50, all will see it."

It is indeed fantastic that in November 1947 the United Nations recognized the partition of Palestine and inevitably confirmed the emergence of the State of Israel. This is incredible and fabulous fullfillment of the prophetic vision of one of the most remark-

able men who ever lived.

Dr. Herzl manifestly is one of the greatest of the nation builders in the history of humanity. To be sure, he had the indispensable assistance of the gifted Dr. Max Nordau and other men of genius, but the Zionist movement and the ideal of a Jewish State in modern political terms were essentially his creation, the product of his own amazing genius and divine vision. He is to be ranked with Washington, Simon Bolivar, Giuseppe Mazzini, and Cavour, Juarez, Eamon de Valera and all the great national heroes of the last hundred years. He was apparently an idealistic dreamer, but indisputably a realistic builder, for he and his spirit helped rebuild the Jewish Nation and restore the State of Israel. The celebration of Dr. Herzl's centennial thus takes on a universal significance.

"Edmund Burke and Ireland"—by Dr.
Thomas H. D. Mahoney

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. THOMAS P. O'NEILL, JR.

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
- Tuesday, May 3, 1960

Mr. O'NEILL. Mr. Speaker, I am very proud at this time to bring to the atten-

tion of my colleagues in the House a new book entitled "Edmund Burke and Ireland," authored by my very close personal friend, Dr. Thomas H. D. Mahoney.

Tom and I were boyhood chums and were classmates up until our graduation from Boston College. Tom went on in his chosen field of history; received his master's degree from Boston College, and his doctorate from George Washington University here in this city. He is very well known both as an instructor and a lecturer; is the author of several books, and a contributor to many magazines. At the present time he is associate professor of history at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

His latest book is published by the Harvard University Press and the following is a review of "Edmund Burke and Ireland," written by Prof. William H. Mulcahy, of the Cardinal Cushing Col-

lege, in Boston.

I am sure that everyone will find both the book and the review of great interest:

REVIEW OF "EDMUND BURKE AND IRELAND," BY THOMAS H. D. MAHONEY

(By Prof. William H. Mulcahy)

Professor Mahoney has adopted a new approach in his presentation of the life and time of the great 18th century parliamentarian, Edmund Burke. This definitive study brings into focus for the first time the deep concern and lifelong interest which the Irish born, British statesman always had for his native land. The "Memoirs" published in London in 1798, 1 year after his death, was followed by other studies during the 19th and 20th centuries, but all either ignored completely or passed over briefly this important phase of Burke's career.

One need only to examine a standard encyclopedia to note that Burke is always referred to as a British or English statesman with a brief mention of his Dublin birth. There is never a word in all that follows of his abiding interest in the land of his

ancestors.

In preparation of this study, Dr. Mahoney, professor of history, Massachusetts Institute of Technology made several trips to England and Ireland where he worked on the several manuscript collections, utilizing particularly the unpublished source material on Burke that only recently was made available to scholars. The book can be read with interest and profit by the scholar of the 18th century and by the general reader with only a superficial knowledge of the period.

Professor Mahoney brings out in a penetrating manner the careful approach of Burke to the problems of Ireland. The statesman did not believe in precipitate action. A slow, deliberate but continuous correction of the injustices to Ireland was the method he advocated. As the author points out, Burke believed, "that time and circumstance were all important in determining when principles should be applied," and that nothing ruined great causes as much as that people have treated the beginning as if it were the end.

Burke was born of a Protestant father and a Catholic mother, but was reared and always practiced the religion of his father. Although a champion of the oppressed Catholics he was a faithful follower all his life of the Established Church. For his selfless work and efforts in alleviating the lot of the Catholics he was subjected during his lifetime to continual abuse and vilification. He was accused of being an agent of the Pope and a Jesuitical intriguer.

Burke constantly asserted that England had nothing to fear from the Pope and ridiculed those who charged that the Catholics

owed a temporal allegiance to the pontiff which took precedence over their loyalty to their own country. In 1793, Burke advocated the establishment of formal diplomatic relations between Great Britain and the papal states.

To Burke, the laws against the Irish Catholics, a people constituting the great majority of the inhabitants of their own homeland, were unlike any system of religious oppression which had ever existed in the history of the world. This statement starkly points out the fallacy and the hypocrisy of one of the great myths of all time; "the glory and the grandeur of English law and English justice."

Readers of this book who will examine the appendixes of the volume, giving excerpts from the penal laws, will recoil with horror at the brutality and savagery of these examples of English law. Burke played a large part in the passage of the Catholic Relief Act of 1778 and 1782 which partially ameliorated some of the harsher features of the penal laws.

In spite of Burke's unceasing efforts to improve the lot of Ireland and especially that of the Irish Catholics he was never in favor of complete Irish independence. Burke's hope was that Ireland would always remain within the Empire, but with full control of her internal affairs, a control in which both Protestants and Catholics would participate equally. Under Professor Mahoney's skillful treatment, Burke is shown as the enlightened imperialist, who believed the best policy for the British Empire was to keep all of its parts, including Ireland, but to keep them all, strong and content.

Had Burke's selfless plans for Ireland been followed there is little doubt that Ireland's long and dreary history during the 19th and 20th centuries would have occurred. And it is more than probable that if the great stateman's plans had been followed, Ireland today would be numbered among the galaxy of nations comprising the British Commonwealth.

The Sanctity of Life

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, May 3, 1960

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I commend to the attention of our colleagues the following editorial which appeared in the Washington Post of May 3, 1960:

THE SANCTITY OF LIFE

Though it has extinguished his life, the State of California is hardly rid of Caryl Chessman. "I think there should be great relief now that this long situation has terminated at last," the warden of San Quentin prison said to newsmen immediately after the execution. We think he is profoundly mistaken. Only Chessman's ordeal is ended. California's lies ahead.

For whether Chessman was guilty as charged—and he died denying it—his conviction was not accomplished with that fullness and fairness of legal process which is the due of any man whose life is to be taken by the State. The 12 years that elapsed between Chessman's conviction and execution reflected, perhaps, a scrupulous regard for all his legal rights, but also an uncomfortably guilty sense that there was an ineradicable infirmity in the procedure of his trial. No matter how many times that trial was reviewed, it was never certain that the review-

ing courts had a full and accurate record before them.

And a still more troubling doubt will assail Californians. Even if they convince themselves that Chessman was guilty beyond a reasonable doubt, they must begin to wonder whether there occurred in him a redemption which they had no moral right to reject. Unlike most men whose lives are taken by the State, he was articulate. "A man like Chessman," said Dr. William F. Graves, a former physician at San Quentin prison, "in every sense is the prodigal son. * * * Chessman will not allow us to escape the fact that he is a human being."

A criminal, yes. A wicked and dangerous man, no doubt. But withal, a human being. He was not a very good human being by accepted standards and sooner or later, of course, he was bound to die anyway. But his fellow men were not wholly without responsibility for making him what he was. And the world will ask why he should have died when he did and as he did—an exemplar of man's contempt for the sanctity of human life. When that question is at last given a sober and reflective answer, capital punishment will be ended.

It's Your Government

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. DONALD J. IRWIN

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 3, 1960

Mr. IRWIN. Mr. Speaker, there has been brought to my attention recently a copy of Christopher Notes, a publication of the Christophers, which clearly outlines some of the problems confronting governments of the free world and which points up the only solution to guarantee good government.

With the unfortunate and indeed regrettable suppression of individual political activity in some nations and consequent results causing turmoil in both Western and neutral nations, it is well to reexamine our own attitudes in the light of the principles upon which our Govern-

ment was founded.

Under permission previously granted, I include the following article:

IT'S YOUR GOVERNMENT

Do you remember the story of the Paris housewife who helped bring out a record-breaking vote in France a few years ago by coining this dynamic slogan; "You are the state, Prove it."

state. Prove it."

Her simple challenge reminded countless apathetic people that in the last analysis the very survival of free government depends on how each of them fulfills their individual

responsibilities as citizens.

Once enough persons like you also realize that good government is your responsibility as much as anyone's, your God-given imagination and initiative are bound to find ways to promote efficient, honest, and economic policies in government.

Just remember "To whom much has been given, much will be required." (Luke 12:

48.)

Part of the answer to the great problems of running government,—local, State and Federal, is in your hands.

The following considerations may help you assume the role that you alone can play in renewing and refreshing every facet of government:

1. GOVERNMENT IS YOUR BUSINESS

Self-government necessitates self-participation. William Penn emphasized this point nearly 150 years ago when he said:

"Governments, like clocks, go from the motion men give them, and governments are made and moved by men, so by them they are ruled also. Therefore, governments depend upon men rather than men upon governments.'

At home, at work, in school, and every other place, keep emphasizing this simple fact: either you run your government, or government runs you.

2. PENALTY OF NEGLECT

"The punishment of wise men who refuse to take part in the affairs of government is to live under the government of unwise men."

This terse warning, made by Plato 2,400 years ago, carries a strong lesson today when hundreds of millions have been deprived of the precious blessings of freedom.

When those who enjoy the benefits of freedom tire of governing themselves and abandon their duties as free citizens to the incompetent or malicious, they become un-witting accomplices in promoting the very tyranny they dread.

A cursory glance at history reveals over and over again that free governments have been weakened or eliminated because of neglect.

3. POLITICS-GOOD OR BAD-YOU HELP DEGIDE

A young lawyer in the Philippines recently wrote: "Many well-intentioned individuals warn us young aspirants to stay away from politics. 'Politics are dirty,' they say and we should not soil our hands."

But he went on to say that the Christopher emphasis on personal responsibility was principal reason for going into politics and trying to raise the tone of public life."

Another young man in Connecticut ran into much of the same reaction.

"I have been told I'm being naive in thinking that politics can be run by decent, moral men and women," he said. "My father, my friends, and especially my wife are against it."

It is a strange paradox that often those who might be best fitted to right the wrongs in public life simply bemoan inefficiency, graft or corruption-yet fall to do anything constructive themselves.

4. POPULARIZE THE TRUE MEANING OF POLITICS

The dictionary defines "politics" as "the science dealing with the organization, regulation, and administration of a state in both its internal and external affairs."

Three centuries before Christ, Aristotle stressed its high aim when he said: "The good of man must be the purpose of the science of politics."

However, politics by its very nature, presents many temptations for those who would use it as a selfish steppingstone to power, prestige, or worse still, as a means of fraud and corruption.

Yet it invariably falters and decays when deprived of the moral and spiritual force that only persons like you can inject.

John Morley, the great English statesman, Wisely said: "Those who would treat politics and morality apart will never understand the one or the other."

5. EXAMINE YOUR OWN CONSCIENCE

Because the strength or weakness of government is partly in your hands, you might care to do a little soulsearching on these

- 1. Are you a registered voter? Do you vote in every election? Primaries, too? Do you encourage others to do the same?
 - 2. Do you study issues? Candidates?
- 3. Do you know the names and voting records of the Congressmen, Senators, and

other officials who represent you? Do you let them know your convictions?

4. Do you support loyal and honest public Do you remind them that the ervants? higher their dedication and purpose, the greater good they will accomplish? Or do you focus attention only on the few who betray the trust placed in them?

5. Do you serve on a jury when called? (At one important criminal trial not long ago, 637 men and women asked to be ex-

cused.)

6. Do you help the party of your choice to "get out the vote" by ringing doorbells, typing, distributing literature, giving talks, correcting misunderstandings or raising funds?

7. What are you doing to improve the methods of selecting candidates? To correct outmoded election laws? To insure effi-

ciency and honesty at the polls
8. Do you impress on young people that
they should prepare for a practical participation in self-government by discussing present issues and helping to get out the vote?

9. Are you doing anything to correct the false impression that, as Robert Louis Stevenson well put it: "Politics is perhaps the only profession for which no preparation is thought necessary."

10. How many persons with high ideals and competence have you encouraged to take

up a career in government?

11. Are you highlighting the true and noble meaning of politics and thus offsetting the harm caused by those who take a despair-ing, cynical attitude?

12. Do you promote a respect for just laws on the principle that "there is no power but

from God." (Romans 13: 1.)

13. Do you know the important distinction between State and Federal government and what steps can be taken to maintain a balance that will prevent extremes on either

14. Could you explain to others why the Founding Fathers put four references to God in the Declaration of Independence?

15. Do you pray for those in low or high Government positions? If they are already doing a good job, they need your prayers. If not, they need them all the more.

6. RECOGNIZE THE PRIVILEGE OF VOTING

The word "vote" comes from the Latin term "votum" signifying "vow, wish, or will."
The dictionary defines it as "a formal ex-

pression of will or opinion in regard to some question submitted for decision.

It took centuries of tireless effort to make it possible for individuals like you to exercise the human right to vote.

Your conscientious, intelligent, and continued use of this blessing will show that you appreciate it and are anxious to protect it for others.

Hundreds of millions now deprived of the freedom of choice would be the first to urge you never to miss an opportunity to vote.

7. STIR UP OTHERS TO VOTE

You can do a valuable missionary service in the following ways:

1. Remind individuals that they have a God-given power to exercise their freedom of choice, wisely, and in every election.

- 2. Point out what a mighty howl would go up if only 1 out of every 10 eligible voters were allowed to vote at primary elections. This is the actual numerical proportion who
- 3. Impress on everybody that bad politicians are elected by good people who don't vote.
- 4. Stimulate one and all to put true welfare of the country above the interest of a particular party, group or individual.

B. ONE IN SIX HAS GOVERNMENT JOB

Nearly 11 million men and women (or 1 in 6 employed Americans) staff all phases of local, State and Federal Government, including the Armed Forces.

Take an intelligent, sympathetic interest in both the number and quality of the people who staff your government. Make sure they are neither too many nor too few. Support those intent on doing a capable, conscientious tob.

9. YOU PAY FOR EVERY SERVICE

The average citizen constantly demands bigger and better services from government. It seldom occurs to him that sooner or later he and others like him must pay for these advantages.

When members of a school board proposed building a swimming pool on the grounds of a new school, only one woman was against

the project.
"But why," they asked her. "After all the State will pay for it."

"And who is the State?" she demanded.

"Everybody, of course."
"And that everybody includes you and ie," the woman retorted. "And I for one

me. will not be able to afford the additional taxes."

She won her point. The idea was dropped.

10. TAKE AN INTEREST IN COSTS

The following considerations may remind you why the spending practices in all aspects of government should be a concern for you:

1. Enormous bill: It's costing taxpa over \$130 billion a year (or about \$11 billion a month) to run the Federal, State and local government. Equally, divided, it would cost every man, woman, and child \$722 annually.

 Quarter of your earnings: The average taxpayer earns \$5,183 a year. About one-fourth or \$1,296 goes to the Government. In 40 working years, this would total over

\$50,000—or 10 years of a worker's earnings.

3. It's your debt: It is now nearing the \$300 billion mark. This means a debt of \$1,700 hangs over the head of yourself and every other individual in the Unted States

4. It's your money: Government has no inexhaustible bank account. The money comes out of your pockets just as surely as the butcher's or milkman's bills.

In making Government finances your business, avoid extremes. Seek sensible ways to keep costs down, but take care not to advocate superficial economies which can cripple, instead of strengthen essential functions.

11. KEEP IT "THIS NATION UNDER GOD"

In the Declaration of Independence, our Founding Fathers deliberately specified why we, as individuals, have rights:

"We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."

Based on the concept that rights of every individual man, woman, and child over the earth come from God, not from the state, they enunciated that the purpose of gov-ernment is is to protect the God-given rights of the human being.

The totalitarian theory is diametrically opposed to this. It claims that the individual has no rights except those parceled out by the state. And even these few can be revoked at the slightest nod of a tyrant.

The Habrew Psalmist still reminds us: "Unless the Lord keep the city, he watcheth in vain that keepeth it." (Psalms 126: 1.)

12. YOU HAVE PART OF THE ANSWER

Shortly after the Constitution was signed in Independence Hall, Philadelphia, on September 17, 1787, a woman asked Benjamin Franklin:

"What have we got, Dr. Franklin?"

"Madame," he replied, "we have a republic, if we can keep it."

Nearly a hundred years later a somewhat similar question was put to James Russell

Lowell, then American Minister in Great Britain.

"How long," Lowell was asked, "will the American Republic endure?"

Lowell's answer, like Franklin's, was crisp and to the point: "As long as the ideas of the men who made it continue to be dominant."

The very survival of our Nation depends on what you personally do to see that those "ideas" are respected in theory and practice.

GOP for Farm Controls

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. MERWIN COAD

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 2, 1960

Mr. COAD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the Record, I wish to include the following editorial which appeared in the Des Moines (Iowa) Register on April 28, 1960.

This editorial concerns itself with the farm policy resolution passed last week by the Republican State presidential convention:

GOP FOR FARM CONTROLS

The Republican State presidential convention last week passed a farm policy resolution which said, "We urgently propose concrete and effective legislation limiting production."

That is a commendable goal. Unrestrained production has been a heavy burden on farmers in recent years. Output continues to rise, year by year, faster than markets for farm products are increasing—even with considerable Government subsidization of exports.

So it makes sense to try some new ways of keeping output in check. Experience of the last 25 years shows that control of farm output is not easy—nor is it painless. Many farmers would object to controls except at a time when they are suffering severe losses in income due to overproduction.

Rollo Bergeson, Republican candidate for U.S. Senate, took issue with the convention of his own party on this production control matter. He argued that it was not possible to control output and, besides, he wants to use the surplus farm products for helping other countries.

We agree that every effort should be made to increase effective use of farm surpluses overseas, and we are sure that much more can be done than has been done in recent years. Long-range planning and cooperation with other exporting nations would help to put more U.S. wheat and corn to use in the poor countries.

But even doing the most possible overseas probably would leave a considerable oversupply in American markets. So we agree with the Republican convention delegates that production control is needed. Once output is brought into line with demand, it could be gradually expanded to the extent that an excess over domestic needs and commercial exports was needed for foreign aid purposes.

In trying to blame the farm problem on the Democrats, however, the Republicans alipped a cog. They said the Democratic Congress in the last 5 years had "failed to enact remedial farm legislation." Did they forget that the Congress passed at least two pieces of farm legislation which the President vetoed?

Rock and Roll Music

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. THOMAS P. O'NEILL, JR.

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 3, 1960

Mr. O'NEILL. Mr. Speaker, on March 31, 1960, under leave to extend my remarks, I inserted in the Congressional Record a copy of a letter which I had addressed to the Honorable Frederick W. Ford, Chairman of the Federal Communications Commission, concerning the broadcasting of rock and roll music and its effect on our teenagers. In that letter I advised Chairman Ford that his response would also be included in a future issue.

Accordingly, I present for the attention of my colleagues the reply which I received last Friday:

FEDERAL COMMUNICATIONS COMMISSION, Washington, D.C., April 28, 1960.

Hon. Thomas P. O'Neil, Jr. House of Representatives,

Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN O'NEILL: This is with further reference to your letter of March 31, 1960, in which you express your views concerning the impact of "rock and roll" music on the minds of teenage radio listeners and request certain information in connection with the Commission's inquiry into unannounced sponsorship of broadcast material contrary to the provisions of Section 317 of the Communications Act.

Initially, I should like to point out that no information has been brought to the attention of the Commission which would enable it to determine with any degree of certainty whether any relationship whatsoever exists between the popularity of "rock and roll" music and payments made to disk jockeys or other broadcast personnel by record manufacturers or distributors.

As you may know, a liaison agreement relating to the exchange of information concerning false or misleading advertising has existed for a number of years between the Federal Communications Commission and the Federal Trade Commission. This agreement was recently broadened in scope so as to provide for the exchange of information between the two agencies in connection with "payola" and related matters. Based upon this agreement, the Federal Trade Commission has thus far advised the Commission that employees of 110 radio and television broadcast stations have received some form of cash payments from record manufacturers and distributors. This information was obtained on the basis of investigations by the FTC field staff throughout the United States. In advising the Federal Communications Commission of the information thus obtained, the Federal Trade Commission emphasized that its investigation does not constitute a finding that illegal payments were made to the individuals to whom checks were made payable.

We have reviewed the responses filed by these 110 stations in answer to our letter of inquiry dated December 2, 1959, and have found that 69 of them state that they have been unable to uncover any instances of payola in connection with their stations' operations. All of these responses are currently being reviewed and compared with available information in the FTC files by a staff of Commission attorneys, with a view toward the expeditious institution of whatever further investigation or formal proceedings may

be appropriate in each individual case. may be interested in knowing that on January 21, 1960, the Commission issued a public notice (83333) in which it stated that (1) it proposed to initiate rulemaking designed to require licensees to adopt internal controls to prevent unannounced sponsorships of broadcast material; (2) the replies to its December 2 inquiry would be considered in processing applications for broadcast authorizations; (3) unless said replies were complete, processing of the licensees' applications would be deferred; and (4) where Federal Trade Commission data was available, action on renewal applications would be deferred pending a study of such data.

The manner and degree of internal control of its operation by each of these licensees varies considerably from station to station. Most of them have thoroughly acquainted their employees with the requirements of the Communications Act and the Commission's Rules in the matter of sponsorship identification of broadcast material, and have threatened immediate dismissal for any violations thereof. At many of the stations, the licensee or management selects all music which may be played on the air. Some have inserted a "morals" clause in their employment contracts to permit them to take legal action against employees who accept surreptitious payments for broadcasting certain program material.

The Commission recognizes that the type of controls needed for licensees to responsibly and effectively supervise the programing operations of their stations will vary from station to station, and that any attempt by the Commission to prescribe one set of controls or procedures for adoption by all stations may have the effect of placing an unnecessary burden on many stations while still proving ineffective at some stations because of individual differences in their organizational and operational structures. Accordingly, the Commission, on February 8, 1960, issued a notice of proposed rulemaking looking toward placing the responsibility on each licensee for adopting appropriate pro-cedures to prevent the broadcasting of any commercial matter unaccompanied by a sponsorship identification announcement. The proposed rule reads as follows:

"All licensees and operating permittees shall adopt procedures to prevent the broadcasting of any matter for which service, money or other valuable consideration is, directly or indirectly, paid or promised to, or charged or accepted by, any officer, employee or independent contractor of the station, unless at the time the same is so broadcast it is announced as being paid for or furnished by such person."

Comments on the proposed rule filed by interested parties are now being studied by the Commission's staff.

Should you desire any further information in connection with this matter, please advise me and I shall endeavor to supply it.

Sincerely yours,

FREDERICK W. FORD, Chairman.

American Hungarian Federation Will Salute Mrs. A. B. Vajda of Milwaukee

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HENRY S. REUSS

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 19, 1960

Mr. REUSS. Mr. Speaker, I am delighted to announce to the Congress through the RECORD the high honor that will this year be bestowed on one of my fine constituents, a great Milwaukeean and a great American, Mrs. A. B. Vajda.

The American Hungarian Federation has announced that, this fall, it will pay tribute to Mrs. Vajda for her outstanding and tireless work in helping new citizens adjust to life in the United States. Mrs. Vajda has assisted some 20,000 new citizens in this way, and has founded the Americanization League of America and originated ceremonies on Citizenship Day.

We in Milwaukee are proud of Clara Vajda. I know of no person who more

richly deserves such an honor.

Mr. Speaker, to describe more fully the dedicated efforts of Mrs. Vajda, I submit for the Record the following article from the Milwaukee Sentinel:

HUNGARIANS WILL HONOR MRS. VAJDA

Mrs. A. B. Vajda, who has helped an estimated 20,000 new citizens adjust to American ways here in Milwaukee, will be saluted for her work by the American Hungarian Federation of Washington, D.C., at ceremonies next September, it was announced Saturday.

A gold-framed certificate will be presented to her, citing her particularly for founding the Americanization League of America and for originating ceremonies on Citizenship Day. Many noted Hungarians are expected to be in Milwaukee for the award ceremony.

The announcement was made by the Reverend John Szucs, pastor of the Hungarian Evangelical and Reformed Church, 2644 South Pine Street, and the Reverend Hippolyt Geza Ferenczy, pastor of St. Emeric's Catholic Church, 1017 North 17th Street.

SYMBOL OF MANY

The Reverend Mr. Szucs and Father Ferenczy head a committee of Wisconsin Hungarians planning the presentation ceremonies.

In a joint statement, they said:

"Mrs. Vajda symbolizes all the fine Americans of Hungarian extraction who have distinguished themselves and left their imprint on America in their various fields of endeavor.

"Particularly have Hungarians been vital to the American work in atomic energy and in the Nation's culture—especially in mu-

sic, the theater, and movies.

"Mrs. Vajda, too, has been a strong influence in her chosen work—that of bettering citizenship among Americans of all races, creeds, and nationalities. Because of the example she has set for all Hungarians, we are proud to help present this award."

Mrs. Vajda, who lives at 2620 North Lake Drive, was born in Hlohovec, formerly Austria-Hungary, and came to the United States in 1923. She and 32 others of foreign extraction formed the Americanization League at a meeting in the Milwaukee Public Library in 1930.

The league organized the Citizenship Day observances and also promoted the erection of the 6-foot replica of the Statute of Liberty in the John of the city but

erty in the lobby of the city hall.

For many years, Mrs. Vajda has published
a paper, the Melting Pot, from offices at 630

North Van Buren Street.

AID TO THOUSANDS

She has also personally helped thousands of immigrants to find jobs and homes, to apply for citizenship and to learn the English language and American customs.

Her work has been repeatedly recognized through the years—by the common council in 1931, by the Congressional Record in 1941, by Unico National in 1954, and by the Wisconsin Legislature in 1955, and by Mayor Zeidler in 1959.

She is the widow of Dr. Adalbert B. Vajda, physician and surgeon, who died in 1946. Her children are Mrs. Ella Seng, of Shorewood, and a son, Emil, now working for his doctorate at the University of Chicago.

New York Times Editorial on National Defense

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. VICTOR L. ANFUSO

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 3, 1960

Mr. ANFUSO. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I wish to insert an editorial on national defense appearing in today's issue of the New York Times. I regard it as a very constructive, unbiased, and nonpartisan editorial which should be read by everyone interested in the problem of national defense, and that means every American.

As a Member of the House Committee on Science and Astronautics, I am particularly impressed by the fact that the editorial points out the magnitude of the space program and warns us that "our imagination, our concept, must approach the magnitude of the task." The editorial also emphasizes the experience gained during the International Geophysical Year through the exchange of information between scientists of the possible benefits to be derived from such mutual efforts.

It is further hoped that the United Nations Permanent Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space, of which I have the honor to be a congressional adviser, seek ways and means of extending the peaceful cooperation of all nations to make greater conquests and explorations into space which will inure to the benefit of all mankind.

Mr. Speaker, the editorial mentioned above reads as follows:

THE NATIONAL DEFENSE-I

The House of Representatives is scheduled to begin today debate on the national security budget for the next fiscal year. To this critically important subject we propose to devote three editorials—the first of which, dealing with the space program, we publish today.

SPACE-THE BALANCE SHEET

Any nonpartisan evaluation of U.S. space accomplishments will find reasons for pride and some for sorrow.

From a standing start we have forged into a clear-cut scientific lead in the race for space. The United States has launched successfully 18 earth satellites and 2 other deep-space probes; 11 of these are still in orbit, plus a reentry capsule of another satellite. The Soviet Union has launched a total of six satellites or deep-space probes; two are still aloft. Despite the far greater weight of the Soviet space vehicles the United States has gathered far more scientific information from space. In instrumentation, communications, electronics, reliability, and guidance U.S. space vehicles have made giant steps; in these aspects of space exploration we need

fear no comparisons with Russia or any other nation.

However, in awareness of the political and psychological importance of space achievements, Moscow has been far more perceptive than Washington. Our greater proficiency in the accumulation of scientific data has been more than offset in world opinion by the Russian "firsts": first sputnik; first deepspace probe; first picture of the dark side of the moon; first rocket to hit the moon. Moreover, the Soviet space program excels our own in the greatly superior thrust of the Soviet booster rockets.

In organization and administration of the space program-a problem which has confused and slowed our efforts-the United States at last seems to be making order out of disorder. The National Aeronautics and Space Administration—the civilian agency must work hand in hand with the Pentagon and with the Atomic Energy Commission if maximum utilization of the Nation's scientific and technological resources is to be insured. After much pulling and hauling and shifting of subsidiary agencies, some interagency teamwork seems to be evident in Washington, and the once acid space rivalry in the Pentagon has now been controlled-or at least dampened-by recent organizational changes. The present organization with authority for the space program divided among several agencies, is far from ideal. But it can be made to work, and there are signs that it is working.

This review of past achievements and present position gives some cause for pride but none for complacency.

SPACE-THE FUTURE PROGRAM

The exploration—and particularly the exploitation—of space will be expensive. Dr. T. Keith Glennan has estimated that the NASA budget alone will require about \$12 to \$15 billion over the next decade. The Pentagon is now budgeting at the rate of almost half a billion annually for space projects, and the Atomic Energy Commission, which is developing nuclear power for space vehicles, absorbs added millions.

These are large sums—so large that there is no room in our space program for ill-conceived projects, for unnecessary duplication, for wasteful rivalry or for schemes that are more costly than they are worth. The suggested military base on the moon would seem to fit into the category of the functionally useless, if indeed, it should ever be technically feasible. Nevertheless, the exact shape of our future space programs must be approached with an open mind, for no one knows today what we shall find in the infinite.

We can see a short way ahead, and for these next few years our planned program is sound, with one current exception. NASA space budget for the 1961 fiscal year requested, as submitted to Congress, \$915 million. The House, despite all its vocal protests in the past about our standing in the space race, has cut almost \$39 million from this amount. This cut is pennywise and pound foolish. It is all the more inexplicable, in view of a reduction imposed by Congress last year in the current year's appropriation for NASA, a reduction which has slowed the overall program, and which the President is now seeking to have restored. The new cut could well delay Project Mercury or force the elimination of important scientific experiments. Even if the full amount requested is funded, NASA will not have enough money in 1961 to provide back-up boosters for space projects that may fall at takeoff. The administration budget, indeed, pares the space budget al-most too fine. If we accept the fact that we are in a space race, as we should, we must act accordingly, and the Senate should

crease it.

For the more distant future, we can only feel our way. There are two principles which should serve as guidelines. The first is that our imagination, our concept, must approach the magnitude of the task. We are literally trying to plumb the infinite; the closed or blased mind, the little man, the preconception, have no place in such a program. The second principle must complement the first. Our space program, while reaching out into the infinite, must be keyed to specific goals—scientific, military, political, and psychological goals, to goals that are economically feasible and that are in balance with the higher priority needs of our own environment.

There is a third point—derived from our experience with the International Geophysical Year and our explorations in the Antarctic. During the IGY-and more particularly in the Antarctic-scientists and technicians of the United States and Soviet Russia exchanged information, and in some few instances worked side by side to plumb the mysteries of nature. Our future space program should, whenever possible, exploit the possibilities of such mutual effort. Science and exploration can serve as a bridge between peoples, and the international con-quest of space might help to shatter the Iron Curtain.

Administration Not To Rename Connole to FPC-White House Decides Against Commissioner Known as Defender of Consumer

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JOHN D. DINGELL

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, May 3, 1960

Mr. DINGELL, Mr. Speaker, pursuant to permission granted, I am inserting into the Appendix of the Congressional RECORD two articles appearing in the St. Louis Post-Dispatch. The first is a news story appearing on April 19 and the second an editorial appearing on April 20, chronicling how Commissioner William R. Connole is to be dropped from the Federal Power Commission. In the midst of weak company he has been the one representative of the consumer and the one member on the Federal Power Commission in favor of honest and proper regulation. While other members of that body achieved a questionable reputation of looking after industry interests and of strong disinterest not only in real regulation but in the very job which they were paid to do, Mr. Connole has distinguished himself for his vigorous courage and intelligence. The President is reported to have said the other day "he could find a better than for the job." This statement is highly questionable since it appears that the administration is more interested in finding a better man for the gas and oil industry and a worse man for the Commission and the consumer. The two articles follow:

increase the NASA budget, rather than de- [From the St. Louis Post-Dispatch, Apr. 19, 1960]

> ADMINISTRATION NOT TO RENAME CONNOLE TO FPC-WHITE HOUSE DECIDES AGAINST COM-MISSIONER KNOWN AS DEFENDER OF CON-STIMER

(By James Deakin)

Washington, April 19 .- The White House has decided not to reappoint William R. Connole to the Federal Power Commission, the Post-Dispatch was told today. Connole is known as the principal defender of consumer interests on the FPC.

The administration's present plans are to name Harold I. Baynton, chief counsel of the Senate Interstate Commerce Committee, to succeed Connole. Baynton is a Democrat. Connole lists himself as a political independent.

The decision against giving Connole another 5-year term on the FPC could provoke a sharp fight on Capitol Hill. Some Democrats are known to believe that he is being dropped because of his votes in favor of the consumer in several important natural gas cases.

These Democrats, many of whom have charged the FPC favored large natural gas companies at the expense of the public, have nothing against Baynton, who is considered an able official.

UPHELD BY SUPREME COURT

They are understood to think, however, that the FPC can ill afford to lose Connole, whose dissenting opinions on behalf of the consumer have been upheld at least twice by the Supreme Court, notably in the controversial Catco Gas case.

Interest in the Connole matter has been heightened by recent disclosures of private contacts and social fraternization between some FPC members and representatives of natural gas companies subject to Commission

Connole, who was general counsel and chief legal officer for the Connecticut Public Utilities Commission from 1950 to 1955, was appointed to the FPC by President Eisenhower in 1955. His term will expire next June 22.

The decision not to reappoint him was relayed to Senator PRESCOTT BUSH, Republican, of Connecticut, by David W. Kendall, special counsel to the President, the Post-Dispatch was told.

STATEMENT BY BUSH

Bush issued a statement which said in part: "The first thing I heard of Connole's failure of reappointment to the Federal Power Commission came to me when Presidential Assistant David Kendall called me on the telephone and told me that Connole would not be reappointed, that he had already so advised Connole and that the decision was final."

Bush's administrative assistant, David S. Clarke, told a Post-Dispatch reporter that this information was relayed in a telephone call from Kendall to the Senator January 15. Bush was in Hartford, Conn., at the time.

Clarke said he did not know what reason Kendall gave, but it was considered likely that the White House may be seeking to quiet Democratic protests over the FPC's conduct by the appointment of a Democrat to the Commission.

The law specifies that no more than three of the five members of the FPC may be of the same political party. There are now three Republicans on the Commission, so that any future appointees by the Eisenhower administration must be either Democrats or independents.

Kendall, who is vacationing in Delray Beach, Fla., could not be reached for comment.

CONNOLE'S COMMENT

Connole declined to discuss the issue beyond saying, "Whether I am reappointed or not is a matter between the White House and Senator Bush."

It was learned, however, that members of regulatory commissions in six New England States have urged Mr. Eisenhower to reappoint Connole. A letter to this effect was sent to the President March 23 by the New England Conference of Public Utilities Commissioners.

It said Connole was "the most preeminently qualified person in New England in the field of regulation," and it added that he should receive another term "out of concern for the consumers of this Nation."

"Forthright and vigorous stands such as Mr. Connole has taken," the letter continued. "do more than anything else to give the FPC stature when a possible nominee possesses the expertise, the integrity and the self-confidence to resist intimidation, surely he deserves a chance to serve a new term.'

PRESSURE REPORTED

Electrical World, a trade publication, declared last week:

"Natural gas producers are creating pressure on the administration to avoid reap-pointment of Federal Power Commissioner William R. Connole. It remains to be seen whether business interests can do to the politicians what they're not supposed to be able to do to the FPC itself."

One of Connole's most important dissenting opinions came in the Catco natural gas Democrats in Congress have pointed to this proceeding as illustrating the need for consumer interests to be represented on the FPC.

In September 1956 a combine known as Catco applied to the FPC for a certificate to sell natural gas from submerged fields in the Gulf of Mexico off the coast of Louisiana. The proposal involved the largest amount of natural gas ever sold at one time.

The combine was composed of the Cities. Service Production Co., the Atlantic Refining Co., the Tidewater Oil Co., and the Continental Oil Co. The gas was to be sold to the Tennessee Gas Transmission Co. of Houston, Tex., a pipeline firm.

IN RECENT DISCLOSURES

Tennessee Gas Transmission figured in recent disclosures of private "ex parte" contacts between FPC members and company representatives.

Thomas G. (Tommy the Cork) Corcoran, an attorney for Tennessee Gas talked pri-vately with three FPC Commissioners, including Connole and FPC chairman Jerome K. Kuykendall, about a pending pipeline case involving a subsidiary of Tennessee Gas.

The Catco combine proposed to sell gas to the pipeline firm for 22.4 cents a thousand

cubic feet, with a 2-cent increase in the price every 4 years. Altogether, 1% trillion cubic feet of natural gas was involved.

The highest price that Tennessee Gas Transmission Co. had paid previously for gas from the same area was 17.5 cents a thousand cubic feet.

On April 22, 1957, the FPC issued a temporary certificate permitting the sale of the gas but remanding the case to an examiner to determine what the initial rate should be.

The Commission said it was "abundantly evident that in the public interest this crucial sale should not be permanently certified unless the rate level has been shown to be in the public interest."

Catco moved to modify this order, saying that economic factors made it necessary for the combine to have definite assurances of a 22.4-cent rate and that otherwise it would not go through with the sale.

On May 20, 1957, the FPC issued a second order setting a rate of 18 cents, but permitting the combine to apply for an increase to cents the day after it began selling gas to Tennessee Gas Transmission.

Normally, such rate increases cannot be put into effect, under FPO regulations, until 5 months after the application for an increase is filed.

Catco, however, said it still was not satisfied, and a rehearing was held in which the combine pressed for an FPO order with no conditions on the initial price of 22.4 cents.

On June 24, 1957, the FPC issued a third, permanent certificate agreeing to this. Connole dissented from this decision, but lost

COURT BACKS CONNOLE

The case was taken to the Third Circuit Court of Appeals in Philadelphia. In a decision on June 30, 1958, the court agreed with Connole saying:

'It was only after the threat of withholding the gas from the interstate market that the commission retreated from his previous position and granted the certificate without rate conditions.

"Impressed with this threat, the Commission issued its order of June 24, 1957, in which it granted permanent certificates the Catco applicants without any conditions affecting the initial price of 22.4 cents. On June 22, 1959, the Supreme Court up-

held the appeals court's decision, also in effect agreeing with Connole. The unanimous decision was written by Associate Justice Tom C. Clark of Texas.

SETTING A "FLOOR"

The Court noted that enormous reserves of natural gas were involved in the Catco deal and said that whatever price was set Would in effect become the "floor" for future prices on gas from these fields.

Unless controlled, Clark said in his decision, the price could result in "exploitation

at the expense of the consumer."

The same argument had been advanced by Connole in his dissent from the FPC order. He pointed out that the Catco combine had not made a case for the higher rate, but instead wanted the FPC to approve it without Justification.

Connole noted that the two earlier FPC orders had said that no evidence had been presented to justify the higher price, which eventually would be passed along to the con-

[From the St. Louis Post-Dispatch, Apr. 20, ' 19601

WRONG MAN TO DROP

The decision to drop William R. Connole from the Federal Power Commission is a sorry commentary on the Eisenhower administration and on its conception of the FPC. Mr. Connole, a Connecticut political inde-pendent, was one of the FPC members who had an ex parte talk with Thomas G. Corcoran, a gas company representative. Other-Wise, Mr. Connole not only has a good record on the FPC, but also has a record of defending consumer interests that is almost solitary.

One example of his dedication to the public was the Catco case. A combine of oil companies sought a rate almost 5 cents a thousand cubic feet higher than rates which a pipeline had previously paid for natural gas from submerged Gulf of Mexico fields. The FPC eventually granted the rate with only Mr. Connole dissenting. Last year the Supreme Court upheld his minority view, Warning of "exploitation at the expense of the consumer.'

The lines about Mr. Connole's reappointment were clearly drawn. He had won the enmity of gas producers and the support of consumer groups. Moreover, members of regulatory commissions in six New England

States urged President Eisenhower to reappoint him as "the most preeminently qualified person in New England in the field of regulation."

How could the administration seek to drop a strong man from a weak Commission? The answer is that the administration has had anything but a strong attitude toward regulation of natural gas. It supported bills to deprive the FPC of regulatory power over independent gas producers. The FPC itself tried to evade such regulation until the Supreme Court ordered it to get busy. cently, the administration has seen nothing improper in disclosures of friendly ex parte contacts with gas industry men by FPC members, or the use by three commissioners

of a pipeline company plane.

The dubious sense of public ethics displayed there is bad enough, but the dubious sense of public interest displayed in the Connole case is more dangerous to the consuming public which the FPC is supposed to protect. If anyone deserves to be dropped from the FPC, it is not William Connole.

Third Meeting of Canada-United States Interparliamentary Group-Joint Press Statement

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. EDNA F. KELLY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 27, 1960

Mrs. KELLY. Mr. Speaker, last week it was the honor and pleasure of the United States to serve as hosts to the Canada-United States Interparliamentary Group. Under the terms of the authorizing resolution 24 legislators from each of the two countries comprise the group. For the United States 12 members are from the House and 12 from the Senate.

It is my privilege to serve as chairman of the House delegation. But I must state that my work was made easier by the splendid cooperation of the chairman of the Senate delegation, Senator GEORGE D. AIKEN, of Vermont. He always was available for guidance and assistance no matter how pressing his other commitments.

The steering group of the House, in addition to myself, included Hon. Frank M. COFFIN, of Maine, Hon. CHESTER E. MERROW, of New Hampshire, and Hon. WALTER H. JUDD, of Minnesota.

I want to express my appreciation to the other members of the House delegation-Hon. WAYNE N. ASPINALL, Colorado; Hon. Sidney R. Yates, Illinois; Hon. LEONOR K. SULLIVAN, Missouri; Hon. Frank Ikard, Texas; Hon. GERALD R. FORD, JR., Michigan; Hon. W. R. POAGE, Texas; Hon. Don L. Short, North Dakota; and Hon. Thaddeus J. Dulski, New York. Hon. MELVIN PRICE, Illinois, also participated. Senators also participated to the extent their time permitted. Both bodies had heavy floor schedules last week. Despite that, par-ticipation by U.S. members was excellent.

The staffs of the Committee on Foreign Affairs and of the Committee on Foreign Relations as well as Canadian staff members handled the maze of details that contributed to the success of the meetings.

Secretary of State Herter spoke informally at the opening plenary session. Other members of the executive branch also devoted time to background work. To all of them I say, "Thank you."

Our former colleague, Mr. Wigglesworth, now our Ambassador to Canada, made a special trip to Washington with Mrs. Wigglesworth to attend the final dinner. Both the United States and Canadian delegates were more than pleased by the presence of Ambassador and Mrs. Wigglesworth.

The luncheons and the dinner on Friday evening were attended by other Members of the House. To all I want to extend my appreciation for taking part in making our guests feel welcome.

The Washington meetings were followed by a trip to SAC headquarters in Omaha and to Norad headquarters in Colorado Springs. The latter is a joint United States-Canada command for the defense of North America. The com-manding officers of both commands, Gen. Thomas Power and Gen. Laurence S. Kuter, together with their staffs, provided the members of the group with a splendid presentation of their respective responsibilities.

The Speaker of the House of Commons, Hon, Roland Michener, and the Speaker of the Senate, Hon. Mark R. Drouin, together with colleagues from both bodies, actively participated in all the discussions and functions. One of the delightful sides of the meetings with our Canadian opposites is the pleasant air of informality that pervades them. There are no difficulties of communication or bothersome details of protocol.

The meeting was divided into three panels-one on boundary problems, one on economic problems, and one on defense. Delegates from both countries exchanged their views and contributed to the education of the others. We explored the nature of the particular subject in an endeavor to understand better these mutual problems and related ideas. It is surprising how in-formal talks corrected misunderstand-

To make known to my colleagues the range of discussion, under unanimous consent I insert at this point the press release agreed to by all the delegates at the conclusion of the Washington meetings:

THIRD MEETING OF CANADA-UNITED STATES INTERPARLIAMENTARY GROUP-JOINT PRESS STATEMENT

The Canada-United States Interparliamentary Group, composed of 24 members of the Parliament of Canada and 24 Members of the Congress of the United States, today concluded 2 days of discussion on matters of common interest in the two countries.

The group continued its procedures of having informal, off-the-record discussions and refrained from making recommendations, leaving it to each national delegation to make such reports and recommendations to its respective authorizing institutions as it determines.

The group met in plenary sessions on Thursday morning and Friday afternoon and held two sets of committee meeting on Thursday afternoon and Friday morning. Committees discussed the following subject

areas: (1) Defense cooperation and disarmament, (2) boundary problems, (3) economic problems of common concern.

The Committee on Defense discussed certain aspects of defense policy, and the use of North American productive facilities for defense purposes, which have implications of mutual importance to the United States and Canada. The Committee also discussed the prospects for disarmament and the need for planning that will facilitate an orderly transition from military production to production for peaceful purposes, including public works.

There was general agreement that while seeking with all vigor for an understanding with the Communist bloc based on mutual trust and confidence, the West must maintain adequate defenses until the Soviet camp accepts an inspection and control system of sufficient scope and efficiency to justify the commencement of active measures of disarmament.

The Committee considered the changing character of the threat to North America and the effect of this on the operations of the North American Air Defense Command (Norad). It was recognized that in addition to the military problems which will have to be faced during the next few years, the adoption of new weapons systems and concepts of defense will cause local economic readjustments which in some areas may be severe.

The Committee noted that during the last year there had been considerable progress in the program of defense production sharing between the United States and Canada. This was reflected in the fact that Canadian industry in 1959 received U.S. defense contracts valued at \$96.3 million; it was noted, however, that Canadian defense equipment purchases in the United States in the same period amounted to \$116.6 million. The Canadian members of the Committee expressed the view that the progress achieved to date was in no small measure due to the consideration given to the problem by the Interparliamentary Group at its meeting in June 1959. There was general agreement that a continuing effort was needed in both countries to achieve and maintain an adequate balance in defense purchasing between Canada and the United States.

After deciding which subjects should be discussed, the Boundary Problems Committee came to the following conclusions, which it approved for transmittal to the plenary

session:

- 1. Passamaquoddy tidal power project: It is important to determine whether the Passamaquoddy project is economically feasible. Meanwhile, judgment should be reserved awaiting further stuides by the International Joint Commission. The committee feels that this topic should be retained on its agenda.
- 2. Hudson-Champlain-Richelieu Waterway: Now that the St. Lawrence Seaway is in operation the two Governments should consider referring to the International Joint Commission the question of the economic feasibility of further development of this waterway, taking into account the possible increase in trade between Canada and the United States which might result.
- 3. Columbia River Basin development: The Canadians welcomed statements by U.S. delegates that no particular project of interest to the U.S. delegates should be allowed to stand in the way of a treaty on this subject based on the principle of optimum development of the Columbia River Basin with mutual sharing of the benefits. Once this principle has been adopted by the two Governments particular projects will fall into their appropriate order.
- 4. Chicago diversion: This subject was again thoroughly and vigorously discussed and no change of the positions of the respective delegates emerged. The Canadian

delegation appreciates the waste disposal problem facing Chicago.

5. Pollution in the Great Lakes: Both delegations expressed concern about increasing pollution both from lake cities and shipping. It was agreed that it would be useful for the two Governments to study remedial measures.

6. Yukon-Alaska problems: Canadian delegates expressed concern that a proposed high dam at Rampart, Alaska, may prejudice maximum development for the benefit of both countries of the Yukon River power potential. Canadian delegates raised the questions of some form of free port facilities for Canada in the Alaska panhandle and corridors across it. U.S. delegates suggested that additional information about these matters be furnished to them before the next meeting of the group and that they be placed on the agenda for the next meeting.

The Economic Problems Committee ap-

proved the following summary for trans-

mittal to the plenary session.

1. COMMON TRADE PROBLEMS, ESPECIALLY WITH WESTERN EUROPE

The Committee agreed that economic progress abroad and the changing pattern of trading relations in Europe were creating new opportunities and serious problems for Canada and the United States. It was recognized that the interests of our two countries diverged to some extent in the face of these developments, partly because of political considerations and partly because of the greater dependence of Canada on international trade and the narrower range of its exports.

The merits and demerits of solutions based on different methods of computing tariffs and of tax relief were briefly explored. No firm agreement was reached concerning the respective cases for the "Inner Six" and "Outer Seven," but a consensus did appear on the need for the United States and Canada to cooperate closely and to work toward new arrangements with their European allies on a North Atlantic basis.

2. BILATERAL PROBLEMS

(a) The Canadian oil problem

Attention was drawn to the difficulties being experienced in the Canadian oil industry (particularly in Alberta) due to lack of markets for increasing oil supplies. Canadian delegates described various possible solutions, notably that of increasing domestic consumption, recognizing that some of these have foreign policy implications. Reference was also made to recently issued Canadian regulations governing oil and gas exploration in the Yukon and Northwest Territories.

(b) Metals and minerals

The Committee recognized the intimate and important relationship between United States and Canadian production and markets for such commodities as lead and zinc, aluminum, copper, nickel, and uranium.

A U.S. delegate described the depressed lead and zinc condition in his country and foresaw no significant change in conditions over the near future in respect of either production or importation.

The delegates then considered the uranium and aluminum situations. In view of recent developments, the discussion on uranium was mainly in terms of the prospects which might emerge in a few years time, which did not now appear very auspicious for producers. On the other hand, the outlook for aluminum was regarded as more promising.

A U.S. delegate drew general attention to the increasing significance of Latin American markets for both Canada and the United States, and to the implications of prospective competition from expanding Latin American production of commodities such as oil, gas, and iron ore.

(c) Wheat

There was considerable detailed discussion of the surplus wheat problem confronting both the United States and Canada. No new approach was advanced for the problem, and there was general agreement that current arrangements, unsatisfactory though they might be, were still the best available in the existing situation. Both delegations were anxious to insure continuing close bilateral consultations in order to avoid damage to established foreign commercial markets; Canadian delegates expressed their gratification at the way in which this consultation had developed.

At the first plenary session, U.S. Secretary of State Herter welcomed the Canadian delegates and wished the meetings success. In the plenary sessions recommendations by delegates from both countries laid stress on the necessity for the people of each country to learn more about the other. The suggestion was made that the educational systems in the United States and Canada might well

take account of this need.

The Canadian delegation extended an invitation to the U.S. delegation to visit Canada sometime during the month of August 1960, and to visit industrial and mining areas.

On Saturday and Sunday, the Group will fly to the U.S. Strategic Air Command Headquarters at Omaha, Nebr. and to the Joint Canada-United States Air Defense Command at Colorado Springs, Colo., to receive briefings and make inspections at these installations, and will return to Ottawa and Washington Sunday evening.

These meetings of the Canada-United States Interparliamentary Group help to promote a unity of purpose, a unity of thought, and a unity of spirit, to the end that our Western way of life and government is preserved for future generations.

War Tax Rates

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. THOMAS J. LANE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, May 3, 1960

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the resolution of Local 119. Brewery, Soft Drink, and Distributors, AFL-CIO, 534 Haverhill Street, Lawrence, Mass.:

RESOLUTION REQUESTING THE U.S. CONGRESS TO ALLOW THE AUTOMATIC RATE REDUCTION ON CERTAIN EXCISE TAX RATES

Whereas Federal excise taxes were substantially increased to the war tax rate on many manufactured items by the Revenue Acts of 1943, 1945, and 1947; and

Whereas these rates were even further increased by the Revenue Act of 1951 for the purpose of a temporary Korean wartime

emergency; and

Whereas all excise rates were reduced to prewar tax rates by the Excise Reduction Act of 1954, with the exception of alcoholic bev erages, gasoline, diesel fuel, cigarettes, and motor vehicle chassis, which products continued to be taxed at the highest rate, but were scheduled for automatic reduction on March 31, 1955; and

Whereas the Revenue Acts of 1955, 1956, 1957, and 1958 continued to postpone the automatic reduction on these items; and

Whereas the Revenue Act of 1959 once more postponed the rate reduction date on selected items from July 1, 1959, through June 30, 1960; and

Whereas the wartime emergency which occasioned the imposition of the additional excise on these selected items now no longer exists; and

Whereas war tax rates are so high as to substantially reduce sales in a peacetime market; and

Whereas the excessive taxation of these selected products has restricted wages and job opportunities for organized labor in the particular industries manufacturing these goods, and has prevented business expansion in these businesses because they could not keep pace with less highly taxed items. Now therefore he if

items: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That Local 119, Brewery, Soft
Drink, and Distributors, AFL-CIO, 534
Haverhill Street, Lawrence, Mass., representing 125 workers and members, hereby goes
on record as favoring the reduction of these
oppressive excises and respectfully petitions
the Congress of the United States to permit
these war tax rates to expire on the scheduled
date of June 30, 1960.

Adopted at meeting on April 21, 1960.

JOHN J. SILVA,

Secretary.

Role of the Seaport

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. GEORGE P. MILLER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 19, 1960

Mr. GEORGE P. MILLER. Mr. Speaker, I am happy to include in my remarks an editorial from the Daily Commercial News, the oldest business newspaper on the Pacific coast. It is the official publication of the Marine Exchange, Inc., and the Propeller Club, port of San Francisco.

The editorial is entitled "Role of the Seaport" and is based on a panel discussion held in the Sheraton-Plaza Hotel in connection with the New England Trade Week Conference and extensively quotes from a speech made by Mr. Ralph E. Casey, president, American Merchant Marine Institute.

I think this is a fine editorial and I commend it to all of you:

ROLE OF THE SEAPORT

A single ship calling regularly at a port for 1 year can increase direct expenditure in the port by more than a milion and a half dollars annually, the New England World Trade Week Conference was told last week by Ralph E. Casey, president of the American Merchant Marine Institute.

Casey spoke on "The Role of the Modern Seaport in Industrial Development" at a panel discussion held in the Sheraton-Plaza Hotel. Pointing out the close interdependence of port and industrial development, he said that a primary responsibility of port authorities was the two-fold task of convincing "each individual industry in the immediate area of the importance of the port to its overall success" and of keeping National, State, and local governments aware of the problems involved in port development "to grow and keep pace with the national economy."

Shipping, he said, "is not only allimportant to a port area but it is vitally concerned with the growth and activity of the port." He noted that U.S. waterborne trade had increased in the past decade by 27.7 percent, to a 1959 total of 935,114,400 long tons. Some idea of what the over-the-dock movement of this commerce means to the economy of the port areas through which it passes is indicated, he added, by figures on direct revenue generated by specific categories of cargo. Direct dollar expenditure produced by the loading or unloading of a single long ton is as follows, for the classifications indicated: general cargo, \$15.51; crude oil, including refining, \$10.50; tanker cargo, other than crude oil, \$3.60; coal, \$2.48; grain, \$5.80; ore, \$2.88; raw sugar, including refining, \$44.91.

The importance of our export and import trade to everyone in the American business community, Casey continued, is shown by the fact that, over the past 10 years, U.S. exports averaged 8.6 percent of all our production of movable goods—a production which now totals \$225.6 billion—while imports essential to our prosperity and security include 90 percent of our asbestos, 86 percent of our bauxite, 100 percent of our hard fibers and natural rubber, 89 percent of our manganese ore, and 68 percent of our sugar. A recent study by Delaware River ports showed, he said, that "more than 1 job in every 10 in manufacturing industry and in wholesale and retail trade in the 11-county Delaware River port area depends upon the availability of materials and merchandise received through Delaware River ports." For manufacturing alone, the figure is one job in five.

The maritime spokesman said that in order to keep pace with modern transportation demands the American-flag steamship industry is now engaged in a large-scale and costly fleet replacement and modernization program. Noting that mechanization and automation may be the key to our future, he added, "The port that keeps pace will undoubtedly be the one that will benefit by modern vessels employing modern techniques. New industry will locate in the areas where service and adequate facilities prove most economical." Similarly, a vessel will go where there is cargo and where it can be loaded most economically.

As an example of the great stimulus given to area economies by port modernization, Casey cited the development of gulf ports, which has been credited with having changed the South from its dependence on an agricultural economy and opened the way for its industrial development. Some gulf ports, he said, have increased their tonnage twofold and threefold, while the Nation as a whole was recording a 28-percent increase in cargo shipments.

Casey referred to a recent prediction by the president of the New York Stock Exchange that our gross national product might reach \$700 billion by 1970, an increase of 46.9 percent over 1959. If transportation of goods holds its present ratio to gross national product, he foresaw a tremendous rise in port and shipping requirements in the next decade. "On the decisions made now," he concluded, "will depend whether or not the port of Boston and the State of Massachusetts gain their fair share of the predicted increase."

Point to Acadia Parish

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. T. A. THOMPSON

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 3, 1960

Mr. THOMPSON of Louisiana. Mr. Speaker, in view of the concern about

the mounting grain surpluses and the criticism of the price support program and of our farmers for continuing to overproduce, causing the Government to take surplus produce into the Government loan program, I wish to include in the Record an editorial from the Crowley (La.) Daily Signal relative to the rice price support program in Acadia Parish, one of the eight parishes of my district.

Louisiana is not adding any appreciable amount of rice of any variety to the surplus stockpile of the Federal Government. Nearly 100 percent of the rice raised in our areas is sold on the market and not placed under Government loan. The Nato variety of rice was developed in the rice experiment station at Crowley and it has become a very popular rice because it is clean and has a high milling yield.

The editorial follows:

[From the Crowley Daily Signal, Apr. 20, 1960]

POINT TO ACADIA PARISH

If the farm price-support program throughout the United States had any resemblance at all to the rice price-support program in Acadia Parish, it would be a workable, practical program instead of the gulping dollar monster it has become.

Whatever the criticism is elsewhere, we take this opportunity to say that Acadia Parish has clean skirts, and we understand from reliable sources, that the picture is pretty much the same throughout all of the rice-producing parishes of Louisiana.

During the 1959 crop year, the Acadia Stabilization and Conservation County Committee issued 55 warehouse loans on 270,813 hundredweight of rice with a value of \$1.290.674.

All of it was redeemed. The Government did not have to take over a single grain of

The ASC Committee also issued seven farm storage loans on 11,594 hundredweight of rice with a dollar value of \$52,198. Going to the Government as surplus rice was 1,157 hundredweight at a value of only \$4,787. That figure represents the loss to the Government in Acadia Parish. Of course, this rice will probably be handled by the Commodity Credit Corporation and a part of this sum will be saved.

Two of the rice-growing States are not raising rice for the U.S. Government to store and handle. They are Louisiana and California. Surplus rice is going into storage at a high cost to taxpayers from Texas, Arkansas, and Mississippi.

It has been estimated by the Committee for Constitutional Government, Inc., that nationwide each rice farm with an allotment of 100 acres or more cost the Govarnment and the taxpayers \$10,000 last year.

We want to point out that while this may be true on a national basis, it is not true in Louisiana, a historic rice-producing State. In Acadia Parish, the cost was \$4.787 on one—and only one farm, and we are at a loss to say just how many farms have 100 acres or more of rice in the parish.

Acadia's rice is obviously going into the normal free market channels. It means we are definitely not overproducing rice. It means rice is bringing a fair price on the open market, and it means that our farmers are not the ones causing a drain on the public pocketbook. It also means that because of our normal free marketing of rice in Acadia Parish, our farmers are justified in having more rice acres to plant—and those acres ought to come from other States

who have been guilty of raising rice to be sold to the Government for the price-support figure. Areas who are using trade channels on the open market for their rice should receive a premium for their efforts. Those who are deliberately raising rice to increase the Government glut should be penalized.

The next time you hear arguments on rice support, point to the Acadia Parish picture as one of the healthiest in the United States.

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board, or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives or the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS FOR SALE

Additional copies of Government publications are offered for sale to the public by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D.C., at cost thereof as determined by the Public Printer plus 50 percent: Provided, That a discount of not to exceed 25 percent may be allowed to authorized bookdealers and quantity purchasers, but such printing shall not interfere with the prompt execution of work for the Government. The Superintendent of Documents shall prescribe the terms and conditions under which he may authorize the resale of Government publications by bookdealers, and he may designate any Government officer his agent for the sale of Government publications under such regulations as shall be agreed upon by the Superintendent of Documents and the head of the respective department or establishment of the Government (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 72a, Supp. 2).

RECORD OFFICE AT THE CAPITOL

An office for the Congressional Record, with Mr. Raymond F. Noyes in charge, is located in Statuary Hall, House wing, where orders will be received for subscriptions to the Record at \$1.50 per month or for single copies at 1 cent for eight pages (minimum charge of 3 cents). Also, orders from Members of Congress to purchase reprints from the Record should be processed through this office.

CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY

The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. No sale shall be made on credit (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p. 1939).

who have been guilty of raising rice to be LAWS AND RULES FOR PUBLICATION OF sold to the Government for the price-sup-

CODE OF LAWS OF THE UNITED STATES

TITLE 44, SECTION 181. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD; ARRANGEMENT, STYLE, CONTENTS, AND INDEXES.—The Joint Committee on Printing shall have control of the arrangement and style of the Congressional Record, and while providing that it shall be substantially a verbatim report of proceedings shall take all needed action for the reduction of unnecessary bulk, and shall provide for the publication of an index of the Congressional Record semimonthly during the sessions of Congress and at the close thereof. (Jan. 12, 1895, c. 23, § 13, 28 Stat. 603.)

TITLE 44, SECTION 182b. SAME; ILLUSTRATIONS, MAPS, DIAGRAMS.—No maps, diagrams, or illustrations may be inserted in the RECORD without the approval of the Joint Committee on Printing. (June 20, 1936, c. 630, § 2, 49 Stat. 1546.)

Pursuant to the foregoing statute and in order to provide for the prompt publication and delivery of the Congressional Record the Joint Committee on Printing has adopted the following rules, to which the attention of Senators, Representatives, and Delegates is respectfully invited:

- 1. Arrangement of the daily Record.—The Public Printer will arrange the contents of the daily Record as follows: First, the Senate proceedings; second, the House proceedings; third, the Appendix: Provided, That when the proceedings of the Senate are not received in time to follow this arrangement, the Public Printer may begin the Record with the House proceedings. The proceedings of each House and the Appendix shall each begin a new page, with appropriate headings centered thereon.
- 2. Type and style.—The Public Printer shall print the report of the proceedings and debates of the Senate and House of Representatives, as furnished by the Official Reporters of the Congressional Record, in 71/2-point type; and all matter included in the remarks or speeches of Members of Congress, other than their own words, and all reports, documents, and other matter authorized to be inserted in the RECORD shall be printed in 61/2-point type; and all rollcalls shall be printed in -point type. No italic or black type nor words in capitals or small capitals shall be used for emphasis or prominence; nor will unusual indentions be permitted. These restrictions do not apply to the printing of or quotations from historical, official, or legal documents or papers of which a literal reproduction is necessary.
- 3. Return of manuscript.—When manuscript is submitted to Members for revision it should be returned to the Government Printing Office not later than 9 o'clock p.m. in order to insure publication in the Record issued on the following morning; and if all of said manuscript is not furnished at the time specified; the Public Printer is authorized to withhold it from the Record for 1 day. In no case will a speech be printed in the Record of the day of its delivery if the manuscript is furnished later than 12 o'clock midnight.
- 4. Tabular matter.—The manuscript of speeches containing tabular statements to be published in the RECORD shall be in the hands of the Public Printer not later than 7 o'clock p.m., to insure publication the following morning.
- 5. Proof furnished.—Proofs of "leave to print" and advance speeches will not be furnished the day the manuscript is received but will be submitted the following day, whenever possible to do so without causing delay in the publication of the regular proceedings of Congress. Advance speeches shall be set in the Record style of type, and not more than

six sets of proofs may be furnished to Members without charge.

6. Notation of withheld remarks.—If manuscript or proofs have not been returned in time for publication in the proceedings, the Public Printer will insert the words "Mr.—addressed the Senate (House or Committee). His remarks will appear hereafter in the Appendix," and proceed with the printing of the RECORD.

7. Thirty-day limit.—The Public Printer shall not publish in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD any speech or extension of remarks which has been withheld for a period exceeding 30 calendar days from the date when its printing was authorized: Provided, That at the expiration of each session of Congress the time limit herein fixed shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee.

8. Corrections.—The permanent Recorn is made up for printing and binding 30 days after each daily publication is issued; therefore all corrections must be sent to the Public Printer within that time: Provided, That upon the final adjournment of each session of Congress the time limit shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee: Provided jurther, That no Member of Congress shall be entitled to make more than one revision. Any revision shall consist only of corrections of the original copy and shall not include deletions of correct material, substitutions for correct material, or additions of new subject matter.

9. The Public Printer shall not publish in the Congressional Record the full report or print of any committee or subcommittee when said report or print has been previously printed. This rule shall not be construed to

apply to conference reports.

10. Appendix to daily Record.—When either House has granted leave to print (1) a speech not delivered in either House, (2) a newspaper or magazine article, or (3) any other matter not germane to the proceedings, the same shall be published in the Appendix except in cases of duplication. In such cases only the first item received in the Government Printing Office will be printed. This rule shall not apply to quotations which form part of a speech of a Member, or to an authorized extension of his own remarks: Provided, That no address, speech, or article delivered or released subsequently to the final adjournment of a session of Congress may be printed in the Congressional Record.

11. Estimate of cost .- No extraneous matter in excess of two pages in any one instance may be printed in the Congressional Record by a Member under leave to print or to extend his remarks unless the manuscript is accompanied by an estimate in writing from the Public Printer of the probable cost of publishing the same, which estimate of cost must be announced by the Member when such leave is requested; but this rule shall not apply to excerpts from letters, telegrams, or articles presented in connection with a speech delivered in the course of debate or to communications from State legislatures, addresses or articles by the President and the members of his Cabinet, the Vice President, or a Member of Congress. For the purposes of this regulation, any one article printed in two or more parts, with or without individual headings, shall be considered as a single extension and the two-page rule shall apply. The Public Printer or the Official Reporters of the House or Senate shall return to the Member of the respective House any matter submitted for the Congressional RECORD which is in contravention of this paragraph.

12. Official Reporters.—The Official Reporters of each House shall indicate on the manuscript and prepare headings for all matter to be printed in the Appendix, and shall make suitable reference thereto at the proper place

in the proceedings.

Appendix

Address by Hon. Theodore Francis Green, of Rhode Island, at Breakfast Group Meeting

> EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. JOHN STENNIS

OF MISSISSIPPI

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Wednesday, May 4, 1960

Mr. STENNIS. Mr. President, it was my privilege this morning to be present at the breakfast group meeting in the Vandenberg Room of the Capitol when the distinguished senior Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. GREEN] delivered an address which was timely, wise, inspirational, and elevating. I believe it is worthy of wider publication; therefore, I ask unanimous consent that the remarks of the Senator from Rhode Island be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

> ADDRESS BY SENATOR GREEN THE TIME IS NOW

Shortly after I accepted the invitation to lead this breakfast group, I received a brief note from our chairman, Senator JOHN STENNIS, which simply read: "I am sure you will have something interesting and worth while for us." In all the long years which the good Lord has seen fit to allow me, I do not recall a single challenge which made me

feel more lonely or unworthy.

What wise message could I leave with you here this morning? What was there about my life that could set me apart from the rest of you-all schooled in the same Christian tradition? Then a hard but obvious fact disturbed my meditation. I have lived longer than any of you and much longer than most. However much I might Wish it otherwise, I am what might be called-but I hope respectfully-an old man. The whole concept of time engulfed my thoughts and I was reminded of the eloquent message from the Gospel by John: "Work While it is day, for the night cometh when no man can work."

There is a story told of three devils who met to formulate the strategy they might best employ to ensuare the souls of men. The first devil advanced a plan that they roam throughout the world and proclaim that there is no God. The other devils discouraged him saying that men were too intelligent and the wonders of creation too convincing for men to accept that hypothesis. Then the second devil said: "I have the answer. We will go forth to all mankind and teach that the Bible is false: That it is nothing but a fraud." The other devils reproached him saying that man would never submit to that tactic because for centuries men had believed and loved and lived in testimony of the truth of Holy Writ. Then the shrewdest of all the devils offered the winning solution. "There is one sure way to capture the souls of men. We will simply tell all the inhabitants of the earth that 'there is plenty of time.' "

If I have learned one thing well in my long years it is that there is never plenty of time. As the good book tells us we know not the day nor the hour of our calling. The time for the lay apostolate is now.

It is more than conincidence that I, a Rhode Islander, should be asked to speak to you on this day, the 4th of May. On this date, in 1776, the colony of Rhode Island and Providence plantations, by action of its general assembly and on the motion of my great-great-grandfather, declared her inde-pendence from Great Britain, 2 months ahead of all the other American colonies thus making her the oldest sovereign State in the whole Western Hemisphere. In her love for freedom, she threw off the shackles of an unwise parent who had forgotten that there were some things in life more precious than life itself. Those proud forebears of mine had the fortitude generated by faith in Almighty God, faith in each other and faith in the worth of their cause. They were true to the heritage of Roger Williams, the young refugee clergyman, who, 140 years earlier, founded our State and dedicated it to the principles of religious liberty and civil free-In the face of overwhelming odds, the world stood aghast at this gallant little band of patriots from the smallest colony of all.

The great archaeologist, James Breasted, reminds us that man became the first implement-making creature not later than the beginning of the ice age, probably a million years ago. At the same time he became the first weapon-making creature. Yet it is perhaps less than 5,000 years ago that man's conscience began to become a potent social

Today we are met at a fork in the highway of history. We who claim to be Christians and especially those of us privileged to serve as elected representatives of the people have a solemn duty. In our own country, we must covet no privilege for ourselves which we are not willing to share with every other citizen. In the worldwide clash with totalitarianism, at the very time when the sophisticated systems of modern warfare contain the capacity for mutual annihilation, we must pray for guldance. We must exert every positive peaceful influence within the of our conscience and capabilities to save the world from those who would ruin it by their inhumanity, their injustice, and their immorality. Unless each of us con-scientiously meets the political realities of the present, it may be later than we think for all of us.

As we ponder the restlessness about us today and search, each in his own heart, for his moment of destiny, let us recall some of the beautiful words from the first few verses of chapter III of Ecclesiastes:

"To all a season, and a time to every in-

clination under the Heavens:

A time to be born, and a time to die; a time to plant, and a time to pluck up the planting:

A time to kill, and a time to heal; a time to break down, and a time to build:

A time to weep, and a time to laugh; a time to mourn, and a time to dance:

A time to rend, and a time to sew; a time to be silent, and a time to speak:

A time to love, and a time to hate; a time of war, and a time of peace."

A few minutes ago, I introduced myself as one of the older generation. I make no claim however to the wisdom which is sometimes associated with age. Yet there lived many years ago an old man who was very wise and blessed. I refer to the Apostle Paul, who as a prisoner awaiting execution in Nero's Rome, wrote a letter to some friends in the little church at Philippi, in Greece. In his letter, Paul wrote: "And this I pray, that your love may abound yet more and more in knowledge and all intelligence."

It is my hope that in the years remaining to us here, united in this Christian fellowship, the love of God will help us know our problems, give us the intelligence to perceive what should be done about them, and the courage to act accordingly, all in good time.

Is Prisoner of War Collaboration a Myth?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. L. MENDEL RIVERS

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, May 4, 1960

Mr. RIVERS of South Carolina. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I include therewith an article which appeared in the April 16, 1960, issue of the Army-Navy-Air Force Register and Defense Times, entitled "POW Collaboration Charges Exploded."

Mr. Speaker, I think this article should be read by every Member of Congress and by all Americans. It is a well-substantiated review of a controversial subject. I am glad to note that it has been published in the oversea edition of the New York Herald Tribune and in the

Rome, Italy, Daily American. The article follows:

POW COLLABORATION CHARGES EXPLODED

(Much of the documentation for this article was obtained from Albert D. Biderman, senior research associate at the Bureau of Social Science Research, Inc., in Washington. Through his studies of captives over the past 8 years, he has developed extensive knowledge prisoner-of-war problems and a large collection of materials on the subject. Biderman was project scientist for the study of Communist exploitation of USAF prisoners of war conducted by Air Research and Development Command and the Air University from 1953 to 1597. Since then his studies of prisoner problems have been sponsored by the Society for the Investigation of Human Ecology-a New York research foundation. the Air Force Office of Scientific Research, and the National Academy of Sciences-National Research Council. In collaboration with Dr. Herbert Zimmer, a Georgetown University Medical School psychologist, Biderman has just edited a volume that will challenge many popular notions about "brainwashing." In this book, seven prominent scientists examine recent speculations on how science might be used to make men behave against their will. The book, "The Manipulation of Human Behavior," will be published this year by John Wiley & Sons.)

Newly compiled facts prove dramatically that Americans captured by the Reds in Korea have been the victims of a widely believed myth that they collaborated in wholesale numbers with the enemy.

A collection of more than 100 scientific studies of the behavior of military men explodes the collaboration myth and provides stark proof that the Americans behaved as well as military men taken prisoners in any other war.

Newspapers, magazines and books have contributed to the falsification, mostly unwittingly, which during the past 9 years has led Americans to question the moral fiber of the younger generation.

BLATANT CHARGE

One of the most blatant charges against the POW's was that "one man in every seven, or more than 13 percent, was guilty of serious collaboration."

According to Eugene Kinkead in his book published last year, "In Every War But One" this was the statement of a top-level civilian official of the U.S. Army.

The book sold only about 15,000 copies, but it was widely quoted in the United States. Kinkead wrote similar material earlier for the New Yorker magazine, circulation of more than 400,000

Another article syndicated by a major New York newspaper had similar data. It quoted an Army psychiatrist as saying that one out of every three of several thousand Army POW's collaborated with the Communists to some extent.

In fact, only 425 cases were selected out of about 9,000 for consideration for possible court-martial. It was finally decided that trial was warranted for only 82 of these. Then a reviewing authority approved only 47 of these for court-martial.

Of these, only 14 were ever tried and only 11 convicted. Only 10 were convicted of offenses involving collaboration with the enemy. The offenses of which these were convicted were in some instances judged by the court so slight or so mitigated by circumstances as not to warrant severe punishment.

Although none of the forms of misconduct by prisoners of war was unique to Korea, the Korean war was the only war in which former POW's have been tried by court-martial for misconduct while a prisoner, with the exception of one case following World War II. Previous practice had been trial by civil courts for treason or other appropriate criminal offenses.

Of course, the criteria used to judge whether a man was a collaborator or not is vital in any such judgment. Apparently the authorities responsible for the prosecution of collaborators did not think the criteria used by those who claim one out of every three collaborated were legally valid.

ESCAPES

There has been almost unending criticism of POW's because they supposedly did not escape from their Communist captors. The "no escapes" charge leveled is qualified by critics with the statement that there were no escapes from "permanent prison camps."

The use of this distinction is important.

Actually 647 men did escape after being captured by the Communists, but before they were interned in the maximum security camps.

It is also interesting to note that these 647 men—many of whom witnessed the Korean war's most hideous atroctites—were never included in the studies conducted by officials on the behavior of POW's.

Actually, it would be fair to state that at least 5 percent of the POW's in Communist hands escaped. MISCONDUCT

There have been repeated "misconduct" condemnations of POW's who gave captors more information than the time-honored "name, rank, and serial number only" details called for in military law until recently.

Long before the Korean war began, military officials had realized that prisoners in World War II (American, German, Japanese, and virtually all other nationalities) had given captors far more information than required by international agreement. The officials had demanded that this restriction be lifted.

It was lifted—late in the Korean war. Too late to affect many of the prisoners who had been taken by the Communists in the early stages of the conflict. It is interesting to note that the change was approved by Congress following testimony on collaboration by American prisoners with the Germans and Japanese to the detriment of their fellow soldiers.

The Code of Conduct for Prisoners adopted August 17, 1955, says that prisoners are bound to give only name, rank, service number, and date of birth, and pledges the prisoner to "evade answering further questions to the utmost of my ability."

If tortured or coerced a prisoner "will endeavor to avoid by every means the disclosure of any information, or the making of any statement or the performance of any action harmful to the interests of the United States or its allies or which will provide aid or comfort to the enemy."

This is no carte blanche dismissal of responsibility from the name, rank, serial number restriction—but it is a relief from it.

How about the charge that Americans captured in Korea behaved worse than those captured in any other war?

When the Department of Defense Advisory Commission on Prisoners of War looked into this one, this is what they found. In the American Revolution the United States established the death penalty for those prisoners who after capture took up arms in the service of the enemy.

service of the enemy.

Eventually amnesty was granted to all deserters except those who joined the enemy.

In the Civil War about 3,170 Federal prisoners joined the South and about 5,452 Southern Army men joined the Federal Army.

In World Wars I and II, as indicated previously prisoners frequently gave more than name, rank, and serial number despite the Geneva Conventions. The criteria for judging the prisoners has changed with the wars.

ARMY PRISONERS

Army men, who represented the averages in American manhood, according to critics of the prisoners, were the arch collaborators while Marines, Air Force men, and other nationalities had a much better record.

Space does not permit a complete rebuttal of this sorest of all points. It can be noted briefly, however, that the Army men in the POW ranks were captured in the earliest stages of the Korean war and were subjected to the atrocities, the inhuman treatment, and actual torture. In addition, they were of lower mental caliber than the Air Force and Marine components since the Army at this point in U.S. history was dependent upon a lower grade selective service program,

The bulk of the Air Force and other nationality captives involved in POW studies were taken captive later in the war and were not subjected to threats on their lives, but rather given different treatment carefully blended with "brainwashing" overtones. In a careful analysis—which has been made several times over by some of the best social-habit students available today—the record of the general run of the Army men involved is as good, and probably better, than that

of the mentally hardened veterans of a generation ago.

TORTURE

There have been charges that no American prisoner was tortured to force him to collaborate, or as "a means of indoctrination."

Robert S. Bird in an article printed widely quotes Maj. William F. Mayer, an Army psychiatrist as saying that there was "no documented case found after the war of any Army prisoner being starved to death, beaten to death, tortured to death, or otherwise executed for resisting brainwashing or indoctrination."

We can't interview the dead. But there is the case of a 24th Infantry Division officer who made a propaganda broadcast for the Reds.

This act was called unthinkable by a high civilian Army official and an absolute violation of the Army training rule that states specifically that no ald or comfort of any sort be given to the enemy.

Actually, according to all reports of the incident, the officer in question resisted making the broadcast demanded of him in the face of threats that he himself would be killed, and complied only when convinced that this was the only alternative to seeing the surviving members of his command shot. While it is a relatively simple decision to determine when it is preferable to die rather than comply, judging the wisdom or the morality of this officer's choice cannot be dismissed so lightly.

The example of the Americans captured in Korea has often been cited as proof that the average American male of today is a cowardly weakling and representative of a society that distrusts him as a person and that American society is coming apart at the seams.

NAVY CHAPLAIN

Recently a Navy chaplain told the White House Conference on Children and Youth that "It is not necessary to expatiate on evidence of cowardice and self-seeking which have brought a blush to the face of American manhood." The chaplain told the Register his remarks were based on the actions of U.S. military men in Korea. He admitted that he was not a POW there and sald that he based his statements on various writings and reports. Apparently, these were the same reports that have made the American public believe that our soldiers let us down in Korean prison camps. It isn't so.

Address by Hon. Winston L. Prouty, of Vermont, to the Maine State Republican Convention

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. MARGARET CHASE SMITH

OF MAINE

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, May 4, 1960

Mrs. SMITH. Mr. President, last Friday the distinguished junior Senator from Vermont [Mr. Proury] made to the Maine State Republican Convention a stirring and memorable keynote address which inspired very deeply those who heard him.

What he said so eloquently is worthy of study; and I ask unanimous consent that his address be printed in the Appendix of the Congressional Record.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

KEYNOTE SPEECH BY SENATOR WINSTON L. PROUTY, OF VERMONT, AT THE MAINE STATE REPUBLICAN CONVENTION IN BANGOR, FRIDAY AFTERNOON, APRIL 29, 1960

I am happy to be here. Thank you for inviting me back to the great State of Maine. I say "back to Maine" because as a young man in high school I spent several summers in sawmill and logging operations in the woods of this beautiful State as well as in my own.

Those months among the tall timbers of your State and my State helped to form and shape the personal philosophy which places me today in the ranks of the Republican Party. And I suspect that it is for similar reasons that Maine essentially is a Republican State.

Woodsmen, as you know, are rugged, selfsufficient, independent characters. They love freedom. They abhor dictatorship. They are by training and instinct conservators, and not wastrels, of the land's resources. They believe in being practical and putting to the people's use that which God and man have made possible. They know that while only God can make a tree, man can saw logs into lumber with which to build homes for

So thank you again for inviting me back to the root and source of my personal and political beliefs and for giving me this opportunity of expressing those beliefs in this congenial and enthusiastic atmosphere of Maine Republicanism.

You have honored me by requesting that I make the keynote speech at this State convention. I can give you the keynote in two words: the key is confidence, the note is harmony. Confidence in the rightness of our position, in the superiority of our candidates, will unlock the door to victory in the coming elections. With harmony in our ranks, we cannot lose. And if we do not lose, America will win.

I say America will win because I believe in the correctness of our Republican position; because I believe our cause is in the best interests of the great majority of the American people. The campaign ahead of us is not a battle for boodle. We do not fight to place Republicans in office simply because they are in our party. We believe they belong in positions of public trust because they subscribe to a policy and creed which is morally honest, basically sound, realistically effective, socially constructive, politically progressive, economically conservative and now, and in the long run, best for 180 million Americans.

Now, I am no believer in the devil theory of responsibility and I am not going to claim that all Democrats are devils and all Republicans angels; that no Democratic administration has ever done anything good and no Republican administration anything bad. We are all of us, God willing, only human with human weaknesses, human failings, and human limitations. But being human we have the power to think and with that power we form concepts of government and political philosophies. And it is the Political philosophies and practices of the two parties that I am talking about.

The Democratic Party, judged on the basis of its record in office, believes in the Great White Father theory of government. Father, sometimes known as Uncle Sam, knows best. Don't worry, child, father will tell you what to do and how to do it. If you don't do as father says, father will spank. If you are an obedient child, father will put his hand in his pocket and give you a nickel for your piggy bank. He does not bother to tell you that the nickel came out of your piggy bank in the first place.

Now all this attention may make life with father very comforting for a child, but is it any way to treat adults? Is it any way to strengthen self-reliance and moral fiber? Is it any way to build a republic of free men? Is it any way to run a country in this second half of the 20th century?

Personally, I believe it to be not only an ineffective but, also, a dangerous manner in which to conduct the affairs of our country during this critical period. Perhaps I shall be accused of treating the Democratic Party unfairly. Nevertheless, judged by its actions in office, I believe the shoe fits.

Now, wherein does the Republican Party

Republicans believe that this is a Nation of free, mature adults, capable of self-government, self-sustenance, and self-discipline and that the Government ought to meddle in the daily affairs of individuals only to the extent necessary to help them do those things they cannot do for themselves or cannot do for themselves as well.

I like the way President Eisenhower put it to Shirley Jean, the 21-year-old housewife from Arvada, Colo., who asked him to explain what the Republican Party stands for:

"Republicans insist," he told her, "that the personal, political, and economic freedoms of the individual are his most precious possessions and are inseparable. If any one of these is lost, eventually all others must disappear. Never should a citizen transfer any of his own rights and responsibilities to government, except in those cases where necessity clearly demands. Indeed, the first and most sacred responsibility of government is to help people protect their inalienable individual freedoms."

Vice President Nixon recently elaborated: "A fundamental tenet of Republicanism is the belief that the way to achieve America's goals is by the free choice of millions of individual consumers, by the productive efforts of free management and free labor, and by local and State action wherever possible—supplemented when necessary, but not supplanted, by the Federal Government."

It is true, as the President pointed out to Shirley Jean, that the Government has to do many things which, individually, we cannot do for ourselves. He listed such things as: strengthening national defense: managing Federal fiscal and financial affairs so as to prevent the debasement of our currency, thus helping to protect the citizens' savings, pensions, and insurance from erosive inflation; assisting in developing water power and atomic power; cooperating with States and institutions in education; relieving hardships in areas where individuals are not able find employment; supporting medical, agricultural, and scientific research; helping to eliminate human and material blight imposed upon many of our communities by conditions beyond local control, and many other things.

Now that is the theory; how have we practiced it? How well have we lived up to our Republican principles? First, let us go back to the beginning, to the first Republican President, Abraham Lincoln. During his and succeeding Republican administration, involving two-thirds of the time since then, these things were accomplished:

The Union was preserved.

The slaves were freed.

The equality, rights, and privileges of all citizens were declared by the 13th, 14th, and 15th amendments to the Constitution.

Women's suffrage was established by the 19th amendment.

The Department of Agriculture was established to help the farmer do those things he couldn't do for himself.

The land-grant colleges and State universities were established as the result of an act authored and promoted by a Republican

Member of Congress from my State, Justin Morrill.

Republicans started the homestead program in 1862, opening land to all who would develop it and aid in the growth of the West.

Republican administrations stimulated the development of American industry and agriculture by a series of tariff acts appropriate to their period.

When the Nation's economy began to come

When the Nation's economy began to come of age and American industry could not of itself secure the needed raw materials and foreign markets, Republicans launched the first true reciprocity policy in 1890 to expand our international trade.

When big business left the small businessman helpless, Republicans were responsible for passing the Sherman Antitrust Act.

And many other things to help the individual citizen do those things he could not do so well for himself were accomplished.

Now let us come down to present times and see what a Republican administration has accomplished.

Under President Eisenhower, segregation has been prohibited in the Armed Forces, in veterans' hospitals, in interstate railroad travel, in the Nation's Capital, in Government employment and in labor-management relations on Government contracts.

During the last 7 years, our country has become the strongest power on earth, both militarily and economically.

Because of our deterrent power, there is no war today and Communist military expansion has been thwarted.

During the last 7 years of Republican administration the American people have made more progress in building schools, in building hospitals, in raising the relative income of 65 million workers, than they did in any 7 years in the history of our country. In the first quarter of this year, our gross national product—the total value of goods

In the first quarter of this year, our gross national product—the total value of goods and services produced—reached a yearly rate of \$498 billion, and before the year is out it is expected to reach half a trillion dollars, a fantastic rate never before achieved anywhere. This means that more Americans are working than ever before, that they are taking home more pay for their work, and that they are able to provide themselves with more things they want for the money they earn.

Now let us compare this record of accomplishment with the record of inaction of the Democratic Congress during the same period.

The Democrats control both branches of Congress by virtual 2-to-1 majorities, yet they falled to act affirmatively in many vital areas while at the same time pushing adoption of certain programs and policies which are unwise, unnecessary, or both.

Let the tiniest scratch or pimple appear on the national economic body and in rush the big spenders with the Federal aid "band-aids." At last count, Democrats had introduced in this Congress new spending proposals calling for additional Federal outlays of \$325 billions over the next 5 years. Such spending would inevitably touch off a round of inflation. And the hardest hit victims, as always, would be the very people they claim they want to help.

So fierce is the competition among the spenders to provide something for every special group, that they have developed more remedies than there are ills. They have an elixir-for every elector and a pump for every prime issue.

Another thing about the Democratic Party: It is incapable of accomplishment because it is deeply and forever split.

The division goes deeper than civil rights. This produces a paralysis, a stand-off, an intraparty stalemate that effectively prevents a Democratic Congress from coming to grips with the big issues.

The present Congress has been in session over a calendar period of more than

200 days and until last week not a single one of the President's 166 legislative proposals had received final action. It was only last week, after more than 3½ months, that the civil rights bill—which contains some but not all of what the President asked—was sent to the White House.

asked—was sent to the White House.

Even Senator Proximer, a Democrat of Wisconsin, conceded that the record of the 86th Congress was shameful when he said, "Extraordinary efforts will be necessary throughout the remaining weeks of the session if Congress is to avoid the risk of a 'do little' label on the eve of a national election."

In comparison to this miserable record, it may well be asked: What would a Republican Congress do? How would it meet today's challenges? In what respects would its approach differ from that of the Democrats?

The broad answer is that a Republican Congress would work with the President to meet the Nation's real military, economic, social, and fiscal needs without further centralization of power in Washington and without further assaults upon the solvency of the country.

A Republican Congress would be sensibly conservative with the people's money, responsive to social welfare needs and dedicated to an enlightened world outlook.

It would do this because the only special interests of the Republican Party are the people's interests.

What would a Republican Congress do in specific areas of need?

It would:

Eliminate such educational system weaknesses as inadequate classrooms and flabby standards.

Assure progress toward equality of opportunity for all Americans.

Develop effective programs to remedy chronic unemployment areas.

Find more adequate methods for protecting the aged, the unemployed, and the disabled.

Develop effective means of dealing with disputes between labor and management so that the public interest may be more adequately protected but without controls which would stifle the productivity of our free enterprise system or deprive labor of its basic freedoms.

We Republicans believe that our Nation will be more secure militarily if the defense decisions of 1960 are made by the President, the Commander in Chief, and his military and civilian advisers, rather than by those new "experts" the Democratic presidential hopefuls in quest of delegates to their political convention. Despite their political propaganda the facts prove we are not a second-rate country, with a second-rate military strength. We are the most powerful Nation on earth, spiritually, militarily, and economically. We will maintain our superior position.

No aggressor in the world today can knock out the deterrent striking power of the United States and its allies. We know it. The Democrats should know it and what is more important, Mr. Khrushchev knows it.

In foreign policy a Republican Congress would follow the lead of a Republican President in continuing relentlessly the search for pathways to peace.

Despite great obstacles, President Eisenhower, assisted by Vice President Nixon and Secretary of State Herter, is pursuing every possibility of avoiding the universal devastation which would result from an all-out war of modern weapons.

Without illusions as to the probabilities, and without appeasement, but confident in the force of our moral and military strength, this administration is doing all which can be done to prevent the outbreak of shooting war. The next Republican President and the next Republican Congress will be

just as conscious of the Communist danger and just as diligent in their efforts for peace.

With such a Republican record; unequaled in the history of our Nation, why do some Republicans approach the coming political campaign on the defensive?

I will tell you why. Because they have become victims of their opponents' Madison Avenue propaganda. That is why.

Ever since the self-styled New Deal, the high-priced professional imagemakers hired by the Democratic Party have sought to paint Republicans as "static" and Democrats as "dynamic." The truth is just the reverse.

They have tried to picture the Republican Party as the party of "business" and the Democrats as the party of "the people." The truth is just the opposite.

They have tried to pin on the Republicans the label of "rich man's party" while the Democrats have been pictured as the party of the workingman and the downtrodden poor. (As poor as JACK KENNEDY, STUART SYMINGTON, and LYNDON JOHNSON flying around the country in their \$500,000 airplanes.)

What could be further from truth?

Like "Big Brother" in George Orwell's famous book "1984," they have attempted to turn the world upside down and sell the people on the idea that black is white and white is black. And to a certain extent their hocus-pocus has been successful.

Despite the incontrovertible evidence of the superiority of our product, through catchwords, slogans, and Madison Avenuemanufactured "impressions," many voters have been brainwashed into believing the "big lie" of the Democrats.

It must be admitted that giveaway programs make a popular appeal to those who think they can get something for nothing. But have we worked hard enough to expose this politically cynical fraud of the Democrats?

Surely with our faith in the good sense and intelligence of the people we can demonstrated that every "something for nothing" out of Washington is paid for out of the pockets of everybody back home through taxes and inflation.

Perhaps some may think, as has sometimes been claimed, that the tax burden does not have to fall on the rank and file of our citizens; that our Federal expenditures could be financed by taxing only the rich.

The falsity of this contention becomes glaringly obvious when we look a few facts in the face.

Now, certainly an income of \$10,000 does not make a person a rich man. Yet, for the sake of argument, let us take this figure as the threshold. Were the Federal Government to confiscate through taxation all individual incomes over \$10,000 per year, it would bring in only \$5.6 billion, only enough to operate for 1 month. Since our budget for the coming year is almost \$80 billion, the rest of us taxpayers would have to raise the balance of \$74 billion, about 10 times as much.

I am not pointing this out to protect the wealthy; I am only demonstrating that Federal expenditures must be paid for by all of us; our workers, our farmers, our small businessmen, our white-collar people, our retired employees—everybody has to fork over to pay the bill.

It is bad politics to seem to be merely against—even against inflation and reckless handling of the people's money. We must turn the inflation issue around. Instead of merely opposing the abstraction inflation (as such) we must speak out loud and clear in concrete terms on behalf of the personal interest of every man and woman in a sound dollar. It means bread and meat on the table, payments on the home mortgage, college education for the children, and retire-

ment in later years free from worry and anxiety.

Instead of seeming to be always the old meany, arguing for penny-pinching, surely we can demonstrate that our programs for reduction of wasteful and nonessential Government spending mean genuine tax cuts, which mean dollars in the pockets of every citizen. We Republicans did it, for the first time in a generation, in the 80th and 83d Republican Congresses and we will do it again if we are given the opportunity.

Because, as Republicans, we believe that freedom is not only the essence of the American political tradition, but the key to our economic prosperity, we must stand up on every street corner in the land and shout out that a free economy will work wonders of growth and expansion which no amount of Government subsidization and control can ever match. Freedom will build and promote our economy; wild spending and infiation will wreck it.

It is our duty as good citizens to make this clear to everyone. Not only is it the best kind of public policy to do this; it will also win elections. For the common people have commonsense. Not only do they know which side of the bread is buttered; they also know that bread must be earned by the sweat of the brow. Our appeal, unlike that of the Democrats, is not to the citizen's most acquisitive instincts but to his finest, most unselfish, and most patriotic responses.

Okay. We are agreed that the Republicans have the best program and the best record and that we can convince the voters of this.

Now what about our candidates?

I am proud to say that never before in the entire history of our country has a political party been able to offer the electorate such an experienced, knowledgeable, and well-prepared candidate to fill the awesome office of President. And never before has the office demanded so much experience, knowledge, and preparation on both domestic and international issues.

The candidates for Congress which you Republicans in Maine will offer to your voters are of equally high caliber. Senator MARGARET CHASE SMITH is not only the most beautiful Senator, she is one of the most able, conscientious, and hard working of all 100 of us. In the entire history of the Senate, hers is the most complete voting record: 792 consecutive rollcall votes without a single miss. This not only proves her dedication to her job; it also shows that she is willing to stand up and be counted on all issues, no matter how controversial. you well know, her moral courage is matched only by her independence of thought.

Few Senators can equal her record. And few Senators are as much admired, not only in the Senate and in her own State, but throughout the country and, indeed, the world. It is no wonder that the Gallup poll has several times selected her among the 10 most admired women in the world and that she has been picked by the press as one of the best of the Senators.

Your Representative in Congress, CLIFFORD MCINTER, is one of the most highly respected and efficient Members of the House of Representatives. I know because I served with him in the House. Believe me, and I know I do not have to tell you this, he is irreplaceable.

Your young and able Governor, John H. Reed, has made an unbeatable record during his short term in office. You know that record better than I do and I do not have to tell you how he picked up the ball and ran to a touchdown with it.

With candidates like this, I ask you, how can we miss?

We New Englanders have a very special reason for supporting Republican candidates. Under the seniority rules of the two Houses of Congress when the Democrats are in power, the major committees of both the House and Senate are in the control of Democrats from the Southern States because they are smart enough to keep reelecting their Congressmen. As a result, they have been able, through manipulation of legislation and appropriations and through influence in the executive departments, to make it possible for the South to kidnap many of the industries from New England.

There are many towns all through New England, including, I'm sure, your own State of Maine, where factory buildings stand idle and people are out of work because industries have been lured to the land of grits and chitlings, not only by low-wage scales,

but by laws favoring the South.

Every Democrat sent to Congress helps to put the southerners in control of Congress and its important committees. Every New England vote for a Democratic candidate to Congress is, in its effect, a stab in the back of our own New England.

I said at the beginning of my talk that our keynote must be confidence and har-

The record of your party and the demonstrated ability of your candidates should give you the necessary confidence. The harmony, you must produce yourselves.

Take a lesson from my State of Vermont. In the last election the Democrats sent one of their number to Congress for the first time in over a century and they almost elected a Governor. This sad state of affairs was not brought about by the Democrats; but by the Republicans. We have no one but by the Republicans. We have no one to blame but curselves. After a bitter primary fight, we were split into factions and We failed to get together and support the Republican nominees. Believe me, we have now learned our lesson the hard way. This year we are determined that, once the primary elections are over, every Republican will go out and work for the nominees of our party.

Without complacency or overconfidence, we can agree with the man the Democrats have chosen to head up their platform committee. Congressman CHESTER BOWLES practi-cally conceded victory to the Republicans when, a few months ago, he said: "Indeed, if the situation continues as it has over the past several months, the chances are strong that the year 1961 will once again find a Republican in the White House and, at best, with reduced Democratic major-

ities on Capitol Hill."

Despite this augury of victory we cannot afford the luxury of intraparty squabbles after the primaries. Vice President Nixon has warned us: "The day of 'safe' States for either party is over. We Republicans do not intend to concede any States to our opponents or to take any usually Republican States for granted. If we are to outvote our opponents, we must outwork, outtalk, and outfight them in the precincts. If our cause is as great as we believe it to be, it deserves the most intensive campaign in American political history and we must all pledge ourselves to that kind of an effort."

I cannot conclude without pointing out that in the context of the present world situation-beset by communism and endangered by the possibility of atomic and hydrogen war-the outcome of the next election can decide the fate, not only of America,

but of civilization itself.

Should that election place the conduct of our foreign and domestic policies in the hands of reckless freewheelers, our children and grandchildren may not live to enjoy the freedoms we inherited from our forefathers.

To preserve and promote the progress we have made, to preserve and promote the prosperity we now enjoy, to preserve and promote the peace we have so carefully nurtured, we must preserve and promote, and get out and elect, the candidates of the Re-Publican Party.

New York Times Prints Protest by Birmingham Groups

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. GEORGE HUDDLESTON, JR.

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, April 21, 1960

Mr. HUDDLESTON. Mr. Speaker, in the New York Times edition of today, Wednesday, May 4, 1960, there appears a statement submitted by the Birmingham Chamber of Commerce and Birmingham's Committee of 100 in protest to the two recent articles written by Times reporter Harrison Salisbury on Birmingham. This statement seeks to correct the grave injustices done our great city by the Salisbury articles and to present an accurate picture of the community. This it does very effectively.

In the subsequently reported statement of managing editor Turner Catledge of the Times, he naturally refuses to admit that reporter Salisbury's articles did not constitute good journalism. Nonetheless, he did allow the Birmingham groups' statement to be presented on the pages of the Times and we now await a complete retraction of those scurrilous articles on Birmingham:

ALABAMA GROUPS PROTEST TO TIMES—CRITICIZE
ARTICLES ON RACIAL TENSION IN BIRM-INGHAM

At the invitation of the New York Times, two business-civic groups of Birmingham, Ala., have submitted a statement expressing their criticism of, and replies to, two articles by Harrison Salisbury on racial tension that appeared in the Times on April 12 and 13. The two groups are the Birmingham Chamber of Commerce and Birmingham's Committee of 100, a business organization of long standing, formed for the purpose of attracting business and industry to the Birmingham area.

The text of the statement follows:

Two articles concerning Birmingham, Ala., written by the New York Times reporter Harrison Salisbury appeared on the front page of the Times' issues of April 12 and 13, 1960.

The stories presented to the readers of the Times as factual and purported presumably to give a fair appraisal of Birmingham, were in fact biased, warped, and misleading. The facts as adduced by Mr. Salisbury to support his attack were in most cases either outright misstatements or, which is worse, halftruths.

The people of Birmingham, shocked by a pointless attack particularly in a newspaper of the prestige and stature of the Times, deeply deplore the false image given of them.

Birmingham's complaint is based principally on a sincere belief that your reporter, who was in the city less than 48 hours, apparently seeking sensationalism, used a few obvious cases involving violence and thereby presented a blased, unbalanced image of this thriving Deep South metropolis.

The Times reporter made unqualified as-ertions that "every channel of communication, every medium of mutual interest, every reasoned approach, every inch of middle ground has been fragmented by the emotional dynamite of racism" "telephones are tapped or there is fear of tapping" • • • that "mail has been inter-cepted and opened" • • • that "the eavesdropper, the informer, the spy have become a fact of life." This is the way Mr. Salisbury made our city appear. Your readers could only conclude, on reading these distorted statements, that it is dangerous to live in Birmingham, which is certainly not true.

We do deny vigorously that the image presented by Mr. Salisbury is true, because it distorts and telescopes instances covering many prior years in an effort to provide a picture of the moment-a picture that is not true, even reasonably true.

is submitted that Mr. Salisbury made careless assertions and misstatements of facts regarding individuals. For instance, he took some innuendoes used in political campaigns against one of our city officials and treated them as facts. Indeed, the public official referred to has been a firm, effective police commissioner and the record conclusively shows that he does maintain law and order. He has also stated publicly that he will or-der the arrest of either white or Negro who makes moves likely to set off a racial inci-

Other examples of exaggerated reporting could likewise be pointed out. To do so would serve no useful purpose and could

only create strife and discord.

Birmingham people do not see themselves in the image Mr. Salisbury has drawn of them. We have a community where people, regardless of race, creed, or color, live a good life. Certainly we have extremistsbut what city does not have? Yes, we have isolated cases of violence—but what city does not have such? Why do the New York Times articles generalize on the actions of a few? This cannot be the true story of any city-be it Birmingham or New York.

The bridge of communication between Birmingham whites and Negroes, nurtured so carefully for so many years by men of good will of both races, is being destroyed by attacks by many of the media of national communication. The great majority of Birmingham citizens deplore such unwarranted attacks and feel they can only aggravate a difficult situation. They ask, "What does

Mr. Salisbury seek to accomplish.

Birmingham people, reacting strongly to this nationally drawn portrait, are people who stand in honor and willingly concede fault. They are not prepared to admit that the half-truth is the whole truth. are not prepared to admit that some faults present the whole picture. They have asked, and they are asking, that all citizens everywhere who may be influenced by such distorted articles as those appearing in the New York Times have the opportunity to obtain the facts about our community.

Apparently, Mr. Salisbury did not look for the facts set out below or, if he did, he failed to credit our community with them.

Negro citizens in Birmingham have moved forward rapidly and steadily. Negro citizens have access to better than average educational, recreational, and housing facilities. Also, it can be shown that 50.6 percent of the Negroes in Metropolitan Birmingham own their homes. These statistics were compiled by the annual consumer analysis survey by the Birmingham News and the Birmingham Post-Herald for 1959.

The 1950 census showed Birmingham with the highest Negro family income in the Southeast. Since 1950 Negro family income has increased rapidly; over 10,000 Negro families now earn \$4,000 or more annuallyonly 2,320 Negro families did so in 1950. Since 1950 the number of Negro families in this bracket has increased over 300 percent.

All but a fraction of 1 percent of Negro homes in Birmingham have electricity and last year 75.5 percent of them had natural gas, compared with 20.7 percent in 1950. Only 14.6 percent of Negro families owned automobiles in 1948, but 44.2 percent owned cars last year. Mechanical refrigerators were owned by 98.2 percent of Negro families last year, compared to 30.9 percent in 1948. TV set ownership amounted to 84.7 percent in

In 1948 15.1 percent of Negro families in Birmingham owned washing machines and in 1957 this ownership had Increased to 76.2 percent, or a 500 percent increase.

Birmingham schools for Negroes have progressed with the growing economic ability

of the community.

A Negro high school principal in Metropoli-tan Birmingham, in the publication of his thesis for his graduate degree at Columbia University, New York, states, "Upon exami-nation of the overview of secondary education for the Negroes as revealed in this study many interesting and sometimes startling facts are shown. * * * "the origin and development of secondary education for Negroes in Metropolitan Birmingham, Ala., seems like a fairytale rather than reality * schools, when taken together, had graduated approximately 35,980 students from 1900 down through 1959."

He further stated in his thesis, "Aside from graduating students, these schools rendered a great service to quite a large but unknown number of persons in providing for them the only formal training which they received. This fact is reflected in the steady increase in literacy among Negroes in Birmingham and Jefferson County. Another contrast was that secondary education was available to Another contrast was every child, and was compulsory and practi-

cally free."

Since 1942, salaries for Negro and white teachers are on equal basis. Actually, the average salary per Negro classroom teacher this year is \$4,583 for a 9-month term, com-

pared to \$4,485 for white teachers.

Each year these teachers are invited to visit Birmingham businesses in a day set aside as Business-Industry Day. This nearly 1,000 city Negro teachers will visit 40 companies owned by white businessmen. The annual event is designed to create a closer understanding between the fields of industry and education. Here are comments from Negro teachers regarding previous visits: "Through the years I have had many enjoyable tours, but none more en-joyable than the one * * * with you. Tour joyable than the one * * with you. Tour guides at the United Nations, Gettysburg, Philadelphia * * were not as polite and well informed as you were." "We are grateful for the invitation, hospitality, and courtesies." "The experience gained will do much in helping us as teachers to give our boys and girls information about the opportunities that are available to them and the very fine contribution the businesses and industrial concerns are making to our community."

Like most cities, Birmingham has spent millions in new school construction since 1945. Three school building programs since that date allotted \$11,881,660 to Negro schools and \$13,007,630 to white schools. This means that 47.5 percent of all school building funds were spent for Negro schools. Negro children make up 44 percent of the school popu-

lation within the city.

Negroes actively and willingly participate in campaigns for United Appeal, Red Cross, Community Chest, and other civic endeavors. All Negro agencies are fully supported by the United Appeal.

Birmingham can point with pride to the opportunities for advancement offered to all races here. Could Negroes, or anyone else, for that matter, have made such rapid progress under conditions such as those described by Mr. Salisbury?

With equal introspection, most people of Birmingham recognize that problems abide In this community as problems exist in every community. They are working on these problems. They ask to be allowed to con-tinue work on these without the fanning influence of distorted imagery and misunderstanding by those who could not hope to understand the situation as it exists.

Birmingham people ask only for objectivity. They ask for an open-door policy between national publications, such as the New York Times, and the South.

They have faith that, given the chance to present the true picture, they will find those who are able to see. Nothing more than this, but nothing less, either, is due the city of Birmingham. We are proud of Birmingham, its past, and we look with con-

fidence to its future.

WILLIAM P. ENGEL, Chairman, Btrmingham's Committee of 100. MORTIMER H. JORDAN, President, Birmingham Chamber of Commerce.

MAY 2, 1960.

MANAGING EDITOR'S STATEMENT

Following is a statement issued last night by Turner Catledge, managing editor of The New York Times:

The articles complained of by the chamber of commerce and Birmingham's committee of 100 were written by Mr. Harrison Salisbury, one of the ablest and most perceptive reporters of The New York Times. Salisbury has a background of many years as an outstanding newspaper man. recipient of the Pulitzer Prize award for 1955 for his reporting from the Soviet Union.

The controversial articles were based on interviews and observations he made in Birmingham and other parts of Alabama over a

span of 51/2 days.

Furthermore, he was aided in his re searches by news items previously published

in Alabama newspapers,

The New York Times has every confidence that Mr. Salisbury reported the situation as he saw it through the eyes of an objective newspaperman. He did not go to Birming-"seeking sensationalism" or anything else but the facts in a situation that involves Birmingham as well as other cities. We are only sorry that his findings had to be unpleasant to anyone.

The two articles did constitute a story of tension. As I said in a statement on April 27, the articles did not stress the obvious fact that an overwhelming percentage of the citizens of Birmingham lead happy and peaceful lives in a growing and prosperous

community.

Neither did they stress the fact that this substantial element of the citizenry deplores any lawlessness that may exist and is working in its own way to correct and reduce such tensions as do exist.

The New York Times intends to continue to cover the race situation in the South and elsewhere to the best of its ability. I also repeat from my statement of April 27: If in the further investigation of this situation the Times should find any statement in Mr. Salisbury's articles to be incorrect, or inaccurate in any respect, it will publish an appropriate correction.

A Promise We Must Keep

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Hon. EVERETT McKINLEY DIRKSEN

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Wednesday, May 4, 1960

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an excellent address delivered by Mr. Douglas A. Grandgeorge, of Somonauk, Ill., in the

1960 American Legion high school oratorical contest.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

A PROMISE WE MUST KEEP

(By Douglas Arthur Grandgeorge, Somonauk, III.)

In the 2,000 years since the birth of Christ, over 200 billion people have lived on this earth. Of those 200 billion, fewer than 1 billion have in any way known political freedom. In other words, over 991/2 of all the people who have lived on this earth in the last 20 centuries have been the slaves or subjects of someone else. In this respect, you and I are unique people. It is easy for us to see what a privilege it is to live a free life, but we Americans have the added distinction of being the freest of all the free people ever to have lived on earth.

It seems to me that we who are so privileged need to ask ourselves some basic questions. How did we get our freedom? is our responsibility in maintaining it?

In the Philadelphia State House, 173 years ago, a group of men met together and made a solemn promise. In this same building where the Declaration of Independence was written and signed, the representatives of the several States met to form a better government for the new nation. The Constitution of the United States, which was the result of this convention, was the greatest political document ever written and as Gladstone put it "the most wonderful work ever struck off at a given time by the brain and purpose of man." We are told that the delegates themselves were awed by the greatness of their work. On the last day of the convention, Benjamin Franklin said as he looked at a sun resting on the horizon, "As I have been sitting here all these weeks, I have often wondered whether yonder sun was rising or setting. But now I know it is a rising sun."

It took great men with a good deal of courage to write that document, but it took even more courage to make the promise which they made. For these men made a promise to their fellow countrymen to protect and defend their newly won liberty, a promise to God to uphold the dignity and worth of His creation, and a promise to all men of all lands to prove to the world that man deserved his freedom. In making this promise, they declared to the world the worth of man and put their trust in the common people. In this sense, the men of the Constitutional Convention of 1787 made a promise for the future. They put their trust in us, the people of this Nation, to carry on the ideals to which they were dedicated and to use of freedoms to prove to the world the wisdom of liberty. We have the solemn responsibility to preserve our priceless heritage and to work for the liberty of all people. So, we, too, have made a promise,

In countless ways, Americans have kept this promise. There is not a country on earth which has so pronouncedly as America defended the rights of her people. The citizens have the opportunity to be creative, to find happiness, and to share in a democratic way of life. And America's Lady of Liberty beckons to people of all the world saying, "Send me your tired, your poor * * * I lift my lamp beside the golden door." Yes, America has kept her promise.

But in another sense, the promise to defend and protect the rights of men has been broken time and time again. The Little Rock incident and the many racial riots throughout our country do not give the impression that Americans are dedicated to equal opportunity. The limitation of housing—and even voting—to certain races does

not speak well for the way in which we have used our freedom. During World War II, We Americans sent our men into a foreign land to die if need be to protect our way of life. It is not to our credit, then, is it, that today we find the dreaded swastikas painted on the doors of some American homes and hear of the bombing of synagogues throughout our land which defy the very freedoms we have dedicated ourselves to preserve? Moreover, the amount of crime and immorality in our Nation is very great. We have recently been made aware of rigged TV shows, police scandals, payola, and many

of us do not seem to care.

In some way, we have violated nearly every freedom which we have been given. We have turned our freedom of speech into slander and derogatory remarks about the members of races and religions and countries different from our own. We have used our freedom of the press constructively, yes, but We have also used it to turn out public-to our young people and childrenunheard of obscenity and filth. We have even abused our precious freedom of religion by taking it for granted and by denying people of minority faiths equal opportunities. Many of us do not even vote.

It is time for a change. It is time for us who have been given the unique privilege of freedom to make ourselves worthy of the trust of our forefathers. It is time that we began to take seriously that promise which we made when we first began to live a free life-a promise to preserve our freedom and to work for the liberty of all people.

The task ahead of us is a great one. Never before have a people had so little time in which to do so very much. The forces wishing to destroy our way of life are greater now than at any other time in our history. Our freedoms are being opposed mightily both from without and from within. The late President Franklin Delano Roosevelt Wrote in an address which he ironically did not live to give, "The only limit to our realization of tomorrow will be our doubts of today. Let us move forward with a strong and active faith."

It will take every dedicated American Working to the highest of his potential to combat the forces of evil an indifference which threaten to destroy our democratic way. We must begin now to work for an equal opportunity for all people and to use the freedoms which we have inherited not for the good of one, but for the greatest good. We have promised to God and to posterity to protect and defend the precious heritage which our Constitution has preserved for us.

We have a promise we must keep, and in this we shall not fail.

Congress Pressed Again To Deepen Harbors

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. THADDEUS J. DULSKI

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, May 3, 1960

Mr. DULSKI. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include an editorial which appeared in the Buffalo Courier-Express, on April 29, 1960. I wholeheartedly support this effort which embraces my position with respect to Buffalo Harbor improvements: CONGRESS PRESSED AGAIN TO DEEPEN HARBORS

Once again the effort to prod Congress into authorizing harbor improvements on the Great Lakes is going forward in Washington. Buffalo's stake in the current undertaking is a \$2.35 million project to deepen to 27-foot seaway depth the south entrance channel and part of the outer harbor.

Appearing as president of the Council of Lake Erie Ports, Executive Director John A. Ulinski, of the Niagara Frontier Port Authority, told a Senate Public Works Subcommittee that an economic loss is being charged against the ports because they lack 27-foot draft channels. The subcommittee is con-sidering an omnibus rivers-and-harbor measure which would give congressional authorization to harbor improvements amounting to \$61.8 million. The House already has approved projects that include the Buffalo Harbor proposals.

Authorization is necessary before funds are voted by Congress. As matters now stand, the authorization proposal is exactly it was when the 85th Congress adjourned last year—the House authorized the projects but the Senate adjourned without

In view of the Senate's failure to act in 1959, Great Lakes ports have reason to argue that besides authorizing the harbor-deepening undertakings recommended by the Corps of Engineers, Congress should appropriate at least some of the money necessary to get the work underway. Normally funds are not voted at the same session at which projects are authorized.

Seaway depths in harbors like Buffalo's obviously are necessary if the economic po-tential of the seaway is to be realized. It makes little sense to have a waterway that accommodates ships too large for berthing at the Great Lakes ports.

Status of Alaska Today-And What It Means to You

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. E. L. BARTLETT

OF ALASKA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Wednesday, May 4, 1960

Mr. BARTLETT. Mr. President, many Members of Congress will remember having met C. W. Snedden, of Fairbanks, Alaska, during the period when Alaska statehood was under legislative consideration. Publisher of the Fairbanks News-Miner, farthest north daily under the American flag, "Bill" Snedden came to Washington on many occasions at his own expense and will be long-remembered for his public service lobbying activities as a particularly well informed, persevering, persistent, and logical advocate of a cause. "Bill" Snedden moved to Alaska from Portland. Oreg. So it was especially appropriate that he should have been invited to be the guest speaker April 18 at the annual Alaska Day meeting of the Portland Chamber of Commerce. There he gave an address which contains so much information about present-day Alaska and about the prospects for the future that I desire to present it here for an even wider audience.

I ask unanimous consent to have these remarks printed in the RECORD, notwithstanding that the Public Printer informs me that the cost of printing it in the RECORD will be \$243.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD. as follows:

Whenever I have the pleasure of being in Portland, friends in my old home city have questions about Alaska. The questions are varied, of course, and concern many subjects. However, I noticed on my last visit here a few weeks ago, repetition of several questions by different Portland businessmen. Most often asked, and in about this order.

"How is the new State government coming along?

"What are present economic conditions in Alaska?"

"Are you ever going to establish a basic economy besides military construction and military expenditures?"

"What is going to happen in Alaska in the

next few years?"

And last, but certainly not least from the standpoint of the Portland Chamber of Commerce, "What effect are happenings in Alaska going to have upon us down here?"

I am going to attempt to answer these questions in general terms. I would be happy to answer each one in detail, but I am afraid you would not have the patience to bear with me.

Before we start answering these questions, I believe it is appropriate to set forth a little background on Alaska for the benefit of those present who have not in the past been familiar with our activities up north. will try and keep this brief, and not bore you with long and detailed repetition of statistics which I am sure the majority here have heard before.

I am sure that those of you who have visited Alaska have been impressed with the size of our State.

Now I have been just as bored in the past. as I am sure many of you have been, listening to residents of an area close to the Mexican border brag about the size of State in which they live. I do not wish to be included in the category of those who seem to feel a mere 267,000 square miles constitute a very special State. In fact, some natives of that area seem to consider it a separate empire.

However, sheer physical size and a geo-graphical area of 586,400 square miles is a pertinent factor in many, if not most, of the problems confronting Alaska today. In order that you obtain a factual picture, comparison seems to be the most practical answer. If you should cut up a scale map of the 50 States, you would find you could place the Pacific Coast States of Oregon, Washington, and California within boundaries of Alaska, and still have room for a certain southern State.

Another comparison, which is reasonably precise, is one put forth by one of our restaurant operators in Fairbanks. In this particular restaurant, in recent weeks, the menu includes: "Soup, regular-size bowl, 50 cents—Texas-size bowl, 20 cents."

Alaska has an estimated population of only 220,000 today, including military. This is a population density of less than one-half of percent of the average in the other 49 States. If we were to divide the State up equally, each man, woman, child and infant could have more than 21/2 square miles as his own personal domain.

Being the largest State has certain merits, but when combined with sparse populacommunication and transportation problems are compounded.

Perhaps the question occurs to you which was often directed to us back in Washington: When Alaskans were attempting to convince Congress we should become a State, many Congressmen asked, "If there is any potential for development hidden under the ice and snow in Alaska, why have not more people moved in and developed the country in the 90 years since we purchased it from Russia?"

Until Alaska was granted statehood, more than 99 percent of the land was held by the Federal Government. Furthermore, much of the most accessible and desirable areas were contained within Federal reserves established by various governmental branches. Only since January 1959, with the official inauguration of statehood status, did Alaskans receive the right to almost one-third of the land area—103 million acres. We have 25 years to select these lands, a complex job which only in the past few months has gotten underway. This program, incidentally, is under the capable direction of a former Portland resident, and a former member of your Chamber Forestry Committee, Mr. Roscoe Bell, now Director of our Division of Lands.

Just one more point on background information: People unacquainted with Alaska automatically place us in igloos in which we hibernate through the long cold winters. Climate is considered so severe that many class it as suitable for only penguins and Eskimos. This is a myth which has been perpetuated by many writers, who seek colorrather than factual background for stories on the North country.

It is true that winters in northern Alaska, where my home city of Fairbanks is located, However, it is a dry cold, no more are cold. uncomfortable than the winter climate in many Northern States of the lower 48. Southeastern Alaska enjoys a climate with considerable liquid content, very similar to Portland.

I would like to point out: On the other side of the world, in roughly the same latitude, the Scandinavian countries of Sweden Norway, Finland and Denmark, comprising only about 73 percent of the area of Alaska, support approximately 20 million people. incidentally, Scandinavians enjoy a standard of living second only to the United States and Canada.

Now to answer the question as to how Alaska's new State government is getting

This question is difficult for me to answer objectively. Unfortunately, my political beliefs are not shared by the political party now in power in Alaska. That is a conservative statement. In fact, Democrats occupy 48 of the 60 seats in our State legislature, the Governor's office, and his entire cabinet. Cabinet officers, incidentally, are all appointed by the Governor and are not elected. Not a single Republican occupies a position in the State court system of seven superior and three supreme court judges, all of whom are also appointed by the Governor. Alaska is unique in this respect, being the only 1 of 50 States where all judges are of 1 political party. One State superior court judge remains to be appointed. Perhaps a miracle may occur, and a Republican will find his way into our State court system when this last appointment is made.

Now I am aware that some chambers of commerce do not consider partisan politics a proper subject for discussion at chamber meetings. Were it not for that, I would like to comment further upon the present political situation in Alaska. I do think it is proper, however, to point out that there is no truth to the rumor the Republican Party in Alaska is seriously divided by factions. Just last week, at a State caucus, platform planks were adopted by unanimous vote. All three of us voted "Yes."

Perhaps it is appropriate to point out here that Alaska is not the first State government to be controlled by Democrats. tion has occurred previously in older States, and they have survived and prospered.

Just 100 years ago, as Oregon embarked on her second year of statehood, you may re-call that your own State was controlled by the Democrats, with John Whiteaker as Governor.

Republicans were charging that Governor Whiteaker and the Democrats were forcing slavery upon residents of Oregon. The Weekly Oregonian was urging the new Republican Party "to steer clear of partisanship and remain loyal to its principles." At the same time, the Oregonian charged: "The Democrats are apathetic about the necessity of a transcontinental railroad, which is vitally needed, and will help fill up Oregon's open spaces and promote general progress.'

In addition to opposing the Democrats' policy regarding the slavery issue, Republicans were accusing the Democrats of mishandling public moneys that had been set aside for a capitol. The Oregonian maintained that of the "\$100,000, more or less, for public buildings, the Democrats have not

constructed one building."

From the foregoing, it seems apparent that the new State of Oregon was not without its problems as it entered its second year of selfgovernment. A similar situation prevails in Alaska today, as we struggle with problems

in our second year of statehood.

Obviously, not all Alaskans are happy with the actions of our new State government, which a few weeks ago concluded the second session of the State legislature. recent article, a New York writer stated, "Most Alaskans are maladjusted, and not happy with actions of the State govern-ment." The writer may be factually correct. I certainly hope so. Under the American system of government, any time the people are pleased with their government, they become disinterested and lose the desire to improve. Alaskans undoubtedly "agree to disagree" as often as any group of Americans in our country.

Basically I believe this is a healthy condition. The philosophy might be expressed in the slogan of a milk company, which imprints each one of its milk containers with, cows are not contented. They are anxious

to do better."

Alaskans are anxious to do better, and

we are going to do better.

I do not wish to give you the impression that all is complete chaos and confusion in Alaska. I do not wish you to think, that is my opinion, the State government is doing everything wrong and nothing right. This is not the case. It is always easy to be a "Monday morning quarterback," and a different thing entirely to be in the game carrying the ball.

By and large, our State government is doing a creditable job. Problems are many and complex, and solutions are not always easy. Even with the capabilities of some very able men in our State administration, the right answers are difficult to ascertain. Solutions to our troubles are compounded by the fact that Alaska is having to do in months what other States accomplished over a period of years.

It has been more than four decades since the last State joined the Union prior to the admission of Alaska. During that time government at local, State, and Federal levels, has become many times more complex than our comparatively simple lawmaking ma-chinery of the early 1900's—before such items

as income taxes were devised.

Alaskans do not lack for problems inaugurating self-government at every levelfrom unincorporated communities right up to the State capitol. Many of the problems we had as a Territory are compounded many times in our new status as a State.

For example, 10 years ago my hometown of Fairbanks did not have what could properly be termed a basic utilities system. Electric power generation capacity was woefully inadequate. Our water system encompassed only a couple of city blocks, serving 120 customers. Our telephone system operated from surplus Army switchboards, with private business lines nonexistent. Our sewer system was a not-so-humorous joke. Industrious fireflies would have outshone our street lights.

We formed a municipal utilities system to cope with this utilities problem. Today we have electrical generation facilities in a modern steam-turbine plant, good water and sewer systems, and telephone service comparable to any city in the country. utilities plant investment at the present time is approximately \$13½ million. We have already retired \$4½ million—about one-third of this investment.

While we have now established a modern utilities system which is paying its own way, we are faced with continuing problems. Additional bonding is required to finance acutely needed increased capacity in all departments of the utilities system.

This is a story which can be told, with minor variations, in all Alaska cities.

It might be said there is a shortage of virtually everything in Alaska today in the way of urban needs. Since the advent of statehood new residents are arriving Alaska in sizeable numbers. Each new family requires basic necessities of today's modern way of life. Shortage of retail outlets forces time-consuming shopping by mall order. Most service businesses cater only to a select clientele. An appointment with the plumber is more difficult than with the doctor.

Housing is perhaps the most acute problem we are confronted with at present. The situation in Fairbanks is typical of several other Alaska cities. If 500 new homes were completed next week, they would in all likelihood be occupied the following week. Two months ago the military stopped issuing travel authorizations to dependents of military personnel coming to Alaska on rota-tion. This will mean 500 to 700 families during the next 90 days will not be authorized to move to Fairbanks. RCA technicians who will staff the electronic equipment to be installed at Clear this summer need at least 350 to 400 new homes in Fairbanks for their families.

The problem in housing is reflected in school facilities. During the past 5 years the Fairbanks School District has structed at least one new school building each year to accommodate a 100-percent enrollment increase during that time. Two additional school buildings must be constructed this summer if students are to be accommodated this fall without all being on a shift basis.

Development of the new State was delayed during the first year of State operation. A labor-management dispute halted all construction activity from April until the middle of September in 1959. To the many projects which were to be inaugurated or completed last year, we now have added all the scheduled construction projects for 1960. The result is that many construction jobs will be working around the clock this coming summer, providing sufficient skilled craftsmen can be found. Work is getting under full swing right now at the new Clear defense installation 80 miles south of Fairbanks-a long-range missile interceptor station which will total about \$275 million when completed. Contracts totaling about \$70 million have been let for construction of other defense installations of a classified nature at varied installations in the Fairbanks area.

Now it is readily apparent these projects are all national defense—and a military economy should not be the economic base for an entire State. What is private industry doing?

In Fairbanks approximately \$91/2 million in private construction is already slated for 1960. Other Alaskan cities have private construction programs this year of comparable scope.

Throughout the State development of our natural resources is gaining momentum. In Ketchikan, the Ketchikan Pulp Co. ended 5 years' operation of its \$62 million pulpmill with a very satisfying financial report. Net profit for the year 1959, before taxes, amounted to more than \$7 million.

The outstanding success of this operation inspired Japanese interests to construct a similar mill at Sitka, which started operations in December. Another large company, Georgia-Pacific, with offices here in Portland, has options on timber rights for another large pulp operation being considered for the Juneau area. Another Portland-based operator, Pacific Northern Timber Co., is now getting operations underway on a large sawmill installation at Wrangell.

With ample timber available for perpetual operation, Alaska can support several additional similar installations on a sustained-yield basis. Indications seem firm that pulp and timber will contribute to a sound economic base on a stable year-round basis in

southeastern Alaska.

In western and northern Alaska petroleum exploration and development is rapidly coming to the forefront, overshadowing Alaska's traditional gold mining and fishing operations. Since the first oil well was brought in on the Kenai Peninsula in July 1957, 29 million acres have ben leased for petroleum exploration in the State; 32,612.079 acres are now under Federal lease plus 101,369 acres of State lands. Lease revenue flowing into the State treasury from this source totaled \$10,-106,000 on December 31, 1959.

It is estimated that during 1960 an additional 3 million acres will be leased, bringing another \$5 million in revenue to the State.

The statement has been made that development of petroleum resources in Alaska will parallel events following the discovery of gold in California a century ago, and that oil will do for Alaska what gold did for California. Present indications lend credulence to this statement.

At present there are seven producing oil wells in the Kenai area near Anchorage. Standard-Richfield, joint developers of the field, recently announced construction of a \$4.5-million pipeline to tidewater this summer.

Last ctober. Union and Ohio Oil companies brought in a large natural gas well in the same area, and by December completed two additional wells. Plans are now underway to pipe natural gas into the Anchorage area.

Active petroleum exploration and development is accelerating. Only five wells were spudded in during 1957 and only four in 1958. The number of new starts increased to 16 during 1959. Last year 18 oil companies had a total of 36 geological field parties operating in the State. At least 21 companies have indicated they will have a minimum of 43 crews in the field this summer.

During 1959 petroleum exploration expenditures totaled \$16,714,000, while drilling and producing costs amounted to \$13,-940,000.

New State oil and gas leasing regulations became effective last September. The State's first competitive lease sale followed in December, and included 88,000 acres of offshore areas. Offcrings averaging \$51.66 per acre were received on 77.831 acres, amounting to \$4.021,031 new revenue to the State.

Oil reserves combined with large known deposits of natural gas are also known in the Gubik-Umiat area north of Fairbanks. Colorado Gas & Oil Co. has acquired the majority leasing acreage in the Gubik structure and has now moved two drill rigs in place.

The Colorado Co. has announced intention to start full-scale operations in developing the field and construction of a pipeline to the Fairbanks and Ralibelt area. This project will get underway just as soon as contract arrangements can be finalized with the military for use of natural gas at military bases adjacent to Fairbanks. This \$40 million development by private industry will save the taxpayers a minimum of \$500,000 per year in the energy requirements of the Ladd and Elelson Air Force Bases.

The significance of the large natural gas discovery at Kenai, together with development of the Gubik gas deposit is difficult to realize at first glance.

In my opinion, development of the natural gas will open an entire new phase of economic development in the State.

Oil can be easily transported to refineries located in the smaller States. However, gas reserves can only be most efficiently utilized within the State. We will now have an abundant supply of cheap fuel, and the energy to reduce our metallic and non-metallic minerals to finished or semifinished form so that transportation will be feasible. Resources which have not been practical to develop in the past because of transportation costs, would appear now, in some cases at least, to be economically feasible.

All appearances indicate that gas and oil development will shortly become an everincreasing factor in the economy of Alaska.

A few moments ago I mentioned that Japanese interests had financed installation of a \$60 million pulp mill at Sitka. Responsible Japanese industrialists have shown a keen interest in other Alaska potentials and have been making an intensive and continuing study of several resources during recent years.

The Japanese have been financing exploration surveys on coking coal deposits located on the Bering River, above Cordova, for the past 2 years. Quality assays have been made, and the product has proven superior to their present sources of supply, located at a much greater distance. Japan is now using about 3½ million tons of coking coal a year in their rapidly expanding steel industry, and expect to reach 9 million tons within the next few years. If exploration studies show sufficient quantity, it is expected a \$40 million development program will be launched at the Bering River field in the near future.

Japanese industry is also greatly interested in several Alaska iron ore deposits. Presently feasibility studies are being conducted on large deposits at Klukwan and Snettisham, both located on tidewater in Southeastern Alaska, and easily accessible.

Just last Tuesday Dr. Katsuhiko Sakakura, chief geologist, Mitsubishi Mining Co. of Tokyo, offered a proposal to Alaska in a paper given at the fifth annual mining, minerals, and petroleum conference held at the University of Alaska. Dr. Sakakura proposed a joint venture of Japanese and American capital in developing Alaska resources, pointing out that Alaska appears the logical source of iron, coal, copper, oil, and other mineral products which are in short supply in Japan.

Dr. Sakakura proposes a 10-year program to explore and inventory Alaska resources on an annual budget of approximately \$3 million each year.

With the successful development of the Sitka pulp operation as a precedent, there appears to be considerable merit in Dr. Sakakura's proposal. Alaskan ports are considerably closer to Japan than are seaports in other Pacific Coast States. The distance from Anchorage to Tokyo, for example, is 3,613 miles as compared to Tokyo to Los Angeles, which is 4,839 miles—a difference of 1,200 miles.

It is becoming increasingly evident that Alaska's economic development will be greatly accelerated by close ties with the Orient, particularly Japan.

The foregoing may have been of interest to you. I hope it has been. However, no doubt many of you are saying to yourselves about now, "This may be interesting—what is happening, or may happen, in Alaska and in Japan. But what effect can it have here in Portland?" After all, Portland is a considerable distance from Japan and not exactly close to Alaska.

Alaska in the past has been termed a sleeping giant, a giant who would awaken when the bell of statehood sounded. I believe this rather flowery terminology is acurate. Our giant has not yet fully awakened, but he has begun to stir and to fiex his muscles. Very shortly his growth is certain to occasion wants which will multiply on a continuing basis.

Many of the wants, of course, must come from the smaller States. Logistics indicate everything possible to produce in the Pacific Northwest which is needed in Alaska will have a competitive edge over products of areas at more remote distance.

Alaska has more timber than Oregon and Washington combined. However, a great deal of our lumber is not desirable construction grade. Construction materials of all kinds will be in increasing demand in future years.

For many of our other needs we must depend upon you down here. We must look outside Alaska for virtually all types of finished hard and soft goods. Supplying the tools and needs for Alaska's development will very certainly create an important additional market, a market which will amaze you with its voracious appetite in a few short years.

A large share of this market can be served by Portland manufacturers, Portland businessmen, Portland wholesalers, and others in your wonderful city alert to new opportunities incident to development of our farthest north State.

Will Portland be serving a large share of this fast-growing new market? The answer must come from you.

Progress Report on Dresden, America's First Large Scale, Privately Owned Atomic Power Reactor

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. MELVIN PRICE

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 27, 1960

Mr. PRICE. Mr. Speaker, this is the fifth letter in a series of periodic background reports on the startup of the Dresden Nuclear Power Station. Dresden, located near Morris, Ill., was designed and constructed by General Electric's Atomic Power Equipment Department (APED), San Jose, Calif., for Commonwealth Edison Co., Chicago, and the Nuclear Power Group, Inc.:

The Dresden Station has completed its initial power production run on both single and dual cycle. During this period, the station produced nearly 25 million kilowatt-hours for the Commonwealth Edison system. Maximum electrical power reached was 90 MW.

This run was part of the extensive startup program of the huge station, and is designed to develop all of the information necessary to check design and performance calculations

for the plant. A report has been submitted based on this information requesting a license to proceed to full power operation. The present AEC license limits operation to one-half power.

To date, the system has proved exceptionally stable and power distribution has exceeded the best calculated estimates. Minor steam leaks and other miscellaneous maintenance items became apparent and will be adjusted during the shutdown period.

The reactor has been operated at a continuous steady state condition at half power for over 9 days to establish the reading in the reactor and the gamma scan. The gamma scan at the end of this run will provide the flux distribution information necessary for establishment of operating criteria at higher power. The testing program will proceed after scans are completed, adjustments are made and the head is replaced.

Mr. Speaker, Dresden, when it reaches full power soon, will be the world's largest electrical power reactor with all its energy being produced by a single reactor.

The Farm Problem-How To Maintain a Productive and Efficient Agriculture

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. FRANK CARLSON

OF KANSAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Wednesday, May 4, 1960

Mr. CARLSON. Mr. President, Gladwin E. Young, Deputy Administrator of the Soil Conservation Service, U.S. Department of Agriculture, delivered an outstanding speech on the farm problem at the annual meeting of the La Plata Soil Conservation District, Durango, Colo., on April 1.

Mr. Young has had many years of service in behalf of agriculture, as is evidenced by the excellent speech he

made on that occasion.

For many years he was in the regional office in Nebraska, and while there rendered outstanding service in the field of soil conservation and the control of water runoff. Our area and the Nation are indebted to him for his excellent leadership in both of these fields.

I ask unanimous consent that this speech be printed in the Appendix of the

RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD. as follows:

THE FARM PROBLEM-HOW TO MAINTAIN A PRODUCTIVE AND EFFICIENT AGRICULTURE

(By Gladwin E. Young, Deputy Administrator, Soil Conservation Service, U.S. Department of Agriculture, at the annual meeting of the La Plata Soil Conservation District, Durango, Colo., Apr. 1, 1960)

This is a special occasion for me and a very pleasant one. I do not often have an oppor-tunity to attend annual meetings of soil conservation districts.

A few weeks ago I received a very cordial invitation from Mr. Raymond D. Farmer to attend this annual meeting of the La Plata Soil Conservation District, and to visit with you about soil and water conservation problems.

I am sure Mr. Farmer did not expect me or anyone else from the Washington Office of the Soil Conservation Service to give you much help on specific soil and water conservation problems with which you as soil conservation district cooperators are work-You can count on Ken Chalmers, J. P. Sexton, and Eugene McGuire for that kind of

Although I am not going to talk much about Colorado or your soil conservation district specifically, I do want to say that you can be proud of what you have done and are continuing to do in your soil conserva-Ken Chalmers has shown me tion district. your annual reports and I share his pride in what you have done.

THE FARM PROBLEM

Mr. Farmer did not assign a specific topic for my talk, therefore, I am going to talk about "the farm problem."

The reason I chose this subject is that a lot of folks nowadays are talking and writing about the farm problem as though it were a simple arithmetic problem in subtraction-

how to cut down farm production. The farm surplus problem, of course, is a tough one that will be with us for a long time. It is so prominently and widely advertised that it is little wonder that most folks refer to it as "the" farm problem. But in fact it is only one part of the farm problem and not by any means "the farm problem".

The farm problem I want to talk about is not very often referred to as a problem at all. Yet in my opinion it far overshadows farm surpluses as a major factor in the Nation's economy and security-both now and in the future.

I am referring to the problem of maintaining a productive and efficient agriculture and naturally this means a profitable agriculture.

ABUNDANT AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION AN ASSET-NOT A LIABILITY

The preoccupation with farm surpluses has created an impression in the minds of the nonagricultural population that farmers have contributed to some kind of national deficit-some kind of millstone around the

neck of the Nation's economy.

It took a boastful foreign visitor—our biggest competitor-to tell the American public that no other sector of American economy stands out so far in advance of worldwide competition as does our agriculture.

Farmers of America were given a new status of respectability in the public eye when boastful Mr. Khrushchev conceded that his country lagged far behind the efficient and productive farmers of America. In his country 45 percent or more of the population is required to produce their food. America, 12 percent or less of our population produces food in abundance for the other 88 percent. If our farmers were no more efficient in the use of manpower than Russia, 50 million additional people would now be on farms and we would be losing the productive work of that many people.

You can see why Mr. Khrushchev seeks to attain the equal of our farm efficiency. You can also see why this Nation's attitude toward our own farmers must not be allowed to deteriorate further.

A productive agriculture is one of the Nation's greatest and most basic assets. As an asset, it far outweighs the liability of having to deal with agricultural surpluses. The fact that there has been a continuing surplus problem and the fact that there yet has to be found ways of dealing adequately with this overabundance is not a reflection on farm families.

Above all, the surplus problem cannot be solved by inducing inefficiency in farming or dissipating productive farmlands. withhold or withdraw from farmers scientific, technical, and educational services would have the serious consequence of increasing

the cost to the Nation for agricultural products by inducing inefficiency. It is imperative that we continue to have an agriculture that is capable of producing surpluses. In the present state of the world we dare not have a deficiency. National safety requires at least some surplus. Farmers should not be penalized by asking them to carry the Nation's cost of having an abundance.

In all fairness to farm people, we, the rest of us, should recognize two important things. First, that without the phenomenal increase in productivity and efficiency in farming the tremendous economic growth in the United States would be impossible; and second, that even if we add the cost of taking care of agricultural surpluses to the Nation's grocery bill, we still eat cheaper and better than at any time in our history when measured

against expendable income.

Our abundant agricultural capacity is not fust happenstance. Nor is it merely the result of our tremendous endowment of fertile soil and favorable climate. What we have is the product of skillful, resourceful farm families motivated by their own freedoms of choice under private ownership. In the hands and in the minds of these farm families are the contributions of our educational system and our system of agricultural research and services that make scientific advances the everyday working tools of farmers.

The farm problem that I am talking about is the farm problem of maintaining this capacity to produce abundantly-of keeping resourceful farm families on productive farms—of continuing to provide scientific advances and technical services that permit them to use their land productively and profitably. I am talking about the farm problem of maintaining abundant produc-tion for an expanding economy and an exploding population. I am talking about the farm problem of continuing the kind of farming that can be done by farmers rather than by "supermen" and gigantic financial organizations. I am talking about the rural development problem and the tremendous contribution that solid rural communities make to the strength and security of this Nation

These are problems not merely of subtraction. These are problems of addition, multiplication, and division—which is just my way of saying that farm surpluses are not by any means the major agricultural problem confronting this Nation any more than the surplus of military materials is the major problem of defense of this Nation. (And by the way, military surpluses are now 10 times greater than farm surpluses.)

The real problem is to keep an efficient, productive plant manned with competent and resourceful people to meet any need that may arise. That goes for our farm plant that turns out our food and fiber just the same as for our industrial military plant that turns out our rockets and satellites.

Now, if this is anywhere near the right perspective of what the farm problem really is we need to take a look ahead to see what the soil conservation districts of this country can do about it. What part do they have to play?

FORESEEABLE DEMANDS ON LAND

Let's take a look at the demands that are going to be placed on productive farmland. In recent months the Department of Agriculture has been asked to make some estimates of the demands that are likely to be placed on agriculture to meet the tremendous rate of expansion in population.1 Estimates are that population may double by the year 2000—just 40 years from now.

One of those requests came from Senator

KERE as chairman of the Senate Select Com-

² Committee print No. 12, "Land and Water Potentials and Future Requirements for

mittee on National Water Resources. Senator Krar asked for estimates of needed agricultural production by the years 1980 and 2000 and what demands would be made on land and water by that time.

From this report and other similar reports prepared by the Department of Agriculture we can get some insight into the greatly increased demands that will be placed on our land and water resources.

By 1980 we will need 50 percent more agricultural production. This is equal to production from about 230 million crop acres with present yields.

By the end of the century our population will have doubled. We will then need 120 percent more production, more than twice as much. This is equivalent to production of another 550 million acres of land with current yields.

But we won't have another 550 million acres of land from which to feed twice the number of people we now have.

In the early history of this country we doubled our agricultural production by doubling the amount of land brought under cultivation. Obviously this cannot be done to meet the situation that lies ahead. Our land resources have been culled over pretty hard. We are now using about 460 million acres of cropland in the United States. The Department of Agriculture's best estimate is that we will have only about 523 million acres of cropland in the year 2000.

This means that 40 years from now we will need the production of 550 million more crop acres at present yields—but will have only 63 million acres even after irrigating, draining, and clearing all land suitable for cropping. For example, we now irrigate about 30 million acres. In 40 years the maximum we could irrigate would be only about 55 million acres.

Demands for land for nonagricultural uses will increase tremendously too. Gitles, highways, military installations, parks and the like now use about 110 million acres. By 1980, 150 million acres will be used for these purposes and by 2000 a total of 191 million acres will be needed.

What this boils down to is that to meet the demand for twice as much agricultural production in 40 years, we will have to get it essentially from land and water already in agricultural use.

SOIL AND WATER CONSERVATION MUST BE GIVEN FIRST PRIORITY

With such an outlook, soil conservation and the conservation of water must be given first priority in the farm program. There will be no substitute for productive agricultural land.

Productive farmland will become more and more important, not less important in our total economy. To neglect the conservation of productive soils now in the hope that technological advances in machinery, fertilizers, or biological improvements will make land relatively unimportant would indeed be gambling with the Nation's security.

The point I am emphasizing here is there is nothing more important to the security and strength of this Nation than maintaining an efficient, productive, and profitable agriculture.

There is no more effective force to maintain and improve the kind of agriculture this country must have than the soil conservation districts, their leaders, and their cooperators.

The progress you have made in your own soil conservation district is good evidence that the job can be done. You are literally changing the face of the earth. The pioneers who cleared the forests and plowed the plains probably changed the face of the earth a little quicker than you have in your soil conservation district. But each soil conservation district supervisor since the

beginning of this great movement has been no less a pioneer and perhaps has served with similar rewards as the pioneers that first settled on farmlands. A good many of our pioneer forefathers had to take their rewards from satisfaction of building farm communities for a better life ahead. The fact that they sometimes managed their land and water badly was often due to lack of knowledge of how to do better. We are still working at the job of how to do better. We will be working at the same job when our grandsons take over.

There is always the challenge to soil conservation district supervisors and to those of us in technical conservation work to speed up conservation on our lands. The job of speeding application of conservation on our farms and watersheds rests primarily in each soil conservation district. Never before in the 22 years of leadership over the country have soil conservation district supervisors had the job of pulling together such a wide variety of conservation programs. Never has it been more important to see that soil and water conservation plans contribute substantially to lowering costs and giving stability and assurance to income and efficiency of farms and ranches. EFFECTIVE SOIL AND WATER CONSERVATION THROUGH COMPLETE FARM AND RANCH PLANS

As soil conservation district supervisors, you have been asked why your district program puts so much emphasis on a conservation plan for the entire farm or ranch. As cooperators of the soil conservation district many of you have asked this question and answered it to your own satisfaction. But this is a question that needs answering over and over.

From the very beginning of the Soil Conservation Service we have emphasized the fact that soil and water conservation can be carried out effectively by farmers and ranchers only if a sound and practical conservation plan is made for the entire farm or ranch unit. This is based on the fact that individual conservation practices applied without consideration of capabilities of the land and without relationship to other needed practices are likely to fail to do what is expected. In some cases they can be detrimental and costly.

We in SCS are concerned that soil and water conservation make a positive contribution to helping farmers and ranchers make a better and more satisfactory living. We are not thinking of soil conservation as merely something that saves the land for somebody's benefit a generation from now, although, of course, that benefit is bound to result and is an important reason why public funds are made available for the nationwide soil conservation program.

Protecting, improving, and making profitable use of soil and water resources is a special kind of job that must be worked at in a special kind of way. It isn't something that automatically happens as a byproduct of "good farming." It is in fact the basis on which good farming is built.

Just preventing decline in productivity of soil is not what soil conservation has come to mean in the more than 2,800 soil conservation districts in the United States. It means using soil and water productivity, profitably, and efficiently. It means a whole system of soil and water management practices fitted together in a practical and workable system for the entire farm or ranch. It means using land and water so unit costs of production are reduced. It means using land and water for farm products that have the best chance of making a profitable farm or ranch unit.

Soil and water conservation for a farm or ranch cannot be treated in fractions or in fragments with any genuine hope of permanent success. A conservation plan that uses land within its capability must be based on the entire farm or ranch as an operating unit.

The truly great improvements in farming have come about, not through the dramatic effect of one or two practices, but through the combined effect of several practices, each supporting the others. Only through a plan is it possible to fit all the soils, practices, and enterprises into the most efficient system for sustained production.

Soil conservation district supervisors and the Soil Conservation Service staff have a continuous task of helping cooperators to see the advantage to themselves and to their community to plan and carry out soil and water conservation. It is important that new cooperators understand that conservation plans contribute to improved efficiency and income—not only now but give assurance to a continuous and stable income. We all know the disaster of short-lived income from irrigating land that should not have been irrigated, plowing land that should not have been plowed, overgrazing ranges or overcutting woodlands.

If a conservation farm or ranch plan starts with an adequate unit, and if sound economic alternatives are chosen for the use of land within its capabilities, the kind of conservation practices chosen to carry out the plan will have good chance of being effective and profitable. But if conservation practices are applied without consideration of the adequacy of the ranch or farm to provide a living for the family, then fallure is invited from the start.

Soil conservation district supervisors can make a tremendous contribution to improved soil and water conservation by advising younger and less experienced men about combinations of land and water resources needed for successful, profitable units. The tremendous adjustment now taking place in numbers of farms, increasing size of farms, and shifts in land use may offer soil conservation district supervisors a special opportunity to lend a helping hand. If a farm or ranch does not have the potential productivity, even under good man-agement, to provide a living for the family. it will, of course, be impossible to adopt a sound system of soil and water conservation on that unit. The soil conservation district program, therefore, has a direct interest in helping in every way possible to see that those who may be setting up new operating units or making major shifts in land use, have the benefit of advice from experienced farmers and bankers in the district.

The emphasis placed on adopting a conservation plan to the capabilities of the soil should not overlook the the capabilities of the farmer and rancher, and his family. Any successful conservation plan must be tailored to the family who carries out the plan. For this reason, a farm or ranch plan must be the farmer's or rancher's own plan. It must serve as his record and guide for a systematic schedule of practices he plans to apply. This schedule and plan must be tailored not only to the physical capabilities of the land, but must be tailored to the managerial ability and special interests of the operator and his family.

Before I conclude I should like to mention briefly that competition for water will increase by leaps and bounds the same as competition will increase for land.

This is important to agriculture because agriculture is the largest user of water in the United States. It is now estimated that 195 million acre-feet are stored and diverted for irrigating approximately 30 million acres. By the year 2000 approximately 55½ million acres may be irrigated. This increased irrigation would require 307 million acre-feet unless improvements are made in water conservation practices on irrigated lands.

The report made to the Senate Select Committee on National Water Resources by the

Department of Agriculture estimates that there will be improvements made in irrigation practices so that irrigated acreage can increase from 30 million acres to 55½ million acres with practically no increase in total water requirement. This means that present irrigation methods are terrifically wasteful of water.

If agriculture is to retain the use of water against the competition from nonagricultural uses, it must be able to do so on the basis of economic competition. In the long run, the use that can pay most for water will buy

it away from other uses.
With this outlook, it is imperative that water conservation practices be used for irrigation, stock water, and all other uses. Thirsty water users are going to complain louder and louder about wasteful water uses.

Watershed projects can make a substantial contribution to efficient use of water supplies. In many irrigated areas damages are high from flash floods coming from surrounding uplands. Such floods not only increase cost of maintenance of irrigation facilities but are wasteful of water. We need to make sure that all watershed projects contribute to improved use of water as well as the watershed lands themselves.

I know that I need not spend more time discussing watershed projects, conservation farm plans, or improved irrigation.

If I have made my point that the farm problem about which the people of this country should be most concerned is the problem of maintaining an efficient and productive agriculture, then I shall be satisfied.

If I have made that point and if you agree with me, then you also agree that the job of soil and water conservation and productive use of our land and water resources is one of the most important jobs confronting this country.
That's your job.

Observations on the Forthcoming Summit Conference

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON, VICTOR L. ANFUSO

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 4, 1960

Mr. ANFUSO. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to insert into the RECORD the text of a letter addressed to Secretary of State Christian A. Herter by Mr. Constant Mierlak, national president of the Byelorussian-American Association.

Mr. Mierlak's letter contains some verv sound advice on the eve of the Big Four summit conference this month. I feel sure that the Secretary of State and his advisers in the Department of State will take due note of the views expressed in this letter. It reads as follows:

APRIL 29, 1960.

Hon. CHRISTIAN A. HERTER,

Secretary of State.

Department of State, Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. SECRETARY: On the eve of the summit conference which will take place in Paris on May 16, 1960, the executive national committee of the Byelorussian-American Association wishes to take the opportunity to express certain observations and ideas which it believes deserve consideration to attain a strong position at the summit.

Our views are based on the firm knowledge that the cold war techniques of Khrushchev are essentially those of his totalitarian predecessors. Nuclear blackmail threats of an East German treaty and many other diplomatic stratagems have their substantial precedents in the arsenal of imperial Russian diplomacy. This arsenal served to build an unprecedented empire which the Red czars have conserved and extended.

The very occurrence of a summit at this time symbolizes a victory for the pressing propaganda and diplomacy staged by Moscow these past 2 years. The peace-at-noprice attitude shown by Moscow toward the summit indicates in itself the manner by which it seeks to exploit this given opportunity. The carefully calculated game of bluff and bluster has reaped for another summit and Moscow's objective now is to exploit it fully.

1. We believe that Khrushchev's overrid-

ing objective is Western assent and acquiescence to his empire. His emphasis upon disarmament seeks to deflect Western attention from basic subject: freedom for all men

and nations.

We strongly urge that our Government seize every opportunity to insist upon this crucial subject as a major point of summit discussion. Fallure to do so would be, in effect, an accommodation of Moscow's empire and a victory for Khrushchev. We would be bolstering the security of the Russian colonial system and undermining our most powerful allies; namely, the captive non-Russian nations in the Soviet Union. The very implication of an assent to the status quo would make mockery of the Captive Nations Week resolution passed by the Congress and proclaimed by the President

last year.

2. We believe that the cold war issue is a corollary objective of the above, and Khrushchev's additional aim is the curtailment of a free world propaganda directed at his empire, which shows how Moscow did away with the Hungarians in 1956 or with 5,800,000 Byelorussians in the last years of Stalin and in the Khrushchev administration.

3. We believe that the disarmament issue

is in essence a secondary one. It is usable for Moscow as a diversionary technique. Only to a minor extent is Moscow stress on it attributable to the necessities of empire control and consolidation. As a deflector from the real issue it will serve Moscow's purposes well.

Bearing in mind the record of broken Russian treaties for the past 40 years, a disarmament or other treaty with Moscow would signify a trained neglect of historical

experience.

4. We believe that the practical step toward better understanding of nations and to stress on the multinational composition of Soviet Empire it would be establishment of diplomatic relations with non-Russian republics in the U.S.R. The idea that deserves very serious consideration is the creation of diplomatic relations with Byelorussia and Ukraine, both charter members of the U.N.

5. We believe that the monolithic myth of the U.S.S.R. is groundless, because of the multinational structure of the Soviet Union. Myths, such as the Soviet nation or the Soviet people hardly bespeak the power of understanding which can draw the respectful attention of even the Russian colonial-

Mr. Secretary, we and countless Americans earnestly hope that we will not compromise on those principles enshrined in our own Declaration of Independence—principles which continue to make our Nation great.

With kindest personal regards and best wishes for a firm stand on our convictions at the summit, I am,

Sincerely yours,

CONSTANT MIERLAN, National President, Byelorussian-American Association.

Visits by F. C. Christopherson to India and Lebanon

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. FRANCIS CASE

OF SOUTH DAKOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Wednesday, May 4, 1960

Mr. CASE of South Dakota. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD three articles by Mr. F. C. Christopherson, written under the title "The Editor's Notebook," in the Sioux Falls Argus-Leader, giving his impression about a visit to Lebanon, Calcutta, and India as a whole.

There being no objection, the articles were ordered to be printed in the RECORD. as follows:

[From the Sioux Falls Argus-Leader, Apr. 21, 1960]

THE EDITOR'S NOTEBOOK-HOMELESS SLEEP ON CALCUTTA'S STREETS

(By F. C. Christopherson)

Calcutta, India.—Our introduction to Calcutta, India's largest city, was startling. It was about 3 a.m. and we were on our way in a bus from the airport to the Grand Hotel in the heart of the downtown section. Soon we noticed sprawling forms on the sidewalk—at first a few, then many. These, we were told, were people—the homeless residents of Calcutta.

At first it was actually difficult to accept the sight our eyes were presenting—the sight of people huddled in old blankets or sheets and sleeping on the bare sidewalks and along the edges of the buildings. Intermixed were

cows, also sleeping quietly.

It would be different, we assumed, as we reached Chowringhee Road-the city's best avenue. What we were seeing at first was probably in the slums, we conjectured. But not so. The sidewalk sleepers were more numerous on Chowringhee and there were many of them even a few steps from the entrance of the Grand Hotel, Calcutta's best.

OUR CATTLE LIVE BETTER

The picture thus presented to us of Calcutta was one of misery. Here were men, women, and children-entire families with all of their meager possessions about them—sleeping on the hard walks. A few late pedestrians scrambled in and around their forms. It was a scene perhaps duplicated nowhere else in the world and surely one that was shocking to American eyes.

No Americans, even in our worst slums, live as these people do. Farm cattle in Minnehaha County live in quarters that are

palatial by comparison.

Indian leaders sought to explain that many of these persons weren't really homeless and that they slept in the streets because they were cooler.

"But," an American told Mr. Christopherson and myself, "you should see their homes—perhaps a box in an alley or a dugout under a porch. Actually most of them don't have homes of any kind."

No one could give us a specific estimate of the total of homeless in Calcutta. Perhaps 100,000, said one person. Another said 300,000 to 500,000. Nobody actually knows because they've never been counted and there's no way of counting them.

Many of the homeless are Hindu refugees from East Pakistan, an area separated from India in 1947. It is largely controlled by Moslems and the Hindus, at first badly mistreated, moved out. And most of the refu-

gees came to Calcutta, complicating this city's problems.

A CITY OF SADNESS

What Mrs. Christopherson and I saw subsequent to that early morning ride served primarily to supplement our first impression.

Here in Calcutta and suburbs are some 8 million people. Those who are employed receive niggardly wages—20 to 60 cents a day. But literally hundreds of thousands are unemployed. The streets are alive with beggars, some of them misshaped persons. Little children with eves full of sadness ask for a coin. It isnt' easy to say no, but if you give to one, you'll soon be surrounded by a grabbing and grasping mass of humanity. So, in self defense, you're compelled to be

Parading up and down the streets are these throngs of people with nothing to do and nothing to spend. They wander aimlessly and seem like a people who have lost purpose and hope.

Such obvious human misery is depressing and there's a desire to leave Calcutta and to forget about it. But this city is a part of the world and these people are human beings.

NOTHING PLEASANT

It's always more pleasant to write something nice about a place one visits-to search through and above the flotsam and jetsam and find a ray of sunshine.

But I can't find it in Calcutta. It's a city of distress and despair and, as well, a dirty city. The garments of the people seem unclean. Even in the Grand Hotel, some employees wear white clothing that shows no visible sign of having been in a laundry for Weeks. This is no city for a tourist, who is seeking the more attractive things of life, to Visit.

[From the Sioux Falls Argus-Leader, Apr. 22, 1960]

THE EDITOR'S NOTEBOOK-INDIA AN ODD AND CONFUSING LAND

(By F. C. Christopherson)

CALCUTTA, INDIA.—The story of India is so peculiar and confusing that it would be presumptuous of me to say that I have learned it. But I do have impressions and I'll relay them for whatever they may be worth.

India is an odd land-a country of some 400 million people. Only 15 percent of this number is literate. Outside of the larger cities, the people live in an atmosphere of Virtual isolation.

"Consider this fact," said a well-informed American, "when you try to analyze India. Perhaps most of the people of this country never knew that President Eisenhower was here last December. And there's no way of reaching them because they can't read they can't write. They aren't anti-American or pro-American. They just don't know anything about the United States. Many don't even know that there is such a country as ours."

STILL THE CASTE SYSTEM

It is a country of queer habits. Though the caste system has been legally abolished, it is almost as much alive as ever.

"They'll never get rid of it in a thousand Years." said an employee of the American sald an employee of the American Government who has been working with the people in the areas outside of the cities. It's a part of their life and of their character and it's just about inflexible. You belong to one caste and there you are, law or no law."

There's agreement, however, that the untouchables have become a bit more touchable as the result of pressure exerted by Prime Minister Nehru. But the castes in general remain

COWS AREN'T SACRED BUT-

And there's the matter of the sacred cows—somewhat a misnomer, by the way.
Actually they don't regard the cows as sacred. Rather they treat them as they would a member of the family and they would no more think of slaughtering a cov for beef for sale than they would killing a child for that purpose. The Hindus do not eat beef.

"The cow is respected and loved," ex-ained an Indian, "because it is the giver plained an Indian, "because it is the giver of life through its milk. But the bulls are even more respected because of their role in reproduction.

There's one sect of the Hindu group that will not kill any form of life-not even a mos-This stems in general from the supposition that all living creatures have souls

and a spark of divinity.

The dominant religion, by the way, is Hindu, accepted by about 85 percent of the peo-ple. Some 10 percent are Moslems. About 2 percent are Christians. And there are no indications here of the movement away from religion that was so prominent in Japan and, to a lesser degree, among the Chinese in Hong

SHARP CONTRAST

Wages are as a rule miserably low. The waiter who served us in the Grand Hotel said he received \$12 a month for a 60-hour week and tips are limited through a management rule against them. Unskilled day laborers as a rule are paid 40 cents a day.

Yet capitalists here make much. And still in existence are the fabulously rich mahara-

One of them—wealthy enough to wear emeralds as coat buttons, thought the world was coming to an end because he had been forced to increase the wages of some workers to two rupees-40 cents-a day.

All of which leads to the conclusion that the Communists may be able to do in the villages here-representing 85 percent of the population-what they did so easily in China.

LIBRARIAN FROM MADISON, S. DAK.

A pleasant feature of our visit here was an opportunity to see Miss Ruth Krueger of Madison, S. Dak., who is the director of library service for the U.S. Information Service in this area. She has been here 2½ years. She asked, by the way, that we extend greetings to Librarian Lora Crouch of Sioux Falls.

Asked directly whether or not she thought American information was reaching the people of India, Miss Krueger said: "Well, I know we're reaching many students and professors and other educated persons. There's a constant demand from them for American literature and, as you can see, our reading room is crowded But I must admit that it is almost impossible to make much contact with the illiterates in the villages. Our informative motion pictures, however, are helpful."
My conclusion? I don't know. This is a

land of ignorance and superstition, frightening in a sense because the people are so numerous and know so little.

[From the Sioux Falls Argus-Leader, Apr. 23, 1960]

THE EDITOR'S NOTEBOOK-BEIRUT IS MIAMI OF MIDDLE EAST

(By F. C. Christopherson)

BEIRUT, LEBANON.—Compared to squalor, filth, poverty, and heat of Calcutta. this beautiful Arab city on the Mediterranean is like a vision of paradise.

Just as it was hard to say something nice about Calcutta, it is difficult to say something that isn't nice about Beirut.

As I type this on the balcony of a room in an ultramodern hotel, I look out upon the sky-blue waters of the sea. The air is stimulatingly fresh. In the distance to the left

are snow-covered mountain peaks. Below me are youngsters swimming happily in the gently rolling surf of the sea. Along the shore is a four-lane highway.

Beirut, says the local chamber of commerce, has everything. At the moment, I'm inclined to accept its appraisal.

A BOOM IN PROGRESS

When Mrs. Christopherson and I entered Beirut early yesterday after an early morning flight from Calcutta, it is fair to say we were amazed. In these older cities-actually as old as history—one expects to see that which is ancient. But here we approached a seaside area that is as modern as Miami's waterfront with new buildings by the dozens lining the coast.

The hotel in which we are staying-the Carlton—has been open only 4 weeks. Everything about it, of course, is new—even the help. Our room—a spacious twin-bed one with a delightful balcony—costs \$12 a day. And there are more hotels such as this under construction because the demand for quarters is so heavy.

IT'S PARIS AND MIAMI

What makes Beirut click? Why is it booming in a fashion comparable to a thriving American city in a region where patterns of development are usually well and long established?

"The reason," a veteran American news man told me, "is that Beirut is both the Paris and the Miami of the Middle East. Here is the place to which the people of means from all of this region flock for holidays, pleasure, and shopping. And don't forget that some of the richest men in the world live in Beirut. Several oil-rich Arab shelks are putting their money to work here. One bought a Beirut hotel just so he'd have a place of his own in which to stay while visiting Beirut."

It sounds a bit like Texas. There's a difference, though, in that the rich men are richer and fewer. And, of course, as every-where in the Middle East, the poor are extremely poor and also very numerous.

Yet I've seen here more standard-sized American cars of recent make than in any city so far visited. Beirut shows evidences of prosperity observed nowhere else on this There are more well-dressed people on the streets, more restaurants of the better type and signs of a more abundant

CITIES THAT ARE REALLY OLD

But it would be wrong to leave the impression that all Beirut is as new as to-It is, of course, one of the world's morrow. ancient cities. Back home we celebrate centennials. Here, if they were so inclined, they could celebrate their 5,000th or 6,000th anniversaries, perhaps even their 7,000th.

Areas of downtown Beirut are typically crowded and congested. Streets thronged with men and women in Arab dress-and many women, by the way, wear Yet modern dress is common. a blend of the old and the new. And there is here, as elsewhere in the East and Middle East, a striking contrast between the rich and the poor. But Beirut seems to have in the process of development a fairly large middle class.

Beirut has a population of about 600,000 and that of Lebanon is about 1,600,000. The entire country, lining the Mediterranean, is small-120 miles long and some 30 to 35 miles in width. Fit that slice into eastern South Dakota and you'll get an idea of its

It is a productive country—a land described as one of milk and honey. Produced here are some of the world's choicest

Notable so far is the fact that I haven't been approached by a beggar on the streets the first foreign city to record that mark in its favor. Though there are people who seem obviously in need of help, apparently they haven't acquired the habit of begging.

Yes, I like Beirut and it's a pleasure to report to the many residents of Sioux Falls who have a Lebanese ancestral background that they may well be proud of the progressive strides being made in the capital city of their old homeland.

Congressman Minshall Announces Poll Results

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. WILLIAM E. MINSHALL

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, May 4, 1960

Mr. MINSHALL. Mr. Speaker, for the past 6 years I have had the privilege of representing the 23d District of Ohio in the Congress of the United States. During this time every effort has been made to sound out the sentiment of the district and be well informed of the views of the residents. I have also made a continuing effort to keep the people of the district advised of the events in Washington through regular newsletters and other news media, opinion polls, and annual traveling office meetings. This constant interchange of ideas between voter and Representative has helped me keep my finger on the pulse of the district and has better enabled me to represent them effectively in Washington.

Again this year another opinion poll was mailed to the home of every registered voter, 111,000 homes in all. response was excellent. Over 16,000 returned the questionnaire, and of these approximately 3,000 amplified their views in additional letters on key issues before the Congress. The percentage of returns received from Ohio's 23d District is much higher than in other areas conducting similar polls, and I am pleased with this response, for it shows the great interest which residents of this suburban area have in their Government.

In comparing the results with previous polls, it is interesting to note that the vote on foreign aid is about the same as it was a year ago, whereas the opposition to Federal aid for school construction showed a marked increase from 58 percent in 1959 to 64 percent this year. About our military preparedness, 14 percent said they did not have sufficient information to know whether or not our defense budget was adequate. However, 74 percent, or 12 percent more than in 1959, thought that we were spending enough money on our Nation's defense.

The response to the question, "Who is your choice for the next President of the United States?" clearly put the voters in Vice President Nixon's corner, as tabulations showed him a 4 to 1 favorite over Senator Kennedy. A very small but vociferous percentage of voters, however, did voice strong opposition to one or the other of these candidates.

I should like to emphasize that I do not use the results of these polls as an absolute guide or political weather vane in voting on major issues, but do derive much benefit from having the excellent comments, advice and views of my constituents.

The results of the poll follow: OPINION POLL

1. Do you consider the proposed \$41 billion Defense budget adequate? Yes, 74 percent; no, 12 percent; no opinion, 14 percent.

2. Do you favor Federal aid for local school construction? Yes, 35 percent; no, 64 per-

cent; no opinion, 1 percent.
3. Do you favor Federal aid to raise teachers' salaries? Yes, 26 percent; no, 72 percent; no opinion, 2 percent.

4. Do you believe we should continue our foreign-aid program? Yes, 49 percent; no, 46 percent; no opinion, 5 percent.

5. Do you favor the Eisenhower-Khrushchev exchange of visits? Yes, 83 percent; no, 15 percent; no opinion, 2 percent.

6. Do you believe the Federal budget should be kept in balance? Yes, 91 percent; no, 8 percent; no opinion, 1 percent.

7. Who is your choice for the next Presi-

dent of the United States?

Perc	ent
NIXON	60 14 4 3 2 17
Total	100

Democracy Depends on Your Vote-Don't Fail It

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. ALEXANDER WILEY

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Wednesday, May 4, 1960

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, the lifeblood of a republic is its people-well informed, thinking, creative, knowledgeable people.

In a complex age, however, each of us, as citizens, faces the task of fulfilling a dual role: First, as an individual integrated into our social and economic structure, and second, as a civically responsible citizen in our political system.

Tragically, the voters of the country historically have demonstrated far too little interest in exercising their voices in government. Specifically, what does this really mean?

First, loss of a voice in governmentthrough negligence-for millions of people:

Second, rule of the minority, since the total vote at its top is barely over 50 percent of the population;

Third, an inordinately strong voice in government for the special interests crusading for their own goals; and

Fourth, a loss to the government itself in terms of strength of support, ideas, efficiency, and organization.

In general, the apathetic attitude toward voting results in "somebody else minding our business"-and government is the business of each of us.

Comparatively, our voting record-in the greatest free country in the worldcompares unfavorably with the voting of people in other nations in which citizens are allowed the voice of the ballot box. For example, the span of voter participation in elections has varied in the United States from 24 percent in 1904 to 63 percent in 1952. By contrast, voting in other countries has reached such ranges as follows: Italy, 93 percent; Germany, 89 percent; Turkey, 87 percent; Denmark, 80 percent.

We recognize of course that the responsibility of voting involves more than just going to the polls and marking an "x" on a ballot, or pulling a lever on a voting machine. The duties of citizen-ship also require educating ourselves on the fundamental issues of a campaign, on the qualifications of candidates, on the operation of government and thoughtful concern as to how we, as citizens, feel that government could better serve the people.

Currently, I am most encouraged to note that voluntary organizations, labor, management and a great many other groups are sponsoring voter education programs-to awaken the American people to a greater responsibility in citizen-

ship

Recently, the Retail Clerk's Advocate published an informative editorial entitled, "Democracy Depends on Your Vote—Don't Fail It." Reflective of the kind of constructive thinking underway to encourage voting by a greater number of people, I ask unanimous consent to have the editorial printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD. as follows:

DEMOCRACY DEPENDS ON YOUR VOTE-DON'T FAIL IT

Whenever a city is rocked by political scandals everyone asks, "How did those crooks get into office?" Looking around for someone to blame, they rarely face up to the truth: It is the nonvoter who is responsible for corruption in the government at any

level: city, State, or National.

The bosses and their machines can afford an occasional scandal. They know that the good people who denounce them in mass meetings and newspapers, who clamor loudest for independent candidates, and who cry for better government will have forgotten about these incidents by election day. Moreover, the primary contests, where ma-chine politics are most rampant, will excite very few.

So the bosses and their machines are left in practical control in many of the Nation's most important political areas. This control will continue as long as the apathy of

the average citizen persists. This situation is a dangerous one which cannot be allowed to continue. The problem of encouraging democratic government through greater voter participation is one of the primary missions of the Active Ballot

It is obvious that the people have the power and the ballot to make their government responsive to the will of the majority. It is obvious that it is greatly in the individual as well as the collective interest to have truly representative government.

In spite of the intellectual awareness of this on the part of most of our citizens, our elections consistently record the lowest percentage of votes of any democracy in the world.

The Active Ballot Club is an organization founded on the principle that every citizen is a responsible voter. By broadening the base of participation in our government, the influence of all special interest pressure groups and corrupting forces will be diminished.

The voter participation program of the ABC is based on three principles, registration, informing oneself about the candidates

and issues, and voting.

Particularly in this important presidential election year, the direction the country will take over the next 4 years hangs on the decisions of the voters.

It is scarcely an exaggeration to say that the next President of the United States will face problems of a magnitude that stagger the imagination.

Some of the Nation's foremost economists are fearful of another recession in 1960. School problems have long since passed the crisis state. Resource conservation, extension of national minimum wage and hour coverage, water pollution control, farm problems, the country's depressed areas, all need attention.

Foreign affairs will continue to bulk ever larger in the policies of our Nation. Communism, which once was a problem confined to the other side of the earth, is making serious inroads in this hemisphere.

The Active Ballot Club is not, nor will it ever be, a prophet of doom. It believes that the Nation possesses the strength, determination, boldness, and imagination to solve the problems which face it.

But the solutions will not come automatically and without effort on anyone's part. They will have to be worked for, even

fought for.

The challenge of perpetuating and improving our democratic way of life is one that no member of the ABC can safely ignore.

Airline Safety and Economy in the Jet Age

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JOEL T. BROYHILL

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, May 4, 1960

Mr. BROYHILL. Mr. Speaker, more than 1,500 commercial airline aircraft in the United States today are flying hundreds of thousands of route miles per day from more than 550 airports. A takeoff or landing occurs every 6 seconds. Yet, for all this, aviation is one of the safest

means of travel ever devised by man.

The system of cross-checks and double-checks provided by the airlines insure the safety, comfort, and convenience of the traveling public.

No small part of this team effort safety is played by a man you probably have never heard of, the airline flight dispatcher, sometimes called a flight superintendent.

The very existence of these dispatchers was created by our former colleagues in the passage by Congress of the Civil Aeronautics Act of 1938, with the intent to insure the utmost in safety in the operations of the scheduled airlines.

These gentlemen have formed a union known as the Air Line Dispatchers Association, a dedicated body of men who are devoted to free enterprise, performing a vital function for the safety of the

traveling public, at the same time doing their utmost for the economic success of the Nation's carriers. This, at a time when there is much emphasis on the growing role of Federal Government in aviation matters, is mute evidence that private enterprise can perform well, in the public interest.

This group has recently published a brochure entitled "The Dispatcher—Airline Safety and Economy in the Jet Age." A copy has been mailed to each Member of Congress. I am sure you will find it most helpful as a reference book on this phase of aviation at this time when safety and economics relative to the scheduled airlines is of such importance.

The Family-Size Farm

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Hon. EVERETT McKINLEY DIRKSEN

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, May 4, 1960

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. President, irresponsible charges are not new to American politics in campaign years but some of the most reprehensible allegations are being made by several of the Democratic presidential hopefuls in their desperate dash for delegates.

To the volume of mounting criticism of such contentions as "17 million hungry Americans" and the "disappearing family farm" I should like to add for the RECORD, the recent editorial of the Chicago Daily Tribune on the subject of "Fact and Rumor."

I ask unanimous consent that the editorial be printed in the Appendix of the

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Chicago Daily Tribune, Apr. 16, 1960]

FACT AND RUMOR

Exaggeration is a characteristic of political campaigning, but we do think it is sometimes carried a trifle far. The other day, for example, Senator John F. Kennedy improved a stop in Indiana in his quest for the Democratic presidential nomination by charging that prosperity under the Elsenhower administration is a myth, because "17 million Americans go to bed hungry every night."

You may be sure that Senator Kennedy is not among this hypothetical 17 million, for the family fortune is of dimensions which do not permit famine to be envisioned.

Other Democratic aspirants, such as Senator Hubert Humphrey, are forever lamenting the imminent passing of the family farm, though it is to be noted that the system of farm payoffs originated by the Democrats has so far conspicuously rewarded huge corporate farming enterprises.

Secretary of Agriculture Ezra Taft Benson took a look at these campaign assertions last week and offered the opinion that they were unashamed misstatements and distortions. He said that the allegation about the 17 million hungry had no factual basis, which is a polite way of saying that it is an untruth.

Mr. Benson then addressed himself to Senator Humphrey's contention that millions of families are being forced off the farm.

Here the Secretary was able to cite unarguable statistics that the statement was untrue. The greatest exodus from farms, he said, occurred during the two Democratic decades, 1933-53, when 10 million persons left the land. The greatest percentage decline in farm population occurred during Harry Truman's finals years in the White House, 1950-53.

Today, Mr. Benson said, 96 percent of all American farms are family owned. This is the same percentage of family ownership as prevailed 30 years ago, before the coming of the New Deal.

Secretary Benson has been blamed for many things, among them the administration of an unworkable and monstrously expensive system of farm price supports and ostensible crop control which he inherited intact from the Democrats and has never been able to scrap or change. Because the farm program is idiotic, he is usually charged with its shortcomings and saddled with its unpopularity. Even the Republicans who hope to follow in Mr. Elsenhower's tracks start running away when they catch a glimpse of Mr. Benson.

But who is the only member of the Re-

But who is the only member of the Republican party and administration who replies to unfounded aspersions on his party's record? Why, it is Mr. Benson.

Interfaith Fellowship Awards

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 3, 1960

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to commend to the attention of our colleagues the following address by Mr. Philip Lustine, a trustee of the B'nai B'rith Foundation, delivered on Thursday, April 28, 1960, at the Interfaith Fellowship Awards dinner of B'nai B'rith which was held at the University of Maryland, College Park, Md. The dinner was in honor of Gov. Millard J. Tawes of Maryland and the scholarship awards were presented to Miss Patricia Messer and Mr. Jack Hillhouse.

The important addresses were delivered that evening by Speaker Sam Rayburn and Senate Majority Leader Lyndon B. Johnson. Among the distinguished dais guests were our coltinguished dais guests were our coltinguished dais guests were our coltinguished E. Lankford, and Daniel B. Brewster.

Mr. Lustine was general chairman of the dinner and his remarks follow:

My dear friend, Gov. J. Millard Tawes, President Label Katz, distinguished guests on the dals, and all of you wonderful people who have come to celebrate our beloved Governor's birthday.

My heart is very full as I stand here right now. I wish that the gift of words had been given to me in full measure, so that I could express to you the tremendous feeling of happiness I am now experiencing. As the Bible would say: "My cup runneth over"—for not always is it any one man's good fortune to be able to pay a descrying tribute to a close friend of many years, but also, that in doing this, he can do something close to his heart, and that is help make possible the interfaith fellowship in the Governor's honor.

I have been chatting with the Governor while we were sitting here having our dinner-and I know he too is aware of the warmth, good fellowship and-above even that—the extra "something" which we all feel tonight and which will long be remembered and cherished by me. The Governor also is aware of this "benevolence, harmony and brotherhood" which is the essence of the service of the B'nai B'rith.

Many people have asked me "What does B'nai B'rith mean?" It is Hebrew for "Sons of the Covenant," and this organization, recognized by our own Government as outstanding in its service to humanity, has been carrying on its work with quite dig-

nity for over 117 years.

Particularly tonight, when we are celebrating our beloved Governor's birthday by instituting an interfaith youth fellowship in his honor, it is fitting that we have a small picture of what this organization's youth program stands for. B'nai B'rith has today 219 Hillel Foundations all over the United States in major colleges and universities. It has lecture series, programs, forums and debates, all open to the college campus. It awards interfaith scholarships, work incentive scholarships and annual awards to outstanding students throughout these foundations. Through its offices for vocational service, it has helped over 160,000 young people in the last several years to find their particular slot for their future success as adults. It conducts studies in vocations and careers, and gives guidance and counseling to groups, as well as indi-vidually. Through the B'nai B'rith Youth Organization, which consists of over 1,400 teenage chapters of boys and girls nationally, these young people are taught devo-tion to their country, their responsibility as future adults and members of their communities, by working on programs such as the March of Dimes, cancer, heart and other brotherhood and service activities.

Altogether, over 300,000 young people are served through the B'nai B'rith and are aided by affairs such as this one we are

holding tonight.

Therefore, it has been a great personal joy to me to be able to be associated with this wonderful undertaking and to have served as its general chairman. The won-derful turnout this evening, Governor, derful turnout this evening, demonstrates the affection and regard we all have for you, both as an elected public official and as a warmhearted and genuine human being. The honor that is bestowed on you this evening is most fitting and proper. It is a true testimonial to your marvelous integrity of character, to your dedication to humanity, and to your sincerity in demonstrating kindness and af-Your public spirit and highfection. minded purpose hold you in esteem by all.

Governor, I want you to know of the many wonderful people who have worked with me on this affair. Time and effort meant nothing to them. Their devotion and enthusiasm were outstanding. They gladly volunteered their services—with their hearts and souls. Yes; they are truly dedicated marvelous folks. The real success of tonight's activity has been made possible by them. Words cannot express my deep appre ciation for what they have done. Words cannot express my high regard and praise I will always be grateful to them. for them. I will always be grateful to them. Only for the reason of conserving time, I refer you to their names, listed as the testimonial committee, which appears on your program. However, I would like to single out one person who did over and above what anyone could be expected to do-Mrs. Irma Bogdanoff, assistant national director of the B'nai B'rith Foundation. To her goes the sincere thanks and appreciation of not only myself, but of the entire committee. Incidentally, I want to congratulate the staff of

the University of Maryland for the very lovely dinner.

My friends-to all of you here tonightthe warm appreciation and heartfelt gratitude of the future of our great countrythe youth of America-who are served by the B'nai B'rith. Thanks to your generosity, understanding, and wholehearted support, you have made this possible. And to you, Governor, my heartiest congratulations on this honor you so justly deserve. May good health, happiness, and God's blessings, always be with you and your family.

I thank you.

Making a Mockery of the Judicial Process-The Chessman Case

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. SAM J. ERVIN, JR.

OF NORTH CAROLINA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Wednesday, May 4, 1960

Mr. ERVIN. Mr. President, the Washington Evening Star for May 3, 1960, contained an editorial entitled, "Chessman—and Victim," and a news item entitled, "Chessman Victim Still Unbalanced: Second Weeps."

This editorial and this item ought to enable us to see the Chessman case in the right perspective. It certainly affords a most glaring illustration of the truth that justice travels on leaden feet when courts permit an undue solicitude for convicted criminals to make them forget that the primary function of the criminal law is the protection of society.

I ask unanimous consent that this editorial and this item be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial and news item were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

CHESSMAN-AND VICTIM

There are two grounds upon which valid objection might be raised to the execution of Caryl Chessman.

One would be that there was a substantial doubt as to his guilt, a doubt which we do not think was present in his case. other, of course, would be a conscientious objection to capital punishment—an objection which would apply equally to all cases no matter how clear the guilt or how heinous the crime.

Neither of these considerations has been stressed in most of the mawkish nonsense written about the Chessman case. For example, the foreign press, possibly with an eye to the sale of papers, has harped on the 12 years of "indescribable mental agony" to which Chessman has been subjected. What is never mentioned is the fact that Chessman and his resourceful lawyers were responsible for this 12-year delay. They availed them-selves of every opportunity, every technicality, for appeals and stays of execution. course they were within their rights in doing this. But why should American justice be damned by critics at home and abroad because it gives a condemned man every opportunity under the law to plead his case? We cannot help but think that most of the criticism has been the product either of a monumental ignorance of the facts or of a sinister readiness to seize upon any propaganda weapon if it can be used to belabor the United States.

Finally, why has so little been written about the victims of this man's perverted crimes; why so much concern for Caryl Chessman, so little for the people whose lives he ruined? In all of the frenzied chatter in Chessman's behalf, we have seen not one word of compassion for the girl, 17 at the time, who was one of his victims. As a result of her dreadful experience she has spent 12 years in a mental institution, and she may spend the rest of her life there.

CHESSMAN VICTIM STILL UNBALANCED: SECOND WEEPS

Los Angeles, May 3 .- One of the victims of Caryl Chessman's sexual attacks a dozen years ago sits in a trance, not able to understand that he has gone to the gas chamber.

She is Mary Alice Meza, 29. As a 17-yearold girl on her first real date after a parish dance she was subjected to brutal depravity

for 4 hours.

"There is little hope that my daughter will ever be released from the (mental) institution," said her mother, Mrs. Ruth Shaw, an hour after Chessman's execution yesterday.

"I'm glad it's over; it had to be that way. The whole series of events is a great tragedy for everybody. It should never have hap-

Did Mrs. Shaw think Chessman's execution might relieve her daughter's burden? "I don't think so. It's been too long. She

is very sick."

Another victim of similar treatment by Chessman, Mrs. Andrew H. Brennan, wept uncontrollably and told newsmen:

"I just want to forget it all."

She had been out of the hospital only a few days following a polio attack when Chessman attacked her, disregarding her pleas for mercy.

Resident Correspondent Reports on West Germany-I

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. JEFFERY COHELAN

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, May 4, 1960

Mr. COHELAN, Mr. Speaker, the following article by Sebastian Haffner of the London Observer News Service, reprinted in the Washington Post of May 1, 1960, is a series of answers to key questions about the situation and the attitudes in West Germany today, less than 2 weeks before the summit conference to be held in Paris. Under permission to extend remarks, I wish to enter this article in the RECORD in two parts, the first of which follows. The second will appear elsewhere in today's RECORD:

WEST GERMANS STILL ENJOYING CHROMIUM IDVIJ.

(By Sebastian Haffner)

BERLIN.-Here are a resident correspondent's answers to some questions being asked in allied countries about West Germany:

What is the mood of West Germany? For long time we have been told it is comfortable, materialist, selfish, pacifist, against all adventures, lacking in confidence, not even very interested in the reunion of Germany. Is this still true or is the mood slowly changing?

It is still surprisingly true. Among the politically minded, of course, the mood is no longer as placid as it used to be—rather a little uneasy, even a little glum. They know that they are at the moment being subject to a drumfire of worldwide denunciation for which every resource of Communist and Communist-influenced propaganda is employed.

They sense that this propaganda is having its effect, and that British—and perhaps also American—feelings for West Germany are no longer what they were a few years ago. They are worried, but remain passive. They keep their fingers crossed and hope for the best.

As far as the big nonpolitical majority is concerned, almost nothing of all this has yet sunk in, and people just continue to enjoy their regained prosperity and respectability, their supposed holiday from history, their chromium-plated idyll, and hope that it may last forever.

Insofar as there is a visible reaction against this still predominant happy philistine complacency, it comes from the intellectual and literary left and not from the right. A leftwing radical nonconformism, neither Communist nor Social Democratic but antigovernmental contemptuous of the economic miracle, nationally self-critical to the point of sometimes being anti-German, calling for a belated repentence of Nazi sins and sometimes for a belated prosecution of former Nazis—this has become a growing force in West German public opinion over the last 3 years or so.

It forms the mainstream of the reviving German literature, has strong points in the universities, in the Protestant church, in the press, and has established a complete hold on German television. Whether it will in its turn bring about a right-wing reaction (of which the swastika daubings around the New Year may have been an inarticulate premonition) is too early to say.

A word about reunion. No German will ever admit that he does not passionately care about it, and a substantial minority, especially in Protestant northern Germany, really does passionately care. But pessimism about reunion in the foreseeable future has been growing, and sometimes this pessimism is hard to distinguish from resignation.

Still, this is a subject about which only a fool would dogmatize. Nine out of 10 Germans reject the idea of a war for reunion with genuine horror. But how they would react if one day there were a Hungary in East Germany, I would not dare to say.

A UNITED EUROPE

Do West Germans still believe in a united Western Europe or not?

Yes and no. As a popular political movement, European federalism in Germany is far weaker than it was 10 years ago. At the same time, the new friendship with France and the new intimacy with Western Europe in general are taken for granted; anti-French resentments are not only dead but are regarded as positively quaint, like Victorian interior decoration, and masses of Germans now habitually take their holidays in France and Italy without a conscious feeling of going "abroad."

The idea that Germany could ever be at war again with her Western European neighbors has dropped right out of existence. Perhaps it would be truest to say that West Germans today—mistakenly—regard and treat West European unity as if it were an accomplished fact, something to be enjoyed rather than something still to be achieved.

ARMED STRENGTH

How strong is their army and how efficient? Are the people proud of it? And the air force? Navy?

In round figures, the German forces today total 250,000 men, of which the army has around 150,000, the air force 80,000, the navy 20,000. The planned ultimate peacetime establishment, to be reached in about 2 years, may be 350,000 in all. The efficiency rating, on the basis of the last maneuvers, is fair to good; but it is still a force in the making which will need several more years to reach maturity.

maturity.

Public attitudes toward the new forces vary from tolerant acceptance to grudging indifference. The active (ohne mich) antimilitarism of the early fifties has died down but there is none of the old popular enthusiasm for the army.

NAZI REVIVALS

Are there then any strongly nationalist groups or parties waiting in the wings for Adenauer to die? If so, are these led by old Nazis, or are they new men?

The answer is in the negative. Nazi revivals have been attempted by little groups or parties ever since 1949, with constantly declining success. At the moment, neo-Nazism in West Germany is a lunatic fringe, not more.

As for old Nazis (real ones), a few of them live discreet professional lives, under assumed names, in Germany (and provide the occasional scandal when dug out); rather more form little emigre circles in Cairo and Buenos Aires. None of them has any political influence or following in Germany.

Whether a Nazi revival is possible if West Germany were ever cast out from the West and/or subject to an economic depression, is a matter for speculation. My own opinion is that it is improbable even then, and that a new German nationalism would take different forms. Today, at any rate, Nazism in West Germany is a figment of Communist propaganda.

NAZIS IN POWER

Was Adenauer's policy of deliberately softpedaling denazification and letting time heal the wound wise or not? How many real (as opposed to formal) Nazis are there in power and office?

In my opinion, the policy was very wise indeed. The real and effective denazification of Germany took place during the last stage of the war and was largely, the work of Hitler himself. In May 1945, Nazism, as a political creed, was dead in Germany, and personal persecution of the numerous former adherents of this discredited creed could only have revived it by creating a massive vested interest in Nazi apologetics.

The number of real present Nazis in positions of power and influence in West Germany is, to the best of my knowledge, zero. The number of real former Nazis is probably still quite substantial (though in a natural way diminishing year by year).

Not even Communist propaganda can deny that present West German justice is a model of mildness, humanity and civilized sophistication. This is so although, or possibly because, many of the older judges once had, willingly or unwillingly, to dispense Nazi justice; it represents, in them, a genuine recoil from, and compensation for, their own

One can generalize from this example and say that, in a sense, the whole present West Germany represents Germany's genuine recoil from, and compensation for, its Nazi past, and this is naturally embodied in hundreds and thousands of cases of individual persons who had a Nazi period in their lives and have turned their backs on it.

Protection of Wilderness Areas for Public Enjoyment

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. THOMAS H. KUCHEL

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Wednesday, May 4, 1960

Mr. KUCHEL. Mr. President, on Tuesday of this week the Senate Interior and Insular Affairs Committee held an executive session, the first, perhaps, of several, with the highly important wilderness legislation before it. I hope the committee will approve this legislation. It is completely in the interest of the American people. In voicing that hope, I believe it would be a great accomplishment for this Congress if the wilderness legislation should become law. It would afford protection to a small portion of federally owned lands against spoliation, so that the people, now and in the future, may enjoy some of the primeval beauty by which the Creator endowed our great country.

An excellent editorial on the subject appeared in the San Francisco Chronicle of May 1, 1960. I ask unanimous consent that the editorial may appear in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WILDERNESS BILL UP FOR HEARING

The Senate Interior Committee on Tuesday is to take up the wilderness bill, essential legislation for protecting wilderness areas for public enjoyment.

This measure should be approved and given a clear track to the Senate floor for passage this year. It has the backing of the Interior and Agriculture Departments and the Bureau of the Budget; public hearings have been held in Washington and in the West; criticisms have been met; it is "ready for the question."

Unfortunately, the House has not considered this measure, and may not before adjournment in July, even should the Senate pass it. Yet the House will have to consider it eventually, and conservationists hope the popular concern for keeping intact what we can of our natural heritage will speed it along.

About 2 percent of the land is under consideration for establishment in the national wilderness preservation system. These areas, it is felt, should be preserved for the permanent good of the whole people—not left open to exploitation by the few who can profit from destroying the character of the wilderness.

Naturally, the setting aside of public land closed to the entry of the advocates of its multiple use creates a conflict of interest and principles. While we are certainly not out of sympathy with modern techniques for land use, such as the harvesting of timber and other natural-resource crops, we are convinced that these techniques should be kept out of wilderness areas.

out of wilderness areas.

The bill gives statutory protection to wilderness areas in national parks and monuments, national forests and national wildlife refuges and ranges, but won't conflict with established practices, such as grazing. It includes no areas now open to lumbering.

It is said to invade no existing private rights, and it will not call for money. It protects good administrators from severe pressures to give away the key to the national closet. The wilderness bill should be passed this year.

A Word of Advice to Republicans

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. MILTON W. GLENN

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, May 4, 1960

Mr. GLENN. Mr. Speaker, in these days of State primary elections, the political forecasters are having a field day in predicting so-called trends.

The Bridgeton Evening News, a daily newspaper in my Second District of New Jersey, recently had a very instructive and incisive editorial which is worthy of consideration by all Republicans, as in my mind its purport is national in scope and extends far beyond the limits of south Jersey. The editorial follows:

These are the days when political philosophies are paraded around for analysis and trend.

For instance, the decisive victory of U.S. Senator CLIPFORD P. CASE on Tuesday was hailed as a trend in favor of liberalism in the Republican Party. It was observed that the Case victory in a test with a strong conservative Republican challenge served as a beacon to guide Vice President Nixon in his quest for the White House seat in November.

The terms "left wingers," "right wingers,"

The terms "left wingers," "right wingers," "liberals," and "conservatives," have been heard frequently in recent weeks, as candidates make nomination bids for the coming conventions of the two major parties.

Some of the Democratic political philosophy has conjured up such designations in the past as the New Deal under the late President Franklin D. Roosevelt, and the Fair Deal under former President Harry Truman. This has been followed by cries of the conservative Republicans, left over from the Hoover days, that the Democrats created a "welfare state" by passing out large benefits to the people, thus endangering the spirit of free enterprise, the cornerstone of American growth for 150 years.

In fact, what the Democrats now embrace as their political philosophy was once rank socialism, always feared and hated by both parties in elections of former decades.

But you can call it what you like—it's what the majority of the people want and will support at any election time. They want security as much as they can get, jobless benefits that meet the high cost of living, and health insurance.

The balanced budget in Government has become as obsolete as the balanced budget in the average household and is therefore treated with concern only by the learned economists of the country who hold up their hands in righteous horror at the billions of dollars being utilized for everything under the sun.

However, the Republican version of being liberal is not quite as farfetched and overpowering as the Democratic theory of government through the giveaway. It seeks a middle-of-the-course protecting private enterprise, but maintaining the security which have proven to be of such benefit to the masses of people.

And no candidate who yearns for a return to the old days of conservative Government can ever hope to get elected, except in isolated areas of the country. The new concept of political reasoning, first initiated by the Roosevelt administration, was not a trial balloon. It was greeted with joy by the laboring groups—and it has come to stay.

During the past 7 years, ever since the conservative wing of the Republican Party was beaten at the national convention, there has been a revolt within its ranks.

While the conservative elements and the liberals battled for supremacy, the Democrats went forward, as usual, building up huge support that extended into the grassroots, and buckling only to the personal appeal that President Eisenhower evoked in the hearts of the people.

Even today, the GOP old guard would like to see Vice President Nixon repudiate the liberals. But it seems indicated that he will take the liberal road in his campaign to keep the Republican banner flying in the White House.

He got firsthand evidence of this trend in the New Jersey primary. Senator Case has demonstrated that a great liberal statesman commands the vote. Vice President Nixon needs no further example to chart his own course of action in the days ahead.

Maryland Explained

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, J. GLENN BEALL

OF MARYLAND

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, May 4, 1960

Mr. BEALL. Mr. President, the great free State of Maryland was featured in a special magazine section of the New York Times of Sunday, May 1, 1960, and I would like to direct the attention of my colleagues, businessmen, vacationers, and, in general, persons interested in enjoyable and productive living to the articles contained in it. All aspects of our State are discussed in interesting detail, and I am sure the various items will be both fascinating and profitable for whoever reads them.

Representative of the articles included in the New York Times Maryland section is one by Gerald Johnson, one of our State's leading and most respected literary figures. Mr. Johnson's comments indicate clearly why native Marylanders and those who have adopted the State alike love it, and I ask unanimous consent that a copy of the article and the accompanying comments about Mr. Johnson be printed in the Appendix of the Record.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

MARYLAND EXPLAINED

(By Gerald Johnson)

Almost, perhaps quite, the tallest order I have ever received came a few years ago when I had boarded a train en route to New York and was pushing my way toward a crowded club car. Someone seized my elbow and I turned to face Bernard De Voto, Harvard professor and the greatest historian of the West since Parkman.

"You are the very man I wanted to see," said De Voto. "Come have a drink and explain Maryland."

It floored me. I could only protest feebly that I live in Baltimore, and if he wanted Maryland explained he should get a man

from Philadelphia or Richmond to do it. I know too much about it to put it clearly in a few words. He agreed that I had a point, and the talk drifted to other things.

But the truth of the matter is that he caught me unprepared. When I thought it over I realized that it is easy enough to meet his demand with one sentence. It is this: Maryland lies approximately in the geographical, and exactly in the moral, center of the temperature zone.

TOO HOT FOR ESKIMOS

Geographically, the State is between the 38th and 40th parallels of latitude which, as every schoolboy knows, is nearly equidistant from the Arctic and the Tropic. It is uncomfortable for people accustomed to extremes—too cold for a Hottentot, and not cold enough for an Eskimo. What is not so clearly understood by everyone is that the moral and intellectual climate of Maryland resembles the physical in that it is unsuited to extremists—too cold for fiery radicals, too warm for ice-bound reactionaries, but pretty satisfactory to men whose temperament places them about the same distance from both fascism and communism.

It is not that Maryland is incapable of producing strong partisans. "The Star-Spangled Banner" isn't exactly a neutrality proclamation while—

Avenge the patriotic gore
That flecked the streets of Baltimore
And be the battle queen of yore
Maryland, my Maryland

is definitely not an admonition to judicial impartiality.

Indeed from the days of Samuel Chase, impeached for anti-Jeffersonian diatribes from the bench, and Frederick Douglass, the abolitionist leader, to the days of Bishop James Cannon, called "The Dry Messiah," and Upton Sinclair, theoretical ender of poverty in California, some Marylanders have been winning national fame for indignation and objurgation.

And Mencken's fame was international.

LITTLE GIVEN TO DELIRIUM

The mass of the people, however, have never been moved to a delirium of enthusiasm by the strong emotions and stronger language of these eminent champions of various causes. Baltimore City, indeed, gained the name of "Mobtown" 150 years ago, but the wide gap that existed then between the city and the State has since been fairly well closed, and, for generations, now. Maryland has been little given to delirium of any kind.

Your typical Marylander is always interested, sometimes amazed, and frequently amused, but only occasionally scandalized by the champions of odd ideas. As a rule, he is definitely opposed to having them suppressed, less, perhaps, on account of his superior virtue than on account of a long tradition of tolerance that goes back to 1634 when the instructions given by the proprietor to the first colonial governor included a stern prohibition of any interference with religion.

Maryland was originally a palatinate, modeled on that of Durham, in England, which means that practically all royal authority over the colony was held by the Barons of Baltimore until 1776; and nearly 200 years later one can discern traces of that experience in the life of the State. There is something baronial about Maryland. It is not merely such place-names as My Lady's Manor, Prince Georges and Anne Arundel Counties, Duke of Gloucester Street in Annapolis and Charles Street in Baltimore. It is a touch of that feeling of a secure status that enabled the nobleman to view with tolerant good humor the vagaries of noisy dissidents, whether crackpot or reniuses.

GOOD WINE AND PRETTY WOMEN

The baronial temper implies also a discriminating appreciation of the good things of this world and this is so strongly characteristic of Maryland that no one can miss it. Long ago, when George Washington was fortunate enough to be in residence at Mount Vernon, it was to nearby Annapolis that he was accustomed to resort when he felt the need of a break in the placid serenity of country life; for at Annapolis he could always count on a good dinner, a good wine, a good horse race and, especially in the winter, a ball graced by the presence of pretty women.

If George were to return to earth today, he could resume his routine with no trouble. The dinners are not as stupendous as they were when 20 courses occasioned no remark, but the cooking is improved and the wines are better and far more varied in type; the tracks and the horses are faster; the balls are somewhat less formal than they were then, but he is a renegade Marylander who will not swear his mightlest oath that the Women are prettier. Maryland is one of the few American regions in which it is still the custom to recognize distinguished achievement in any line by staging a testimonial dinner in honor of the eminent citizen.

YACHTSMEN SWARM

The great estuary of many rivers called the Chesapeake Bay still strongly influences the life of the State, not merely economically but socially and culturally, as well. It is magnificent water for amateur sailors, an inland sea 200 miles long, fairly placid as a rule, but occasionally visited, especially in summer, by vicious squalls that add just enough spice of danger to test one's seamanship and make the sport adult instead of child's play. As a result, the State swarms with yachtsmen, many of whom have graduated from inland waters to the Bermuda races and other adventures on the high seas.

But the maritime culture of the Eastern Shore is modified by the fact that here the Piedmont plateau, sweeping northeastward from Alabama, touches tidewater, bringing hillmen and fishermen into intimate contact. Duck hunter knows bear hunter, oysterman is at least aware of the existence of coal miner, and all are acutely aware of the vast steel and chemical industries, centering around the port of Baltimore, but extending eastward across the Chesapeake and westward into the Appalachian mountains.

All this has made Maryland, although the 42d State in area, one of the most variegated in the union, physically, and culturally. In addition to all else, the fact that it surrounds the national capital—for the Potomac River is all Maryland to the right bank, where Virginia begins—has made the State in a peculiar sense a summation of America, a kind of sampler into which every American thread is worked.

thread is worked.

Nevertheless, it remains itself, as highly individual as Maine or Louisiana. But its individuality consists in the very fact that it is not committed to any particular point of view. This does not please everybody—in fact, it maddens intense souls who are convinced that they are in possession of all truth and whoever differs from them is in error.

LIVE AND LET LIVE

But for the man who admits that he doesn't know all the answers, and who is therefore content to live and let live, the State is an admirable place in which to reside. Whether alpinist or seafarer, he can find the environment he desires. Whether Protestant, or Catholic, or Jew, he finds his coreligionists rubbing along very well with the others. Whether intellectual, or businessman, or sportsman, or artist, he can find others of like mind. That, one must admit, goes for a dimwit, too.

goes for a dimwit, too.

The charm of Maryland, however, is not so much that a man can easily find others

of his own type in the State, but that the other types will not interfere with him as long as he is reasonably law abiding. On the contrary, he will find, if he is not himself of a prickly and belligerent disposition, that his peculiarities will be accepted goodhumoredly and even, unless they are quite exceptionally outrageous, admired and praised.

A LONG LIFE

The Marylander, in short, is content to be himself without much inclination to try to make others over in his own image. That suggests some lack of the missionary spirit, and if that lack is a fault, well, it must be admitted.

But it makes for lack of strain, and in a world as tense as that of the 20th century anything that relaxes tends to longevity. Stern idealists hold that to live in the very center of the Temperate Zone—culturally as well as geographically—means that you will never live greatly. Perhaps they are right; but it means that you will live pleasantly and as a rule it means that you will live a long time, a consideration that we in Maryland find much to our taste.

(Gerald Johnson, when asked for a few personal details to accompany this article, said: "The most apposite item is the fact that I have lived, by deliberate choice, in Maryland for 33 years; or by choice at least for 17 years. In 1943 I resigned from the editorial staff of the Baltimore Sun to do free-lance writing, but I remained in Baltimore partly because it is handy both to New York, my market, and to Washington, a source of much material, but mainly because I consider it a pleasanter place to live than either. For the rest, I have contributed to most of the big magazines and have written 20-odd books, most in history and biography.")

Help for the Aged

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. ELMER J. HOLLAND

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 3, 1960

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. Speaker, I would like to insert in the Record the attached editorial from the Pittsburg Post-Gazette and Sun-Telegraph dated may 2, 1960, in which they state that some action must be taken and some solution reached for assisting our elder citizens.

They endorse the Forand bill although they feel it has some weaknesses. I am sure that once they read the Eisenhower health program, which was presented today, their endorsement of H.R. 4700 will be glowing.

To those of us who are interested in the problems of our aged and who are doing our utmost to alleviate their worries and bring them comfort and peace of mind in their declining years, the proposal of the administration is a farce.

Human beings with emotions and feelings are asking for help, and the Eisenhower administration proposes a \$1.2 billion tax program for the relief of the insurance industry.

"Profits Before People" has been the motto of this administration, and in its dying months it insists upon getting all it can.

The President has spoken and has told our elder citizens that they can pay \$24 a year each and after the first \$250 expenses, which they must meet, the Federal and State governments will see that they get the same medical care, hospitalization and nursing home care as those unfortunate souls who are now on our relief rolls.

Just for the record, Mr. Speaker, our elder citizens in Pennsylvania can get that now without paying \$24 a year—all they have to do is have a lien on their home and, under our laws in Pennsylvania, they will probably have to do that too under the President's health program.

The article follows:

[From the Post-Gazette and Sun-Telegraph, May 2, 1960]

HELP FOR THE AGED

Although it opposes the Forand bill as a step toward "socialized medicine," the Eisenhower administration is under such heavy political pressure that it cannot sweep under the rug the problem of medical care for the aged. Consequently, it is reported considering an alternative plan.

The Forand bill, which was rejected recently by the House Ways and Means Committee, would attack the problem by adding a health insurance program to the social security system. The Federal Government would write health insurance for everyone eligible to draw social security checks. The cost would be borne by increasing the social security tax from 3 to 3½ percent.

There are weaknesses in the Forand bill. For one thing, it would provide medical benefits for all elderly social security beneficiaries regardless of need. For another, it would not reach those old people who are not eligible for social security benefits. Presently some 3 million of the poorest are aided through public assistance programs that cost the Federal and State Governments something like \$500 million a year, including medical treatment.

While we have favored the Forand bill as the soundest approach to the problem thus far, we are fully conscious of its shortcomings. If a better approach can be devised; that is, an approach that will meet more fully the need, then Congress ought to approve it.

Just now the administration is said to be considering a proposal to provide Federal income tax deductions to help offset the cost of buying medical insurance. Those without income sufficient to require taxpayments would be given outright cash benefits by the Government to help defray the cost of insurance.

Whatever the plan approved, it will be costly. There is no sense in pretending otherwise. But neither should anyone kid himself that the problem doesn't have to be met.

The number of people 65 years or older, presently estimated at 16 million, is growing by about 1,000 a day. Twenty-five years ago our senior citizens made up only 6 percent of the population; today they constitute 9 percent. By 1975, the number is expected to be at least 20 million.

Many of our old people, hard hit by inflation that shrinks small fixed incomes, are angry, and vocal. As they grow older, their earning power shrinks while their physical ailments increase and private insurance becomes costlier and harder to get. Congress is hearing from them in a great outpouring of mail. Their pressure for help promises to provide the big domestic issue in this year's presidential campaign. For humane, no less than political considerations, the issue cannot be ignored.

The World Needs Countless Gordon Seagraves

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. PHILIP A. HART

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Wednesday, May 4, 1960

Mr. HART. Mr. President, many of us know about the unusual contribution made to mankind by Dr. Gordon Seagrave in Burma and southwest China as a doctor, a surgeon, and a teacher to people who would never otherwise have had professional help. Recently, Dr. Seagrave's autobiography was published, "Life of a Burma Surgeon."

Mr. President, I would like to insert in the Appendix of the Record a review of Dr. Seagrave's book by another great American, whose contribution in the same continent of Asia in the field of diplomacy parallels that of Dr. Seagrave. I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the Record the article by Chester Bowles which appeared in the Louisville (Ky.) Times on March 30, 1960, entitled "The World Needs Countless Gordon Seagraves."

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE WORLD NEEDS COUNTLESS GORDON SEA-GRAVES—NATIONS AWAKENING TO A BETTER LIFE NEED SERVICES OF DEDICATED EXPERTS IN A VARIETY OF FIELDS

(By Chester Bowles)

Washington.—This week, a new autobiography of a remarkable American will be published.—"Life of a Burma Surgeon" (Ballantine).

The story of Dr. Gordon Seagrave is the story of the best of America overseas. What he has tried to do in Burma is something of which we can be justly proud, for his actions are a natural extension of our traditional national purpose—the widening of opportunities for all men everywhere.

Here, in the life of one man, is a rare

Here, in the life of one man, is a rare combination of brotherhood and patriotism, of service and courage, that seems to me distinctly American. I could no more picture Gordon Seagrave as of another nationality than I could imagine Gandhi a Frenchman or Churchill an Indian.

In 1897, when Gordon S. Seagrave was born in Rangoon, Burma, the American people stood poised on the verge of a curious and unprecedented Pacific adventure. With our seizure of the Philippines a year later, we awakened with surprise—and some misgivings—to find ourselves an Asian colonial power.

Our relations with Asia have been an outgrowth of mixed motivations. Yet running throughout this record is a remarkably constant current of vigorous humanitarianism.

Today we are reaping the harvest of this long relationship with Asia and Asians. Gone are the days of colonialism. In their place is a new age of explosive nationalism, when millions of men and women are awakening to a new sense of opportunities for a better life. The revolution first triggered by merchant and missionary alike is now at floodtide.

The new Asia confronts us with radically new challenges.

In this revolutionary world, the record of individual Americans of vision, courage, and long experience among Asian peoples can serve to guide the rest of us in our quest for understanding. Gordon Seagrave is one such American. To be sure his story is similar in many ways to that of other men and women who gave their lives to serving the people of Asia. And yet there is uniqueness in his perseverance and in the long family tradition of service to which he is the heir.

Gordon Seagrave's forebears went to Burma in 1835 as a part of that early trickle of Americans who left friends, family, home, and country to pioneer in the cause of the Christian Gospel. To their neighbors, their decision often seemed foolhardy, dangerous, and ill conceived.

Yet theirs was not a choice motivated by the traditional causes of migration—escape from oppression and economic hardship or a craving for greater material opportunity. The Seagraves had no personal fortunes to make, no political ax to grind, nor were they carrying the fiag on a colonial adventure.

Theirs was a mission of faith.

In the years since the coming of the first Seagraves, Asia and change have become almost synonymous. As a young man who knew only Burma as his home, Gordon Seagrave was already able to perceive the needs of an awakening people.

When he returned to the United States in 1909, he was determined to acquire the medical skills necessary to heal his fellow man. He doubtless felt misgivings about missionary work which sought exclusively to substitute one religion for another in a country already deeply spiritual. He understood, too, what has in recent years become a truism—that worthwhile souls require healthy bodies and free minds.

In any event, Gordon Seagrave acquired his medical training at Johns Hopkins, and in 1922 returned to Burma as a young doctor in search of a practice. He chose a most remote part of Burma—the town of Namkham, on the Chinese border, some 700 miles from Rangoon, where his family had lived before him for generations.

He chose this place on the basis of need, not comfort or acceptance. His greatest challenge was, consequently, that of proving he was needed to thousands of chronically ill but curable people who did not as yet believe they could be cured.

Through skillful surgery and constant teaching, he slowly spread the wonders of modern medicine in ever-widening circles throughout northern Burma and southwest China. His clinic became the center of a quiet upcountry revolution which gave new meaning to lives which would have otherwise been lost or wasted.

The challenge of disease was everywhere. Malaria was as common in Burma as colds in New York or Seattle. Also present in abundance were cholera, typhoid, tuberculosis, goiter—indeed, almost every variety of tropical and temperate disease known to the medical profession.

It is difficult to say which was Gordon Seagrave's greater contribution—the lives he healed and saved or the influence of his person and character on the Northern Shan peoples. Living in a place so remote from modern technological America, he has preserved qualities which sometimes seem rare among contemporary Americans.

Like the men who wrested our country from the wilderness, he is a pioneer oblivious to danger whether physical or intellectual. He is almost flintlike in his indestructibility.

For decades, disease has racked his body. War and insurrection have plagued his life and destroyed his hospital. Supplies, equipment, and money have been the exception rather than the rule.

The story recounted in his book is remarkable. With the advance of the Axis armies, Gordon Seagrave reacted instinctively and volunteered at the age of 47 without hesitation. In 1942 this extraordinary man marched out of Burma on foot with Stilwell,

and many months later marched back again under combat conditions, healing Allied soldiers and holding together large hospital units.

Since World War II, we have begun slowly to do as a people what Gordon Seagrave and others have done as individuals. We have begun to understand our critical stake in the peaceful economic and political development of free nations.

We need dedicated medical, educational, and technological experts in every field—men and women who are willing to pool their efforts in the service of villagers and workers everywhere. We need people who are willing to live and work in the tradition of Gordon Searrave.

Ahead of us is a vast frontier which only our young people of today can cross. Are we as a nation prepared to inspire and encourage these young people to undertake this historic effort? Are we willing to instill in them the sense of mission and to equip them with the necessary skills to help the people of Asia, Africa, and Latin America to create prosperous free societies within the framework of their own cultures?

The answers to these questions may well determine mankind's future course.

We have in our national heritage the ideals and examples for such action. Although there is only one Gordon Seagrave, let us hope that his brilliant example may inspire countless other Americans to similar deeds in the future.

This may well be his greatest and most enduring contribution.

Poland's Constitution Day

SPEECH

OF

HON. ROBERT N. GIAIMO

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 3, 1960

Mr. GIAIMO. Mr. Speaker, it is with great pleasure that I join my colleagues in paying tribute to the heroic Polish people who, on May 3, observed the 169th anniversary of the adoption of the Polish Constitution. It is with equal feelings of great sadness that I think of the many years since the promulgation of this Constitution during which it lay unused while tyrants enslaved the Polish people. Since the first partition of Poland in 1772, with the exception of a brief period between World Wars I and II, the Poles have known only strife and oppression.

The Polish people today live in hope; in hope of peace, liberty, and justice. Despite all adversities, such high hopes have never diminished in their hearts. Their desire for freedom and independence has been nurtured by the brilliance and devotion of Poland's patriots. In the vanguard of such patriotic heroes, Poland proudly boasts the great composer Frederic Chopin.

This year, in addition to commemorating the birth of her Constitution, Poland observes the 150th anniversary of the birth of Chopin, one of her noblest citizens. Therefore, I wish to insert into the RECORD a brief tribute to Chopin which was written by George J. Olszewski of New York and was distributed by the Polish American Congress. Mr. Olszewski's article follows in part:

In his youth Chopin was forced into exile by the Russians because of the revolutionary character of his music. Some 20 years before his birth Poland was partitioned by Russia, Prussia, and Austria and at the time of his birth, was dominated by occupying forces of these three powers as it is dominated today by the Communists.

Chopin found safe haven in Paris, where he continued to live and to compose in the freedom which France has traditionally extended to the persecuted of all nations. In exile Chopin was kept informed by family and friends of the dire plight of his native land. Throughout his life an urn of Polish earth remained in Chopin's room to remind him of his origin. He breathed into his music the undying love of an exile for his homeland.

This Polish son was not only an ardent and intense patriot but was God's chosen musical spokesman for a Poland ravaged by occupation forces. He devoted his life to the perpetuation of the spirit of freedom, liberty, and independence. For more than a century the voice of this patriot has inspired and guided his tortured nation through the pangs and ignominies of bloodshed and brutal occupation. His voice was the voice of music. It was the undying voice of Frederic Francois Chopin.

Throughout the intense 39 years of his life, the voice of Chopin's music rose as a hymn of liberty. It swept from his tiny cell on the Island of Majorca in the Mediterranean. It spread throughout France, England, and all of continental Europe. It penetrated the most remote corners of his natice land to plague the oppressors.

The occupation forces sought to suppress the compelling, arousing voice of Chopin's music. The Germans forbade its playing; the Russians crashed his piano into the streets of Warsaw. But the jangled crashing of Chopin's piano became transmuted into noble strains of the Revolutionary Etude itself. What a supreme weapon. The voice of Chopin could not be silenced, for music was the weapon beyond compare. The oppressors could not grasp it; they could not silence it; they could not tear it from the hearts of a proping sceling liberty.

hearts of a people seeking liberty.

Throughout the years this vital weapon has retained its mystic potency. During World War I and again when pagan hordes invaded Poland in World War II, it was the music of Chopin which majestically sounded the call to battle from the Warsaw radio and triumphantly led the resistance. Throughout the bitter struggle which followed, Polish sons and daughters were inspired to untold feats of heroism. They rose from prisons and concentration camps; from hidden caves and dugouts in the woods; from the sewers, rubble, and ruins of Polish cities. They struck a last blow for Polish independence to the penetrating, commanding, and inspiring themes of the "Polonaise Militaire." Chopin's music symbolized the united response of a nation which resisted the onslaughts of its oppressor.

The militant nationalistic spirit is but one facet of the genius of Chopin. He speaks not only for the physically and spiritually oppressed of his own nation but for all humanity. His music carries a message of spiritual tranquillity to the oppressed of all nations, for its appeal is varied-to some it may be emotional or spiritual, to others artistic and intellectual. All agree, however, on its benign influence, for the power of Chopin's compositions stems from the very foundation of music which is an expression of life itself. It stems from the forces of creation and the depths of the human soul. His music lives in the breath of the wind, in the murmur of the forests, and in the flow of the rivers. It lies in the very blood of our veins reflecting every sensation of joy, grief, sorrow, happiness, anguish, delusion, and ecstasy which grips the heart and soul of man. The melodies of Chopin's music flow unbroken across the starry pathway of the sky. They flow unbroken above the range of human speech and sweep the entire universe.

Chopin's music shall live on through the endless eons of time, its voice shall carry his message to countless unborn generations. As the heroes of the past have fought for their precious ideals and inherent rights, may Chopin's clarion message inspire the generations of the future.

Let us recall the words of another heroic Pole. Speaking at the opening ceremonies of the Chopin Centenary Festival in Poland in 1910, the great Ignace Paderewski said:

"Here, at this moment, there rises amid us, above us, the radiant spirit of one who was. What light, what valor, what energy were his. What strength of endeavor he showed in the midst of suffering. Through trouble and affliction, through heartache, through creative pain, he marked to his country's glory the burning trace of his existence. By a bloodless fight on the plains of peace, he assured the victory of Polish thought.

"Blessed be the past, the great, the sacred past, which brought him forth."

Today Poland hopes that once again it may be free. We share that hope. We hope, indeed we pray that Poland and all the nations of the world might enjoy that freedom and liberty which was, and is, embedded in the music of Frederic Chopin and in the spirit of the 3d of May.

Delhi Tech Forums Play Vital Role in Keeping Rural New Yorkers Informed

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. KENNETH B. KEATING

OF NEW YORK

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, May 4, 1960

Mr. KEATING. Mr. President, during the past 4 months, members of the Washington diplomatic corps have been journeying to a small college community in upstate New York, to participate in the Delhi Tech Forums on "World Trouble Spots and the United States." The Delhi Tech forums are a community and academic event of an unusual nature.

The Delhi Tech forums are sponsored by the State University of New York, Agricultural and Technical Institute, at Delhi. The Ambassadors of Ceylon, Ghana, and Israel, and high-ranking members of the Pakistan and United Arab Republic missions to the United States have presented their nations' viewpoints on major political and economic problems of their areas. The unusual feature of the Delhi Tech forums is that they have allowed hundreds of citizens of rural communities in upstate New York to see, hear, and question world diplomats on Asia, Middle East, and Africa.

Upstate New Yorkers braved all kinds of weather and traveled as far as 60 miles to attend the forums. Area newspaper publishers, leaders of both political parties, a State senator, clergymen, representatives of local and county government, teachers, students, and faculty from two neighboring colleges and 14

area high schools, heads of farm, religious, business, and civic groups, doctors, lawyers, farmers, businessmen, housewives, and Delhi Tech students and faculty have jammed the Delhi Tech gym. to hear each guest.

The Delhi Tech forums are a community service of the highest order. The college, by sponsoring the forums, is filling a real need of upstate citizens. The college is demonstrating in a very practical way the role that institutions must play in providing for an informed citizenry, which is vital to the preservation of democracy. The forums not only enrich Delhi Tech student life, but also are an effective and meaningful community service. For making available to our rural citizens, who often are forgotten, I salute the State University Agricultural and Technical Institute, at Delhi, N.Y., and all concerned with this pioneering series.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the Record two newspaper articles which report on the last two Delhi Tech forums

There being no objection, the articles were ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

[From the Oneonta (N.Y.) Star, Mar. 28, 1960]

AMBASSADOR'S SECRETARY—PAKISTANI CITES CLASH OF IDEALS

Delhi.—"One thing stands out which dominates the world scene today. That outstanding fact is the clash, the conflict of two ideologies, two ideas, two systems. One system is the totalitarian way. The other is the way of life of the free world."

Those were the opening words of the address of N. S. Khan, secretary to the Ambassador of Pakistan in the U.S.A., before the more than 600 persons who attended the fourth in the current series of forums on "World Trouble Spots and the United States."

The forums are being presented under the joint auspices of the general education division, and the Student Union, of the State University Agricultural and Technical Institute at Delhi.

Mr. Khan, who is attached to the Embassy of Pakistan, in Washington, D.C., came to Delhi, Thursday night, and addressed the forum in the place of His Excellency Aziz Ahmed, Ambassador of Pakistan to the United States, who was unavoidably detained at his post of duty.

For slightly more than an hour, Mr. Khan held his audience in a captive mood, after which he continued for 30 minutes to hold the close attention of the sizable gathering while he answered questions from the floor in rapid fire style. At the conclusion of the prolonged and enthusiastic round of spontaneous applause.

Mr. Khan, who was educated in India and the United States, started his foreign service career in the Pakistanian Consulate in New York City.

"I think," he said, "it would be useful by dividing my remarks into two categories, first, a broader framework, and second, a discussion of matters pertaining to Pakistan, why it came in to being, its plan, and its relations with the United States.

"What meaning does this conflict of ideologies have in Asia? The conflict between the two ideologies will be fought in the hearts and minds of men in Egypt. Which system can deliver the goods? That is going to determine the outcome of the difference between totalitarianism and the free world. That is the crux. The two systems

deeds. "Ever since World War II, some 800 mil-

lion people have gained freedom in Asia and This fact has released new desires Europe. and aspirations. People are no longer willing to accept their stations in life. New desires and energies befitting human beings have been released. A reasonable, decent standard of living is essential. This is what independence has done, to make people

desirous of improving their lot.
"Nationalism has blitzed the people to have self respect and dignity, and to obtain recognition, and to make some reasonable progress. What can we do with this force of nationalism? We want it to link itself with positive results. We must make nation-

alism serve a positive end.

Per capita income in Asia is about \$60 per annum. In the United States the per capita income is about \$2,400, or 40 times greater than the Asian. This shows you the poverty and undernourishment of the people. Another facet of this problem is population explosion. Population in our country is increasing at the rate of 2 percent per year. It will double its population in 30 years. To be frank, there are too many 30 years. babies. There is a high birth rate, but the death rate has reduced from 60 per 1,000 to 10 per 1,000. These facts highlight the problem of economic development.

"I would like to focus your attention on key things about Pakistan. It desires to exercise the right of self-determination. people felt they had a separate culture and stature. By vote, the people voted to have a separate state to develop their own way of

living.

Basic facts are, that Pakistan has a population of 85 million. It is the seventh largest country in the world, equal in area to France, Germany, Belgium, Italy, and Holland combined. Agriculture is the key industry of Pakistan. Sixty percent of its income is from agriculture; 80 percent of its agricultural income is earned through the exports of hides, skins, tea, and wool.

'In 1947 land reforms were begun in east Pakistan; sweeping land reforms have been introduced in west Pakistan. There is no expropriation of land. A fair compensation paid. Not only have land reforms been introduced but the government has taken

steps to prevent uneconomic units. 'We are the allies of the United States, being members of SEATO, which includes United States, France Great Britain, Pakistan, the Philippines, and Thailand. This

organization is for the defense of its members, and means that any encroachment on any one of the nations will be considered an

attack on all of them.

'We have just formulated our second 5year plan, in which Pakistan proposed to increase industry by 20 percent, production of foodstuffs by 50 percent and employment by 30 percent. We hope to offer new employment opportunities to 3 million people. Sixty percent of our plan will be financed by our own money, and 40 percent by foreign aid. We hope to double our national income by 1975."

In conclusion, Mr. Khan said, "We are living in difficult times when farm landmarks have disappeared; when there are no readymade answers to problems of the world. It is more easily said than done, but there are no solutions just around the corner. We must combine our material and economic resources in an attempt to reach

Following the forum meeting, in the school gymnasium, some 300 persons attending, made their way to the Student Union build ing where an informal reception was held in honor of Mr. Khan.

are not to be judged by promises but by [From the Onenonta (N.Y.) Star, Apr. 11, 1960]

> THE ARAB WORLD STORY-PRESS ATTACHÉ TALKS IN DELHI

> DELHI.-Dr. Mostafa Kamel, Ambassador of the United Arab Republic to the United States, was prevented from speaking before the fifth and final session of the Delhi Tech Thursday night, due to illness. Mohamed Habib press attaché of the Embassy spoke in the Ambassador's stead.

> a 30 minutes prepared speech, Mr. Habib gave the audience of some 600 persons, a general rundown on conditions in his country. Following his address, a lively question-and-answer period continued on

for a full hour.

Prof. Sheldon R. Merritt of the agriculture division of the college, who acted as moderator, was obliged to terminate the question-and-answer period, at its full height, in order that those attending might have the opportunity of meeting Mr. Habib at a reception tendered in his honor at the Student Union.

"After World War I and strangely, at the peace conference, Britain and France divided

the Arab area among themselves.

"In 1952, a primary goal of Arab nationalism was achieved when a group of Egyptian Army officers led the greatest popular revolution in Arab history—a revolution which was directed against all of the conditions of oppression and governmental decay from which the people had been trying to emancipate themselves for many decades.

"No longer were our people content to watch their affairs being steered by foreign powers or despotic monarchs or feudal politicians. The people were now determined to take hold of the helm themselves, and determine their own course in the future.

"To me, the revolution in Egypt was the most important fruition of Arab nationalism. It was an achievement of the goals of

generation after generation.

"After the treaty of 1954, which ended occupation of the Suez Canal Zone by British troops, the natural course should have been a beginning of a new era of friendship and cooperation but the natural course obstructed.

"I would like to stress the fact that we really and sincerely believe there is no genuine conflict between Arab nationalism and the interests of the United States. However, as in the case of all nations, and, for that matter, of all individuals, complete agree ment with our friends on all matters is not always possible.

"First, one point of difference between us lies in the creation of the State of Israel. The creation of the State of Israel has affected our relationship in a grievious way.

"To the Arab eye, and even to the eyes of many westerners, the whole story of Israel is that of injustice and lamentable mistakes. Whoever hoped the creation of Israel would bring about any fulfillment, or solve any problems, or settle any arguments must, by now, in the light of the facts, be terribly disillusioned.

"The Israel of today is nothing similar to, or even near the picture of her which some people visualized. Israel is not the peaceful haven for persecuted Jews. Her record in the United Nations, the first day of her existence, proves in a blunt way that she is neither peaceful nor a haven.

"Israel today is aggressive, ambitious, and apparaionist. The majority of her people expansionist. consist of militant elements, recruited from all parts of the world, by all sorts of means, to accomplish expansionable design.

"More than 80 percent of the land within her present borders belongs to the wretched refugees who are rotting on those borders,

a symbol of one of the greatest injustices in the history of man.

"We understand perfectly well that the West is entitled to organize a defense system to protect itself against aggression. We also understand that the other side has the same right.

"President Nasser said: 'I have nothing against the West. As a matter of fact, our natural inclination is toward the West, because of culture, religion, and the same roots of history. But, when they come to me with proposals of pacts and doctrines, I have to say no. I have promised my people that we will follow a road of positive neutrality, and that I will involve them in no entangling alliances.' "

Mr. Habib ended his address by saying, "During the past centuries, the Arabs have lived on the most friendly terms with the Americans. Let us hope that the future relations between the two nations will be even happier than they were in the past. All we want from you is your friendship."

Garden Club Favors Multiple Use

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JACK WESTLAND

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, May 4, 1960

Mr. WESTLAND. Mr. Speaker, the Bogachiel Garden Club of Forks, Wash., in my district has sent to me a copy of a letter in which it points out the relationship of the multiple-use principle to the economy of communities situated near or adjacent to national forests.

I agree with the club that wilderness areas have a place and are a good thing. I also believe that wilderness management is a part of the multiple-use concept. But, Mr. Speaker, I feel that action on wilderness legislation such as has been introduced in the Congress should be delayed until the National Outdoor Resources Review Board can make its report.

Under leave to extend my remarks I include in the RECORD the letter to which I have referred:

FORKS, WASH., April 27, 1960. Mrs. Jamie L. Johnson,

President, National Council of State Garden

Clubs, Dearborn, Mich.

DEAR MRS. JOHNSON: The Bogachiel Garden Club of Forks, Wash., has asked me to write to you to call your attention to the wilderness bill, which is now pending before Congress. Our club has done some research on this bill as it will affect our State directly if it is passed.

If you will look on a map you will see that Forks is on the edge of the Olympic National Park, most of which is wilderness area. The National Park Service believes in leaving nature entirely alone. They let trees mature and die to fall to the forest floor to rot as this is part of the natural cycle. They do not believe in tampering with nature in any

We also have much timberland in our area under the management of the National Forest Service. This agency scientifically manages its holdings as a crop. Thinning of trees is carried out where necessary to encourage healthy growth, mature trees are logged and taken out. They are not allowed to rot.

Trees like anything else reach maturity, then deteriorate and eventually die. The National Forest Service farms its trees to get the

most good from every acre.

With these two agencies, with their wide separation of beliefs, at work in our area we cannot help but form an opinion as to which is right. We are very strongly for National Forest Service management. They farm their timber so as to get the most use out of it for the most people. Campsites and recreational areas are a part of their pro-

A farmer in Iowa growing corn or wheat takes care of his crop-spraying, thinning, removing dead or diseased plants, and so forth. Timber in Washington State is a crop, our biggest crop and should be cared for as such. Our timbered areas receive from 50 to 140 inches of rain per year. The Forks area gets an average of 120 inches per year. Our evergreen trees grow accordingly. You can see why trees are considered a crop

As our forests bear no resemblance to the Eastern forests I felt that this preamble was necessary before discussing the wilderness bill. Our trees grow so thick and the underbrush so high and thick that it is impossible to walk through the forest unless you follow a well maintained trail. Therefore setting aside a wilderness area doesn't necessarily mean that the area will be opened up to be

Setting aside huge wilderness areas presents grave economic threats to our Nation and to the West in particular. If the wilderness bill passes it will assure the formation of a new wilderness area in Washington, the Northern Cascades National Park. park, if formed, would take in a total of 318,788 acres of operable forest land now located in the Mount Baker, Okanogan, Snoqualmie, and Wenatchee National Forests. The Forest Service estimates that 12,832 million board feet of timber is located on this acreage. This is in addition to the 1,279,000 acres of forest land already under reserve in our State. Together, they would total 1,598,000 acres, containing 64 billion board feet of timber. According to the Washington State Department of Commerce and Economic Development, 1 million board feet of timber harvest means on the average: Direct employment for 13.3 persons; a payroll of \$58,750; direct support for 45 persons; and forest products valued at \$180,000. is the product of 1 million board feet of timber harvest. Multiply this by 64 billion (the total amount of timber locked up in our State if this bill passes) and you can see What this would mean to our State's economy. If this new area is locked up in a Wilderness park reserved for a single purpose our economy will be forever denied the great potential of this timber which could be administered under the Forest Service's multiple-usage plan.

Our State is largely dependent on forest products for support. Looking ahead to the time when our population will be increasing at unprecedented rates, who can say that we should ignore the potential of 6,600 more Jobs with an annual payroll exceeding \$29 million in manufactured forest products each year.

We recognize that a certain amount of Wilderness areas is a good thing but feel that it should not be carried to an extreme. Only a small part of our neighboring Olympic National Park will ever be seen by human eyes. It is too vast and inaccessible for it to be practical to open it up.

Our club feels that anyone who believes in multiple use of forest lands must speak out now before it is too late. We will ap-Preciate it if your group will study the prob-lems involved in the wilderness bill. We

hope that after studying it you will wage an active campaign to prevent its passage. Very truly yours,

Secretary, Bogachiel Garden Club,

Waste Undermines America

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. FRANK J. LAUSCHE

OF OHIO

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Wednesday, May 4, 1960

LAUSCHE. Mr. President, Mr. whether or not they make any impression upon the Congress is debatable. nevertheless, voices from grassroots America continue to cry out in protest of the bigness of our Federal Government and its wastefulness, which apparently is an end product of such big-

These cries of protest of the lavishness and imprudence on the part of our Federal Government upon many occasions are well enumerated in an editorial entitled, "Waste Undermines America," which appeared in the April 29, 1960, edition of the Fort Wayne Journal Gazette, Fort Wayne, Ind.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the editorial be printed in the

Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WASTE UNDERMINES AMERICA

It is time that the American people took control of their Government.

It is too big.

It spends too much money on things which are not necessary to the general wel-

It spends too much on the wrong things. It exports billions of dollars every year to other countries under the guise of foreign aid.

While the regular aid bill is set at around \$4 billion annually, informed sources say that the total for this purpose is actually about \$10 billion each year.

There are several agencies which dole out these dollars in one way or another.

The Government in Washington is so huge that nobody really has control over it.

The President and the Congress cannot keep track of the far-flung bureaucracy. There is much evidence that nobody really

The President submits Federal budgets which are staggering to the imagination of our citizens.

Many Members of Congress seem to sit around and figure out how they can spend more.

Thus the Federal Government is completely out of control.

Agencies of one kind or another are created. Then they are forgotten. They become a law unto themselves and get tangled up in red tape.

The executive department includes them in its budget at their own figure and the request is approved in the mass of budget

What would George Washington and Benjamin Franklin and Thomas Jefferson think of the waste which goes on every day, year in and year out, in the Nation's Capital?

They would cry out in horror at this runaway Goverment which seems to go on the theory that if the price tag is high the serv-

ice is good.

That is a great fallacy and one which is

wasting the substance of America.

It is time the people awakened to this threat to their democratic way of life.

Of course, government cannot be as simple now as it was a century and one-half ago. Nobody contends that it should be.

But the maze of confusion in Washington today is a menace to the strength and dynamics of the American Nation.

The waste, the high taxes, and the bloated budgets are eating away the solid foundation upon which our country was founded.

It is time for action.

Need for Action To Save Passenger Train Service

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON, EDWARD A. GARMATZ

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 4, 1960

Mr. GARMATZ. Mr. Speaker, I wish to urge prompt enactment of H.R. 9742, the proposed Passenger Train Service Act of 1960, which I have daily become more and more convinced is legislation which is essential to protect our national security and the future transportation needs of the Nation against deliberate and unwise and intolerable cutbacks in passenger train service by railroad manage-

I have reached this decision, even though my State of Maryland, fortunately, is not one of those which to date has suffered directly from the effects of section 13a of the Interstate Commerce Act. However, while I say that Maryland has not suffered directly, it is clear that each day this provision of law remains in effect, the railroad passenger service which is available to citizens of Maryland on a national scale is being greatly curtailed, and thus it is no exaggeration to say that the people of Maryland who wish to use passenger trains for transportation throughout the Nation as a whole have suffered a considerable indirect adverse effect.

The clear fact is that a curtailment of the passenger train service available anywhere in the country, by any railroad, inevitably means some curtailment in the use of the services of other railroads-no matter how good a job those railroads individually may be trying to do. In my own hometown, the city of Baltimore, which is one of the great railroad centers of our Nation, we happen to have a railroad, the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad, which is one of the comparatively few that may be pointed to as still trying to provide safe and adequate passenger train service. In fact, the management of the B. & O. is one of the few which has actually been pioneering in new services, designed to make passenger train travel more attractive to its customers, through the introduction of fare reductions and new equipment such as the slumber coaches. Probably no other railroad in the East has done as much to promote its passenger operation as has the B. & O., and it has done a good job of providing good meal service, clean and reasonably well maintained equipment, and reasonable scheduling.

Nevertheless, despite this genuine interest in passenger train services and an apparently real desire to provide as outstanding a service to passengers as is possible, the B. & O. railroad has had to consolidate and eliminate some trains in recent years. This result, I am convinced, comes from the curtailment of railroad passenger service in other parts of the country, by other railroads. Passengers who would use the B. & O. services, with pleasure, for the start of a journey today are being discouraged from doing so, because they now find that trains which formerly linked with the B. & O. and on which they continued their journey either no longer are running or else are so rundown, dirty, and poorly maintained, or are scheduled at such inconvenient hours, that they are discouraged from making their journey by train altogether.

From this, it is readily apparent that even those railroads which still recognize their responsibility to the public as common carriers are frequently being thwarted in their efforts to maintain safe and adequate passenger train operations simply because other railroads—and I regret that I must include the majority of railroad managements in this indictment—are apparently determined to make passenger train travel so disagreeable to potential customers that business will fall off to a point where the train can be discontinued.

Mr. Speaker, I submit that it is unfair to those railroad managements which still are trying to make passenger train service in this country what it should be to allow the deliberate destruction of such service by other railroad management who want to get out of the passenger business.

Moreover, since mail and railway express operations are directly related to passenger train services, by allowing these irresponsible managements to determine the future course of the industry as a whole, we are only contributing directly to the rapid development of a situation in which railroad mail and express services, as well as passenger train service, will inevitably be extinguished. I believe that there are very few Members of Congress who have not already had some complaints directed to them by constituents about the decline in mail services in recent years, and I shudder to think of the prospects before us if this Congress permits the railroads to continue to pursue the policy of killing off passenger train services, which include the handling of mail, that are encouraged by the passenger train abandonment provisions of the Transportation Act of 1958.

From the very beginning of railroading in this country, the transportation policy which made this country the possessor of what once was the greatest railroad transportation network in the

world was one under which the railroads, in return for the many special privileges and benefits conferred upon them, were required to meet certain obligations to the public as common carriers. The railroads today still enjoy those special privileges, including the right to acquire by eminent domain any piece of property which you and I may own if it is needed for the railroads' operations. Yet, while we have preserved these privileges, Congress by its action has done much to destroy the balancing obligations of the railroads to provide needed services to the public.

In my view, the passeinger train discontinuance provisions of the Transportation Act of 1958 have completely reversed the traditional railroad transportation policies of this Nation. Let us not forget our history. Over the years, the railroads traditionally have been required to perform certain services at a loss, in exchange for the monopoly right conferred upon them to provide other services at a greater margin of profit. This has worked out well, and has made our railroad system one of the most efficient, profitable and dependable ever devised by any nation. In very few years of their history have the railroads ever run their passenger train services-by their unique bookkeepingat a profit, but this has been more than offset by the high profits which their operations as a whole have returned to railroad stockholders and investors. By adopting a totally new concept that the railroad passenger train operations-by the railroads' own unreliable bookkeeping-must show a profit before they can be required to continue such services, no matter how great the public's need for such services and without regard for the total profits of the railroad, the Transportation Act of 1958 departed from our traditional transportation policies. It did this, moreover, under the pretense that such action would strengthen our railroad transportation system, but the clear fact is that it has served only to rapidly deteriorate passenger train services and how threatens their extinction. Section 13a of the Interstate Commerce Act, I submit, defeats even the announced purpose behind its enactment.

The time has clearly come when Congress must decide whether it wishes to permit the passenger train services of this Nation to be almost completely eliminated except for a few crack trains. That, I believe, is the inevitable result that will be brought about unless Congress acts at this session to once again place railroad passenger train operations on a sound footing. In my view, H.R. 9742 is the only pending measure which goes far enough, by requiring the railroads to exert every reasonable effort to maintain safe and adequate passenger train service, to prevent the rapid extinction of the passenger train.

The enactment of this bill is, I believe, necessary to provide the means of meeting the future transportation needs of this Nation in peacetime, and it is a compelling urgency if the needs of national security are also to be met. We have before us a report of the House Armed Services Subcommittee which re-

veals that already our passenger train facilities have declined to a point which invites disaster in the event of another outbreak of hostilities. The number of railroad passenger cars has declined from 30,052 in 1939 to only 18,577 in 1958; yet all of us can remember how. even with the larger number of cars then available, there was a real shortage of rail passenger car space during World War II. With the great cutback in facilities which has taken place since that time, and with the far greater need which would exist for such facilities in any future war as the result of our greater population and probable wartime shortages of gasoline and other items needed for highway travel, the outlook for the future, from a defense standpoint, is bleak indeed.

I urge immediate enactment of H.R. 9742.

Error on Growth

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. PRESCOTT BUSH

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, May 4, 1960

Mr. BUSH. Mr. President, I call to the attention of Members of Congress a letter which appeared in the Washington Post of May 4, signed by Mr. Charles T. Stewart, Jr., of Washington, in which he responds partly to a letter published in the Post of April 21, written by Prof. Seymour Harris, of Harvard University. Mr. Stewart points out that the Harris letter contains a very simple error which completely changes the conclusion which a reader might reach.

I ask unanimous consent, therefore, that the letter of Mr. Stewart be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ERROR ON GROWTH

Seymour Harris' letter of April 21 contains a simple error which completely changes the conclusions which he, and the reader, may reach. He contrasts the effects of "tight" money and "loose" money on the rate of economic growth, concluding that "tight" money has slowed down the economy.

Unfortunately his "tight" money period is 1953-59, and his "loose" money period is 1947-52. This is a mistake. The accord between the Treasury and the Federal Reserve which initiated a tight money policy was reached in early 1951. I know this is awkward, because President Truman still had nearly 2 years to go in the White House, and because Senator Douglas was instrumental in bringing about the accord. But facts are facts.

The tight money period, therefore, should be 1951-59. The economic growth rate for this period was 2.8 percent. The loose money period should be 1945-50. The growth rate during this period was 0.3 percent. But what are the results of this correction? Practically no growth during the "loose" money period (and actual decline in income per capita); substantial growth thereafter.

Why does Professor Harris pick on 1947 as the initial year? It is not the first year of the Truman administration, nor of a loose money policy, nor of peace. In all these regards 1945 is a better choice.

This abuse of innocents at home wins no laurels for the economics profession. CHARLES T. STEWART, Jr.

WASHINGTON.

A Shaky Reed To Lean On

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. WILLIAM H. MEYER

OF VERMONT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, May 4, 1960

Mr. MEYER. Mr. Speaker, it has been my privilege to observe and listen while the distinguished gentleman from California, James Roosevelt, waged an uphill struggle against "trial by publicity." For a long time he has steadfastly and thoroughly sought to promote balance and moderation in a field of action where emotional fears and responses have endangered constitutional guarantees. He has demonstrated that, regardless of motive, justice is not promoted when the rights and reputations of American citizens are carelessly treated. He has shown that this can weaken America and everywhere degrade our reputation as a land of freedom.

The able and courageous gentleman from California has alerted many of us to the need for finding a better way in an area where misunderstanding is both dangerous and commonplace.

Under unanimous consent, Mr. Speaker, I include an editorial appearing in the New York Times of April 30, 1960, in the RECORD:

A SHARY REED TO LEAN ON

Just as the Senate had ultimately to take responsibility for the outrages committed in its name by the late Senator McCarthy, so the House is responsible for the actions of Representative Walter's Un-American Activities Committee.

This is the fundamental point, as we see it, of Representative James Roosevelt's massive attack on the committee in a House speech a few days ago, reinforced by the American Civil Liberties Union decision at its recent biennial conference in Chicago for a "maximum effort" to abolish it. Fortified by ample appropriations almost automatically renewed each year by the House, the committee pursues its heresy hunt, endangering constitutional guarantees in the process, weakening at home and abroad America's reputation as the land of the free-and all to what avail?

If the security of this Nation were dependent on the kind of exposure for ex-Posure's sake that the committee has repeatedly indulged in, whether investigating actors in New York or schoolteachers in California, then our country would really be in a dangerous condition. But few disinterested persons can any longer believe that this is where the real danger lies. It lies less in gumshoe subversion than in the corrosion of domestic complacency, less in the absurd handful of Communist doctrinaires who may still exist among us than in the unconscious tendency of many Americans to accept a second-place position in the World so long as it is cushioned in luxury.

There are dangers to the United States, emanating directly from Russia; but their true meaning is obscured rather than

illumined by the antics of Un-American Activities Committees. For such positive subversion as exists, the FBI is sufficient. The United States no longer needs-if it ever did need—the aimless pursuit of heresy that has led to a present total of nearly 40 "first amendment" cases, in which 4 of the principals are actually now in prison.

Administration Bows to Will of Utility Interests

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. STEPHEN M. YOUNG

OF OHIO

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Wednesday, May 4, 1960

Mr. YOUNG of Ohio. Mr. President, refusal of President Eisenhower to re-nominate William R. Connole to the Federal Power Commission once again highlights this administration's slavish dedication to big business interests.

It is significant that Commissioner Connole's concern for the welfare of the consumer earned the bitter enmity of the big utilities and thus made him persona non grata with the administration.

One of Ohio's great newspapers, the Akron Beacon Journal, has urged in an editorial that the people of America are entitled to a full explanation of why a man who stood for their interests is not asked to remain in his job.

I ask unanimous consent that the editorial be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Akron Beacon Journal, Apr. 25, 19601

CONSUMERS LOSE A FRIEND

The member of the Federal Power Commission who has been labeled "consumer minded" by the Nation's utility interests, is to be dropped from the regulatory body by the Eisenhower administration.

William R. Connole, now completing his first 5-year term on the Commission, has been notified that he will not be nominated for another term. The notice was given him by the White House several months ago and apparently has no connection with the more recent disclosures that Thomas Corcoran, representing a natural gas transmission company, had off-record talks with members of the Commission. Whether the Corcoran incident was stirred up to take the heat off the administration when consumer groups found out about Connole's dismissal, has been the subject of speculation in Washington.

However that may be, the dislike of utility interests for Connole has been no secret around governmental departments in Washington. The New York Times in a lengthy review of the Federal Power Commission situation said, "Sources usually identified with the gas and electric industry regulated by the Commission have suggested in print that Connole's stringent attitude as a regulator is what is making difficulty for him."

The enmity of utility spokesmen would appear to carry more weight than the friendship of members of other utility regulatory bodies around the Nation. At least the efforts of other "consumer minded" officials has made no dent in the decision of the White House to drop Connole from the Commission.

In New England there is a regional conference of utility regulator bodies. The commissions of the six States sent a petition to President Eisenhower urging Connole's reappointment. Connole is a political independent from Connecticut. In addition, the head of the California Public Utilities Commission wrote Senator CLAIR ENGLE on behalf of Connole.

On at least two occasions Connole has held out against the decisions of the Commission which he felt were not in the best interests of consumers, and his position later was justified by rulings of the Supreme Court.

Under the law, the Federal Power Commission may not have more than three of its five members from the same party. Since there now are three Republicans on it, and one vacancy, the President has to name a Democrat or find another independent.

There is a chance the plan to drop Connole may stir up repercussions in Congress, or there may be an airing of the situation when the House Legislative Oversight Committee takes up the Corcoran incident early in May. In any event, in our opinion, the people are entitled to a full explanation as to why the man who has stood up for their interests against the pressures of big utility companies, will not be given another term on a body originally set up for the protection and benefit of consumers.

Jobs for the Handicapped-Passports to Dignity

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. HARRIS B. McDOWELL, JR.

OF DELAWARE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, May 4, 1960

Mr. McDOWELL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I would like to include an essay by Miss Ann Marie Casey, a student at Padua Academy, Wilmington, Del. Miss Casey was selected this year's first-place winner in the essay contest sponsored by the Delaware Governor's committee on the employment of the physically handicapped.

The text of the essay by Miss Ann Marie Casey follows:

JOBS FOR THE HANDICAPPED-PASSPORTS TO DIGNITY

(By Miss Ann Marie Casey)

Time: Yesterday, a bitter winter evening. Place: A windy corner in any city, in any State.

Characters: You, me, Mr. and Mrs. America, and one lonely man, sick in spirit as well as in body.

Actions: He begs, shamefully. We give,

sorrowfully.

Result: A small donation to help provide

His will, his nourishment for his body. His will, his spirit? Well, perhaps it is to late to help these.

But is it too late for us today to help that man and the millions like him who, because of some physical handicap, have lost all their will to live? No; for we Americans it is not too late. We can follow the example of those before us who have annihilated these tragic scenes, advancing toward despair. They have successfully succeeded in instilling new life into these men and women. How did they do this? They gave them a purpose for living, a passport to future happiness.

Webster has defined the word passport as a "license or permit to leave one's country for travel in a foreign land." Therefore, should we take it to mean that the passport of a handicapped person is official permission to travel? No; for theirs is a different kind of passport. Instead of taking them to far away countries their passports transport them to a land of equality. It takes them into the world of happy human beings, a world in which they rightfully belong. But exactly what is their passport? It is the greatest gift that can be offered to a handicapped person. It is the chance to occupy themselves with useful work. Yes; the everyday jobs that we, the blessed non-handicapped take for granted, can be a source of explicit happiness for them. Employment is their bridge back to a life in which they may walk with their heads held high in a world where they may live with pride and dignity.

Work is one of nature's greatest doctors. The physically impaired, while at work, have some chance to forget their disablement by concentrating on the particular jobs at hand. For example, the thousands of disabled veterans returning from the war might have lain in hospitals for months or years. But instead, through the help of various rehabilitation agencies, they are now useful, efficient workers, earning a regular salary and able to supply their families with all the necessities

of life.

The handicapped do not want merely our pity, nor can only our financial donations satisfy them. Neither can they substitute for the dignity of a productive life. They are self-respecting people who desire only the opportunity to display their abilities, not their disabilities. They need a chance to regain their lost self-respect and equality with all the self-supporting members of our society by performing profitable labor.

It is this opportunity of steady employment that breeds a growth of self-respect and self-fulfillment which inspires each to do his best at anything he undertakes.

That the handicapped are efficient and dependable workers has been proven again and again. In facts taken in over 100 establishments throughout the United States, the handicapped won over the nonhandicapped 101 to 100. The Department of Labor, with the Veterans' Administration, made a 2-year study of the work of 11,000 physically handicapped working with 18,000 nonhandicapped on the same kinds of jobs. They proved, without doubt, that the handicapped were just as efficient, reliable, stable, careful, and versatile as the nonhandicapped. Just recently, it has been demonstrated in other industries and confirmed by official studies, the impaired compared more than favorably with the nonhandicapped. Also, in 1948, a study at the Oak Ridge National Laboratory, Oak Ridge, Tenn., showed no significant difference between the two groups.

Most important, let us not forget the war period during World War II. Because of a critical shortage of workers, industries and businesses utilized the physically handicapped on a scale never before known in this Nation. The results were so impressive that they made obsolete the hiring policies and practices which regard the handicapped as marginal or bottom-of-the-barrel labor. It is now known that successful employment of the handicapped is directly dependent upon the workers evaluation and placement procedures and techniques used by the employer in building and maintaining his entire work

The late Henry Ford, of the famous Ford Co., often stated his belief that no man was disabled if he had courage to go ahead and the willingness to do his level best in whatever he undertook. He believed that what a handicapped person needed most was a chance to become self-sustaining and above all, to play a productive role in society.

The above is sound proof of the tremendous success of the efforts of the handi-

capped throughout the country. But without the continued aid of all of us and our trust in their ability, they cannot continue on their road of accomplishments. If they are striving so very hard to fulfill their state in life, can we do less than help in every possible manner, especially since our way has been made clear?

Also, let us not forget that we may also derive benefits from these "passports" we issue. Because of our help, we can gain eternal merit in heaven as well as receive the valuable services of capable workers. Other than individual merit, the church, the state, the nation, that has reached out to help her less fortunate brothers is worthy of the honor and respect of every other country in the world and will reap the graces of the Heavenly Father.

In conclusion, I think this following statement of Mr. Earl Bunting, managing director of the National Association of Manufacturers, ably expresses all that I have tried to convey: "There are few things as basic as the individual's desire to take his proper place in society as a productive and self-supporting citizen. This is, in fact, at the root of our democratic society. There is no longer any question as to the competence of workers physically handicapped because we have seen that, when placed in jobs for which they are properly trained, they become satisfactory and valued employees."

Commitments to the People

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. J. ALLEN FREAR, JR.

OF DELAWARE

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, May 4, 1960

Mr. FREAR. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a most interesting article entitled "Commitments to the People," published in the Wall Street Journal of today, May 4, 1960.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

COMMITMENTS TO THE PEOPLE

It has become an annual ritual for the President to appeal to the people in an effort to head off sizable congressional cuts in his foreign aid program. This time, though, on the same day he made his appeal he told another audience that world peace and stability depend on the soundness of the American dollar.

The juxtaposition is interesting. Plainly Mr. Eisenhower does not care to see the connection between massive foreign aid and the threats to the soundness of the dollar. Yet it is a fact that foreign aid is a major contributor to this country's serious and continuing deficits in international payments, deficits which very well could undermine the standing of the dollar.

So if world peace and stability depend on the soundness of the dollar, then it cannot be that world peace and stability depend on foreign aid. But that is what the President contends

Indeed, it seems to us one trouble with Mr. Elsenhower's appeal is that it claims far too much for foreign aid. The President not only passes over the payments deficit; he insists that any significant reduction would have consequences close to catastrophic, jeopardizing defense and weakening resistance to communism. Such assertions, based on an arbitrary dollar figure, tax credibility.

The blunders and waste of foreign aid are dismissed as isolated instances of malfunctioning even though they are hardly isolated and some of them have ripened into scandals. Some of the most important questions about foreign aid are not even considered; such as whether it can in fact transform a backward, over-populated economy into a relatively prosperous one. Mr. Eisenhower's speech seems to assume that foreign aid can work such wonders; realistic on-the-spot appraisals indicate otherwise.

For an example of extreme phraseology, here is one passage from the address: "We can, here at home, arm to the teeth, and yet go down in total defeat if we let the rest of the world be swallowed up by an atheistic imperialism." That is certainly true, but who is suggesting that this is the alternative to any change in foreign aid?

What the critics of foreign aid are suggesting, we believe, is that it is too costly for the financial health of this country. More than that, they are suggesting that the program should be fundamentally reformed. It has simply been allowed to grow, with one appendage after another added, until by now no one could be expected to know all the alphabetical agencies involved.

In this haphazard process, the legitimate function of foreign ald has been lost sight of; that function is to accomplish a specific foreign policy objective in a specific place. Instead we have an indiscriminate outpouring to all and sundry, apparently on the theory that mere handouts will promote some vague and undefined national interest. Other prosperous nations are not so foolish with their wealth. In the process, too, the Government has in effect lost control of its foreign ald program, because without precise purposes it cannot purposefully choose, and it comes to fear the wrath of the recipients if any change is proposed.

This Administration, like the one before it, has never undertaken a basic rethinking and reform of foreign aid. Surely the American people are entitled to that. And speaking of what they are entitled to, Mr. Eisenhower makes the rather startling argument that continued undiluted aid is a commitment not only by but to the American people because both parties have endorsed it in principle.

In our recollection the past commitments were something different. Economic aid was sold to the country as a temporary program to get war-ravaged nations on their feet. Military aid was sold as a temporary program to get the wheels of rearmament going; then the nations concerned would take over their own defense. Today, years and years later, both programs are going full blast.

The Government's overriding commitment, in any case, is not to other nations. It is, as Mr. Eisenhower recognized in his other speech, to husband this Nation's resources and preserve its money.

Sackcloth Upholstery on a Lincoln

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. LESTER R. JOHNSON

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 26, 1960

Mr. JOHNSON of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I would like to include in the Record the following editorial by Miles McMillin, political writer for the Capital Times in Madison, Wis.:

SACKCLOTH UPHOLSTERY ON A LINCOLN (By Miles McMillin)

If you want to know the kind of thing that changes people into beatnicks, follow the campaign trail of Phil Kuehn and Jack Olson, two handsome young products of Wiscousin business prosperity who are in contention for the Republican nomination for Governor.

They have both been going about the State making a great to-do about the ago-nies business endures in its brave effort to operate here.

Olson appears lately to be making an effort to disassociate himself from this theme but it is doubtful whether he can do it. Talking of the ordeal of business is part of a Republican's heritage, his environment, and

his compulsive instincts.

They have always talked this way, just as a hound automatically bays when he strikes the spoor of the fox. There are students of this phenomenon who insist they have observed Republican orators lose their train of thought and lapse into an automatic 10-minute discussion of this theme While trying to remember the point eluding them.

It makes no difference which party is in control of government. Through 20 years of complete Republican domination they recited this litany of gloom and doom.

Wisconsin is not unique in this respect. once remarked to a meeting of Democratic Politicians from various States that they were lucky to be getting all the business the Republicans claimed was moving out of Wisconsin.

All of them swore that the Republicans were making the same claims in their States. It was Lieutenant Governor vaag, of Minnesota, I believe, who remarked that the "greatest thing about American

industry is its mobility."

If ever there were two glittering examples of the fallacy of the GOP doctrine they are Kuehn and Olson. The cold storage business, which Kuehn's father founded in 1915, produced enough to provide Phil with an education at the Milwaukee Country Day School, a private school which is not known for catering to the economic destitute. He went on to Cornell, one of the best of the private universities.

In the years since Phil took over, the business has grown and now has branches in

Marshfield and Waukesha.

Much of this expansion took place when Phil was devoting considerable time to politics, as chairman of the Milwaukee GOP organization and later as State GOP chairman. He lives in a comfortable suburban home in Whitefish Bay and owns a farm in

Ozaukee County.
His business is currently so robust it runs Itself while he devotes virtually full time to

campaigning.

Olson has also had a successful business career, building on the Olson Boat Co., which his father founded. He is in the souvenir shop business, operates a motel, amphibious ducks and has lately joined up with the Wisconsin Alumni Research Foundation in other business ventures.

He customarily drives a huge Lincoln with an H-1 license plate. He is not one to flaunt his prosperity, however. During his cam-paigning he drives a Chevrolet, lent to him by a Wisconsin Dells auto dealer who chose this way to demonstrate his enthusiasm for Jack's candidacy.

Despite the fact that he is spending almost full time campaigning, business has been so good he has invited the members of the Wisconsin Press Association to be the stop-over guests of his boat company as they make their way wearily northward for the June convention at Eagle River.

Only the cynical would conclude that this has anything to do with his campaign. There is no foundation for the report that one of the features of the preconvention hospitality will be a lecture to the editors about the sins of diskjockeys who accept

Incidentally, the editors are also scheduled for preconvention hospitality at Wisconsin Rapids, a short way up the river from the The bookmakers are giving odds that at this pace the tired editors will not make Eagle River until Christmas.

I am willing to give Jack credit for sincerely wanting to break with the Republican habit of discrediting Wisconsin's business climate.

And I am confident that he will justify my faith, will turn the Chevrolet back and finish up his campaign in that beautiful, big Lincoln.

Can you think of a better way to advertise Wisconsin's favorable business climate than to campaign for Governor in a Lincoln long enough for a bowling alley?

Resolution on Multiple Use of Forests

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ALEXANDER WILEY

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Wednesday, May 4, 1960

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, today there are more than 180 million acres of public land within the national forest system. Across the Nation, these forests are a significant part of our watershed, range, outdoor, recreation, wildlife and fish, and other programs.

An ever increasing population-now at approximately 180 million-requires that we exercise foresight in management and utilization practices of our forest resources. Unless this is done, there will not be sufficient reserves for future generations.

During the years, there has been considerable controversy over the use of forests or public lands-centering mainly about questions of whether or not there should be multiple use of such resources.

Today, I was pleased to receive a copy of a resolution adopted by the Society of American Foresters, Wisconsin-Michigan section, endorsing legislative proposals in Congress for the multiple use of public forest land. Reflecting the views of this fine organization. I believe the resolution deserves the consideration of Congress and I ask unanimous consent to have it printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the resolution was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SOCIETY OF AMERICAN FORESTERS, WISCONSIN-MICHIGAN SECTION-RESOLUTION

MULTIPLE-USE BILLS

Whereas the 180 million acres of public land within the national forests contain a significant part of the Nation's outdoor recreation, range, timber, watersheds, and wildlife and fish; and

Whereas these renewable natural resources and services within the national forests, due to increasing population and better accessibility, are rapidly growing in value to the social and economic welfare of the Nation; and

Whereas the policy of managing these resources for multiple use and sustained yield by the Forest Service will yield the maximum of products and services from these lands in the long run; and

Whereas there has been no legislative action by the Congress directing the Secretary of Agriculture to manage outdoor recreation, range, timber, watersheds, and wildlife and fish on the national forests for multiple use and sustained yield: Now, therefore, be it Resolved, That the Wisconsin-Michigan

Section of the Society of American Foresters urges passage by the Congress of the multiple-use bills, S. 3044 and H.R. 10572 and H.R. 10708 and H.R. 10776; and be it further Resolved, That copies of this resolution be

sent to appropriate committees of the Congress with the request that it be included in hearing records on the above-mentioned bills; and be it further

Resolved, That copies be sent to all Members of Congress from Wisconsin and Michigan with the request that they actively support and urge passage of these bills.

Health Care Recommendations Proposed by the Administration

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN W. BYRNES

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, May 4, 1960

Mr. BYRNES of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, the Honorable Arthur S. Flemming, today appeared before the Committee on Ways and Means in executive session and outlined the structure of the administration's proposed plan for meeting the health care requirements of our aged citizens.

Mr. Flemming's prepared statement has been authorized for public release. So that it may be available to the membership of the House I will insert the Secretary's statement at this point:

STATEMENT BY ARTHUR S. FLEMMING, SECRE-TARY OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE, BEFORE THE HOUSE WAYS AND MEANS COM-MITTEE OF THE U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTA-TIVES, WEDNESDAY, MAY 4, 1960

Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, I am glad to appear this morning to present the administration's plan to provide health and medical care for the aged.

The executive branch of the Government fully recognizes and accepts the fact that the Federal Government should act in this field. A careful consideration of facts such as the following can lead to no other conclusion:

- 1. There are 16 million persons aged 65 and over-4 million pay income taxes. Of the 12 million who do not pay income taxes, 2.4 million are recipients of public assistance.
- 2. A 1958 study identified 60 percent, or 9.6 million, of the aged as having incomes of \$1,000 or less, and 80 percent, or 12.8 million, as having incomes of \$2,000 or less. These figures should be discounted, because they include situations where a wife has an income of less than \$1,000 and the husband has a substantial income, and because they include situations where other members of the family have substantial resources. Nevertheless, we are dealing with a group in

our population which contains an unusually large percentage of persons with very limited resources.

3. A 1957-58 study shows that the average annual expenditures of this group for health and medical expenses was \$177, not including nursing home care, as compared with \$84 for the rest of the population. But it is important to note that 15 percent of the persons 65 and over, or 2.25 million, had total medical expenditures, on the average, of \$700 per year, not including nursing home care. The expenditures for this group represented 60 percent of the total medical care expenditures of the aged. Since 1957, costs for medical care have increased at least 20 percent. Also, it should be noted that the high-average expenditure for the aged is attributable to the fact that \$6,000 is a conservative estimate of total medical expenditures incurred by persons who are continuously ill for an entire year.

4. According to the Health Insurance Association of America, approximately 49 percent of the persons in this age group have some kind of health and medical insurance. But, only a comparatively small percentage of this group have policies that protect them against long-term illnesses. This is true of those who are covered by group policies, as well as those who are covered by individual policies. There is a trend in the direction of extending beyond the retirement age provisions in group policies that cover major medical expenses. There is also a trend in the direction of making individual policies that cover major medical expenses available to persons 65 and over. These policies call for payment of premiums ranging from \$60 to \$130 a year per individual. They include deductible provisions ranging from \$250 to \$500. They ordinarily establish annual or lifetime dollar ceilings on benefits. Most contain coinsurance provisions of 20 to 25 percent.

It follows, therefore, that a large percentage of persons aged 65 and over do not have protection against long-term illnesses, and either cannot obtain protection at rates they can afford to pay, or cannot obtain adequate protection.

In the light of these facts we have developed a program that is designed to achieve just one objective; namely, to provide approximately 12 million persons 65 and over who have limited resources with the opportunity of taking steps which, if taken, will enable them to cope with the heavy economic burden of long-term or other expensive illnesses.

We have developed this proposal in the belief that any program undertaken by the Federal Government in this area should meet the following tests:

1. It should provide the individual with the opportunity of deciding for himself whether or not he desires to be a participant in the program.

 It should make available a system of comprehensive health and medical benefits which provide adequate protection against the costs of long-term and other expensive illnesses.

3. It should make available all the benefits of the program to public assistance recipients at public expense.

4. It should provide for some financial contribution on the part of those participants who are not on public assistance.

 It should provide private insurers with the opportunity of expanding their programs of extending health protection to the over-65 age group.

6. It should provide for a Federal-State partnership in dealing with the problem.

We have developed a program that is consistent with these guidelines. We believe that if it is put into operation, it will provide the aged with the type of assistance they most need. We want to make it clear, however, that we will be glad to discuss any suggestions for improvements that are consistent with the consistency of the cons

sistent with the basic guidelines that I have just outlined.

Specifically, we recommend that the Federal Government assist the States in establishing a medicare program for the aged in accordance with the following specifications:

1. Eligibility for participation in program: The program would be open to all persons aged 65 and over who did not pay an income tax in the preceding year and to taxpayers 65 and over whose adjusted gross income, plus social security, railroad retirement benefits, and veterans pensions, in the preceding year did not exceed \$2,500 (\$3,800 for a couple).

2. Eligibility for benefits:

Persons eligible for participation in the program would be entitled to the benefits of the program if they had paid an enrollment fee each year of \$24 and after they had incurred health and medical expenses of \$250 (\$400 for a couple).

Public assistance recipients would be entitled to the benefits of the program without paying the enrollment fee and with the States paying the initial \$250 of expenses under the regular public assistance program.

3. Benefits:
The medicare program for the aged would pay 80 percent (100 percent for public assistance recipients) of the costs of the following comprehensive health and medical services for all participants who had established their eligibility, and where such services have been determined to be medically necessary:

(a) Hospital care, 180 days.

(b) Skilled nursing home care, 365 days.(c) Organized home care services, 365 days.

(d) Surgical procedures.

(e) Laboratory and X-ray services, up to \$200.

(f) Physicians' services.

(g) Dental services.

(h) Prescribed drugs, up to \$350.

(i) Private duty nurses.

(j) Physical restoration services.

4. Optional benefits:

Each State would provide that an aged person eligible for participation in the program could elect to purchase from a private group a major medical expense insurance policy with the understanding that 50 percent of the cost would be paid for him from Federal-State matching funds up to a maximum of \$60. The States would be responsible for establishing the minimum specifications for such policies.

5. Continuation of eligibility:

Once a person has qualified for participation in the medicare program for the aged, he can maintain his eligibility by the payment of the annual fee. If his income rises above the figure specified for eligibility, his fee would be raised on a graduated basis for each \$500 of increase in income until the fee covered the full per capita cost of the benefits made available to him.

6. Administration:

The medicare program for the aged would be administered by the States, under a State plan approved by the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. The State would be authorized to use appropriate private organizations as agents.

7. Financing:

The governmental cost of the program would be financed by the Federal Government and the States on a matching basis. Federal matching would be 50 percent on the average with an equalization formula ranging from 33½ to 66¾ percent for the Federal share.

8. Cost:

Assuming that all States participate and that 80 percent of those who are eligible enroll for the program, it is estimated that the annual Federal-State cost of this plan would be \$1.2 billion with the Federal share being estimated at \$600 million. There would be some reduction to the extent that

persons eligible for participation in the plan elected to purchase insurance policies providing for the optional benefits. It is impossible to estimate the number of persons who would elect the optional benefits.

On the other hand, however, it should be noted that increases in costs and increased utilization of facilities over and above that included in the cost estimates could lead to an increase in these estimates. Also, there would be some increase in Federal payments for public assistance. This increase might reach \$100 million per year.

The make ready cost during fiscal year 1960-61—including grants to States to help them develop their programs—would be about \$5 million. The fiscal year 1961-62 cost would depend on many factors. We estimate that this would run in the neighborhood of \$400 million, of which \$200 million would be the Federal share.

We believe that the plan which I have just described would achieve the following re-

 It would permit the individual to decide for himself whether or not he will participate in the program.

It would preserve the opportunity for private insurors to continue to demonstrate their ability to develop major medical expense programs for the aged.

It would divide the cost equitably among the entire population by providing for financing the Federal share out of general revenues, contrasted with a payroll tax that places the entire burden on earnings of less than \$4,800.

4. It would provide a wide range of benefits without placing a premium on institutional care as opposed to alternative lower cost services. Thus, it would facilitate the most effective and economical use of available medical facilities and services.

5. It would provide a built-in incentive for judicious use of health facilities and services by requiring the individual (other than public assistance recipients) to share in the cost above the deductible of \$250.

Most important, however, the program is designed in such a manner as to pinpoint the area of greatest need; namely, the large number of persons over 65 who do not have the resources or the opportunity to obtain adequate protection against the staggering financial burdens of long-term illness. This is the most serious problem in the financing of health care for the aged.

This plan guarantees comprehensive health and medical services to all aged public assistance recipients in States that become part of the program. It is available to all persons in the lower income brackets, regardless of whether they happen to be covered by social security. It identifies persons who may benefit by the program on the basis of a simple and easily determined eligibility requirement, without subjecting the individual to a detailed and involved income or means test.

In summary, we believe that the medicare program for the aged will concentrate governmental assistance in such a manner as to provide the most effective and most responsible use of Federal and State funds. We believe this program represents a practical solution to a pressing human problem.

Tapco Design Wins Sun Power Chance

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. FRANK J. LAUSCHE

OF OHIO

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, May 4, 1960

Mr. LAUSCHE. Mr. President, Ohio. long noted and often worldwide ac-

claimed for its leadership in the development of modern communication and travel, again through its industrial ingenuity and progress takes pride in another great forward step, this time into outer space.

Today there is being developed, and soon to be manufactured in the plants of the Thompson Ramo Wooldridge, Inc., of Cleveland, Ohio, an outer space craft sun-powered electric generator, capable of generating 3,000 watts of electricity for at least a year up in space. This device is known as Sunflower I.

Ohio, due to its geographical location, terrain, and waterways, even with the first westward migration of a century and a half ago, became a bridge for the connecting of New England with the new West. It was to have been the western terminus of the old Chesapeake & Ohio Canal. Later, when railroads pushed Westward, the Baltimore & Ohio traversed its lands.

It was Ohio that gave both light and flight to the world; Thomas Alva Edison, of Milan, Ohio; the Wright brothers, of Montgomery County, Ohio; and it was Charles Kettering of Ohio who gave the self-starter to the automotive industry.

The development of Ohio's most recent pride is well described in an article which appeared on April 20, 1960, in the Cleveland Plain Dealer, which I ask unanimous consent to be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

TAPCO DESIGN WINS SUN POWER CHANCE

With a parasol-shaped design and a price tag of \$4,900,000, the Tapco group of Thompson Ramo Wooldridge here won first chance to get the job of developing a sun-powered electric generator for spacecraft.

The National Aeronautics and Space Administration will negotiate with the Cleveland firm on the system, to be called Sunflower I, the Associated Press reported from

Washington last night.

The TRW proposal was chosen out of 23 designs and cost estimates.

A Tapco spokesman said: "It was a highly

A Tapco spokesman said: "It was a highly competitive situation. Naturally, we are gratified.

"All these devices to gather energy from the sun's rays are either shaped like an umbrella or else they have paddle wheels such as you have on Pioneer V or Discoverer VI.

"This one is a giant parasol, a parabola, used to gather solar heat and concentrate it on a boiler containing liquid mercury.

"That turns the mercury to vapor, and the vapor turns a turbine which generates electricity. Then the mercury vapor is condensed and used again. It's a closed system.

"Mercury works better in a closed system than other things like water, and takes less space. And gravity doesn't affect it. Mercury vapor will climb uphill against gravity."

The NASA announcement said that the Sunflower I was expected to generate 3,000 watts of power for at least a year up in Space.

It is hoped, the NASA statement said, to be done with a 700-pound device which can be housed in the nose of Centaur or Saturn rocket-launched vehicles and to have potential uses in satellites and in lunar or planetary spacecraft.

The parasol would be folded at launching. Once up, the petals would spread out to a diameter of about 32 feet.

The scheme would include an energy storage unit so that the device could continue putting out power even while the spacecraft was in the shadow of the earth, unable to gather solar heat.

This was the second space research contract NASA announced this week. Monday it disclosed a \$500,000, 1-year engineering and development study of an electric rocket engine to power spacecraft.

Avco Corp. and General Electric won that

Mr. LAUSCHE. Mr. President, the Space Technology Laboratories, a west coast subsidiary of the Thompson Ramo Wooldridge, Inc., has also made marked accomplishments in space projects. I ask unanimous consent that they also be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the matter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Pioneer V: Designed and constructed at Space Technology Laboratories and launched under its direction for the National Aeronautics and Space Administration, and the Air Force Ballistic Missile Division. It includes man's first interplanetary communication system, and this, too, was designed and constructed at Space Technology Laboratories. Pioneer V instrumentation provides for the collection and transmisson of 14 different kinds of scientific data about the nature of the solar system and the space environment. It is expected to continue sending information back to earth from distances up to 50 million miles. Pioneer V is being tracked by the Space Technology Laboratories global network of ground stations.

Tiros I: Space Technology Laboratories provided systems engineering and technical direction of the launched vehicle, which is a television weather observation station. On command from earth, it takes pictures from any segment of its orbit and either relays them immediately, or stores them on tape until called for by a ground receiving station.

Transit IB: This is the world's first navigational satellite. Space Technology Laboratories provided systems engineering and technical direction of the launched vehicle and launch operation. In addition, Space Technology Laboratories developed, produced, and instrumented a second-stage vehicle capable of restarting its engine in flight and correcting its trajectory on command from earth. This Space Technology Laboratories-developed second-stage included a propellant capacity twice that of any predecessor, and thus eliminated the need for a third-stage rocket theretofore mandatory for advanced space probes.

For the Transit project, Space Technology Laboratories added a new element to its ground monitor network—the free world's first mobile tracking and telemetry station. This new unit includes the largest known portable radio telescope. It can be air lifted to any location in the free world.

Polish Constitution Day

SPEECH

HON. HENRY S. REUSS

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 3, 1960

Mr. REUSS. Mr. Speaker, the 3d of May 1960, marks the 169th anniversary of the adoption of the Polish Constitution. I join with my colleagues in the Congress, with Americans of Polish descent, and with the countless friends of the Polish people everywhere, in celebrating this great document's adoption. The Polish Constitution, patterned after our own Constitution, remains even today a symbol of man's eternal struggle for freedom and justice.

The Polish people, ruled today by a government subservient to the Soviet Union, have never lost their sense of nationalism and their dedication to the principles of liberty.

And this observance today in the Congress of the United States will, we devoutly hope, serve as a message to these brave people that we in America have the deepest sympathy and concern for them; that we do not accept the present condition of Poland; and that we shall work constantly toward the goal of total freedom for the Polish people.

The Polish people have been forced before to relinquish their rights. But I am confident that, as in the past, the Polish love of liberty, justice, and freedom will prevail over despotism.

Keep Rim on the Job

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. WILLARD S. CURTIN

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, May 4, 1960

Mr. CURTIN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I desire to insert in the Record an editorial which appeared in the Morning Call, a newspaper of Allentown, Pa., on May 2, 1960. This editorial refers to Dr. Charles H. Boehm, the present superintendent of public instructions of Pennsylvania, and mentions some of his accomplishments during his tenure of office.

The editorial follows:

[From the Allentown (Pa.) Morning Call, May 2, 1960]

KEEP HIM ON THE JOB

It was not unexpected, controversial though he has been, that Dr. Charles H. Boehm was reappointed Pennsylvania's superintendent of public instruction.

It should be just as rational an assumption that his appointment for a second 4-year term as the State's chief educational officer will be approved when his name is submitted to the Pennsylvania Senate in June.

For, regardless of how many toes he has stepped on, this veteran educator who knows schools and their teachers and their pupils and their needs both as a teacher and as a district administrator has done more in 4 years to bring about needed changes in the tax-supported educational system of the Commonwealth than has been done in any previous decade.

Under his leadership the public school curriculum has been revised to place more emphasis where it should be placed—on such subjects as English and science and mathematics and government. He has sought to assure a supply of better trained teachers by insisting that teachers colleges strengthen course offerings in the subjects that are to be taught in elementary and

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secondary schools and has raised standards for permanent teaching certificates.

He has dared to agree publicly with what many pupils and parents and other observers long have contended—that not every teacher is infallible because he is a teacher, that not every teacher is doing the teaching job that is expected, and that there are misfits in this as in every other vocation and profession.

He has refused to be a rubber stamp for some of the grandiose and exorbitant tax subsidy proposals supported by such groups as the Pennsylvania State Education Association consisting of some 70,000 teachers and administrators.

For some of these forthright actions he has, of course, been criticized and censured. Generally, however, the people of Pennsylvania—and particularly those who have children attending its schools and its State supported colleges—would support what he has done and is doing because any fair and unbiased appraisal would find more than ample evidence that under his leadership the educational program is being strengthened.

If nothing else he has, in the words of a spokesman for the State school directors association, succeeded in counteracting an attitude of complacency about education in Pennsylvania and has called attention to a lot of things that needed to be changed.

For this reason alone his reappointment by Governor Lawrence—who also has been criticized by the teachers' lobby—deserves commendation and approbation.

Gates Takes Decisive Role in Joint Chiefs' Deadlocks

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. LESLIE C. ARENDS

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, May 4, 1960

Mr. ARENDS. Mr. Speaker, on Sunday, May 1, 1960, there appeared in the New York Times an article entitled "Gates Takes Decisive Role in Joint Chiefs' Deadlocks," by Hansen W. Baldwin, the noted military commentator of the Times. The article was inserted into the Congressional Record of May 2, 1960, by the senior Senator from Massachusetts, the Honorable Leverett Saltonstall.

In view of the past and continuing discussion with respect to defense organization and decisionmaking procedures in the executive branch of the Government, that article should be of widespread interest, as Mr. Baldwin analyzes, with the perception and logic which characterizes his writings, both the mechanics and the policy importance of Secretary Gates' personally instituted procedure of meeting with the Joint Chiefs of Staff. In addition, Mr. Baldwin documents some of the principal decisions which the Secretary has made under the new procedure.

I bring this matter to the attention of the House because I believe that the article is a reassuring affirmation of the fundamental soundness of the Joint Chiefs of Staff system, and that it underlines the fact that this essentially sound Joint Chiefs concept has been even further improved under the leadership of the present Secretary of Defense.

The article, and Secretary Gates' policy of meeting with the Joint Chiefs of Staff, which Mr. Baldwin discusses, constitute a strong refutation of those critics who seem so eager to abandon our warproven Joint Chiefs of Staff system and replace it with some version of a supreme high command that would be antithetical to our form of government and far less responsive to our national security requirements. I further believe that this article by Mr. Baldwin heavily underlines the wisdom of Congress, and particularly this House and its Armed Services Committee, in protecting the Joint Chiefs of Staff system and concept against the efforts of those who would eliminate it openly, or destroy it indirectly by separating the Joint Chiefs of Staff from their status as chiefs of their services.

Also, it is apparent from Mr. Baldwin's analysis that the action by Secretary Gates in sitting with the Joint Chiefs of Staff again demonstrates the often forgotten truism that there is very little in governmental organization problems that intelligence, determination, hard work, and leadership will not cure. The Gates-JCS procedure reminds us once again that new organization charts will never take the place of able officials who willingly assume the responsibilities of their office and discharge those responsibilities with intelligence.

In particular, I believe that Mr. Baldwin's opening sentence is at once a summation of the overall effect of Mr. Gates' leadership and an infallible formula for those who seek more effective administrative procedures. The sentence to which I refer reads:

Secretary of Defense Thomas S. Gates has galvanized the decisionmaking process of government by the simple expedient of making decisions.

It is evident that the Gates' JCS directive of December 29, 1959, establishing the procedure by which the Secretary of Defense sits with the Joint Chiefs of Staff, is already being recognized as one of the most important documents of its kind in modern governmental organization. The manner in which Secretary Gates has performed his duties as Secretary of Defense is receiving continually widespread endorsement and approbation. After reading Mr. Bald-win's article, it becomes even more apparent why the Honorable Carl Vinson, the distinguished chairman of the Armed Services Committee of the House of Representatives, recently stated, with respect to Secretary Gates' policy of sitting with the Joint Chiefs of Staff:

I especially wish to commend you for your recent directive with regard to your participation in the deliberations of the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

With this one directive you have left an impressive mark on defense organization.

You have strengthened our great Joint Chiefs of Staff system, and at the same time have dealt a shattering blow to the advocates of a single chief of staff system.

And, you have vitalized and reaffirmed the constitutional principle of civilian control.

Mr. Speaker, in view of the interest in efficient defense organization and the importance of this article from the New York Times, I commend it to the attention of all Members of this House.

Economic Ignorance of the American People—The World's Ninth Wonder

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. ALEXANDER WILEY

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, May 4, 1960

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, today our Nation is facing serious—but not insurmountable—economic problems.

At home, we are besieged with pleas from a wide variety of sources for more and more Federal spending. At the same time, we are hearing from different sources cries for relief from the tax burden. A major task facing Congress is to reconcile these conflicting viewpoints in the best interest of the country.

Today, our economy is rolling along at well over a \$500 billion gross national output on an annually adjusted basis—a new record. As a result, employment is high; people are living better; the country is stronger; we are more capable of meeting challenges at home and abroad.

There are, of course, economic problems to be resolved.

Internationally, the East-West contest—at a relative standoff militarily—is focusing more and more upon the economic, as well as other, fronts. Time after time, Communist boasts echo around the world of the superiority of communism over free enterprise.

Frankly, I am confident that our system will prove superior. However, the matter of economics—whether in private enterprise or in governmental operations—is becoming an increasingly crucial issue.

As a result, we need greater public understanding not only of how our system works but also broader fundamental knowledge of economic principles. This, I believe, would better serve the people individually, local, State, and Federal Governments, and the economy of the country.

Recently, Mr. G. Keith Funston, president of the New York Stock Exchange, outlined some constructive ideas before the National Association of Secondary School Principals on the need for establishing in our schools a more fundamental knowledge of economics.

Among the suggestions outlined by the president of the stock exchange are the following:

First. Assign specific responsibility for having the subject taught properly.

Second. We must recruit qualified teachers to do the job.

Third. Teaching techniques can be vastly improved.

Fourth. We must make economics compulsory for all students.

Believing that the overall speech contains most worthwhile food for thought on our economic challenge, I ask unanimous consent to have the talk by Mr. G. Keith Funston printed in the Appendix of the Record.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ECONOMIC ILLITERACY—UNSOLVED PROBLEM OF AMERICAN EDUCATION

When one thinks about the challenges facing educators today, the first thing that is apparent is how great the stakes are. I don't have to emphasize the extraordinary, exhilarating, and terribly dangerous period through which we are living. Whether we are going to get through this period with bodies and our souls intact seems to me to be in no small part a measure of the challenge which has been flung at you educators.

This is a truly awesome responsibilityand in some ways it is a new one. For too many years we received our educations With little more in mind than the personal advantages that education would bring us. A person went to school to enlarge his capacities-to enjoy life more fully, to make more money, to reach higher in the world. If he succeeded, that was his personal good fortune; if he failed, that was his personal loss.

Few people now would weigh the challenge to education by personal and indi-vidual standards alone. Throughout the world we are engaged in a contest which has entirely altered the criteria by which We must judge education. This was highlighted for me last week when a group of Russian politicians came, at their specific request, to visit the stock exchange. It seemed to me that their leader and spokesman came not so much to listen and learn as to make propaganda designed to mislead the American people. This same technique is being used all over the world. It requires a collectively well-educated people to dis-cern and counter this strategy both at home and abroad.

As President Eisenhower said to a group of foreign educators at the White House last fall, "* * * we need to put new ideas—and more of them—into orbit." But if these ideas are to get off the ground, must less stay aloft, we must understand that our classrooms are our most important launching platforms. A people which trifles with its schooling today is jeopardizing not only its chances for success, but for survival as

EDUCATION IN AMERICA: SUCCESS IN QUANTITY; QUESTION MARK IN QUALITY

I am sure that no one here would disagree. But how well has education responded to this challenge? From one point of view the answer is comforting. The statistics are impressive. More Americans go to school today than ever before. Nearly one in every four is currently adding to his formal education. In the traditional school years, the achievement is even more striking. Ninety-eight percent of our 7- to 13-Year-olds are in school; so are 85 percent of our 13- to 17-year-olds. Meanwhile, the pro-Portion of high school graduates going on to college is rising steadily. It was 35 percent 20 years ago. It is 53 percent today. And by 1970 there will be at least 6 million college students-double the amount enrolled today.

Many people, looking at these figures, would be tempted to conclude that our educational achievement has been a whopping Success. To them I would say: first, it had better be. And second, is it really?

As the president of a small college and then as the president of a large institution Which is also concerned with education, I have learned painfully that a people can emerge from the long educational process and still be woefully uninformed in areas of the most urgent importance—unprepared to cope with the problems of today, much less the ideas of tomorrow.

We have seen this very recently in regard to a subject we now acknowledge to be absolutely indispensable for our survival—science. For years we permitted our highschool graduates to gain their diplomas while remaining, many of them, mathematical know-nothings, with only a speaking acquaintance with modern chemistry and physics. We awoke with a jolt to the im-possibility of allowing that kind of illiteracy to continue. But now, I submit, a similar illiteracy exists in another area of great importance economics and its relation to the world in which we live.

I doubt that it is necessary to spell out at any length why economic understanding is so vital. Merely to list the great questions facing us as a Nation is to tick off a series of major economic problems. For example, how will America resolve the question of inflation? What will be its role in the drama of the developing nations? What are we going to do about the problems posed by agriculture, labor, business?

Undoubtedly much of our long-range capacity to survive hinges on the answers given to these questions. But how will our answers be arrived at? From what vantage point does a person decide? Has he a background of information and understanding that helps him determine what makes sense and what does not, what is good economics and what is bad? Or will his opinion be shaped by that odd mixture of hearsay, prejudice, and stereotype which passes, in so many peoples' minds, for economic knowledge?

AMERICA'S ECONOMIC ILLITERACY: "THE NINTH WONDER OF THE WORLD"

The answers to the qustions are not at all reassuring. At the stock exchange, we have come into firsthand contact with the range of knowledge—the economic literacyof a broad cross-section of the American people. That knowledge, not to mince words, is often shockingly inadequate. Seven years ago, for example, we set out to find just how many adults could more or less define what is meant by a "common stock." We learned that less than one-quarter of the adult population understood that basic term.

Now, of course, I am not suggesting that a knowledge of common stocks is the touchstone of economic literacy. But the lack of familiarity with securities does dramatize a disturbing problem. If only a quarter of our population knows something as personally meaningful as the ABC's of investments, what percentage do you suppose understands the basic principles of how a free economy works, or how it evolves and grows? As one well-known financial writer has commented: "The American economy is the eighth wonder of the world; the ninth wonder is the economic ignorance of the American people."

Let me add, however, that we should not be completely discouraged by this illiteracy. It does not stem from any profound and insoluable problem. It is mainly the consequence of a simple fact-that we do not teach economics. If we are a nation of eco-nomic know-nothings, it is because no one has ever bothered to explain the subject to us.

Consider, for a moment, these 1951 fig-ures—which I might add are, unfortunately, the latest available and which certainly should be brought up to date through a new study.

Of the 9,240,000 students enrolled in the Nation's high schools, only about 4 percent were ever expected to take a course in eco-

In the Nation as a whole, only one State, Oregon, our host State today, had made eco-nomics a requisite for high-school gradua-

Finally, for every student who took economics in high school, 6 took a foreign language, 8 took music, and 19 took physical education.

This is some indication of the low regard in which economics has been held by education. I am aware, of course, that you edu-cators are much concerned about this. You recognize, too, that very little has apparently been accomplished in recent years. The number of students taking economics shows no discernible upward trend. The level of economic illiteracy among them remains virtually unchanged.

IS TEACHING ECONOMICS "TOO TOUGH?"

Why has improvement failed to come? I wonder if the answer doesn't lie in the story told about an executive who was known for his passion for order. On this man's antiseptically clean desk was an array of baskets for his papers. One read "In." One read "Out." Another was labeled One read "Out." Another was labeled "Urgent." But the one with the biggest pile of all had the sign "Too Tough."

Is economics "too tough" to be taught at the high school level? Let me try to answer that. As you know the stock exchange and its member firms have been engaged in a broad program of adult education ever since we first became aware of the public's lack of information. Through newspapers, magazines, television, and radio, and through courses held at schools, libraries, and other meeting places, we have been trying not to sell common stock or bonds but to explain the opportunities, risks, and rewards that go with ownership of securities. Partly as a result of this effort, we have seen the number of shareowners almost double 1952-from 61/2 million to 121/2 million. Equally important, we find an overwhelming majority of investors in the market for the right reasons and with sound goals. But, of even greater significance to educators, we have witnessed an encouraging rise in the degree of interest in and literacy about the investing process. A new survey, soon to be released by the exchange, will document this in fascinating detail.

Of course, you may say, "That's all very well for adults. But we have to deal with adolescents." Let me tell you then about two successful ways in which economics has

been presented to youngsters.

The first concerns an elementary school in Kalamazoo. The wall of the schoolbuilding cracked and a construction crane with its owner-operator arrived to make the necessary repairs. One teacher, who had attended an economic education workshop, decided to put the occasion to use. She took her pupils-who were in the second gradeand explained to them how the crane could, in half a day, do a job that would require weeks by hand. After she had interested her pupils in the productive power of machinery, she asked them how they thought the crane owner had bought his expensive machine. That led to a simple explanation of how a business is financed and money raised. From there it was only a step to explaining how the money that people saved and invested was put to work. Later on, after hearing these second grade pupils discussing the economic consequences of the crack in their school building, one college economist exclaimed: "She's teaching capital formation to second grade kids-a concept I have a rough time drumming into my college freshmen."

In another instance, the teacher of a senior class in the Nyack (N.Y.) High School decided to bring economics home by suggesting that his class participate in the economic process itself. He proposed that each student ante up 50 cents and that the class invest the proceeds. This led to an enthusiastic search for the right company—and an equally enthusiastic discovery of the range and variety of American industry. Finally one corporation was chosen to be the agent of destiny for the class fund of \$18-which was just enough to buy one share of the company's stock. But that was only the beginning. Now the class had to find out how current developments-taxes and tariffs, competition and even fiscal policy—were going to affect their company. Economics was not too tough for those students. It was their most exciting course. It was made more so, incidentally, when the president of the company heard about the experiment and came to the school to conduct an annual meeting and answer questions for this special group of owners. This simple technique of teaching youngsters by doing, I might add, is being duplicated in many high schools across the country. A few weeks ago, a workshop for teachers was held at Nyack to explore this experiment in detail. This conference may well prove to be the start of a new interest in the way economics can be brought to life. I hope the Nyack idea—and the teachers' workshop that grew out of it—will spread from coast to coast.

All this has, Î think, a moral. If economics has traditionally been considered too tough, a large part of the trouble lies in the fact that we haven't always taught it too well—as evidenced by your association's sponsorship of the Council for the Advancement of Secondary Education, which seeks to upgrade the level of economic literacy. And if I may generalize from the few examples I have offered, I think we can see how to teach it better. I am encouraged to make these suggestions before the National Association of Secondary School Principals, because you have traditionally taken a farsighted view of the problems facing education, and have done much to exercise leadership in bringing about necessary changes.

First, we must make economics real. It is certainly difficult to make a youngster's heart beat faster about concepts so abstract as productivity or investment. But it is easy to stir his imagination about a machine, or about an individual enterprise in which he may own a tiny share. In other words, the overall theory of economics should be taught only after economics has been made as personal as something we touch or as something we do.

Second, economics should be imbued with some of the excitement of life. We must not be afraid, by the same token, to make economics controversial. By this I most emphatically do not mean that we should "slant" economics teaching. But it is surely a greater disservice to make believe that diverse points of view do not exist, or that economics is not one of the great, legitimate, continuing debates of a free society.

We can bring that debate directly into our schools by inviting into the classroom, from our own communities, people whose backgrounds lie in government, business, labor unions, and agriculture. We can further enrich the subject by supplementing the standard textbooks with some of the more thoughtful material available from these groups. Needless to say, the source of such material should be clearly indicated. In our own case, we have been heartened by the enthusiastic response of over 7,000 fifth to twelfth-grade teachers who have used our series, "You and the Investment World," in their classrooms. May I add, also, that the texts prepared by your Council for the Advancement of Secondary Education are available—and I would certainly urge you to make wide use of them. Finally, we can teach economics from that greatest and most readily available of all textbooks-the daily newspaper. From first page to last, there is not a section of a newspaper in which a skilled teacher cannot find examples of economics at work.

BETTER EQUIPPED TEACHERS MUST MAKE ECONOMICS A PART OF LIFE

I believe that if we taught economics in this manner, it would not be "too tough." But I suggest there is a second reason why our economic education has fallen short of the mark. To come directly to the point, it is because too often the wrong people are teaching it.

In the files of our education department at the stock exchange is a letter I would like to read to you:

"Dear Sirs: I am teaching a course in economics to a small group of high school seniors. This is my first experience in the field. I am a band director by profession, and I would appreciate any material you have that would benefit my students or myself."

I do not decry the effort of a band director to teach economics. Rather, I am happy that the need to teach such a course was recognized and that steps were taken to meet that need. Nor do I claim that all economics teachers are band directors. But I think it is fair to say that most high-school principals would rather have a band leader teach economics than have an economist lead their band.

In economics, as in any other field, it takes careful training to do the job right. The person for whom economics really is "too tough" is the teacher who has no adequate preparation. And the fact is that economics is too important to be taught by "anybody."

What can we do about this? There are four things I would like to suggest:

First, assign specific responsibility for having the subject taught properly. Economics has been an orphan of the curriculum for too long. It cannot remain so. The subject needs the planning, and guidance, that any important discipline requires. You will find that the people within your community—taxpayers, parents, civic and business people—will respond enthusiastically when they realize the steps you are taking. Moreover, I believe that responsibility for teaching economics must be assumed not only at the local level by a department or a group of your teachers, but at the State and National levels as well. For instance, I would hope than an organization such as the National Council for the Social Studies will take the unqualified position that the teaching of economics is something to which they have to devote major attention.

Second, we must recruit qualified teachers to do the job. You can take a major step here simply by being sure that those assigned to teach the subject have a lively interest in it and have had college-level economics courses. Also, you can point out the availability of effective and inexpensive teaching aids—and see to it that they are used properly. You may well reply that all this is fine, but attracting better teachers means paying higher salaries. I quite agree. And I believe you will find a larger measure of local support once it becomes known that you have a down-to-earth purpose such as this.

Third, teaching techniques can be vastly improved. I have mentioned a few of the vivid, often exciting ways that economics can be brought into the classroom. Why not, then, encourage your economics teachers to attend one of the many inservice workshops that are exploring ways to throw fresh light on what too many people feel is a dull subject. With imaginative assistance, your teachers will do the expert job of which we know they are capable.

we know they are capable. Finally, I believe we must make economics compulsory for all students. This does not mean piling the subject into a 1-year required history course. Such courses already contain more than the student can absorb, or the teacher teach. Rather, I refer to the example Oregon and some school districts around the country have set. They require a separate course in economics study as a requisite for high-school graduation. Or, as an alternative, economics should be included as an essential element in an expanded 2-or 3-year history course.

This is certainly not too ambitious a program. In fact, the only serious obstacles

in its way could be our failure to acknowledge that the problem exists, or to be serious about solving it.

If I may summarize the points I've wanted to stress:

First, widespread economic illiteracy is a weakness which must be recognized when assessing the Nation's educational system.

Second, this weakness stems more from neglect than from any other single factor.

Third, the means exist to correct that weakness by strengthening our teaching standards and introducing economics into the classroom as a part of life, rather than as something apart from life.

Finally, may I include on a personal note. Fourteen years ago, in my inaugural talk at Trinity College, I remarked to the effect that: "We must not hesitate to teach things which will prove useful in later life. Rather, we must attempt to give a man background and breadth, so that he can bring to a profession, or to a specific job, a viewpoint and an approach which will increase his effectiveness both as a wage earner and as a citizen."

Fourteen years later, it seems to me that this comment, directed at college students, is all the more pertinent when applied to the educational needs of high-school students—many of whom will have no further opportunity for formal education. This is a challenge to education which we can and must meet if, as President Eisenhower has urged, we are to succeed, in our time, in putting new ideas into orbit.

If I Were Satan

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. QUENTIN BURDICK

OF NORTH DAKOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 4, 1960

Mr. BURDICK. Mr. Speaker, I should like to call to the attention of my colleagues an article written by Father Joseph L. Hylden, of Edgeley, N. Dak., in the April 1960 issue of Catholic Action News. Father Hylden has been a stanch fighter for the preservation of family agriculture and I unhesitatingly associate myself with the views expressed.

The article follows:

If I were Satan:

I would work, using all means good or bad, to destroy the family, because it is the basis of good living for people.

I would work expecially hard to destroy the family in the rural community. There, I find it hardest to get a foothold. There I find it much harder to promote juvenile delinquency and crime of all kinds. I find this from the studies and statistics of the human beings themselves.

I would connive to destroy the tremendous power of personal face-to-face relationships of people in rural communities. It is this personal touch that helps to keep people interested in the good society.

I would certainly foster the thinking of many college professors and other leaders that the traditional patterns of family life have outlived their usefulness, and that now we must be modern, throw out those old mores and discover new modes of living in groups.

I would look very hard to find a new Sinclair Lewis who would do a good job in the 1960's to lampoon, ridicule and satirize rural community life. A new "Main Street" would strengthen my cause immeasurably.

I would get the Madison Avenue crowd to glamorize the quality of democracy and Christianity in our great urban centers and also in suburbia. Thereby I would get rural people to overlook what "they" have in these

two vital areas.

I would lead smalltown businessmen into believing that they are really important to their wholesalers and distributors from the larger centers who keep feeding them with misinformation about "the enemies to their success;" namely, the cooperatives, credit unions and labor unions.

I would get farm people to increase their buying through the mail-order catalog, and to establish more charge accounts in the

big stores of the big cities.

I would teach rural town chambers of commorce and other businessmen's clubs to promote their towns by bringing in chainstores, substations for the big city banks and savings and loan companies, etc.

I would not let them see that I was destroying the local family-owned business places that are the backbone of rural

America.

I would promote the mania for bigness in the successful farmers of the surrounding trade areas.

I would get the successful farmers to buy up more and more land, putting many family farmers out of business. Thus destroying the market for local businessmen—I would deal the deathblow to the family.

I would encourage the theory of unlimited expansion in material possessions. If they get this "bug" to grow and grow and grow. they will just naturally drive many farm and smalltown families to the big centers where I have more of a chance to influence their

I would encourage the newspapers of America to keep harping away on the theme that the farmers should not be subsidized any

more than anyone else.

I would keep in office those who say, "Get the Government out of agriculture." Such People are doing much for me to kill the rural community, because it is only a half-truth that needs much explaining and further study.

I would encourage governmental bureaus to hinder local communities in their efforts to provide themselves with hospitals, doctors, schools, and recreational facilities that are

adequate.

I would encourage church leaders to send out poorer clergymen to the rural communities, and would get them to close churches and consolidate as much as possible. A live-Wire clergyman living in a rural community is a real hindrance to my work.

I would give anything to destroy the rural community. From there on my work would

be simple.

The Fight for Fiscal Sanity

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. FRANCIS CASE

OF SOUTH DAKOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Wednesday, May 4, 1960

Mr. CASE of South Dakota, Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article entitled "The Fight for Fiscal Sanity," by Kenneth O. Gil-more, which appeared in the May issue of the Reader's Digest.

There being no objection, the article Was ordered to be printed in the RECORD,

as follows:

THE FIGHT FOR FISCAL SANITY (By Kenneth O. Gilmore)

This is the season of the year when you are digging deep for Federal income taxes. It is also the season when pressure groups are doing their methodical best to drain your cash from the Federal Treasury, and saddle you and your children with inevitably

greater taxes.

Right now, highly organized forces are working to push their pet spending schemes through Congress. Huge money bills are rolling out of appropriation committees, to be considered by the House and Senate and finally signed or vetoed by the President.

In the crucial weeks ahead you'll be hit from every direction with slickly presented appeals for additional Federal dollars—more money than is called for in the President's \$79.8 billion budget for fiscal year 1961. You'll be caught in a crossfire of protest. pleas, alarms and dire warnings. You'll be told that the welfare or the very survival of the Nation hinges on every money demand.

The public can pierce through all the

double talk by understanding the Federal budget and how it is put together. It's as important as understanding your own family

budget.

Preparation of the Federal budget is a gigantic contest between two forces. On one side are the bosses of an army of more than 2,300,000 Federal employees. These officials are ever striving to enlarge their empires and increase their budgets. Urging them on is a nationwide network of vestedinterest groups that put the heat on Congress for greater spending.

On the other side is a tiny band of fewer than 300 budget experts trying to stave off these pressures that, unchecked, would hurl us into bankruptcy. They work for Washington's most unloved agency, the Bureau of the Budget, headed by Maurice H. Stans—a public servant whose determination to face fiscal facts has enabled President Eisenhower to submit balanced budgets to Congress the last 2 years.

The contest begins far in advance. \$79.8 billion budget sent to Congress this year started taking shape 16 months ago. In January 1959, bureau heads of all departments issued instructions to branches, divisions, field stations, and regional offices to start compiling money requests for fiscal 1961.

This was the awaited signal. Every bureaucrat who valued his job description had ready a must list of new programs that required cash: more field trips, investigations, sample surveys, demonstration workshops, and training courses; more information services, grants, contracts; more construction and equipment; more clerical help, more space. All this was presented in terms of absolute, unquestionable need—yet in truth the totals were far more than were really needed and more than anyone actually expected to get.

By June, the Cabinet Secretaries and their budget experts were sitting down with each bureau chief to trim the money demands. Then in September all the departments sent their final requests to the Bureau of the Budget.

Now, in dramatic closed-door hearings, officials from every civilian department and agency in the Government had to appear before Budget Bureau examiners and defend their proposals for funds. From October to December, they filed into the bleak, highceilinged rooms of the Executive Office Building, next door to the White House.

These sessions make the later congressional quizzes look mild. It's a bureaucrat's nightmare when Budget Bureau examiners get on the track of a needless scheme to drain the Treasury. During the year, budget men have been bird-dogging an agency's every move-making spot checks, asking for financial reports, questioning key administrators, inspecting field offices. As a result they can swiftly slice through complex computations designed to foster impressions of unquestionable need.

Once a hearing is finished-it can last a few hours or weeks-the Budget Bureau examiners go before the director and his deputy, and argue for their recommendations. Verdicts are handed down. An agency head who disagrees with a verdict can go directly to the President and plead his case. happened, and in a few cases the Bureau has been reversed, for it is the President who must make the final judgment.

Then in January the budget is sent to Congress. After this, the departments and agencies are permitted to argue only for the

amounts that are in it.

Although no exact total can be set, Budget Bureau savings run into billions. One department alone-Health, Education, and Welfare-had \$160 million lopped off its proposed budget in fiscal 1960. No item is left unscrutinized. When the Office of Education, in HEW, needed 1,163 jobs in fiscal 1960, the Department knocked out 101 of these jobs as nonessential. The Budget Bureau whittled off another 40.

After the Post Office Department went through the Budget Bureau mill, it had lost \$40 million—a drastic cut, said a Depart-ment official. But mail service was not hurt

When the General Services Administration proposed to spend more than half a billion dollars to construct new Federal buildings, the Bureau turned thumbs down, and the President agreed, GSA Administrator Franklin Floete later conceded that the amount requested was not quite a realistic figure.

The Budget Bureau does more than just hone down budget proposals. After appropriation bills have actually been passed and signed at the White House, the Bureau can freeze the funds if it finds the money is going to be used wastefully—a fact that brings some agency officials and legislators to a boil

"An appropriation by Congress is not necessarily a mandate to spend," explains Maurice Stans. "For example, if resources are provided to deliver 64 billion pieces of mail but the volume turns out to be just 62 billion, then there's no sense in giving the Post Office Department more cash than it needs."

This power of apportionment has been applied with special effectiveness at the Department of Defense. At one point last year, the Budget Bureau was holding back more than \$900 million until its experts satisfied themselves that the money could be spent effectively. One reason for this: with constant and sometimes unexpected technological advances, weapons can be obsolete by the time money is actually appropriated

Congress set up the Budget Bureau in 1921 to aid the President in sorting out the Government's fiscal needs, and in 1950 and 1956 strengthened its powers to enforce efficient management of taxpayer funds. As no other director before him, Stans has boldly exercised this power and made the Bureau's impact felt in every office of government. His remarkable success makes him a target for bitter attack. But abuse does not worry him. A calm, friendly man with a bear-trap mind for facts, he says: "Good budgeting means uniform distribution of dissatisfaction, so I expect to be a whipping boy. My job is to watch out for the interests of the American taxpayer."

Stans has irritated generals and admirals by raising basic questions about our gigantic defense-spending programs. His persistent inquisitiveness, for example, had much to do with the decision not to invest millions in an atomic aircraft carrier but to use our resources on high-priority programs such as submarines that hurl Polaris missiles. Recently the Budget Bureau questioned the need for continuing investment in Bomarc, an antiaircraft missile, in an era when enemy aircraft are not the primary threat. The Air Force's request for costly new Bomarc sites

has since been sharply reduced.

Stans' judgments on defense spending do not come out of thin air. He attends all Cabinet and National Security Council meetings, has access to secret reports. Moreover, he is backstopped by 33 Budget Bureau military specialists. Every year Defense Department and Budget Bureau men sit down togother at the Pentagon and hear the services justify their financial requests.

Called before a Senate committee last spring, Stans refuted the charge that the Budget Bureau has put our defense program in a dollar straitjacket. But he said bluntly "I do not accept a presumption that the Defense budget must necessarily increase."

Stans' courage to say what he believes is no doubt reinforced by his phenomenal success in private life. As a 17-year-old, he left Shakopee, Minn., in 1925 with \$151 to try his talents in Chicago. Hired as an office boy for the national accounting firm of Alexander Grant & Co., he attended night classes in college. In 10 years he had moved up to become executive partner of his firm. In 1953 the House Appropriations Committee called on him to help review the budget. Two years later, as Deputy Postmaster General, he took a major part in reorganizing the postal service and modernizing its operating and financial procedures.

His appointment as Ike's fourth Budget Director created hardly a ripple of notice. But the date was significant—mid-March 1958, the first stage of the buildup for the budget for fiscal 1960. At that time the economy was still in a recession. Nevertheless, small signs of recovery offered a longshot hope that the 1960 budget could conceivably be balanced. Stans believed that business would pick up sufficiently to bring in the needed revenue, and he believed he could keep Government costs down-convictions shared by Secretary of the Treasury

Robert B. Anderson.

Stans was determined not to let an un-necessary cent slip into the budget. In his office he framed the simple question, "Why?" It became the watchword at the Bureau. a needle to collapse ballooned spending schemes. Why do you have to have this money? Why will the program cost so much? Why do we have to do it now? Why should this be the responsibility of the Federal Government?

No agency, big or little, escaped this stubborn curiosity. After the Agriculture Department came through the Bureau's wringer, nearly 70 million dollars had been squeezed from its regular administrative expenses. The U.S. Information Agency came to the Bureau with a budget of \$138,200,000, went away with \$120,550,000. When the International Boundary Commission wanted \$6,863,000, the Bureau sliced it to \$3,733,000. The Tariff Commission's appropriation request was reduced \$174,000-a tiny economy. but apply it in thousands of places, and savings snowball.

When the Bureau finished its work late in December 1958 the budget added up to \$77 billion, and the President sent it to Congress with the prediction that revenues would make it pay its own way. Although it was the biggest peacetime budget in U.S. history, a cry of horror went up from pressure blocs-the big unions, veterans groups, farm organizations and others. Politicians joined the unit. The budget was labeled "unrealistic," "crippling," "penny-pinching." "restrictive,"

But every time the President spoke, he spoke of fiscal responsibility. And Stans himself, making dozens of speeches all over

the country, did all he could to persuade the public that the time had come to stop living in the red.1 The fight for financial common sense caught fire. Citizens flooded Congress with letters. Bills for more billions were halted and cut down. When Congress went home late last summer, the fight for a balanced budget was won.

Now this year President Eisenhower has presented a budget with an estimated surplus of \$4 billion. Again Stans has been its chief architect. Again the catcalls and attacks of the spenders are being heard. And again the outcome depends on you. For the work of Stans and his staff could be tragically wiped out if an election-conscious Congress gives in to pressure for more Federal spending.

"We've done our job," says Stans. "Now it's up to the public to make the decision.

It's their money."

1 See "Must We Delude Ourselves Into Disaster?" The Reader's Digest, July 1959.

Enforcible World Law Is a Practical

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. WILLIAM S. MOORHEAD

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, May 4, 1960

Mr. MOORHEAD. Mr. Speaker, the statement that we are living in a shrinking world has become axiomatic. What is not so axiomatic but should become so is the realization that our smaller world makes the role of world law more important than ever before.

In a speech prepared for delivery at an annual Law Day observance in Pittsburgh this past Monday, the Honorable JOSEPH S. CLARK, the distinguished senior Senator from Pennsylvania, dealt most appropriately with the growing importance of world law.

Senator CLARK warned that the world community must achieve the rule of law in the 1960's-before it is too late.

I believe Senator CLARK's remarks are particularly timely. Thus, under leave heretofor granted to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I include the text of Senator Clark's address and commend its reading to my colleagues.

WORLD PEACE, WORLD LAW, AND DISARMAMENT (Speech by Senator CLARK at Allegheny County Bar Association, Pittsburgh, Pa., Law Day celebration, May 2, 1960)

On this third annual celebration of Law Day, U.S.A., I welcome the opportunity to speak to you about world peace, world law, and disarmament.

Never before have the people of the United States received such unanimous advice in an election year as to the No. 1 problem facing the Nation.

The United Nations, President Eisenhower, Prime Minister Macmillan, President de Gaulle, and Premier Khrushchev, all agree that the questions of general and complete disarmament is the most important one facing the world today.

Is this just the conventional lipservice of politicians to the popular yearning for peace? How can our leaders speak of the need for disarmament at the same time they

proclaim the need for greater armaments? Why all the talk about disarmament and the rule of law at this particular time? What are the current and upcoming issues at the nuclear test ban and general disarmament conferences? What is being done in Washington to assure that the negotiations succeed? What is the status of efforts to promote the rule of law in international relations? How can we strengthen the authority of the United Nations? In fact, do we want to do so?

I will attempt to touch on each of these questions in the course of this presentation.

ARMAMENT VERSUS DISARMAMENT

The query which appears most frequently in my mail is perhaps the easiest one to

"How can you and other members of the Democratic Party protest about the missile gap and other shortcomings in the state of our defenses and still profess a genuine concern about disarmament?"

In my view Winston Churchill's four-word answer cannot be bettered: "We arm to parlay."

I share the view of many Americans that U.S. defensive and offensive capabilities must be strengthened to offset growing Communist military might. I believe that we are taking military risks we ought not to take; that we must hasten the development of our mobile, solid-fuel, long-range Polaris and Minuteman missile programs; increase production of existing ICBM's and longrange Strategic Air Command bombers in the interim period; and provide the latest conventional weapons, airlift support and antisubmarine weapons for Armed Forces of greater strength. I also fear that an en-larged military budget will be required, at least for the next few years, although large economies and greater efficiency can undoubtedly be obtained by promoting genu-ine service unification and eliminating exprocurement procedures and travagant senseless duplication in the Pentagon.

We are in an arms race with the Communists, and it would be folly to forget it.

But the ultimate purpose of the best deterrent weapons systems science and money can produce is not human destruction, but a series of international agreement which will prevent the use, and eventually call for the elimination, of the weapons involved. Obviously, the best deterrent system could not give us security. It would merely reduce the risk of armed attack. It would not remove Communist capability to destroy us and our allies. It would not remove ever-present danger of war by accident rather than design. It would merely provide a little more time to come to grips with the real problem: how to achieve world peace through world law.

Maintenance of an East-West power balance in an ever-accelerating and ever-moredangerous arms race must not be accepted as the ultimate objective. We must use our strength to negotiate enforcible disarmament agreements and to promote the rule of law as the enforcible foundation for world

peace. The great challenge of the times is to design and present to the Communists a system of arms control and peacekeeping machinery which would offer an acceptable alternative to the present delicate balance of

WHY DISARMAMENT NOW

Why disarmament now? There are those who assert that the tensions of the world do not result from the arms race, but from the unresolved political disputes between the free and the Communist worlds. To disarm before resolving the quarrels which led us to arm in the first place, they say, is both illogical and dangerous.

To me this argument is as senseless as the old argument about the chicken and the

It doesn't matter which came first. Both problems must be attacked simultaneously.

Of course, we must seek solutions to political problems, such as the future of Berlin and the Chinese offshore islands. But we must also realize that the arms race is a present problem of at least equal importance. As Senator HUMPHREY has said arms race has taken on a life and a will of its own." Weapons breed counterweapons; military scientific breakthroughs result in massive new research and development programs which lead, in turn, to new breakthroughs and new and even more destructive sets of weapons. Neither armed camp dares to pause in this race toward mutual annihilation.

Perhaps the best answer to the question, "Why disarmament now?" is to recall that at the beginning of this year, we were speaking of the "fourth country problem." The membership of the nuclear club had stood at three since the Soviet Union exploded its first atomic bomb in 1949, several years sooner than our intelligence sources estimated

Since the French plutonium explosions in the Sahara on February 13 of this year, references to the "fifth country problem" have been current, although talk of the "Nth country problem" is more realistic.

Just a week ago I had the privilege of hearing President de Gaulle speak to a joint session of Congress. In an extraordinary passage he revealed French apprehensions

about the "Nth" country problems:
"We have reached the last moment when (disarmament) agreement appears possible. Failing the renunciation of atomic armaments by those states who are provided with them, the French Republic obviously Will be obliged to equip itself with such armaments. In consequence, how many others will attempt to do the same? In the state of increasing uncertainty in which fear throws the peoples of the world, the risk grows that, one day, events will escape from the control of those who obey reason and that the worst catastrophes will be unleashed by fanatics, lunatics or men of ambition."

Those who do not quail at the thought of nuclear weapons in the hands of our oldest ally are seldom sanguine when reminded of published intelligence estimates that the Communist Chinese will explode their first atomic device in the early 1960's.

The National Planning Association has predicted that by 1970 "most countries with appreciable military strength will have in their arsenals nuclear weapons-strategic, tactical or both."

CESSATION OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS TESTS

Let me turn first to the area in which the rule of law appears to be making the most progress: the Geneva negotiations for the cessation of nuclear weapons tests.

Because of the slow start and sporadic pace of the Geneva talks which have been going on for over a year and a half in more than 200 meetings, there is little comprehension of how tantalizingly close to agreement the negotiators for the United States, the United Kingdom, and the U.S.S.R. now

Agreement has been reached on the solution of many tough problems.

- (1) The treaty will prohibit all nuclear Weapons tests which are monitorable with existing detection equipment. Thus there will be specific provisions against aerial tests Within 175,000 miles of the earth's surface, all underwater tests, and all underground tests if the latter register 4.75 on seismic instruments placed at agreed locations.
- (2) The West has agreed, subject to Russian concessions on certain unresolved issues and the successful undertaking of a joint East-West test detection research pro-

gram, to a limited moratorium on all nuclear tests not specifically prohibited by the treaty. The President has made it clear that he will recommend to his successor continuation of this unilateral ban conditioned on good faith Russian compliance with the terms of the treaty, and all of the leading presidential candidates of both parties have indicated they would continue the moratorium under those conditions.

(3) The heart of the agreement centers on the creation of a worldwide control sys-tem, consisting of 180 control posts, whose number and location were agreed upon in 1958 by scientists of the three negotiating countries. Each post will be fully instru-mented to detect atmospheric underwater and underground explosions, and will be manned by 30 technicians, only 10 of whom could be nationals of the country where the post was located: 24 of the inspection posts will be located in North America, 6 in Europe, 37 in Asia, 16 in South America, 16 Africa, 4 in Australia, 7 in Antarctica, and 60 on islands. In addition there will be 10 detection ships and planes with roving assignments, and laboratories and a headquarters control setup in Vienna.

The control system will be super-(4) vised by a control commission, also to be located in Vienna, set up to meet on 24hour notice by any party to the agreement. East and West will have equal representation on the commission which will have

either seven or nine members.

Despite this wide area of agreement, difficult questions remain unresolved: the number of times inspection teams will be permitted to conduct onsite inspections following the monitoring of a suspicious event; the identity of the other nations to be represented on the Control Commission in addition to the negotiating powers, and the creation and staffing of control posts in countries not party to the initial agreement. An attempt to settle these remaining questions will be made at the summit conference 2 weeks from now.

The likelihood of a final agreement in the near future has alarmed those persons who want to see the United States resume testing to perfect our arsenal of "small, clean tacti-cal nuclear weapons" and "fission-free thermonuclear explosions" as well as those who are loath to enter any agreement with the Russians.

The Joint Atomic Energy Committee recently completed a week of public hearings on the scientific aspects of the test ban negotiations. Through the testimony of Dr. Teller and others the entire gamut of possible and theoretical means of avoiding discovery of underground and outerspace explosions was explored. The public was solemnly warned that explosions in large natural cavities or vast holes dug in salt domes or limestone at considerable depths below the Earth's surface and explosions on the far side of the Moon or at distances in excess of 5 million miles out in space could not be detected by the control system agreed on at Geneva.

It is generally admitted that there is a threshold, be it 1 kiloton or 20, below which known detection devices cannot assure identification of clandestine testing. But when the risk of hidden testing by the Soviets, which would expose them upon discovery through fortuitous onsite inspections or normal intelligence operations to the opprobrium of world opinion, is weighed against the risk of failure of the negotiations and the resumption of unlimited, multimegaton, high-yield tests, the latter risks appear far heavier. And the gains from a test cessation treaty would be truly estimable. It is admitted that the proposed control system would effectively identify atmospheric and underwater tests and large underground tests. But even more importantly, a society which has been largely

closed to the outside world would be opened to at least some foreign inspections.

It is worthy of note that Senator Gore, of Tennessee, the only Senator on both the Joint Atomic Energy and the Senate For-eign Relations Committees, declared just last Thursday after the Joint Committee hearings had concluded, that a test ban treaty negotiated in accordance with our last offer and not containing any further concessions would merit sympathetic and favorable consideration by the U.S. Senate."

Once the hurdle of Senate ratification is passed the issue of participation of countries other than the United States. United Kingdom, and USSR will come to the fore. This enormous problem has been put aside until agreement has been reached among the negotiators as to controls on their own territories, although the wisdom of deferring

this issue appears questionable.

It is already clear that French participation in the control system will be necessary from the beginning. Although the cooperation of the Fifth Republic cannot be taken for granted and De Gaulle has stated that France would forego further testing only if adequate controls over nuclear production could also be agreed on, his utterances show a keen appreciation of the risks involved and ultimate French cooperation will surely be achieved. The United States and the United Kingdom favor France as the third Western country on the nuclear test ban Control Commission. France is already participating in the general disarmament talks.

Communist China's participation in the control system will also be essential. Almost half of the 37 control posts to be located in Asia would be located on the China mainland. If the Soviets agree to United States-United Kingdom preliminary draft provisions a start on the establishment of control posts in countries such as China which are adjacent or contiguous to the territory of the signatory powers will be required within 2 years of the signing of the treaty. The com-pletion of all 180 control posts will be required within 4 years of the signing of the treaty. A failure to comply with either requirement will be cause for abrogation. Thus, we must obtain China's participation in the control system within 2 years of ratification of the agreement.

Secretary of State Christian Herter told the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on January 21, 1960, that Communist China's participation is inevitable if a disarmament agreement between East and West is to be effective. President Eisenhower concurred in this view at his March 16 press conference. All Western disarmament experts share

these views.

GENERAL DISARMAMENT

A treaty stopping nuclear testing is clearly only the first step in any program designed to end the arms race and to promote rule of law. The 10-nation East-West general disarmament conference which met in Geneva on March 15 is dealing with the broader problems.

The conference, which recessed last Friday until June 7, was not expected to make any progress until after the summit meeting, and it is right on schedule-just where it The intervening period started 6 weeks ago. has been used by both sides to make repetitious statements of positions and no real negotiating has taken place.

The Soviets have insisted on reaching agreement on their stated objective of "general and complete disarmament" before discussing specific controls. The West has insisted on proceeding initially with a discussion of limited control measures without agreement on ultimate goals.

If my experience as an attorney is typi-cal, and the members of this association can apply their own negotiating experiences to the question, it would seem almost impossible to obtain any fruitful result from a

difficult negotiation unless the parties agree at the outset on what they are trying to

accomplish.

Wisdom would seem to indicate that we waste no time in agreeing on the common objective of total and permanent disarmament, the goal already stated in a U.N. resolution unanimously approved last fall, and that we start to smoke out Communist views on the controls necessary to make a start toward that objective in the areas where agreement seems most likely.

It is important to understand the constructive side of the three-stage proposals put forward by the United States, United Kingdom, France, Canada, and Italy with the advance approval of Austria, Belgium, Denmark, West Germany, Holland, New Zealand, Norway, Portugal, Turkey, and a num-

ber of other nations.

In addition to a series of military control measures for the immediate future, such as the inspection of missile launching sites, reduction of armed forces to agreed levels, aerial and ground inspection against surprise attacks, and ultimate controls over the production and storage of nuclear, chemical, biological, and other weapons of mass destruction, the Western plan includes enforcement proposals of far-reaching significance.

The plan calls for the creation not only of a new international disarmament organization (IDO), to supervise the process of general disarmament, but also a separate "or-ganization, to be an organ of, or linked to, the United Nations," charged with "preventing aggression and preserving world peace and security, as national armaments are reduced." This peace-keeping body would be set up during the second phase of the Western plan and during the third and final stage its development as an "international law enforcement" agency capable of "pr serving world peace" would be completed.

Probably the greatest single deficiency in the Soviet plan, contrary to press reports which have stated inaccurately that Khrushchev's proposals do not provide for controls in the early stages of disarmament, lies in its silence about peace enforcement ma-The Soviet plan in this regard is chinery. The Soviet plan in this regard is totally deficient and its obvious weakness

has not been exploited.

Unfortunately, as can be inferred from the vague formulation in the Western plan, the State Department has no clear position worked out concerning the type of international peace-keeping organization we want to see developed. We are not even certain whether we want to follow the path of U.N. Charter review, as many smaller nations have urged, or whether we want to see an entirely new international organization created, free of the veto and other obstacles built into the present charter.

I am the author of a resolution, sponsored by more than a quarter of the Members of the Senate, including the three leading Democratic presidential candidates and several Republicans, calling for U.N. Charter review studies at the highest levels of our Government, but the administration has clearly indicated that it does not want to undertake this seemingly necessary assign-

Fortunately, a detailed plan for charter review and revision exists. In a work of the first importance, Grenville Clark, Esq., and Prof. Louis B. Sohn set forth the results of 7 years of research on this problem in "World Peace Through World Law," published by the Harvard Press in 1958 and since reprinted in and translated into a number of different languages.' The book comprises a set of definite and interrelated proposals to strengthen the United Nations through the establishment of such legislative, executive and judicial institutions as are necessary to maintain world order under enforcible world law. It should receive the careful scrutiny of the State Department in conjunction with our efforts at the general disarmament conference.

THE RULE OF LAW

Let me discuss one final matter in which the lawyers in this country in general, and members of the Allegheny Bar Association in particular, have taken such a commendable lead-the repeal of the selfjudging Connally reservation to the U.S. ratification of the statute of the International Court of Justice.

The arguments for repeal are familiar to the members of this association:

1. There is little chance of world peace without a system of enforceable world law. 2. Enforceable world law requires an international court to try cases arising under international law and involving two or more

nations.

3. While purely domestic questions are beyond the jurisdiction of the International Court under the terms of article XXXVI of its statute, the decision as to what is a domestic issue should be argued before, and decided by, an international court rather than determined by the Court or by the government of any one nation.

4. The Connally amendment permits the United States to determine unflaterally what is a domestic question. It thus gives us the unilateral right to determine whether we will submit a dispute involving inter-

national law to the World Court.

5. By retaining this right to determine for ourselves what is a domestic matter, we effectively prevent the World Court from extending jurisdiction to matters affecting the rule of law and world peace by encouraging other nations to make similar reservations, which, in the end, eliminate most of the jurisdiction of the World Court since most questions have some domestic implications.

6. If any such reservation were made by private citizens or groups with reference to domestic law or enforcement the result would be chaos and no effective law. same argument applies at an international

On March 29 the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, much to the distress of Senator FULBRIGHT, chairman, voted nine to eight to postpone indefinitely further consideration of solution (S. Res. 94) to repeal the Connally reservation. The majority was made up primarily of a coalition of Republicans and southern Democrats. It will take a concentrated effort by the executive branch and public interest groups to reactivate and pass Senate Resolution 94 this year.

Senator AIKEN, of Vermont, was the only Republican member of the committee who voted against the tabling motion and in favor of reporting the repeal resolution to the Senate. What more could the administration have done, you may ask, in view of President Eisenhower's plea for passage of the repeal resolution in his state of the Union message last January, and the Vice President's the Attorney General's, and the Secretary of State's statements in favor of repeal early this year.

The answer is: "A lot." There is all the difference in the world between the inclusion of two or three sentences in favor of a legislative proposal in a formal address mentioning scores of proposals or indica-tions of approval in formal statements of Cabinet officers submitted on request by congressional committees, and the special pleas for legislative action which characterized the President's interest in labor reform last summer, followed by phone calls and visits to the Hill by the White House staff and other executive officials to round up needed votes. The exertion of real executive leadership will inevitably result in the votes of more than one lone party member on a large committee. Obviously the repeal proposal has been assigned a low legislative priority by the executive.

Similar expressions of support for the repeal resolution by lawyers and others have been far from overwhelming. My mail this year has run 542-177 against repeal; congresswide, the opposition mail from veteran and other groups is reported to be even heavier. If my own mail were a true reflection of attorney sentiment in the Commonwealth, there is far more interest in passage of the Keogh tax relief bill for worthy, selfemployed members of the bar than in U.S. participation in the World Court. If the lawyers are disinterested, imagine the apathy of other professions.

I do not mean to deprecate in any way the effect of bar association resolutions in support of repeal. The repeal resolutions, including the one passed by the Allegheny Bar Association last June 30, have provided the most effective expressions of support for

repeal received by the Congress.

CONCLUSION

This discussion of the problems involved in repealing the Connally reservation and in achieving enforceable agreements with the Communists on the cessation of nuclear weapons and general disarmament suggests certain conclusions:

1. The Connally reservation will not be repealed this year unless interested groups and persons, especially attorneys, demand by word and letter that the President take effective actions to achieve this end.

2. A nuclear test ban treaty before year's end is a distinct possibility, and Communist Chinese participation in the control system will have to be obtained shortly after the signing of the treaty. Soviet views should be sought at the summit meeting on this problem which may be confronting both of our countries in the immediate future, and in which U.S. long-range interests may not be dissimilar from those of the Soviet Union.

3. U.S. disarmament efforts will not be successfully planned or executed until the Disarmament Office at the State Department is upgraded. At present it is headed by a junior official and staffed by a total of 12 men. The office should be headed by an Under Secretary of State with a full staff of experts to do the immense amount of preparatory work needed to backup our disarmament negotiation conference, and to equip Secretary Herter to do battle with the Pentagon, the Atomic Energy Commission and other groups opposed to all arms control measures.

None of these suggestions or any others designed to promote world peace through enforceable world law may work. The rule of law may never be more than a goal for lawyers to talk about on Law Day, United States of America. The arms race may have gone too far to be stopped. If so, the sooner we establish that fact the better, because the military effort we will have to make to keep the race in balance in coming years as well as the risks of failure will be stupendous. But I submit that enforceable world law is a practical goal; the only practical goal for this Nation and others at this advanced date; that the isolationist goal of the 19th century ultra nationalists is no longer tenable; and that the rule of law in the world community can and must be achieved—in the 1960's—before it is too late.

The Myth of Soviet Unity

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWIN B. DOOLEY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, May 4, 1960

Mr. DOOLEY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks I include an article from the May 1960 issue of the Sign entitled "The Myth of Soviet Unity," by Lev Dobriansky.

The author of this trenchant article point out that there are more non-Russians than Russians inhabitating the Soviet orbit. He indicates that Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Byelorusisa, Ukraine, Cossackia, Idel-Ural, Georgia, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Uzbek, Turkmen, Tadzhik, Kazakh, and Kirghiz were at one time independent of Russian authority and some of them are still eagerly seeking their own freedom. Three of these governments are still recognized by our country as free governments; namely, Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia.

It is important to note that most of the major resources of the U.S.S.R. are to be found in the non-Russian areas. Dobriansky indicates that the vast Soviet Empire is really a giant with clay feet. While this is heartening to some, we must bear in mind that it still has more ICBM operational ability than we have, which is an important fact to be reckoned with

However, the piece explodes a number of myths with knowledge of the truth.

The article follows:

THE MYTH OF SOVIET UNITY (By Lev Dobriansky 1)

The U.S.S.R. is a giant with clay feet a restless conglomeration of many unwilling nations held in bondage by masters of deceit in Moscow. Soviet strength depends largely on hiding this fact from the world.

POPULATION FIGURES

The U.S.S.R. Russians, 96 million. Non-Russians, 114 million. Non-Russian nations within U.S.S.R.: Estonia, 1,200,000. Latvia, 2,100,000. Lithuania, 2,700,000. Byelorussia, 10,800,000. Ukraine, 42 million. Cossackia, 10 million. Idel-Ural, 15 million. Georgia, 4 million. Armenia, 1.8 million. Azerbaijan, 3,700,000. Uzbek, 8,100,000. Turkmen, 1,500,000. Tadzhik, 2 million. Kazakh 9,300,000.

Kirghiz, 2 million.
Figures based on U.S.S.R. census, 1959.
Propaganda is the Russian Communists'
most important weapon in the cold war. Out
of a strange mixture of truths, half truths,
and bald lies, they have cunningly devised an
amazing system of deception. Chief among
their deceits is the myth of Soviet unity.

This myth is kept alive only as long as we remain ignorant of the facts. It is high time we exploded the myth with knowledge of the truth.

What Americans do not know about Russia came to light painfully last July when a joint resolution, unanimously passed by Congress, called for the observance of Captive Nations Week. Now Public Law 86-90, this congressional act is the first official recognition which our Government has made of the existence of non-Russian nations within the Soviet Union.

The act of Congress mentions many captive nations without and within the U.S.S.R. borders. Deceived by Russian propaganda, Americans had long thought of captive nations only in terms of the satellites in eastern and central Europe.

When the resolution was made public, reporters, commentators, and the public inquired, "Where is White Ruthenia? Where is Cossackia?" Many admitted that they had never heard of Idel-Ural or Azerbaijan or even Turkestan. Meanwhile, a number of writers and analysts continued along their merry but blind way to apply this act of Congress solely to those minority captive nations in central Europe.

Those who investigated the situation were astonished to discover that there are more captive nations within the U.S.R. than there are without. They were surprised to learn that the people of those captive nations within the Soviet borders outnumber all the Russians combined.

When the joint resolution was passed, few Americans appreciated this fact. But Khrushchev did. Knowing the implications of President Eisenhower's proclamation of Captive Nations Week, he exploded.

Khrushchev was aroused because he wants to hide from the free world the fact that Russia, although a political giant, is a giant with clay feet—a giant whose framework is made up of many different strands.

We must understand some important distinctions between tribes, nations, states, voluntary federations, and tyrannically constructed empires.

The state, it should be noted, is simply the political aspect of the nation. Sometimes you have several nations voluntarily existing in one state, as in Switzerland. Again, you may have one nation being ruled, in separate parts, by two governments, as in Ireland. Again, many nations, against their will, may be politically and tyrannically controlled by one superimposed government, as

in the Soviet Union.

After World War I, the present captive nations within the U.S.S.R., were newly independent states. In the collapsing Russian empire, after World War I, Lithuania, Georgia, Armenia, and other non-Russian nations, declared their political independence. They were free of czarist control. Furthermore, they had no mind to submit to Communist control from Moscow. They established themselves as free democratic republics. Ukraine and Georgia were even recognized as separate states by Lenin's Soviet Russia.

We remember well the tragic fate that overtook independent Lithuania, Poland, Hungary, and others in the forties. But what most of us forget is that similar tragedies befell Georgia, the Ukraine, White Ruthenia, and others in the early twenties. Trotsky's Red Russian Army had picked them off one by one after softening them up by infiltration, subversion, propaganda, etc.

tion, subversion, propaganda, etc.

By 1923, following the first wave of Red
Russian imperialism, these non-Russian nations were forced into the spurious federation called the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. Because of their large populations
and their natural resources, these non-Russian nations formed the base for Moscow's
further imperialist thrust into central Europe. Currently, they form the base for
Russian colonial designs in the Middle East,
Asia, and Africa.

Yet—and here is a basic point which Americans must grasp—these non-Russian nations within the U.S.S.R. have not passively accepted the Soviet yoke. Each decade, since the twenties, has seen serious friction, resistance, even open rebellion, scald the hand of their Moscow masters.

This struggle continues. Not a month goes by that Moscow does not launch a fresh attack against this nationalistic trend. Indeed this opposition to Moscow pressured Stalin to bid for the inclusion of Ukraine and Byelorussia as original members of the United Nations. From time to time, Moscow finds it expedient to pretend that the non-Russian republics are independent. Amendments to the U.S.S.R. Constitution provide for these republics to have their own war ministries and to enter into direct diplomatic relations with other states. Moscow clearly does not underestimate the reality of these restless nations.

In December 1957, Khrushchev addressed the Supreme Soviet in Ukraine. He referred to Ukraine as "a truly free and independent nation."

But Nikita Khrushchev is not fooling the Ukrainians—and he dreads their genuine nationalism. Even during the illusory "spirit of Camp David" his agents in Munich assassinated the Ukrainian nationalist leader, Stefan Bandera, and, under the economic disguise of "voluntary resettlements," Khrushchev is currently engineering the deportation of families from western Ukraine to central Asia and the Crimea.

These non-Russian nations within the Soviet borders are ancient peoples with long histories and periods of national freedom. Ukraine has 42 million people, the biggest non-Russian nation within the U.S.S.R. The three Baitle nations number 6 million; White Ruthenia (Byelorussia), 10.8 million; Georgia, 4 million; Armenia, 1.8 million; Azerbaijan, 3.7 million; and Turkestan, purposely divided by Moscow into five "republics," (Kazakh, Tadzhik, Kirghiz, Turkmen, Uzbek), 22.9 million. Add to these some 10 million ethnic and nationally conscious Cossacks located above the Caucasus, and about 15 million Moslems concentrated in the Idel-Ural (Volga-Ural) country, and you wind up with the sizable figure, of about 114 million people. This figure covers only 11 compact ethnic and national non-Russian units. There are many small tribal units besides. The Russians number 96 million. Kremlin propaganda concerning the economic progress of the U.S.S.R. would take on a different color if it were subjected to the searching light of reality.

searching light of reality.

Moscow is supervising an uneasy conglomeration of many nations within the borders of the U.S.S.R. and a restless system of additional colonies outside its borders.

An economy based on extensive captive resources can hardly be compared with a free national economy. Most of the resources within the U.S.S.R. are concentrated in non-Russian areas: agriculture in Ukraine, Turkestan, and Georgia; coal in Ukraine and Turkestan; oil in Azerbaijan and Idel-Ural; 90 percent of the manganese in Georgia and Ukraine; iron ore in the Caucasus and Ukraine. Turkestan, three times the combined size of Britain, France, and Germany, alone accounts for about half the copper, lead, zinc output, and is also rich in bauxite and silver.

Soviet propaganda concerning the military might of the U.S.S.R. also acquires a different shade of meaning when confronted with facts. Forty-three percent of the armed forces of the U.S.S.R. is non-Russian. Even apart from likely Russian defections, this is most significant. As for potential Ukrainian, Russian, and other defections, Hungary has furnished the most recent example of what may happen.

Despite their inner weaknesses, the Russians have not only manufactured a myth of unity and invincible strength but they have managed to have the myth accepted by America. The myth has been swallowed not only by the public but by newsmen, commentators, columnists, and political leaders in high levels of government. A few examples:

The New York Times, October 21, 1958: "Cardinal Agagianian is Russian by birth,

¹Dr. Lev E. Dobriansky, associate professor of economics at Georgetown University and staff member of Georgetown's Institute of Ethnic Studies, is an authority on the Soviet Union and communism whose views have been widely quoted in leading newspapers, governmental studies, the Congressional Record, and in many scholarly publications.

having been born near Tiflis." This statement makes about as much sense as asserting that "Cardinal D'Alton is English by birth, having been born in the British Empire." Cardinal D'Alton is Irish and Cardinal Agagianian is Armenian.

Returning from a visit to the U.S.S.R., Adlai Stevenson wrote: "Russia is still a land of sharp and vivid contrasts." He meant the

J.S.S.R.

Last July the Governors report on the Soviet visit was issued. Referring to the United States and the U.S.R., the report stated: "Ways must be devised for the people of these two major nations to understand each other." Even Khrushchev, speaking to various peoples within his empire, would not go so far as to call the U.S.S.R. a nation.

We would expect the U.S. Office of Education would be correctly informed. Yet, in its "U.S. Mission's Report on Education in the Soviet Union," we read: "The one fact that most impressed us in the U.S.S.R. was the extent to which the nation is committed to education as a means of national advancement." Actually, our Government still recognizes the free governments of Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia.

I can almost hear my readers complaining that I am indulging in semantics. But this is not merely semantics. Senator John F. Kennedy would resent it very much if people kept calling him Richard M. Nixon and vice versa. Everyone likes to retain his own identity, his own background, character, and intentions. So do peoples and nations.

The cold war today is being waged basically on the propaganda level. Hearts and minds of men are the primary targets. This has always been Russia's empire-building mode of attack. But Moscow's lies will eventually smash themselves against the hard reality of truth. Truth makes men free—and we can begin to triumph over imperialist Russian totalitarianism once we replace our misconceptions of Russia with knowledge of the truth. The captive nations resolution was a start. It is tragic that Moscow knows this better than we.

Nixon's Stock Moves Up Again

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. ROBERT H. MICHEL

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 4, 1960

Mr. MICHEL. Mr. Speaker, as a follow up to my previous remarks which I extended into the Appendix of the Record of April 18 on page A3336 concerning an editorial by David Lawrence, I wish to insert the following editorial by Ralph McGill which points up the continuity of thought being expressed more frequently these days by our leading editorialists all over the Nation:

[From the Evening Star, May 3, 1960]
NIXON'S STOCK MOVES UP AGAIN—PENNSYLVANIA VOTE FOUND ELIMINATING POPULARITY SAG IN RECENT POLLS

(By Ralph McGill)

Vice President Nixon's refusal to be pushed off balance a few weeks ago by a sag in his popularity as theoretically established by the ubiquitous polis, and a spate of comments by persons who expressed distaste for him as a candidate, has been sustained by the Pennsylvania vote.

The more pragmatic politicians did not

need this. They knew all along he is a politically tough-minded young man who knows where he is going. Others may not know. But he does. They also were under no illusions that he will not be difficult to beat. The tremendous vote for him in Pennsylvania's primary will cause the fever charts of polls to spurt upward again.

So Mr. Nixon, and those who must contend with him, are back where they were before. There are a number of persons, including Republicans, who do not like Mr. Nixon. Most of them cannot say why. But this doesn't matter. They do not care for him. Most of the independent voters have not yet made up their minds. They do not now lean toward Mr. Nixon, but they assuredly will wait and see. The independent, or "mugwump" is not an emotionalist. He more and more tends to vote for the man he thinks will do the best job for the country. He also prefers to wait for the campaign so as to give ear to the issues and the manner in which candidates reveal their personalities and thought processes. So the very large independent vote will continue to wait.

The Pennsylvania balloting, as was generally noted in the first reports of it, was a blackjack behind the ear to the revived Rockefeller hopes. Mr. Rockefeller has political potential. But he obviously is not yet well known. It may be, if Mr. Nixon should be defeated, the party will turn to him in 1964. But not now.

So we return to Mr. NIXON.

The Taft right wing in his party, which was so badly mauled in New Jersey, goes about muttering to itself like the somewhat senile symbol it is. A number of those about the country who had great hopes of nominating one of their number in New Jersey's recent primary are now saying that LYNDON JOHNSON is the very best candidate before the people regardless of party. There is just one flaw in this thinking. They cannot vote for Mr. Johnson unless he is nominated. Presently it does not appear he will be.

The New Jersey election, the substantial needs of a great many American people as revealed by the campaign in West Virginia, and the recent Kellogg grant for a study of the desperate condition of some 30 eastern counties in Kentucky, explain why we will have more social legislation in the future, It is astonishing how many persons continue to believe that we can have the increasing concentrations of people in urban areas, dependent on a relatively few corporate employers and the many service jobs they create and still operate with the political policies of Cal Coolidge's days.

If we are not careful, and do not attend to the issues on hand, we may very well end up with a sort of liberal facade of social services and a Government which is highly isolationist and protectionist in trade. Such a Government could not long maintain this Nation as the first-rate power it must be if it is to survive. But to have such a facade and such a Government is to have one's cake and eat it too, at least for a time.

Every thoughtful American should be grateful to Mr. Nixon at this point for what he said at the recent meeting of editors. "We must," he said, "help the jobless miners and the destitute in West Virginia and other areas where the industrial and agricultural revolution has created pockets of unemployed and unemployables. But we must also have an intelligent program of foreign aid and trade."

Mr. Nixon remains something of an enigma. But he is making his own decisions and he does possess boldness and imagination. And his stock is now moving up again. The polls reflect chiefly the feverishness and fickleness of opinion. What most of the people are thinking can't yet be measured.

Resident Correspondent Reports on West Germany—II

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JEFFERY COHELAN

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, May 4, 1960

Mr. COHELAN. Mr. Speaker, following is the second part of an article by Sebastian Haffner on the situation in West Germany today. The first portion of this valuable report appears elsewhere in today's Record.

West Germans Still Enjoying Chromium Idyll (By Sebastian Haffner) STANDSTILL EDUCATION

What is education like, particularly in the universities? What do German historians and philosophers teach young people? Do the young men and women really know what the Nazi regime was like, and do they care? Are they secretly a bit proud of Hitler?

Education in West Germany, including the universities, is very much what it was in all Germany before Hitler, or even before 1918—at which point history teaching in the schools often stops. It imparts much solid factual knowledge and, in the case of the universities, sound methods of research. With few exceptions, it does not impart either a coherent philosophy of life or an established set of manners. It never did.

As everywhere in the West, science dominates the universities at the expense of the humanities and probably attracts the best talents.

German academic historians have, on the whole, despite one or two brave freelance attempts, so far failed to review and rewrite German history in the light of 20th-century experience. The great 19th-century historians still retain their authority, and modern events are often judged in the incongruent terms of the Bismarckians and their liberal critics.

An authoritative, scholarly German history of Hitler does not exist, and textbooks make do with scrappy facts and conventionally adverse snap judgments.

The young—with individual exceptions—know and care little about Hitler, but then they know and care little about history altogether. (They do know and care about cars, rockets, and space travel.) I have never personally come across signs of secret pride in Hitler's exploits among the young, and I don't think it is at all widespread among the general run of them. But there are odd little youth circles here and there in which, usually under the guidance of middle-aged misfits, a brew of Germanic mystique, military glory, and wandervogel romanticism continues to be distilled.

Altogether, it is probably true that education is the weakest spot in West Germany. Partly, this is a weakness Germany shares with the agnostic West as a whole. Partly, education is the field in which the secret insecurity and sick conscience of the German elder generation—the Hitler generation—have their most damaging and most lasting effects. But the result of weak education among the young seems to be shapelessness and disorientation rather than any positive evil.

DEMOCRACY'S STRENGTH

How deeply rooted are democracy and parliamentary government? What are deeply rooted and really valued in post-Hitter Germany are the rule of law, personal liberty, humane decency, and orderly constitutional process of government—"normality." Democracy and Parliament are certainly less deeply rooted, but they are now soberly accepted by almost everybody as the necessary political basis of the aforementioned values.

There is, in any case, no alternative. Monarchy and aristocratic rule are past reviving; dictatorship and totalitarianism are completely discredited; and there is no serious opposition to democracy and parliamentary government, in striking contrast to the days of the Weimar Republic.

Power in West Germany is distributed among (in rough order of importance) the Chancellor, the parliamentary majority party, the Cabinet, Parliament as a whole, the States, and the big lobbles. The Christian Democratic Party machine is hardly a power factor at all.

The German Christian Democrats, like the British Conservaties, are the sort of party that outside Parliament and between elections leads an obscure, almost unnoticeable existence. They are not a machine party.

OPPOSITION PARTY

What has happened to the Social Democrats, and what do they want? Who will succeed Adenauer anyway?

The Social Democrats have taken a grip on themselves and—to judge by the latest state and municipal elections results—are on the upgrade again. The two great—connected—events of their, recent party history are the meteoric rise of Willy Brandt and the adoption of a new party program which repudiates Marx and remodels the party on Scandinavian lines.

Brandt, the Social Democrat mayor of Berlin, is now the only serious rival of Adenauer in popular esteem in Germany, and appears as the predestined successor. The question is whether even he can carry his party—the natural minority party in West Germany—into government.

After Adenauer, this might not be wholly impossible in a straight electoral fight; in the meantime, the possibility of a coalition—toward which Brandt is edging his party via a bipartisan foreign policy—is for the first time a matter of serious talk in political Germany.

RUSSIAN DEAL

Do the West Germans ever talk or think of making a deal with Russia?

Some outsiders, yes. (Among them, remarkably, the little German Reich Party, often considered neo-Nazi.) Any responsible politicians, no. Among the general public, deep fear and horror of communism stand in the way.

And yet I could imagine a situation in which many Germans would begin to think and talk of a deal with Russia, not from a sense of strength, but from a sense of weak-ness.

If the West, on which West Germany relies, were proved too weak to hold Berlin, or too unfriendly to stand by the West German alllance, or too disloyal to hold out against recognition of East Germany, there might be panic and a clamor to come to terms with Russia while reasonable terms could still be had. If Russia then made a generous reunion offer, anything might happen.

INDUSTRY'S ROLE

What part does big industry play? We said we must split up German heavy industry, and this was not done—probably rightly. But does it matter or not?

If education is the weakest point of West Germany, industry is the strongest. The professional achievement of West German industry since 1948—not only in sheer production, but also in technological planning marketing and social relations—is beyond praise. Of course it matters greatly that German industry was not split up after the war. Had it been, this would have imposed articial misery on Germany and would have made Germany safe for communism. As it is, the "economic miracle" has given the new German democracy and Western orientation, a solid basis of prosperity.

tation a solid basis of prosperity.

The "economic miracle" is only very partly the work of the old industrial families. A vast stream of managerial talent from the middle and lower middle classes has flowed into German industry since the war, and many of the biggest industrial names of today are entirely new men. (For instance, the present director-general of Krupp and virtual re-creator of this gigantic combine is the expellee-son of a washerwoman from now-Polish Stettin.)

The industrial climate, too, is new. Despite over-full employment, there is an almost complete absence of strikes, thanks to remarkable relations between industrial management and trade unions. In fact there is something like a secret coalition between them against bankers and hard money politicians.

Industry is, of course, a powerful lobby in economic affairs, but—in contrast to Weimar days—it is rather kept out of real influence on major foreign policy. Such as it is, this influence works rather for Eastern trade—and to that extent a softer attitude toward Russia—and against the Common Market.

President Lleras' Speech

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. ROBERT R. BARRY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, May 4, 1960

Mr. BARRY. Mr. Speaker, we in the Congress were privileged recently to hear in a joint session, the distinguished President of Colombia, Dr. Alberto Lleras Camargo. His words were important and should be given serious attention. In furtherance of this objective I would like to insert in the RECORD a letter to the editor of the New York Times from a citizen of my hometown, Bronxville. Mr. Inman is a friend of mine. He has been long active in the pan-American movement, is the author of a number of books and articles on Latin America and has lectured extensively there. His expert opinion should carry weight. The article follows:

To the EDITOR OF THE NEW YORK TIMES:

In connection with the recent Pan American Day I would like to recall the important suggestions made to us by our distinguished visitor, Alberto Lleras Camargo, President of the Republic of Colombia.

The main theme running through all his addresses was his conviction that if the profound suffering in Latin America were not alleviated within the next 10 or 15 years chaos will have taken place on the American Continent. These are not the words of an alarmist, but of a sober student who probably has had greater opportunity than any other government official in the Americas to study the subject.

Under Dr. Lleras' 10 years of leadership the Pan American Union at Washington was completely transformed into the political Organization of American States. He then resigned and returned to his native Colombia, where he was soon drafted into the Presidency. Later he was invited to visit the United States and speak frankly about inter-American conditions.

CONTRAST IN LIVING STANDARDS

One reason for his extraordinary reception was his frank judgment concerning the present grave dangers for both his host and the southern Republics. In his frank warning of the danger of oncoming chaos in the New World he put the responsibility on both the poverty-stricken people of the southern Republics and the rich civilization of the north.

"We have at best only a few years to meet the social challenge," said President Lleras. "People in our hills who have been poor always now have a radio that tells them that others are wealthy. They know what is happening in the world. They hear about crowds in Algeria putting up barricades and defying the government. They may not know where Algeria is, but they learn what barricades are. They can be ignored no longer."

As an old newspaperman, President Lleras chose the Overseas Press Club as the place for his last meal with us. He explained to us, probably referring to the present quarrel with Cuba, that the inter-American system has the most complete organization in the world with which to settle its disputes and said that "if the inter-American system did not exist there would be in the New World only insecurity, imperialism and war.

"What the states of the hemisphere have attained within their organization has no parallel in the world. They have achieved nothing less than the greatest autonomy, without having to protect themselves by armed force, and a juridical and political balance which safeguards the smallest and weakest as fully and effectively as the strongest of all."

Summing up. Dr. Lleras said: "Inter-American peace faces probably its toughest future. For victory, two activities are especially needed: Strenuous struggle for social justice; everlasting use of inter-American peace machinery."

SAMUEL GUY INMAN.

Polish Constitution Day

SPEECH

HON. HAROLD D. DONOHUE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 3, 1960

Mr. DONOHUE. Mr. Speaker, on this 169th anniversary of Polish Constitution Day all Americans of every racial descent join with the people of Poland in a prayer for Polish independence and a renewed pledge to continue to work for the restoration of liberty and freedom to Poland and the rest of the enslaved Christian world.

No one who understands the great contribution to our own independence of the immortal Polish heroes of the Revolution or who has read of the glorious history of Poland in defense of Christian principles can help having tremendous admiration for the courage, patience, and fortitude of the Polish people in their current struggle to regain independence.

Heroic Poland gave us the best and most inspiring modern example of sacrifice for Christian principle in that terrible engagement with the Communists in 1920. The Polish people proved then to the world that they were among the very, very few who early recognized the planned and determined Kremlin objective of reducing the free world to pagan Would that we had wisely learned from their example and the recent years of too much appeasement and too often retreat, of developing world confusion and of increasing turmoil. might well have been avoided.

The price the Polish people paid for their early courageous resistance to Communist attack was catastrophic and the blow was even more severe when it appeared that their supposed allies turned their backs upon and heads away from their cruel plight under Soviet subjugation and tyranny. The debt the free world owes to heroic Poland for her courageous struggle against the Communist horde 40 years ago still remains unpaid and will remain a blot upon the moral integrity of this country and the United Nations until it is paid.

That is why we as Americans must never relax our efforts to help the Polish people to reestablish their freedoms under their own chosen government. As a nation dedicated ourselves to the democratic principles of personal liberty and individual freedom, the U.S. Government has an obligation to unceasingly maintain the right of Poland to her independence and persevere, both as an individual nation and as a member of the United Nations, in demanding that the Communist leaders grant freedom and independence to Poland. We can do no less and still call ourselves a Christian democratic country while we join in prayer that the day will soon come when Poland. and all the other enslaved nations, will once again happily enjoy their personal and national freedom.

Pittsburgh Renaissance Tackles Housing

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. WILLIAM S. MOORHEAD

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, May 4, 1960

Mr. MOORHEAD. Mr. Speaker, rebuilding of our older cities has been one of this Nation's most dramatic developments in the postwar era. Pittsburgh, which I represent, has led the way in development in what has become known as the Pittsburgh renaissance.

So far, however, such programs have been mostly concerned in Pittsburgh and elsewhere with redevelopment and renewal on a civic, industrial, and commercial scale.

A far greater challenge faces city planners, however. It is the job of residential renewal, the task of focusing urban renewal machinery upon the housing needs of millions of our city residents.

In a recent address before the 27th annual stockholders meeting of the Federal Home Loan Bank of Pittsburgh, Bernard E. Loshbough, executive director of ACTION-Housing, Inc., told of Pittsburgh and Allegheny County plans to meet the urban renewal needs of an entire county area. This involves primarily the meeting of great housing needs through the building of new housing and the reconditioning of older housing. Because of the importance of this subject to communities throughout the country. I think Mr. Loshbough's remarks are indeed timely. Thus, under leave heretofore granted to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I include the text of Mr. Loshbough's address and commend its reading to my colleagues:

THE PUTSBURGH RENAISSANCE TACKLES HOUSING

(By Bernard E. Loshbough)

It is a rewarding and encouraging experience to meet with executives of ings and loan associations who are doing so much in the field of housing-whose efforts should certainly help in solving a great national problem as we move into the golden elytice

All of us recognize that the problem of upgrading existing housing and providing an adequate supply of new housing for middle income families is complex and frustrating. But we have firm faith in the ingenuity of private enterprise to break through and place a good home within the reach of every American family.

Just recently, Robert B. Anderson, Secretary of the Treasury, declared that 1960 promises to be the most prosperous in history, with better prospects for a longer period of healthy, rewarding, and noninflationary growth than at any time in the past 2 decades.

Your own industry is destined to play an important role in creating and sustaining that growth

Three trends have been noted by the population forecasters:

1. A greatly increased national population. 2. A continued and more intensive concentration of population in the urban areas.

3. Enormous opportunities.

The census takers are out today counting American noses. There are now about 180 million people in these United States, and if the present growth continues, some demographers predict 215 million people by 1970 and 264 million by 1980. This is certainly a whopping increase, but what's important is the kind of growth.

For instance, there will be many more elderly people and many more teenagers and young adults by 1980.

Consider these figures: 64 percent more children under 10; 67 percent more young people from 10 to 19; 83 percent more young adults 20 to 29; 29 percent more adults 30 to 39; only 1 percent more from 40 to 49: 29 percent more from 50 to 59; 56 percent more adults over 60.

Virtually all of this growth will be jammed into the suburban fringes of our booming urban centers. In less than a century, great technological forces have changed us an overwhelmingly rural to an overwhelmingly urban nation. In the past 10 years, some 3 million people have left the farms and the exodus continues.

Cities alert to the needs of a mushrooming population will grow and prosper; those apathetic and unresponsive will stagnate. The future of any urban center rests squarely upon the willingness and ability of its leaders to face problems, seize opportunities, and cooperate creatively.

Pittsburgh enters the soaring sixtles with a full jet thrust. Our problems are as difficult as those of other cities. But we have the momentum generated by 15 years of dynamic business, civic, governmental team-

When World War II ended, Pittsburgh faced two choices: inaction and certain decline, or concerted action leading to regeneration and progress. Pittsburgh took the difficult road of progress. Obstacles and roadblocks were overcome through a singular demonstration of teamwork epitomized by the nationally famous Allegheny Conference on Community Development,

Its achievements are evident all around us-cleaner air, flood control, a network of highways and parkways, new bridges, Gateway Center, the Golden Triangle, and a monumental civic areas

Pittsburgh's progress since 1945 has been achieved largely by a partnership of local government and business enterprise, and financed in the main with private capital. Much assistance has come from the public agencies, notably the Urban Redevelopment Authority of Pittsburgh, through the judicious use of its powers of eminent domain for land assembly.

Justifiably, most of our community renewal in the past decade has been predominantly industrial, commercial, and civic. Aware, however, of the critical nature of the area's housing problem in general, and its relationship to the continued progress of the Pittsburgh renaissance, the Allegheny con-ference addressed itself to the housing field several years ago. To guide its course, a study was made of local housing needs.

The report to the conference concluded that a civic organization with a broadly representative board of directors and a fulltime staff was required to move effectively against the obstacles hindering housing progress.

Accordingly, Action-Housing, Inc., was established in August 1957.

Action-Housing, Inc. is preparing, in coop eration with other private, civic, and public agencies, a program of housing and urban renewal to eliminate the slums and rundown areas in Allegheny County. Important parts of this program are now going forward.

Let me say this about our objective. We're deeply concerned both with good housing for people and sustaining a sound local economy. These components are inseparable.

Richard K. Mellon, chief civic architect of the Pittsburgh renaissance, said last January at Action-Housing's second annual meeting: "An urban center such as Pittsburgh does not achieve true greatness until its people are well housed—regardless of how many new office towers, expressways, and industrial plants are built."

Here then are the essentials of Action-Housing's six-point program—the tools it puts to work to achieve its objectives:

- 1. Expanding the housing supply for moderate income families.
- 2. Modernization of houses and neighbor-
- 3. Establishing effective neighborhood participation.
- 4. Promoting countywide planning and programing.
- 5. Bringing new housing design and technology into widespread use.
- 6. Developing increased public understanding of housing problems and their solution. Let me cite an example or two of each of these six points.

Action-Housing, Inc., sponsored the con-struction of Spring Hill Gardens, the first section 221 moderate rental housing development of its kind in Pennsylvania and the second in the Nation. Privately built, financed, and managed, Spring Hill Gardens provides 209 apartments on Pittsburgh's north side for families whose annual incomes range between \$3,600 and \$7,000.

We have tackled the thorny problem of home modernization in several ways. Together with the Greater Pittsburgh Board of Realtors, we invited the build-Americabetter committee of the National Association of Real Estate Boards to come to Pittsburgh and survey the potential of neighborhood conservation in the local urban renewal

program.

This was followed by a major clinic on financing residential rehabilitation, and a number of other smaller meetings on home modernization. The clinic was attended by more than 300 persons—realtors, public officials, bankers, homebuilders, architects, appraisers, savings and loan officials, building material suppliers, and neighborhood leaders.

With local realtors and other organizations, Action-Housing, Inc., cosponsored the pilot demonstration of a single house under section 221 of the National Housing Act. We will soon be doing another demonstration of home modernization in conjunction with the marketing division of Life magazine and a Pittsburgh lumber dealer. This demonstration will be conventionally financed.

Progress in this aspect of urban renewal has been slow. There are technological, economic, and human problems. We have devoted considerable time and effort to the home modernization phase of our program and will continue to do so until a solution is found.

With the proper incentives, home modernization will develop an entirely new industry in America. Some say this represents a fresh

and untapped \$15 billion market.

As for the vital involvement of people in direct participation in urban renewal, we have been working with groups in 10 Pittsburgh neighborhoods, and in several towns and suburbs in Allegheny County. Action-Housing, Inc., carries the full responsibility for organizing and assisting citizens' re-newal councils in designated urban renewal

The first was the East Liberty Citizens Renewal Council, organized in Pittsburgh's initial federally assisted neighborhood urban renewal area. C. Elwood Knapp, president of Pittsburgh Friendship Federal Savings & Loan Association and vice president of the United States Savings & Loan League, and Gregor F. Meyer, chairman of the board of the East End Federal Savings & Loan Association, are active in the renewal council.

Action-Housing, Inc., has helped neighborhood leaders in other areas set up such councils. The newest one is functioning in Pittsburgh's Homewood-Brushton neighborhood, where a full-scale self-help renewal program—without Federal aid—is now underway.

The fourth point of our program is countywide planning and research. Our most important research project to date is what we call the urban renewal impact study, financed Partially by a grant from the Ford Foundation, and by matching grants or services from local civic and public agencies.

From this study will come the answers to many questions about a total urban renewal Program for Allegheny County: how much will it cost in public and private funds; do municipalities have adequate legal and financial capacity to do the job; how many families will have to be relocated; how can the program best benefit the economy of the area; and what priorities should be assigned to various phases of the program.

As to point 5, there has been much talk about the need for technological advances in the housing industry, but little has reached the home buyer. In fact, some economists say "housing is the industry the industrial revolution forgot." Through our East Hills development, private builders will have the Opportunity to use many of these technological advances. Indeed, we look forward to East Hills as a barrier-breaking demonstration of new techniques in housing design, construction, and site layout.

The final point is public understanding. It is often said of any program involving the interests of people that "we must reach them." We say it another way: "They must be able to reach us" with their ideas, their needs and their desires. But we must build the bridge by which they can reach us.

To do this, we have held many conferences and meetings of all descriptions. We have brought to Pittsburgh specialists from every area of the housing industry, to exchange ideas with their local counterparts. We have gone on television and radio, and have spoken to scores of organizations. We have given talks on housing at premarriage courses, at innumerable service clubs, civic groups and

Our major accomplishment to date is the Pittsburgh Development Fund of Action-Housing, Inc., launched last September. It will create a revolving loan fund expected to exceed \$2 million, through interest-bearing loans from local major corporations, industries and organizations. The funda-mental purpose of the development fund is to provide intermediate equity capital-seed money-for an extensive program of privately financed, privately built and operated sales and rental housing, as well as stimulate large-scale home modernization.

The fund will serve to backstop lending institutions and the homebuilding industry, and will primarily be a source of working capital that could not be obtained otherwise. Here is how the fund would operate;

Loan intermediate equity capital to builders for development of new housing.

2. Supply intermediate equity capital to modernizers for restoring rundown housing. 3. Acquire landsites available only for total cash purchase for resale to developers.

4. Provide large-scale demonstrations of new housing materials, design, technology,

and production.

The development fund is well underway. It was established and given terrific impetus toward its goal of \$2 million by grants totaling \$350,000 from the three Mellon foundations. Richard K. Mellon, speaking of the fund at our second annual meeting, said: "Action-Housing, Inc., has justified the faith of all who have supported it. Now it has a great new project in its Pittsburgh Development Fund. The Mellon foundations have felt it worth supporting. We are confident that large Pittsburgh corporations will evidence the same faith."

Major Pittsburgh corporations are backing the fund with substantial loans.

In addition to the obvious direct benefits, the collateral benefits to be derived from the operations of the development fund are:

(a) A substantial increase in mortgage lending and consumer loan activity.

(b) An increased demand for consumer goods.

(c) Protection of industry's huge investment in the Pittsburgh renaissance.

(d) Assistance to industry to attract and keep able personnel.

(e) Attract new industrial development. (f) An increase in revenue to the taxing

bodies. East Hills, located on a 130-acre vacant tract at the easterly edge of Pittsburgh, is

the first housing proposal of the develop-ment fund. It will provide 1,400 to 1,600 fine new rental and sales homes for moderate-income families. East Hills will demonstrate the feasibility of a variety of plans, designs, technological advances in production methods, materials, and innovations in financing and management. And East Hills will most certainly create a significant de-

mand for mortgage loans.

As exciting as East Hills is, we must not overlook the fact that the vast number of moderate-income families will continue to find their housing in the existing housing supply. Nationally, only about 3 percent in new dwellings is added annually to the inventory. In Allegheny County, the annual increase in recent years has been only 1.5

ACTION-Housing, Inc., is acutely aware that innovations are also needed in our older neighborhoods-in the neighborhoods that have grown old in service to the community.

With this in mind, we have launched a new kind of renewal in the Homewood-Brushton neighborhood of Pittsburgh. have as allies the health and welfare association, city and county governments, lo-cal public authorities, and the civic, business, industrial and citizen leadership of Homewood-Brushton.

The new plan is based on the self-help principle. Most of the work of remodeling homes, modernizing stores, expanding parking facilities, landscaping industrial sites. augmenting youth activities, and other physical and social upgrading will be carried out by the people in the neighborhood, through the Homewood-Brushton Citizens Renewal Council. Savings and loan officials there are participating in the council's program. They are Vernon T. Sampson, president, Homewood Savings and Loan Association, and Fred C. Reinhardt, president, Second Federal Savings and Loan Association.

No matter what your home base, each of you has the opportunity to aid in meeting the housing challenge of the soaring sixties.

Before closing, permit me to suggest to you a method whereby the savings and loan associations can be of tremendous assistance in implementing broad-scale home modernization.

I suggest that you from the Pittsburgh area consider the establishment of a home modernization fund of at least \$2 million for a starter. This is no paper scheme—it has been put into operation in the District of Columbia, with the approval of the Federal Home Loan Bank Board and the Federal Housing Administration. If you follow the sound policies and procedures perfected by the District of Columbia's Saving and Loan League, the home modernization fund would operate in the following manner:

First. Establish a trust fund agreement to which participating associations would sub-The combined subscriptions would

constitute the fund.

Second. Loans, insured by the FHA, would be made to home owners wishing to bring their properties up to standard.

Third. Appoint a trustee, such as a bank, to handle disbursements under the fund and the collection of loans as they are paid off. The bank would receive a nominal service charge for its work.

Eleven savings and loan associations in Washington, D.C., are participating in this novel program to the extent of \$1,820,000 in subscriptions, thus spreading the risk.

The District of Columbia fund will be used primarily to assist the local government there in enforcing its housing code. The same purpose could be achieved in Pitts-burgh. It is anticipated by the Washington group that the plan can also be used in carrying out self-help renewal programssuch as has been launched in Homewood-Brushton.

According to William H. Dyer, executive vice president of the Perpetual Building Association of Washington, D.C., inspectors working out of the District of Columbia's Building Inspector's office have been authorized to refer persons needing financing for home improvements to any of the participating associations.

There is also the possibility, said Mr. Dyer, that the operation of the fund by savings and loan associations can lead to some control in the District of Columbia over the flyby-night type of home improvement contractor and other contractors of similar questionable integrity.

I am grateful for this opportunity to tell you of the work of Action-Housing, Inc., and how it is part of the Pittsburgh Renaissance team that is tackling the local housing problem with vigor and imagination.

The tremendous expansion of urban America will be the dominant domestic factor of the next decade. The challenge of that growth is the central concern of all of us in the business of building and financing housing.

In Pittsburgh, Action-Housing, Inc., is one participant in a great and vital effort. With the dynamic contribution of you in the financial field and the concerted drive of the whole homebuilding industry, our goals cannot only be met, but surpassed. Working together, we will mount a housing program of sufficient scale and imagination to encompass a new and more rewarding way of urhan life.

Military Supply Management

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. THOMAS B. CURTIS

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 4, 1960

Mr. CURTIS of Missouri. Mr. Speaker. I am placing in the RECORD a wellwritten article appearing in the Wall Street Journal, Monday, May 2, 1960, which discusses some of the problems involved in trying to reform the military supply management system. I intend to refer to this article during debate on the military appropriations bill now under consideration: The article follows:

[From the Wall Street Journal, May 2, 1960] MILITARY MANAGERS: THEY WASTE \$2 BILLION OR MORE EVERY YEAR, CIVILIAN CRITICS SAY-MORE DESK-JOB AIRMEN GET FLIGHT PAY: NEW HOSPITALS ADD TO A SURPLUS OF BEDS-SAGA OF 30.017 FOOTLOCKERS

(By Alan L. Otten)

WASHINGTON .- The Army is resisting all attempts to make it sell 72 acres of Hawaii's Walkiki Beach. It maintains that GI's need the tract, valued at \$40 million, for swimming and sunbathing.

The cost of operating planes for deskbound airmen who put in a few hours a month of practice flying time to collect bonus flight pay has risen so high that the administration is considering awarding the men the extra pay without requiring the flying. There's hardly a thought of cutting out this bonus; it has become so ingrained in military pay scales that removal would bring an uproar that military men wouldn't like to face.

The San Francisco area already has four military hospitals with total capacity of 5,235 beds, of which less than 2,850 are in use, and there's an inactive 775-bed hospital Yet the Army and Navy are pronearby. posing to build new hospitals to replace two of the four.

Civilians who have worked for years on military budget-in the executive branch, in Congress in private life-produce these examples of what's wrong with management of the Nation's defense effort. Any topnotch impartial management experts, they say, would agree on the need for reform. Such practices, they maintain, flout widely accepted principles of efficiency and economy. And they involve no hotly controversial issucs of defense policy, such as emphasis on missiles versus manned aircraft or preparedness for big or limited war.

MOST REFORMS ARE BLOCKED

Yet, most of the reforms proposed by management experts are blocked by pressure-pressures from empire-building officers within the services, pressures from Congressmen and local businessmen intent on keeping military payrolls in their districts, pressures from patriotic and veterans' organizations who see some broad national defense issue in the simplest procedural changes.

'Good management changes, on which any right-minded man should be able to agree. can save \$2 billion to \$3 billion a year in the military budget, and produce a better defense effort," asserts one top Government official who has labored for many years to hold down service outlays. Military spending now runs about \$41 billion annually, over half of the total Federal budget.

Most of the critics of military management agree the fairly new Defense Secretary, Thomas Gates, is the kind of man needed to bring some order out of chaos; he has worked in the Pentagon for 7 years and knows the political maneuvers of the services in and out. But they say even a man like Mr. Gates needs time to build up a loyal and knowledgeable staff and to bring a change in the atmosphere. And, with this administration nearing a close, time is what Mr. Gates does not have.

"Talk to people who don't live with it every day and they refuse to believe what you tell them," declares one observer of the defense setup. "It's the most complex organization ever developed, and you can't change it overnight. Change must come slowly. But it must come if we are to support this huge Military Establishment for much longer without breaking the country."

BUILT-IN RESISTANCE

"Resistance is built into the system," declares another critic of Pentagon ways. don't get promoted for being a good manager or efficient spender, but for the job you hold and the time you put in and the number of people under you. The Defense Department is one of the finest collections of individuals you can find anywhere, but the system just doesn't let them function. No lieutenant colonel is going to tell his superior what's wrong or go over his head. No Air Force officer temporarily assigned to the staff of the Secretary of Defense is going to be too rough on the Air Force so long as he must get his promotions in the Air Force and go back there someday."

But, the critics agree, changes can be made to improve the situation immediately and pave the way for more basic overhaul later on. The changes would involve disposing of valuable real estate the services don't need, eliminating duplication in supply and servicing, keeping better track of what's on hand, doing a better job of placing new orders and getting rid of surpluses, overhauling sacred cow fringe benefits, and making dozens of other big and little alterations.

Air Force flight pay, many experts believe, is coming close to scandal proportions, as the Air Force switches increasingly to missiles and more and more fliers descend to ground jobs. About 110,000 Air Force pilots, navigators, flight surgeons, and other airmen now get some \$200 million a year in bonus flight pay. Provided originally as compensation for hazardous combat flights, the pay can now be earned for flying as little as 4 hours a month and 100 hours a year. Most flight personnel, even if deskbound, make sure they log that much time. Many are taking special jet training so they can continue to get flight pay when few nonjet planes remain. None of these is ever likely to fly jets as a main job. Meantime, there's a mounting outlay to provide, maintain, service, and repair the planes these men use for their minimum fiving activity.

Smaller matters prove equally sticky. The Army, Air Force, and most civilian Government agencies pay their employees every 2 weeks. Navy blue collar workers, however, have long been paid every week and, despite

the clear prospect of a \$2 million a year saving in bookkeeping costs, the Navy refuses to change.

THE FOOTLOCKER STORY

Supply distribution, management experts say, betrays Pentagon muddling at its worst. Witness the horror story of an order for 300 footlockers by the Air Force Base at Bitberg. Germany. As received at the Quartermaster Depot at Philadelphia, the order had somehow grown to 30,017 footlockers. Without questioning the need for more than 30,000 footlockers at a base of 400 men, the depot had the trunks shipped from Texas and Tennessee supply points. While they were on the high seas the error was discovered, too late to save some \$100,000 in excess shipping

That's not all. When the footlockers did arrive, the base obligingly took 702, more than double its original order. The rest went to the Army supply depot at Glessen. Germany; it already had on hand several thousand footlockers, from which the Bit-berg order could have been filled in the first nlace.

An area where the greatest economy progress could be most painlessly made, the critics say, is in the disposal of unneeded military real estate. The services now have land, factories, and other buildings that cost \$33 billion to acquire or build, and recently they've been adding about \$1.5 to \$2 billion a year and getting rid of practically nothing. The maintenance cost creeps up. "It's eating us out of house and home, leaving us less and less for strictly military spending," one official complains. Some experts figure the Pentagon could easily take in \$1 billion from sale of unneeded real estate and save some \$200 to \$300 million a year on upkeep.

Consider these unrealized possibilities for

savings:

The Presidio, 1,343 acres of prime San Francisco real estate overlooking the Golden Gate, serves as the sprawling headquarters of the Sixth Army. The headquarters, critics say, could operate far more economically and efficiently in one compact office building.

Fort Hamilton in Brooklyn is now used chiefly to process dependents of service families going overseas or returning to the States. The processing, economizers agree, could easily be done at other military installations around New York, and higherups in the Pentagon and White House have pressed the Army to yield this land to civilian use. But the Army refuses. Recently, when the New York Triborough Bridge Authority needed a strip of the fort for the approach to the new Narrows Bridge, the Army gave up a small piece of land-on condition the authority replace the land at another point and also replace the building which had been on the ceded land.

The services not only refuse to yield real estate but persistently try to do more with what they have. The Army recently proposed reactivating its nearly idle Cleveland and Lima, Ohio, ordnance plants and its Detroit arsenal. The Cleveland plant was to be used to produce lightweight combat vehicles, and the Detroit and Lima plants to produce medium weight combat vehiclesall satisfactorily produced by private firms. The Army argued its plants could produce the vehicles more cheaply and better. Top Pentagon officials vetoed this plan as too sweeping, but expect the Army to come back shortly with a more modest proposal.

When the services do get ready to dispose of installations, they frequently run into stormy opposition. Local merchants like the military payrolls. Southern Wisconsin took months to quiet down not long ago when the Air Force decided to discontinue construction of the new Bong Air Base and dispose of the land. Right now Maryland and Virginia Congressmen of both parties are teaming up again, as in past years, to pressure the Navy into revising plans to cut back Washington's naval weapons plant with its 5,500 employees. The plant makes a variety of missile control devices, antisub gear and other items which management specialists agree could be better produced elsewhere.

PROBLEM OF DUPLICATION

Elimination of military duplication is considered another huge area of potential savings, and here too there is marked resistance to change within each service. Each has its own medical, communications, supply, contracting, auditing, and weather forecasting systems—and each aims to keep them as long as it can.

A congressional staff study recently estimated Armed Forces medical costs at over \$400 million a year, with some 185 hospitals in the United States and 90 overseas. The hospitals have a total capacity of about 105,000 beds and average occupancy of less than 40 percent. They employ about 145,000 people, about 75 percent military and 25 percent civilian.

"It is difficult to conceive," the report said,
"of an area that would more readily lend itself to consolidation than medical care. The
conditions which require medical service, the
facilities for treatment, and the professional
standards for medical personnel are virtually
indistinguishable among the services."

At Denver, a 350-bed hospital at Lowry Air Force Base keeps only 100 beds in use to care for an average load of 51 patients. Six miles away, Fitzsimons Army Hospital, with 2,078 beds, operates about 900 of them to care for an average of 684 patients.

At Langley Air Force Base in Virginia, a 217-bed hospital keeps 100 beds in use to care for 62 patients, on the average. Six miles away, at the Army's Fort Monroe, there is a 141-bed hospital, in which 35 beds are maintained to care for an average 20-patient load.

DEPOTS DO SAME JOB

Supply distribution is an area of rampant duplication, experts say. In the Southeastern United States, one congressional investigation has found, the Army's Atlanta and Memphis depots, the Air Force's Mobile depot, the Marine Corps supply center in Albany, Ca., and four Navy stock points are all supplying their respective services with the same supplies. Army supply operates through seven different "technical services"—Ordnance, Chemical, and the like—each with specific types of material assigned it. This results in no less than 24 separate Army supply control points in the continental United States—several for each of the seven services—when five to eight could handle the job nicely, according to one management expert.

Military overbuying, lack of standardization, bad inventorying, and slow and costly surplus disposal habits long have been favorite congressional targets. Some progress has been made, budget scanners say, but much remains to be done.

This year the Navy has begun buying extra plane engines on the basis of having a 150-day supply in the pipeline; previously, it insisted on a 210-day supply. Though the shorter cycle would save millions, it took the General Accounting Office, Congress spending guardian, two long battles to get the Navy to change.

Attempts to standardize military footwear have so far eliminated 752 different types and finishes, but 339 types remain. Pentagon experts recently attempted to prescribe a black low men's shoe as standard for all services. The Marine Corps insisted on keeping its mahogany shoe because it matched the bill on the Marine caps, and the Navy insisted on keeping a brown shoe for its fliers because it has been "traditional"—ever since late in World War II.

MANY ITEMS DIFFER ONLY SLIGHTLY

Over 1.3 million common supply items, according to congressional investigators, differ among the services in such relatively minor respects as color, finish, or even just names. Defense officials estimate they could save about \$1 million a year in management expenses alone—not counting procurement savings from placing larger consolidated orders—for every 1,000 items eliminated from the supply system.

The Defense Department has been bally-hooing its "single manager" system as the answer to many of its buying problems. Under this system, one service buys all supplies of one kind for all the services; the Navy does all the fuel purchasing, for instance. But management experts say it's only a step in the right direction.

For one thing, the Pentagon is installing the system very slowly; seven supply categories were put under single managers in 1955 and 1956, but only two more minor categories have been added since then. More important, though, the single manager has authority only to consolidate and place the orders he's given. He has no power to standardize equipment, redistribute excess

stocks, or cutback orders.
"If we can extend its use, and raise it to a higher level of command where it can really accomplish more, the single manager system might some day pave the way for a separate single supply service," one would-be reformer wistfully asserts.

FRINGE BENEFITS

Perhaps one of the touchiest areas of theoretical saving in the entire Military Establishment is the vast number of fringe benefits which military personnel now enjoy. Many have grown out of all proportion to the original intent, and now seem beyond uprooting.

Commissaries are a prime example. These food supermarkets were supposed to be set up where there were no private facilities selling at reasonable prices convenient to the post. Now there are over 250 commissaries in the continental United States, many in cities such as Washington and New York.

The right to buy there is now extended not only to people living on the posts, but to military families off the post, reserve and retired personnel, and Public Health officials. Less than 20 percent of the people holding permits to buy at U.S. commissaries now live on the base where the store is located. In Washington, customers at the Walter Reed Army Hospital commissary include such off-base types as a National Institutes of Health neurologist and a World War II Navy nurse, now a reservist, who is the mother of seven children and extremely unlikely ever to return to active duty.

The Government not only employs 9,000 people to man the commissaries, but supplies the buildings, equipment, light, heat, and other services. The customers pay only the original cost of the food, plus transportation charges, and a highly inadequate 3 percent markup to cover all else. Military experts figure the annual running subsidy is \$75 million, not counting depreciation on the buildings and equipment.

The Government also provides medical care and hospitalization for military men and their dependents, including veterinary care for pets; a retirement plan completely Government-financed; quarters, often including all or much of the furniture; in many areas, free libraries and even bus service to public schools; in many cases, subsidized laundry service; free personal travel on military planes and ships if space is available; and burial in Government-owned cemeteries, including plots for pets.

"The military life," comments one Administration official, "is marked by growing socialism and paternalism, literally from the cradle to the grave."

In Support of Salary Increase for Postal and Federal Classified Employees

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES ROOSEVELT

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, May 4, 1960

Mr. ROOSEVELT. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I insert at this point in the Record a copy of my statement, submitted to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service, in behalf of an increase in the salaries of postal and Federal classified employees.

It is my sincere hope that this Congress will pass an adequate and needed bill which will reflect an enlightened and realistic Government approach in this matter.

My committee statement follows:

STATEMENT OF HON. JAMES ROOSEVELT SUB-MITTED TO COMMITTEE ON POST OFFICE AND CIVIL SERVICE, APRIL 29, 1960

The need for an increase in the salaries of postal and Federal classified employees is a problem for which, in my opinion, Congress should find an adequate solution as soon as possible.

As I view it, this problem has two aspects. First, the immediate relief of the need of these employees for added income at a time when rising prices have continued to reduce purchasing power. This is the personal and social aspect of the problem which needs no prolonged consideration and requires the assembly of no additional economic data beyond that which we already have at hand.

Then there is the second phase which has long-range implications. Congress has received recommendations for extensive study of all pay systems according to which employees of the Federal Government are compensated. There is no doubt some merit in this suggestion, but it involves a project which is aside and apart from the essence of this problem, which is providing additional income for these employees and doing it now.

In recent years, Congress has increased postal and classified salaries seven times, beginning in 1945, but it has never adequately increased the pay of all grades. This failure to enable these employees fully to overcome their economic disadvantage is one reason why I am advocating prompt action. These employees have suffered chiefly from delay in raising pay each time it was apparent that the need existed.

For some years Federal Government employees have been suffering along with many other persons from the lessening purchasing power of the dollar. There is a striking difference between salaried Federal employees and many workers in private industry. The latter have continuously received frequent and regular adjustment of their salaries. Business does it in this way because it is a sound policy and one which enables any well-operated enterprise to maintain its position in the labor market.

The Federal Government policy should not be less enlightened. We hear on many occasions statement of the principle that there should be more businesslike methods in Government. There is considerable truth in such a statement, but it does not apply only to certain operating procedures. It applies equally to the treatment which Government or private business accords its employees.

Because of this failure to adopt and maintain a sound salary policy the Federal Government has done a real injustice to its

employees and has lost many thousands of employees who were needed. By failing to retain their services, the Government has engaged in a practice which is costly and no doubt has had serious effects which may never be fully appraised. No organization, public or private, can afford to tolerate turnover of personnel at a rate which is depriving it of valuable manpower. That is the impersonal and businesslike aspect of this problem which the Government should not

And so, no matter how we approach this question of providing adequate salaries for our postal and classified personnel, we come to the same conclusion, namely, that there must be prompt action to provide the pay which will make available to the Government at all times the trained and experienced persons that are needed to conduct the

public business.

Many Presidential Candidates Do Not Believe in Democracy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. ALVIN E. O'KONSKI

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 4, 1960

Mr. O'KONSKI. Mr. Speaker, with people all over the world fighting and dying for the right to vote, it is inconceivable the number of presidential candidates we have in the United States who do not believe in the right to vote.

The manner in which presidential candidates are shunning primaries in the various States makes it appear that they

are afraid of the people.

Mr. Speaker, I would like very much to add to these remarks an editorial that appeared in the Vilas County News-Review at Eagle River, Wis., which expresses my sentiments in every respect.

Many people in America are beginning to ask the same question.

The editorial follows:

UNDEMOCRATIC LEADERS BLOCK PRIMARIES

Though the Wisconsin presidential primary has been criticized as ineffectualcalled just so much eyewash by the former U.S. President, Harry Truman-it actually may be the most important political phenomena in this country.

It is the only open presidential primary in the United States. Though this primary, alone, cannot rectify the evils in our system of nominating presidential candidates, it serves as an example-a beacon in a sea of political darkness.

We are certain many other voters in the United States would appreciate the privilege of helping determine who will be the presidential candidates.

This is denied them by party bosses, and undemocratic politicians, who distrust the people-and actually distrust our American system of government by the people.

Democracy, with the worldwide threat of aggressive Red communism, and all the other forces opposed to it, faces severe tests in the future decades. We believe it will better face those tests, if some of the flaws in our system are corrected.

Surely there must be some U.S. legislators, not so kept by the party bosses, that would have the courage to organize and work for a nationwide presidential primary, along the lines of the Wisconsin primary.

This is not a new thought by the editors of this publication. We are merely endorsing the suggestion of too few of our leaders, who have seen the need for a national presidential primary.

As a protest against the highhanded attitude of our prominent national political leaders, we wish the voters would stay away from primaries, in droves, when all they ask is that we go to the polls to ratify a single

selected candidate.

We do not want this to be construed as an attack against the apparently unopposed Republican presidential candidate, RICHAED Nixon, who certainly is in no way responsi-ble for there being no nationwide system of presidential primaries.

But it most certainly is an attack on our leaders who resist and distrust democracy. A new method should be worked out in

the nationwide presidential primary where candidates could not duck having their names appear in primary elections in every

State in the Union.

There probably would not even be a need for a wild, undemocratic, unfair nominating convention either. The winners could be certified on the basis of best showing in this primary and then in the autumn the voters would have their opportunity, just as now, to change their minds and vote differently either Democratic, Republican-or if there is a third or fourth candidate, for someone

The secrecy of the ballot should be protected and voters not required to state their party affiliation—a commendable system as developed and perpetuated in Wisconsin elections.

Columnists Lawrence and Herling Help To Clarify Long-Range and Immediate Issues Involved in UAR Policy of Boycott and Blacklist

> EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. JAMES ROOSEVELT

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, May 4, 1960

Mr. ROOSEVELT. Mr. Speaker, I insert in the RECORD an article by David Lawrence which deals expertly and perceptively with the basic and interrelated issues surrounding the anti-Israel and anti-American blacklist of the United Arab Republic.

While I have disagreed many times with Mr. Lawrence, I must say in all fairness and with objectivity that his article, which appeared in the Washington Evening Star of May 2, 1960, is one of the best to date in clarifying contradictions in our own policy and in Nasser's position. Unfortunately, as one will see upon reading Mr. Lawrence, Nasser's "having his cake and wanting to eat it too" policy has really gone unchallenged by our Government-to his advantage. of course.

Mr. Lawrence also touches on the action of the maritime unions in refusing to unload ships from the U.A.R. However, I think his real contribution lies in placing the entire U.A.R. policy and our reaction to it in proper and much-needed perspective.

In addition, Mr. Speaker, I insert an article by John Herling, which deals with

the immediate issue of the loss of or threats to jobs of our American seamen as a result of Nasser's heretofore unchallenged actions. Mr. Herling's clear presentation of the facts appeared in the Washington Daily News of May 3, 1960.

I respectfully urge careful perusual of these two articles because in combination they offer an excellent study in the long-range and immediate issues surrounding the abusive and illegal actions of the U.A.R.

The two articles follow:

[From the Washington (D.C.) Evening Star, May 2, 1960]

FULBRIGHT VERSUS CRITICS OF NASSER-SENA-TORS AT ODDS OVER U.S. REACTION TO DIS-PUTE ON ANTI-ISRAEL BLACKLIST

(By David Lawrence)

Does Chairman FULBRIGHT, of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, speak for the Democratic Party when he takes the side of Dictator Nasser against the Israeli Government? Senators Kennedy, Humphrey, Symingron, and Johnson disagree with the Arkansas Senator in his latest pronouncement that glosses over Nasser's refusal to open the Suez Canal to all shipping.

Senator FULBRIGHT in his statement castigates his fellow Senators—many of them liberal Democrats, like Senator Douglas, of Illinois—because they voted last week against the use of American taxpayers' funds to help Nasser carry on his economic boycott against another country in the free world.

The House of Representatives has adopted a similar provision advocating the principles of free navigation. For a majority derived from both political parties sees no reason why the U.S. Government should continue to send mutual security funds to Egypt if the latter seeks to destroy the economy of Israel, a country which also receives such funds from America.

Nasser has ignored the pleas of President Eisenhower to reopen the Suez Canal to the ships of all nations, though diplomatic help toward that end was promised by Mr. Eisenhower after Britain and France intervened in 1956 in the Middle East war. At least it was a factor in placating Israel, which early in 1957 withdrew its armed forces from the

battle zones with that understanding.
The United Nations has tried repeatedly by its resolutions since 1948 to bring about a reconciliation between Israel and Egypt. But Nasser refuses to negotiate directly or indirectly. He says a state of war exists, and he uses that technical reason in trying to justify closing the Suez Canal to Israel's shipping.

If it be conceded that a "state of war" exists, then why did the World Bank, which is part of the United Nations organization, decide last December to make a loan of \$56 million to Egypt to widen and improve the Suez Canal? Cannot it be argued that the World Bank has thus taken sides in a "war" and has helped one of the so-called belligerents? Plainly Dictator Nasser cannot have it both ways.

Within the last few days another grave development has occurred. A maritime union in New York City decided not to help unload ships coming from Egypt. Immediately the maritime unions in Egypt and other Arab countries retaliated by refusing to unload American ships in their ports.

But the real reason for the boycott imposed in this country is the union's fear of damage to the jobs of American seamen in the future, because the Cairo Government persists in refusing to let ships from any country go through the canal if, at any time previously, they have carried cargoes to Israel. This means that American companies with products destined for other countries must maintain a fleet of ships

solely for the Israel trade. Once a vessel serves Israel, it goes on the blacklist imposed by Nasser not only against Americans, but against the ships of all other countries.

Over the weekend, Nasser issued a bitter attack on President Eisenhower blaming him for the boycott by the union in New York City. He holds President Eisenhower responsible for what the union is doing, though he himself disclaims any responsibility for what the Arab unions are doing.

Should American taxpayers' funds be used to support any regime which discriminates against American seamen in this manner? Although the Senate and House recorded an emphatic "no," Senator Fulbright now accuses his fellow Members of Congress of playing politics and of being influenced by a "pressure" group. The veterans committee of the Jewish War Veterans called this remark "an insult to the loyalty and patriotism of the members of this group who have served this country loyally in war and peace." It added:

"It is apparently the view of Senator Ful-BRIGHT that American organizations must abdicate their right to speak out on issues affecting the foreign policies of the United States."

Senator Keating, Republican, of New York, says that the action taken by Congress means that the United States is asking Rasser to "stop using the Suez Canal as a political pawn." Senator Fulbright, however, contends that the action by the House and Senate has "seriously compromised the conduct of foreign policy by the President."

But it is the Nasser government which is trying to sabotage American foreign policy. Within the last few days the Vice Foreign Minister of the United Arab Republic (Egypt and Syria), on his visit to Chile, told a news conference there that the Cairo government "will resolutely help Cuba defend herself against aggression if Cuba requests it, and if it is within our possibilities." There was a time when such a pronouncement would have been regarded as a public insult to the United States because of the Monroe Doctrine, which warns nations outside this hemisphere to keep out of Latin American affairs.

The Cairo regime has been boldly taking the Communist side in many a dispute, and yet the chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee imputes improper motives to other Members of Congress who resent the pro-Communist tactics of Egypt's dictator.

[From the Washington (D.C.) Daily News, May 3, 1960]

A MARITIME JOB BATTLE (By John Herling)

American maritime trade unions—the Seafarers International Union and the International Longshoremen's Association—are fighting for their jobs despite the strong displeasure of the State Department.

Their fight had taken the form of a picket line on the piers of New York where the Cleopatra, a ship of the United Arab Republic, is docked.

The picket line is a protest against the United Arab Republic's blacklisting of U.S. Ships that may have called at Israell ports. Actually, U.A.R. President Nasser has extended the blacklist to all ships if they carry cargoes to and from Israel.

The obvious intention is to starve Israel by economic strangulation. While such a policy is repulsive on its face, the American trade unions have thrown up their picket line for trade union reasons.

As a result of the U.A.F., American merchant seamen are losing jobs. Only several hundred jobs are now at stake, but if the blacklist is observed, this could spread more widely. Over the past several months, the Nasser regime has struck hard against all

ships which venture to transit the Suez Canal.

Senator Paul Douglas, Democrat of Illinois, sums up the immediate effect on American shipping this way: "Blacklisting the Arab States has injured American shipping and American seamen. The Arab States refuse to permit American ships which have traded with Israel to carry cargoes to Arab ports, and this even applies to cargoes of surplus foods purchased with funds advanced by the United States. Under law, one-half of the shipments must be in American ships. This means that many American ships cannot secure these contracts unless they forego trade with Israel. American seamen and shippers have been discriminated against. And the Arab boycott and blockade against Israel have intruded into our own commerce. American businessmen who would like to trade with Israel are unable to do so far fear that they will lose their commerce with the Arab States."

Aside from the issue of the "freedom of the seas," the American maritime unions are angered by the treatment of three American-flag ships in recent months—the Rockport, the Valiant Faith, and the Westport. These ships were not only barred from the Suez Canal, but their crews were held under practical ship arrest for a long time. In the case of the Valiant Faith, the crew were able to break through their incommunicado only by staging a phony fire drill on board and then rowing over to a nearby ship with an American crew. In that way, word was flashed back to the headquarters of the Seafarers' International Union in New York of the mistreatment of the crew of the Valiant Faith.

Affidavits testifying to mistreatment of American crews have been submitted to the Federal courts, which have three times upheld the legality of the picketing of the U.A.R. ship.

In the meantime, the State Department—or some people in it—are furious at the picketing because they consider it an intrusion into the diplomatic field by trade unions. In the last few days, through a bipartisan effort of Senators Douglas and Kenneth Keating, the foreign-aid program was amended to withhold assistance from nations that obstruct free navigation of international waterways. Target: U.A.R.'s blockage of the Suez.

The Refugee Problem

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JOHN V. LINDSAY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 4, 1960

Mr. LINDSAY. Mr. Speaker, I call to the attention of the Congress the statement of the American Council of Voluntary Agencies for Foreign Service, entitled "The Refugee Problem—Concerning Both Sectors, the Public and the Private."

The American council consists of some 38 voluntary agencies dedicated to promote the welfare of our less fortunate peoples in the world through cooperative humanitarian programs. The council provides these agencies a means for consultation, coordination, and planning so that relief and reconstruction programs may be carried on in the most effective way.

I deem it most appropriate in this World Refugee Year and in the years to come—for this problem cannot be solved in any 1 year alone—that these coordinated efforts be encouraged and continued. Under unanimous consent I include the council's statement in the Appendix of the Record.

THE REFUGEE PROBLEM—CONCERNING BOTH SECTORS, THE PUBLIC AND THE PRIVATE

(Statement by American Council of Voluntary Agencies for Foreign Service, Inc.)

A short time ago the member agencies of the American Council of Voluntary Agencies for Foreign Service undertook a review of their operational activities in the area of need and underprivilege abroad. Their findings are summarized in a formal statement delivered before the Strauss Committee¹ engaged in a study of the role of the American private sector abroad. In conclusion the statement expresses a concern of the 39-member agencies of the American council, as follows:

"During the 20th century it is impossible to escape from the fact that there exists a struggle for the minds and souls of men. This struggle may be conducted by words and by every means of propaganda, and it may also be conducted by deeds and by example. The voluntary sector, besides promoting peace and an abiding sense of brotherhood through programs of cooperation to meet human need, performs a basic service to truth which is deeply significant to the whole future development and ultimate goals of American foreign policy.

mate goals of American foreign policy.
"The American voluntary agencies have been particularly active in mass and individual migration and resettlement of peoples displaced by war's aftermath, calamity or political oppression. In the past decade, some 600,000 such persons have been re-settled in the United States through sponsorship secured by voluntary agencies. American economy was alded, but the reset-tlement movement was not a device to satisfy the labor market; it was a human response to human need-with great social and economic advantage to the labor market. corporate work of rescue has not only saved individual and family lives, but has been of service to the economy of such overpopulated countries as Austria and Postwar sponsored migration has demon-strated the continuing awareness of America as a haven for the oppressed and has thus supported and dramatized the position of the United States in the world. But even more, this activity of the American voluntary agencies has inspired and become an integral part of worldwide endeavor of counterpart agencies thus adding immeasurably to the total achievement of the American voluntary agencies. A number of worldwide voluntary associations have helped to resettle substantial numbers of persons in other countries as well as in the United States. These world programs for refugees relying substantially for financial support on voluntary American gifts, are a vital part of the contribution that American voluntary agencies are making to the broader goals of our foreign policy."

No one familiar with the needs of refugees can fail to recognize the American leadership which has been exerted since the end of World War II Indeed the determination to express our humanitarian concern is reflected in continued American private and governmental action, even as the aspect of the refugee problem has changed with the passage of 15 years of postwar history.

These 15 years have brought action through a variety of concerned organiza-

^{*}Javits amendment to the Mutual Security Act of 1958, sec. 205(j) (2).

tions—governmental, such as the Displaced Persons Commission and the U.S. escapee program; intergovernmental, such as the Intergovernmental Committee for European Migration; international, such as the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration, the International Refugee Organization, the United Nations Korean Reconstruction Agency, the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees, and the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees; and private, voluntary organizations sectarian and nonsectarian such as those which constitute the membership of the American Council of Voluntary Agencies.

Through a series of legislative enactments pertaining to immigration and laws relating to the uses of American agricultural products and through the development of specific programs and organizations, the historic concern of the American people for others has been demonstrated. Through the joint action of the public and private sectors millions have been fed and clothed. The movement of many hundreds of thousands of displaced persons throughout the free world by the International Refugee Organization was facilitated by American governmental support and voluntary agency ability to arrange necessary sponsorship and to accept placement responsibilities. Since 1952, through a series of bilateral contracts and cooperative arrangements, the voluntary agencies have made operational and other resources available to the important programs of the existing governmental, in-tergovernmental and international organizations. The voluntary agencies take pride in the spirit which has prevailed; we note the results and we are challenged by the vast area of critical needs still to be met.

Currently appealing to their constituencles throughout the country, during World Refugee Year, voluntary agencies, members of the American council, deeply concerned with refugee needs seek a goal well over the amounts annually subscribed in campaigns of previous years; the target approximates \$65 million and indicates a \$15-million increase over the average annual expenditures of \$50 million for refugee services

since the year 1945.

In keeping with a basic policy of the American private effort, voluntarily contributed funds are expended for assistance to refugees directly by the agencies themselves and/ or through cooperating voluntary agencies in oversea countries. It is important to note, therefore, that these funds do not appear as part of any governmental, intergovernmental, or international income record, as is the practice in some countries where voluntary contributions are sought by public, tax

supported bodies.

The American council is acutely aware of a vast additional resource that can never be fully measured. Through the uncounted contributed hours of unnamed volunteers serving member agencies across the breadth of our land, many theusands of uprooted human beings have felt the impact of an American ideal and again found friends, home life, and independence. Hundreds of thousands of tons of serviceable used clothing and other supplies, collected for distribution wherever there was need, are yet another evidence that our people are a compassionate people and generous. The agencies gratefully acknowledge the vast and diversified contributions of their constituents. Theirs is a role that is not and can never be reflected in simple statistics.

The American Council of Voluntary Agencies has deep concern regarding the impor-tance of a strong support by our Government of the World Refugee Year effort. Aware that Congress recommended the sum of \$10 million from the President's emergency fund for this purpose, it is hoped that our Government will take full advantage of this. Legislation for refugee immigration to the United States including provision for a proportion of the difficult to resettle persons as our share of the responsibility in a move toward solution of this problem, has been recommended by the agencies of the council, aware as they are of the endeavors of other countries in this respect and convinced of this country's capacity to constructively absorb such persons.

It is generally recognized that the refugee problems are too vast and the condition too fluid to be solved in a single World Refugee Year. On the other hand, the concentrated focus of a community of nations on this global problem is fraught with unlimited im-

We acknowledge with satisfaction the continuing American governmental support of the U.S. escapee program, the Intergovernmental Committee for European Migration, the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palistine Refugees, recognizing it as essential to the successful resolution of the refugee problem. We are convinced that American concern can be best expressed through the teamwork of the public and voluntary sectors. Firm in this resolve we must so act as to assure that no future historian will refer to the years of our time as "the century of the homeless man."

They Can't Stop the Inevitable

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. JAMES ROOSEVELT

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, May 4, 1960

Mr. ROOSEVELT. Mr. Speaker, a hard-hitting editorial on hospital and medical aid for our senior citizens has just come to my attention.

Appearing in the El Cajon, Calif., Valley News of April 24, 1960, the editorial pulls no punches. I am sure, of course, that opponents of hospitals and medical aid to elderly citizens will be unhappy with the truth of the opening statement

Pressure is beginning to build up all over the Nation for some sort of medical and hospital aid program for elder citizens living on social security benefits.

I am also sure that opponents of the Forand bill will be equally distressed by the editor's shrewd analysis which punctures the arguments propounded by the American Medical Association through its president, Mr. Orr.

The editorial speaks for itself. Its head-on approach to the issue needs no clarifying or explanatory remarks by me. I therefore insert it at this point in the RECORD, with the hope it receives wide readership by the Members of Congress: [From the El Cajon (Calif.) Valley News, Apr. 24, 1960]

THEY CAN'T STOP THE INEVITABLE

Pressure is beginning to build up all over the Nation for some sort of medical and hospital aid program for elder citizens living

on social security benefits.

As this pressure increases, it is significant to note the direction from which comes the resistance to such a program.

One of the major objectors to any form of compulsory public health insurance is none other than President Eisenhower.

Whether the President's attitude is based on a deep personal conviction is question-A man who spends so much of his free time on the golf course, at the bridge table, or reading murder mysteries doesn't have much time left to ponder the problems of other people.

Moreover, President Eisenhower tends to rely on experts for his attitudes. Whoever happens to have his ear and his confidence at the moment probably has shaped his opinion on health insurance for elder citizens.

There is plenty of evidence that President Eisenhower has no personal aversion to free medical and hospital service for certain groups of citizens.

He has never been known to raise his voice publicly against the free medical service available to admirals, and generals, and Members of Congress, and the Cabinet officers, at the various Army and Navy hospitals in and around Washington.

No one in the United States, of course. has enjoyed more free medical and hospital service himself than President Eisenhower. It can be concluded, therefore, that he is not averse to Government medical services per se. If he objects to medical and hospital aid for elder citizens, it can only be concluded that his objection is aimed at the recipients, rather than at Government medical aid in itself. Old folks are just not the right people, perhaps, in the President's eyes.

Another major opponent of medical and hospital aid under social security is that good old craft union known as the American Medical Association. The current president of the doctor's union has this to say on the subject:

"It would result in poorer, not better health for the people of this country.

"Medical care is not susceptible to production-line techniques. It requires flexibility of medical technique, an ingredient which would unquestionably vanish the moment the Government established a health program from a blueprint calling for mass treatment."

These words from President Orr are typical of the AMA's traditional pretense that it is concerned more with the quality of medicine being practiced in the Nation than with the wage scales of its members.

The simple fact which President Orr insists on ignoring is that the objective of a social security health program is quantity, not quality.

People can't suffer from poorer health care who have no care at all. President Orr talks as if all elder citizens were receiving necessary medical aid now, and this aid would be lowered in quality if social security intervened in any degree. This is a typical example of AMA doubletalk. Any kind of medical care is better than no care at all. One medical missionary alone in the jungle with only a sharp pocketknife and a pocket-ful of sulfa tablets is better than no doctor

at all.

And when Dr. Orr says that medical care is not susceptible to "production-line techniques" he is talking more nonsense. He is trying to surround medical practice with the mystery and the individual artistry which was the sole stock in trade of the old witch doctor. He is trying to pretend that there is some sacred and extremely vulnerable relationship between the doctor and the patient which if disturbed may cause internal bleeding, peritonitis, extreme lassitude, and complete loss of appetite, if not the will to live.

All of which has nothing to do with proper medical care for the aged. What they lack today, and what social security should provide, is a source for necessary drugs, necessary medical treatment, and hospital facilities where needed. These needs can be supplied on a production line basis. In fact, the medical profession in many private clinics is supplying these needs today on a production line basis and Dr. Orr is well aware of this fact.

What is really bothering the AMA, and its president, is the fear of discovery. The American people are beginning to wake up. They are coming to realize that private medicine is a tightly unionized monopoly, designed for the benefit of its practitioners first, rather than for the welfare of all who need medical care.

Because of the nature of private medicine, vast segments of our population today cannot afford adequate medical or hospital care. This adequate care can be provided only through a national public health program. Such a program is as inevitable as the old age for which it will be designed.

The AMA has no more chance of stopping the march toward public medicine than it has of bringing Hippocrates back to life.

For Mutual Security

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. JOHN V. LINDSAY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 4, 1960

Mr. LINDSAY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the REC-ORD, I include the following editorial from the New York Times of Wednesday, May 4, 1960. I sincerely hope that my colleagues will take a minute from their busy schedules to read this excellent editorial.

[From the New York Times, May 4, 1960] FOR MUTUAL SECURITY

Going directly to the people, President Elsenhower has in effect appealed to them to keep Congress from weakening an arm of our national defense that is designed to stop Communist imperialism without war. This arm is the mutual security program, miscalled foreign aid.

The vital importance of this program is readily admitted by Congrss, both Houses of which have passed authorization bills cutting only slightly the total expenditures the President requested. But congressional groups are preparing to slash actual appropriations by some 35 percent in a new round of the silly congressional game of first authorizing a program and then refusing ade-

quate funds for it.

As explained by the President, here is the situation in a nutshell. The total cost of the program is put at \$4,175 million for the coming fiscal year. This is one-tenth of our defense budget, one-twentieth of our Federal budget, and less than one-hundredth of

our gross national product.

This money helps our allies and friends to maintain 5 million men, 30,000 planes, and 2,200 warships for our common defense at minimal cost to us. It helps us to maintain an annual foreign trade of \$30 billion, providing jobs for 4,500,000 of our people and supplying us with vital raw materials. It has saved free Europe from being engulfed by the Communist tide and it is helping struggling masses on five continents to better their living standards and gain new hope and new confidence in freedom.

The United States, said the President, nceds the world, and it needs a free world in which alone it can live in freedom. course, we can help only those willing to help themselves, and other now prosperous nations must share the burden. But the freeworld still looks to us for leadership, and We must not fail in it.

Fire Chief Burke

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. CORNELIUS E. GALLAGHER

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, May 4, 1960

Mr. GALLAGHER. Mr. Speaker, last week a tragedy struck our community which saddened everyone. Acting Fire Chief Michael Burke of Jersey City was killed while fighting a fire. Chief Burke was a young man and one of the ablest of civil servants. He possessed great energy, diligence and made outstanding contributions to his community. His is certainly a tragic loss.

I would like to include as part of my remarks the excellent editorial tribute which the Jersey Journal of April 27, 1960, paid to Fire Chief Burke.

It is with deep sympathy that I extend to his wife and family our sincerest condolence. May it comfort them to know that everyone shares their sorrow and

Perhaps it is a time for all of us to reflect upon the debt of gratitude we owe to all firemen and policemen. All too often they are taken for granted. But we should never forget the demands that are made upon them personally in carrying out the protection of the public safety. Courage is as much a part of their equipment as is their blue uniform. Their everyday duty requires them constantly to place their own life in danger for the general welfare.

Chief Burke's tragic loss shall ever be a reminder that he died excerising courage in order to protect his fellow man. He is of a breed of men who made America great.

The article follows.

[From the Jersey Journal, Apr. 27, 1960] FIRE CHIEF BURKE

The death of Acting Chief Michael Burke, killed last night while fighting a fire, is all the tragic loss brought by the passing of any husband and father in the prime of life. It is a great loss, besides, to all the firemen and

all the residents of Jersey City.

Chief Burke was among our ablest younger civil servants. He gave promise, had he become chief, of carrying the proud tradition of the department to new levels of efficient organization. He was thoroughly grounded in the techniques of his work and for it he had the alert enthusiasm of the good craftsman. Above this, however, was a lively executive sense and a realization of the value of keeping the public informed about and proud of its department.

A less energetic leader might not have been on the roof from which he fell to death. A chief normally might have delegated the rooftop reconnaissance from the safer street level. That was not his style.

His diligence for public goodwill toward his department was demonstrated again only hours before his death. Late yesterday he was in this office talking to the editor about plans for developing popular interest in the fire prevention program. He also was arranging news coverage for the dedication of the Chief Thomas Maloney memorial plaque at the Fire Training School. After a pleasant half hour he rose to go—tanned, smiling, broad shouldered, with about 6 hours to

It would be an appropriate expression of

the city's feeling if Mayor Witkowski called an immediate meeting of the commission forthwith empowering Public Safety Director McLaughlin to make these gestures of sympathy:

A posthumous promotion to the rank of chief of the department and a speedy ap-proval of every monetary provision the city is allowed to make for the bereaved family.

Our Defense Muscles Are Tough

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. BOB WILSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, May 4, 1960

Mr. WILSON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Rec-ORD, I include an editorial "Reassuring Appraisal—Our Defense Muscles Are Tough" from the San Diego Union of Tuesday, April 26, 1960.

This editorial is particularly note-worthy because of its analytical comments regarding the address by Secretary of Defense Thomas S. Gates, Jr., before the recent Associated Press meeting in New York City. I believe that very properly the editorial describes Mr. Gates' talk as "a reassuring and informative reappraisal of America's armed strength.'

Also, the opinion expressed in the editorial that the impact of Mr. Gates' talk will last far beyond the confines of the Associated Press gathering" has already proved to be an accurate prophecy, because that speech has received extensive and favorable editorial comment, and has been reprinted in its entirety in various prominent newspapers throughout the country.

The editorial points up the inherent wisdom of Secretary Gates' belief in the Joint Chiefs of Staff system, and underlines the importance of Secretary Gates' position that the organization of the Defense Establishment is essentially sound, and that the Defense Reorganization Act of 1958 already is functioning efficiently and will continue to improve. Parenthetically, I believe it is appropriate to point out that Secretary Gates' policy of actually sitting with the Joint Chiefs of Staff is being widely acclaimed as one of the truly great contributions to defense organization. He has demonstrated that intelligent and responsible leadership is more effective than all the proposed defense reorganization plans of so-called experts. As this editorial indi-cates, the high caliber of Secretary Gates' defense leadership is manifesting itself in terms of enhanced efficiency in the Pentagon and increasing public confidence in our national security poli-

In view of the widespread discussion over the so-called missile gap, it is important to note the paragraph in the editorial that states "As the Secretary emphasizes, no 'rational' Soviet leader would make the decision to trigger an attack on the United States, 'since such an attack would guarantee the destruction of his own country."

This paragraph reflects the basic thinking of those who have defended our deterrent strength against some critics who have so gratuitously disparaged the genuinely superior deterrent strength of

our Armed Forces.

Sound, logical, and responsible editorials such as this will greatly help our citizens to view our true military strength in its proper perspective. Thus, it is largely due to editorials such as this that the partisan criticism of our defense policy in past months has been publicly refuted and the Nation has come to recognize more fully the vast superiority of our deterrent strength in relation to that of the Soviet Union.

In view of the importance of this edi -torial from the San Diego Union, I commend it to the attention of all Members

of this House:

[From the San Diego Union, Apr. 26, 1960] REASSURING APPRAISAL-OUR DEFENSE MUS-CLES ARE TOUGH

Defense Secretary Thomas S. Gates, Jr., has made it plain that the United States is unsurpassed in military power and can deal from strength with any enemy. Any analysis of comparable United States and Soviet Russian military power, he insists, "denies any impression that we have been overtaken militarily or that we are second best.

With these words Mr. Gates contributed a reassuring and informative reappraisal of America's armed strength. The Secretary's remarks were directed to newspaper executives attending the annual Associated Press meeting in New York City. But their impact will reach far beyond the confines of the

AP gathering. As the Secretary emphasizes, no "rational" Soviet leader would make the decision to trigger an attack on the United States, "since such an attack would guarantee the destruction of his own country."

These are not the conclusions of Mr. Gates alone. They represent the considered judgment of all the top civilian, military and scientific advisers to President Eisenhower.

They add up to the fact that there is no

gap in our deterrent posture.

Mr. Gates took this occasion to let it be known he will continue to battle for retention of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. There are those in Government who still would re-

place the Joint Chiefs of Staff with the single chief concept.

In the Secretary's view the Defense Reor-ganization Act of 1958 already is functioning efficiently and will continue to improve. The point Mr. Gates was making is this: tinker with the defense structure. The 1958 act will prove itself out.

In the span of nearly 7 years since Mr. Gates went to the Pentagon, he recalls, there have been these fast-moving developments

in our defense picture:

1. We have 9 nuclear-powered marines in commission and 23 others being built or converted. An atomic-driven aircraft carrier, a cruiser and a frigate are under construction.

2. The Nautilus has cruised under the North Pole, followed by the submarine Skate. And the Seawolf has remained submerged for an unprecedented 60 days. These are the vessels which revolutionized undersea warfare.

3. Seven years ago the Polaris missile system was a dream not yet in the blueprint stage. Today we have 2 Polaris fleet ballistic missile subs armed with 16 atom-tipped

weapons each.

4. In 1953 we were talking about supersonic aircraft. Today we have planes in our forces which fly twice the speed of sound and aircraft operating at three times the speed of sound are in the resarch and development stage.

5. Air-breathing missiles like the Snark and Navaho are weapons of the past, replaced by the mighty Atlas.

6. We have launched successfully 22 satellites into space, compared to the Russians' 5. We still have 13 circling the earth.

The Secretary is dedicated to the balanced forces concept as our best possible defense posture. And inherent in this, as Mr. Gates explains, are forces "of great variety and dimension."

The Secretary believes U.S. military leaders acted wisely when they decided to place their confidence in a family of comparatively small ocean-spanning missiles headed by the San Diego-built Atlas ICBM. Mr. stresses, the Atlas and its follow-on Titan, Minuteman, and Polaris systems will be able to deliver a thermonuclear Sunday punch anywhere in the world. For military purposes we had no need for the powerful 600,-000-pound thrust engines produced by Russian missile makers. So we saved time and money by sticking to the original idea of the easy-to-handle ICBM.

Mr. Gates' analysis of our armed might and its development since 1953 should make Americans proud. Moreover, it should give us a feeling of security and an appreciation of work well done by our Secretary of Defense and the Armed Forces.

Growth: U.S.S.R. Versus the West

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. THOMAS B. CURTIS

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, May 4, 1960

Mr. CURTIS of Missourl. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Congressional Record, I wish to include an article which appeared in Economic Intelligence for May 1960:

GROWTH: U.S.S.R. VERSUS THE WEST

A business advisory service on the coming summit meetings recently made this startling statement:

"With each month Soviet power is increasing relative to the West. This is true whether the measure is military might, GNP, steel production or strength and con-viction of allies."

There is good reason to believe that this conclusion is 100 percent wrong. Many politicians make this same doubtful comparison. What is wrong with it?

The U.S.S.R. may be growing faster than some more mature or grownup economies like the United States, but it is not growing as fast as West Germany, Japan, Mexico, and several other countries. Undoubtedly the U.S.S.R. is ahead of the United States in some things, but so what? The per capita consumption of potatoes in the U.S.S.R. is substantially ahead of that in the United States. Should we therefore feel badly? Recently Mr. Khrushchev boasted that the per capita butter consumption in the U.S.S.R. has now equalled or surpassed that of the United States. Little did he know that this was a sign of immaturity instead of maturity. In the 1890's our butter consumption was around 25 pounds per annum. Now it is about 8 pounds per annum. Why? The answer is simple. Butter is used primarily as a spread; the United States has moved away from "a bread and potatoes" diet to fruits, vegetables, nuts, meats, and other things. This explains, in part, our decline in per capita butter consumption. So should we feel badly about Mr. Khrushchev's butter boast?

ECONOMIC AND MILITARY STRENGTH

But there is a much more fundamental error in the above quotation. Not only is the United States of America growing in economic and military strength, but so is the entire West. Is the U.S.S.R. developing "strength and conviction of allies"? It is doubtful. On the other hand, the United States of America has numerous expanding, dependable allies whose growing GNP, steel, and military might should be added to those of the United States of America.

In a blitz knockout nuclear war anything could happen and a larger United States of America steel capacity or GNP probably would make no difference in the outcome. But the West is growing rapidly and this should add to our deterrent power as well as capacity in case war is forced upon us. Western Europe has some 200 million people. Every nation is growing and expanding its , most of them are increasing their steel and other capacities, and most of them are improving their military might. We should not overlook Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and other countries, particularly those in the Western Hemisphere which would certainly not be allies of the U.S.S.R., and would undoubtedly be essentially on our side in any war and should be added in assessing our defense and deterrent power.

Does the U.S.S.R. have any dependable allies? Poland? East Germany? Hungary? It is hard to name one. The U.S.S.R., furthermore, has potential wartime internal unity vulnerabilities. Its satellites are more likely to be liabilities than allies unless we, or say, the West Germans were foolish enough to attack any one of those satellites or the U.S.S.R. itself. In fact, many of these satellites undoubtedly would utilize the U.S.S.R.'s preoccupation with war to try to break away from the U.S.S.R.

Whether Communist China would be an ally of the U.S.S.R. in case of war is anybody's guess. Depending on the background total situation, it's quite conceivable that things might fall apart in Communist China (ruled without a voluntary consensus) if it went to war now or in the neartime future; but here we must be cautious.

Thus in our military and other plans for the future we must of course evaluate all possibilities and alternatives; no one in his right mind would urge unilateral disarmament on our part, or the slowing down of our economic growth. On the other hand, the popular and perhaps irresponsible odious comparisons of U.S.S.R. versus U.S.A. potentials need to be corrected in terms of the total reliable strength of the West, as to economic potential as well as military potential

We tried to help set the record straight in economic terms in our recent report, Promise of Economic Growth (\$1 per copy). As more people come to think of the realities of geopolitics they will see the folly of facile, narrow comparisons of U.S.S.R. versus U.S.A. without taking into consideration the matters mentioned above

But, again, let's keep dry our economic and military powder.

We're Soaring Over Soviets

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. BOB WILSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, May 4, 1960

Mr. WILSON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the REC-ORD, I include the following editorial from 19, 1960:

WE'RE SOARING OVER SOVIETS

Let's try to add some realism to the fiction about Soviet superiority over the United States in space achievements.

Ever since the Russians launched Sputnik I on October 4, 1957, critics of the Eisenhower administration have been asking why the United States has fallen so far behind Soviet Russia

This came about through impulsive comparison of American and Russian space efforts. If the opposition to administration space policies was loyal, it also was loud at times

The United States since January 31, 1958, has sent 17 satellites aloft. Since Sputnik I the Russians have reported six satellite launchings.

Only Friday the United States sent Discoverer XI spaceward in a new Air Force attempt to find a way to bring men safely back from space ships of the future.

In the last 5 weeks U.S. scientists have achieved three major space triumphs with the launching of Transit I-B, the world's first known navigation-aid satellite; Pioneer V, which hauled man's first interplanetary communications system around the sun and Tiros I, the weather-eye satellite photographs cloud cover and has given Soviet Russia the jitters because it might be the forerunner of a spy-in-the-sky.

Of the 17 U.S. satellites placed in orbit during the 27 months since we entered the space age, 8 of the baby moons still circle the globe. The three sputniks launched by Russia have plunged to fiery destruction Lunik I is streaking around the sun, Lunik II hit the moon, and Lunik III is in a wide orbit around the earth and moon.

There is a belief among American scientists that many of our satellites will pay off in cosmic findings of inestimable value to mankind. We perhaps do not know all the goals being achieved by Russian satellites; for they are loath to tell the world any more than they must for propaganda pur-Doses

All we know is that the Russians have more powerful space engines than we presently possess.

One thing is certain, however: there can be no more selling the U.S. satellite program short. We should be proud of scientists and engineers who have made possible so many notable U.S. space achieve-ments in the last few weeks.

It's time to stop trying to give them and the administration an inferiority complex.

GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS FOR SALE

Additional copies of Government publications are offered for sale to the public by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D.C., at cost thereof as determined by the Public Printer plus 50 percent: Provided, That a discount of not to exceed 25 percent may be allowed to authorized bookdealers and quantity purchasers, but such printing shall not interfere with the prompt execution of work for the Government. The Superintendent of Documents shall prescribe the terms and conditions under which he may authorize the resale of Government publications by bookdealers, and he may designate any Government officer his agent for the sale of Government publications under such regulations as shall be agreed upon by the Superintendent of Documents and the head of the respective department or establishment of the Government (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 72a, Supp. 2).

the San Diego Union of Tuesday, April LAWS AND RULES FOR PUBLICATION OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

CODE OF LAWS OF THE UNITED STATES

TITLE 44. SECTION 181. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD; ARRANGEMENT, STYLE, CONTENTS, AND INDEXES.—The Joint Committee on Printing shall have control of the arrangement and style of the Congres-SIONAL RECORD, and while providing that it shall be substantially a verbatim report of proceedings shall take all needed action for the reduction of unnecessary bulk, and shall provide for the publication of an index of the Congressional RECORD semimonthly during the sessions of Congress and at the close thereof. (Jan. 12, 1895, c. 23, § 13, 28 Stat. 603.)

TITLE 44, SECTION 182b. SAME; ILLUS-TRATIONS, MAPS, DIAGRAMS.-No maps, diagrams, or illustrations may be inserted in the RECORD without the approval of the Joint Committee on Printing. (June 20. 1936, c. 630, § 2, 49 Stat. 1546.)

Pursuant to the foregoing statute and in order to provide for the prompt publication and delivery of the Congressional Record the Joint Committee on Printing has adopted the following rules, to which the attention of Representatives, and Delegates is Senators. respectfully invited:

1. Arrangement of the daily Record .- The Public Printer will arrange the contents of the daily RECORD as follows: First, the Senate proceedings; second, the House proceedings; third, the Appendix: Provided, That when the proceedings of the Senate are not received in time to follow this arrangement, the Public Printer may begin the RECORD with the House proceedings. The proceedings of each House and the Appendix shall each begin a new page, with appropriate headings centered

2. Type and style.—The Public Printer shall print the report of the proceedings and debates of the Senate and House of Representatives, as furnished by the Official Reporters of the Congressional Record, in 71/2 -point type; and all matter included in the remarks or speeches of Members of Congress, other than their own words, and all reports, documents, and other matter authorized to be inserted in the RECORD shall be printed in 61/2 -point type; and all rollcalls shall be printed in 6-point type. No italic or black type nor words in capitals or small capitals shall be used for emphasis or prominence; nor will unusual indentions be permitted. These reunusual indentions be permitted. strictions do not apply to the printing of or quotations from historical, official, or legal documents or papers of which a literal reproduction is necessary.

3. Return of manuscript.-When manuscript is submitted to Members for revision it should be returned to the Government Printing Office not later than 9 o'clock p.m. in order to insure publication in the RECORD issued on the following morning; and if all of said manuscript is not furnished at the time specified, the Public Printer is authorized to withhold it from the RECORD for 1 day. In no case will a speech be printed in the RECORD of the day of its delivery if the manuscript is furnished later than 12 o'clock midnight.

4. Tabular matter.-The manuscript of speeches containing tabular statements to be published in the RECORD shall be in the hands of the Public Printer not later than 7 o'clock p.m., to insure publication the following

5. Proof furnished .- Proofs of "leave to print" and advance speeches will not be furnished the day the manuscript is received but will be submitted the following day, whenever possible to do so without causing delay in the publication of the regular proceedings of Congress. Advance speeches shall be set in the RECORD style of type, and not more than

six sets of proofs may be furnished to Members without charge.

6. Notation of withheld remarks.—If manuscript or proofs have not been returned in time for publication in the proceedings, the Public Printer will insert the words "Mr. - addressed the Senate (House or Committee). His remarks will appear hereafter in the Appendix," and proceed with the printing of the RECORD.

7. Thirty-day limit.—The Public Printer shall not publish in the Congressional RECORD any speech or extension of remarks which has been withheld for a period exceeding 30 calendar days from the date when its printing was authorized: Provided, That at the expiration of each session of Congress the time limit herein fixed shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee.

8. Corrections .- The permanent Record is made up for printing and binding 30 days after each daily publication is issued; therefore all corrections must be sent to the Public Printer within that time: Provided, That upon the final adjournment of each session of Congress the time limit shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee: Provided further, That no Member of Con-gress shall be entitled to make more than one revision. Any revision shall consist only of corrections of the original copy and shall not include deletions of correct material, substitutions for correct material, or additions of new subject matter.

9. The Public Printer shall not publish in

the Congressional Record the full report or print of any committee or subcommittee when said report or print has been previously printed. This rule shall not be construed to

apply to conference reports.

10. Appendix to daily Record.—When either House has granted leave to print (1) a speech not delivered in either House, (2) a news-paper or magazine article, or (3) any other matter not germane to the proceedings, the same shall be published in the Appendix except in cases of duplication. In such cases only the first item received in the Government Printing Office will be printed. rule shall not apply to quotations which form part of a speech of a Member, or to an authorized extension of his own remarks: Provided, That no address, speech, or article delivered or released subsequently to the final adjournment of a session of Congress may be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

11. Estimate of cost.-No extraneous matter in excess of two pages in any one instance may be printed in the Congressional Record by a Member under leave to print or to extend his remarks unless the manuscript is accompanied by an estimate in writing from the Public Printer of the probable cost of publishing the same, which estimate of cost must be announced by the Member when such leave is requested; but this rule shall not apply to excerpts from letters, tele-grams, or articles presented in connection with a speech delivered in the course of debate or to communications from State legislatures, addresses or articles by the President and the members of his Cabinet, the Vice President, or a Member of Congress. For the purposes of this regulation, any one article printed in two or more parts, with or without individual headings, shall be considered as a single extension and the two-page rule shall apply. The Public Printer or the Official Reporters of the House or Senate shall return the Member of the respective House any matter submitted for the Congressional RECORD which is in contravention of this paragraph.

12. Official Reporters.—The Official Reporters of each House shall indicate on the manuscript and prepare headings for all matter to be printed in the Appendix, and shall make suitable reference thereto at the proper place

in the proceedings.

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Messrs. Ellender (chairman), Johnston of South Carolina, Holland, Eastland, Hum-phrey, Symington, Talmadge, Proxmire, Jor-dan, Young of Ohio, Hart, Aiken, Young of North Dakota, Hickenlooper, Mundt, Schoeppel, and Cooper.

Committee on Appropriations

Messrs. Hayden (chairman), Russell, Chavez, Ellender, Hill, McClellan, Robertson, Magnuson, Holland, Stennis, Johnson of Texas, Pastore, Kefauver, Monroney, Bible, Byrd of West Virginia, Dodd, McGee, Bridges, Saltonstall, Young of North Dakota, Mundt, Mrs. Smith, Messrs. Dworshak, Kuchel, Hruska, and Allott.

Committee on Armed Services

Messrs. Russell (chairman), Byrd of Virginia, Johnson of Texas, Stennis, Symington, Jackson, Ervin, Thurmond, Engle, Bartlett, Cannon, Saltonstall, Bridges, Mrs. Smith, Messrs. Case of South Dakota, Bush, and Beall.

Committee on Banking and Currency

Messrs. Robertson (chairman), Fulbright, Sparkman, Frear, Douglas, Clark, Proxmire, Byrd of West Virginia, Williams of New Jersey, Muskie, Capehart, Bennett, Bush, Beall, and Javits.

Committee on the District of Columbia Messrs, Bible (chairman), Morse, Frear, Hartke, Beall, Case of South Dakota, and Prouty.

Committee on Finance

Messrs. Byrd of Virginia (chairman), Kerr, Frear, Long of Louisiana, Smathers, Ander-son, Douglas, Gore, Talmadge, McCarthy, Hartke, Williams of Delaware, Carlson, Bennett, Butler, Curtis, and Morton.

Committee on Foreign Relations

Messrs. Fulbright (chairman), Green, Sparkman, Humphrey, Mansfield, Morse, Long of Louisiana, Kennedy, Gore, Lausche, Church, Wiley, Hickenlooper, Alken, Capehart, Carlson, and Williams of Delaware.

Committee on Government Operations Messrs. McCiellan (chairman), Jackson, Ervin, Humphrey, Gruening, Muskie, Mundt, Curtis, and Javits.

Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs Messrs. Murray (chairman), Anderson, Jackson, O'Mahoney, Bible, Carroll, Church, Gruening, Moss, Long of Hawali, Lusk, Dworshak, Kuchel, Goldwater, Allott, Martin, and Fong.

Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce

Messrs. Magnuson (chairman), Pastore, Monroney, Smathers, Thurmond, Lausche, Yarborough, Engle, Bartlett, Hartke, McGee, Schoeppel, Butler, Cotton, Case of New Jersey, Morton, and Scott.

Committee on the Judiciary

Messrs. Eastland (chairman), Kefauver, Johnston of South Carolina, Hennings, Mc-Clellan, O'Mahoney, Ervin, Carroll, Dodd, Hart, Wiley, Dirksen, Hruska, Keating, and

Committee on Labor and Public Welfare Messrs. Hill (chairman), Murray, Kennedy, McNamara, Morse, Yarborough, Clark, Ran-dolph, Williams of New Jersey, Goldwater, Dirksen, Case of New Jersey, Javits, Prouty, and Brunsdale.

Committee on Post Office and Civil Service Messrs. Johnston of South Carolina (chairman), Monroney, Yarborough, Clark, Jordan, Randolph, Carlson, Fong, and Brunsdale.

Committee on Public Works

Messrs. Chavez (chairman), Kerr, McNamara, Randolph, McCarthy, Young, Muskle, Gruening, Moss, Long of Hawaii, Lusk, Case of South Dakota, Martin, Cooper, Scott, Prouty, and Fong.

Committee on Rules and Administration Messrs, Hennings (chairman), Hayden, Green, Mansfield, Jordan, Cannon, Curtis, Keating, and Brunsdale.

UNITED STATES SUPREME COURT Mr. Chief Justice Warren, of California, Hotel Sheraton-Park, Washington, D. C. Mr. Justice Black, of Alabama, 619 S. Lee St.,

Mr. Justice Black, of Alabania, or Alexandria, Va.
Mr. Justice Frankfurter, of Massachusetts,
3018 Dumbarton Ave.
Mr. Justice Douglas, of Washington, 4852

Hutchins Pl. Mr. Justice Clark, of Texas, 2101 Connecticut

Ave. Mr. Justice Harlan, of New York, 1677 31st St. Mr. Justice Brennan, of New Jersey, 3037 Dumbarton Ave.

Mr. Justice Whittaker, of Missouri, 5000 Van Ness St.

Mr. Justice Stewart, of Ohio, 3013 Q St.

OFFICERS OF THE SUPREME COURT Clerk—James R. Browning, 454 New Jersey

Ave. SE.

Ave. SE.
Deputy Clerk—Edmund P. Cullinan, 4823
Reservoir Rd.
Deputy Clerk—Richard J. Blanchard, 427 St.
Lawrence Dr., Silver Spring, Md.
Marshal—T. Perry Lippitt, 6004 Corbin Rd.
Reporter—Walter Wyatt, 1702 Kalmia Rd.
Liberian—Helen Newman, 126 3d St. SE. Librarian-Helen Newman, 126 3d St. SE.

UNITED STATES JUDICIAL CIRCUITS JUSTICES ASSIGNED TERRITORY EMBRACED

District of Columbia: Mr. Chief Justice Warren. District of Columbia.

Warren. District of Columbia.

First judicial circuit: Mr. Justice Frankfurter. Maine, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Puerto Rico, Rhode Island.

Second judicial circuit: Mr. Justice Harlan.

Connecticut, New York, Vermont.

Third judicial circuit: Mr. Justice Brennan.

Delaware, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Virgin

Fourth judicial circuit: Mr. Chief Justice Warren. Maryland, North Carolina, South Carolina, Virginia, West Virginia.

Carolina, Virginia, West Virginia.

Fifth judicial circuit: Mr. Justice Black.
Alabama, Canal Zone, Florida, Georgia,
Louisiana, Mississippi, Texas.

Sixth judicial circuit: Mr. Justice StewartKentucky, Michigan, Ohio, Tennessee.

Seventh judicial circuit: Mr. Justice Clark.
Illinois, Indiana, Wisconsin.

Eighth judicial circuit: Mr. Justice Whittaker. Arkansas, Iowa, Minnesota, Missouri,
Nebraska, North Dakota, South Dakota.

Ninth judicial circuit: Mr. Justice Douglas.
Alaska, Arizona, California, Idaho, Montana,

Alaska, Arizona, California, Idaho, Montana, Nevada, Oregon, Washington, Guam, Hawali-Tenth fudicial circuit: Mr. Justice Whit-taker. Colorado, Kansas, New Mexico, Okla-homa, Utah, Wyoming.

Appendix

Governor Nelson's Founder's Day Address at San Jose College

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. WILLIAM PROXMIRE

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, May 5, 1960

Mr. PROXMIRE Mr. President it gives me great pleasure to introduce into the Record today an address by the Governor of Wisconsin, the Honorable Gaylord A. Nelson, on Founder's Day at San Jose State College which conferred upon him an honorary degree May 3. I am asking that this address be printed because I believe it is such a powerful statement of the challenge America faces, particularly in the field of higher education. In it the Governor calls not only for the growth of our colleges and universities in terms of physical size and expanded curriculum, but also for a reaffirmation and strengthening of the great traditions of academic freedom and liberal education of the whole man, without which our advances in science and technology cannot bring greatness to America in the decades which lie ahead.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that this address be printed in the

Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

GOVERNOR NELSON'S FOUNDER'S DAY ADDRESS AT SAN JOSE STATE COLLEGE

On the occasion of this observance of the founding of San Jose State College, it is appropriate that we should consider the place and character of higher education in the emerging future of American life.

We have built in this country an educational system of which we can in good conscience be proud. The progress that we have made is brought home to me strikingly as I look at this campus, so different and so much larger than it was when I was here only a little more than 20 years ago. I must confess to a feeling of nostalgia for San Jose the way it was, but I know—particularly from my own experience as Governor of Wisconsin—that the need for higher educational facilities is great, and that neither sentimentality nor penuriousness can be allowed to stand in the way of the expansion we must have. It is the task of American leadership, both educational and governmental, to move forward.

Despite all we have done, the need outstrips our accomplishments. We live in a perilous world, confronted by an increasingly powerful and implacable competitor. The Soviet economy is growing at the rate of about 6 percent a year; our own economy has been growing at a rate of less than 3 percent. One of the most urgent tasks of responsible American statesmanship, both governmental and economic, is to close this

Moreover, the Soviet Union, which has a managed economy not beholden to the desires of voters in free elections, can invest its national savings in any fashion it chooses. It has chosen to devote much of its increased capital to such national purposes as education and the expansion of heavy industry.

We must strive continuously to understand our place in the contemporary world. If our country is to remain a first-class power, and the head of the free world, it must give increasing support to those factors which lead to national strength. Of all these factors, none counts for more than

higher education.

Our colleges and universities perform indispensable services. They preserve and transmit, and above all, enlarge the Nation's stock of knowledge. They carry on much of the Nation's scientific research. They conserve and transmit to upcoming generations our cultural heritage; without the humanities our lives would be poor indeed. The burgeoning social sciences offer increasingly promising solutions to the problems of social organization.

Our institutions of higher learning supply a large proportion of our most skilled personnel: our teachers, our doctors in the various medical sciences, our engineers, economists, agricultural specialists, accountants, and many other trained people who are essential for our sort of civilization. They train a large proportion of our political leadership and most of our private group leadership. The business community and the labor movement absorb vast numbers of educated men and women. In fact, educated people have always been in short supply, and this is as true today as ever in the past. For while we have more college graduates today than ever before, we also have greater need for them than ever before.

I think that our citizens and taxpayers recognize this need for more higher education. Like any other governor, I hear a great deal from those who want their taxes reduced. But when people understand the relation between taxes and education, it has been my experience that they recognize the value of education and are willing to pay for it.

Higher education is going to continue to cost more and more. Projections of future college enrollments are as frightening as they are encouraging. Enrollments in degree-granting colleges in Wisconsin now are larger than the total high school enrollments there 40 years ago. More than 75 percent of the parents of present Wisconsin college students did not, themselves, graduate from college, and a third did not even graduate from high school.

This higher proportion of college attendance is compounded by the so-called population explosion, and I will not presume to belabor this point in California; it is problem enough in Wisconsin.

Some people argue persuasively that the answer to expanding enrollments is to keep more students out of colleges and universities, to require more exacting entrance examinations and higher high school scholastic records. This has not been the tradition in Wisconsin, and I think it would be an unfortunate departure from American concepts of equality of opportunity to deny

students at least a chance at higher education. In my opinion, it is doubtful whether our testing methods are reliable enough to predict the success of high school students in their college years. Students who do badly in high school often acquit themselves well in college, and vice versa. I do not think keeping students out is the answer.

The next financial question is whether additional money should come from higher tuition fees. I believe that any appreciable increase in fees would have the effect of keeping qualified and promising students out of our institutions for economic reasons, a shameful waste of one of our most precious national resources. I am afraid that the burden of higher education must remain

with the general taxpaver.

I have been greatly concerned with the problem of wasted talent. It is appalling that so many of our best young people are unable to secure college education because of financial reasons. I suspect that the most important reason for the rapid progress in education in Russia is simply the fact that they are less wasteful of potential talent than we are. One of the programs which I urged most strenuously was an enlargement of Wisconsin's scholarship and loan program. I didn't get all I wanted in this program—one house of our legislature is of another political persuasion—but we made progress and I hope we shall make more.

I have talked so far about needs, but it is not enough that we should expand our institutions of higher learning and the educational opportunities we offer our young people. We must do something about the quality as well as the quantity of education. Robert Frost said recently that "a lot of people are being scared by the Russians into hardening up our education or speeding it up. I am interested in toning it up."

So am I.

There are many things that affect the question of quality in education—the attitudes of students toward learning and study, the devotion of teachers, the interest of parents, the availability of books, and of course, money. But the very first requirement, if America is to enjoy the best fruits of higher education, is that our colleges and universities must be absolutely free to seek the truth without hindrance. Our professors and our students must be guaranteed a full measure of academic freedom.

A proposition is not true because a government or a political party or any other authoritative body so declares. We have no official truth, no legally constituted orthodoxies of belief. The case for academic freedom is the same as the case for freedom of speech in general. It is well to recall the words of John Stuart Mill in his essay on

liberty:

"If all mankind minus one were of one opinion, and only one person were of the contrary opinion, mankind would be no more justified in silencing that one person, than he, if he had the power, would be justified in silencing mankind. Were an opinion a personal possession of no value except to the owner; if to be obstructed in the enjoyment of it were simply a private injury, it would make some difference whether the injury was inflicted only on a few persons or on many. But the peculiar evil of silencing the expression of an opinion is, that it is robbing the human race; posterity as well as the existing

generation; those who dissent from the opinion, still more than those who hold it. If the opinion were right, they are deprived the opportunity of exchanging error for truth; if wrong, they lose, what is almost as great a benefit, the clearer perception and livelier impression of truth, produced by its collision with error."

That is the rationale of academic freedom. Our teachers must be free to pursue the truth, and to enjoy security of tenure while so engaged, because it is only through free inquiry and the competition of ideas that we can have any confidence in the results of the quest. We have no reason to fear the results of free inquiry. Freedom of the mind is a counsel of strength, not of weakness. It is an indispensable element of our national greatness. Freedom of research has prolonged life and eased some of its pain; it has brought technology to its present peak of productiveness and inventiveness; given us valuable insights into human nature and into the character of our social institutions and problems; it has vastly improved our governmental processes. More than any other single thing, the free, inquiring mind is our best hope for a better future, not only for us, but for all mankind.

Students are equally committed to the educational enterprise, and they, too are entitled to full academic freedom. We serve our youth, and our country, badly, if we demand that students conform to some pattern of orthodox belief. The college years are above all else the time for the student to question, to probe, to investigate, to speculate, to weigh and compare competing values and institutions. He is not and should not be expected to be a mindless robot. And if he is not to be shortchanged, the college student is entitled to counsel with professors who are free to speak their minds about the

truth as they see it.

Students should be free not only to read and ponder and study, but also to translate their ideas and commitments into action, within the law. It is proper, I think, for students to demonstrate their belief in the equal protection clause of the U.S. Constitution. It is deplorable that students should be arrested by the police for exercising the ancient American privilege of stating to the general public their views of such public questions as the right of all people, regardless of race, to equal and fair treatment in places of public accommodation by means of peaceful public processions.

It is equally deplorable that Congress at-

tached to the student loan section of the Defense Education Act of 1958 a requirement that the student must execute an affidavit disclaiming certain beliefs, activities and I do not believe that stumemberships. dents should be forced to sign a declaration of loyalty in order to obtain aid; vast numbers of people, in many walks of life, receive assistance from the Federal Government without oath requirements of any sort. Students justifiably resent being singled out for invidious treatment, as if they were special objects of suspicion. It is bad enough for students to be required to plead not guilty before any evidence of guilt has been produced. But it is wholly indefensible that students should be required not only to proclaim their loyalty, but also to assert in the next breath that they are not disloyal, and in addition, to be required to commit themselves regarding beliefs, associations and supports which are couched in such vague and imprecise terms that no one can quite be sure what he has sworn to. This requirement subjects needy students to imputations of distrust and suspicion. It runs contrary to the normal presumption of innocence which is deeply rooted in American jurisprudence. It also runs against the American grain. Furthermore, the disclaimer affidavit serves no useful purpose, since it would not deter the disloyal from taking benefits under the statute by signing. Only an occasional high-minded student will decline to sign on grounds of principle, thus defeating the basic purpose of the statute, which is to extend the benefits of education.

A bill is now pending before Congress which would repeal the disclaimer affidavit section of the National Defense Education Act. I hope it will pass. It casts an invidious slur upon our educational community. It bespeaks a lack of confidence in our young people. It has stirred up enormous resentments in the educational world: I repeat that the single most important element of American strength, including strength in defense, is freedom, freedom for the human mind, freedom for students, freedom for those who investigate the nature of man, his institutions and his beliefs. The disclaimer affidavit is not consistent with the requirements of this freedom. In the words of the Board of Regents of the University of Wisconsin: this pro-vision is "suggestive of a trammeling of inquiry by subjecting thoughts, research, and learning to political restrictions * * * contrary to the sound principles of academic freedom upon which the leadership of the University of Wisconsin, in independent research and in scholarly learning, has been grounded."

My second general observation about quality is equally fundamental. We should never forget the ancient maxim that true education is concerned with the whole man. We must beware, especially in these days of increasing specialization, of an overemphasis in our colleges and universities upon a vocational approach to education. Of course our society needs doctors, engineers, pharmacists, architects, accountants, and kindergarten teachers. Nevertheless, we must never lose sight of the fact that all of these specialists are also citizens, neighbors, husbands, fathers-fully functioning human beings. Our specialists, like the rest of us, need education in the fine arts and social sciences, in those disciplines which are concerned with the good, the true, and the beautiful. A high culture cannot rest upon the foundation of widespread cultural ignorance. Our students must be more than vocational specialists; they must be encouraged to study history and philosophy, the fine arts, and creative literature in order to understand those distinctive qualities of our culture which make life interesting and meaningful.

I cannot state this too emphatically. It is our ideals, our religions, our law, our cultural consciousness and our ethical principles that constitute our strength in the world.

There is a dangerous tendency in America to lose faith in these things, to abandon hope in the human spirit as the way to peace in in the world. We have lost confidence in ourselves and replaced it with confidence in the hydrogen bomb. Many of our best minds are devoted to planning coldly and coolly for the destruction of civilization and the extinction of life, in the name of defense. Our schools are exhorted to turn out more scientists to build better missiles and bigger bombs.

Most of our citizens, I am sure, believe that these bombs and missiles will never be used; we must believe this if life is to remain tolerable. The meaning of defense has changed; it no longer means the power to repel an enemy; it means the power to destroy him while he destroys us. Defense is good only so long as it is never used.

Defense is not the way to peace. It offers at best a stalemate which gives us time to try to achieve peace. This is the important task: to try to reach the minds of those men everywhere who want peace, to match our ideas and our beliefs against theirs, to convince others that we believe and that they should believe in human dignity, in

human speech, in freedom and in civilization.

The candidates for public office who earnestly desire peace and are resolved to pursue it with fresh ideas and in good faith are those who deserve our votes. This is the first responsibility of our political leadership.

It is also the responsibility of education. Our colleges and universities must be free to engender the spirit of free inquiry. They must impart the knowledge, and the appreciation of its value, that has been accumulated through the centuries and which constitutes civilization. Without this understanding, we are no more than barbarians armed with the destructive power of the gods.

Never before has the task of education loomed so large. We need education to enrich our own lives and to save the lives of all of us.

Custom Versus Persistence

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. OVERTON BROOKS

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, May 4, 1960

Mr. BROOKS of Louisiana. Mr. Speaker, I present herewith an editorial, cited with distinction in the March 12, 1960, edition of the Christian Science Monitor. This statement was compiled by the Honorable Donald M. Ewing, associate editor of the Shreveport (La.) Times, and has been reproduced in the Christian Science Monitor. I commend this editorial for a careful reading and study by all who are interested in the Nation's foremost problems:

CUSTOM VERSUS PERSISTENCE (By Donald M. Ewing)

Shreveport, La.—Shreveport is unique in the South in that for many years it has lived up to equal as well as separate provisions of the original Supreme Court decisions. Of \$65 million voted chiefly by white property owners for school construction since World War II, \$35 million were for Negro schools. Negroes have separate swimming pools, golf courses, youth centers, lighted parks, and athletic fields equal in every way to white and built by money from the same bond issues.

I believe that for the benefit of the white South the Negro must be changed from an economic liability to an economic asset, educated, and made available for any job he can handle by his own ability, but all with 100percent segregation.

Shreveport was given a national Look magazine award several years ago for progress in racial relations when a hundred white leaders of all types sat down with Negroes for a year and helped them further themselves economically—for instance, in housing.

The Shreveport Times has stood for nondiscriminatory Negro voting per the Federal Constitution for many years. Most Shreveport people feel the same way but don't want Federal force, judicial or military.

Shreveport expects no sitdown demonstrations. The reaction here is that demonstrations have been well guided, are intended to be passive though massive, and obviously have been planned by some outside leadership—but that the violence at Columbia, S.C., illustrated how such things could get out of line and might lead to race riots.

Negro leadership is making a serious mistake in forcing its people into places where courts have not yet permitted them. Note, for example, the Fourth Federal Circuit Court of Appeals decision of July 1959, holding that a Howard Johnson's interstate chain restaurant in Virginia did not have to serve

even interstate traveling Negroes.

Reaction here among people trying for years to work out race relations justly for both races is that sitdowns are the most destructive step yet taken by Negroes themselves to peaceful race relations, because such steps are not backed by law and constitute only deliberate intent at annoyance.

Negroes seek respect and dignity as individuals and as a race. But sitdowns are no way to demonstrate dignity or worthiness of respect. No person of any color can display dignity or gain respect by forcing himself where he is not wanted. Dignity and re-spect must be self-earned and cannot be gained through law, through personal intrusion, through violence, or through steps that carry some members of both races to the brink of possible violence.
The Times has urged massive arrests of

sitdowners everywhere under existing local laws and prompt police action, including fire hose, against all persons, regardless of of color

who engage in disorder.

The Weekly Newspaper Must Be Preserved

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. FRANK CARLSON

OF KANSAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Thursday, May 5, 1960

Mr. CARLSON. Mr. President, Kansas is fortunate in having a large number of weekly and semiweekly newspapers which have, year in and year out, rendered outstanding service to their communities and our citizens.

No periodical is more thoroughly read than the weekly. It is the newspaper that is personalized by carrying items of local interest. To those who are living away from their home communities, the weekly newspaper is just like a letter from home.

In these modern times, the weekly newspaper has additional problems, in that there has been a great increase in the circulation of the daily newspaper and the ever-increasing coverage of radio and television.

The day of the weekly newspaper has not passed. It is still read and enjoyed by those who find justifiable pride in community affairs. It is an institution

that must be preserved.

Mr. Wallace E. Emmons, publisher of the Enterprise-Chronicle, Burlingame, Kans., made an outstanding address before the Kansas Cooperative Council in Topeka, Kans., entitled "Media for Selling Agricultural Cooperatives," and I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

MEDIA FOR SELLING AGRICULTURAL COOPERA-TIVES: THE WEEKLY NEWSPAPER

(By Wallace E. Emmons, publisher, Enterprise-Chronicle, Burlingame, Kans.)

The story of the weekly newspaper is the story of the rural community, small business men, farmers, laborers, and the general practice of democracy in action. In these communities one will find bankers, lawyers, doctors, teachers, grocers, employers, and employees actively supporting the same churches and schools, attending Rotary, Lions, or chamber of commerce-and reading the same weekly newspaper. In many of these communities, cooperatives have been organized; in others, the cooperative effort may take the shape of municipal designowning the waterworks, electric plant or the natural gas system. When private finances are not available, the public need not be without most of the important services.

However, no municipality nor cooperative is known to own a newspaper. The larger newspapers may be incorporated and they are successful in their chosen fields. There have been attempts to produce newspapers for smaller communities with a central plant but these seem to lose something highly desirable by subscribers. Borrowing a time-

worn phrase, "there is a reason."

Although privately owned, the weekly newspaper is endowed with community concern on a two-way street. If it does not have this, it has no reason to exist. And, losing this, they fold up like jackknives.

Most are owned and operated by man-andwife teams; and labor laws do not yet say the children cannot do various chores. Grandpa and grandma are pressed into service when occasions demand. It is likely that Negroes, Mexicans, Indians, Italians, Catholics, Protestants, and drunks find employment in weekly newspaper shops. Whatever combination of race or creed the community has may be found employed by weekly newspapers-and friction is at a minimum.

Had all of you been able to sit in on the roundtable meetings of the weekly press here last week, you would have heard dedicated publishers—men and women—discuss circulation, mechanical problems, advertising, price fixing, agriculture, column writing, country correspondence, editorials, photography, and general excellence. A dim view was taken of those who remember us with plugs disguised as news for which there is no pay. There was no room for politicians as such but there was a serious discussion by the forthcoming change in congressional

It is the duty of weekly publishers to speak up wherever possible and let it be known that, as publishers, we may be an assortment, so to speak, as different as our several communities-some colorful and some dull-but we offer our skills of the trade and each serves his immediate community. It's doubtful that there are any two communities in the Nation with the same services, the same attractions, or the same drawbacks.

Weekly newspaper publishers are basically honest in reporting news, editorial expressions, and handling advertising. It is necessary, or the publisher must explain face to face to subscribers and customers. Weekly newspapers are almost as personal as a tooth-

The weekly editor goes along for months at times when readers and advertisers seem wholly unaware the newspaper exists. Then, accidentally, a wrong word or a wrong line gets into the right place, and-whamreaders who are not even subscribers become vocal. It has happened when the cutlines for a picture of a prize heifer appeared below the picture of a bride-to-be. Or a correction line at the end of a hospital note makes "Miss Soandso underwent an opit read, eration for appendicitis at Cather's Meat Market."

If the weekly press has suffered an injustice, it was by the invention of the "milline" rate. That was supposed to indicate the agate line cost of a million copies printed and mailed. It does not say how many are seen and read.

The most successful selling is accomplished by personal calls with a sample case. That method was found rather limited, and the printed word came into use. Modern advertising can either support the door-to-door salesman or it can draw customers to some central point to buy. In both instances the personal touch is retained. It has been proven beneficial when customers know more about the merchants and the organizations which supply food and limousines, cosmetics and farm machinery-even hearing aids and airplanes.

Advertising couched in the common language will be understood by men, women, and children—if it is placed where those men, women, and children feel the personal touch of an organization interested in their welfare as well as their cash.

That Oldtime Religion

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. JOHN W. McCORMACK

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, May 5, 1960

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, in my extension of remarks, I include a timely and appropriate editorial entitled "That Oldtime Religion" appearing in the Washington Post of May 4, 1960, which is not only most objective, but effectively speaks for itself:

THAT OLDTIME RELIGION

These campaigning candidates for the Presidency seem to be in complete agreement on one thing-that religion ought to be kept resolutely out of politics. It is hard to understand how men so determined should be so conspicuously unsuccessful. Vice President Nixon made his bid to have religion ignored in the campaign by making a speech about it in Chicago on Sunday. And Senators HUMPHREY and Morse used the same Sabbath to demonstrate their devotion to the separation of church and state by making three political speeches each in three churches here.

Asked in a television interview how religion could be kept out of the 1960 campaign, the Vice President replied with devastating logic, "I brought it up, of course, because I am trying to keep it out." In pursuit of this objective, Mr. Nixon then went on to observe that religion would be a legitimate issue if a candidate had no religion and that only a President with a belief in God could lead the United States. So much for the constitutional stipulation that "no religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under the United States." Who is to determine whether a candidate has a religion and a suitable belief in God, Mr. NIXON did not disclose; but as a final fillip to his heroic effort at ignoring religion he gave Senator KENNEDY generous certification—or perhaps we should say confirmation-for the Democratic nomination.

Preaching from the pulpits of churches with Negro congregations, Senators Morse and HUMPHREY made blatant religious and racist appeals which did scant honor to their racist appeals which aid scatt holics to their audiences. Senator Humphrey at least ac-knowledged doubts about the propriety of campaigning in a house of worship; he seemed, however, to surmount his scruples. Senator Morse peddled his political wares without any evidence of embarrassment.

To allow appeals for political support to be made in churches is not only debasing to the concept of consecrated ground; it is also

profoundly dangerous politically, allowing religion to interfere in politics in precisely the way that the Constitution of the United States sought to make forever impossible. Ministers of the Gospel have every right—indeed, they have a duty—to discuss contemporary social problems and to foster morality in public life; but they would do well to refrain from direct political campaigning.

There is one clear, simple, effective way to keep religion out of the campaign for the Presidency: let every candidate for the office refuse at any time, under and circumstances, to answer any question or enter into any discussion concerning his own religion or any rival's religion; and let every clergyman leave politicking to the laity.

The Defense Spending Bill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. WILLIAM PROXMIRE

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, May 5, 1960

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, the Milwaukee Journal has made an excellent, concise analysis and summary of the House action on the defense appropriation bill. Because this is one of the most expert simplifications of the very complex and heavy responsibility that faces every Senator in determining our action on this—by far the biggest spending bill that will come before the Congress, I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Appendix of the Record.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE DEFENSE SPENDING BILL

It is a tighter, tougher defense spending bill that the House Appropriations Committee has laid before Congress after 4 months of hearings and deliberations.

The \$39.3 billion, which covers all military expenditure except for construction and assistance abroad, is only \$2.9 million more than President Eisenhower requested in his January budget. But there has been extensive subtracting from and adding onto individual sums to give the Armed Forces the weapons they need while cutting out some of the waste inherent in the defense operation.

The committee requested \$241 million more than the President asked for atomic-

powered Polaris submarines.

It recommended \$115 million more to enable the Air Force to buy extra engines, spare parts, etc., so that our heavy bombers can be put on airborne alert if the need arises. With the \$85 million the President deemed adequate, this would give the Air Force \$200 million for this purpose.

The committee approved extra funds for the Midas early warning satellite and other

military space programs.

It proposed \$100 million more for antisubmarine warfare and bluntly told the Navy to put a tough boss in command to get the kind of results Admiral Rickover has achieved in nuclear submarines.

achieved in nuclear submarines.

It is urged the spending of \$250 million more than the budget requests for military airlift, especially jet-powered troop and cargo planes.

On the other side of the ledger were substantial slashes.

The controversial Bomarc antiaircraft missile program, which the Air Force had already downgraded, was virtually put out of business. The saving is estimated at \$294 million.

The Navy was refused a new carrier that would have cost \$293 million.

A flat 10-percent cut below budget level was urged to help curb the perennial prob-

lem of excessive military travel.

A 10-percent slash was also proposed to eliminate the topheavy administrative payroll

And a 3-percent cut was demanded in all purchasing appropriations to eliminate wests.

In general, arbitrary percentage reductions are not an effective way to economize. But in its report to Congress the Appropriations Committee cites so much evidence of needless travel, of excessive administrative personnel and gross waste in procurement that in this instance percentage cuts should prove highly beneficial.

UAR Blockade of the Suez Canal to Israeli Shipping

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. LESTER HOLTZMAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, May 5, 1960

Mr. HOLTZMAN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I would like to include herewith a letter I have today sent to President Eisenhower on the Israeli-UAR situation.

The letter refers specifically to the President's response to a question directed to him at his press conference last week by Lillian Levy of the National Jewish Post and Opinion on the continued closure of the Suez Canal to Israeli ships and shipping.

I believe the letter, which follows, is self-explanatory:

May 4, 1960.

Hon. Dwight D. Eisenhower, The President, The White House.

Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: I am appalled at the presumed helplessness of our great Nation in international affairs, as apparently indicated by your response to a question on the Suez situation at your last news conference.

If you are quoted accurately and if my summary is essentially correct, you stated, in substance, that the UAR blockade of the Suez Canal to Israell shipping is in violation of the U.N. resolutions; that your efforts and those of Mr. Hammarskjold to reverse or at least ameliorate the situation have been fruitless; but that short of force we are helpless to do anything about it.

Has our prestige sunk so low? I personally cannot believe it.

You will undoubtedly recall the ominous threat of sanctions directed against Israel in 1956 if she did not immediately withdraw from Sinal; also your assertions on the subject and the Israeli assumptions on which its withdrawal was predicated.

Our justification for the then threat of sanctions was our righteous attitude that regardless of the degree of provocation Israel could not or should not, under the international code as adopted by the U.N., retaliate by force.

May I respectfully ask whether there is a distinction between force by armed might as against the slower but equally deadly process of economic strangulation? Is it any less evil if committed by silent pressure on the windpipe rather than by gunfire? Is Nasser above the international code? Should not sanctions be just as properly and effectively applied against him? Have we in fact fulfilled our international obligations by piously asserting that we do not condone the UAR's acts of blockade, boycott, and blacklist?

Do we rightly accept at face, as a valid defense, Nasser's assertions that he can do what he pleases because he is ostensibly at war with Israel? If so, should the World Bank—which we in effect control—assist a belligerent by lending him money for one purpose so that he can divert other funds to wage a more extensive and effective war against another member of the U.N.? Is the fact that there is an Arab refugee problem an excuse for international piracy and black-mail, having in mind particularly that there are refugee problems all over the world involving some 30 million other people, such as in Pakistan, India, Hong Kong, etc? Prime Minister Ben-Gurion has indicated a desire and willingness to discuss all phases of the refugee problem, but the intransigence of the Arab has made this virtually impossible.

These are some of the questons we must ponder over and find answers to. Shrugging our shoulders hopelessly will not resolve them.

Our State Department under the late Mr. Dulles was criticized for its theory of massive retaliation. Is not the present attitude of our State Department correspondingly subject to criticism for its apparent policy of massive and humiliating retreat when subjected to strong enough Arab protest?

I respectfully submit that you now have an effective weapon in your hands if you care to use it, in the form of a declaration by both Houses of Congress, and surprisingly enough from both parties, as to how, in the view of Congress, our security program should be administered. The world, I submit, will watch to see whether we continue to hand out our funds with our eyes closed and purport to pursue what we choose to call equality when it, in fact, amounts to injustice. Or will we act firmly as morality, rather than expediency, dictates, and thus reestablish our national dignity in the eyes of the world?

Respectfully yours,

LESTER HOLTZMAN,

Member of Congress.

The Uniform Application of Law

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. HARRY FLOOD BYRD

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, May 5, 1960

Mr. BYRD of Virginia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the Record an excellent editorial, entitled "We Want No Laws Which Don't Apply to Everybody," which appeared in the April 23 issue of the Saturday Evening Post.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WE WANT NO LAWS WHICH DON'T APPLY TO EVERYBODY

A lot of ridicule and mystification was aroused by the filibuster in the Senate over the civil rights bill. However, if the final bill is concerned with the main issue, which is the right of Negroes to vote, and has shed a few pounds of foolscap containing a mishmash of vote-catching provisions of dubious merit, the filibuster has to get some of the credit. Furthermore, credit for one saving breath of realism in the long debate must go to that truly liberal realist, Senator Frank Lausche, Democrat, of Ohio.

Senator Lausche's deflationary device was a simple amendment to a clause in the civil rights bill which provided penalties for those who interfered with court orders in carrying out school desegregation decisions. The Ohio Senator asked, "What harm could come to anyone if this section were amended to become operative as to all citizens of the United States and as to all court orders, decrees, and judgments?" He offered an amendment to make the section read that way, instead of "improperly pointing its finger at only one section of the country."

It didn't take long for Senator Lausche to find out who would be harmed by his amendment. It had hardly been announced before the labor-union-minded Senators began scurrying about, asking for more time to think, and employing delaying devices which they had found wicked when practiced by the southerners. Senator Joseph Clark, of Pennsylvania, inquired in consternation if the Lausche amendment "would convert what was a specific criminal penalty for violation of a decree of a Federal court in connection with school desegregation into a general penalty which would affect goodness knows what."

That was exactly what Senator Lausche intended the amendment to mean, even if "goodness knows what" turned out to include labor-union leaders who defied court orders in connection with strikes or picketing. Such being the dire possibility, Senator Clark and his allies discovered that there was no need for the section, with or without the Lausche amendment, because section 1503 of the pre-civil-rights law covers practically the identical situation.

Senator Lausche mercilessly pointed out that "if the law is inadequate to take care of mobs in desegregation cases, it is inadequate to take care of mobs in other cases." Senator Carroll, of Colorado, another backer of the original section, declared that he had been rethinking the Little Rock situation and had come to the conclusion, apparently during the previous few minutes, that "we could eliminate the section altogether because section 1503 has been a pretty good statute through the years." Senator Clark came back into the fray to declare that it was one thing to create a Federal crime in "an area where we are not sure where we are going, and creating a Federal crime in a specific area dealing with school segregation, where we know what we are trying to do."

Senator Lausche, obviously delighting in the discomfiture of his colleagues, summed up the statute as written as if the Attorney General were saying, "Please enact a statute with which I shall be able to prevent crime; but make the statute applicable only to instances in which I recommend that it be used." Obviously few Senators could vote on a rollcell for such a discriminatory piece of legislation. Law has to look like law, even when it is really politics. The Lausche amendment passed, 65 to 19. In the next few minutes, however, the Senators voted to lay the whole thing on the table.

Thus the dilemma was solved and the voting record of the labor-union bloc remains clean, with no damage to their standing in civil rights circles. At the same time a certain small amount of principle was restored to the debate. For this, Senator Lausche, of

Ohlo, who, in a period more concerned with principle, would be a serious contender for the presidential nomination by his party, deserves high marks.

Hon. Carl Vinson, Recipient of Navy League Award

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. L. MENDEL RIVERS

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, May 5, 1960

Mr. RIVERS of South Carolina. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I would like to include a copy of a citation awarded to the very outstanding and most distinguished chairman of the House Committee on Armed Services, the Honorable Carl Vinson.

On Wednesday, May 4, 1960, in Anaheim, Calif., the Navy League of the United States presented, in absentia, the Robert M. Thompson Award for inspirational civilian leadership to the Honorable Carl Vinson.

This award was given to the distinguished chairman in recognition of his incomparable and invaluable contributions to the maintenance of American seapower.

Mr. Speaker, in recent years, there have been too many people who have taken for granted our mastery of the sea. Seapower does not just happen—it has to be created and maintained. And there is no one alive today with greater claim to the title of "Father of the Two-Ocean Navy" than the Honorable Carl Vinson.

I hope that his words will be listened to in the future just as they fortunately were in the past when he urges the Congress and the Nation not only to maintain our existing seapower, but also to prevent its deterioration through obsolescence, that may occur if more people do not become conscious of this tremendous unchallenged superiority which we now possess and which we may lose if we do not replace our Navy at a greater rate than is now being accomplished.

The very distinguished and great American, Carl Vinson, recognizes this situation now, just as he did before World War II.

There may be Members of this House who are alive today because of his foresight; there undoubtedly are hundreds of thousands of Americans alive today because of his foresight. If we listen to his advice for the maintenance of seapower in the years ahead, there may be millions of Americans who will live, who otherwise may perish if his advice is not followed.

The citation awarded to the Honorable Carl Vinson reads as follows:

NAVY LEAGUE OF THE UNITED STATES: THE ROBERT M. THOMPSON AWARD, FOR IN-SPIRATIONAL CIVILIAN LEADERSHIP

Robert M. Thompson, "the father of the Navy League," exemplified the intelligent, patriotic, and forceful advocate of seapower as an essential factor in our national wellbeing and security. Pursuant to the Thompson tradition, the Navy League is therefore, honored to present this award to a distinguished public servant who has always been effectively mindful of seapower's importance to our country's destiny:

THE HONORABLE CARL VINSON

In the days of the House Naval Affairs Committee, the Honorable Carl Vinson understood that seapower was essential to the growth and safety of the United States and he labored continually and vigorously to create and maintain naval strength adequate for the maritime responsibilities devolving on our country in its progress toward major participation in world affairs. When the battlelines for World War II were drawn Chairman Vinson continued his wise and effective efforts in behalf of creating and nourishing the naval componet of our national strength needed to bring that conflict to a successful and honorable conclusion.

Later, the chairman rose to the even more difficult challenges of the confused and dangerous postwar era. With his vast knowledge of the military, often more penetrating than the military thinking, he kept defense reasoning on an even keel with his informed and objective questioning and analytical approach to defense problems.

With the shrinking of time and space, brought about by the swift and unprecedented technological developments of the past decade, new and numerous complexities beset us in the public effort to safeguard our national heritage and our national future. And, again, Carl Vinson was equal to the challenge. As chairman of the more broadly constituted House Armed Services Committee, he addressed himself to the expanded task of leading wisely in the business of dovetailing all of our military needs and resources to meet the overall security needs of our country. In this self-imposed task he has made unforgettable contributions to the welfare of our country.

Throughout the years he has fought to

Throughout the years he has fought to preserve an appropriately strong and far-reaching U.S. seapower as an essential and vital component of our national power and our national capability for contributing to freedom in a world beset by the enemies of freedom. Even more, he has fought a broad gage battle for all those elements that go to make up the sum total of decent and effective national strength.

In the annals of our country the name of Carl Vinson will be inscribed not only as a leader who ably sponsored the role and the importance of seapower, but as one who unfailingly saw and advocated all of the elements necessary for our defense and our national interests.

Therefore we tender this expression of the Navy League's recognition of inspirational leadership to the Honorable Carl Vinson, chairman of the House Armed Services Committee

FRANK GARD JAMESON,
National President.
JOHN L. SULLIVAN,
Chairman, Awards Board.

Department of Christian Social Action

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. ALEXANDER WILEY

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, May 5, 1960

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, the right of religious freedom—as wisely foreseen by our forefathers—is a precious heritage under our Constitution. We realize, of course, that, with the privileges and right, also goes a great responsibility.

Historically, the underlying religious faith of our people, has been a highly significant "spiritual mortar"—welding together our Nation.

We recognize, of course, that even in churches, man—being of fragile nature makes mistakes. Whenever these occur, they must be "rooted out."

However, the American people, I believe, must constantly guard against blanket condemnation of a whole organization or system—whether this be of the church, in political life, or elsewhere in our society.

We recall that recently there have been imputations of communism against the churches. Contrary to such allegations, I frankly feel that our churches, as a whole, provide us with one of the strongest front lines against the inroads of communism. Consequently, I cannot allow this kind of thing to reflect unfavorably on the great religious traditions and history interwoven into the progress of our country.

Today, I was pleased to receive from President William B. Oakes, of the Council of Churches of Waukesha, Wis., a resolution adopted at the recent meeting of the executive board of the council. The resolution rejects the recent allegations made, for example, in the Air Force Training Manual.

Reflecting the thinking of the council on this issue, I ask unanimous consent to have the resolution printed in the Appendix of the Record.

There being no objection, the resolution was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

DEPARTMENT OF CHRISTIAN SOCIAL ACTION

At the request of the executive committee of the Waukesha Council of Churches, the Department of Christian Social Action offers the following regulation:

the following resolution:

"Resolved, That we reject as slanderous and without foundation in fact, the recent charges of Communist infiltration in the Protestant churches, carried in the Air Reserve Training Manual, Student Text, M.R. 45-0059.

"That we reaffirm our confidence in the National Council of Churches, since no evidence exists that would indicate Communist sympathy or conviction on the part of any responsible leader of the council.

"That we declare our belief in the integrity of the Revised Standard Version of the Bible, rejecting the implication that there is some kind of Communist taint in its translation.

"That we deplore the actions and accusations of 'apostles of discord' in our country who, while claiming to fight communism, actually aid its objectives by adopting its methods which include: taking quotations out of context, the deliberate spreading of prejudice on the theory of 'divide and conquer,' the dissemination of half-truths that willfully deceive, and the constant repeating of false accusations until those who hear them mistake them for fact.

"That we call on the people of our churches to 'consider the source' when they hear charges of communism in the churches or of subversion in the ministry, since these accusations almost invariably come from a very small group of malcontents with a long history of opposition to the ecumenical movement and to the churches affiliated with the national council."

Oregon's Relative Economic Position From 1946 Through 1958

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. CHARLES O. PORTER

OF OREGON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, April 28, 1960

Mr. PORTER. Mr. Speaker, why has not the per capita disposable personal income in Oregon kept up with the rest of the United States since World War II? Why is Oregon's index of growth for those years 130.8 while the index of growth for the United States is 156.1, for California 139.7, and for Washington 141.2?

And why in per capita personal income is Oregon's index of growth in 1958 124.7, much lower than the national average of 144.8 and the California av-

erage of 146.2? And Oregon's neighbor to the North, the State of Washington, had an index of growth of 135.0 in 1958.

Why do we lag? Is it that the tight money policies of the administration have put a damper on housing activities which we need so much for our lumber industry? Is it because the power of resources have not been sufficiently developed so that the power which is now abundant is abundant at a sufficiently expensive rate? Is it because we have not been able to attract the capital we need to develop ourselves industrially? What are the answers? I intend to send these figures to many persons and ask their opinions about what the reason is for our lagging and what more we can do to help Oregon gain a better rate of growth.

Under unanimous consent previously granted I am including hereunder tables prepared by the Library of Congress on the basis of U.S. Department of Commerce data:

Per capita disposable personal income, Oregon, compared to the national average and that of California and Washington, 1946 through 1958

	Oregon 1	Index of growth (1946=100)	United States	Index of growth (1946=100)	California 1	Index of growth (1946=100)	Wash- ington 1	Index of growth (1946=100)	
946	1, 2		\$1, 116 1, 291	100	\$1,455	100.0	\$1, 253	100.	
949 950 951	1,441	116.1	1, 272 1, 369 1, 474	122. 7	1,659	114.0	1, 522	121. 5	
952 953 964	1,566	126. 2	1, 520 1, 582	141.8	1,899	130. 5	1,727	137.8	
955	1,623	130. 8	1,660 1,742 1,799	156. 1	2,033	139.7	1, 769	141. 2	
957			1, 818 1, 891						

¹ Per capita disposable personal income is available only for the years given above. Source: U.S. Department of Commerce.

Per capital personal income, Oregon, compared to the national average and that of California and Washington, 1948 through 1958

1048 \$1,0 1049 1,5 1950 1,6 1951 1,7 1062 1,8 1053 1,8 1955 1,8 1955 1,8 1956 1,9 1957 1,9	Oregon	Index of growth (1948=100)	United States	Index of growth (1948=100)	California	Index of growth (1948=100)	Wash- ington	Index of growth (1948=100)	
	\$1, 609 1, 562 1, 602 1, 751 1, 824 1, 811 1, 764 1, 853 1, 962 1, 968 2, 006	108, 8	\$1, 420 1, 382 1, 491 1, 649 1, 727 1, 788 1, 770 1, 866 1, 975 2, 043 2, 057	105. 0 116. 1 121. 6 125. 9	\$1,750 1,725 1,858 2,051 2,144 2,196 2,189 2,340 2,477 2,543 2,559	100, 0 98, 6 105, 6 117, 2 122, 5 124, 9 133, 7 141, 5 146, 2	\$1,600 1,587 1,671 1,816 1,912 1,971 1,960 1,990 2,056 2,134 2,160	100.0 99.2 104.4 113.5 119.1 123.2 122.4 124.4 128.5 133.6	

Source: U.S. Department of Commerce.

Accomplishing Tax Reform

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. ALEXANDER WILEY

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, May 5, 1960

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, the power to tax must not be utilized—as has been traditionally stated—to destroy; rather, the tax system, insofar as possible, must be carefully designed to serve the public in a free-enterprise system.

As taxpayers—with taxes taking a big bite out of our income—it is often difficult for taxpayers to be aware of the apparently necessary rule of taxes in our system to support community and national needs.

Over the years, the administration of public affairs in a fast-expanding country has resulted in higher and higher cost to Mr. and Mrs. John Q. Public—particularly as these relate to defense as well as promoting the general welfare. To procure revenue, the Federal as well as the State and local governments have imposed a tremendously wide variety of taxes. In addition, these basic statutes

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have been revised, supplanted—and, in some cases, repealed—and otherwise modified

Recognizing the impact of taxes on the individual, on business, and industry, other organizations that attempt to make a profit, and the economy generally, I believe we need a top-to-bottom overhaul of the complex system of tax laws. Why? For the following reasons:

First. A fair tax system is essential to assure fair treatment of our citizens and to provide the needed revenue for Uncle Sam:

Second. Reportedly, there are extensive loopholes and inequities in the tax laws:

Third. The outlook for immediate, large-scale reductions is extremely dim; consequently this provides a real opportunity for timely, much-needed revision of our overall tax system;

Fourth. A strong economy depends upon a fair, not a punitive tax system—one that encourages, not threatens to destroy, incentive:

Fifth. Although taxes allow and require citizens to make a contribution to the general welfare, a realistic system should also allow the individual and businesses to retain a just share of the fruits of their production.

Sixth. Simplification of our tax system is badly needed, also, to ease the burden of accurate reporting of income;

Seventh. Fairness is essential, to encourage honesty, not dishonestly, among our taxpayers;

Eighth. And, finally, we need a new look also at the complex interrelationship—and often overlapping—of local, State and Federal taxes.

Last session, I introduced a bill, S. 1885, to establish a Hoover-type tax commission. The purpose would be to iron out inequities, plug loopholes, if possible more fairly distribute the tax burdens, and generally provide a fairer tax system.

A task force, with personnel and prestige comparable to that of the original Commission on Governmental Reorganization, headed by former President Hoover, would prepare for Congress and the Nation a comprehensive set of plans for a fair and efficient Federal incometax structure to replace the hodgepodge collection of taxes that now exist.

To assure an economy that will meet the needs of domestic progress, and the challenges to our survival by the Communists, we need a fair tax system. The best time for such revision is now.

Today, I was pleased to receive from Mr. L. E. Kust, general tax counsel of Westinghouse Electric Corp., a reprint of an editorial entitled "Accomplishing Tax Reform." Significantly, the editorial endorses the idea of a Hoovertype tax commission, stressing that, bipartisan commission of outstanding fiscal, economic and tax authorities, with adequate staff support, offers the best promise for formulation of sound reform of our tax system." Reflecting further upon the need for urgently needed revision of our tax laws, I ask unanimous consent to have the editorial printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ACCOMPLISHING TAX REFORM
(By Leonard E. Kust)

The recent hearings of the Ways and Means Committee on tax reform have produced a three-volume compendium of statements containing a remarkable diversity of views. On the basis of these statements and the oral testimony adduced, the Ways and Means Committee can support with authority doing almost anything and everything to the present tax system. But what should it do? What guidance has it received from hearings that guide in every direction?

While these hearings were a necessary first step in legislative consideration of tax reform, they serve notice that from here forward the legislative process will have to take extraordinary steps to accomplish significant and truly beneficial reform.

Our tax system has pervasive social and economic influences. The recent hearings were motivated by the growing conviction in the country that these influences of our present tax system, as well as its basic revenue producing capabilities, need thorough reexamination. Tax reform is one of the fundamental issues presently confronting the Congress and the Nation.

It is not at all clear that the traditional approach to tax revision is equal to the task. The considerations involved in thorough reexamination of our revenue system are of such magnitude and such far-reaching consequences that the normal resources and procedures of the Congress do not provide adequate means for the intensive and comprehensive analysis and reconciliation of conflicting considerations which must precede and form the foundation for meaningful tax reform.

The Congress has in similar and perhaps less compelling circumstances created a commission to study and recommend action to the Congress. The Commission on Organization of the Executive Branch of the Government in 1947 (the first Hoover Commission), the Commission on Governmental Operations in 1953 (the second Hoover Commission with enlarged powers) and the Commission on Intergovernmental Relations in 1953 are examples of this approach. These were all bipartisan Commissions, the members of which were appointed in part by the President of the United States, in part by the president of the Senate and in part by the Speaker of the House. The Commissions functioned under powers granted by the Congress to appoint staffs, to investigate, to hold hearings and to make a report to the Congress within a specified

This approach commends itself as precisely what is needed to formulate the necessary policy recommendations and legislative proposals to the House Ways and Means Committee and the Senate Finance Committee. The need for taking this approach has been recognized by Senator Willey and several of his colleagues in the Senate who have sponsored S. 1885, which provides for the establishment of a "Commission on Federal Taxation" to function along the lines here recommended.

A bipartisan commission of outstanding fiscal, economic and tax authorities, with adequate staff support, offers the best promise for formulation of sound reform of our tax system. After the submission of the proposals of such a commission, the House of Representatives would in the normal constitutionally required manner consider the proposals through the Ways and Means Committee and act upon the proposals as it does on any tax legislation. Thereafter the Senate Finance Committee and the

Senate would do likewise. Only such an approach, it is submitted, can reasonably be expected to result in maturely considered and comprehensive tax reform to replace a revenue system anchored to the needs and compromises of the past and provide a revenue system tailored to the demands of the present and the future.

Do We Want Quality Education?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. QUENTIN BURDICK

OF NORTH DAKOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, May 5, 1960

Mr. BURDICK. Mr. Speaker, this House will soon have before it consideration of legislation providing aid to education to the States on a matching basis. This legislation could provide funds for teachers' salaries or school construction or both. As we approach the debate, support and objection to a program of this kind is heard. Is this a field in which Government assistance should be given? A valid and effective answer to this question was given on the floor of the U.S. Senate on March 23, 1948, by the late Senator Robert Taft when he said:

To keep America free:

I do not think I can exaggerate the necessity of education. Primary education lies at the basis of all forms of republican government. A government depending on the making of decisions by the people and depending on their intelligence can exist only if the people have some ability to understand the problems of government which are presented to them. Unless there is a satisfactory educational basis, there cannot possibly be hope for success in any democratic form of government where the people are expected to rule and to decide the questions which are placed before them.

The Federal Government must help:
In matters affecting the necessities of life—and I should like to confine it so far as possible to the necessities of life, namely, to relief, to education, to health, and to housing—I do not believe the Federal Government can say it has no interest, and say to the people, "Go your way and do the best you can." I do not believe we should do that. Because of the way wealth is distributed in the United States, I think we have a responsibility to see if we can eliminate hardship, poverty, and inequality of opportunity, to the best of our ability. I do not believe we are able to do it without a Federal aid system.

Voices are heard from those who object, claiming that local control of the students, curricula and general affairs is lost and is taken over by the Federal Government. Let us again listen to the words of the late Senator Taft when he said:

It can be done:

But I believe very strongly indeed that in this field and in health and other fields dealing directly with human welfare we must work out a sound system of improvement. I think that the best form we have today is the form of Federal aid to the States, leaving complete control of the administration of the funds and the administration of the programs, for which they must have the primary responsibility, in the hands of the local communities.

It is my firm belief that public opposition to Federal aid to education is not so strong nor so widespread as some of its more vocal opponents would lead us to believe. I think people recognize the fact that, despite sizable gains in quality and quantity of education, local school districts simply cannot keep up with current demands for classrooms, and more important, for good teachers. Education, therefore, has become a national responsibility. Local agencies, no matter how devoted to the cause of education, simply do not have the resources to do the job as well as it must be done. I also believe that the great majority of Americans know that we cannot afford anything but the best in developing and strengthening this most basic of all our public needs.

I would like, at this point, to call your attention to an editorial which appeared in the March 1960 issue of the North Dakota Teacher. It considers the direction of grassroots opinion on the general subject of Federal support for education:

LET'S LOOK AT THE RECORD

Both Senator Young and Senator Bruns-DALE voted against the McNamara-Hart bill with the Monroney-Clark amendment which provides over \$4 million a year to North Dakota for the payment of teachers' salaries or school construction or both.

Representative Shorr has stated his position according to the Fargo forum on February 10: "I am not going to vote for Federal aid to education even if it means my not being in Congress."

Every poll conducted on the national basis pertaining to Federal support to education has given a resounding "Yes" vote. The 1957 Gallup poll stands as follows:

[Percent

MOTHARMA	Favor	Oppose	No opinion		
Republicans Deniocrats Independents Fast Midwest South West Profestants Atholics	74 79 77 80 76 70 79 75 78	21 17 18 17 21 21 21 21 16 20 17			

We understand that Senator Young has recently tabulated the results from a questionnaire sent to a sizable number of his constituents in North Dakota, both Democrats and Republicans, in which the question of Federal support to education was included. The results of this questionnaire, we understand, were favorable to such support.

The only one representing us in Congress at the present time, who has committed himself to Federal support for education is Representative Burdick. It is rather ironic to see the individual attitudes of our congressional delegation, both as to the financial crisis facing our schools and the total disregard of the sentiment of our people on such an important issue as Federal support to education.

It is interesting to notice the change in the attitude of the Senators from South Dakota who voted for the present bill. No doubt this comes about because they are representing the thinking and wishes of the people in their State and see the immediate need for such assistance as Federal support.

It is apparent from the statement made by Representative Shoar that nothing that the people in the State would say or do could influence his vote.

It is interesting to note the attitude on the part of many of those who advocate Federal funds for other purposes such as highways which in a large measure are controlled by the Federal Government and yet take such a firm and negative attitude to the Federal support of education in the bill before Congress at the present time. This bill contains every possible safeguard that can be included to insure State and local control of education.

We are at a loss to know what the solution to this problem may be other than to ask that we still continue to write to our congressional delegation and ask that they give further consideration to this problem with the possibility that they might change their minds.

I, too, agree that education is primarily a local responsibility. However, when local school districts are unable to provide quality education, Federal assistance, which assures local control, is warranted. I believe this Nation is negligent in permitting academic degrees to be issued, when the student has had no opportunity to study a foreign language, mathematics or natural sciences. I believe this Nation is negligent when students are crowded into small classrooms, where individual attention is impossible. Are we fulfilling our obligation to our children, and to our Nation, when we balance the school budgets with substandard education? I think not.

Suez Aggression

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JOHN SHERMAN COOPER

OF KENTUCKY

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, May 5, 1960

Mr. COOPER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that there be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial published in the Louisville Courier-Journal of Wednesday, May 4, entitled "There Is Still a Right Way To Counter Suez Aggression."

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THERE'S STILL A RIGHT WAY TO COUNTER SUEZ AGGRESSION

It is not good policy on the practical side for the U.S. Congress to use a threat of withholding foreign aid funds in order to force the United Arab Republic to quit blockading the Suez Canal to Israell shipping.

It is not good practice on the moral side, however, for the United States to ignore this outrageous situation. The blockade is a direct flouting of the authority of the United Nations. It should be dealt with in that body. And the United States should take the lead in a United Nations move to impose economic sanctions on the United Arab Republic, until it desists from its illegal actions.

The U.N. is pledged to oppose aggression between nations in any form. The blockade of Israeli shipping is just as much an act of aggression as the marching of troops across the Israeli border. Israel must carry on trade with the rest of the world or die. President Nasser of the United Arab Republic has

vowed the death of Israel, and he now pursues his ruthless objective through economic strangulation.

President Nasser made a specific pledge to the United Nations to allow "free and open transport through the canal without discrimination." Yet from that very day, Israeli ships have been denied passage. President Eisenhower is also plainly on record on the matter. Any violation by the United Arab Republic of its Suez pledge, he declared, "should be dealt with firmly by the society of nations."

That is exactly what should have been done. But now, after many months of consistent violation, Mr. Eisenhower has not lifted a finger to bring the matter before the U.N. His failure to act has opened the way for unwise action in the Senate.

Senator Paul Douglas, of Illinois, moved to give the President authority to cut off aid to the U.A.R. if the Suez blockade is not lifted. Acting Secretary of State Douglas Dillon warned that this action might have harmful repercussions in the Middle East. Senator J. William Fulbricht, of Arkansas, argued that this was the wrong way to deal with the problem. Senator John Sherman Cooper, of Kentucky, announced that he had been inclined to vote for the Douglas measure, as a way of forwarding "the principle of freedom of navigation in international waterways," but that he had reversed his position when he concluded that the proposal "would be harmful to these very purposes."

The Douglas amendment carried anyway, by 45 to 39. It is obvious that there was much political pressure ebhind it. It is also obvious that this is an effort to use the foreign aid program to blackjack a nation into line with American policy. That is bad procedure, even when the cause is just.

The trouble is that Nasser's conduct of the Suez affair cries out for world censure, and no proper protest has been raised. United Nations Secretary-General Dag Hammarskjold has journeyed to Cairo to reason with the Egyptian strong man without getting the least satisfaction. Nasser still proclaims the death of Israel. He still pursues a course of destruction which the U.N. should not permit for a single day.

not permit for a single day.

The Senate majority has taken the wrong way to attack the problem. There would never have been any occasion for this congressional error, however, if the President and his State Department had lived up to a moral obligation to seek a positive solution in the U.N. Under that failure, emotional pressures have built up which may cause damage in a campaign year. Such irrational gestures as the refusal of New York union longshoremen to unload an Egyptian ship have inevitably appeared.

It is late now for American action in the United Nations, but not yet too late. The next move is up to President Eisenhower.

Mother of Year Has Seven Winners

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. DANIEL K. INOUYE

OF HAWAII

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 5, 1960

Mr. INOUYE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I include the following news article which appeared in the Honolulu Advertiser of Sunday, May 1, 1960, reporting that Mrs. Riu Wakai had been selected as Honolulu's "Mother of the Year" by

the retail board of the Honolulu Chamber of Commerce.

The story of Mrs. Wakai and her efforts to provide her seven children with the necessary tools for their development into responsible citizenship is exemplary and a tribute to motherhood. Her selection portrays vividly the silent self-sacrificing role of mothers everywhere. To them we dedicate Mothers Day, to say in our own little way, "we have not forgotten."

I wish to take this opportunity to congratulate Mrs. Riu Wakai and in doing so, to congratulate all mothers for being the wonderful women they are.

The article follows:

MOTHER OF YEAR HAS SEVEN WINNERS

A widow who labored long and cheerfully to launch her seven children on worthy careers is Honolulu's "Mother of the Year.

She is Mrs. Riu Wakai, of 2826 E. Manoa Road

Mother is but one of the titles 69-year-old Mrs. Wakai can claim.

She has also been a missionary and teacher to generations of youngsters on Oahu and Kaual.

And she continues to be as active as many

women half her age.,
Mrs. Wakai's selection as Mother of the Year was made by the retail board of the Honolulu Chamber of Commerce which will honor her at a luncheon at the Willows Restaurant on Wednesday.

Wednesday happens to be Mrs. Wakai's

70th birthday.

In addition, she will receive a free vaca-

tion trip to a neighbor island.

Mrs. Wakai was nominated by a friend. Mrs. May Horio, who wrote a letter about her candidate to Advertiser columnist Bob Krauss, who in turn submitted the letter to the retail board.

Here is what Mrs. Horio had to say:

"I know Mama Wakai best through her children whom she has reared despite many hardships and obstacles. Mrs. Wakai, is the widow of the Rev. Henry Gengo Wakai, founder of the Kapas Congregational Church, Kapaa, Kauai.

"The Reverend and Mrs. Wakai came to Hawaii almost 40 years ago from Japan and immediately started their church work on

Kanai

"In 1936, Mrs. Wakai was widowed with seven young children. In order to support them she went to work as a Japanese language schoolteacher.

Soon afterward the family moved to Honolulu and settled in a home on the grounds of the Makiki Christian Church. Mrs. Kakal

continued to teach

Mrs. Horio notes that "the success of a mother can be measured by how well she has helped mold the character of her children so that they, in turn, will become responsible, mature citizens in a community."

The seven children and what they are doing now:

The Reverend Masayoshi Wakai, chaplain at Kulani Prison Camp, Maui.

Mary Wakai, secretary with the municipal government in Chicago.

Dr. Warren Wakai, Honolulu dentist.

Theodore Wakai, chemical engineer and research scientist with the Federal Government at Oxnard, Calif.

Dr. Coolidge Wakai, Honolulu physician. Calvin Wakai, operational supervisor for the Bank of Hawaii at Barber's Point.

Herbert Wakai, attending the Farleigh-Dickenson Dental College at Teaneck, N.J.

Mrs. Wakai named her younger children after U.S. presidents on the theory that it would be an incentive to them to be good citizens.

But that is only part of the story, son Warren said.

"She sacrificed a lot of things, she put our welfare first. Because of her and dad we were able to have all these education opportunities." he said.

The children helped themselves, too.

Many were scholarship winners. All have attended at least one college or university and some of them as many as three or four.

Tribute to Colonel Olmstead, Engineer in Charge of U.S. Construction on St. Lawrence Seaway

> EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. ALEXANDER WILEY

OF WISCONSTN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Thursday, May 5, 1960

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, the completion of the St. Lawrence Seaway in 1959 marked one of the great steps of progress-economically as well as engineering and construction-in American

Now that the job is done, the Nationand particularly the Great Lakes-must look forward to resolving the additional problems relating to promoting greater trade and commerce through the seaway, as well as the reaping of benefits of this economic lifeline between our country and the world.

The translation of the idea of a deep sea waterway into the heartland of America was, as we all recognize, the outgrowth of the vision, effort, skill and foresight of many great men. The country, I believe, owes a debt of thanks to all—from President Eisenhower who backed the project to the pick-andshovel man-who helped to tame and harness the mighty waters of the St. Lawrence into a trafficable road of commerce.

Regrettably, it is no possible to pay adequate tribute to each and every one of these individuals who transformed the dream of a deep sea passageway to other countries of the world into a reality,

As time and opportunity permit-and in accordance with our traditions-I believe, however, we must make an effort to pay tribute where tribute is due. Today, I want to call attention to the work of one individual whose competence, courage, and great engineering ability are indelibly imprinted on the St. Lawrence Seaway-that is Col. Loren W. Olmstead, Colonel Olmstead was in charge of the engineering and construction work of the U.S. part of the seaway.

Recently, I was privileged to be joined by my colleagues, Senator Javits and Senator Keating, of New York, in paying tribute to Colonel Olmstead, respectfully recommending to the President recognition of his outstanding work. At this time, I ask unanimous consent to have a copy of a joint letter-urging appropriate recognition of Colonel Olmstead's work-sent to President Eisenhower. printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD. as follows.

> U.S. SENATE. COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS, May 3, 1960.

Hon. DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER, President of the United States. The White House, Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: In accordance with longstanding American tradition of giving recognition and tribute to worthy individuals for a job well done, we wish to pay tribute to Col. Loren W. Olmstead, Deputy Chief of Engineers, Corps of Engineers, U.S. Army. Colonel Olmstead's outstanding military

career includes distinguished service on many flood control projects as well as the development of Buffalo Harbor and extensive improvements to Niagara Falls. His competence and technical ability were evidenced to the fullest when he served as district engineer at Buffalo, N.Y., in charge of the U.S. construction on the St. Lawrence Seaway. Due in large part to Colonel Olm-stead's skill and untiring efforts, this magnificent undertaking resulted in a modern-ized seaway and is today contributing immeasurably to America's defense and com-mercial and industrial development.

In light of his long, productive career in the service of his country, we respectfully urge consideration of Colonel Olmstead for such recognition, including advancement in rank, which, in your judgment, is warranted.

With high esteem and all good wishes.

Very sincerely yours, ALEXANDER WILEY, U.S. Senator. JACOB K. JAVITS. U.S. Senator. KENNETH B. KEATING, U.S. Senator.

Area Redevelopment Administration

SPEECH OF

HON. J. ERNEST WHARTON

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, May 4, 1960

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (S. 722) to establish an effective program to alleviate conditions of substantial and persistent unemployment and underemployment in certain economically depressed areas.

Mr. WHARTON. Mr Chairman, during the 5 hours of parliamentary maneuvers, we on the floor have had ample time to review S. 722, a bill to create a new Government agency to be known as the Area Development Administration. It is a brandnew spending program which seems to create no new industry, and therefore may pirate existing industry from one location to another. I note that the measure is strongly supported by the depressed areas, such as the coalmining areas of West Virginia and Pennsylvania, and in New York by the glove industry, all of whom have had a taste of foreign competition and labor trouble.

It has already been said here on the floor that it is a bill to bail out union leadership where bad labor conditions have driven industry away from the locality. We have also heard it characterized as the "little WPA" and a "foot-inthe-door measure." The principal argument in its favor seems to be that we are spending too much on foreign aid and so can afford an expenditure of this kind at home-but that questionable argument is used on every spending proposal. The truth of the reflection on union leadership, of course, would bear a great deal of local investigation.

What I strongly suspect, however, is that this bill should be entitled a "voteseeking bill" instead of a depressed area measure, and I should like to call attention to the following facts as disclosed in the bill and the accompanying commit-

tee report:

First, a \$20,000-per-annum Administrator, with a large unspecified and unlimited office force, would organize a brandnew bureau which would probably be known, and significantly so, as the ADA-for Area Development Administration. With such an imposing organization, he would set out to "lend lease" \$75 million in industrially depressed areas, and we all know that amount would be spread pretty thin over the entire country where unemployment exceeds 6 percent.

Next, he would tackle another \$75million fund for "lend lease" to so-called depressed rural areas, and right here I would like to compliment the committee in charge for a most comprehensive report. Further examination discloses that it would affect but 19 of the 50 States, and some 500 counties in those States, not one of which is located in New York State. There are 36 counties listed in rich and powerful Texas, and votes from those areas, I presume, will be relied upon to bolster a majority vote here in the House.

It is my prediction that neither my own State nor any other will be appreciably benefited by this bill. The taxpayers will be saddled with another bureaucracy, and some attempt might well be expected to pirate existing industry from progressive communities to politically favored areas.

I think this is a weak and politically inspired measure, and one that ought to be defeated here in the House without waiting for a Presidential veto.

Unions Protest Against U.A.R. Blacklisting American Ships

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. WILLIAM PROXMIRE

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Thursday, May 5, 1960

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, the recent protest by members of the International Longshoremen's Union aaginst United Arab Republic blacklisting of American ships which put in at Israeli ports has aroused considerable comment. Protesting also against mistreatment of American seamen in U.A.R. ports, the members of the union have refused to unload an Egyptian freighter docked in New York, and are picketing the vessel. This is a courageous and timely demonstration against the notorious "boycott of Israel," the systematic blacklisting of ships, manufacturers, merchants, even film actors, who have any dealing with Israel.

Unfortunately the protest against this unjustifiable Arab policy has been misunderstood in some quarters. I have received a copy of a letter from Mr. Seymour W. Miller, general counsel to the Seafarers International Union, addressed to the editor of the New York Times. which states clearly the reasons for this significant action. I ask unanimous consent that Mr. Miller's letter be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD,

as follows:

LAW OFFICES. MILLER & SEEGER. New York, N.Y., April 28, 1960.

THE EDITOR, New York Times, New York, N.Y.

SIR: I am general counsel to the Seafarers International Union of North America, Atlantic and Gulf District, AFL-CIO, involved in the protest against the policy of the United Arab Republic in blacklisting American vessels which touched Israeli ports and mistreating American seamen aboard "suspect" American vessels. As such, it is naturally to be expected, I suppose, that I would differ with your editorial on the subject in the New York Times of Monday, April 25, 1960. However, in my capacity as a private American citizen and as a reader of long standing of the Times, I must go beyond the Union's position (concerned, as it is, only with the threat to the jobs and wellbeing of its adherents), and tell you why many people, including myself, take most serious issue with your position.

Your point seems to be that the protest of the SIU and ILA should be abandoned, primarily because the Arab governments are threatening to boycott all American ships and, secondly, because the State Department says it is "embarrassed in the conduct of the Nation's foreign relations." Neither

reason is valid.

The facts are that many of SIU's contracted companies have suffered a severe loss of business as a result of the policy all of us, including the State Department and you, appear to decry. As a consequence, job op-portunities for its members have decreased substantially. Moreover, its seamen have been subject to personal abuse and harassment in U.A.R. ports. This situation has existed for years and constitutes a flagrant affront to our flag, to our country, to American shipping companies, and to American merchant mariners. Indeed, the arrogance of the Arab Governments, and the U.A.R. government in particular, has become so fulsome as to prompt them to dictate to us in which manner they wish us to convey aid to their hungry peoples. The Department of Agriculture, concerned with the shipment of foreign aid grain cargoes, has publicly stated it is not concerned with these matters and. until recently, the Navy Department, as is true of the Department of Agriculture to this day, cooperated in the effectuation of these affronts by the inclusion of charter provisions precluding the issuance of charters to American shipping companies that had ever delivered cargoes to Israel. State Department has accomplished nothing in the way of a remedy. It has mostly confined itself to the issuance of sporadic, ineffectual, general statements. In the meantime, the Union's losses continue, as does, indeed, the threat to its very existence, and it grows with each Arab League conference called for the purpose of enlarging upon this blacklist and in making increased use of Nasser's physical control of the Suez Canal, notwithstanding the U.A.R.'s contravention of numerous U.S. resolutions and open violation of international law.

I realize that the State Department is embarrassed, as they put it, but I suggest that this embarrassment should be predicated on reasons other than the one it offers. I suggest it ought to be embarrassed because it has not stopped this insult to our country, to our flag, and to our citizens. It ought to be embarrassed because it is engaged in the shameful policy of appeasing a dictatorial tyrant, because it allows him to so cleverly and obviously play us off against the Bolsheviks, and because it panders to an ever-increasing aggressiveness which, if not checked, will most certainly lead to war. It ought to be embarrassed because preaches so loudly about support of the democracies and the unity of the free world, and conducts, certainly so far as the Middle East is concerned, a day-to-day foreign policy in precise contradiction thereof. So much for State Department embarrassment.

Since you consider the SIU's protest IIIadvised from the start. I submit that it is incumbent upon you to suggest an alternative procedure which would offer the Union some hope of eventual surcrease from the threat which hangs over its contracted companies and available job opportunities. Certainly you canont be suggesting it sit by and do nothing, and that the SIU just take it and hope for a solution. What is there in the wind to suggest that such a solution is forthcoming? Certainly our present appeasement policy is no solution, for it has accomplished nothing. Indeed, does not history prove that such a policy is not merely doomed to failure but, more significantly, actually tends to evoke an ever-increasing arrogance, leading, in turn, to more serious crises, and, ulti-

mately, war. The Arab countries are engaged right now

in a boycott of many American-flag vessels. Your answer appears to be that, notwithstanding, the unions should not protest, lest the Arab countries boycott all Americanflag vessels. But, in the light of the State Department's proven incapacity to accomplish anything, that means you are advocating that the SIU and ILA submit, that they suffer their losses and the promise of even further losses, under threat of further pressure. It is my own opinion that this sort of thinking brought about the Ethiopian war, the Rhineland debacle, Munich, and all the other appeasement gestures that merely whetted the insatiable appetites of dictators. Such thinking, in short, courts disaster.

If, as all of us seem to agree, the blacklist and harassment directed against our ships and seamen are wrong (as well as seriously injurious to the material interests of our merchant marine), we Americans should not adopt an appeasement posture predicated on the utterance or even execution of threats calculated to insure the survival of that wrong. America has not exerted pressure on Egyptian vessels, notwithstanding how much we may dislike their ports of call. Egypt should observe the same amenities with respect to our vessels. We do not harass and humiliate Egyptian seamen. Egypt should not harass and humiliate American seamen.

In my judgment, the shameful failure of the State Department to uphold America and American principles, and to insist upon the observance of these basic tenets of reciprocal fair play, has left the unions involved no other choice but to legally protest as effectively as they can, and that is precisely what they are doing. You should be in-formed that the fight these unions are putting up in defense of their legitimate interests has won the support of peoples and groups all over the world, from Guatamala to the Philippines, from the U.S. Senate to Main Street.

Very truly yours,

SEYMOUR W. MILLER.

Twentieth Anniversary of the Tragic Katyn Forest Massacre

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 2, 1960

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, the spring of 1960 marks the 20th anniversary of the Katyn Forest Massacre, in which 15,000 Allied soldiers were brutally murdered by the Communist Secret Police.

This monstrous crime shocked the entire world and let to a special investigation by the Congress of the United States in 1952, which was headed by the Honorable RAY J. MADDEN, Congressman from Indiana.

Last week I participated in a memorial tribute, sponsored by the Illinois Division of the Polish American Congress in Chicago, to these gallant Polish officers who were the victims of this massacre. I had served as chief investigator for the Select Committee of the House of Representatives To Investigate the Katyn Forest Massacre in 1952.

The Illinois Division of the Polish American Congress is to be commended for arranging last week's memorial service to the memory of these Polish soldiers. Through this tribute, the Illinois division has manifestly demonstrated again how dangerous it is for American leaders today to deal with Soviet leaders at face value.

Investigation by Mr. Madden's committee in 1952 clearly demonstrated, beyond an iota of doubt, that Soviet Premier Stalin had ordered the execution of these Polish officers, whom we proudly listed as our most gallant allies. Our evidence clearly showed that Stalin brazenly lied to President Roosevelt on repeated occasions when the President tried to learn the fate of these men, after they had been deported to the Katyn Forest in the Soviet Union by Communist forces.

Despite the fact that Stalin ordered these Polish soldiers executed in Katyn in the spring of 1940, he repeatedly kept assuring President Roosevelt he did not know the whereabouts of these men until Stalin's lies became apparent to the entire world when the mass graves of the Polish officers were discovered in 1943.

President Eisenhower would do well today to recall this treacherous aspect of Soviet diplomacy when he sits down with Stalin's successor at the summit later this month.

Mr. Speaker, I should like to include in the RECORD today my own remarks delivered in Chicago last week in tribute

to these Polish officers and also the remarks of Congressman Madden, who was the principal speaker. I should also like to include the resolution adopted at this mass memorial service, which was attended by 1,000 Chicagoans.

I hope that the conscience of this Congress can be sufficiently aroused to demand that the President of the United States carry out the recommendations of the House select committee, which were included in its final report filed here in this House of Representatives on July 4, 1952. Not until those recommendations are carried out by the Government of the United States can we, as Americans, satisfy our conscience that we have done everything possible to properly recognize the great sacrifice these Polish officers made in Katyn.

The remarks and the resolution follow:

Mr. Chairman, may I take this opportunity to commend the Illinois Division of the Polish American Congress for arranging this 20th anniversary memorial service to the victims of the Katyn Forest massacre.

The brutal assassination by Communist troops of 15,000 of Poland's army officers in the spring of 1940 in the Katyn Forest marks one of the most scandalous pages of civilized history. By this tribute tonight, the Illinois Division of the Polish American Congress has again demonstrated that we shall not let the conscience of the world rest until the perpetrators of this monstrous crime against the Polish nation and its gallant soldiers are brought to the bar of justice.

The Congress of the United States in 1952, after a most thorough investigation, which I had the honor to head as chief investigator of the Select Committee of Congress To Investigate the Katyn Massacre, had clearly and unequivocally proven that this horrible massacre was perpetrated by the Soviet Union. Our investigation conclusively proved that these heroic Polish officers were murdered by the Communists in the Katyn Forest in order to pave the way for the eventual occupation of Poland by a puppet Communist government, which to this very day still holds the gallant Polish people in bondage.

Despite the overwhelming proof we presented to the world at the conclusion of this congressional investigation that the Soviet Union was guilty of this barbaric act, little, if anything, has been done to bring those guilty for this crime to justice.

It is conclusively clear to me that certain elements in our own Government to this very day oppose any effort to carry out the recom-mendations of our congressional committee in 1952, which included a strong plea that the Soviet Union be cited before the International Court of Justice for conduct contrary to that recognized by civilized coun-Despite the fact that the congressional committee had demonstrated unequivocally that there is sufficient language in the present Charter of the United Nations dealing with the World Court to bring such an action against the Soviet Union before that tribunal, both the present administration and the State Department have refused to initiate such action.

There is no question in my mind that if the American people and the President of the United States had been given all the details of the Katyn massacre when they first became known in 1943, including indisputable proof that Communist troops on orders of Premier Stalin had massacred these Polish soldiers, this Nation would have taken an entirely different attitude toward the Soviet Union in its wartime dealings.

However, regardless of how logical our position may be today, it is clearly apparent

that any redress for this hideous crime to the Polish nation can come only when the Polish people again have a free government, unshackled from the influence of Moscow, and are able themselves to demand justice before the World Court.

Because I believe this to be so true, it gives me great pleasure today to disclose to those of you assembled here the fact that the House Committee on Foreign Affairs this morning approved a resolution which I had the pleasure of introducing, along with Congressman Zablocki and other Members of Congress, urging President Eisenhower to demand free elections for the people of Poland and all the other captive nations when he meets with the Soviet leaders at the summit on May 16.

I think that the Foreign Affairs Committee has taken a historic step toward restoring justice and liberty to the enslayed people of the captive nations. I have every reason to believe that this resolution will be confirmed by the House of Representatives on Monday when it comes up on the Consent Calendar. I strongly hope that the Senate will concur in the spirit of this resolution, and I pray that the President of the United States will respect the wishes of Congress and make this demand for free elections in the captive nations when he meets with Mr. Khrushchev.

It is clear to me that justice in Eastern Europe regarding not only redress for this monstrous Katyn Massacre, but also all the other crimes that the Communists have perpetrated against the people of these captive nations, can be realized only when these nations are again free and able to demand their proper rights before the World Court.

Those of you assembled here tonight have played a most important role in helping keep alive the demands for ultimate justice for these captive nations. Your voice is being heard in Congress, and I hope the action of Congress will be heeded by the President.

We know one fact is indisputable: there can be no lasting peace so long as this vast population of people traditionally dedicated to freedom are held captive behind the Iron Curtain. We know that the key to lasting peace, to disarmament, to ultimate justice lies in the liberation through peaceful means of these postwar victims of Soviet aggression. Only when our foreign policy becomes based on a firm demand that these captive nations must be permitted to take their rightful place in the family of free nations will we, indeed, inspire the entire world to follow our leadership. In this great struggle for the minds of men throughout the world. the United States can provide the leadership by demanding justice and freedom for those in Poland, Czechoslovakia, Lithuania, Estonia, Latvia, Hungary, Rumania, and Bul-garia, now being held captive by their Soviet oppressors.

This year, Americans of Polish descent are going to pay tribute to the 100th anniversary of the birth of Ignace Jan Paderewski as one of the great sons of Poland, who to his dying day fought for freedom. I am happy to inform you this evening that within the next few days the U.S. Post Office will announce issuance of a commemorative stamp under the champions of freedom series in tribute to Paderewski. We here tonight, in paying tribute to the victims of Katyn, in demanding freedom and justice for the captive nations, are indeed upholding the highest principles for which Paderewski lived and died.

Thank you.

Speech of Ray J. Madden Before the Illinois Division of the Polish American Congress Chicago, Ill., April 29, 1960

The Polish American Congress and especially the Illinois division must be commended for calling this mass meeting to

memoralize the thousands of Polish patriots who were massacred in the Katyn Forest 20 years ago this spring. The Katyn massacre has already been recorded as one of the most barbarous international crimes in world his-

At the outbreak of World War II and during the winter of September 1939 and 1940, over 15,000 Polish army officers and intellectual leaders were taken prisoners by the Soviets when Stalin invaded Poland. These officers and Polish leaders were interned in three Soviet prison camps in the territory of the U.S.S.R. The incarceration of these prisoners and their mass deaths took place during the first 4 months of 1940. All traces of these men were lost and the Soviet leaders denied any knowledge of their whereabouts and their disappearance was a mystery up until April in 1943. At that time, the Nazi troops had invaded the Katyn Forest area near Smolensk which was under the complete domination of the Soviets. Upon discovery of the mass graves by the Hitler forces, word was sent out by the German propaganda minister exposing the international crime that had been kept secret for almost 2 years. Stalin and his Communist leaders immediately accused the Nazis of the deplorable crime committed in the Katyn

In 1952 the Congress authorized a special committee to investigate and hold hearings both in this country and in Europe for the purpose of placing the guilt for this international crime. For the first time in history, an international crime was committed wherein one nation accused the other and vice versa. The world knows that before, during and after World War II, the Communists in their infiltration and aggressions committed many deplorable mass murders, massacres, and campaigns of starvation against enslaved peoples in Poland's neighboring nations.

The special congressional committee held hearings over a period of many months both in this country, London, and Europe. Over 250 witnesses and hundreds of exhibits and depositions were taken by this committee, revealing the true facts regarding the Katyn Forest Massacre. On December 22, 1952, the committee submitted to Congress its final report establishing beyond any question of a reasonable doubt that the Soviets committed the mass murders of over 14,000 Polish officers and intellectual leaders in the spring of 1940. The leaders of the Soviets, their Ambassador in Washington, and any one whom they would designate were invited to appear before our committee to submit facts regarding this crime, but they refused to participate in the hearings. Throughout the entire proceedings, there was not a scintilla of proof or even remote circumstantial evidence presented that could indict any other nation but Russia for this international crime. News services, radio, television, and other publicity mediums in England and in Europe covered the testimony and hearings, and dispatches were sent throughout the world exposing the true blueprint of Communist aggression, brutality, and methods used in the enslavement of a nation and its liberty loving people. The world knows now that the same duplicity and methods of aggression were used by the Soviets in enslaving the Balkans and other neighbor nations surrounding the borders of the Soviets. The members of our committee were informed while holding hearings in Europe that the facts revealed by the special congressional committee for the first time, placed the Soviet propaganda machine on the defensive. Stalin and his lieutenants and his successor Khrushchev have to this day no answer to the facts and testimony revealed in the Katyn Forest massacre investigation. Khrushchev in his visit to this country, exhibited agitation and anger when even remote inferences were made concerning the Communist crimes of aggression

and tyranny in keeping small nations under their enslavement. The Communist leaders are very anxious to have their criminal records of the past buried from the minds of the present generation and generations to come. The Soviet propaganda broadcast today in Africa, Asia, South America, Cuba, and other areas, emphasizes that captive nations were anxious to come under their sphere of the Communist government, and that their present status was voluntary cooperation with the Kremlin.

I might state here that the special congressional Katyn Committee received the praise and commendations for the outstanding success of its hearings by the State Department, congressional leaders, Ambassador Lodge of the United Nations, and all of the former leaders of satellite nations now under the Communist yoke. My office in Washington has received requests for copies of the Katyn report, recommendations, and findings, from the leaders in most of the free nations throughout the world and we still receive requests from individuals and organizations throughout the world.

I should mention here that the Polish-American Congress, through its president, Charles Rozmarek, should be given major credit for arousing public opinion and aiding in securing congressional action to act favorably on my resolution to authorize the congressional investigation of this international crime. I wish to further state that Congressman Roman Pucinski, of Illinois, contributed great work as a special investigator, interpreter, and adviser to the Katyn committee during its long months of hearings and that this work he performed proved to be a major contribution to the success of the committee.

It is highly important that our Nation and the nations of the free world should constantly remind the peoples of neutral and undeveloped countries, the true facts as to how the Soviets succeed in enslaving neighbor nations against the will of the conquered. When the Katyn congressional committee was holding hearings in Europe, Pravda and the Soviet propaganda broadcasts devoted daily charges ridiculing the purpose and work of our committee as being a malicious committee disseminating capitalistic propaganda against communism.

Most of the people of the world now realize that the international crimes occurring before and during World War II by the Soviets were repeated only by a different pattern during the Hungarian and East German uprising. Unlers our Nation and the free nations of the world continue to keep the facts alive and send forth the truth to all people about communism, future Katyn massacres will take place in countries that today are enjoying freedom and self-government.

The Polish-American Congress is contributing greatly to future world freedom and the eventual reestablishment of freedom in captive countries by holding this great mass meeting memorializing the thousands of Poles who sacrificed their life in the Katyn Forest.

The former leaders of Poland who testified before our committee, warned against the future coexistence moves and peace overtures which the Communists will make at strategic times in order to carry out their program for world conquest. It was only a few years ago in Geneva when President Eisenhower, Secretary Dulles, Anthony Eden of Great Britain, and other representatives of free nations met with Khrushchev, Bulganin, and the Chinese Communists. former leaders of Poland and other satellite nations all realized at that time that the Geneva meeting was another strategic move on the part of Khrushchev to use that summit meeting as a propaganda platform to mislead the people of the world that they were fighting for world peace.

The leaders of Poland and the leaders of the former free nations now enslaved, call all to testify that treaties, pacts, summit meetings, etc., mean nothing, as far as the sincerity and reliability of the Communist mind is concerned, when they see fit to move in their well-planned aggressions.

The No. 1 program on the agenda for the coming summit meeting should be to review the methods and facts concerning the enslavement of Poland and other satellite nations, and demand that immediate steps be taken to inaugurate free and uncontrolled elections in the enslaved nations today under the Communist yoke. I firmly believe that world public opinion, if the true facts on Communist aggression were made known in all neutral and backward nations would some day free enslaved nations so that they would again enjoy liberty and free government.

POLITICS IN FOREIGN POLICY

Back in 1952, after the Katyn hearings were officially completed, it was heartening to hear General Eisenhower and his advisers during his campaign advocate that our Government take rigid steps to liberate satellite nations. It was indeed disappointing to the members of the Katyn committee that within the short space of 1 year, Secretary Dulles and the State Department actively opposed a congressional resolution sponsored by the members of the Katyn Committee that the Congress recommend to the United Nations that affirmative action be taken by that international body dealing with international crime committed by the Soviets in the Katyn Forest.

The members of the Katyn Committee were again optimistic when 2 years later on July 6. 1955, Charles Rozmarek, the president of the Polish American Congress and Rev. Valerian Karcz, the secretary, along with other officlais, and Congressmen Machrowicz, San-LAK, and LESINSKI, personally visited the White House and requested the President to present the satellite nations' case before the then pending conference of the Four Great Powers. The resolution submitted to the President at that time offered a number of convincing reasons why it was proper to insist at the Geneva Conference that if the Soviets were sincere in their peace overtures that they should allow captive nations the freedom of uncontrolled elections and selfgovernment. The Geneva Conference resulted in nothing more than a strategic propaganda platform for the Soviet leaders to broadcast untruths and lies to the neutral and backward nations of the world. Communist leaders in 1955 or today are not prepared militarily to start their program for world conquest. They want to complete their communization of the enslaved nations to strengthen their own war potential and economy. This task will take several years in the future for the Soviets to accomplish world superiority before they strike. Khrushchev and his leaders have not changed one step from the words of Lenin when he said: The permanent existence of the Soviet Republic with the captive countries side by side is unthinkable. One or the other must eventually triumph."

Our country is in the same position today as far as successfully curbing the Soviets' goal as we were before the Geneva Conference. Two months after the Geneva Conference, Khrushchev and Bulganin majestically toured the Middle East and Asia calling our President and Secretary of State "warmongers." It is our earnest hope that a different strategy will be used by the leaders of the free world at the coming Summit Conference. If the Soviets are sincere in their peace proposals, they should demonstrate good faith by allowing captive neighboring nations free elections to assume their former status as independent free people.

Stalin and Khrushchev made great success through bluff and false propaganda and it is high time that the leaders of the free na-

tions demand affirmative action from the communistic dictators. Demands must be made that they stop their infiltration and aggressions throughout the free world; and also, restore freedom to the millions whom they have reduced to enslavement under the communistic tyranny.

RESOLUTION ADOPTED BY THE ILLINOIS DIVI-SION, POLISH AMERICAN CONGRESS, IN CHI-CAGO ON APRIL 29, 1960

The month of April 1960 marks the 20th anniversary of the massacre of Polish officer prisoners of war committed by Soviet Russia in the Katyn Forest.

These prisoners were active and reserve officers of the Polish Army—physicians, teachers, lawyers, and, as chaplains, priests, and rabbis—assembled in the camps at Ostaszkow, Starobielsk, and Kozielsk.

By executing Polish intelligentsia, Soviet Russia hoped to weaken the resistance of the

Polish Nation.

In 1943 the advancing German troops discovered the mass graves of the Polish officers in the Katyn Forest. At that time the Soviet Government accused the Germans of committing the crime.

Thousands of similar crimes had been committed by the Germans during the last war. The Katyn massacre, however, is a deed of

Soviet hands.

The International Tribunal for War Crimes at Nuremburg convicted many German war criminals, yet those guilty of the Katyn massacre escaped unpunished. Moreover, under Soviet pressure, the whole civilized world seemed to forget that the massacre was a war crime and that the guilty should be punished.

The free world chose silence rather than confronting Soviet Russia with the facts.

In 1952 an investigation of the Select Congressional Committee To Investigate the Katyn Massacre clearly proved that Soviet Russia is responsible for this crime.

The committee concluded its investigation by recommending that details of the Katyn massacre be presented to the United Nations by the U.S. delegation and that the Soviet Union be cited before the International World Court for this horrible crime.

We American citizens of Polish descent in Chicago, Ill., assembled here at the 20th anniversary commemorating the Katyn massacre, appeal to the President of the United States and request that he direct the proper U.S. agencies to carry out the congressional committee's recommendations.

We emphasize that the Katyn massacre is one of many acts of genocide committed by Soviet Russia upon the captive nations.

The glorious past of our Nation demands that we defend justice rather than appease criminals.

Louisville: The Gracious Tradition

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JOHN SHERMAN COOPER

OF KENTUCKY

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, May 5, 1960

Mr. COOPER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that there be printed in the Appendix of the Record a very interesting article by the well-known writer, Jim Morrissey, entitled "Louisville: the Gracious Tradition," and published in the April 1960 issue of the Catholic Digest.

In addition to providing us with interesting material about Louisville, and particularly in the early years after its settlement in 1778, the article contains valuable information about the early history of the Catholic church in the archdiocese of Louisville.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

LOUISVILLE: THE GRACIOUS TRADITION

(By Jim Morrissey)

Some people think of Louisville, Ky., as a city composed mainly of beautiful women, fast horses, and drawling Kentucky colonels. No Louisvillian would deny that his city has these three elements in abundance. He's proud of them. But he will boast, also, of schools and churches, and he will point to bustling plants pouring out gargantuan quantities of cigarettes, home appliances, cars, farm equipment, and—of course—bourbon whisky.

The Ohio River city that forms the gate-way to the South has worked out a pleasant harmony of men and machines. Barry Bingham, editor-in-chief of the Louisville Times and Courier Journal, summarizes Louisville's 20th century character: "The city, for all its growth, remains as always a place where people lay more stress on living than on money, where hospitality is an evergreen tradition, and where progress is closely linked with the pursuit of happiness."

The Kentucky colonel is an ineradicable symbol. The colonel is a constant reminder that the easygoing grace and good manners of the Old South must be kept alive. He is a reminder, too, that the city must always be on its guard against decadence.

The 1959 variety of colonel bears little resemblance to his prototype in swallow-tailed coat, string tie, broad-brimmed fedora, and elegant white beard, regularly seen in advertisements. The abundant colonels of today (Kentucky Governors commission many each term) are usually civic or political leaders dressed in conservative business suits, and are surprisingly short on southern drawl.

The dominant influence on Louisville since that dismal May day in 1778 when explorer George Rogers Clark landed a weary band of soldiers and settlers on muddy Corn Island has been the Ohio River. It forms the city's northern and western boundaries as it sweeps on to the Mississippi. The river is responsible for the city's growth and prosperity.

Clark's dispirited group had moved to an Indian-proof fort at the present city site by Christmas, 1778. The little village was incorporated by the Virginia Legislature (Kentucky was not then a State) in 1780. Louis-ville was named for King Louis XVI of France, then active in the cause of the American Revolution.

By 1808, when what is now the Archdiocese of Louisville was established at Bardstown, Ky., 40 milles to the south, the town was booming with river commerce.

The city's location was dictated by the "falls of the Ohio," 2 miles of treacherous, rocky rapids. The rapids drop about 30 feet in gradual stages and form the only big impediment to traffic in the 980 miles of river from Pittsburgh to the Mississippi. They made portages necessary, except when flood-stage water allowed boats to pass safely over the rocks. The town prospered as a natural river port.

Some \$52 million is now being spent on expansion of the river locks to more than double the size of the old Portland Canal. The canal has been a bottleneck to constantly increasing barge traffic. River commerce flowing past Louisville is expected to hit 150 million tons annually by 1963.

Powerful diesel towboats pushing halfmile-long strings of barges have replaced the picturesque stern-wheelers. But the river, with its constant flow of tows and pleasure boats, is a colorful sight for tourists driving along mansion-lined River Road. Louisville is an interesting study in contrasts. The spire shadows of the Cathedral of the Assumption (1849) can almost reach the new black and white contemporary Federal Reserve bank building a half block away. Century-old business buildings in blocks near the river give way to gleaming modern façades of establishments farther downtown.

The stately Pendennis Club for men of means is only a few steps away from bustling Fourth Street. The club's excellent food, warm southern hospitality, and restful quiet make it seem a world apart.

The business district is getting a homey touch these days. Civic and political leaders are trying to prevent the blight that strikes other cities when downtown businesses move to outlying shopping centers. They are considering turning sections of streets into restful, landscaped malls free of traffic danger and noise. Street light poles have been painted robins'-egg blue, and wastebaskets in bright pastel colors have been set on corners. Small evergreen trees planted in wooden boxes have been placed along Fourth Street, the main business artery.

The first Catholic church was erected in Louisville in 1811, 5 years before the cornerstone was laid for the cathedral at Bardstown. The original missionaries considered Louisville "a wicked city where there is much trade and wickedness " of ew confessions heard, but plenty of curses uttered."

The Bardstown diocese was first ruled over by Bishop Benedict Joseph Flaget. His spiritual jurisdiction originally included the entire "West and Northwest" and was second in number of Catholics to the diocese of Baltimore. The diocese was established 35 years before the beginning of the Chicago diocese.

Flaget, a backwoods bishop, said mass in log chapels, wore homespun vestments, and set a rugged example of dedication for later generations. At the age of 80 he rode horseback 600 miles visiting all the parishes of his diocese.

Louisville's growth and its importance in the settlement of the West, plus the great numbers of German and Irish Catholic immigrants flooding into the city, brought about transfer of the see from Bardstown in 1841.

Today the population of the Louisville metropolitan area is 736,000. The city is 33 percent Catholic. An increase of 13 percent in the Catholic population during the last 10 years has been due to the increased birth rate and an influx of Catholics from the East.

Throughout its 180-year history, Louisville by temperament has been a southern city, even though geographically it appears to be Middle West. Local citizens proudly point out that Louisville was the first southern city to integrate its public schools. This took place in 1956.

The pattern for tranquil desegregation had been set earlier by Catholics. In 1910, St. Ann's Church had a mixed Negro and white congregation. Bellarmine College for men was established in 1950 as an integrated institution. At that time two other Catholic colleges in Louisville, Nazareth and Ursuline Colleges for women, joined Bellarmine in public announcement of an integration policy. One year before public school integration, Catholic elementary schools enrolled Negro pupils.

A Protestant civic leader commented recently, "We had no trouble integrating here because the Catholics had proved to the community it could be done."

About 50,000 students now attend 131 Catholic schools, colleges, and seminaries in the archdiocese. The bulk of the student population (about 43,000) attend institutions in Louisville and suburban Jefferson County.

Bishop Flaget's successor, Bishop Martin John Spalding, brought rapid expansion of

the parochial school system. A historian has observed, "Remarkable progress was made in Catholic education in Kentucky two generations before public schools were inaugu-Prelates following Bishop Spalding continued the emphasis on education. In the last 10 years, under Archbishop John A. Floersh, 46 new school buildings have been added in Louisville and Jefferson County, at a cost of more than \$13 million. Archbishop Floersh became Bishop of Louisville in 1924, archbishop in 1937.

The community also has the University of Louisville, the oldest city university in the United States. It was founded in 1789.

The best known Louisville institution is the Kentucky Derby. Each year in May the 1-day sports classic attracts about 100,000 to historic Churchill Downs, only a few blocks south of the business district.

The Derby is an electrifying social phenomenon. It brings about a citywide transformation for a week or 10 days before the race. World problems get pushed into a remote corner by endless, involved discussions throughout the city on track conditions, past performances, and the unpre-dictability of 3-year-old horses. Society is at its busiest during Derby Week, with balls, dinners, and cocktall parties. can't get to the track have Derby parties at home and watch the race on TV.

The mile-and-a-quarter run for the roses by the world's fastest horses has been held without interruption since 1875. It has defied the disastrous flood of 1937, wars, and Kentucky's own brand of unpredictable politics

Humorist Irvin S. Cobb once said. "You ain't never been nowhere, and you ain't never seen nothin', until you go to Kentucky and with your own eyes behold a Kentucky Derby."

Whisky making is as much a part of the Louisville tradition as thoroughbred-horse racing. Ten distilleries are located in the Louisville area. By 1985 Kentucky is expected to be producing 90 percent of the world's whisky, instead of the present 75 Evan Williams is credited with making the first corn whisky, forerunner of bourbon, in Louisville in 1783.

From the days when Indians roamed the dark and bloody ground, Kentucky has been associated with tobacco. Fifteen leading brands of cigarettes are manufactured in Louisville, accounting for one-fourth of the Nation's output. About 100 billion cigarettes were produced there in 1958. Total cigarette-stamp taxes collected by the Federal Revenue Service's Louisville office was \$349,731,000.

Tours of distilleries and cigarette plants are popular with visitors. And the city is within easy driving distance of many other attractions.

The beautiful white-fenced horse farms in the Blue Grass country around Lexington are only 60 miles away. The sprawling Army armor center at Fort Knox, the U.S. gold depository, is 40 miles to the south. My Old Kentucky Home, the Rowan family mension where Shephen Foster wrote some of his songs, is a half hour's drive away. The ca-thedrals at Louisville and Bardstown and the Trappist monastery at Gethsemani, Ky., are a few of the Catholic institutions visitors like to see.

A new and unusual tourist stop is Farmington, the ancestral Speed home in Louisville, recently opened to the public. Abrahem Lincoln spent 3 weeks there in 1841 when he was weary and discouraged. His return to his native Kentucky at the age of 32 had special significance. During the visit, his friend Joshua Speed encouraged him to marry Mary Todd, of Lexington. And on his return trip from Louisville to Springfield, Ill., Lincoln saw slaves herded aboard his boat: a miserable scene still fixed in his memory when he signed the Emancipation Proclamation.

Louisville had close ties with other famous Americans. Daniel Boone was in and out of the city many times during his eventful journeys, and many of his ancestors are buried in the area. Before John James Audubon became famous as an ornithologist and painter. he operated a general store in Louisville. His deep love of nature was handed down to other Louisvillians. The city today studded with beautiful parks. Adjoining Seneca and Cherokee parks cover almost 700 They are within 20 blocks of the downtown section.

The adventures and misadventures of dynamite-fisted Mike Fink, a keelboater of the late 1790's and early 1800's have been popularized by Walt Wisney. Mike's name was well known in Louisville during that boisterous era.

Practically all of the great baseball stars of this century have stopped in Louisville to give specifications for bats. The Hillerich & Bradsby Co. developed the Louisville Slugger, a byword with major leaguers and little leaguers too.

The firm originally was engaged in wood turning, and got into the bat business by accident. In 1884, Louisville's most prominent slugger, Pete (the Old Giadiator) Browning broke his favorite bat. J. A. Hillerich, an avid fan, made Pete a new one. Browning got three straight hits with the bat, and the business was born.

On one of Babe Ruth's visits, Hillerich asked the Sultan of Swat how he liked his new custom-made bats. Babe spoke con-temptuously of them. But he kept them anyway. And those were the bats he used the season he hit his record 60 home runs.

Louisville has made its mark in many fields. But nowhere has its influence been as far-reaching as in the development of the church in America. In a new history of the diocese Father Jeremiah Smith, of Bellarmine college, says, "Bishop Flaget helped fashion the dioceses of Cincinnati, Detroit, Vincennes, St. Louis, and Nashville. His diocese was the proving ground for many eminent ecclesiastics, supplying more bishops for the infant church than any other see except that of Baltimore." Smith calls Marion County, original home county of the Louisville archdiocese, the cradle of the church in the West.

Defense Appropriations

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. JOSEPH W. BARR

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, May 5, 1960

Mr. BARR. Mr. Speaker, today we are preparing to vote on a defense appropriation bill in excess of \$39 billion. Surely any of us in this Chamber should be prepared to go back to his district and explain how we are spending this money. So far as I am concerned the 79-page report explaining this bill might as well have been printed in Turkish. It would tell me just about as much. I do get an idea from the bill, from the report, and from the debate as to what direction the Committee is pointing our defense efforts. I do not get much else.

This bill will probably cost my State of Indiana just about \$1 billion in fiscal 1961. It will cost my congressional district about \$200 million. On a very arbitrary basis and not taking into account corporation taxes, this figures out to about \$1,000 per family in Marion County, Ind. Surely it is not too much to ask to have an explanation of what is

What is the trouble? Why can I not understand it? Why can I not explain it? The answer is simply that the Department of Defense and the Appropriations Committee insist on an antiquated accounting system that General Grant would have understood beautifully, but which makes no sense in an age of missiles, satellites, and nuclear submarines.

Since General Grant's time a whole new concept of accounting emerged because the old cash systems just did not accurately describe industrial processes. Andrew Carnegie helped start a revolution in accounting about 70 years ago that is completely accepted by industry and that is completely understood by most of the men in my generation who have had a business career. This was called the cost accounting and accrual approach, and basically it was designed to draw a picture of a flow of production. This system was designed to portray the flow of production from prior years, into the present, and on into the future. It realized that the old system of splitting production up year by year just did not make sense.

Let us just take a look at some figures that will illustrate what I am trying to say. The Defense Department will start fiscal 1961 in July with \$61/2 billion in unobligated balances. This means simply that we in the Congress last year or in previous years gave them authority to enter into contracts, and they have not yet used all this authority.

The Defense Department will start fiscal 1961 with unexpended balances of about \$31 billion. This is the money due on contracts where the submarines, planes, or missiles have been ordered but

not yet delivered or paid for.

How can I go back to my district and say, "I voted for 39 billions of new authority to spend money for the Defense Department and yet they already have 31 billion they have not spent?" I could explain this on an accrual basis that showed the flow of money and production through Defense. I cannot explain it on this obligation system of accounting.

Nowhere in these 79 pages can I find the inventories of the armed services. I have not the vaguest notion how much stock they have on hand. I do not have any idea as to whether they will increase their inventories, decrease the inventories, or stay the same.

The 85th Congress passed a law by an overwhelming vote showing that the Congress wanted to get budgets on an accrual basis. That bill was H.R. 8002, now Public Law 759. So far the Defense Department and the Appropriations Committee have practically ignored this law. So today Mr. Speaker, I am voting "no" on this defense bill. I am not doing this in spite. I have a vast respect for Mr. MAHON and Mr. FORD. They are unquestionably two of the ablest Members of

this Congress. If the vote is close, I will change my vote to "aye," because I trust their judgment. But someone, some-Where has to start screaming about this archaic accounting. Someone must yell for figures that can be explained. I know of no better way to express my conviction than by a "no" vote.

Zachary Taylor

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. JOHN SHERMAN COOPER

OF KENTUCKY

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Thursday, May 5, 1960

Mr. COOPER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that there may be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a resolution adopted by the Senate of the Commonwealth of Kentucky memorializing Gen. Zachary Taylor, 12th President of the United States, who lived and was buried at Louisville, Ky.

There being no objection, the resolution was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

A RESOLUTION MEMORIALIZING GEN. ZACHARY TAYLOR

Whereas the remains of Gen. Zachary Taylor, the 12th President of the United States, and his beloved wife, Margaret, lie entombed in a beautiful marble mausoleum in the Zachary Taylor National Cemetery on the outskirts of Louisville, Jefferson County, Ky., surrounded by the graves of veterans from the Spanish American War to the wars of

the present era; and Whereas a small group of patriotic Kentuckians under the leadership of Mrs. C. D. Greer of Louisville as chairman of the Zachary Taylor Memorial Committee of the Outdoor Art League of Louisville, in 1921, undertook the task of beautifying the Zachary Taylor Burial Grounds, and to make of them a fitting resting place for this beloved soldier in the fall of 1922. The first step toward the development of the project was undertaken by the planting of pin oaks, and on March 10, 1924, the Kentucky Legislature enacted a bill which was signed by Gov. William J. Fields, requiring the State of Kentucky to deed to Jefferson County that part of the Zachary Taylor Burial Grounds and road which had been deeded to the State in 1881 by Mr. George McCurdey, and on April 22, 1924, Jefferson County appropriated \$10,000 for the building of a roadway leading to the burial grounds. In June of 1924, the Honorable Maurice Thatcher, Member of Congress from Louisville and Jefferson County, introduced a bill in the Congress calling for an annual appropriation for the maintenance of the grounds, the bill was enacted by the Congress and signed by President Calvin Coolidge on February 24, 1925. Thus was established the Zachary Taylor National Shrine, and in 1926, the Kentucky Legislature enacted a bill which was signed by Gov. William J. Fields, appropriating funds for the purchase of 15 acres of ground sur-rounding the Zachary Taylor Burial Grounds, which was promptly purchased and deeded to the U.S. Government for the establishment of the Zachary Taylor National Cemetery, and was so dedicated on May 31, 1928. The dedicatory address was delivered by the Honorable Maurice Thatcher, Member of Congress from the Third Congressional District of Kentucky, who began his address with these glowing words:

"We are here today to dedicate this lovely

mausoleum which shall hold through the indefinite future, all that remains of the sacred dust of that splendid Kentuckian, that great American, that splendid soldier and citizen, Zachary Taylor, the 12th President of the United States"; and

Whereas Gen. Zachary Taylor, affectionately called "Old Rough and Ready" by the officers and soldiers who served with him out of respect for his courageous and energetic leadership, was born on November 24, 1784, in Montebello, Orange County, Va., and a year later migrated with his family to Jefferson County, Ky., and thus truly became an early Kentucky pioneer. In 1806, Gen. Zachary Taylor volunteered for the Army which he served for 40 years. the war with England broke out in 1812, Taylor, a major, was sent with 50 men to the defense of Fort Harrison on the Wabash River in Indiana, where on September 4, 1812, Indians led by Tecumseh furiously attacked and after 7 hours of hard fighting they were forced to fiee in disorder. As a colonel, Taylor in 1832 participated in the Black Hawk campaign, and for the defeat of the Seminoles in the Battle of Okeechobee in December 1837, he was brevetted brigadier general, and in 1840, General Taylor was promoted to command the southern division of the western department of the Army. As commander of the Army of the Rio Grande, General Taylor on March 6, 1846, was instructed to march to the Rio Grande, which was recognized by the United States as the southern boundary of Texas, but rejected by Mexico, and his first encounter with the Mexicans occurred on May 8, 1846, at Palo Alto, followed the next day by the Battle of Resaca de la Paloma. General Taylor defeated the Mexicans in this and the war with Mexico was begun. On September 21, 1846. General Taylor marched on Monterrey, the chief stronghold in northern Mexico. General Ampudia, the Mexican commander, proposed surrender and terms were agreed on, late in the autumn of 1846, General Santa Anna with a large army marched against General Taylor, who had taken a position near Buena Vista, on February 22, 1847. General Santa Anna made a demand upon General Taylor for surrender, which was promptly refused and battle ensued, and just before the battle, General Taylor addressed his troops, "Soldiers, I intend to stand here not only so long as a man remains, but so long as a piece of a man is left." By nightfall the Mexicans were fleeing in confusion. With a force one-fourth the size of the enemy, General Taylor had won his greatest victory and won the Mexican War. In 1848 General Taylor was elected President of the United State and was inaugurated on March 5, 1849. On July 4, 1850, President Taylor, while attending a ceremony connected with the building of the George Washington Monument, became ill and died on July 9, 1850, and shortly thereafter he was brought to Kentucky and interred in the Taylor family burial ground, now the Zachary Taylor National Cemetery, neglected and almost forgotten by the Nation until the Outdoor Art League of Louisville in 1921 initiated their plan for the establishment of a Zachary Taylor Na-

Whereas the 15 acres acquired by the State of Kentucky and deeded to the U.S. Government for the establishment of a Zachary Taylor National Shrine and Cemetery is now completely filled with the remains of servicemen and their families and 63 members of the Zachary Taylor family and 200 slaves, and unless additional acreage is obtained the cemetery will be permanently closed to servicemen and their families forever; and

Whereas the Zachary Taylor National Cemetery is an important link in the system of national military cemeteries in this country, and the closing of this cemetery will create and cause great hardship to the families of countless numbers of veterans and servicemen desiring to be interred in Kentucky, especially in the Zachary Taylor National Cemetery; the national cemetery should not only be enlarged for cemetery purposes but the home of Zachary Taylor 'Springfield," adjacent to Zachary Taylor National Cemetery, should be acquired for a national shrine and become a part of the Zachary Taylor National Cemetery thus making the cemetery and the home a national shrine; and

Whereas "Springfield" the home of Gen. Zachary Taylor for the first 23 years of his life, now 175 years old, built by General Taylor's father upon moving to Kentucky from Virginia, situated on Apache Road, in an excellent state of preservation, privately owned, the owners having indicated, as reported in an article appearing in the Louisville Courier-Journal on Sunday, January 24, 1960, that they would make the home available to the Government if assured it would become a part of a shrine, that this home stands near the old Taylor Burial Grounds and now the Zachary Taylor National Cemetery, and that Time magazine reported recently that the National Park Service is considering a systematic survey to insure that at least one residence for each President will be preserved: and

Whereas it appears that the memory of the life and exploits of Kentucky's greatest military leader and the 12th President of the United States is not well known to many of us and forgotten generally by the public, hence, it behooves us, in reverence and everlasting appreciation for the accomplishments of Gen. Zachary Taylor, for his leadership and services in making a great contribution to this Nation, which greatly helped in the formation of our United States as we have it today, and that the acquirement of his old home, "Springfield" for a national shrine and for the expansion of the Zachary Taylor National Cemetery, where he will be surrounded by honored veterans of the wars of the United States, will, indeed, be helpful and a fitting way of render-ing a needed service to our service men and women, and the veterans of our Armed Forces, and in preserving the memory of Gen. Zachary Taylor: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the Senate of the Commonwealth of Kentucky (the House of Representatives concurring therein):

- (1) That the foregoing resolution in re spect to General and former President of the United States, the Honorable Zachary Taylor, that the Congress of the United States of America be, and it hereby is, memorialized to consider appropriate legislation to acquire "Springfield," the former home of Gen. Zachary Taylor, and to acquire addi-tional acreage for the expansion of the cemetery.
- (2) That a bill has been introduced in the House of Representatives by the Honorable Frank W. Burke, Member of Congress from the Third Congressional District of Kentucky, and one in the U.S. Senate by the Honorable John Sherman Cooper, U.S. Senator from Kentucky, seeking expansion of the Zachary Taylor National Cemetery, assuring its expansion and permanent existence as a cemetery and shrine.
- (3) That the clerk of the senate be directed to forward a copy of this resolution to the Governor of the Commonwealth of Kentucky, the Lieutenant Governor, speaker of the house of representatives, Kentucky Members of the U.S. Congress, the chairmen of the House Military Affairs and Veterans' Affairs Committees of the U.S. Congress, a copy to the Secretary of Defense, Secretary of the Army, and the Secretary of the Interior, urgently soliciting their support in the accomplishment of the purpose of this resolution-the acquisition of "Springfield" and additional acreage for the expansion of Zachary Taylor National Cemetery.

Attested:

JOHN W. WILLIS. Chief Clerk of the Senate.

Questionnaire Response From Virginia's 10th District

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JOEL T. BROYHILL

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 4, 1960

Mr. BROYHILL. Mr. Speaker, in January of this year, I mailed a questionnaire to all the registered voters of the 10th Congressional District of Virginia. Of the 65,000 questionnaires mailed out, over 12,500, or approximately 20 percent, were completed and returned. This is an unusually high percentage of returns for a questionnaire of this type, but hundreds of citizens went even further and added extensive comments on the questions listed and upon other matters in which they were interested.

As I interpret the results of this questionnaire, I believe they indicate a progressive spirit accompanied by a clear

sense of fiscal responsibility on the part of my constituents in the 10th District. For example, the responses favored emphasis on a balanced budget in a ratio of more than $3\frac{1}{2}$ to 1. The ratio of those favoring a pay-as-you-go basis for interstate highway construction, even if it required a raise in the Federal gasoline tax, was greater than $2\frac{1}{2}$ to 1.

The people of my district also tend to prefer emphasis on solution of problems on a local level, if possible. This is indicated by an approximately 2½-to-1 response in the affirmative to the question: "Do you think more federally administered programs should be turned back to the States?" Also, 3 to 1 opposed the Federal Government taking over some of the financial obligation for construction and maintenance if it were accompanied by corresponding Federal control of the educational system, excluding Federal assistance to federally impacted areas

My constituents indicate an overwhelming preference for a strong foreign policy, but are relatively uncertain as to whether our present defense program is adequate. On the local plane, there is a strong preference for solution of water, sewerage, and other problems jointly affecting Virginia, the District of Columbia, and Maryland, by means of regional authorities.

I have been particularly impressed both by the number of people who took the time to add additional comments, sometimes running to several pages, and by the high quality of these comments. These comments have been invaluable to me in understanding the thinking of the people of my district, and in working out my own legislative program. All in all, the response to this questionnaire has been one of the most gratifying experiences of my life. It gives me a deep sense of pride to be the Representative in Congress for as intelligent and public-spirited a group of people as my constituents have shown themselves to be.

In the belief that my colleagues also will find the results of this questionnaire valuable, I am attaching a complete tabulation of the questions and the responses in percentages;

Question	Yes	No	No opin- ion	Question	Yes	No	No opin- ion
Do you favor diplomatic recognition of Communist China?	19.0	72. 6	8.4	Assuming that both employees and employers will bear the costs,		100	
Should we continue military and economic aid to friendly na- tions? Do you favor U.S. defense of Formosa?	82.1	9.9	8.0	are you in favor of amending the Social Security Act to Include all medical expenses after retirement?	50.2	38.1	11.7
Do you favor U.S. defense of Formoss? Do you approve of a firm stand with respect to Berlin? Do you think the Federal Government should be given greater power to arbitrate and enforce agreements between labor and management when disputes affect a major sector of the national	68. 2 92. 7	15.7	16.1	Should the Federal Government take over from the States some of the financial obligation for construction and maintenance of our public school system even though this may be accompanied by a corresponding Federal control of our educational system? (This is, of course separate from the necessary Federal assist-			
economy and/or the national defense?	76. 5	18.7	4.8	ance to federally impacted areas) Do you favor increased Federal aid to college students?	23.3	70.4	6.3
Do you believe the Federal minimum wage should be raised? Should labor unions be brought under the antitrust laws?	39.9 76.1	42.6 11.8	17. 5 12. 1	Do you think more Federally administered programs should be	43.5	47.0	11/800
Do you favor Federal legislation to tighten taxation of coopera-	63. 8	15.4	20, 8	turned back to the States?	62.6	20.7	16.7
tives?	12.000		100000	Should we liberalize our immigration laws to allow more people	THE RE	588.9	12.4
paid for children attending college?	65.1	28, 7 32, 0	6, 2 18, 2	to enter the United States?	20.1	87.5	1
o you believe sufficient emphasis is placed on our missile and	12500	STATE BY		thority to regulate radio and TV programs?	42.0	47, 8	10.
space programs?	35, 9	50.1	14.0	Do you favor emphasis on a balanced budget in the coming year?. Do you believe the House of Representatives should continue the	72.8	19. 9	10.
items in appropriations bills? (He must now accept or veto		1		Un-American Activities Committee?	67.0	19. 2	13.8
the entire bill.)	74. 3	19.8	5, 9	The following 2 questions were answered by Federal em- ployees only. Approximately 6,700, or 61.6 percent of the	40.034	-	100
which limits the Presidency to 2 terms?	26.1	69.8	4.1	total, answered 1 or both of the 2 questions.	3331	100	1550
o you favor a regional authority for developing a Washington area water and sewage disposal plan?	81. 5	7.2	11.3	Do you favor liberalizing the Hatch Act to allow Federal em-	9101	24 23	150
o you think the regional authority method is a sound approach	01.0	1.2	11.0	palgns?	51.2	43.8	8.1
to other Washington metropolitan problems jointly affecting Virginia, the District of Columbia, and Maryland?	70. 5	12.1	17.4	Should control over general salary increases of classified and postal employees remain under the legislative jurisdiction of	133		233
o you favor a pay-as-you-go basis for interstate highway con-		1000	RME	Congress?	60.0	29.0	11.0
struction even if it requires a raise in the Federal gasoline tax?	65.0	25.7	9.3			LILE	16

Canadian Sheet Peddles Smut in Jersey

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. GEORGE M. WALLHAUSER

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 5, 1960

Mr. WALLHAUSER. Mr. Speaker, yesterday I introduced House Resolution 519 and I respectfully request favorable consideration and support on the part of the Members. It requests the President to make appropriate representation to our friendly neighbor to the north, Canada, to enlist her cooperation in efforts to curb the importation into the United States of obscene or indecent printed material.

I am pleased to call to the attention of the Congress the excellent article by

Don Malafronte of the Newark (N.J.) Star-Ledger entitled "Canadian Sheet Peddles Smut in Jersey."

The article, which appeared on May 2, shows that our Nation, which is confronted not only with a tremendous commerce in pornography originating within our boundaries, now must guard against a new flow coming in from outside the country. I am sure that this vicious traffic across the friendly Canadian-American border is just as much abhorred by the overwhelming majority of our friends in Canada as it is by right-thinking citizens of the United States.

We are working tirelessly on the Postal Operations Subcommittee of the House Post Office and Civil Service Committee to put a stop to "pornography for profit."

The full text of the article by Mr. Malafronte follows:

Canadian Sheet Peddles Smut in Jersey (By Don Malafronte)

New Jersey newsstands are being flooded with a Canadian-printed weekly scandal sheet which serves as a clearinghouse for pornography and perversion.

From their hiding place across the border, the publishers use salacious photographs and suggestive headlines to attract readers.

But the real purpose for which the sheet exists lurks between the lines of the personal advertisements listed in a special center section. The advertisements have been labeled by Essex County Sheriff Neil Duffy as "the filthiest and most degrading stuff of its kind I've ever seen."

The advertisements, printed under the question "Lonely?" purport to be from persons interested in meeting new friends, but the ads are carefully written to attract sadists, masochists, and other degenerates.

"The paper unquestionably gives perverts a chance to contact other perverts," Duffy said.

The scandal sheet, called "The Confidential Tattler," is printed in Canada—like much other material aimed at degenerates—to

avoid more stringent United States publish-

ing laws.

However, a check with Canadian police and with government officials in Toronto, where the paper is printed, revealed "The Tattler is sold there under a different name-"The Confidential Flash.'

The papers are identical except for the

names and the personal ads.

Ironically, Canadian law apparently allows the printing of "The Tattler," but blocks its distribution because of the objectionable ads.

The publishers get around this block by printing the ads in a special section which is inserted only in the version of the paper headed for the United States.

They avoid direct interference from U.S. postal authorities through the simple expedient of trucking rather than mailing their

product.

Postal inspectors said, however, that they can move indirectly against "The Tattler" type of publication by keeping tabs on the mail transmitted in response to the twisted ads. If a lascivious act results from the ads, the post office can move in and make arrests.

According to Duffy, who has issued orders to keep the scandal sheet out of Essex, the advertisements in "The Tattler" invariably show the fine hand of either a seasoned degenerate or a veteran smut peddler.

Sadists and masochists recognize each other-or smut dealers who pander to their tastes by a code made up of key words or phrases mentioned in the ads, investigators in Duffy's office report.

Scores of persons have been tempted—some through boredom, some curiosity—to answer questionable ads, he said. There are

a variety of results.

In some cases there has been simply fraud. "The Tattler," for instances, requires \$1 be enclosed with every answer to "cover costs" of forwarding the answer to the advertiser.

In the past, law enforcement officers have found many lewd ads are out-and-out phonies planted by the paper. The incoming dollar is pocketed and no reply is ever made to the person who sent it in.

In other cases, Duffy pointed out, the person answering a suggestive ad found himself swamped by a wave of pornographic mail. The person's name had found its way to the mailing lists of the Nation's smut peddlers. It happens through the misuse of post office box numbers.

In a typical case described by a post office inspector, a smut peddler interested in developing a "special" mailing list took out a post office box and planted ads peppered with certain "key phrases" in a number of borderline publications. The peddler then waited for the publications to forward answers to the ads.

As the mail came into the post office box, the peddler compiled his new list. Unfortunately for him, one of the replies was planted by Federal officials and the peddler's reply

led to his arrest.

"It's all part of a classic and despicable pattern," Duffy said. "It's worse in personal advertisement-type come-ons because the person answering the ad may not only be opening the gates to a flood of filth, but may be putting himself in personal danger."

To the very young or the very foolish, an invitation to a meeting or a "party" received through an ad is strange and dangerous and exciting. Only the dangerous part, Duffy said, is likely to develop.

The world of perversion is populated not only by the perverted but by those who prey on the perverted. They are criminals to whom beating and blackmall are part of the job," Duffy said.

Duffy, who has raided a series of newsstands and bookstores which dealt in smut, said newsdealers themselves have helped keep Essex clear of "The Tattler."

The first editions of the sheet came down from Canada more than a month ago, he said, and was stocked by a number of dealers in Newark and suburban Essex.

The personal ad sections touched off a flurry of activity in Duffy's office, at the post office, and among the newsdealers themselves.

When the next edition came down, most dealers refused to handle it, Duffy said. It was the same way with subsequent editions, but the paper is still in evidence in New Jersey outside of Essex and in New York.

"I can only speak for this county," Duffy said, "but if "The Tattler' is sold here, the dealer is going to find himself in trouble."

Views of the Citizens of the First Congressional District of Arkansas

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. E. C. GATHINGS

OF ARKANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 5, 1960

Mr. GATHINGS. Mr. Speaker, over the past several weeks it has been my policy to seek the views and observations of the citizens of the First Congressional District of Arkansas on a number of important matters currently under study by the Congress. To secure these views, I have prepared and mailed throughout the 10 counties of the First District a questionnaire and I have now tabulated the results of that poll.

At this time I should like to present the tabulation for the information of the Members, and should any Member care to examine the results further and to read some of the interesting comments and amplifications of the replies given by these citizens, it would be a pleasure

to have them visit my office.

I might add that this questionnaire was sent to all segments of the economy in eastern Arkansas-farmers, merchants, workingmen, teachers, public officials, and housewives. The results indicate that these fine citizens are well informed on public affairs and that they have reached definite opinions on these problems confronting the Congress.

One other word of explanation—the last question asked was "Who is your choice for the next President of the United States?" Following this question was a blank space and the citizen was invited to write in the person of his choice. No selection of candidates was offered, and the names written in were entirely those selected by the persons questioned.

I am grateful to these splendid citizens for favoring me with their views and comments on these questions, and I trust that Members will find them of interest and assistance in their own studies of these problems.

The questions and the tabulation follows:

- (1) Do you favor continuing military and economic aid to friendly nations? Yes, 76 percent; no, 18 percent; no opinion, 6 percent.
- (2) Do you favor our Government acknowledging Communist China? Yes, 11 percent; no, 83 percent; no opinion, 6 per-

(3) Do you favor a firm stand on the question of Berlin? Yes, 92 percent; no, 4 percent; no opinion, 4 percent.

(4) Do you believe we should defend Formosa? Yes, 69 percent; no, 15 percent;

no opinion, 16 percent.

(5) Do you favor the United States making grants to States for the building of classrooms in our schools? Yes, 30 percent; no, 67 percent; no opinion, 3 percent.

(6) Do you favor continued reliance on local and State support for teachers' salaries rather than Federal grants for this purpose? Yes, 78 percent; no, 20 percent; no opinion, 2 percent.

(7) Do you favor Federal legislation to tighten taxation of cooperatives? Yes, 69 percent; no, 27 percent; no opinion, 4 per-

(8) Should parents be given deductions on their income tax for tuition paid for children who attend college? Yes, 70 percent; no. 27 percent; no opinion, 3 percent.
(9) The Forand bill, H.R. 4700, would pro-

vide paid-up hospitalization, nursing, and surgical insurance for those drawing social security benefits, to be paid for by increasing the employee-employer payroll tax. Are you in favor of this proposed legislation? Yes, 26 percent; no, 70 percent; no opinion, 4 percent.

(10) Do you favor the Federal Government being given more authority to regulate radio and television programs? Yes, 36 percent; no, 56 percent; no opinion, 8 percent.

(11) Do you favor the enactment of a Federal fair-trade act for the benefit of our local merchants? Yes, 40 percent; no, 49

percent; no opinion, 11 percent.

(12) Do you believe we should reduce Government costs and maintain a balanced budget even if it will mean reduction of certain services to the people? Yes. 81 percent; no, 14 percent; no opinion, 5 percent.

(13) Who is your choice for the next President of the United States? Johnson, 21 percent; Kennedy, 10 percent; McClellan, 6 percent; Nixon, 6 percent; Symington, 5 percent; Stevenson, 5 percent; Humphrey. 3 percent; others, 14 percent; undecided, 30

Editorial Cites Need for Unification of Defense Establishment

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. FRANK KOWALSKI

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 5, 1960

Mr. KOWALSKI. Mr. Speaker, as the sponsor of legislation to provide for full unification of our armed services, I am happy to bring to the attention of my colleagues an editorial in today's Washington Daily News.

As the editorial points out, unification is needed not only as an economy measure-which I believe would save our taxpayers several billions of dollars a yearbut also to make possible a more effective Defense Establishment.

Until we can halt interservice rivalries by establishing a unified defense force we shall continue to see waste, duplication, overlapping, and ineffectiveness. Only by unification can we best mobilize our defense potential into the most effective possible system.

Following is the editorial from today's Washington Daily News:

THE DEFENSE ISSUE OF 1960

There's little or no difference of opinion on the vital importance of national defense. It should be strong enough to discourage aggression, or defeat it if it comes. We must maintain this kind of defense, even though it raises taxes and deeply cuts living standards.

The questions for debate include the present adequacy of our defenses, plus the

wisdom of military expenditures.

As to expenditures, repeated testimony indicates great waste both in careless purchasing systems for necessary items and in the accumulation of unneeded or worthless materials.

A basic trouble is the effective resistance by our three military arms—Army, Navy, and Air Force—to a form of consolidation which would meet modern military needs.

As an economy measure, but far more importantly as an insurance of effective defense, we believe our next Congress and our next President must move vigorously to hait interservice rivalries as to military missions; must consolidate military purchases to stop waste and enforce price competition among suppliers; must establish unified authority over all services; and must make military promotions dependent upon service to country, rather than upon prestige gained in any one branch.

Somewhere in this area, in our opinion, lies the answer to continuing doubts as to whether we are properly armed—whether we have enough misslies, or the right kind; whether we are doing enough in space, etc.

Wherever we stand, we are not doing our best when branches of the service use part of their energies contesting against each other, instead of uniting against dangers from abroad.

In this highly technical field, the necessarily uninformed citizen never can have full confidence so long as rival generals and admirals stress their own weapons systems to the disadvantage of the others.

This country needs a Military Establishment with one aim, speaking with one voice, wearing one uniform. In listening to the candidates this fall, much attention should be paid to the understanding and conviction with which they discuss unification.

Oneonta Star Raises Legislative Questions Regarding Violence on TV

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. SAMUEL S. STRATTON

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, May 5, 1960

Mr. STRATTON. Mr. Speaker, many of us, I know, especially we who are the parents of small children, have become increasingly concerned over what appears to be the increasing percentage of programs on television, presented during the hours when children predominate in the audience, which involve violence in one form or another. As we consider in this body the kind of legislation required to correct some of the abuses recently uncovered in the television industry, I do hope we will also keep in mind the need to protect the impressionable minds of our children from any improper or unnecessary accumulation of violence.

In that connection I insert herewith a thoughtful editorial from the Oneonta

Star of May 2, 1960, which points up this vital consideration.

VIOLENCE ON TV PROGRAMS SHOULD BE DISCOURAGED

To the viewer who find television's overemphasis on violence boring and/or demoralizing, the news that the networks plan few changes in next season's schedules is hard to stomach. Even the FCC, usually cautious in its criticism, has warned the broadcasters that constructive action must be taken on this matter—and soon.

Apologists for the abundance of crime and shooting on westerns try to justify it on the basis of public demand. They also are fond of noting that there is plenty of violence in Shakespeare. But the ordinary western or crime program is a far cry from Shapespeake. It is somewhat akin to playing the murders of Macbeth with everything else left out.

Adequate Municipal Lighting Has Been Demonstrated as One Very Effective Deterrent to Juvenile Delinquency

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. SAMUEL S. STRATTON

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 5, 1960

Mr. STRATTON. Mr. Speaker, one of the problems which has caused great concern to all of us in recent months has been the problem of juvenile delinquency. Many proposals have been advanced, probably by most of us, for dealing with the problem. No one suggestion, of course, is likely to represent an adequate solution all by itself; but each may contribute to the gradual development of a program which can prevent this serious waste and erosion of our young people.

In the past, Mr. Speaker, I have suggested that one step that might be taken to cut down on the incidence of juvenile crime and delinquency within our cities would be to increase our municipal lighting facilities. I was especially gratified the other day to read an editorial from the New York Times of April 27 to the effect that New York City has now demonstrated that this approach is getting results in the Nation's largest municipality. As the representative of a district which includes one of the real leaders in the electrical industry, the General Electric Co., I am especially delighted to see that there is available to us one relatively simple device which can be so helpful in dealing with this urgent and disturbing problem.

The editorial follows:

LIGHT VERSUS CRIME

A city hall announcement reports that a drastic reduction in vandalism has resulted from peripheral floodlighting of 16 playgrounds. Installation of the new lighting was begun last fall, and by June 30 the city hopes to have the brighter lighting installed at 40 of the city. 782 playgrounds.

A survey by the park department finds that vandalism has been eliminated entirely from three newly lighted playgrounds on Staten Island. Conditions at three playgrounds lighted in Brooklyn improved 86 percent, three in Manhattan 81 percent,

three in the Bronx 50 percent and four in Queens 50 percent.

There is no doubt that better illumination in the city's parks and playgrounds and at various points in the streets can be an effective aid in fighting night crime. The city is wise to push forward its street and park lighting program. At the same time, Mayor Wagner knows that there is no real substitute for additional policemen as a sure-fire crime deterrent; more patrolmen should also be provided.

Harry Alpert on the Government's Growing Recognition of Social Science

SPEECH

OF

HON, CHARLES O. PORTER

OF OREGON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 28, 1960

Mr. PORTER. Mr. Speaker, most of our effort, both private and public, goes to advance our knowledge in the nonhuman sciences and not where we most need it, namely, the various social sciences.

My friend, Dr. Harry Alpert, dean of Graduate School and professor of sociology at the University of Oregon, writes encouragingly about "the Government's growing recognition of social science" in the January 1960 issue of the Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science.

We're making some progress, but congressional confusion—

Says Dr. Alpert-

regarding social science has by no means been completely eliminated. Negative attitudes still persist and need to be reckoned with.

Under a previous consent I am including the text of his article:

THE GOVERNMENT'S GROWING RECOGNITION OF SOCIAL SCIENCE

(By Harry Alpert)

Abstract: Important new developments have strengthened the standing of the social sciences in the Federal Government. Historical analysis emphasizes the recency of the Government's recognition of the national contributions of social science research. Significant progress has been made despite critical fluctuations. Five factors contributing to the more favored governmental position of social science research are (1) changing congressional attitudes; (2) acceptance of the social sciences at the White House level; (3) inclusion of the social sciences as part of broad definitions of scientific disciplines; (4) the general post-sputnik interest in American education; and (5) the screen with the social science and the science of the social science and the science of the sc and (5) the concern with redressing imbalances in American higher education. Research support for the social sciences is growing but a critical shortage remains in funds for fellowships and assistantships-The social sciences approach the next decade in a climate of acceptance and encourage-

"They never had it so good." This vernacular phrase may startle grammarians, but it describes accurately the present position of the social sciences with respect to support and interest by the Federal Government. As the result of important new developments which have served to consolidate the standing of the social sciences in the Fed-

eral Government, there is every likelihood that the 10 years from 1950 to 1960 will be viewed as the "March" decade of the social sciences. March, according to folk weather lore, comes in like a lion and goes out like a lamb. Similarly, the 1950's may be said to have come in with a roaring antipathy to the social sciences and to be departing with attitudes of positive interest and quiet acceptance.

That it has taken so long for the Federal Government to develop a modus vivendi with the social sciences is quite ironical, for its involvement in social research was written into the U.S. Constitution. By providing for a decennial census and making this count of the population the basis for representation in Congress, our Founding Fathers made a social science activity the ultimate basis of political power.1 In fact, the gathering, analysis, and dissemination of social and economic statistics has continued to be one of the three major ways in which the Federal Government relates itself to the social sciences. The other two are: exploitation and utilization of the findings and results of social research; and direct support of social sciences through the intramural conduct of social science re-search in the Federal Government's own research laboratories and units or through contracts and grants for extramural social science studies at colleges and universities, other nonprofit organizations, and business and commercial establishments.

PRE-WORLD WAR II STATUS

Up to World War II, the role of the Federal Government in the social sciences consisted largely of the first two of these functions, namely, producing mass statistical series and exploiting social science findings produced outside of the Government. During the 19th century, the social sciences played a modest but effective role in the development of Government powers and programs. Don K. Price has called attention to the contribution of economic and statistical series in the growing development of the regulation of business, as well as to the impact of John R. Commons' institutional economics on labor legislation and of Charles Francis Adams' studies on the regulation of railroads.

Even as late as 1940, the Government's direct activities in the social sciences were still predominantly confined to the collection and analysis of statistical information. However, the roots of later developments in the Government's social science programs were discernible in the 1920's. The appointment by President Hoover of a research committee on recent social trends provided significant White House endorsement of a major social science enterprise. Further impotus for governmental support of the social sciences came in the thirties from the practical programs of the New Deal. outstanding example was the Department of Agriculture's Division of Program Surveys which assumed the leadership in introducing the sample interview survey as a basic social science tool and as an instrument of governmental policy.

IMPACT OF WORLD WAR II

But the defense mobilization period and World War II itself were undoubtedly the major catalytic events leading to the expansion of the Federal Government's programs of social science research. The events of the war on both the military and civilian fronts and the problems of postwar adjustment as they affected the nation and the individual provided the social sciences with dramatic opportunities to demonstrate their practical value and essential role in modern society. A brief review of illustrative uses of social science during World War II lists eight ex-

amples of problem areas in which important social science research accomplishments were achieved: soldier orientation and morale; analysis of command problems, particularly among Negro troops; more efficient use of psychiatry; venereal disease control; analysis of the American soldier's problems of adjustment, combat performance, and response to mass communications; evaluation of Japanese morale; estimation of war production requirements; and regulation of prices and rationing.4 To this list may be added the media analysis activities of the Office of War Information and the Foreign Broadcast Intelligence Service; the propaganda studies of the Library of Congress, Department of Justice, and various intelligence agencies; the surveys of war bond purchases and other evaluations of the effectiveness of drives; the testing of the public comprehension of governmental information materials; and research on national character and other problems related to a better understanding of the behavioral characteristics of foreign peoples.

The immediate postwar period of demobilization witnessed the dismantling and disappearance of many of these wartime programs. Dissatisfaction with the limited accomplishments of some of these social science activities was expressed, largely as the result of the disillusionment which set in when excessive promises of achievement were unfulfilled. Social scientists became their own worst enemies by promising too much, too fast and accepting funds in excess of what could be effectively expended. Moreover, the social sciences have suffered from their minority group status among the scientific disciplines. Like minority groups on the labor market, they are subject to the rule of "last hired, first fired." Thus, many social science programs were speedily demobilized because of their relatively low priority and because of a failure to appreciate their long-range implications and future contributions.

Nevertheless, significant efforts were made to continue programs which had demonstrated their effectiveness during the war. The Office of Naval Research, created shortly after World War II, supported research on manpower problems, personnel and training, group morale, organizational structure, and related social psychological areas. The Army continued, in abbreviated form, its studies of opinions and attitudes of American soldiers. The new Department of the Air Force. proud of the accomplishments of the Aviation Psychology Program, organized units in to undertake and support research in problems of selection and training, manpower, leadership, human relations and morale, and psychological warfare. When the Re-search and Development Board was established in the Department of Defense it included a Committee on Human Resources.

However, the skepticism and disenchantment which many of these programs engendered did not provide a favorable environment for their persistent growth and development. There set in, consequently, a period of recurring ups and downs, of "acute, and sometimes critical fluctuations," as Leonard S. Cottrell, Jr., has described it.⁵ A and sometimes critical fluctuations," "starts and fits" pattern became evident: An activity got started and then was curtailed or discontinued when some Congressman or general threw a fit. The Division of Research of the Housing and Home Finance Agency, the excellent survey research unit of the Veterans' Administration, the Air Force's Human Resources Research Institute at Maxwell Field and its Personnel and Training Center at Lackland Air Force Base were but a few of the research units which experienced difficulty.

Despite the on again, off again character

Despite the on again, off again character of some of these programs, the long-term trend was toward increasing appreciation of the social sciences as valuable national assets. As the postwar pattern of extramural support developed, the social sciences, too, received encouragement, although not at the same rate and magnitude as the physical and life sciences.

THE "MARCH" DECADE

The "March" decade, 1950-60, will perhaps be viewed historically as the turning point in Federal Government recognition of the social sciences. The full measure of the change from the "lion" to the "lamb" phase of this decade may be observed in comparing the National Science Foundation Act of 1950 with the National Defense Education Act of 1958. In the former legislation, the social sciences are included only on a permissive basis and are referred to only as other sciences. In the 1958 act, the section deal-ing with graduate fellowships mentions no limitations whatsoever with respect to dis-ciplines. Moreover, a separate title provides for research and experimentation in more effective utilization of television, radio, motion pictures, and related media for educational purposes. This act also recognizes the importance of improving statistical series in the field of education.

Note must be taken, also, of other evi-

Note must be taken, also, of other evidences of changing attitudes toward the social sciences, such as the establishment, in December 1958, of an Office of Social Sciences within the National Science Foundation; the appointment, in the spring of 1959, of a sociologist, President Logan Wilson of the University of Texas, as a member of the National Science Board; and the expansion of the social science research activities of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

In the vernacular of the boxing ring, it may be said that the social sciences were, for several years definitely "rocky and punch drunk," but were still on their feet when the fight was over. They have survived Cox committee and Reese committee investigations. They have endured parlah status and innumerable reorganizations. They have weathered appropriation storms which threatened to cut off funds for studies of child-rearing practices, mother-love among lambs, population dynamics, message diffusion, and other projects which became the pet peeves of individual legislators.

MAJOR DYNAMIC FACTORS

In attempting to assess the major factors that account for the more favorable position in which the social sciences find themselves at the end of this decade, I am able to identify five important considerations: (1) Changing congressional attitudes; (2) acceptance of the social sciences at the White House level; (3) inclusion of the social sciences as part of broad umbrella definitions of scientific disciplines; (4) the general post-sputnik interest in American education; and (5) the concern with redressing the imbalances in education which stemmed from the earlier, almost exclusive, emphasis on natural science and mathematics. Brief comments on each of these five factors follow:

CHANGING CONGRESSIONAL ATTITUDES

In his report on the crucial Senate debate in 1946 which preceded the vote to exclude from the then pending bill to establish a National Science Foundation the specific provision which created a Division of Social Sciences, George A. Lundberg concluded that the Senate thought of the social sciences as at best "a propagandist, reformist, evangelical sort of cult." The unfortunate phonetic confusion of social science with socialism reinforced such viewpoints. Just a few years later, however, more positive attitudes were being expressed. In 1953, the Cox committee, in its final report, noted the special importance of the social sciences in the contemporary world. It stated:

"It is entirely possible that in a time when man's mastery over the physical sciences threatens him with possible extermination the eventual reward from the pursuit

of the social sciences may prove even more important than the accomplishments in the physical sciences.*

Other important turning points in congressional expressions toward the social sciences were the vigorous statements by Senator Estes Kefauver's Subcommittee on Juvenile Delinquency in 1955, 1956, and 1957; the 1955 recommendations of Representative RICHARD BOLLING'S Subcommittee on Economic Statistics of the Joint Committee on the Economic Report; Senator HUBERT HUM-PHREY'S report to the Senate in 1957 of his experiences in the Middle East; and speeches by Senator Wayne Morse, Representative Charles O. Porter, and others." This year neither House of Congress raised any objections to the National Science Foundation's request for \$2 million for support of basic research in the social sciences in fiscal year 1960, even though this represented a considerable increase over the \$850,000 appro-priated for this purpose for fiscal year 1959. (The actual budgetary allowance for social science research in the National Science Foundation for fiscal year 1960 is \$1,600,-000.1

This is an encouraging picture, indeed. But congressional confusion regarding social science has by no means been completely eliminated. Negative attitudes still persist and need to be reckoned with.²⁰

WHITE HOUSE INTEREST

The White House, too, has shown increasing interest in the support of the social sciences. In his state of the Union message delivered on January 9, 1959, President Elsenhower expressed his desire to undertake a systematic study of American values, goals, and social trends, comparable to the earlier Hoover committee study.

The objective, President Elsenhower said, would be "the establishment of national goals that would not only spur us on to our finest efforts but would meet the stern test of practicality." He hoped that this new study would be concerned, among other things, "with the acceleration of our economy's growth and the living standards of our people, their health and education, their better assurance of life and liberty and their greater opportunities." He noted that the report of Hoover's Recent Social Trends Committee "has stood the test of time and has had a beneficial influence on national development." Here, indeed, is a significant compliment to social science.

And in its report on "Strengthening American Science," issued December 27, 1958, the President's Science Advisory Committee included social psychology among the scientific disciplines for which a strong case could be made for intensifying the Nation's scientific effort. The committee stated, "And advances in social psychology might help to reduce tension and conflict at every level of human intercourse—in our communities, in business and industry, in Government, and even among nations." If Furthermore, as previously noted, President Eisenhower has appointed a social scientist to the National Science Board. This policy-determining body for government science on January 23, 1959, adopted the following statement:

The National Science Board recognized the importance, as well as the complexity and difficulty, of research in the social sciences. It is clear that the intellectual, economic, and social strength of our Nation requires a vigorous approach to social problems, with scientific techniques of study making their maximum contribution.¹²

PROTECTIVE UMBRELLAS

The social sciences have prospered best in the Federal Government where they have

Footnotes at end of speech.

been included under broad umbrella classifications of the scientific discipline such as agricultural sciences, military sciences, medical sciences, and health sciences. Under such umbrellas and in close company with scientific areas which enjoy the prestige and status of biological or physical sciences, the social sciences have enjoyed a protection and nourishment which they normally do not have when they are identified as such and stand exposed, naked and alone.

Agricultural research has been heavily supported by the Federal Government from its very inception. Quite early the concept of agricultural sciences was broadened to include not only biological research but agricultural economics and rural sociology as well. In fact, for many years the Depart-ment of Agriculture's Bureau of Agricultural Economics was internationally famous for its leadership in significant areas of social and economic research. Although from time to time specific social science projects of the Department of Agriculture have suffered congressional attack, there has been little question of the legitimacy of the inclusion of social research in the scientific program of the Department. In fact, one appropriation committee, with remarkable indifference to the distinction between biological and social science research, once included, in a list of fields for which research funds were not to be expended, the orchids of Guatemala, the flora of Dominica, child-rearing practices, research methodology, and population dynamics.

The medical sciences and health sciences rubrics have also provided generous hospitality to the social sciences. Social science research projects are given careful and sympathetic consideration by at least five study sections of the National Institutes of Health; Behavioral sciences, hospital facilities research, mental health, nursing research, and public health research. Social scientists serve as members of these study sections as well as on several other committees of the National Institutes of Health. The National Institute of Mental Health's Laboratory of Socio-Environmental Studies is outstanding in the quality of its research program.

Research undertaken by the Military Establishment in relation to the defense needs of the Nation develops strong immunities to congressional or other attacks if military authorities certify its importance to the mission of the Department of Defense. Despite the ups and downs previously referred to, the Army, Navy, and Air Force have arrived at a realization of the importance of basic research in the social sciences. The Office of Naval Research includes a Psychological Science Division. The Air Force has established a behavioral sciences program in its the testimony of an Army general presented recently before an appropriations committee:

"We can never afford to neglect basic research and the Army wants to do more of it whenever we find applicable projects to further this increase of scientific knowledge. Such research is not confined to the physical sciences. Investigation of the social sciences to help us to utilize more effectively our manpower and insure man-machine compatibility with complex engines of war being developed is vital. Should we neglect these important considerations we only aggravate the trend in which the physical sciences are outstripping the social sciences and may, in time, reach a point where the machine may destroy its maker." ¹²

These are the words of Lt. Gen. Arthur G. Trudeau, Chief of Research and Development, Department of the Army.

Another important umbrella for the social sciences is Operations Research. The various operations research units supported by the Federal Government have invariably included a social science component.

IMPACT OF SPUTNIKS

The social sciences have not been indifferent to the whir of the Russian sputniks and have directly felt the impact of these successes in space technology. It was recognized that Soviet Russia's accomplishment was not only the result of advances in science and engineering but also the consequence of a social system that was capable of making and carrying out significant decisions. Interest developed in studies of the social, economic, and political implications of the space age. It became imperative that we keep ahead of the Russians in the social science fields. For this reason, Vice President RICHARD M. NIXON encouraged the formation of a committee on national support for behavioral science which reported social science needs to the President's Scientific Advisory Committee. Substantially increased appropriations were made available to the National Science Foundation, and in the National Defense Education Act of 1958. Congress officially declared as national policy the doctrine that the defense of this Nation depends upon the mastery of modern techniques developed from complex scientific principles, and, as well, upon "the discovery and development of new principles, new techniques, and new knowledge."14

REDRESSING IMBALANCES

For a time, it looked as if only the natural sciences and mathematics would be the beneficiaries of the increased responsibilities of the Federal Government toward research and education. Programs were quickly organized to improve the quality of science teaching, to train more scientists and engineers, and to intensify the pace of research in the physical, mathematical, and biological sciences. It became evident, however, that the neglect of other areas of scholarship and learning would spell national disaster. The Government's difficulties in international relations led to intensified interest in language study. Soon voices were heard calling attention to the need to redress the imbalances in American education which a predominant concern with the natural sciences and engineering was creating. Cognizance of this requirement is found in the newly released report of the President's Science Advisory Committee on "Education for the Age of Science." This report stresses the fact that, "Today in America we need a very wide variety of human talents." It goes on to urge that "a proper balance be maintained in our educational offerings." # To achieve such a balance we must encourage intellectual leadership in the humanities and social sciences as well as in the natural sciences and mathematics.

HEALTHY PROGNOSIS

The social sciences thus face the 1960's in an atmosphere of encouragement and with the active support of influential well-wishers. Research funds are becoming more plentiful. The Federal Government alone will soon be spending in the neighborhood of \$60 million a year in support of the social sciences. This estimate does not include the \$100 million or so that the decennial census of 1960 will cost.

MORE FELLOWSHIPS NEEDED

A major problem, however, remains. The most urgent need of the social sciences is expansion of the pool of available trained, specialized manpower. Recent studies have indicated that the length of time required to obtain the Ph. D. degree is strongly influenced by the availability of financial support to graduate students in the form of assistantships and fellowships. It is here that the social sciences, and humanities, too, are most seriously disadvantaged vis-a-vis the natural sciences. The major bottleneck in the advancement of the social sciences is not research funds, but fellowship and scholarship opportunities for basic and ad-

vanced training. If the social sciences are to fulfill the general public's expectations of them, they must double, at least, the number of trained practitioners. To make the trainof trained practitioners. To make the training process more productive and more effective, however, additional fellowships and other types of financial support for training are an imperious and critical necessity. Title IV of the National Defense Education Act has been extremely helpful in this regard. Almost a fourth (23 percent) of the first 1,000 graduate fellowships were awarded in the social sciences. The various training programs of the National Institutes of Health also provide valuable opportunities for social science education. But more needs to be done. The National Science Foundation, for example, has the basic legislation to include the social sciences within its education in the science program. It also has reasonably adequate funds for training and education. It has broadened its conception of the social sciences in its research support program. Only administrasearch support program. Only administrative nearsightedness prevents it from giving the social sciences, broadly conceived, their deserved place within the various program activities of its Division of Scientific Personnel and Education.

COMPLACENCY TO BE AVOIDED

We can be proud of the achievements of the social sciences in government, but we cannot afford to be complacent. Certain past mistakes must be avoided: premature promises, excessive expectations, hasty growth, disastrous indifference to the political process, unwarranted impatience with the administrative processes of justification and review, and lack of concern with the Public image of the social sciences. By careful planning and effective operations a solid basis can be established for future growth.

Advance in the social sciences will depend most immediately on what in fact social scientists do: how well they teach at the undergraduate level, how well they communicate with the general public, how effectively they respond to calls from industry and government for help in resolving practical problems, and how much they devote to fundamental research. It depends also on their willingness to cultivate patience and humility.18 Charles Dollard has well defined the problem: "The long-term contract of the social scientist with society is not to perform miracles but to bring to the study of man and his problems the same objectivity and the same passion for truth which have in the past given us some understanding and control of the physical world." 19

1 See Don K. Price, "Government and Science" (New York: New York University Press, 1954), p. 5.

2 Ibid., pp. 11-12.

*The several paragraphs which follow are adapted from the author's chapter on "The Growth of Social Research in the United States" in Daniel Lerner, editor, "The Human Meaning of the Social Sciences" (New York:

Meridian Books, 1959), pp. 73-86.

*Russell Sage Foundation, "Effective Use of Social Science Research in the Federal Services" (New York: Russell Sage Founda-

tion, 1950).

⁵Leonard S. Cottrell, Jr., in foreword to Morris Janowitz, "Sociology and the Mili-tary Establishment" (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1959), p. 5.

Dr. Wilson was subsequently required by Texas law to give up his membership on the

National Science Board.

"The Senate Ponders Social Science," the Scientific Monthly, vol. 64, No. 5 (May 1947),

"Final report of the Select Committee to Investigate Foundations and Other Organizations, 82d Cong., 2d sess., H. Rept. No. 2514. Union Calendar No. 801 (Washington: Government Printing Office, Jan. 1, 1953). pp. 9-10.

*For details and references, see Harry Alpert, "Congressmen, Social Scientists, and Attitudes Toward Federal Support of Social Science Research," American Sociological Review, vol. 23, No. 6 (December 1958), pp. 682-686.

10 See, for example, Independent Offices Appropriations for 1960. Hearings before the Subcommittee of the Committee on Appropriations, House of Representatives, 86th Cong., 1st sess. (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1959), p. 527. For a discussion of persisting negative attitudes, see Harry Alpert, op. cit.

" "Strengthening American Science": a report of the President's Science Advisory Committee (Washington: Government Printing

Office, 1958), p. 4.

12 Reproduced in Congressional Record by Representative CHARLES O. PORTER, Mar. 10,

1959, pp. A1969-70.

"Department of Defense Appropriations for 1960. Hearings before the Subcommittee on Appropriations, House of Representatives, 86th Cong., 1st sess. (Washington: Govern-ment Printing Office, 1959), p. 339.

14 Public Law 85-864, sec. 104.

15 See, for example, statements by Pendleton Herring and Harry Alpert in the Feb. 1, 1958 issue of the Saturday Review (vol. 41, No. 5).

16 "Education for the Age of Science." President's Science Advisory Committee (May 24, 1959), p. 3.

17 Ibid., p. 6.

18 See The Saturday Review, vol. 41, No. 5

18 See The Saturday Review, vol. 41, No. 5 (Feb. 1, 1958), p. 38 and the Saturday Review, vol. 42, No. 14 (Apr. 4, 1959), p. 64.

19 "Strategy for Advancing the Social Sciences," in Social Science Research Center of the Graduate School, University of Minnesota, the Social Sciences At Mid-Century (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1952) 1952), pp. 19-20.

Survey of Democratic Voters in West Virginia

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. ROBERT C. BYRD

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Thursday, May 5, 1960

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD the results of a poll conducted by Mr. Charles D. Gatson of Big Chimney, W. Va. I also ask unanimous consent to include the covering letter which I received from Mr. Gatson, together with his comments on the poll.

There being no objection, the survey and letter were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

BIG CHIMNEY, W. VA., May 2, 1960.

Hon. ROBERT C. BYRD,

U.S. Senator, State of West Virginia, House of Senate, Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR: The enclosed survey was my own idea and I thought it would be of some value in looking at it as a pulse-beat indication from this area.

The résumé is fairly well explanatory. As you will notice, the majority of the contacts were made in person. I did not pick out acquaintances or friends, necessarily, for the purpose of question. The responses, in general, indicate that a majority do want a Democrat in the White House next year.

It is my firm hope that Mr. Johnson is the Democratic nominee because he represents, in my opinion, the fullest and best qualified candidate we could have for the general election. I feel further that the State of West Virginia would give him a great majority.

While in Washington last Saturday, I had this with me but since you were not in the office, decided to bring it back and mail it today.

If there are any questions which I might answer not answered in the résumé, please let me know and I'll try to answer them. Best regards.

CHARLES D. GATSON.

APRIL 25 THROUGH APRIL 29, CHARLESTON (KANAWHA COUNTY), W. VA. Résumé of survey

Total people contacted	_ 474
DemocratsOther (90 percent Republican)	- 269 - 205
Phone call contact Personal contact Percent in favor of Johnson (Demo	_ 392
crat) Percent against Johnson (Republican) Percent undecided	_ 34
"Yes" count. "No" count. "Undecided" count. Communities surveyed. (all in Ka	_ 270 _ 161 _ 43
nawha County) Chesapeake Charleston Clendenin So, Charleston	- 31 - 317 - 29
Dunbar Nitro St. Albans	_ 20 _ 16
Unsolicited responses on question:	

- 1. Don't know enough about him,
- 2. Why doesn't he announce?
- If he's a Democrat, he's OK.
- 4. I like Stevenson better right now. 5. I'm in favor of Symington today.
- 6. Is he serious?
- 7. Does he consider West Virginia as a part of the South? I hope so.
- 8. If Nixon is his opponent, Johnson will win.
- 9. After 7 years of stagnation, we need him badly.

Comment: This "pulse-beat" survey indicates to me that Mr. Johnson could very reasonably get sufficient votes in this area for a substantial majority. On about half the contacts made, the person approached would bring up other questions which I did would bring up other questions which I did not attempt to answer, only acknowledge. People are dissatisfied with the local Gover-nor and usually had negative remarks to make about the President's administration. I would say the trend is decidedly more Democrats to vote this year than in 1956 or

General note: Neither KENNEDY nor HUM-PHREY has made too much impression for the general election. More expressed themselves in favor of Humphrey than Kennedy. Best estimate-5 to 3.

Point 4 Program for American Indians

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. GEORGE S. McGOVERN

OF SOUTH DAKOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, May 5, 1960

Mr. McGOVERN. Mr. Speaker, during my first term in the Congress I sponsored legislation calling upon the

Federal Government to establish the kind of economic, technical, and educational assistance for American Indians that is made possible for underdeveloped countries under the terms of the point 4 program. I have continued to push for legislation of this type.

Recently a respected fellow South Dakotan, Mr. Henry Black Elk, Jr., of Pine Ridge, S. Dak., has written me regarding this proposed legislation. Because of the excellence of Mr. Black Elk's letter, under unanimous consent I include it at this point in the RECORD:

PINE RINGE, S. DAK., March 13, 1960.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN McGOVERN: Thank you for your letter and your desire to have my views on your bill. I have been busy moving back to Pine Ridge from Rosebud and have not had time to take care of my correspondence until just now.

Your bill for an Indian point 4 program certainly is what we need on the Pine Ridge Reservation and quite conceivably on most other reservations. I am urging serious consideration of the bill in the meetings that I attend on the reservation.

Recently a survey of the reservation economy was completed by representatives of MIT. Another similar survey is being contemplated by the Rural Sociology Department of South Dakota State College. I am hopeful that the findings of these surveys will provide basis for your bill.

In my talks with community and other leaders the sentiment that they express most is a Federal program that is designed to help us help ourselves. This, of course, means money and technical guidance and goes so far as to include the bringing about of industry. Many leaders feel, and rightly so, that present day Federal regulations governing Indian lands are more detrimental than good. The unit lease system plus recent policies of the BIA in tribal member land purchase are the flies in the milk.

In other words, termination is still the object of the BIA. It is my firm belief that termination should not and cannot be a unilateral thing in Indian affairs. First, there should be an all-around rehabilitation of the Indian people on a long-range basis. If the job is done slowly and thoroughly, there would be no need for a unilateral termination policy because then the Indians will be ready to fit into the pattern of American life.

Your bill, if it becomes law, will certainly contribute to this objective of the Oglala Sloux. Of immediate value of your idea lies in community and resources development. Apathy is one of the geratest ills of the Sioux and is the end result of lack of opportunity in the communities. Were there a means or tool such as you propose, the Indians will then begin to take interest in their lives, their communities, because they would have something to work with, something to work for.

It is my hope and that of many others that you do everything possible to get your bill enacted into law. If there is any way in which I can help, please let me know.

Very truly yours,

HENRY BLACK ELK, Jr.

A Case for Scuttling Regulatory Agencies

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. AL ULLMAN

OF OREGON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, May 5, 1960

Mr. ULLMAN. Mr. Speaker, my colleagues will be interested in the following searching commentary on the regulatory agencies. It appeared in Sunday's Washington Post and clearly states the case for considering this technique of implementing public policy as a failure: [From the Washington Post, May 1, 1960] A Case for Scuttling Regulatory Agencies (By Peter H. Odegard, professor of political science, University of California)

Under pressure from civil service reformers, city managers, zealots, and political technocrats, we have for many years been engaged in a crusade to separate politics from administration. For a variety of reasons, we seem to believe that political sterility in administration is a sign of civic virtue and scientific management.

We ought, by now, to know that such notions are illusory if not mischievous. Administration is not something apart from politics but an integral part of a unified, if complex, political process.

Unless politics is recognized as essential and ineradicable in the total administrative process, we run the risk of creating a politically sterile bureaucracy responsible not to the President and the people but to special interests which know what they want and how to get it.

THE FOURTH BRANCH

A good example of all this can be seen in the so-called independent regulatory commissions. In establishing these agencies, Congress has sought to immunize them from politics.

This it has done by placing them outside the executive establishment, limiting the number of commissioners who may be appointed from any one party, giving them overlapping terms longer than the 4-year term of the President and by limiting the President's power to remove them for any reason other than "inefficiency, neglect of duty, or malfeasance in office." The result has been to create a politically irresponsible "headless fourth branch of Government."

Theoretically, this attempt at political immunization is justified on the ground that the commissions have not only administrative or executive duties but also legislative and judicial responsibilities as well. But this, it seems to me, should argue for more, not less, political responsibility.

In any case, the commissions are by no means unique in this respect. Literally thousands of administrative officers decide cases or controversies and hence exercise judicial or quasi-judicial power. They issue rules or regulations to which penalties for violation are attached and hence exercise legislative power.

Mean is the official and humble indeed is his station who does not in some measure combine these powers in the performance of his duties. If the argument for independence were extended to all officials who exercise quasi-judicial or quasi-legislative powers, the result would be to undermine the democratic principle that administrative officials, including bureaucrats called commissioners, must be politically responsible to the President, who as our elected Chief Executive represents the people.

AN AMAZING DOCTRINE

Yet the Supreme Court in the Humphrey decision announced the amazing doctrine that the Federal Trade Commission, and presumably other independent commissions, were not to be "subject to anybody in the Covernment but only to the people of the United States." Just how a body of appointive officials can be responsible to the "people of the United States" except through the elected officials who appoint them, the Court did not say.

It did, however, say that the Commission was to be not only nonpartisan but non-political, "charged with the enforcement of no policy except the policy of the law."

Unfortunately, the independent commis-

sions are called upon to enforce laws which are as vague and ambiguous as can be found. They are called upon to suppress "unfair methods of competition," "unfair or deceptive acts or practices in commerce," "misbranding" and "false and misleading advertising," and to promote the "public interest, convenience, and necessity."

These are political terms of clearest hue. In carrying out policies of this kind, the commissions are up to their ears in politics. Yet, according to the Court, the duties of the FTC "are neither political nor executive, but predominantly quasi-legislative," and, "like the ICC, its members are called upon to exercise the trained judgment of a body of experts 'appointed by law and enforced by experience."

EXPERTS FOR PUBLIC

What kind of experts the commissioners are expected to be is not made clear. Presumably, they should be experts in how business, the communications, transportation, and power industries, the stock market and so on can best promote the general welfare.

More specifically, they are required to promote free and fair competition, help to prevent monopoly and restraint of trade, protect investors from palpable fraud and misrepresentation in the securities markets, regulate rates and enforce regulations to insure safe and efficient transportation, license radio and television stations in the "public interest, convenience and necessity" and license and regulate power developments subject to Federal jurisdiction.

In their pursuit of these vital objectives, the commissions are endowed with a large measure of discretion. But it is a discretion to be exercised at all times toward affirmative goals.

The commissions were not established primarily as quasi-judicial bodies, to decide such cases or controversies as might come before them. "Regulatory agencies," says Clifford Durr, a former Federal Communications Commissioner, "are not judicial bodies, quasi or otherwise, and the sooner the judicial labels with which they are constantly plastered * * are soaked away, the better the chances are that they will get back to doing the job they are supposed to do.

"The very purposes for which they were created to serve make them partisans. They were brought into being not to adjudicate the conflicting rights of adversary parties but to promote the public interest, convenience and necessity."

Nor were they created to protect American business enterprise from the rigors of competition. On the contrary, it is their responsibility to promote competition, to foster and encourage more efficient and equitable policies and practices and to seek out, expose and, where possible, penalize those who between the provided representations.

out, expose and, where possible, penalize those who betray the public interest.

In practice, however, the independent commissions have not been bold champions of the public interest. Instead of militant and creative policies to stimulate competition, raise standards, reduce prices and promote economy and efficiency, they defend the status quo, discourage competition, initiative and enterprise and provide only indifferent leadership in protecting the public from extortion, deception and even fraud.

Too often the so-called independent commissions appear to be agencies, not of the public but of the powerful interest groups they are appointed to regulate. In its solicitude for the railroads, the Interstate Commerce Commission has for many years sought to discourage competition in interstate transportation. Its members, attorneys, economists, and technicians have "developed such a close and continuous association with representatives of the carriers as virtually to form a single functional group," says Walter Hamilton in "The Politics of Industry."

"Free-for-all competition," said Joseph Eastmen, for many years the guiding spirit of the ICC, "has never worked successfully. It has been tried and found wanting." Is it any wonder that Richard Olney, Cleve-land's attorney general, should have de-scribed the ICC as "a barrier between the railroad corporations and the people"? The Commission, he said, in a letter to a railroad president, "satisfies the public clamor for Government supervision of railroads at the same time that that supervision is almost entirely nominal."

Despite the ICC's solicitude, however, the condition of the railroads has steadily deteri-

Orated.

"Except for highly specialized pipelines, the railroads are still far and away the most efficient of our land-transport systems. their share of the business has dropped from 65 percent to 48 percent in the last decade, is still dropping. This trend, fatal to an industry with such high fixed costs, is mainly the result of Government regulation," said Life magazine, March 3, 1958.

The Civil Aeronautics Board has sought not so much to promote safe and economical air transportation as to protect the established airlines and "to guard against the entrance of newcomers into the industry. The so-called nonscheduled lines, to which, incidentally, we owe coach service with its lower fares, have been systematically

smothered.

The recent radio and television scandals have served to highlight not only the incompetence but the inadequacy of the FCC in helping to develop an efficient, economical, and respectable communications industry. Except for brief periods, the FCC has re garded itself as a quasi-judicial licensing body with little or no responsibility for an affirmative program or policy to serve the

"public interest, convenience, and necessity." The 1946 Blue Book on "Public Service Responsibilities of Broadcast Licensees" and the Mayflower decision of 1948, which called for an increase in the volume and quality of programs of local origin, live music, and public service, caused consternation in the radio industry. A small army of professional hucksters stumped the coun try and swamped Congress with protests. In the face of this assault, the FCO beat a retreat and since World War II has again become the captive of the communications, ad-Vertising, and entertainment industries.

Notwithstanding a Supreme Court decision

that it has power to do so, the Federal Power Commission, out of its solicitude for the natural gas industry, has for years de-clined to regulate the prices charged by producers of natural gas sold in interstate commerce. Moreover, members of the Commis-sion have joined with paid lobbyists of the gas industry in actually urging Congress to exempt these "producers and gatherers"

from provisions of the 1938 law.

In August, 1955, the FPC licensed the Idaho Power Co. to construct a three-dam Power system in Hells Canyon on the Snake River. This license, plainly revealing the po-litical bias of the Commission against public power development, was issued not only in disregard of more efficient alternative plans, but also in disregard of the recommendations of its own official examiner.

Illustrations could be multiplied to show that the image of the independent commissions as nonpartisan, nonpolitical, quasijudicial bodies exercising "the trained (and unbiased) judgment of a body of experts" is, to say the least, idealized. Nor is this sur-Prising. It is foolish to assume that we can Insulate from politics administrative agencles upon whose decisions powerful economic and political interests depend.

Literally billions of dollars often hang on the decisions of the so-called "Big Six" Commissions—the FTC, FCC, ICC, FPC, SEC, and CAB. With so much at stake, it would be surprising if the interest groups most immediately concerned should not seek to influence these decisions.

Pressure politics is as much a part of the administrative process as it is of the legislative process. Such pressures can be minimized if not wholly eliminated from courts of law by strict limitations on jurisdiction and by formal rules of evidence and procedure. But the independent commissions are not courts of law.

At best, they are but quasi-judicial bodies and hence cannot hope for the immunity from political pressures enjoyed by the courts. As quasi-legislative or administrative agencies, they inevitably invite the pressures which are endemic in a democratic

political system.

With some notable exceptions, the men appointed to the commissions have not been distinguished for their independence of mind or their public service. "By long established practice," says Prof. Louis W. Koenig, "a large percentage of their membership is dedicated to patronage. They are a favorite refuge for the workhorse Congressman who suffered defeat . . . and is badly in need of a job. They are the currency by which a large miscellany of political debts are paid."

Even more distinguished and redoubtable men than these might find it hard to resist the none-too-subtle influence of the powerful interest groups whose able spokesmen appear before them. And this influence is in no wise diminished when commissions and members of their staff either come with built-in biases in favor of these interests or look forward to lucrative employment with them after leaving the public service.

The built-in biases with which commis-sioners approach their tasks have their source not only in ideological commitments but also, and not infrequently, in previous close association with or employment by the interest groups subject to regulation. notion that commissioners should qualify as technical experts often leads to the appointment of former officers or employees of business, financial, or industrial concerns which have a direct stake in the decisions which commissioners make.

Another even more common source of bias an ideological commitment that may interfere with a commissioner's capacity for unbiased judgment. In the case of William Humphrey, for example, who was appointed to the FTC by President Coolidge in 1925, these ideological commitments gave the commission such a militant probusiness bias that its effectiveness as a regulatory body was seriously impaired.

In alliance with conservative colleagues on the Commission and in Congress, Humphrey sought to stifle major investigations proposed by the technical staff and to transform the Commission into a compliant

servant not of the public interest, but of the business interests over which it was created to maintain a crucial surveillance.

This posture of the FTC was, I realize, quite compatible with the political atmosphere of the time and the orientation of the Republican administrations under which Humphrey and his colleagues served. But it was in flagrant conflict with the posture and policies of the New Deal, which came to power in 1933.

Yet when President Franklin Roosevelt, having failed to induce Humphrey to resign, sought to remove him, the Supreme Court held the removal order to be illegal on the ground, among others, that the FTC was not only nonpartisan but nonpolitical.

However much the Court may have believed in the political sterility of the independent commission, Congress has been under no such illusion. When the Senate is called upon to approve nominations for appointment to these agencies, political considerations exert a major influence. was dramatically demonstrated in the hearings on the reappointment of Leland Olds to the Federal Power Commission in 1949.

During his 10 years on the Commission, Olds had been a stanch advocate of public power and of strict regulation of private power interests. Indeed, it was because of these ideological commitments that he had been appointed and reappointed by Presidents Roosevelt and Truman. Political opposition had developed at the time of his earlier appointments but had been overcome by the massive support of Democratic New Deal forces in and out of Congress.

His reappointment in 1949, however, came in the midst of a bitter struggle over the so-called Kerr bill to exempt from Federal regulation the production of natural gas for transportation in interstate commerce a bill to which Olds was strongly opposed but which was supported by powerful Democrats in Congress. It was these Democrats, aided and abetted by conservative Republican Members, who organized and carried through the campaign against Olds.

"All the witnesses testifying against the appointment of Olds," says Prof. J. P. Harris, were directly or indirectly connected with the oil and gas industry * * * The members of Congress from both Houses who had spearheaded drives to pass the Kerr * now led the opposition to Leland Olds . . .

Personal favors, gifts, gratuities, inside tips on investment opportunities and implied future rewards are common in all relations between private interests and governmental agencies-and the so-called independent commissions are no exception. Informal, "off the record" ex parte conversations with parties interested in pending decisions, or with influential politicians seeking to influence those decisions on behalf of powerful friends or constituents, are not uncommon.

In August 1959, serious charges were made of such extramural influences on the Interstate Commerce Commission. It was said that because of "undue and improper influences," the Commission had failed to take jurisdiction of the contest in which the Alleghany Corp. acquired control of the New York Central,

Sherman Adams, Assistant to the Presi-Sherman Adams, Assistant dent, it was alleged, "made it clear to one (the White House) did not want an investigation of Alleghany." It was also said that a former Senator, as counsel for Al-leghany, had held "off the record" commu-nications with four Commissioners "during the course of which these Commissioners approved, prior to public adjudication, Young's (Alleghany Corp.) plans to take control of the New York Central without investigation thereof."

These allegations were characterized by high Administration officials and the chairman of the ICC as a "tissue of lies." true or false, they serve to illustrate how the oldest and most prestigious of the independent commissions can be embroiled in politics.

In November 1958, the Justice Department recommended that three applicants for a television channel in Miami qualified for having tried "to use improper influence on the FCC." Specifically, it was said that two Commissioners, including the chairman, had had "extensive off-the-record contacts" with persons whose applications were then pending before the Commission and with Members of Congress speaking on their behalf.

On another occasion, it was reported, the Chairman of the FCC "had solicited \$50,000 for his vote in the Pittsburgh Channel 4 case." Another Commissioner resigned under indictment by a Federal grand jury for having accepted financial "favors" from persons seeking to influence FCC decisions. John C. Doerfer resigned following public disclosure of his intimate, informal, off-therecord relations with various interests in the communications industry.

But private interests are not the only forces to exert political pressure on the so-called independent commissions. Congressmen, too, join in the all but universal game of pressure politics in administration. The Federal Trade Commission learned this lessent contractions.

son early and painfully.

In 1917, at the request of President Wilson, the Commission embarked upon an investigation of the meatpacking industry. "What happened to the Trade Commission when it interfered with the meatpackers," says E. P. Herring, "provides a concrete illustration of the political and administrative problems involved in attempting to regulate a powerful industry."

powerful industry."

Lobbyists for the industry moved to Washington en masse; and when in August, 1919, the Commission's report was sent to Congress, a storm broke.

The report "indicated unlawful combination and restraint of trade by the five largest meatpackers * * (and) recommended changes in the organization of the meatpacking industry and public ownership of some branches." An avalanche of pressure and propaganda from the packers greeted this report and Congressmen divided in attacking and detending the FIC.

and defending the FTC.

"I think," said Senator Smoot, "the report of the Trade Commission is not only sensational but the conclusions in many respects are absolutely false." Senator Watson called for a congressional investigation not of the packers but of the FTC, to expose its radical and socialistic propensities.

When the Justice Department moved against the packers, they immediately began negotiations for a consent decree on terms much more favorable than the FTC was disposed to allow. The Court adopted the more lenient attitude of the Justice Department and "peremptorily forbade spokesmen for the Commission to present their case."

The controversy came close to destroying the FTC, and in the Packers and Stockyards Act of 1921, the packers succeeded in having jurisdiction over their industry transferred from the Commission to the Agriculture Department. In the midst of this battle, the Supreme Court further crippled the Commission by insisting upon judicial review of both the scope of the Commission's jurisdiction and the reasonableness and legality of its decisions.

The Federal Trade Commission never fully recovered from this assault, and since 1925, it has for all practical purposes given up any serious effort to combat monopolistic trends or practices in American business. Only in the field of policing false advertising and misbranding has it had even modest success.

Most of the problems discussed here are, of course, not peculiar to the independent regulatory commissions but apply in varying degree to other administrative agencies as well. But the other agencies, subject to direct control of the President, do not function under the fiction of independence.

The fact is, of course, that the commissions have not been independent. Indeed, as James W. Fesler has said of State commissions, "full independence is * * more myth than reality. And like many other myths, it has a sinister effect, for it lulls the public into a false confidence in the Olympian judgments of the independent agencies and diverts attention from the influences that are constantly at work."

In 1950, after an extensive study of the problem, the Budget Bureau was even more emphatic in its criticism of Federal independent commissions. The myth of independence, the Bureau said, instead of being

a source of strength is actually a major source of weakness and goes far to explain the ineffectiveness of the commissions.

Most serious students of the problem now agree that it is useless to pretend that we can preserve democracy and still vest economic power in a governmental agency that is not clearly subject to officials who in turn are responsible to the people. By making the commissions independent, we make it virtually impossible for any administration, Republican or Democratic, to develop and administer a coherent and consistent economic policy.

Independence, too, like job security, tends to produce inertia lethargy and stagnation, and, in the case of the Federal commissions, an excessive preoccupation with formalistic procedures that stifle creative imagination and initiative.

The basic theory of the independent commissions, according to William Carey, is to free them "from the insidious influences of politics. Even assuming this freedom to have been achieved, these are effects which are extremely serious. Cut loose from presidential leadership and protection, the agencies must formulate policy in a political vacuum. Into this vacuum may move the regulated interests themselves, and by infiltration overcome the weak regulatory defenses to become the strongest influences upon the regulators."

From the President's Committee on Administrative Management in 1937 to the First Hoover Commission in 1950, efforts have been made to reform the independent commissions. It has been proposed to separate their executive functions from their legislative and judicial functions. Other reforms of internal organization have been suggested without touching the core of the problem, which is the deep involvment of these agencies in politics. It is probably just as well, therefore, that little or nothing has come of these reforms, because more radical remedies are required.

In September 1959, Louis Hector, in a letter to President Eisenhower resigning from the CAB, recommended its abolition as an independent agency. In summary, he proposed that its functions be reallocated as follows: "(1) Transfer policymaking, planning, and administration from the CAB to an executive agency, such as the Department of Commerce, the FAA, or a new Department of Transportation. (2) Transfer the judicial and appellate duties of the CAB to a true administrative court. (3) Transfer the duties of investigation and prosecution to an executive agency such as the Department of Justice."

Why should not President Eisenhower, or the new President who takes office in 1961, order a searching investigation of the feasibility of reorganizing or abolishing most of the independent commissions? Their present functions could be transferred to appropriate executive departments and to one or more central administrative courts of broad jurisdiction.

Where no existing department can appropriately and effectively assume these added responsibilities, one or more new executive departments should be created. In all likelihood, this would call for new Departments of Transportation and Communication to absorb the present functions of the ICC, the FCC, and the CAB. The work now done by the FPC, the SEC, and the FTC should be distributed among existing executive agencies and the new administrative courts.

Only along some such lines can we end the evils of the present system and restore some measure of political leadership and responsibility to this headless fourth branch of government.

Our Summit Peril

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. PAUL H. DOUGLAS

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, May 5, 1960

Mr. DOUGLAS. Mr. President, although published some weeks ago, the column on "Our Summit Peril" by that able speaker and writer John C. Metcalfe in the Montgomery County Record is still such a timely warning against our Government's making any retreat in the face of Communist demands at the summit that I ask unanimous consent to have it printed for the information of Members in the Appendix of the Record.

There being no objection, the column was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE WORLD AROUND US-OUR SUMMIT PERIL

(By John C. Metcalfe)

Washington.—There is growing concern among diplomatic observers over the outcome of the summit meeting scheduled for May 16 in Paris. A noticeable fear is setting in that the position of the Western Powers is steadily getting weaker while that of the Soviet Union is becoming stronger. If this trend continues the conference could end in a staggering diplomatic defeat for the entire free world.

The stakes in the forthcoming summit meeting will be very high and any agreements coming out of it are destined to have farfung effect. They will not be confined only to those powers directly involved in the issues on the agenda. Whatever the decisions, they are bound to have profound effect on the future will of the free world to withstand the threat of communism.

DETERIORATING POSITION

The position of the Western Powers, which once embodied considerable unity, determination, and strength, has been deteriorating in several aspects.

When Premier Khrushchev originally created the Berlin crisis in 1958 his threats were met head on with a strong rebuff by the United States, Great Britain, France, and Germany to fight, if necessary, to defend their rights in that city. It was a position which also won the quick support of their NATO partners.

NATO partners.

Faced with this determination to meet force with force, Premier Khrushchev backed down, dropped a demand for a summit meeting by Thanksgiving Day, and ultimately settled for a foreign minister conference in Geneva last summit.

Geneva last summer.

White that conference ended without agreement, it revealed two frightening developments. On one hand it produced a series of offers by the Western Powers as concessions to the Soviet Union to lessen tension over Berlin and, on the other, the stubborn refusal of Premier Khrushchev to give 1 inch on his demands which would open wide the gates to a complete takcover of West Berlin.

HAS GONE DOWN HILL

In that same time and particularly since then the position of the Western Powers has

become steadily weaker.

Far more so than any of the other major allies, Great Britain has sought to accommodate Premier Khrushchev. It continues to press the allies, especially the United States, to this end.

It has clearly been responsible, in part, for the effort to downgrade the importance of West Berlin and reunification of Germany.

It wants again "peace in our time" and is playing this diplomatic tune in the United States for the benefit of a Republican administration which is hoping shortly to conduct a presidential election campaign on a platform of "peace, prosperity, and progress." In the face of an extremely critical inter-

In the face of an extremely critical internal political situation, France is finding it increasingly difficult to hold a tough external policy. French Government leaders are quite cognizant of the old adage that "to be strong in the world you must be strong at home."

THEY INVITED

They are also not unmindful of the fact they invited Premier Khrushchev to visit Paris this spring and that President de Gaulle promised to visit Washington in that time. These arrangements were made at a moment when the current Algerian crisis was unexpected.

With President de Gaulle in unquestioned control and riding a wave of national popularity, the Federal Republic of Germany had a staunch supporter against any appeasement of Premier Khrushchev on the issues of West Berlin and reunification.

In the present weakened condition of France, however, Chancellor Adenauer is justifiably uneasy over continued French support for a strong stand at the summit against Soviet demands.

ADENAUER IS CURIOUS

Thus, now Chancellor Adenauer is scheduled to confer with President Eisenhower in Washington in mid-March. There can be no doubt as to the reason and need for this meeting. Chancellor Adenauer is anxious to know exactly where the United States stands in light of these developments.

There are a lot of Americans who would also like to have the answer to that question.

Is the U.S. Government wavering against the pressure to accommodate Premier Khrushchev? Is Prime Minister Macmillan going to take over the leadership of the Western Powers at the summit meeting? Does our Government expect France to also soften her stand because of her internal troubles?

Or is President Elsenhower going to toss aside any and all internal political considerations and assure Chancellor Adenauer that regardless of Britain or France the United States will not give one inch on Premier Khrushchev's outrageous demands on West Berlin and German reunification?

SENTIMENT FOR STRENGTH

This writer has been from one end of the country to the other in recent weeks and found in unmistakable terms the American People want their Government to make a tough and determined stand on these issues. They are as strongly opposed to appeasement of Premier Khrushchev now as they were when he originated the Berlin crisis.

Therefore, it is crystal clear that any appeasement of Premier Khrushchev at the summit in order to be able to boast of "peace in our time" would result in disaster at the Polls next November for that political party.

The alternative to a refusal by Premier Khrushchev to budge an inch is status quo—a stalemate at the summit. That alternative is acceptable to the American people because the nuclear stalemate is ample assurance of peace.

Until President Eisenhower makes his present position clear, however, the fear of appeasement will continue to grow worse, especially with the evident weakening in the West.

It is high time for President Eisenhower to give the free world a shot in the arm with forthright American reassurance to defend our rights. It is also high time to warn Premier Khrushchev against wasting our time at the summit.

Administration's Medicare Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. WILLIAM S. BROOMFIELD

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 5, 1960

Mr. BROOMFIELD. Mr. Speaker, the administration's medicare program for the aged was presented yesterday before the House Committee on Ways and Means by a member of President Eisenhower's Cabinet.

The statement of Secretary Arthur S. Flemming, of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare is reprinted below and is worthy of very careful study: STATEMENT BY ARTHUR S. FLEMMING, SECRETARY OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE, BEFORE THE HOUSE WAYS AND MEANS COMMITTEE OF THE U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, MAY 4, 1960

Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, I am glad to appear this morning to present the administration's plan to provide health and medical care for the aged.

The executive branch of the Government fully recognizes and accepts the fact that the Federal Government should act in this field. A careful consideration of facts such as the following can lead to no other conclusion:

1. There are 16 million persons aged 65 and over. Four million pay income taxes. Of the 12 million who do not pay income taxes, 2.4 million are recipients of public assistance.

2. A 1958 study identified 60 percent, or 9.6 million, of the aged as having incomes of \$1,000 or less, and 80 percent, or 12.8 million, as having incomes of \$2,000 or less. These figures should be discounted, because they include situations where a wife has an income of less than \$1,000 and the husband has a substantial income, and because they include situations where other members of the family have substantial resources. Nevertheless, we are dealing with a group in our population which contains an unusually large percentage of persons with very limited resources.

3. A 1957-58 study shows that the average annual expenditures of this group for health and medical expenses was \$177, not including nursing home care, as compared with \$84 for the rest of the population. But it is important to note that 15 percent of the persons 65 and over, or 2.25 million, had total medical expenditures, on the average, of \$700 per year, not including nursing home care. The expenditures for this group represented 60 percent of the total medical care expenditures of the aged. Since 1957, costs for medical care have increased at least 20 percent. Also, it should be noted that the high average expenditure for the aged is attributable to the fact that \$6,000 is a conservative estimate of total medical expenditures incurred by persons who are continuously ill for an entire year.

4. According to the Health Insurance Association of America, approximately 49 percent of the persons in this age group have some kind of health and medical insurance. But, only a comparatively small percentage of this group have policies that protect true of those who are covered by group policies, as well as those who are covered by individual policies. There is a trend in the direction of extending beyond the retirement age provisions in group policies that cover major medical expenses. There is also a trend in the direction of making individual policies that cover major medical expenses available to persons 65 and over. These policies call for payment of premiums ranging from \$60 to \$130 a year per individual. They include deductible provisions ranging from \$250 to \$500. They ordinarily establish annual or lifetime dollar ceilings on benefits. Most contain coinsurance provisions of 20 to 25 percent.

It follows, therefore, that a large percentage of persons aged 65 and over do not have protection against long-term illnesses, and either cannot obtain protection at rates they can afford to pay, or cannot obtain adequate

protection.

In the light of these facts we have developed a program that is designed to achieve just one objective; namely, to provide approximately 12 million persons 65 and over who have limited resources with the opportunity of taking steps which, if taken, will enable them to cope with the heavy economic burden of long-term or other expensive illnesses.

We have developed this proposal in the belief that any program undertaken by the Federal Government in this area should meet the following tests:

the following tests:

1. It should provide the individual with
the opportunity of deciding for himself
whether or not he desires to be a participant
in the program.

 It should make available a system of comprehensive health and medical benefits which provide adequate protection against the costs of long-term and other expensive illnesses.

3. It should make available all the benefits of the program to public assistance recipients at public expense.

4. It should provide for some financial

4. It should provide for some financial contribution on the part of those participants who are not on public assistance.

 It should provide private insurers with the opportunity of expanding their programs of extending health protection to the over-65 age group.

6. It should provide for a Federal-State partnership in dealing with the problem.

We have developed a program that is consistent with these guidelines. We believe that if it is put into operation, it will provide the aged with the type of assistance they most need. We want to make it clear, however, that we will be glad to discuss any suggestions for improvements that are consistent with the basic guidelines that I have just outlined.

Specifically, we recommend that the Federal Government assist the States in establishing a medicare program for the aged in accordance with the following specifications:

1. ELIGIBILITY FOR PARTICIPATION IN PROGRAM

The program would be open to all persons aged 65 and over who did not pay an income tax in the preceding year and to taxpayers 65 and over whose adjusted gross income, plus Social Security, Railroad Retirement benefits, and veterans pensions, in the preceding year did not exceed \$2,500 (\$3,800 for a couple).

2. ELGIBILITY FOR BENEFITS

Persons eligible for participation in the program would be entitled to the benefits of the program if they had paid an enrollment fee each year of \$24 and after they had incurred health and medical expenses of \$250 (\$400 for a couple).

Public assistance recipients would be entitled to the benefits of the program without paying the enrollment fee and with the States paying the initial \$250 of expenses under the regular public assistance program.

3. BENEFITS

The medicare program for the aged would pay 80 percent (100 percent for public assistance recipients) of the costs of the following comprehensive health and medical services for all participants who had established their eligibility, and where such services have been determined to be medically necessary:

(a) Hospital care-180 days.

- (b) Skilled nursing home care—365 days.(c) Organized home care services—365 days.
 - (d) Surgical procedures.
 (e) Laboratory and X-ra
- (e) Laboratory and X-ray services—up to \$200.
 - (f) Physicians' services.
 - (g) Dental services.
 - (h) Prescribed drugs-up to \$350.
 - (i) Private duty nurses.
 - (j) Physical restoration services.

4. OPTIONAL BENEFITS

Each State would provide that an aged person eligible for participation in the program could elect to purchase from a private group a major medical expense insurance policy with the understanding that 50 percent of the cost would be paid for him from Federal-State matching funds up to a maximum of \$60. The States would be responsible for establishing the minimum specifications for such policies.

5. CONTINUATION OF ELIGIBILITY

Once a person has qualified for participation in the medicare program for the aged, he can maintain his eligibility by the payment of the annual fee. If his income rises above the figure specified for eligibility, his fee would be raised on a graduated basis for each \$500 of increase in income until the fee covered the full per capita cost of the benefits made available to him.

6. ADMINISTRATION

The medicare program for the aged would be administered by the States, under a State plan approved by the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. The State would be authorized to use appropriate private organizations as agents.

7. FINANCING

The governmental cost of the program would be financed by the Federal Government and the States on a matching basis. Federal matching would be 50 percent on the average with an equalization formula ranging from 33 1/3 to 66 1/2 percent for the Federal share.

8. COSTS

Assuming that all States participate and that 80 percent of those who are eligible enroll for the program, it is estimated that the annual Federal-State cost of this plan would be \$1.2 billion with the Federal share being estimated at \$600 million. There would be some reduction to the extent that persons eligible for participation in the plan elected to purchase insurance policies providing for the optional benefits, It is impossible to estimate the number of persons who would elect the optional benefits.

On the other hand, however, it should be noted that increases in costs and increased utilization of facilities over and above that included in the cost estimates could lead to an increase in these estimates. Also, there would be some increase in Federal payments for public assistance. This increase might reach \$100 million per year.

The make-ready cost during fiscal year 1960-61—including grants to States to help them develop their programs—would be about \$5 million. The fiscal year 1961-62 cost would depend on many factors. We estimate that this would run in the neighborhood of \$400 million—of which \$200 million would be the Federal share.

We believe that the plan which I have just described would achieve the following

- 1. It would permit the individual to decide for himself whether or not he will participate in the program.
- It would preserve the opportunity for private insurors to continue to demonstrate their ability to develop major medical expense programs for the aged.
- 3. It would divide the cost equitably among the entire population by providing

for financing the Federal share out of general revenues, contrasted with a payroll tax that places the entire burden on earnings of less than \$4,800.

4. It would provide a wide range of benefits without placing a premium on institutional care as opposed to alternative lower cost services. Thus, it would facilitate the most effective and economical use of available medical facilities and services.

5. It would provide a built-in incentive for judicious use of health facilities and services by requiring the individual (other than public assistance recipients) to share in the cost above the deductible of \$250.

Most important, however, the program is designed in such a manner as to pinpoint the area of greatest need; namely, the large number of persons over 65 who do not have the resources or the opportunity to obtain adequate protection against the staggering financial burdens of long-term illness. This is the most serious problem in the financing of health care for the aged.

This plan guarantees comprehensive health and medical services to all aged public assistance recipients in States that become part of the program. It is available to all persons in the lower income brackets, regardless of whether they happen to be covered by social security. It identifies persons who may benefit by the program on the basis of a simple and easily determined eligibility requirement, without subjecting the individual to a detailed and involved income or means test.

In summary, we believe that the medicare program for the aged will concentrate governmental assistance in such a manner as to provide the most effective and most responsible use of Federal and State funds. We believe this program represents a practical solution to a pressing human problem.

Opposes North Cascades National Park

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JACK WESTLAND

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 5, 1960

Mr. WESTLAND. Mr. Speaker, an article by John A. Biggs, director of the State of Washington Department of Game, appeared in the April 1960 issue of the Game Bulletin. I believe this article will interest all Members of Congress.

The article is titled "North Cascades National Park?" and presents a number of convincing arguments why the present administration of the area by the Forest Service is in the best interest of the State of Washington and the Nation. I am particularly interested because the bulk of the North Cascades area is in my district.

The article follows:

NORTH CASCADES NATIONAL PARK?

(By John A. Biggs, director, the Department of Game, State of Washington)

Should the State of Washington be the first State to have within its borders three large national parks?

Pointing a finger at the rugged and scenic North Cascades section of the State, small but extremely vocal groups of ultraconservationists residing both within and outside of the State very vigorously say that the State of Washington should enjoy this distinction, and that the place for the park is in the

North Cascades. Other equally vigorous groups of forest users and practical conservationists, also pointing at the North Cascades, say with certainty that this State should not lock up and remove from public use this great economically and recreationally important area. There are two large national parks now in the State, they add, and we simply cannot afford a third.

The proponents of the park are principally dedicated individuals and groups whose lead ership is drawn from the Sierra Club. This club, in the words of its executive director, David Brower, "is composed of some 10,500 members, most of whom reside in the State of California." Under this leadership, support for their proposal has been engendered from a number of western outdoor groups and organizations of ultraconservationists residing in the Eastern States. Such people firmly and devoutly believe that unless such areas as the North Cascades are embraced within the national park system their future is uncertain and their value as great primitive areas will almost certainly be lost as a result of inroads by logging mining, grazing, excessive water use, and hunting.

The idea of a system of national parks was conceived more than a century ago, re-sulting in our present parks which occur throughout the United States and most abundantly in the Western States. Their operation is based upon the philosophy that large land areas which embrace natural wonders and great scenic beauty should be retained and managed in their primitive state to the greatest extent possible. Limited fishing is permitted in the parks, hunting is prohibited, construction of roads is held to a minimum, and logging, grazing, and mining are prohibited. Undeniably, this system of parks constitutes a great national heritage. and their scenic beauties and natural wonders are annually enjoyed by many millions of people.

Equally undeniable, there are located within the park boundaries tremendously valuable natural resources going completely unused at a time when the value and wise use of natural resources has never been more apparent to the people of the Nation.

Generally, the argument over the establishment of new parks resolves itself into this: One side contends that the present system of national parks serves a very valuable purpose but is adequate for the country's needs, and in some cases far more than adequate; the other side argues that the interest of present and future generations demands an expansion of the present system of parks, and that only in this manner can these natural resources be positively and permanently maintained.

A look at our group of States is interesting. Washington contains 68,192 square miles—it is the smallest State west of Iowa. Our neighbor, Oregon, is approximately haif again as large as the State of Washington and has one national park. The State of Idaho has one park, Montana has one. Wyoming has two. California, with 158,693 square miles, has nine; Nevada contains 110,540 square miles and has no national parks. It is well known that each of the Western States possesses unique areas of great natural beauty. Considering this, one wonders why, if national parks are needed, they might not more properly be placed in some of the largest Western States which are either completely devoid of them or have only one or two such areas.

It is estimated that there are close to 24 million acres of forest land in the State of Washington. A very considerable portion of this acreage is already on an extremely limited public-use basis. The Olympic National Park contains 868,558 acres, and Rainier National Park contains 241,571. Various proposals advanced for the north

Cascades park range from 500,000 to 2,000,000 acres—the figure most generally talked about is slightly over 1,500,000 acres. Were the north Cascades park to be created, there would thus be over 2,600,000 acres of land in the State devoted to national park use

exclusively.

These national park lands, undeniably unique in their scenic beauty and topography, equally undeniably are possessed of unique hunting and fishing opportunitiesessentially all of which have been lost in the Olympic and Rainier Parks. The loss would be even greater in a north Cascades park.

The ordinary concept is that national parks are areas which teem with wildlife, yet the facts contrast this. The Olympic National Park, in years past, provided one of the State's best elk hunting areas. herds in what is now the park area had been built up under a system of sound State management and yearly provided pleasurable elk hunting for many people. But since the creation of the park, elk herds have dwindled and the park elk are enjoyed only by an

insignificant number of people.

No less an authority than Mrs. Lena Fietcher, a longtime resident of the Hoh River country, and herself a descendant of pioneers of that area, has declared that the Olympic Park has never achieved, or brought with it, the great values which it was said to possess at the time of its creation. Mrs. Fletcher has stated that 95 percent of the people who are counted as visitors to the park view less than 5 percent of the park area, and that in actuality the economy of the developing Olympic Peninsula has deteriorated rather than progressed since the creation of the park.

In fact, as a result of the zeal of park enthusiasts, the very fine hunting formerly enjoyed by several thousand people has been irrevocably denied to the people of the State; and the other great resources of the park area are being utilized by relatively few

people.

Contrast this with the situation existing in the foothills and Cascade area of Yakima and Kittitas Counties where is located the Yakima-Kittitas elk herd. This herd was established a little over 30 years ago with the stocking of less than 200 animals. Since that time, under a system of conservative and well determined wildlife management, an extensive herd of elk has been developed Which now is maintained at a population of approximately 8,000 animals. More striking, however, is the fact that during the past 20 years, open seasons have been annually held for elk hunting and more than 30,000 elk have been harvested from this herd by the hunters of the State.

Elk hunting in the Yakima area is anhually enjoyed by more than 10,000 Washington hunters-a striking demonstration of What can be done under a modern system of Wildlife management which combines proper and well applied conservation and a system

of orderly harvest.

One might ask what application this might have to the north Cascades area, and the answer is that it is the State's most scenic and attractive deer hunting area. Biologists estimate that over 4,000 deer are harvested annually from areas within the proposed park boundary. Bear in excess of 1,000 animals and 80 mountain goats are also provided every year. The hunting of these animals provides an unparalleled recreational opportunity for several thousand residents of the State-an estimated 81,000 man-days of hunting.

Of late years, this recreational opportunity has been enhanced by a high mountain deer season, occurring during the month of September and limited to the area of the high Cascade Mountains. This hunt gives a chance to camp out in the alpine beauty of the high Cascades at a time of year when scenery is at its best, and, at the same time, to wholesomely engage in the sport of deer hunting. This privilege would be denied with the creation of a park, and use of the area would be restricted to the relatively few people who care to view the country as hikers or campers.

There is an even more potent and farreaching reason why the creation of a north Cascades park would strike a severe blow to fishing and hunting in the State. The State now has more than its share of lands which are denied the use of the general public for fishing and hunting. In Yakima and Ben-ton Counties, nearly 400,000 acres of land belongs to the Atomic Energy Commissionoff limits to the public. The Indian reservations of the State closed to big game hunting exceed 1,115,000 acres. The city of Seattle alone has made unavailable for use more than 130,000 acres of forest land as a result of its system of watershed protection. And there are nearly 55,000 acres of State park land upon which no hunting is allowed. Add all these together, and con-sider the north Cascades park established, and you see that over 5,500,000 acres would be withdrawn from hunting lands.

It would appear undeniable that from the standpoint of maintaining and developing the State's recreationally and economically important wildlife program, one participated in and enjoyed by more than 600,000 people of the State, we cannot afford the creation of a North Cascades National Park. In effect of a North Cascades National Park. In effect the park would constitute a permanent, severe and costly blow to good fishing and hunting in the State of Washington.

Multiple use of the State's natural re-sources is of great importance to every man,

woman and child residing in Washington. It is the foundation of the State's economy. Equally, it is the foundation of the State's great recreational industry and opportunities. Our unparalleled resources of this type have served as a magnet which presently attracts the interest and attention of hundreds of thousands of people and will in-creasingly attract them in the future.

Can it, therefore, be said that it is logical or even good thinking for the future to lock up the great north Cascades region in third national park in the State of Washington?

The scenic beauties of the area can, and undoubtedly will, be retained under present or proposed systems of wilderness preserva-And the record shows that its tremendous wildlife values have been capably managed in the past, and can be equally well managed in the future.

It is for these reasons that it can be flatly stated that, considering full and wise use of the State's wildlife resources, the people of the State of Washington cannot afford the creation of a third national park in the north Cascades region.

How Russian Schools Are Organized

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. HENRY ALDOUS DIXON

OF UTAH

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, May 5, 1960

Mr. DIXON. Mr. Speaker, one of the very finest school administrators in the United States is Dr. J. C. Moffitt, superintendent of the Provo City, Utah, schools. He is known as a man of great judgment, conservatism and integrity. Upon returning from a trip to Russia recently he gave an excellent account of "How Russian Schools Are Organized." which appeared in the Utah Educational Review. I am privileged to place this article in the Appendix of the RECORD.

How Russian Schools Are Organized (By J. C. Moffitt)

"The law sets forth the task of giving a full secondary education not only to the young people, as it has been decided by the 19th and 20th Congresses of the Communist Party, but also to all workers and kolkhozians."1

The tremendous effort of the Union of the Soviet Socialist Republic to provide educa-tion for all of the people in the 15 republics has necessarily created schools and educational programs of many kinds.

Two distinctive characteristics universally found in this federation of republics are:

First, the apparent singleness of purpose tightly controlled and directed by those dedicated to the ideals and purposes of the Communist Party.

Second, the apparent faith people in all the republics possess in education is the un-failing guarantee leading to their notion of

the "abundant life."

In such a highly centralized control of a total society with so brief a history of education, it becomes relatively easy to shift from one plan or pattern of organization to another as experience or change indicates a need for such change. Moreover, under such autocratic control where change is consuch autocratic control where change is con-tinuously needed to attain the promises made by the governing authority, schools may well differ in organization and purpose and likewise may at times be experimental so long as progress is assumed to be apparent in the attainment of established objectives.

SCHOOLS PERPETUATE ONE IDEAL

Schools are of many kinds in the U.S.S.R. but they are all organized and administered to perpetuate and extend one ideal. Children may enter nurseries at a very young age. When 3 years old they go to kinder-gartens; at 7, the beginning of compulsory attendance, they are in grade I. Some (mostly in rural areas) go through a 7- or 8-grade school and others through a 10or 11-year secondary school. (The 11-year school was established by statute in De-cember 1958.) Boarding schools are rapidly expanding and are extending regular fulltime education to all underprivileged children or children whose parents may not be regularly available for normal family living. In this gigantic effort to encompass all people in the circles of organized education no segment of the schools is more conspicuous than the evening (adult) schools and the correspondence school programs that are part of the higher schools ranging from the technicums to the universities. It is not unusual for the universities to have thousands of correspondence students-often appoaching 50 percent of their institution enrollments.

In keeping with the promise for the development of an increased technological economy that will excell the production of the United States, education has become inseparable from their socialistic business, industry, and agriculture. This tremendous dedication and unswerving devotion to education and the application of learning and research to the improvement of the life of the worker is a motivation for school attendance, probably unexcelled heretofore in history.

PATTERNS OF ORGANIZATION

The new pattern of organization changing the secondary school from 10 to 11 years is to enable children in their latter school

Anton Chernikov, Minister of Education, Russian Republic, Moscow, U.S.S.R. From Public Education in the Soviet Union.

grades to spend 2 days each week in industry or agriculture, thereby making transition from school to work an easy adjustment with needed training already accomplished for all workers. The State owns the land, the industry, and the schools and hence can transfer the individual from one assignment to the other at will or can readily make business, industry, or agriculture available to the schools in order to facilitate the education of the workers.

In its diverse and changing patterns of organization of education all of the republics that compose the U.S.R. maintain universities, research academies, pedagogical schools, and technical institutes of many kinds. The universities are largely directed under the single agency of the Ministry of Higher Education. Likewise, the research institutes have less widely diffused control than is the case of the technicums, the secondary schools, the special schools (such as ballet or dance schools), or the schools for younger children that are commonly directed by the individual Ministry of Education within each republic.

"CONTROL" OF EDUCATION

From first impressions one may assume that the "control" of education is widely diffused. There are various agencies such as the supreme Soviet gosplan, the Ministries of Education in the different republics, the teacher union organizations, regional and district boards of education with differing authority, and others, that have responsibilities in administering the schools. However, all of these agencies are essentially "operational" and all function to carry out the established (communistic) party policy. No such agency has administrative power to deviate from this policy.

LINE OF AUTHORITY

Most commonly, the Ministry of Education in the 15 republics, in cooperation with the republic gosplan (which does most of the school expansion planning, much of the financing including the establishing of salaries for all school employees) provides "close-up" supervision of the majority of the schools. This ministry operates through a number of regional boards of education, thence through district boards of education to the individual schools. These boards and school agencies are composed of former teachers and school administrators. Typically, then, the line of authority within each of the republics (shared by the gosplan and the Ministry of Education) is from the chief of the ministry to the regional board (the chairman in each case is the executive of the board), then to the district board, and from there to the school director or principal.

FINANCING THE SCHOOLS

While schools in all of the U.S.S.R. are very rapidly expanding, they appear to be adequately financed. Employees pay a graduated income tax that provides financial aid to education. For example, a teacher pays an income tax that is deducted at the source of payment. A very substantial proportion of school revenue is derived from the profits of business (all of which is owned by the state). When additional revenue is needed it becomes a simple device through hidden taxation to raise prices and thereby procure more money for the schools.

Finance planning may begin with the district board of education, but it possesses an element of cooperation because all the above-mentioned boards and the ministry and the republic gosplan do have a voice in making school plans. However, all budgets are subject to the approval of the U.S.S.R. gosplan.

Available school revenue differs in amount and needs from republic to republic; hence those less well able to finance schools receive added revenue from those of greater wealth. In addition to this regular fiscal policy, the schools receive a great amount of aid and equipment from factories that closely cooperate with the schools and from other sources. One such striking example is the contribution made to out-of-classroom education by the Komsomol (young Communist league).

The plans for a continuous expansion of this very rapidly growing scheme of education in the U.S.R. are such that vast sums of new revenue must be made available in the years to come. The increasing trend to greatly added production through technological advancement and the universal commitment to education in this union of socialistic communistic republics dedicated to a single purpose and guided by a one-source control gives evidence that education over there will be well financed.

Education Is Our First Line of Defense

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. THOMAS B. CURTIS

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 5, 1960

Mr. CURTIS of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, our colleague Frank Becker delivered a very thoughtful speech recently in which he called attention to some of the basic values and problems in the field of education.

Certain of the points Mr. Becker makes have not received the attention they should receive. I trust that educators, legislators, parents, and other laymen will read this speech:

ADDRESS BY CONGRESSMAN FRANK J. BECKER AT THE DEDICATION CEREMONIES OF THE NEW BETHPAGE HIGH SCHOOL, BETHPAGE, N.Y., ON MAY 1, 1960

Thank you for inviting me to participate in the dedication of this beautiful, new Bethpage High School. This building is a tribute to the people of this school district and their awareness of the importance of education today in the life and death struggle with our Communist counterpart. However, I consider the physical monuments built by men to be less important than those corresponding monuments built in the hearts and minds of men. Thus, I intend to direct my remarks today to the processes which make up the ingredients of that education necessary for a stronger America.

I consider one of the most important ingredients in the formula for a sound education to be the attitude of our community toward education. Our attitude must be that an education is a privilege, not a right. I speak now of our philosophical and not our political attitude toward education. If we truly believe that a better world both spiritually and temporally can be shaped through education, then we must divest ourselves of those attitudes which promote the position that as taxpayers we own the schools and the teachers, and thereby have the right to abuse them when we see fit. This attitude has manifested itself throughout the country. The result has been twofold. Firstly, the value and meaning of a grammar and high school diploma have greatly diminished. They merely mean generally that the child has sat in a school for 8 or 12 years. The diploma does not approach the significance attached to their counterparts in Western Europe. Secondly, I submit that this general attitude toward education has discouraged many from entering the field of education, preferring to pursue professions better appreciated and more financially rewarding. I strongly believe that one of the greatest influences causing this condition is the attitude of the American people. Remember, just as the Church is the temple of the spirit, so the school is the temple of the mind. Let us treat it with corresponding respect.

Another vital ingredient in the formula for a sound education is the teacher. The descendants of Socrates, Plato, and Aristotle. It seems a shame that some of the reverence shown the memory of these ancient teachers cannot rub off on our present-day pedagogs. We find that, very often the teacher status is directly related to the achievement level of the child. If the child is doing well, the teacher is a genius, but if the child is doing poorly, the teacher is incompetent. I strongly urge that we return the academic functions within the schools to those professionally trained, to carry them out. Let the parents do their part by creating the proper atmosphere in the home. It has been ascertained, after considerable research, that how children do in school, not only here, but in Russia, is based on the influence of the home

If the home is a place where there are simply pleasant surroundings, where the child simply gets good clothes and lots of entertainment, and there is no emphasis on high moral and intellectual attainment, the effect on the child will be obvious. will find many studies show that parents are the greatest influence on how well their children do. Until and unless parents recognize this fact and start placing more attention and emphasis on the home environment. the school cannot achieve the goals we have set for it. Parents and teachers educating, each in his own domain, with the proper coordination and cooperation, possess the combination to make the realization of these educational goals a reality.

Further, I believe, we parents owe it to ourselves and our children to assist in creating an atmosphere whereby the teaching profession is raised to a par with the other professions, medicine, law, engineering, etc. I think this can be done simply by placing the value of the child's intellectual health on the same plane with his physical health; by considering the teaching of justice within the school, as important as the defense of it in the courtroom; by giving at least equal appreciation to the construction of the child's intellect with the construction of & bridge. If we do this, we will be going 8 long way toward improving the effectiveness of our schools.

I think the Federal Government can play a role in aiding the schools of our Nation attain their goals. Not in the terms of financing, because this is basically a State and local matter. However, I favor the Federal Government setting up voluntary minimum standards. These standards could be used by the States to measure the level of attainment of the child after grammar school and during high school and at the completion of the secondary school education. The Federal Government has the facilities for research and development and this can provide the States with attainment levels necessary to meet the demands of our rapidly advancing society. After all, if we have minimum standards for the food that goes into the child's stomach, why not, at least, have minimum standards for the "academic food" that goes into his head?

One of the effects of these minimum standards would be to equalize the opportunities of our students all over the country to attend a college of their choice. Students, graduating from high schools in many parts of our country today, cannot meet the standards for entering a great number of colleges. Also, it would relieve

the shortage of qualified manpower available to the armed services.

This is a problem we are continually confronted with in hearings before the Armed Services Committee of the House of Representatives, of which I am a member. The leaders of our military decry the fact that there are not enough qualified young men coming out of our schools today. For the past several years, the military services have had to lower their standards in order to admit a sufficient number of young men to admit a sufficient number of young men to admit a sufficient number of young men to wheet their needs. This is a critical situation and I firmly believe that a program of voluntary minimum national standards, set up under the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, could solve this problem.

Finally, in the area of financing, I would like to suggest an idea to you that bears some thought. Presently with the squeeze of high school taxes in our Long Island communities, our senior citizens seem to be hit the hardest. The reduced, fixed income they must live on, just does not provide room for further taxation. As a matter of fact, many of them have had to sell their homes of many years and move elsewhere in order to avoid further hardship. In this connection, I would like to suggest a freeze on school taxes when a person retires at the age of 65 or should be forced to retire because of disability.

Now, how will this benefit the community? First, the senior families place no burden on the schools, since they have no children using them. Therefore, this cuts down the school census and in turn, the cost of operating the school district. However, if we drive out the senior citizens from the community, because of increased school taxes, generally they are replaced with young families with school age children. Again, this would increase costs for more school facilities.

If we can stabilize enough of our school districts by stopping the exodus of our senior citizens, we would more than make up for the loss of revenue by the correspondence decrease in school enrollment. Under the present conditions, no retired family can afford to move into areas where the school costs continue to spiral upwards.

The second effect of this proposal would be to remove a great deal of the friction Within our school communities today. Very often, our older citizens have felt it incumbent upon themselves to go to school meetings and fight any proposal, regardless of the merits, calling for increased spending, simply for self-survival. This proposal would eliminate this negative influence affecting educational planning. It also would eliminate the frustrations felt by those conscientious citizens whose only motives are better education. It also places a greater responsibility on these same people, knowing that the increased cost will be divided amongst a smaller group of people whose children will be the direct beneficiaries of this spending.

In closing, let me say that I hope I have left you with some things to think about. Further, I would hope you will take some of these thoughts home with you and discuss them with your friends, improve upon them, and perhaps find a way some of them can be incorporated into your educational program. I say this, because I firmly believe that education in the long run is more important than military defense. Military developments are transitory, constantly changing, but education is permanent. Adm. Hyman Rickover has said, and I believe it, "Unless we have a thoroughly educated citizenry, we will not be able to solve either our military or the many other problems facing this country today."

This is why education must be called our first line of defense.

"I Speak for Democracy"—Essay by Betsy Hoffman

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. OLIN D. JOHNSTON

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, May 5, 1960

Mr. JOHNSTON of South Carolina. Mr. President, an essay entitled "I Speak for Democracy," presented by Miss Betsy Hoffman, of Camden, S.C., won the 1959 George Washington honor medal given by the Freedoms Foundation at Valley Forge, Pa.

This is one of the most outstanding papers I have ever read prepared by a young lady. I wish to bring this essay to the attention of the entire Nation, for it is one that all Americans should read.

As a member of the Judiciary Committee of the Senate I have studied at first hand problems dealing with our young people, particularly in the fields of subversion and juvenile delinquency. When I see an essay such as the one written by Miss Hoffman my confidence in the youth of our Nation and in the very future of our free society is restored. I am proud that Miss Hoffman is from South Carolina. I must say, too, that she typifies the spirit of the youth of my State and I hope of our entire Nation.

I ask that this essay by Miss Hoffman be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the essay was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

I SPEAK FOR DEMOCRACY (By Betsy Hoffman)

"I was born an American: I live an American; I shall die an American." Thus said Daniel Webster, brilliant orator and great statesman of 19th century America, and thus say I, humble, yet proud citizen of the 20th century. Perhaps these words, spoken from my lips, do not ring with all the passion and power as once they rang from the majestic voice of Daniel Webster; for I am certain that he proclaimed them with every emotion his heart had ever felt for America. I cannot express such feelings, because I have not, as this great man, contributed so much to my country. Nevertheless I am as-sured that being born an American makes me equally as thankful as it did Daniel Webster; and living here, enjoying many of the same freedoms, and even more freedoms than he, has helped me to understand, a little more each day, the resolute meaning of being "created equal." When I die an American, I shall die firmly believing that the principles of popular sovereignty and limited government, upon which America stands, "shall not perish from the earth." Let us consider, for a moment, the mean-

Let us consider, for a moment, the meaningful word "freedom." What a glorious word. It vibrates with all that man values in his world in which he lives. Embodied in it are all the basic elements that give life purpose, and meaning. With it and if properly used, man can achieve new heights—prove his worth. Without it, man loses his individuality. Truthfully, freedom is something man does not fully appreciate until it is lost. Then, having lost it, he will sacrifice his very life to once again achieve it.

We who live in the United States of America have been given the priceless heritage of freedom. Because of the concern, convictions, and determination of our fore-fathers, we have been endowed with a way of life that enables us to be freemen in a free society, a goal toward which many nations of people strive but few attain.

Consider, however, the kind of nation and kind of people we would be if we were deprived of the freedoms we are privileged to enjoy. What if those in high office took from us the rights of freedom of assemblege, worship, speech, press, the ballot, fair trial, and pursuit of happiness? If we were deprived of such freedoms overnight, then, undoubtedly, this Nation would quickly enter into civil war. Yet those who would seek to destroy such liberties within our country would be foolish to endeavor to take from us such cherished possessions. Rather, their strategy would be to constantly remove small privileges from us, striving continuously to achieve complete domination. Such procedures would achieve selfish motives without being conspictuous.

The time has come in our Nation's history when every thinking individual needs to look about him to see what is happening in this matter of freedom. Slowly, but surely, many of our basic freedoms are being taken from us. At the present time they seem to be only petty restrictions; however, an analysis will show that embodied in these deprived rights are the very taproots that can ultimately take from us all our basic freedoms. If one doubts the truth of this statement let him look into the matter of what is happening here in our own country concerning freedom of the press, freedom of speech, and freedom of worship, all of which are involved in the matter of separation of church and state. If one will honestly seek to analyze the meaning behind some of the events that have come to pass in these areas of freedom, he will become alarmed because of what has been done, and what can be the ultimate end if such a pattern is not checked

immediately.

I am not an alarmist. Rather, I am a realist. I feel that we should take a deep look at our freedoms as they exist today, and then silently, but determinedly, resolve under God, that we are going to preserve those basic freedoms for which our forefathers fought, bled, and died, and pass on to our posterity this glorious heritage of being a freeman in a free society.

I am an American; I was born an American; I shall die an American.

Jobs for the Handicapped—Passports to Dignity

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JOHN A. CARROLL

OF COLORADO

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, May 5, 1960

Mr. CARROLL. Mr. President, Craig Grant, a student at South High School in my home city of Denver, Colo., recently won fourth place honors in a national essay competition sponsored by the President's Committee on Employment of the Physically Handicapped. Prizes and honors for all the winners will be presented tomorrow at a luncheon at the Willard Hotel here in Washington, as the highlight of the Committee's annual meeting.

Young Mr. Grant, who is only 17 years of age, has written a brilliant summary

of the reasons why this Nation cannot thrive without making the fullest possible use of the talents and services of its handicapped citizens. He has achieved some remarkable insights into the whole matter of handicaps and how they can spur a person to true greatness.

His prose is so excellent and his ideas so well thought out that I now ask unanimous consent to have his essay printed in the Appendix to the RECORD.

There being no objection, the essay was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

FOURTH PRIZE: JOBS FOR THE HANDICAPPED—PASSPORTS TO DIGNITY

(By Craig Grant, South High School, Denver, Colo.)

American is a land of plenty. It is a land of bountiful resources. What are these resources? Any schoolchild can recite the many, varied natural resources of the United States, and very likely the region in which these treasures are to be found. The mammoth coal deposits of Pennsylvania, West Virginia, Kentucky, and Illinois come immediately to mind. The iron of Minnesota; the great forests of both seacoasts; the varied mineral deposits of the Rockies, the Appalachians, the Sierra Nevadas; the oil laden earth of Texas and Oklahoma—all are well known to nearly every American.

Are these the resources that have combined to create and build in the United States the highest standard of living in the world, the freest and most dynamic experiment in living the world has ever known? Thoughtful Americans must answer with an emphatic no. The greatest of all resources is the human resource. It has provided the imagination, the courage, the know-how, and that everlasting quest for betterment that have turned a wilderness into a leading nation of the world.

Without this resource the iron could never have taken shape in buildings, bridges, automobiles, surgical instruments, or plano strings. Trees, in the hands of men, become houses, pleces of furniture, newspapers, violins, and yes—crutches. Strong hands of men turn the rich, black furrows, tend livestock, feed a hungry nation, nurture a hungry world. Man, then, is the doer, the builder, the provide, the protector the brother's keeper.

How, then, is this resource to be measured? What yardstick is long enough, what caliper wide enough to gather in this mass of flesh and blood and bones and spirit called man? Unlike iron and coal it is not measurable in tons. Linear measure, all right for lumber and land, scarely suits in any attempt to apply it to man. How absurd it would be to state that thus and so many feet of people live in the United States, or that the cumulative weight of the population is this or that many tons, or that reduced to ashes, the chemical value would be worth a specific number of dollars. It is equally meaning-less to assert that the 175 million people comprising the population of the United States represents twice this number of eyes, arms, and legs. It would not be true; it would be even less important. A man without an arm is no less a man. absence of eyesight is by no means a lack of The loss of a limb can cause the determined man to walk more upright than

"There is nothing more stuttering and stammering—let us admit it—than the plans we make for a better world. But those who despise this broken utterance and deride this faltering effort have nothing to offer but defeat. We must go on—on until in all things we see clearly and speak plainly,

goaded by our handicaps, our insufficiencies." 1

Man has always been handicapped. Yet he has conquered the world's resources and subdued all other creatures. Handicaps and insufficiencies have stimulated man onward in search of greater, more significant achievements. Genius is often produced by a handicap. Demosthenes, though a stutterer from birth, was proclaimed the greatest of all orators by his fellow Athenians. Beethoven, when he wrote his greatest works, was deaf. Was Julius Caesar less a general and statesman for being an epileptic? Was Franklin Delano Roosevelt's contribution to his country diminished by his inability to walk alone, as a result of infantile paralysis? Helen Keller is loved and admired the world over, though she is both blind and deaf. Were these people any less for their handicaps, or rather were they uplifted to greater heights of intellectual and spiritual understanding in overcoming them?

All these people have proved themselves great. Naturally not all of the handicapped can rise to such heights. But everyone, regardless of race, creed, age, sex, or disability, has a sense of personal pride, of personal

"The only goal of man should be the attainment of human dignity with all its implications. * * * Our intellectual endeavors, our whole science will be of no avail if they do not lead man to a better comprehension of himself, of the meaning of his life, and of the resources buried in his inner self." ²

It is this sense of dignity that puts man above beast and makes the human resource indispensable. The measurement of human resources is in the total contribution of man to man, of community to community, of nation to nation. Any man who withdraws from his opportunity to contribute deprives himself and all others. He reduces the total measure more than is his right, for in withholding, he inhibits the contribution of others.

America cannot afford waste of any resource. Least of all can it afford not to take full advantage of the human resource. America owes no man a living; it does owe itself every ounce of energy and every spark of "wit power" available. This country's work is scarcely begun—the world's work yet undone staggers the imagination. This is not a time for men with physical limitations to bemoan their plight—nor will they. Neither is it a time for men of strength and leadership to default in their responsibilities to the community of men. This, too, is unlikely.

Surely it is understood on all sides that the standards of moral, spiritual, and material wealth of any person in any community cannot be established by less than the community as a whole. No single member of a community can do it alone. If he tries, he will immediately become aware of his weaknesses, his handicaps. Even a strong man's muscles become flabby and weak unless there is work to test them. The wisest man's ideas grow dull and out of proportion unless kept polished by rubbing against ideas of others. Keen eyes would grow dim were familiar and friendly faces to disappear from the scene. Every man standing alone is handicapped. But men, acting in concert with each other, have found in their handicaps the challenge to conquer, to go beyond their immediate reach. This thought is beautifully expressed by A. Powell Davies.

"It is what we do not have and reach forwhat we do not have and reach beyondthat turns our shuddering into boldness and audacity, and kindles our earthiness to flame. It is out of our weakness that we learn what to do with strength; it is because, when we most desire to speak, our speech is faltering, that what begins as broken utterance ends as prayer.²

By men's combined strength every major peril has been overcome, and mankind has prospered. This will never change if the community, the Nation, the world avail themselves of every man's strength.

The dignity and worth of any man depends upon the contribution he makes, within his true capability, to the lives of others. The way must be kept clear. This is life's highway. The strong, the weak, the lame, the blind travel it—together.

The Crisis of the American Merchant Marine

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, MILTON W. GLENN

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, May 5, 1960

Mr. GLENN. Mr. Speaker, as a member of the Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee, I have heard all departments of our Government, including the executive, state time after time that we need a strong merchant marine—that it is a vital branch of our defense structure—that it is a very important segment of our economy. Yet, we stand by and watch it slowly lose ground in its fight with foreign competitors for the passenger, cargo, and tanker business on which its ultimate readiness as a defense weapon, as well as our national prosperity, is dependent.

Here are some facts that clearly show what is happening to the American mer-

In 1939 there were 123 Americanowned passenger vessels in service with a simultaneous lift capacity of 37,741 people. Today's active American-owned passenger fleet could lift about 15,000 people simultaneously in a total of 41 ships. This is less than 50 percent of the lift capacity of our 1939 fleet. Our posi-tion in the world's passenger trade has slipped from second place in 1939 to about fifth in 1959. Although there is a commercial demand for more ships by U.S. companies, they cannot afford the expense of constructing them without Government subsidy, and although Congress 2 years ago approved a Government subsidy for constructing two additional passenger ships, the money as yet has not been appropriated.

In 1947 American-owned ships carried 54 percent of our foreign commerce. In 1959 American-owned ships carried 20 percent of our trade with foreign nations. It is true that about another 27 percent of our foreign commerce is carried in shipping indirectly owned by U.S. companies, but registered in Honduras, Liberia, and Panama under a so-called flag

A. Powell Davies, "The Faith of an Unrepentant Liberal," the Beacon Press, 1946,

p. 88.

*Lecompte Du Noüy, "Human Destiny,"
Longmans, Green & Co., 1947, pp. 244, 255.

² Davies, op. cit., p. 89.

of convenience or flag of necessity. This is to avoid manning the vessels with U.S. labor union-controlled manpower and to alleviate the high costs involved. Although the U.S. Government has agreements with the companies concerned that the ships registered under this cost dodge will be available to Uncle Sam in case of war, there is doubt in the minds of many that the crews would continue to man the ships under the threat of war. A good percentage of the ships, therefore, might get stranded overseas under these circumstances. Further, American labor unions and foreign shipping interests are applying political pressure to force these ships to register under the American flag and to be manned by American labor union members which, of course, would at least double the operating costs and probably make it impossible for the companies concerned to continue their operation. Even accepting the argument that 47 percent of our foreign commerce today is hauled in U.S. controlled shipping, this represents a significant reduction, considering other factors involved, such as the impending block obsolescence of our privately owned dry cargo and passenger fleet and the ridiculously low percentage of replacement shipping now scheduled for construction.

American firms have ordered only 3.6 percent of the world's new shipping construction, a puny figure for the wealthiest Nation in the world, particularly when compared to the percentages of the new world's new construction shipping of some other nations: Norway 15.6, England 19 percent. It is to be noted that ships under construction for British registry are sufficient to replace one-third of her merchant fleet. It also is significant to note that our private fleet represents only 10 percent of the world's shipping, whereas Great Britain has almost 20 percent of the world's merchant fleet.

The entire American merchant marine fleet is faced with a block obsolescence of astronomical proportions. Over 75 percent of our privately owned merchant fleet was built during the World War II shipbuilding emergency and by 1965 will be noncompetitive in the world's shipping trade.

Approximately 50 percent of our national defense reserve fleet, provided for under the Merchant Marine Act of 1936, is obsolete and is being sold for scrap this year. The balance is not being maintained in an acceptable state of preservation due to lack of funds. Last year over 80 of the dry-cargo ships in the reserve fleet were sold for scrap. Only 19 new ships were ordered. This year 1,000 Liberty ships from the reserve fleet are being sold for scrap due to their age, slow speed, and inadequacy for present day operations. The remaining 300 Liberty ships in the reserve fleet are not likely to see service again for the same reasons.

What are we going to do? Are we going to let our merchant marine disappear from the oceans of the world, or are we going to enable it to win back its once greatness and give it an ability to compete with foreign merchant marines, so that the American flag will again be seen on ships in every port of the world?

This should be one of the first questions to be answered by the new administration in 1961. A policy and a program should be immediately fixed and commenced without delay, otherwise the American merchant marine, as we have known it in the past, will be relegated to the history books, and it will be as dead as the dodo bird.

Limitations on a Congressman's Right To Travel

> EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. CHARLES O. PORTER

OF OREGON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, April 28, 1960

Mr. PORTER. Mr. Speaker, several colleagues of mine have indicated an interest in my suit against the Secretary of State with regard to my being allowed to go to China. By the way, Mr. Speaker, when I say China I mean China, not Taiwan, regardless of fictions employed by the Department of State on the passports to the contrary. China is China.

Under unanimous consent previously granted I am appending to these remarks a copy of the opinion by the U.S. Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia Circuit where the case was decided April 14, 1960. Mr. Joseph L. Rauh, Jr., appeared on my behalf and Mr. John Silard, also of the Washington, D.C., bar, was on the brief. The appeal was heard by Mr. Justice Burton, retired, and Circuit Judges Danaher and Bastian.

The court says that they do not have before them a conflict between the legislative and executive branches because I have no authorization from Congress or any of its committees to travel in Communist China. The opinion strongly suggests that the Executive would not have the right to tell a Member of Congress he could not go to China if that Member of Congress was authorized to go by Congress or by one of its committees.

While I respectfully disagree with the opinion of the court with regard to the need for such authorization, I point out that this is a far more liberal doctrine than that espoused by the Department of State.

It is my opinion that a Member of Congress should be allowed to go anywhere in the world in order to gather facts which will help him discharge his legislative duties more responsibly. The Constitution specifically provides that Congress shall declare war and that Congress shall regulate interstate and foreign commerce. Each Member of Congress has one vote on these important matters. Surely he should not be denied any opportunity for informing himself and his colleagues by firsthand experience.

Thirty newsmen have been given permission to go to China. I do not believe that a Congressman is any better than a newsman. I also do not believe that he should be treated worse than a news-

Quite apart from what happens in my case I hope that the administration will see fit to arrange for the exchange of newsmen with China in the near future, The administration now relies on technicalities which it could waive.

We cannot hope to embark on the road to disarmament or to diminish, as far as possible, the chances of a rash act which could lead to world war III, unless we increase our communication with China in accordance with the excellent recommendations of the Conlon report which was submitted last November to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee at their request.

The decision of the Court of Appeals is being appealed to the U.S. Supreme Court. The U.S. Court of Appeals' opinion is as follows:

U.S. COURT OF APPEALS FOR THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA CIRCUIT-No. 15394-CHARLES O. PORTER, APPELLANT, v. CHRISTIAN A. HERTER, INDIVIDUALLY AND AS SECRETARY OF STATE, APPELLEE

APPEAL FROM THE U.S. DISTRICT COURT FOR THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

(Decided April 14, 1960)

Mr. Joseph L. Rauh, Jr., with whom Mr. John Silard was on the brief, for appellant. Mr. Kevin T. Maroney, attorney, Depart-ment of Justice, for appellee. Mr. George B. Searls, attorney, Department of Justice, also entered an appearance for appellee.

Before Mr. Justice Burton, retired,1 and Danaher and Bastian, circuit judges.

Per curiam: Appellant is a Member of Congress representing the Fourth Congressional District of the State of Oregon. On August 7, 1958, a passport was issued to him upon which appeared the following: passport is not valid for travel to the following areas under control of authorities with which the United States does not have diplomatic relations: Albania, Bulgaria, and those portions of China, Korea, and Vietnam under Communist control." On June 10, 1959, he applied to the Department of State for permission to visit Red China, asserting "A Member of Congress has a right to go anywhere in the world to do his duty as a U.S. legislator as he sees it, except in time of war or emergency. Any other policy would seem to be an unconstitutional breach of the separation of powers." Appellant's application was denied.

Appellant then instituted his suit in the district court asserting that the Secretary's action was in violation of appellant's rights under the Passport Act of 1926 and the Constitution of the United States. He asked for an injunction to restrain the Secretary from withholding passport facilities and for other relief, and for an order compelling the Secretary to remove the limitation upon appellant's use of the passport for travel to China. He sought summary judgment, but the district court granted the Secretary's cross motion for summary judgment and dismissed the complaint. This appeal followed.

The record before us demonstrates that appellant as a member of the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service in the House of Representatives had been authorized to travel in behalf of the committee and in an official capacity to Okinawa and Japan to

¹ Sitting by designation pursuant to 28 U.S.C. sec. 294(a).

*Act of July 3, 1926, 44 Stat. 887, 22 U.S.C.

sec, 211(a) (1958).

employees.

He had no comparable authorization from Congress or from any of its committees to travel in Communist China. Although he is a Member of Congress, that status alone does not entitle him to be exempted from regulations or orders of the executive department in matters within the latter's constitutional competence. We do not have before us a conflict between the legislative and executive branches of the Government in the course of which the respective branches assert and seek to apply opposing constitutional claims. The issue here is merely between a claim of an inherent right asserted in his individual capacity by a member of the legislative branch, and the plenary power of the executive branch asserted by it in relation to and in its conduct of the Nation's foreign affairs. Under such circumstances the individual Congressman must conform to the regulations pertaining to passports which apply to all citizens and which have been authorized by the branch of the Government having jurisdiction over the subject.

Viewed in this light, appellant's rights are subject to the considerations discussed in Worthy v. Herter, — U.S. App. D.C. —, 270 F. 2d 905, cert. denied, 361 U.S. 918 (1959), and Frank v. Herter, - U.S. App. -, 269 F. 2d 245, cert. denied, 361 U.S. 918 (1959). We deem the principles announced in those cases to be controlling

Accordingly, the judgment of the district court is affirmed.

Oregon's Tucker Snocat Scores Again

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. CHARLES O. PORTER

OF OREGON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, May 2, 1960

Mr. PORTER. Mr. Speaker, millions of Americans who thrilled at the spectacle of the winter Olympics brought to them in their homes through the medium of television also noticed a tracked vehicle showing up with frequency in the background. This vehicle was the famous Tucker Snocat which is manufactured at Medford, Oreg., in my district. There were several of these Snocats in use at Squaw Valley during the 1960 winter Olympics.

This is not the first time, by any means, that the public has seen the Snocat in the course of watching great events on their television screen. quent reports from the Antarctic have included shots of the Snocats used by our Navy and the scientists who have engaged in "Operation Deep Freeze."

The Pacific Telephone & Telegraph Co. has long used the versatile Snocats in their operations in the mountains of the Northwest where winter once made snow-heaped areas inacessible. An interesting article in their company publication, Pacific Telephone Northwest, February 1960, explains how this vehicle

investigate personnel problems of oversea built in Oregon by Oregonians now looks upon the whole wide world as an area to be served.

> Under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I will include the following article from the Pacific Telephone Northwest. In May I will have some firsthand information on the prowess of the mighty Snocat. I plan to ride the Snocat with other persons into the snow areas of the Cascade Mountains in Oregon near Crater Lake.

> > HOME OF THE SNOCAT (By Phil McLennan)

"First to cross the last continent." is the way Queen Elizabeth II of England described the accomplishment of Sir Vivian Fuchs on completion of the transantarctic expedition in 1958.

With Dr. Fuchs from start to finish were Tucker Snocats, the only vehicles to complete the historic trek across the earth's "bottom continent."

And about 9,000 miles from Antarctica, our own men use Snocats to reach mountaintop microwave sites in all weather.

The Tucker Snocat Corp., with offices and plant in Medford, is a family business. Emmitt Tucker, Sr., inventor and developer of the Snocat, is president and chief engineer. Working with him are his sons, Emmitt, Jr., Morris and Jasper or "Jim" as he's called.

"Dad first thought of an over-the-snow vehicle when he was a kid," says Morris. "He lived at Rogue-Elk in the Cascades. snowed a lot and Dad had to get to school and back on foot. He decided there should be a better method of traveling across snow. The Snocat is the result."

In the early 1920's Emmitt Tucker tested his first Snocat on midwinter trips to Crater Lake, using a Ford model-T engine.

During World War II the Tucker business received the financial backing of John Lowser of Grass Valley, Calif., and was started on its way to success.

"Today, Snocats are used on every conti-nent except Africa," Morris says proudly. "And we expect to make sales there, too."

During the International Geophysical Year, the U.S. Navy was asked to supply the National Science Foundation with transportation in the Antarctic. Snocats were chosen to meet the demands of this "Operation Deep Freeze III."

The Tucker Corp. was awarded a certificate of merit for meeting sharply advanced delivery schedules with no additional expense to the Navy.

During the winter Olympic games in Squaw Valley, 13 SnoCat will be on hand. Tucker technicians will service the snow transports.

The world is a "shopping center" for the Tucker SnoCat Corp.

Motors, transmissions, and gears, as well as many other specialty items, are purchased from firms all over the world. The bodies. frames, suspension systems, and dozens of other parts are handcrafted in Medford. Final assembly and finishing is also done

"Twenty or thirty dollars of long-distance or oversea telephone calls often save us the cost of long trips to cinch a sale or find the parts we need to build SnoCats," says Morris.

The firm maintains a large inventory of spare parts at its Medford plant, and encourages customers to phone for prompt replacements.

Today, there is also a "SnoKitten," light, compact, and capable of carrying two men. The company also recently delivered two giant SnoCats for use in continuing studies of the Antarctic. These monsters weigh 23,000 pounds and carry three-room apart-ments as living quarters for scientists.

When Tucker tested his first SnoCat at Crater Lake his confidence in his invention was so strong he never bothered to carry snowshoes in case he had to walk out.

Confidence in their product is one of the earmarks of the Tucker firm. No matter where its drivers go to demonstrate SnoCats, they still never carry snowshoes.

Here's One Who Doesn't

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. WALTER M. MUMMA

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, May 5, 1960

Mr. MUMMA. Mr. Speaker, there are "those that do" and then there are "those that don't," and apparently Mr. Clifford A. Kirk from whom I received a letter of inquiry which I quote at the end of my remarks, is one of those who doesn't, since he writes that his land is not yet included in the Federal soil bank plan but asks how one may apply for placement of real estate under the Government soil bank program. As he states, the land involved consists of small areas of about 15 by 40 feet each.

Of course, our farmers would apply through their county agricultural committees but I don't believe the Soil Bank Act is as ridiculous as to include everyone's backyard.

We have heard so much that there is no typical farmer and I think Mr. Kirk's letter, if anything, in a humorous way tends to point this out. From what I gather, however, our Pennsylvania farmers ask no handouts from the Federal Government-just to be left alone to farm as efficiently as they know how-without artificial competition. After all, whenever economic aid is given to one segment, the chickens come home to roost in the way of an imbalance in the rest of that related economy. Our surplus farm products continue to pile up and, instead of solving the dilemma, there seemingly is opened up a Pandora's box of additional problems.

If there is any moral to be gained from Mr. Kirk's letter, I believe it is that there is a bottom to the Treasury of the United States, an unlikelihood apparently still in the minds of those who propose Uncle Sam do everything.

Mr. Kirk's letter follows and I hope that other Members as they read it may find in it the humor that I did:

MIFFLIN, PA., May 3, 1960.

Hon, WALTER M. MUMMA. U.S. House of Representatives, Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN: I am writing to you for information on how one may apply for placement of real estate under the Government soil bank program.

The land involved consists of three areas of about 15 by 40 feet each. I have been using same for a vegetable garden during the past few years. However, the soil needs fertilizer and does not seem to do too good-In addition, while tilling it, I am under constant harassment from neighboring children and dogs.

Now I realize that this is a rather small acreage in comparison with some of the

See Exec. Order No. 7856, 3 Fed. Reg. See Exec. Order No. 7806, 3 Fed. Reg. 681, 687 (1938), as codified in 22 C.F.R. sec. 51.75 (1958); cf. 8 U.S.C. sec. 1185 (1958), Proclamation No. 3004, 18 Fed. Reg. 489 (1953) and 22 C.F.R. secs. 53.1-.7 (1958).

farms in the West. However, this is the first time I have been able to come close to any of the Government giveaway programs that are being sponsored. I'd like to make the most of it.

Please reply with your suggestions at your earliest convenience.

Sincerely,

CLIPPORD A. KIRK.

P.S.—You may feel that the above is a bit ridiculous and perhaps it is. I wonder, though, if it is much more so than some of the Government spending we read about today. This being an election year for many officials, there may be a large amount of bills proposed that the vast majority of Americans neither want nor can afford. May we count on you to vote for only those things which are actually required and needed by the people.

Rule of Law

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. AL ULLMAN

OF OREGON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, April 27, 1960

Mr. ULLMAN. Mr. Speaker, May 1 was proclaimed as "Law Day" by the President. In connection with the commemoration of that occasion, an essay contest was held in Klamath Falls, Oreg., and the following well-expressed statement was written by a high school senior there, Miss Ann Anderson, and published in the Herald and News of that city. Under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to insert this brief statement in the Record.

[From the Klamath Falls (Oreg.) Herald and

News, Apr. 22, 1960] Rule of Law (By Ann Anderson)

"The rule of law in the settlement of international disputes would greatly enhance the cause of a just and enduring peace." These were the words of President Elsenhower on his proclamation of "Law Day" May 1, 1958.

And what simpler answer could there be to world peace than the creation of an international law enforcing agency? Our world has become too small a sphere for each nation to continue to act independently of its neighbors. The time has come when each state must be brought to observe and obey certain laws and codes for the happiness and well-being of all the nations.

Law is a system of rational, peaceful and agreed procedures for settling disputes. With some nations possessing enough atomic warfare to threaten the population of the world, it is evident that physical wars are an obsolete method of settling disagreements. The only remaining answer, therefore, is an international system of law.

Such a system has never before been conceived of or reckoned with—but then neither has the guided missile. New methods of warfare must be combated with new and better methods of maintaining peace. The principles of justice and the best interests of all the nations can only be upheld when their grievances can be brought to a common court for arbitration. Man has the power of annihilation all too close at hand. His only chance for peaceful existence in an international society is to initiate the mark of all civilized societies—uniform law, only on an international scale.

"An army of principles will penetrate where an army of soldiers cannot." (Tom Paine.) The time has come for man to

doff his uniform of war and don his cloak of ethics—his very existence is at stake.

J. Edgar Hoover

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. WILLIAM E. HESS

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, May 5, 1960

Mr. HESS. Mr. Speaker, under permission granted me to extend my remarks, I want to point up the outstanding record of one man, J. Edgar Hoover, who celebrates 36 years as Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation on May 10, 1960.

In 1924 he accepted a challenge. Applying devotion to ideals, dedication to principle, belief in democratic processes, and faith in God Almighty, he converted the investigative arm of the Department of Justice from a political menagerie to the highly efficient, most respected law enforcement agency in the world—to-day's FBI.

With the blessing of then Attorney General Harlan Fiske Stone, he accepted the responsibility as Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation and installed the merit system for promotion, rigid requirements for appointment, high physical standards, careful selection of all personnel, complete training of employees, a chain of command competently supervising every facet of operation, and an internal inspection system that developed the FBI as the world's greatest collector and reporter of evidence and fact.

Unselfishly and believing fervently in the basis of the American system of law enforcement, with mutual cooperation on all levels, Mr. Hoover established the FBI Laboratory. For 28 years this division has been a service arm of the FBI—a service freely available to and widely used by other law-enforcement officers in all branches of the law-enforcement profession.

For 25 years the FBI National Academy has been training police executives and instructors following Mr. Hoover's basic belief in the importance of law enforcement as a career and his ideal of law enforcement as a profession. Pounding home the importance of training, Mr. Hoover, with the FBI, has seen that thousands of police schools each year are conducted for law enforcement throughout the country.

Regimenting his own life to the highest standards of personal conduct, he has instilled in his own FBI team an unquenchable spirit of dedication and loyalty. The long years of service by many employees attest to his example and what he expects each fellow worker to be as a representative of the FBI. In Cincinnati I am well acquainted with the FBI. Speaking for the people in my area in Ohio, I have found these men and women to mirror the ideals of this extraordinary executive.

Were it not for Mr. Hoover's foresightedness in recognizing the menace of totalitarianism, his straightforward battle against communism, I strongly submit that we would not today be enjoying the American way of life as we now have

With the advent of Mr. Hoover's 36th anniversary as Director of the FBI on May 10, 1960, I, with great pride, offer this salute to America's most potent weapon in the war on crime and subversion.

What Is an American?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. GLENN CUNNINGHAM

OF NEBRASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, May 5, 1960

Mr. CUNNINGHAM. Mr. Speaker, I include an interesting editorial from the Omaha Daily Journal-Stockman. It speaks for itself and needs no introductory remarks from me:

WHAT IS AN AMERICAN?

American disappointment over being misunderstood by so many other peoples in the world today would be more justified perhaps if we have a better understanding of ourselves and what makes us tick. We are a curious combination of many things, you know, including contradictions; though this may be one source of our power and strength. What riles others most about us perhaps is that we don't exactly fit the usual categories into which nations and nationalities are placed.

Yes, Americans are different, and just how different we are was emphasized quite effectively in these writings of an editor that came to our attention the other day:

"The American yells for the Government to balance the budget and then takes the last dime he has to make the down payment on his car. He whips the enemy nations and then gives them the shirt off his back. He yells for speed laws that will stop fast driving and then won't buy a car if it won't make 100 miles an hour.

"An American gets scared to death if we vote a billion dollars for education, but he is cool as a cucumber when he finds out we are spending \$3 billion a year for smoking tobacco. He gripes about the high prices of things he has to buy, but gripes still more about the low prices of things he has to sell. He knows the lineup of every baseball team in the major leagues, yet doesn't know half the words in "The Star-Spangled Ban-per."

"An American will get mad at his wife for not running their home with the efficiency of a hotel, and then he'll get mad at the hotel for not operating like a home. He'll spend half a day looking for vitamin pills to make him live longer, then drive 90 miles an hour on slick pavement to make up for the time he lost.

"An American is a man who will fall out with his wife over her cooking and then go on a fishing trip and swallow half-fried potatoes, burnt fish and gritty creek-water coffee made in a rusty bucket—and think it is good. An American will work hard on a farm so he can move into town where he can make more money so he can move back to the farm. When an American is in his office he talks about baseball, football, or fishing—when he is out at the game or on the creek bank, he talks about business. He is the only fellow in the world who will pay 50 cents to park his car while he eats a 25-cent sandwich.

"An American likes to cuss his Government but gets fighting mad if a foreigner does it. We're the country that has more food to eat than any other country in the

world, and more diets to keep us from eating it. We're the most ambitious people on earth, and we run from morning until night trying to keep our earning power up with

our yearning power.

"We're supposed to be the most civilized, Christian Nation on earth, but we still can't deliver payrolls without an armored car. In America we have more experts on marriage than any other country—and more divorces. But we're still pretty nice folks. Calling a person a 'real American' is the best compliment we can pay him. Most of the world is itching for what we have—but they'll never have it until they start scratching for it the way we did."

Amen.

Senator Keating Calls for Bold New National Anticrime Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. HOWARD W. ROBISON

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 12, 1960

Mr. ROBISON. Mr. Speaker, on April 30 the distinguished Senator from New York, Kenneth B. Keating, presented the annual Robert S. Stevens lecture at my alma mater, the Cornell Law School, in Ithaca, N.Y. This lecture series has become one of the highlights of the Cornell year. Those who attended this year were particularly fortunate in hearing an address on one of the most challenging subjects of our time—the fight against organized crime.

Senator Keating says in his speech that the Nation has thus far failed to provide our law-enforcement agencies with the tools they need to combat 20th century criminal operations. He calls for immediate enactment of an interstate crime bill to enable the Federal Government to play a larger role in fighting organized crime which spills over State boundaries. He also recommends creation of a National Citizens' Crime Commission and other measures needed to cope with the crime menace.

Mr. Speaker, it is apparent that there are a great many thought-provoking suggestions in this important speech. It contains the outlines of a bold new national anticrime policy. I commend it to the attention of all Members and include it here under leave to extend my remarks:

THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT'S ROLE IN COM-BATING ORGANIZED CRIME

(Remarks of Senator Kenneth B. Keating, Republican of New York, on the occasion of the fifth Robert S. Stevens lecture, at the Cornell Law School in Ithaca, N.Y.)

Crime is one of the most costly social diseases in our country. The director of the FBI has estimated its cost at \$22 billion. This is \$128 for every man, woman, and child in America. This is \$506 for every average family. It is more than is spent for education by all public and private schools in this country. It is nine times more than we contribute to every church and temple in our land. Actually, it adds up to almost one-third of the cost of running the entire Federal Government for a year.

This is a staggering sum. But even more terrible is the cost in personal security, the

stain on public morality, the evil, debilitating, corrupting influence on our national existence, which this disease spreads. Crime is a blight upon the land, a running sore of evil.

The crime rate has increased almost four times faster than the population of the country since 1950. Crime in the United States today is at the highest point in its history. In 1958, the last year for which complete figures are available, more than 1,500,000 major crimes were committed. This was a 7 percent increase in 1 year. There were more convictions for extortion, fraud, bank robbery, and gambling offenses that year than ever before in the life of the Republic. This is not a very impressive image of the leader of the civilized world. This is America with a scar on its face.

I suppose that crime could be totally ellminated only in a utopia. The lure of a quick dollar spurs the unscrupulous to step over the line. And crime finds easy confederates in the weak people who will yield to any temptation or fall prey to the slightest intimidation. Our population is tainted, too, by the many depraved people for whom a jungle existence is the only way of life. These people will never discipline themselves to live in accordance with the requirements of a social order. They are the natural enemies of society. Our primary protection against them is more policemen, more prisons, better processes of rehabilitation—in short, better enforcement of the law.

I do not want to understate in any way the seriousness of crime from this source. Nor are the problems created by these weak and depraved elements in our midst being ignored. The courts in the District of Columbia, for example, have devised a revolutionary new test for determining the criminal responsibility of mentally abnormal defendants. Various commissions in England in recent years have taken a new look at such age-old crimes as prostitution. famous Kinsey report provided us with an incredible commentary on the laws dealing with sex. The Anglican Church of England, according to a recent report, has just recommended a reexamination of the common law view of suicide and attempted suicide as a felony.

There are many, many other problems worthy of the most thorough study in this area of crime such as uniform sentencing procedures, more realistic arrest and arraignment provisions, better vocational and rehabilitative training in our prisons, and more constructive parole methods. And, of course, there is the ever-present task of combating the fundamental conditions in our environment which foster crime: slums, inadequate education, a lack of opportunity for good employment, and civic indifference. We could talk about these problems many hours. But, basically, these are problems of local law enforcement. Tonight, I want to center attention on a different level of crime, the type of crime which I believe must have the attention of the Federal Government. refer to crime which is planned, organized, and executed on an interstate basis.

There is no doubt that nationwide crime syndicates are in existence in the United States today, that these syndicates are plundering the Nation of many billions of dollars each year, and that these syndicates cannot be successfully dealt with under existing law. The report of the Senate Crime Committee in 1951, based on voluminous hearings and thousands of hours of investigation, is still the best evidence for these conclusions.

These syndicates are not controlled by the weak and depraved men who are responsible for the bulk of our petty crimes. They are in the hands of a new criminal type—suave, impeccable figures, masterminds, who hide behind a screen of respectability, who utilize

every modern tool in their operations, who carry out their schemes with the efficiency and planning suitable to the running of modern industrial enterprise. The Frank Costellos and Joe Adonis' of today are a different breed from the Baby Face Nelsons and Dillingers of past decades. The new criminal of this type comes equipped with the best legal adviser, highly trained accountants, the best connections, and influence which sometimes reaches into high levels of government. These men are cunning, resourceful, and powerful. They have made their powers evident many times. In New York City, for example, Frank Costello once was reported as promising to obtain a New York State Supreme Court judgeship for someone he knew-and that promise came true. I shudder at the thought of such influence in the appointments of members of the judiciary. The operations of this invisible government in America jeopardize the lives and futures of all of us.

The changing face of crime was recently the theme of a lead article in Life magazine. It was depicted in the illuminating hearings of the McClellan committee which brilliantly supplemented the work done by the Crime Committee in 1951. Almost everyone is aware of the magnitude of the problem, but woefully little has been done to solve it. The Assistant Attorney General in charge of the Criminal Division of the Department of Justice, within the past few months, was forced to conclude that "some thugs and hoodlums have risen to a position of dominance over important aspects of our social and economic life."

We have been losing the fight against organized crime because we have been attempting to cope with modern criminal techniques with the backward methods and obsolete laws of yesteryear. The traditional approach just won't work against this untraditional strategy of plunder and vice by the high command of crime.

In my opinion, it is of first importance that we enact anticrime legislation that will permit a combined Federal, State, and local offensive against organized crime in its entire area of operation.

One of the major obstacles to effective law enforcement at present is the advance of any statutory authority (with few exceptions) for the Federal Government to deal directly with organized interstate criminal activities. The contention that crime is strictly a local problem has been used to defeat efforts to fill this gap in the Federal legal arsenal. Most crimes, of course, are strictly matters for local law enforcement. But a local enforcement agency, no matter how effective, just cannot deal with crimes that spill over into other jurisdictions. Interstate criminal operations are purportedly organized to escape the authority of any one local law-enforcement agency.

The typical national gambling syndicate is a perfect example of this evasion. All that is needed to spread this crime is a battery of telephones reaching coast to coast. A lack of jurisdiction makes the points of impact incapable of dealing with the source of the menace. Since the Federal Government also lacks the authority to step into such a situation, the criminals have it made. This seems so apparent that it is incredible that it has been allowed to persist. Criminality doesn't end at State borders: Why should law enforcement? We're not chasing speeders here. We're chasing the enemies of society.

The Federal Government has not been so hesitant in dealing with any other national problems. It has told farmers how much corn they can grow for consumption by the animals on their own farms, and this has been sustained by the courts. It has left no segment of national transportation and communications unregulated. It super-

vises labor relations and working conditions in interstate commerce. While many questions are raised about the particular policies in effect at various times, hardly anyone any longer questions the fact that the Federal Government has a part to play in all of these areas.

Only one interstate activity has managed so far to escape such Federal legal scrutiny and that activity, of all things, is interstate crime. I am as concerned about preserving States rights as anyone. But it is obvious that there is at least concurrent responsibility and an absolute necessity for both the State and Federal Governments to deal with interstate criminal activities.

One objection frequently raised to expanding the Federal Government's role in law enforcement, is that it would lead to creation of a national police force. In my view, there is no danger of such a development. present time, there are some 347,000 citizens engaged in some kind of law-enforcement work. This includes uniformed policemen, law-enforcement agents, and clerical, administrative, and custodial personnel concerned with police protection activities. Of these 347,000 law-enforcement employees, 326,000 are employed by State and local governments. On the other hand, only 21,000 are employed by all the Federal law-enforcement agencies combined, including the FBI, Immigration and Naturalization Service, Bureau of Narcotics, and Secret Service. give one direct comparison, the FBI employs only 6,000 special agents compared to the 24,817 policemen employed by the city of New York alone.

It is apparent that we would have to go a very long way before there was any substance to the specter of a national police force. This phrase has become almost an epithet in some circles and has served to impede a closer study of the subject. But, if we examine the facts, it is plain that we have been grappling with a slogan, not an argument.

An interstate crime bill certainly would require expansion of the FBI, but not in a manner which would give cause for reasonable concern to any person. The FBI still would be limited to investigative activities. Direction of its activities would remain under the Attorney General and decisions as to whether to prosecute would remain with the local U.S. attorneys and other Department of Justice officials. The FBI, under the outstanding leadership of J. Edgar Hoover, has never sought expansion of its jurisdiction or an increase in its powers. The tradition developed during Mr. Hoover's long and brilliant career has established guidelines for the functioning of the agency, which would in no way be altered by increasing its personnel.

In its simplest terms, an interstate crime bill would make it a Federal offense to use the facilities of interstate commerce to break certain specified State laws. The laws specified relate to the types of crimes to which these interstate syndicates are particularly prone, such as narcotics trafficking, fraud, murder, and gambling.

The bill is far reaching, but I do not believe it can be called drastic—although even some drastic measures to deal with the present menace would be justified. In many ways, my proposal is simply an extension of a trend started more than 60 years ago when Congress enacted the Lottery Act to cope with nationally organized lottery activities. Later, there were similar acts dealing with such previously local offenses as train robbery, cattle stealing, white slavery, and kidnappings. In every one of these fields the same thing happened: Local criminals outgrew local law enforcement controls. The intervention of the Federal Government in these cases has been very effective. The train robber, the white slaver, and the kidnapper have now virtually vanished from the scene. It is time we moved with equal vigor

against the new colossus of organized crime that confronts us today.

The practical operation of such a bill is easy to illustrate. Let us suppose, for example, that we wanted to move in on a big gambling syndicate operating out of New York with outposts in Chicago, Tampa and San Francisco. All you would have to prove is one overt act by a member of the conspiracy involving interstate commerce such as a telephone call or an interstate shipment, or the use of the mails. You could then close in. In one case, with a single conspiracy indictment, you could bag the rich overlords at the heart of the operation in New York and the lieutenants who were running things in Chicago, Tampa, and San Francisco, and as many of the other small fry as you found wriggling in the bottom of the net. And that is not all. If the chiefs of police or sheriffs in certain towns and counties were mixed up in the mess, they would become defendants also.

This procedure in no way interferes with States rights, since under the terms of the law, State policies would control the definition of offenses. Nor would it throw an undue burden on our Federal law-enforcement officers. A man can always do a better job with less trouble if he has the right tools. This is the right tool for breaking up these syndicates.

This is only one of a number of reforms I believe are necessary to fully mobilize our anticrime forces. There must be a greater public awareness of the menace of crime. A great deal more has to be done to develop information about crime. I fully endorse the proposal for a nationwide crime census, which would for the first time, give us an accurate measure of the dimensions of the problem.

We have to do something about the growing tendency to countenance lawbreaking and obstruct law enforcement at every turn. This is particularly true in the case of organized gambling, which today provides the major source of revenue for the activities of the Nation's criminal syndicates.

I shall never subscribe to the theory that all we need do to remove the evils from gambling is to legalize it. It is obvious to me, as concluded by the Senate Crime Committee several years ago, that it is "not the illegality, but the huge profits that make gambling attractive to gangsters and hood-lums"

Nevada is often pointed to as proof of the assertion that legalizing gambling transforms it into a legitimate business. assertion should have been refuted for all time by the revelations of the Crime Committee after it turned its spotlight on gambling operations in Nevada. The spotlight exposed the fact that professional hoodlums were in charge of some of Nevada's leading gambling casinos; that Neveda gamblers have connections with New York, New Jersey, Michigan, Texas, and Ohio mobs; that gang warfare leading even to murder for hire was not uncommon among Reno and Las Vegas overlords. The racketeers in charge of gambling operations are in business, all right, but their methods and goals are not those of honest entrepreneurs. thing legalized gambling accomplishes is to give these criminal activities an aura of respectability, official tolerance, and public acceptance. This does not remove the evils of gambling; it simply conceals them, making the potential threat even greater and playing right into the hands of graduates of the murder-for-hire schools.

Our officials should spend more time on measures to curb crime and less time trying to dress up criminals in the garb of the respected businessman. No matter what the consequences, I want to make my own unyielding opposition to the legalized gambling absolutely clear.

There is another thing I have never been able to understand and that is the special

protection we appear to be willing to give to crimes plotted by telephone. This great scientific invention is fast becoming the privileged tool of the criminal. Recent court decisions have virtually succeeded in transforming the telephone into a private channel for organized crime.

I believe that we urgently need a Federal eavesdropping statute applicable to wiretapping and all other forms of electronic interception of conversations. Such a statute should permit Federal law-enforcement agents to utilize these devices for obtaining evidence of crime, but only under the safeguards of a court order. At the same time, as a protection against abuse, severe penalties should be provided for any electronic snooping not authorized by court order. And these penalties should be invoked against policemen, as well as ununiformed steuth who ignore the limitations of the law. There is no criminal worse than a man who breaks the law he is sworn to uphold.

Congress should also make it clear that the States may adopt the same type of eavesdropping regulation.

In the recent decision by the U.S. Court of Appeals in New York in the Pugach case, a majority of the court refused to enjoin the introduction of wiretap evidence in two State court prosecutions. At the same time, every judge on the court agreed that Federal law makes it a criminal offense to present such evidence in a State court. One judge went so far as to invite the U.S. attorney to institute criminal proceedings against the New York district attorneys if they attempted to introduce any wiretap evidence.

This decision emphasizes the incredible legal situation which now prevails. New York has the most well-balanced, carefully safeguarded, up-to-date laws on the subject of wiretapping and other forms of eavesdropping of any State in the Nation. Nevertheless, a New York district attorney, who acts in full compliance with the requirements of the New York law, now must face the risk of Federal prosecution. I cannot conceive of anything more illogical and indefensible.

If crime were not such a serious problem, the present situation would be ludicrous. I cannot believe that anyone in Congress intended, when the Federal Communications Act was passed, to make criminals out of district attorneys who obtain State court orders permitting wiretapping. We must act promptly to restore some sense and sanity in our handling of this subject.

This is another instance in which the fight against crime has been hampered by a slogan rather than an argument. The classic phrase "wiretapping is a dirty busi-ness," has served to confuse thinking on this subject and to confine analysis to emotional outbursts in support of one preconceived point of view or another. There is no logic whatever in giving to a telephone greater sanctity than we give even to a man's home or, for that matter, to his pants pockets. These can be searched under a court approved warrant and any evidence of crime disclosed thereby can be seized and used in the prosecution of the defendant. There is nothing in the Constitution which would preclude analogous treatment of evidence of crime obtained by eavesdropping. I have introduced bills along these lines, and I hope that they will be approved before Congress adjourns.

There are many, many other problems in this field which we could discuss tonight. We are dealing with one of the neglected areas of governmental policy—a neglect which has served to spur a constantly more foreboding crime menace.

We recently spent more than 2 months discussing a civil rights bill in Congress. As you may know, I took an active part in that discussion and, I can assure all of you that I shall never cease working for equality under the law for all Americans.

But, let us not forget that the Bill of Rights also guarantees to all Americans the right "to be secure in their persons." I can think of no more drastic deprivation of civil rights than that suffered by the victim of a murder, a rape, or a mugging. I can think of no greater governmental failing than the inability to apprehend and punish extor-tionists, labor racketeers, and the other members of gangdom in our midst.

Crime is at war with America. It is about time America declared war against crime.

Congress must not delay any longer com-ing to grips with this challenge to our security. Immediate action is needed on the measures I have outlined. Comprehensive study is needed also to devise other solutions to this scourge. A National Crime Commission should be appointed to probe deeply into all the ramifications of this problem. This should be a citizen's commission divorced from Congress, politics, or any existing law enforcement agencies. Such a commission is imperative to adjust our operations against crime to the needs of today and the future. Many people shrink from such tasks—they display a certain disdain toward the whole subject of crime. But no one with the public welfare truly at heart can afford to shirk the duty to attack this evil.

This is the eve of Law Day 1960-the day on which we pay homage to the law as the custodian of our liberties and our rights. The rule of law is our most hallowed inheritance as Americans. No sacrifice is too

great for its preservation.

In bringing these remarks to a close, therefore, it is well to be reminded that even in our fight against crime, no compromise can be condoned in according to every defendant his full constitutional rights. would not stand for any departure from the requirements of due process no matter how heinous and outrageous the offense involved or how serious the problem to be dealt with.

At the same time, I do not equate a proper concern for the rights of an accused with a mawkish, sentimental, dedication to safeguarding his every interest or convenience at the expense of the community. Lawabiding citizens have rights too. T have tried to describe tonight some of the ways the Federal Government can protect those rights more effectively, but consistently with our traditions and principles.

Eighth Grade Students at Baker Junior High School, Baker, Oreg., Believe Electoral College Should Be Abolished

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. AL ULLMAN

OF OREGON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, April 27, 1960

Mr. ULLMAN. Mr. Speaker, I recently received a petition from the members of the eighth grade social studies class at Baker Junior High School, in my hometown of Baker, Oreg. Not only does this petition relate to a matter of importance to all of us-the question of wether or not the electoral college should be retained as a part of our election process-but I feel that the interest of these young people in national affairs deserves recognition. Under leave to extend my remarks, I want to insert this brief petition, together with the names of its signers and the letter which accompanied it, in the RECORD:

BAKER JUNIOR HIGH. Baker, Oreg., April 26, 1960.

HOD AL HILLMAN Representative, Oregon District, Washington, D.C.

Hon, Mr. ULLMAN: Our eighth grade social studies class has made the study of our Federal Government.

We believe that the electoral college is unfair and should be abolished.

The enclosed petition is to abolish the electoral college, by a 23d amendment.

Respectively yours,

SUSAN SMITH, Care of Mrs. Maden, Baker Junior High, Baker, Oreg.

PETITION

The undersigned believe the electoral col-

lege should be abolished:

Janis McCord, Robin Bauge, Jonnie Elllott, Judy Buttke, Richard Carner, John Vaughan, Mardean Peck, Susan Proebstel, Susan Smith, Linda House, Linden Curtis, Mary Ellen Jones, Danny Moore, Tim Fergersons, Keith Rogers, Dennis Spur, Roger Levinger, Harvey Harrington, James Brian Evans, George Goodman, Danny Bell, Bill Miller, Phillip McMillen, Teddy White, Miller, Phillip McMillen, Teddy White, Steven Comstock, Lois Salomon, An-nette George, Betty Hutton, Ron Yeakley, Carroll J. Small, Bruce Schaf-er, Dick Emele, Sandra Oliver, Carol Davis, Sandra Bailey, Susie Cherry, Nancy Painter, Alan Heilner, Lynda Best, Doreen Horan, Neva Hixson, Carolyn Crowson, Marilyn Schmalz, Margaret Kingman, Marilyn Haynes, Kay Tucker, Sherry Neiger, Rocky Hardwick, Marilyn Lee, David Peterson, Audriann Howerton, Joe Bowman, Donald Darrow, Judy Carter, Christinia Tarvin, Rachel Rodabaugh, Peggie Weathermoss, Ray Balderston, Barbara Jackson, Fred Still, Jr., Lee Ann Schlager, Jenny Smith, Scott Maliwauki, Janis Grabner, Geraldine Johnson, Nancy Scott, Tom Winn, James See, Eric Larson, Mike Gardner, Mike Dugan, Larry Hite, Cass Vanderwiele, Emil Young, Edward Sherrieb, Karl Stoner, Carmen Dougherty, Carol Ann Christopher, Carol Ann Eengle, Charles Paxton, James Billings, Ray-mond Morfitt, Michael Russ Lynch, Shelley Hayse, Marilyn Shaklee, Joyce Love, Patricia Reeves, Janie Boyer, Georgann Swiger, Lorna Hall, Fran Mc-Cord, Leslie Hubbard, Paul York, William L. Falich, Elizabeth May, Donna Kendall, Vona Huff, Shirley Calloway, Bonnie Gilliland, Carol Dougherty, Donna Bauder, Judy Kay Corley, Caron Byron, John Mathson, Dennis Bales, Darl Flagey, Buzz Lew, Zane Hud-dleston, Karen Miner, Eula Parker, Mike Baker, John Gekar, Billy Witham, Mike Ellis, Richard Mattes, John Wyatt, Pamela Osborne, Nancy Taylor, Sandy VanCleave, Linda Bacon, Arma Brock, Sandie Smith.

Poland Constitution Day

SPEECH

HON. EMILIO O. DADDARIO

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 3, 1960

Mr. DADDARIO. Mr. Speaker, we Americans should feel a deep shame because of our ignorance of Poland's his-

tory, especially since Poles like Pulaski and Kosciuszko were so instrumental in framing our own. Although we are fa-miliar with names like Chopin and dates like September 1, 1939, we fail to realize that Poland's history spans 10 centuries of national existence. It began when the Western Slavic tribes of the Wartha and Oder Valleys were consolidated into and duchy of Poland. Soon after, with the acceptance of Christianity, Poland took her place alongside the other nations of Europe and strived to secure her place in the balance of powers. Historians can give us many reasons why Poland's history was punctuated by invasions, but the one that stands out is her geographic situation at the junction of East and West. For 10 centuries Poland has had to live in constant fear of German expansion from the west and barbaric conquests from the east. That final Germany aggression of September 1939 shocked the world into realization of Poland's importance. From Hitler's nazism Poland was delivered into Stalin's communism and she was once again a pitifully tragic nation.

As her history shows, however, oppression never survives for long within her borders. Even under the overwhelming might of Soviet Russia, the Poles dared to stage open revolts at Poznan. The Poles have the inspiration and the courage to overthrow their

Communist foes.

Poland has always been a respected contributor to the arts and sciences. Her Constitution of 1791 is an example of her philosophy that freedom must be based on Christian standards. 'As we commemorate the anniversary of this document let us join with the millions of Polish-Americans in expressing sympathy with the plight of the Poles and pledging to work toward the restoration of freedom and independence.

Medical Care for the Elderly

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. STEVEN B. DEROUNIAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, May 5, 1960

Mr. DEROUNIAN. Mr. Speaker, the following editorial in today's issue of the Washington Daily News is most timely:

MEDICAL CARE FOR THE ELDERLY

After the Eisenhower administration unveiled its sweeping voluntary medical-care program for the elderly yesterday, a leading Democrat commented:

"The administration has 'outfinessed us'

in election-year maneuvering."

That comment tells the story of what is going on here in Washington concerning medical care for persons over 65.

Democratic presidential hopefuls are trumpeting for the Forand bill or some varia-tion of it—a program which would incor-porate medical care for the elderly in the social security system. The Republicans, with a tough election battle ahead, felt this was an issue they could not afford to ignore. Welfare Secretary Arthur Flemming was given a rush job of coming up with a plan

to which party orators could point with pride but which still would meet limitations im-

posed by President Eisenhower.

Mr. Flemming's plan is better than the Forand bill in that it would help provide medical care for the elderly who are not covered by social security, it would be vol-untary, in essence it would provide Government help only for major illness since persons joining would have to pay the first \$250 of hospital-medical costs and 20 percent of remaining costs until benefits were exhausted.

But the administration's plan, by Secretary Flemming's estimate, would cost \$1.2 billion a year when going full tilt, with the States to pay half of this. This money would come out of Federal and State treasuries, requiring more taxes in most instances or, if provided by deficit financing, increasing inflationary pressures.

The Forand plan on the other hand would be financed by higher social security taxes. The problem of providing medical care for the elderly with low incomes is most important. But it also is most complex.

It is too important and too complex to be dealt with by an election-minded Congress in a rush job just before Congress is to quit for the national party conventions.

In every State of the Union, commissions have been gathering data on the problems of the aged for submission and discussion at the White House Conference on Aging

scheduled for January.

Congress should wait until it sees what the experts have to say. On a matter this important and this expensive, Congress owes it to the country to take plenty of time and study so that we'll all know where we're going and what's involved.

Landrum-Griffin Results

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON, ROBERT P. GRIFFIN

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, May 5, 1960

Mr. GRIFFIN. Mr. Speaker, my colleagues in the Congress who voted last year for meaningful labor legislation will find interesting the following article Which appeared in the Mining Journal, Marquette, Mich., on Wednesday, April 27, 1960:

LANDRUM-GRIFFIN RESULTS

After the Landrum-Griffin labor reform bill was enacted last year, sundry labor leaders vowed to annex the political scalps of Congressmen who voted for it. This implied that they expected to be able to persuade their unions' members to vote against Landrum-Griffin friends.

But union members can't be delivered on election day in a bloc, as canny labor leaders have been known to admit. And now that the results of Landrum-Griffin are beginning to be felt we wonder whether support of that bill won't actually win the votes of many union members for these Congress-

For instance, the International Union of Operating Engineers has been forced to adopt a new constitution. It doesn't weaken the union's bargaining position at all. But it does permit all of the union's 300,000 members to vote in union elections—where only about half were allowed any voice before.

It also deprives international officers of the privilege of seizing control of locals through trusteeships solely upon the basis of whim and prescribes the conditions under which locals may be taken over by the international.

Observers say that the new constitution has awakened new interest in the union among rank-and-file members, and who can doubt that it will be a better union because

The Labor Department reports that since Landrum-Griffin members of other unions have become more active in union affairs, that other union constitutions are being revised, that a number of ex-convicts have been tossed out of union positions and that 103 trusteeships have been ended.

Union members now have on file 523 complaints against corruption in their unions and at last can have some hope that some-

thing will be done about it. We suspect that union members aren't going to vote against men whose stand made possible the cleanup of organizations so important to them—a cleanup which they were helpless to bring about themselves while dictators and hoods were unchallenged

in the saddle.

The Contribution of Chief Justice John B. Fournet to the State and the Bench and Bar of Louisiana

> EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. T. A. THOMPSON

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 5, 1960

Mr. THOMPSON of Louisiana. Mr. Speaker, on today the Louisiana State Bar Association at its annual meeting was to have honored the Honorable John B. Fournet, chief justice of the Supreme Court of Louisiana, on the occasion of his 25th anniversary as a member of that body. Selected to express the felicitations of the group was my good friend and most able colleague, the Honorable E. E. WILLIS of Louisiana.

As willed by providence, however, my good friend, the Chief Justice, was hospitalized and, of course, unable to attend the planned function in his honor. have been able, however, to avail myself of the expressions that Congressman WILLIS was to have made on this occasion. The dissertation is one of great accuracy, phrased in most exceptionally well chosen words. Although I have personally known of the inspiring career of this famous jurist, whose residence is located in my congressional district, at Jennings, I was so impressed by the documentation so ably made by Congress Willis that I am constrained to commend it to the attention of the membership of this body.

Certainly, the accomplishments and dedication to duty of my good friend, the chief justice, should be an inspiration to all who endeavor to further and uphold our great system of courts and high respect for those who dedicate their lives to public service. I join with his other friends in wishing him speedy recovery and, also, in expressing sincere congratulations to Chief Justice Fournet and his lovely wife on the occasion of his silver anniversary as a member of the Supreme Court of Louisiana. The dissertation follows:

THE CONTRIBUTION OF CHIEF JUSTICE JOHN B. FOURNET TO THE STATE AND THE BENCH AND BAR OF LOUISTANA

The esteemed fellow citizen we honor this evening has been a devoted public servant for 32 years. During that long span of time he has held high positions and served with great distinction in the three branches of the State government. This is no ordinary achievement, and that is the theme of my address:

our guest of honor is no ordinary man.

John B. Fournet was born in the town of St. Martinville on July 27, 1895. He was the first-born of the 10 children of Louis Michel Fournet and Marcelite Gauthier Fournet. From his good and Christian deceased mother he was bequeathed an attribute of humanitarianism toward, and compassion for the masses of the people, and from his strongminded father, who is hale and hearty as an elder citizen of Louisiana he derives his fearless physical and moral courage. He is a worthy descendant of a long line of noble sires, who helped to shape the destiny and the way of life of the proud people of southwest Louisiana.

His fine heritage is easily traced to Alsace-Lorraine. His great-great-grandfather, Pierre Paul Briant, was sheriff of St. Martin Parish in 1810. Later he became parish judge and served as a member of the constitutional convention in 1845. His great-grandfather, Valsin Fournet, was a pre-Civil War cotton broker and civic and political leader in the area. His granduncles, Gabriel and Alexandre Fournet, answered the call of the Southland in the Civil War and played important roles during the trying Reconstruction period that followed that terrifying conflict. Gabriel became a district judge and was later elected as State treasurer. Alexandre was elected successively as assessor and clerk of court of his native parish and lived to see our honoree make his early mark in the civic and political affairs of our great State of Louisiana.

Young John Fournet received his early education in the public schools of St. Martin Parish. Upon his graduation from Louisiana State Normal College (now Northwestern State College) in 1915, he used his tenacity and determination never to be second best if he could help it. Thus after a short tenure as an ordinary schoolteacher in the Parishes of Vernon and Jefferson Davis, he became a high school principal in the Parish of Pointe Coupee, at the age of 21.

Hungry for a higher education, the young man, John Fournet, attended a summer session at Tulane University in 1917, and entered the Louisiana State University Law School in the fall of that year. True to his capacity for leadership, he became president of his class and played on the first string of the splendid LSU football squad. Following a tour of duty in the Armed Forces of the United States during World War I, he re-turned to LSU and obtained his LLB. degree from that institution in 1920.

The lawyer, John B. Fournet, hung his shingle in his native town of St. Martinville for a short while. And as an aside, I might say that he found time, without charge, to assist in coaching the high school football players while I attended school there. He practiced his chosen profession in Baton Rouge for a year and then moved to Jefferson Davis Parish, where he had previously made a host of friends as a schoolteacher. It was there he enjoyed a lucrative law practice, and it was from there that he entered the political arena.

John B. Fournet served in the Louisiana State Legislature as a representative from the Parish of Jefferson Davis from 1928 un-til 1932, and was speaker of the house during that time.

He was elected Lieutenant Governor of Louisiana in 1932 and as such presided over the sessions of the State senate.

Teacher, soldier, lawyer, lawmaker, Lieutenant Governor, presiding officer of the house, presiding officer of the senate, presiding officer of our judicial system for 11 years thus far, with many useful years ahead. No ordinary person, this man John B. Fournet; and no one to be pushed around or intimidated either. I am very sure that everyone here this evening will agree with that statement, as a matter of fact. Ever attentive to the will of the people, yet he always reserves the right to make his own judgment on all issues presented, and well he might because of his long experience in practical politics and the administration of public affairs. And if there are those here or elsewhere who disagree with this attitude as a matter of policy, I commend to them the views in this respect of that great Member of the House of Commons, Edmund Burke of England. Speaking to his own constituents with the same forthrightness that our guest of honor would employ on a similar occasion he said:

"Certainly, gentlemen, it ought to be the happiness and glory of a representative to live in the strictest union, the closest correspondence, and the most unreserved communication with his constituents. Their wishes ought to have great weight with him; their opinion high respect; their business unremitted attention. It is his duty to sacrifice his repose, his pleasures, his satisfactions, to theirs; and above all, ever, and in all cases, to prefer their interest to his own. But, his unbiased opinion, his mature judgment, his enlightened conscience, he ought not to sacrifice to you, to any man, or to any set of men living. These he does not derive from your pleasure; no, nor from the law and the constitution. They are a trust from providence, for the abuse of which he is deeply answerable. Your representative owes you, not his industry only, but his judgment; and he betrays, instead of serving you, if he sacrifices it to your

The friend of the people was elected to the Supreme Court of Louisiana and assumed his duties as an associate justice on January 2, 1935. He became chief justice of the court on September 7, 1949, upon the retirement of the then chief justice, Charles A. O'Niell. Mr. Chief Justice, we salute you on the 25th anniversary of your elevation to the highest court of your beloved State.

Judge Fournet would be the last person to push issues under the rug or to evade the fact that he has been the subject of criticism as well as praise. As a human being I suppose he is sensitive to both, but As a human whereas a lesser person might have faltered under similar circumstances, let it be acknowledged by all that he has not carped about unduly harsh judgment, nor swooned over pure adulation. For example, he once described his feeling about entering the judicial branch of the government with his usual candor. He said: "The judiciary was not originally my ambition in life. The advocacy of the cause of others and the political arena were more to my liking. But a man is not the architect of his own destiny, and with the donning of the judicial robes on January 2, 1935, I turned from advocacy and politics and have made the law and the improvement of the administration of justice my life's work."

Under our State constitution the appellate and supervisory jurisdiction of the supreme court is so broad, it is quite natural that Judge Fournet has had occasion to express himself on almost every phase of law governing our society over the last quarter of a century. He has had to rule on delicate issues affecting the life and liberty, the property and the pursuit of happiness of all the people. His opinions of necessity form part of our general jurisprudence and judging from their wide acceptance thus far, it

is safe to say, I think, that they will stand the test of time.

This is not the time or place to cite specific cases, but it was refreshing for me to read a fair sampling lately, to which reference will be made in a footnote. Since I have chosen pioneering decisions, one does not have to agree with all of them. But I will say this: They are mighty convincing.

His opinions on freedom of speech and the privilege against self-incrimination reflect his strong belief in the Bill of Rights.¹

I personally believe he excels in the field of statutory construction, properly speaking, and construction of statutes vis-a-vis the State and Federal Constitution. His long and practical experience in the legislative and executive branches of our Government enables him, as a member of the judicial branch, to understand, explain and apply the broad plan and purpose of the law. This is exemplified in his decision sustaining the constitutionality of the Louisiana Criminal Code.²

His rulings in workmen's compensation cases, with respect to the scope of employment, compromises, and related matters, have given meaning to the broad purpose of that law.³

His decisions on the law of registry and notice from public recordation; what sustains a plea of res judicata, or the continuity of jurisprudence, and proceedings in executory process have been praised by professors and in legal journals.

He has written landmark opinions on the supremely important subject of the conservation of natural resources.³

Judge Fournet's decisions have had a marked effect on the mineral law of this State, under our Civil Code. In fact, opinion after opinion demonstrates that he is a great advocate of the civil law. He places paramount reliance on it over common law concepts. His devotion to the civil law is, in my opinion, his greatest contribution to our State, the bench and bar. And a recent experience confirms that opinion.

Coming back from Geneva, where I attended the International Conference on the Law of the Sea as a congressional observer, I stopped over in Paris. By previous arrangement, I visited the Palace of Justice and conferred with outstanding French scholars and jurists. It was natural that the topic of conversation was the Code Napoleon, after which our own Louisiana Civil Code is patterned. The conversation, as a matter of course, was in French. The highest Court of France, the Court of Cassation, was not in session, but as a member of the Judiciary Committee of the Congress, I was privileged to sit with a court composed of three judges.

The prosecuting attorney, all dressed up in a robe, explained that the defendant had gone into bankruptcy and that, in the name of France, the rascal should go to jail, and at the same time that the court should enter a civil judgment in favor of the person who had been filched. All of this sounded very strange to my French ears, and the prosecuting attorney later came to the bench and said. "You seem to be confused?" I replied, "Vous l'avez bien dit", which with proper emphasis means, "Confused? Brother, you can say that again. The right to go into bankruptcy is embedded in our Constitu-tion itself. And I don't understand this civil judgment business." The robed gentleman snickered audibly, to the irritation of the court, and said that the French word "banqueroute", bankruptcy, has a double meaning, one of which refers to any banking or other unlawful financial manipulation. He explained that, in his country, if "le delit", the offense, involves also a violation of trust or misplaced confidence, the court should do total justice. He proudly pointed

out, "The facts to be proven are the same, aren't they? C'est bien simple."

I am afraid I was not too well impressed with French criminal procedures, and on reflection I think Edward Livingston, Moreau Lislet, and others were wise in rejecting it in the formulation of our basic laws. But I was profoundly impressed with the fact that the code Napoleon is still held and will continue to be held in such high legal reverence in France.

I mention this experience to express my pride in Judge Fournet's devotion to the preservation and perpetuation of the purity of our civil law. And in this I am not alone.

On the occasion of his citation to honorary membership in the Order of the Coif, Prof. Harriet S. Daggett had this to say:

"During his long service on the supreme court, Justice Fournet has made a scholarly contribution to all fields of law. His knowledge of French, his keen interest in the history and evolution of the civil law, his understanding of the people of the state and their needs have peculiarly fitted him for his important position. Together with scholarship, Justice Fournet has a penetrating awareness of economic and social change, highly necessary to a constructive jurist. Creative jurisprudence is indeed an art, possessed, unfortunately, by few. During Justice Fournet's term of office the law of mineral rights, of paramount importance to Louisiana, had to be molded by the courts. Justice Fournet's contribution in this field has been unusual and invaluable. This service, alone, even without his work in many other fields, puts this judge in the foremost ranks of those who have taken the places of honor in the historic line of distinguished lawyers of which our profession is justly proud.

And in further recognition of his ability, integrity, and great contribution to law and order, Judge Fournet was made honorary member of the Louisiana State University Chapter of the Gamma Eta Legal Fraternity. He was made honorary member of the Tulane chapter of the Phi Alpha Delta Legal Fraternity. He was made honorary member of two scholastic fraternities of Southwestern Louisiana Institute, and on November 16, 1956, his alma mater conferred upon him an honorary degree of doctor of laws.

an honorary degree of doctor of laws.

Well, as Al Smith used to say, Let's take a look at the total record. The chief justice, during his 25 years on this bench, has written 1,053 opinions, these appearing in our Louisiana reports beginning with volume 181. Of this number 904 were majority opinions of the court, 32 were per curiams, 84 were dissenting opinions, 21 were concurring opinions, and 12 were opinions concurring in part and dissenting in part. Of the 904 majority opinions written by him, no rehearing was sought in 469. Of the 443 rehearings that were sought, only 17 were granted. Of this number nine were affirmed on rehearing, six were reversed, and two were reversed in part and affirmed in part.

Of the 904 majority opinions written by the chief justice, writs were sought to the U.S. Supreme Court in only 19. Only six of these were granted and of these six he was affirmed in five and reversed in one. This means that of all the 904 majority opinions written by the judge he has only been reversed on 7 occasions, and on 2 occasions he has been affirmed in part and reversed in part—9 opinions out of 904.

No ordinary judge this Jurist Chief Justice John B. Fournet.

As a subcommittee chairman of the Committee on the Judiciary in the United States House of Representatives, I have been constantly faced with the problem of the delay of justice in our Federal judicial system. Moreover, I am cognizant that this unhealthy situation is all too common throughout the judicial systems of our States. Fortunately, however, and proudly as a Louisianian, I can point with pride to the eminent position

which the judicial system of the State of Louisiana occupies in the United States. The carpings and criticisms of the public on court congestion do not apply to our State. The adage, "justice delayed is justice de-nied," has no application in Louisiana. For. here, there are no congested dockets. The enviable position which Louisiana occupies today throughout the Nation in the field of judicial administration is no accident. That position has been well earned and merited primarily through the efforts of our chief justice as the administrative officer of the Louisiana Supreme Court.

And finally, Judge Fournet is due the outstanding credit for the recently enacted constitutional amendment, whereby the larger part of the appellate jurisdiction of the supreme court will be transferred to the expanded and enlarged intermediate appellate courts. This did not happen over night but had to be sold to the bench and bar and to the people. I predict with confidence that under this plan not only the speed but the quality of our justice will be the highest.

No ordinary administrator this man and Judge who is our guest of honor this evening.

In conclusion, I have tried to be objective in my appraised of the honoree. I have tried to avoid the pitfall of overstating or understating his qualitles.

Now, what is his appraisal of himself? In Alexandria, La., 5 years ago, Judge Fournet, with complete honesty and humility, paraphrased the description of his great friend Huey Long of Judge Fournet. He said, "I am far from being a genius. In fact, I am not what you might call smart. My accomplishments, such as they are, are due to no fault of mine but rather to inherited traits and characteristics." Here is a man with consuming loyalty to his friends, fierce pride in ancestry, and with not an ounce of false Pride in his towering and strong body. It is this quality that Polonius in his advice to his young son placed above all also. He said, This above all: To thine own self be true, and it must follow, as the night the day, thou canst not then be false to any man."

Mr. Chief Justice, as your fellow townsman and lifelong friend, my wish for you on this occasion, in which I am sure all here gathered and your legion of friends elsewhere who would like to be present join, is that your great mission in life will continue to be blessed with successful accomplishment. And for that, I am sure you have the fervent prayers of your good wife, Sylvia.

¹ Kennedy v. Item Co., Ltd. (213 La. 347, 34 So. 2d 886), and State v. Bentley (219 La. 893, 54 So. 2d 125).

* State v. Pete (206 La. 1078, 20 So. 2d 368). * Barr v. Davis (183 La. 1013, 165 So. 183); Edwards v. La. Forestry Commission (221 La. 818, 60 So. 2d 449); Delta Ree Bryan Green v. Heard Motor Co., Inc., et al. (224 La. 1077, 71 So. 2d 849); Griffin v. Catherine Sugar Re-fineries (219 La. 846, 54 So. 2d 121); Puchner Employers' Liability Assur. Corp. (198 La. 921, 5 So. 2d 288).

'Humphrey's v. Royal (215 La. 567, 41 So. 2d 220); Hope v. Madison (192 La. 337, 193 So. 686); General Motors Acceptance Corporation v. Anzelmo (222 La. 1019, 64 So. 2d

Doucet v. Texas Company (205 La. 312, 17 So. 2d 340).

Vincent v. Bullock (192 La. 1, 187 So. 35); Tritico v. Long-Bell Lbr. Co. (216 La. 426, 43 80. 2d 782); Smith v. Holt (223 La. 821, 67 So. 2d 93).

Succession of Lissa (195 La. 438, 196 So. 924): Succession of Weiner (203 La. 649, 14 So. 2d 475); Vincent v. Bullock (192 La. 1, 187 So. 35).

Eighty-eight Years Young

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. CLIFFORD G. McINTIRE

OF MAINE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, May 5, 1950

Mr. McINTIRE. Mr. Speaker, Gus Barton of Columbia Falls, Maine, has the distinction of being 88 years young. acting as he does to operate a mail delivery route and manage a small business establishment besides.

Mr. Barton is living proof that industry does not, as some persons might believe, act as an emery wheel that grinds away the human substance, but, instead, serves as a tonic that promotes good health over long years of life.

Here, truly, is a solid citizen whose conduct in community life and vocational pursuits is exemplary and remarkable. The precise detail of Mr. Barton's activities and background are presented in the following article of the Bangor Daily News, the unique nature of which is deserving of the attention of my colleagues:

[From the Bangor Daily News, Apr. 22, 1960] MAIL ROUTE, NEWSSTAND KEEP COLUMBIA FALLS MAN, 88, YOUNG

(By Velton Peabody)

COLUMBIA FALLS, April 21 .- "I sometimes wonder how a man my age can enjoy such good health," 88-year-old H. A. "Gus" Baron of Columbia Falls pondered as he neared the end of another day's mail run Wednesday morning.

But actually, there is little need for this bachelor to wonder concerning his health, if a life filled with activity induces good health.

Now well past the usual retirement age, Gus still manages to operate his combined bust station and newsstand and in addition, is still working on a mail delivery contract he obtained more than 60 years ago.

Six days a week he loads up his car with sacks containing mail for the 14 families living in the town of Centerville and strikes out, delivering mall to a dozen other families along the way on his 5-mile trip to the Centerville Post Office.

At the Centerville Post Office, located in the residence of Mr. and Mrs. Frank Flaherty, he pauses briefly while Mrs. Flaherty, the postmaster, sorts the mail and reloads the sacks with outgoing mail, which Gus takes back to Columbia Falls.

Although he has held the contract for the Centerville mail delivery for more than 60 years, Barton took the route over actively only 13 years ago, following the death of his brother, Milton J. Barton, in 1947. The brother had carried the mail until about that time and also had transported the mail between the Columbia Falls Post Office and the railroad depot. The latter contract was dropped at the time of Milton's death.

Gus does recall, however, many of those early trips to Centerville when he first got the contract. He said Milton's horse got so acquainted with the road between Columbia Falls and Centerville that even during the winter months with loads of snow on the ground there was no need for the driver of the wagon to steer. The horse would plow through the snow, picking his own best path to Centerville and return, stopping at just the right mail boxes along the route.

Sometimes, in order to deliver the mail to the patrons in that outlying area, it was necessary to walk most of the distance on snowshoe, Barton said, adding that his brother hardly missed a day and that he himself missed only 4 trips in the last 13

His interests over the years have been many and varied. He was born in Columbia Falls, son of a butcher and meat peddler, and has lived in Columbia Falls most of his life. The sole exception was a 4-year stay in Boston where he was employed in a print shop.

Locally, his early employment recollections go back to the old Coffin and Knowles saw and lumber mill, which used to be located between the present town hall and Pleasant River, a stone's throw from the combined bus station and newsstand now operated by Barton. He worked there about 3 years.

He tried his hand at raising potatoes, but

gave that up after 3 years.

With his half-sister, Miss Florence Plante, he operated the Columbia Falls House for several years. This now is the residence of Graydon Hartford, located almost directly across the Main Street from the famed Ruggles House.

For a time he operated a store between the Ruggles House and the Methodist parsonage. Fire struck and wiped out the store and

parsonage in 1945.

Barton then moved into the store now known as Driscoll's Town Market. He found this too great an undertaking for a man of 63, so he obtained space in the George Drisko Building, where he is now located.

His station is a favorite gathering place for the town's elder citizens, who assemble daily to relive some of the area's most memorable events. And many of these events, undoubtedly, were influenced in some way by the life of Gus Barton.

Answers to Questionnaires-They Provide Cross Section of Public Opinion

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. O. C. FISHER

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, May 5, 1960

Mr. FISHER. Mr. Speaker, 69 percent of the people in my congressional district are opposed to compulsory health and hospital insurance, as has been proposed in Congress, according to the results of a questionnaire which I recently submitted to my constituents. That approaches a ratio of 3 to 1.

By the same percentage-69 percentthe people oppose Federal aid for increased teacher pay. And 64 percent oppose Federal aid for school construction.

This questionnaire went to practically every home in my district. The response was most gratifying. I take pride in this demonstration of interest on the part of the people whom I represent-interest in their Government and in the manner in which it is being carried on.

I have read each of the returns, with the many timely comments that were included. This enables me to know fairly accurately what the prevailing views of my constituents are.

The results of the tabulation follow:

[Percent]

	Yes	No	No opin- ion		Yes	No	No opin- ion
Foreign affairs:	-			Fiscal affairs:	No.		7016
Should we continue foreign economic aid? Should we continue foreign military aid? Do you favor gifts of surplus farm commodities to under-	46 60	43 30	11 10	Would you rather balance the budget and reduce the national debt than cut taxes? President Eisenhower has urged Congress to raise the	78	18	1
privileged countries? 4. Do you favor a firm stand on Berlin? 5. It is contended we should buy substantially of foreign goods if we expect to sell our products abroad. On the	80 84	13	7 7	postal rate enough to reduce the present \$554 million annual deficit in that Department. Do you favor this?. 3. Do you favor a pay-as-you-go basis for interstate highway construction even if it requires a raise in Federal gasoline	50	44	
other hand, it is argued that imports from low-labor-cost countries now at such levels as to require higher tariffs and import quotas to protect certain domestic industries. Do you favor such restrictions on imports?	59	26	15	fax? Social security: A bill in Congress would provide hospital, nursing home, and surgical benefits for persons receiving social-security payments. An immediate increase in the social-	. 58	34	8
Labor: 1. Do you agree with those people who say that organized labor is becoming too powerful? 2. Do you favor legislation requiring labor unions to conform	88	10	2	security tax of ¼ percent of wages on both employees and em- ployers, and ¾ percent of the earnings of self-employed persons subject to social security taxes is called for by the bill; but eventual costs of the proposed new benefits have been esti-			
to antitrust laws now applicable to private corporations and other business enterprises? 3. Industrywide bargaining and industrywide strike by labor	86	7	7	mated to require nearly double these increases in tax. Do you favor this bill? Agriculture:	24	69	
unions would be prohibited under a bill before Congress. Unions would be required so bargain with management, make strike decisions, on a company-by-company basis, with industries to do the same. Do you favor this bill?	84	8	8	Do you think the soil bank conservation reserve program should be continued? Do you favor a reduction of agriculture price supports? Education:	18 68	72 23	10
4. Do you think the Federal minimum wage, which is now \$1 an hour, should be raised to \$1.25 and coverage of the law extended to employees of service establishments and	150	300	3	Do you favor Federal aid to needy States for school construction? Do you favor Federal aid to needy States for increased	31	64	1
retail stores?	35	56	9	teacher pay?	26	69	2111

Incidentally, it is of interest to note that of the 229 in the teaching profession who returned questionnaires, 38 percent were for and 56 were against Federal aid to States for school construction. And 32 percent were for and 60 percent were registered against Federal aid for increased teacher pay.

MANY ANSWERS ARE QUALIFIED

I should point out that many of the answers are qualified. That is particularly true with regard to foreign aid. In answers to those questions many who answered expressed the belief that this program should be more efficiently administered and that it should be reduced.

Another example of qualified answer relates to the question of increasing postal rates. Many who answered in the affirmative called for an increase in rates of so-called "junk" mail, with no increase on first-class rates.

That conforms with my views on that subject. Revenue deficiencies total \$280 million in second-class mail and about \$189 million in third-class mail. Second class is the mail service used by most magazines and newspapers. Third class consists primarily of advertising circulars, other printed matter, and small parcels.

The Postmaster General has pointed out that with the rapid growth of third class, direct mail has become the second largest advertising medium in the United States, based on volume of advertising expenditures.

Against this background of a thriving direct-mail industry, an average of more than 1 cent per piece must be contributed by the Treasury to the Post Office Department to pay for revenue deficiencies in third-class mail.

It is only fair that direct-mail advertisers should pay the costs of maintaining the medium they choose to use. Parcel post is now on a self-supporting basis, and first-class mail just about pays its own way.

MCONOMY, SELF-HELP, URGED

An analysis of these returned questionnaires and a reading of the many comments reveal to me a vast reservoir of interest in a return to the fundamentals; in opposition to nonessential spending; in more of the Government being handled by the people themselves on a local and State level as opposed to the ever-increasing concentration of more authority and control in Washington.

I am convinced that the people are getting more government than they want, more than they want to pay for. Many feel that Federal aid in most forms is a delusion. They want their Government to be operated on a business basis, with balanced budgets, reduction of the public debt, and tax reduction and reform. They want less government in business, less socialism, more self-help rather than Government help. They strongly support an adequate national defense. They want outlays for welfare to be confined to sound programs. They want Federal activities to be confined to those things that local people cannot handle themselves.

Although this is but the cross section of the opinion of the people of one congressional district, it represents the voice of the people who believe that two and two make four and that you simply cannot have something for nothing.

THE PEOPLE SPEAK

Mr. Speaker, I should like to qoute from a few of the comments to which I have referred.

A Sonora pharmacist writes:

We would appreciate anything that can be done to reduce Federal controls on our everyday living, schools, farms, etc., and return as speedily as possible to States rights.

A Winters merchant comments:

School costs should be raised at home, for if it is raised here and sent to Washington there is too much loss between here and Washington and back.

A Blanket farmer writes:

There is no use taking tax money to Washington and sending back aid. The State could use its own money for school construction and increased teachers pay.

A San Angelo merchant comments:

The greatest threat to national security is not Russia but high taxation. No new taxes should be voted and every effort made to reduce taxes, both apparent and hidden.

A Mason farmer questions the soil bank:

Soil bank conservation reserve is not being handled right; too much land that wasn't used for farming is in the soil bank. Something is wrong if a man can buy land, put it in soil bank, Government pays for land.

A Bangs housewife comments:

We have got to stop these creeping, crawling tentacles from Washington from choking out the life of freedom.

A Medina tourist court operator is right when he says:

Whenever the people can get it through their heads that they should not rely on our Government for everything—the sooner we'll have a better world. Our form of government is the finest in the world, but we are abusing it.

A San Angelo salesman expresses the views of many regarding Fidel Castro, with this comment:

I think the anti-U.S. campaign put on by Cuba should be gently and firmly squeezed out by economic pressure. We won't make any friends by letting this radical slap us around.

A Menard stock-farmer writes:

Let the world know that Santa Claus is not living in Washington, D.C. any more.

A Sonora banker comments:

I don't see how the American people can continue to pay the high taxes and yet Congress is looking for ways to increase them.

A San Saba ranchman states:

I think we should have no more government than is absolutely necessary. I prefer to save my own money rather than pay the Government with the waste and duplication often found in Government. I once quit a Government job because I was bored doing nothing. We need dedicated, Christian statesmen who regard the spending of other people's money as a sacred trust. You'd be surprised how many of us would like to have lower taxes and less Government help.

A San Angelo lumber dealer likes the idea of the questionnaire:

I appreciate the opportunity to express my opinion. Otherwise I would not take the time to sit down and write you a letter. Let's continue this. It gives me-and I believe, the people in your district—the feeling of belonging.

A Uvalde TV technician writes:

I feel that foreign economic and military aid should be reviewed and possibly reduced in many cases. I am particularly in favor of labor legislation in regard to curbing mismanagement by labor leaders.

These comments taken at random are but a few from hundreds that have been received. They are all timely and contain a lot of food for thought. I should like to quote from a comment by a Winters clergyman, as a concluding thought:

I am chagrined at the way the Federal Government is slowly becoming a socialized welfare state, spoon feeding the individual instead of making him live up to his responsibility to stand on his own feet. Instead of Christian stewards we are creating Government peons waiting at every turn for a handout.

Problems Confronting the American Farmer

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. HALE BOGGS

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, May 5, 1960

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. Speaker, by unanimous consent I include herewith in the RECORD the thoughtful address made in New Orleans a few days ago by Mr. Herman S. Kohlmeyer, former president of the New Orleans Cotton Exchange.

Mr. Kohlmeyer has spent many years studying the problems confronting the American farmer. He, of course, realizes the fundamental difficulties of legislating for the farmer and points out many of these problems in the following address which I commend to the members of both bodies:

The most important domestic issue in the country today is the farm problem. Tremendous costs and mounting surpluses indicate that the present method of giving assistance to the farmer by nonrecourse loans is a failure. It has been criticized so severely in the press that it is certain to break down. Unless some radical change can be developed, the farmer will get no help at all.

To discuss the problem it is necessary to point out first why this system has failed, so I want to give you certain basic facts. Since I am better acquainted with cotton, I shall confine most of my remarks to that commodity. As a matter of fact, the wheat farmer and the cotton farmer are the ones in the most trouble.

Of foremost importance is that 40 percent of the farms produce 90 percent of the crops. Ninety percent of the cotton farmers produce less than 25 bales, which means that they have a gross annual income of less than \$5,000. They probably average \$2,500 apiece. How on earth can anyone figure out a problem that encompasses a solution for people like that, and at the same time treats with fairness their larger competitors, some of whom produce a crop of 10,000 bales, or \$1,600,000 gross production a year at present

prices? It is exactly the same as trying to pass a law that would treat fairly both the Regardcorner grocery and the chainstore. less of any other figures, or any other set of statistics, this is primarily the reason why we have an almost insoluble farm problem.

Since the basic idea of rigid price supports for farmers was inaugurated by the Roosevelt administration, planting of cotton in the United States has been reduced from 271/2 million acres to 15 million acres. While this decrease in acreage has been going on, and it amounts to a decrease of 45 percent, the size of the harvested crop has increased.

In the period between 1935 and 1939 the average crop was 13,150,000 bales, and last year it was 14,500,000 bales. This illustrates the second most important reason as to why no solution has been found to our problem. To bring it out more strikingly, let me say than in 1927, 42 million acres of cotton were planted and produced a smaller crop than last year's, which was harvested from 14,500,000 acres.

Since 1950 there has been a technical reakthrough in agriculture. You have breakthrough in agriculture. heard about complete mechanization of farms, about fertilizers, insecticides. But now even these methods have been improved upon. For example, trace materials are on the market to replace the iron, copper, manganese, etc., in the soil which have been mined out through years of planting. University of California followed the Japanese in working on a thing called Gibberellin, which makes plants grow to giant size, and could in the future produce crops that today would be undreamed of.

I can dramatize this by explaining that certain weedkillers like 24-D literally make broadleaf plants grow themselves to ex-haustion and death. By accident it was discovered that 24-D applied in minute quantities increased enormously the growth and production of a cotton stalk.

The farmers have learned how to take advantage of restricted acreage. Among other things, they have adopted a system of skipping every four rows. If a man had a 100-acre field and his acreage allotment was cut in half, instead of planting only half of his field and leaving the remainder fallow, he plants a full field by planting four rows, skipping four rows, planting four rows, skip-ping four rows, etc. This is in compliance with the law. What our smart farmers have found out is that the outside rows produce three times as much as the inside rows on account of the increased sunlight and air that reaches them, and yields have been increased additionally in this manner.

The third reason for the failure of the program is its cost to the Treasury. Our Government owns today \$10 billion worth of surplus commodities, which cost the taxpayers \$1 billion a year for storage, bookkeeping, and handling charges. If only half a crop of cotton were planted next year, and the Government's surplus were added to it, it would be enough to go round,

As far as wheat is concerned, the fantastic amount held in Government storage is, according to Secretary Benson, enough to make flour to bake 500 loaves of bread for every man, woman, and child in the United States.

No one could carefully examine the facts that I have given you, and think that it would be proper to continue the present policies in agriculture. There must be some other way to help the farmer. Surely this program, entered into during national crisis, is completely obsolete. If it were helping the farmer as it was designed to do, why, then, has our farm population dwindled from 30 percent of the people to 12 percent? Is that not proof of inadequacy? Secretary Benson, after over 7 years, has

come up with no solution. He says price supports must be lowered and those who cannot exist under lowered prices must stop farming. This, of course, implies that if they cannot find a job they should starve to death.

There will be no different ideas to come from the Republican Party, and it remains for our party to come up with some answers,

This system, under which crops are produced for the Government loan instead of for the market, creates situations for which no answers can be found. The farmers and processors are not careful about quality, because they will never have to satisfy a buyer. They just turn their stuff over to the Commodity Credit Corporation. The marketing system has been destroyed, and will have to be built anew if the happy day ever comes when our farmers are again on solid footing.

Some question the necessity of helping the farmer at all, but they plead their cause through ignorance. We live in a paper, or rigged, economy. Steamship companies and airlines receive subsidies from the Government. Manufacturers are protected by tariffs. Labor is protected by laws requiring payment of minimum wages, and even the banks can get help from the Government by borrowing the cost of all the Government bonds in their portfolio from the Federal Reserve System regardless of the price the bonds are bringing on the market. If it is neces-sary to have laws to make for healthy transportation systems, healthy manufacturing companies, healthy banks, and to protect the laboring man, is it fair to say that the farmer must buy in a protected market and sell in a free market?

Time will cure the problem. The ineffi-cient farmer will not be forever willing to scratch out a bare existence on a poor piece of land, when he can move to the nearest town, and make a living working at a gasoline station, or as a laborer in a factory, or even move to the big city where other job opportunities are available. But until that time comes, the Government has an obligation not to make this particular group the

stepchildren of our economy.

There is but one thing for sure. We must understand that the present system has failed. Some of our most respected people in Congress continue to introduce legislation asking for high loan levels. They point to the fact that this farm program did not cost a lot of money until the Republicans took office. Such a position overlooks the two wars-World War II and the Korean war-which created such enormous demands for all commodities that the program was bailed out on two separate occasions. It also overlooks the technological revolution that has taken place on the farm since 1950. Bear in mind that in the last 10 years output per man-hour an industry has increased 2 percent, while an agriculture it has increased 7 percent. Also, I think it is evil to hold our most inefficient people on the farm with false hopes. If a living can-not be scratched out of Mr. Brown's farm, and his wife is scrubbing clothes on the washboard, would he not be better off to take a job in the nearest town where he could earn enough money to buy her an electric washing machine?

Then from where do we get the solution? All kinds of answers crop up. An interesting and futile one appears in the poultry business. Big sellers of feed constantly finance chicken farmers, whom they expect to go bankrupt. The profit they make on this feed is enough to take care of the loss from the busted poultry farmer. It is all part of a great big operation. Surely that is no answer. Are we willing to admit that we have gone into an era of bigness where the litle man cannot make a living as an individual, but will have to become part of some corporate enterprise? Is the little farmer going to be forced to retire from the farm, much as the corner grocery store gave up to the A. & P., or the corner druggist had to turn his business over to Walgreen? This is a really terrible and frightening thought to

face. While our press and periodicals scream about communism and socialism, they fail to discuss with the public the serious implications of socialism surrounded in corporate living. There is no more loss of individuality, or, for that matter no more redtape, in the Army, or in any Government office, then exists in the management of the largest corporate affairs.

So we are still looking for the solution. Unfortunately, it has to come in a lowered price. This need not mean a lowered income to the farmer, which is what we are worried about in the last analysis. However, it has been proven in the export markets, even to the worst diehard, that price will sell, and if price is allowed to decline in this country, surpluses will disappear. When, through an export subsidy, our Government broke the price of American cotton in the world market this year to 23 cents a pound, it increased the export of American cotton to almost 7 million bales as compared with 2 million bales the previous year. At these prices, cotton, in export, competes with synthetics and other substitutes, such as paper and plastics. The price must come down in this country,

Maybe you may ask how that would work with wheat, because regardless of the price, you would not be able to eat the 500 loaves of bread that we have said the Government has in storage for you. But a cheaper price for wheat will bring it down to the range where it can be used as feed, and will bring it within the reach of foreign consumers who

need it so desperately.

In an effort to bring about this cheaper price, the most discussed program has been called the compensatory payment plan. This envisions the payment to the farmer of the difference between what he receives in a free marketplace for his product, and parity, which is what is considered to be a fair price. There is no doubt but that this compensatory payment is one solution to the farm prob lem. Unfortunately, it has a serious drawback, and that is that it would cost so much money even our own Government could not finance it. Recognizing this, certain bills have been introduced into the Congress for limiting the amount of payment that any grower can receive. This is an un-American idea. While it is true that an injustice has been done to the taxpayers by paying certain corporate farmers over \$1 million apiece under the present farm program, an equal injustice would be done by paying the small, or inefficient farmer, to continue in his un-healthy capacity and set him up, and protect him, to forever compete with the unprotected efficient man.

I come to the inevitable conclusion that the family farm is a political myth. I also believe that there is no way in the world to give every farmer equal protection with industry and labor. Mr. Benson's program for a disaster loan, in which he has the support of one of the largest farm organizations, is unsound. He knows it. Increased production is going to make today's disaster price tomorrow's fair market price, and the trouble in which we now find ourselves will be compounded for the future.

We must set up a program, within the limits of the Treasury, to make payments to the farmers on an acresge basis rather than a bale or bushel basis. These payment should be unlimited. They should be tied to a comparative base with a manufacturer's tariff, For the first year I would suggest \$20 per acre; \$15 per acre for the second year; and \$10 per acre thereafter, as long as protection

is given to any group or industry.

This will allow price to decline while at the same time it will maintain income, and give notice that if he chooses to remain on his farm, the farmer will have to look to advanced technological ideas in order to be able to produce at a profit, and at a price that will allow his product to compete in the marketplace. In order to accomplish this I believe the Congress would appropriate sufficient money, recognizing that the solution will eventually be attained.

Funds for these payments could be raised by a manufacturer's tax on all fibers and substitutes; when used to replace cotton. Although such a tax was at one time declared unconstitutional, we know now that it could

properly be enacted into law. This method would not only maintain fair net income on the farm, but would gradually eliminate the surpluses that have piled up. envision that these surplus stocks would be used to make payments in kind. In other words, if a farmer were entitled to receive \$2,000 in equity payments he would get a certificate for \$2,000 worth of any surplus commodity from the Commodity Credit Corporation instead of cash. This certificate would be negotiable and salable, and would, in a few years, liquidate CCC holdings of all surplus commodities.

I believe that the farmers will learn to increase their yield per acre and earn a living out of 23-cent cotton, a price that would destroy them all today, but still is the world

market price that they must meet.

The Republican Party has failed to give forthright and honest answers to the farm problem during its two terms in office. First, it promised 100 percent of parity. This was palpably so false and impossible that no effort was ever made to accomplish it-even though it was promised by the President in his campaign speeches. Then it took the position that loans on commodities should be placed on a sliding scale. Each loan that was announced was at the minimum price allowed under the law. The hypocrisy in the legislation was evident. A possibility of a high price was always held out like a carrot in front of a mule, but in the final analysis there was always the lowest price.

No compromise has ever been possible. It has always been a matter of play it my way

or there will be no game.

It is my hope that our party will have the courage to tell the people the truth, and present them with a solution that will stand on its feet. In keeping with our principles, this solution must have a heart, and not a coldblooded approach. But please remember that it is more heartless to hold a man in an untenable position than it is to lead him to a better way of life.

Salt and the Red River

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. OVERTON BROOKS

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 4, 1960

Mr. BROOKS of Louisiana. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to present for the reading of the Congress a very able editorial taken from the Shreveport Times, of Shreveport, La., which is in the heart of the Red River Valley. This editorial presents a matter of much importance to us today, especially to those of us who have to meet the problem of water pollution by salt and other minerals in the Red River Valley:

SALT AND THE RED RIVER

Counting its tributaries, Red River is almost 2,000 miles long. But of all the towns along its length, only Bossier City dips into the countless million cubic feet of water that it carries daily to the Mississippi.

The Red is one of the least used of American rivers, either for drinking or commercial use, and the reason is salt-salt that makes most of the upper river unfit to drink and useless for industry.

Over a billion dollars have been spent in

recent years on flood control, bank stabilization, and navigation studies on the river.

This money is well spent, but next to taming the Red the valley towns are vitally interested in turning its tawny current into several million foot-acres of high-quality The only way to do that is to take out the salt or stop it from entering the

The Red could just as easily have been named Salt River. Every day about 10,000 tons of chlorides (salts) enter its current. About 20 percent of this inflow is oilfield brine, but the bulk of it comes from artesian salt springs.

Several of these springs produce each a million pounds of salt daily-any one enough to supply the needs of half the population of the United States. Washings from salt flats and drainoff over outcroppings of salty rocks account for the rest.

The Red River Valley has been booming since 1940 and has much to offer industry and agriculture-fertile soil, raw materials, manpower, and transportation. But its supplies of good water are slowly being over-drawn. Water use has risen rapidly in the past few years, but the Red in its upper course is untapped.

Since 1957 the U.S. Public Health Service, in cooperation with Federal and State and county agencies and the regional Red River Valley Association, has carried on a search for the source of the salt pollution. The agencies want to find main sources of pollu-

tion and put a stop to it.

The final report won't be ready until 1962 and the administration annually budgets an amount to keep it going. But, meanwhile, the RRVA and the river towns this year are seeking a further \$150,000 in Federal funds to let the U.S. Army Engineers start studying means of controlling the pollution. For already the source of the salt inflow has been pretty well determined.

The proportion of salts per million parts of water is 2,000 units at such towns as Gainsville and Wichita Falls. The U.S. Public Health Service has established 250 parts per million as the desirable maximum.

Shreveport abandoned the Red in 1926 and began to get its water out of Cross Lake. The count in the river that year reached

1,160 parts per million.

Denison Dam, put in after World War II to form Lake Texoma, has made the lower Red a better river. Inflow into the huge lake is 100,000 cubic feet of water per second. The salty waters entering it are greatly diluted and when the river flows out the east end of the lake the count is much lower.

Bossler's average count for its first year of use of Red River waters (just ended) 163, with high counts of from 800 to 1,250 parts per million for about a month last fall when the river was up. But, with treatment, it is tolerable drinking water.

Below Shreveport and Bossler, the salt count diminishes further, but the raw sewage dumped into the river from the two cities leaves downriver people disinclined to

turn to the Red as a drinking source.
But above the dam, things are as bad as they ever were. Every time there's a heavy rain upvalley, the salts wash in and the count rises. Usually, the same thing happens below the dam when the water level of the lake is lowered through the floodgates. raising the river.

Drought-stricken Dallas a few years ago went 100 miles north to the lake for drinking water, but found it, even with a lowered salt content, nearly unpotable. Another pollutant, gypsum, made the water much like chalk.

Gypsum is a soft white mineral that is washed into the river and dissolved. Bossier adds soda lime and ash to the Red to coagulate and precipitate it. The acid turns it back to a solid and it settles.

The salts can't be got rid of this way. Soda ash simply turns one kind of chloride

into another.

The Army Engineers have already hit on several preliminary ideas for keeping the salt out of the river. One idea is a 12-inch pipeline to collect salt from main inflow points and pipe it to the gulf. Another idea is to seal off the salt springs from the river. Yet another is to drain them into diked ponds and let the water evaporate. Since the salt springs are artesian and flow by pressure, another scheme is to put in ponds above the springs and equalize pressures.

The final idea so far brought forward is

to divert floodflows around the salt areas.

As for oilfield pollution, the engineers look on reinjection of the brine as a waterflood to increase oil production both as a cure to the pollution problem and a means of helping the industry.

Meanwhile, in spite of its prosperity, population along the valley is falling behind the national increase and the towns are blaming the short water supply and its poor quality. They look to the pollution study and the recommendations that grow out of it to transform one of America's major rivers from a drainage canal into an unending source of the quality water they need for growth.

May Is "Rural Electrification Month" in Wisconsin

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. LESTER R. JOHNSON

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 26, 1960

Mr. JOHNSON of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, on April 27 a group of pioneers in Wisconsin's rural electrification movement met at the State capitol to watch Gov. Gaylord Nelson sign a proclamation designating May as "Rural Electrifica-tion Month." Naturally, the silver jubilee of the REA program will be celebrated May 9-14, but it is significant that the Wisconsin observance will last the entire month, for my home State was one of the leaders in this quiet rev-Olution which changed Fural America from a dark to a lighted land.

In May of 1936 the Columbus Rural Electric Co-op at Columbus, Wis., received the first Wisconsin REA loan, At that time only 19.6 percent of the farms in the State had central station electric Power. Today 31 rural electric co-ops are serving 87,338 consumer-members on 30,710 miles of line, and 97.9 percent of Wisconsin's farms are electrified.

Of the \$118,912,492 in REA loans advanced to these electric cooperatives, \$21,740,945 has been repaid on the principal and \$14,267,982 has been paid in interest. In addition, advance payments on principal have been made to the tune of \$3,458,718.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I would like to include in the RECORD an article from the April 27, 1960, Capital Times in Madison, Wis., which tells about

the ceremony at which Governor Nelson designated May as "Rural Electrification Month":

TWENTY-FIFTH ANNIVERSARY HAILED-PHIL LA FOLLETTE, MELBY JOIN NELSON IN REA

(By Herb Jacobs)

May has been officially designated "Rural Electrification Month" in Wisconsin in ceremonies at which former Gov. Philip La Follette urged the State not to be afraid of words like socialism, and to back projects which will grow.

La Follette was governor 25 years ago when President Franklin D. Roosevelt by executive order created the Rural Electrification Administration (REA) under which rural electric service took a great leap forward. La Follette set up the Rural Electrification Coordination Administration to speed the work in Wisconsin.

State leaders and pioneers in REA work were present in the executive officer Tuesday afternoon as Gov. Gaylord Nelson signed a proclamation marking the 25th anniversary of REA, and several joined LaFollette in comments on the occasion.

"The contributions of the REA have been unexcelled by any group at any time in the

State," Nelson said.

H. O. Melby, Westby, first president of the Wisconsin Electric Cooperative, who has served continuously except for a 4-year interval, said the REA "has been a tremendous thing for the whole Nation, not just farmers.

"We had a friendly administration to back us," Melby continued. "We believe Wisconsin has pulled ahead more than any other State, and REA has benefited everybody, not

just farmers."

A statement read by Attorney Floyd Wheeler, Madison, longtime counsel of Wisconsin electric cooperatives, praised REA as the finest program of benefits for farmers ever sponsored by State or Federal governments, and hailed La Follette for his vigorous action to place Wisconsin at the forefront in the development.

Twenty-five years, when you look at it in one aspect, is short, and in another it is long," LaFollette began, as he sat at the table between Nelson and Melby.

"I was thinking this morning in terms of the governorship. Gaylord, you were just about getting through the university when I was in your chair. Add another 25 years to your age, and you'd be older than I am.

"And Mr. Melby has the same sparkling Norwegian fire in his system, which helps

to make this a memorable occasion.

"The significant thing about a day like this, is that younger men like Gaylord and his associates, both those for and against him, should think in terms of what they will be celebrating 25 years from now. That's a pretty good yardstick to determine what is good and important.

"Years ago, when I was in your seat, there were many things that seemed terribly important, and over which I burned up a lot of energy and anxiety, but some of those things don't seem so important. On the other hand, take forest fires, which we don't have any more. Isn't it nice to be able to jump in your car and drive up north, and see it all green? I'm glad I had a small part in that. You're lucky if you can get connected with something that grows." Turning to the REA, LaFollette continued:

"Don't be afraid of words and shibboleths. Don't let people drive you away because of a name. Socialism used to be the big buga-boo. But the REA is just an adaptation of something very old—neighborliness, as in a barn raising. Times have changed, but they've only changed the machinery. Now barn raising. Times have changed, but they've only changed the machinery. Now you couldn't holler loud enough for all the neighbors to hear, so we started co-ops.

"Two things I think are important. The first is, try to associate yourself with something that will be living after you.

"And the other thing, don't be afraid because nobody ever did it before. Wiscon-sin has always been a pioneer. Don't be dependent on 'security,' that's not the way to a rich and full life."

Among others present at the proclamation signing ceremony were Circuit Judge Norris Maloney, who became chief counsel for the State Rural Electrification Coordination Administration in 1936, and was identified with legal phases of the program except for 8 years as district attorney and until his elec-tion as circuit judge in 1958, and William V. Thomas, who served on the coordination staff under the late Orland "Spike" Loomis, and general manager of Wisconsin Electric Cooperatives for 20 years.

Three early workers present were Amos J. Green, who joined the coordination staff in 1936, and for 20 years has specialized in the insurance needs of electric co-ops; Mrs. Jean Slightam, an early WEC worker who edited the first written history of rural electric co-ops, and Mrs. Blanche E. Brown, secretary of Loomis, and who has served continuously with the WEC since then.

Area Redevelopment Act

SPEECH OF

HON. FRANCIS E. WALTER

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 4, 1960

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (S. 722) to establish an effective program to alleviate conditions of substantial and persistent unemployment and underemployment in certain economically depressed areas.

Mr. WALTER. Mr. Speaker, almost 2 years have elapsed since the President vetoed S. 3683, the area redevelopment bill enacted by the 85th Congress. For almost 2 years now we have been able to evaluate the arguments of the President as set forth in his pocket veto message of September 6, 1958. As a result of these evaluations, we now know that many of the reasons for the veto advanced by the President have not held up. The loans to State and local development companies under the Small Business Investment Act of 1958 have not met the needs of the chronic distressed areas.

By the same token the vast majority of the distressed areas have found their unemployment to be chronic and not temporary as the President suspected. Of the total of 116 labor markets which between July 1953 and March 1958 became chronically distressed, only 41 were not so classified in March 1958. Of the remaining 75 labor markets, 64 were continuously distressed from the time their economic difficulties began. They continue unrelieved in their condition of substantial labor surplus even to today. The remaining 11 experienced a temporary period of economic revival. However, today those areas enjoying a period of temporary revival are again chronically distressed.

Studies by organizations both within and without Government conclusively demonstrate that a labor market area that has permanently lost some of its industry will repeatedly experience temporary relief unless industries are found to replace those eliminated by our industrial progress. To consider the temporary revival of these areas as a disqualification for relief under area redevelopment legislation will seriously retard the objectives which the legislation seeks to accomplish.

The 1960 Economic Report of the Presdent declared that legislation was needed to supplement and strengthen efforts to help areas of persistent unemployment. S. 722 accomplishes this and should, therefore, be enacted by the Congress and signed by the President without further delay.

Elks National Youth Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. CLEMENT J. ZABLOCKI

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, May 5, 1960

Mr. ZABLOCKI. Mr. Speaker, on May 1, 1960, the Elks Clubs throughout our Nation celebrated the Elks National Youth Day. Outstanding young students, selected in various competitions, were honored that day by the Elks, together with their parents, teachers, school administrators, and other community leaders. This celebration, in a way, was part of our answer to the Communist May Day observances in Soviet Russia, in Europe, and on other continents. It honored the achievements of our youth, explored some of the prospects and problems facing them, and compared the opportunities and freedoms enjoyed by the youths of the United States with the conditions experienced by young people living under the rule of communism.

The Milwaukee Lodge of Elks No. 46 participated in this nationwide observance with a banquet on the evening of May 3, sponsored in cooperation with the Wisconsin Elks Association and the Grand Lodge of the Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks. I was deeply honored to have been invited to be the guest speaker on that occasion. The banquet and the ceremonies were well attended and very impressive, attesting to the ability and hard work of the arrangements committee and active cooperation of the entire membership of lodge No. 46. This was, I may add, a most enjoyable and memorable evening for me. Not only did I have the pleasant opportunity to visit with my many good friends, but I was especially impressed by the achievements of our young men and women who were honored at the banquet. I should like to list the names of the principal award winners:

WINNERS OF THE 24TH ANNUAL ELRS' YOUTH ACTIVITIES PROGRAM

1. CONSTITUTION EXAMINATION

Thomas W. Hutchison, Pulaski High School, first prize (\$400 scholarship).

Marshall Berman, Washington High School, second prize (\$200 scholarship).

Diane Dumdey, Wauwatosa Senior High School, third prize (\$100 scholarship).

2. YOUTH LEADERSHIP

Wallis Jean Wilde, Wauwatosa High School, first prize (\$100). (Miss Wilde was also first place State winner.)

David H. Swanson, Wauwatosa High School, first prize (\$100). (Mr. Swanson was also second place State winner.)

Louise M. Noll, West Allis High School; Lynn M. Taussig, Washington High School, second prize (\$50).

Judith M. Hochstein, Riverside High School; Jack J. Burgess, Boys' Technical High School, third prize (\$25).

3. MOST VALUABLE STUDENT

Susan E. Steininger, Solomon Juneau High School; James E. Repnik, Rufus King High School, first prize (\$200 scholarship). (Mr. Repnik was also second place State winner.)

Beverly A. Ruzinski, West Milwaukee; Goetz W. Schaefer, Boys' Technical High School, second prize (\$100).

Roslyn B. Gill, Nicolet High School; Keith K. Hilbig, Washington High School, third prize (\$50).

I am happy to say that Miss Wallis Jean Wilde, who won the first prize both in the State competition and in the Milwaukee competition for the youth leadership award, is the granddaughter of our distinguished senior Senator from Wisconsin, the Honorable Alexander Wiley. She is an outstanding young lady, and I would like to include her brief but very elequent remarks, delivered at the May 3 banquet, in the Record:

REMARKS OF MISS WALLIS JEAN WILDE

Mr. Haberlein, officers of the Order of Elks, officials of Lodge No. 46, and Representative Zaelocki, I would like to express my deep appreciation to the Elks for this recognition which is not so much of me personally, as it is the recognition of the American ideals which are increasingly essential for survival in the world today. It would be well for other organizations to follow the fine example of the Elks in honoring and creating interest in those fundamental concepts which have kept America great.

I think it would be fair to say that there are literally untold thousands of young people in our State and across the Nation who are dedicated wholeheartedly to preserving our heritage through voluntary service, in school, in church, and in the community. Because the ultimate outlook of our world will be written by those of us in my generation, it is very significant that our is voluntary rather than the regimented, compulsory service of the Soviet youngsters. We are competing with controlled minds, with people who are compelled to travel on a party line treadmill, and thus the Russians are allowing one of their most valuable resources to be eroded—the unlimited irreplaceable resources of the unfettered mind. They are gradually eviscerating American words like ingenuity, imagination, choice, leadership.

Here in our country our duties and our rights are inherited simultaneously. And from the beginning we are taught that our rights were hard won and that they will be even harder to keep. And so we volunteer to maintain them. I believe that in the momentous years ahead, America will prove that her youth—her free youth—with the inherent right to choose, and amend, and reject; her youth, conscientiously fulfilling civic duties; her youth, carrying the bright torch of freedom, will win the ideological war.

Mr. Speaker, I want to take this opportunity to congratulate Miss Wallis Jean Wilde and the young men and women whose names I have placed in the Record upon winning the principal awards in their respective competitions; and to commend Exalted Ruler Eugene F. Haberlein, the officers, and members of Milwaukee Elks Lodge No. 46, as well as the entire membership of the Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks, for sponsoring the National Youth Day Program. I think that it is a wonderful and constructive undertaking, and I wish it every success in the future.

Honoring Poland and Her People

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. FLORENCE P. DWYER

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 2, 1960

Mrs. DWYER. Mr. Speaker, for the past 20 years the Congress has taken time out each year to recognize the anniversary of the May 3 Polish Constitution of 1791.

Beginning shortly after the infamous Nazi-Soviet invasion of Poland, which led directly to World War II, this commemoration has become one of Congress' most important traditions. Not only does it provide us an opportunity to appreciate Poland's irreplaceable contribution to the development of Western civilization, but it has become for Congress its major annual occasion for restating American policy favoring the restoration of freedom and liberty for the people of Poland and the other Eastern European nations overwhelmed by the armies of the Soviet Union.

The celebration of this anniversary in 1960 is especially significant for several reasons. This year, for instance, marks the 100th anniversary of the birth of one of the world's greatest musicians, Ignace Jan Paderewski, beloved in America and Poland as a great patriot, statesman, and humanitarian as well as artist.

One hundred and fifty years ago, Frederic Chopin was born in Poland, and the world will never cease its gratitude for the glorious music of this gifted composer.

The year 1960 also inaugurates the preparation of plans by Americans of Polish descent, under the auspices of the Polish American Congress which represents over 7 million Americans of Polish origin, for the commemoration of Poland's millennium, the 1,000th anni-

versary of Poland's acceptance of Christianity in the year 966, which settled the destiny of that country as an integral part of Western civilization.

For more immediate reasons, however, this year's anniversary is particularly timely and important.

First of all, it occurs just the day after this House has approved a concurrent resolution dealing with the fundamental freedoms and human rights of the people of the captive nations.

This legislation, for which I was proud to vote, expressed the sense of Congress that respect must be accorded to these precious freedoms and rights. It reaffirms the belief of Congress in the inalienable right of the people of the captive nations to live under governments of their own choosing. And it expressed Congress' hope that the President will pursue energetically at the forthcoming summit conference the restoration of the fundamental freedoms and basic human rights of the people of the captive nations,

You will be interested to know that this measure was passed by the House of Representatives without a single dissenting vote. It reflects, I believe, the deep understanding of the Congress of the tragic situation in which Poland and her sister nations have been placed, and a continuing firm resolution to speed the day when freedom will return.

This resolve is especially meaningful, I believe, in the case of Poland. As we all know so well, the people of Poland have never accepted the dictatorial and foreign rule of communism. The Polish people's unyielding devotion to national freedom and personal liberty has been displayed over and over again for all the world to see and admire. Seldom, however, has Poland's resistance to Godless communism been so dramatically demonstrated as it was last week in the new city of Nowa Huta.

The story began with the decision of Poland's frantic Communist rulers to build at Nowa Huta a new city to be a symbol of the new Marxist Poland. Dedicated to the production of steel, the new city was—by official Communist flat—to be deprived of even a single church.

But, even while Nowa Huta was being built, the Polish workers wore around their necks a little string, carrying the cross of Czestochowa. When the city was completed, its people selected a site for a church, in defiance of their Communist rulers, and marked the site with a cross. Last week, the Communists removed that cross. But, in doing so, they brought upon their heads the wrath of the people of Nowa Huta, who rose up in rebellion in the mightiest demonstration since Poznan to protest the removal of their cross.

So once again the Communist bosses of Poland learned an unforgettable lesson—that nothing has changed the devotion of the great majority of the Polish people to the religion of their ancestors. At the site of Nowa Huta's cross last Wednesday the people of Po-

land showed that their devotion to their religion far exceeds the impact of Communist dogmas, even after 15 years of steady indoctrination.

Nowa Huta has reminded the world that there is much unfinished business in Poland—business that will not be finished until freedom has been restored and communism abolished from the homeland of a great and courageous people.

The Festival of Jeanne D'Arc

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, May 5, 1960

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, on May 8 the people of France and their friends throughout the world celebrate one of the great national French festivals—the commemoration of Jeanne d'Arc.

This young girl—a strange combination of warrior, maiden and saint—is one of the most intriguing figures in history. Her tragic, romantic and heroic life has long been a favorite subject of literature, either as a symbol of an innocent martyrdom, a victim of narrow, self-seeking despotism and treason, or in some cases, simply as a model to inspire and delight the young.

But for the French, Jeanne the maid is something more than just a figure of liteurature. She is the essence of French patriotism, the God-appointed instrument for preserving the unity and integrity of France. That is why they celebrate her memory today with such awe and honor.

The Maid Jeanne appeared on the stage of history at a very critical time for France. Early in the 15th century the English were in control of northern France, including Paris, and were threatening to dominate their entire country. The English monarch also claimed the French crown. In a word, France was in mortal danger of losing its independence.

The French claimant to the crown was Charles, the Dauphin. In 1428 he was hard pressed because the English were threatening the key city of Orleans. If this city fell, an important barrier to an English advance toward the south would be gone. At this juncture the young, uneducated girl Jeanne—just about 17 years old—was brought to harles maintaining that she had been commissioned by God to see Charles crowned and to save France. In her father's village, Domremy, Jeanne had for a long time heard voices and seen visions of the Archangel Michael, St. Catherine and St. Margaret. From them she had received her mission.

Charles was so impressed that he placed her arrayed in white armor at the head of a force and she bravely led the march which defeated the English at Orleans. This victory was followed by others and soon the beginning of the end appeared for the English invaders. To the French she became a saint sent to deliver them from their foes,

Unfortunately, she was captured by the enemy and most of us know from the many literary versions of it how she was forced to undergo a long trial as a witch and eventually was burned at the stake. But in the flames that consumed her, she became immortal, forever enshrined in the hearts of her countrymen, and for all men an everlasting symbol of courage, innocence, patriotism, and the ascendance of nobleness of character over the forces of selfishness, revenge and pride.

We join with our French friends in paying homage to this heroine of all mankind.

House Concurrent Resolution 633

SPEECH

OF

HON. HAROLD D. DONOHUE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 2, 1960

Mr. DONOHUE. Mr. Speaker, as a cosponsor of this resolution, designed to influence the restoration of the fundamental freedoms and God-given rights of the subjugated peoples now existing in Communist captive nations, I most earnestly hope this House will promptly and unanimously approve it.

As we all know, in numerous and repetitive documents and agreements, the great powers of the world, including Soviet Russia, have pledged and promised the persecuted peoples of these nations, the return of their national freedom and personal liberties. The United States has consistently attempted to have these promises carried out but Russia still denies these countries the right of free elections and independent sovereignty.

To my mind the adoption of this resolution will add substantial strength to the position of the President when he meets with the Soviet leaders at the approaching summit conference. The Communist rulers, by our action, will be emphatically reminded that it is the sense of this Congress that no firm and lasting agreements for peace can be made while the world remains practically half free and half slave. By our action the rest of the free world can be concretely convinced this Nation will not abandon her traditional principles of free government for all peoples and the captive nations themselves will be further inspired to remain adamant in their determination to reject any Communist entreaties for cooperative existence under the Soviet system.

The fact and the truth is that the Russian Kremlin is solely responsible for the inhuman slavery being imposed upon the brave peoples of Poland, Czechoslovakia, Lithuania, Estonia, Latvia, Bulgaria.

Hungary, Rumania, and all the other captive countries. It is also unfortunately true that we have suffered many disastrous propaganda defeats at the hands of the Russians.

Not the least of the purposes of this resolution is an attempt to meet the Russians in their own most effective field. Unlike their multitudinous and skillful distortions for propaganda purposes, we are telling the truth. If the Kremlin leaders want to prove their sincerity in seeking peace in the world then let them simply declare freedom for the captive nations. That is the first and fundamental step that must be taken before there can be any reasonable hope for the achievement of a peaceful world.

Let us then promptly approve this resolution to encourage the Soviet rulers to take this first, just action and then proceed, at the summit, to the adoption of agreements for all of us to live, in good will and good faith, in a world at peace.

A Salute to Radio

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. GEORGE S. McGOVERN

OF SOUTH DAKOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 5, 1960

Mr. McGOVERN. Mr. Speaker, the American people enjoy the finest radio services of any nation in the world. We are indebted to the radio industry for high performance standards.

Since the month of May has been designated National Radio Month, I should like to salute the radio stations in South Dakota and across the country which play such an integral part in our daily community life.

It is true that new forms of communication have taken some of the spotlight away from radio, but radio will continue to be an essential part of the educational, commercial, and entertainment life of the American people.

I include the following interesting facts about radio in the United States:

RADIO FACT SHEET

National Radio Month this year will be symbolized by the theme, "Radio: The Heartbeat of Main Street." Radio's vital role in the lifestream of the country will be brought to the attention of the public through a nationwide program reaching into every community.

The unstinting and generous assistance that radio contributes to every civic situation will be dramatized by local cooperative projects between radio stations and community organizations.

Radio is always in the forefront—as a lifeline during emergencies with advance warnings, first aid information, pleas for help—as a crusader for civic betterment—as an education and information medium for citizen and student—as a source of facts on our democratic processes and institutions.

Today there are more than 155 million radios in use in the United States. Ninety-

seven out of every hundred homes in the Nation have radios.

Americans are seldom more than an arm's length from a radio set; no matter where they are—at home, in a car, at the beach. About 39 million cars are equipped with radies. Portable radios are made to fit the pocket and purse.

Today there are more than 4,000 radio stations on the air in the United States, an increase of 228 since last year. Their programs of information and entertainment reach the remotest areas of the country and the humblest of homes.

One survey of 5,000 women representing a cross-section of U.S. households showed that they listened to radio 4 hours and 36 minutes a day.

FM (frequency modulation) is particularly effective for reaching a select audience. Most family income of FM listeners ranges upward of \$7,500, many over \$15,000, a research study reveals.

Radio listening knows no bounds of age, sex, geographical location, or season. More than half of the country's professional men tune in 5 or more days each week. More than 9 out of every 10 single workingwomen tune in to radio each week. Among men and women between the ages of 50 and 65, about 9 out of 10 listen every week, nearly half of them tune in every day.

A Protest Against Airlifting First-Class Mail

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. GLENN CUNNINGHAM

OF NEBRASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 5, 1960

Mr. CUNNINGHAM. Mr. Speaker, at the close of my remarks, I am including the text of a resolution which will be submitted by the Glendale Post Office clerks to the California Federation of Post Office Clerks convention later this month. The resolution points out that the Post Office Department has incurred additional expense through use of the airlift for 4-cent letter mail and if expanded further, will have a detrimental effect on the use of airmail service at its current rate, 7 cents for letters: In addition, the space-available concept for the airlift of first-class mail has disrupted the reliability of service, since first-class mail can sit for 12 hours at an airfield terminal, awaiting space to be available on an outgoing flight.

The resolution follows:

PROTEST ON POST OFFICE POLICY OF USING AIRLIPTS BY LOCAL 841, GLENDALE, CALIF.

Whereas the Department in its efforts to speed up the mail has incurred additional expense in the movement of the mail by the

unwarranted use of the airlift system; Whereas the public who desire such service are quite willing to pay the airmail rate for such service;

Whereas the use of airlift by other classes of mail tends to lessen the distinction and retard the proper incentive for selling airmail service at its proper rate;

Whereas the system of "available space" mail cargoes has disrupted the reliability of service; be it

Resolved, That the California Federation of Post Office Clerks in convention assembled at San Jose, Calif., on May 28, 29, and 30, 1960, go on record favoring a limitation in the use of airlift to emergencies such as disruptions in service caused by acts of God.

The Puswash Conference of International Scientists on Biological and Chemical Warfare

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. CHARLES O. PORTER

OF OREGON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 2, 1960

Mr. PORTER. Mr. Speaker, along with atomic warfare we have been hearing recently about biological and chemical warfare. At the Pugwash Conference of International Scientists on Biological and Chemical Warfare last year a very significant statement on these subjects was prepared by scientists from all over the world.

The purpose of the conference was to assess the potentialities of chemical and biological agents as weapons, and to explore possible means for preventing their production or use in war.

It is plain that the progress made in the production of biological and chemical weapons has been far greater than most people realize or care to consider.

The scientists conclude that the delivery of these chemical and biological agents of warfare cannot be prevented because it would require a ban on all forms of transport, civil as well as military.

Peace will be a lot closer when more people, especially leaders, recognize that we cannot attain foolproof inspection nor total disarmament. We can take many measures to put atomic, biological and chemical agents of warfare out of the reach of madmen who would seek to use them. At the same time we must recognize that our best attempts will probably fail. This means that we must create a world situation where such accidental or miscalculated use will not trigger the allout war.

The Pugwash conferees recognize that trust between nations cannot be established by proclamation, but only by experience, particularly by experience in cooperative work toward common aims. Their report is worth the attention of every Member of this Congress. Its authority can best be proved by a glance at the list of participants which I am including following these remarks and prior to the statement of the conference: Participants in Pugwash Conference of In-

TERNATIONAL SCIENTISTS ON BIOLOGICAL AND CHEMICAL WARFARE, PUGWASH, NOVA SCOTIA, CANADA, AUGUST 24-30, 1959

Sponsor: Mr. Cyrus Eaton, chairman of the board, Chesapeake & Ohio Railway. Cleveland, Ohio, United States of America.

Dr. Brock Chisholm, former Director General, United Nations World Health Organization

Prof. Claude E. Dolman, head of Department of Bacteriology and Immunology, Uni-versity of British Columbia.

Prof. Donald Kerr, Department of Geography, University of Toronto.
Sir Robert Watson-Watt, "father of radar."

DENMARK

Dr. Preben von Magnus, State Serum Institute.

FRANCE

Dr. Andre Lwoff, head of the Department of Microbial Physiology, Institut Pasteur.

Dr. Pierre Thibault, chef de service, Insti-

tut Pasteur.

CREAT BRITAIN

Mr. F. C. Bawden, F.R.S., director, Rothamsted Experimental Station.

Dr. Patricia J. Lindop, Physiology Department, Medical College of St. Bartholomew's Hospital.

Prof. Gordon Manley, head of Department of Geography, Bedford College, University of London.

Prof. Joseph Rotblat, Physics Department, Medical College of St. Bartholomew's Hospital.

Prof. M. G. P. Stoker, Department of Virology, University of Glasgow.

INDIA

Dr. M. L. Ahuja, medical adviser to the Government of India,

SWEDEN

Prof. Sven Gard, director, Department of Virus Research, Karolinska Institute.

UNITED STATES

Prof. H. Bentley Glass, Department of Blology, Johns Hopkins University.

Dr. Charles C. Higgins, president, American College of Surgeons.

Dr. Martin Kaplan, University of Pennsylvania.

Prof. Chauncey D. Leake, dean, College of

Medicine, Ohio State University. Prof. Hugo Muench, professor of biosta-

tistics, Harvard School of Public Health. Prof. Eugene Rabinowitch, Department of

Botany, University of Illinois. Prof. Alexander Rich, professor of bio-Physics, Massachusetts Institute of Tech-

nology. Prof. Theodor Rosebury, professor of bac-teriology, Washington University.

U.S.S.R.

Academician Mikhail M. Dubinin, U.S.S.R.

Academician Mikhail M. Bushing, Institute of Physical Chemistry. Prof. Alexandre A. Imshenetsky, director of Institute of Microbiology, Academy of Science.

Mr. Vladimir P. Pavlichenko, assistant general scientific secretary, Academy of Sciences.

Prof. A. A. Smorodintsev, Department of Virology, Institute of Experimental Medicine.

STATEMENT OF PUGWASH INTERNATIONAL CON-PERENCE OF SCIENTISTS ON BIOLOGICAL AND CHEMICAL WARFARE

The fifth in the series of Pugwash conferences of scientists, aimed at assessing the dangers to humanity arising from developments of modern science and technology, has met in Pugwash, Nova Scotla, from August 24 to 29, as guests of Mr. Cyrus Eaton.

The purpose of the conference was to sess the potentialities of chemical and biological agents as weapons, and to explore possible means for preventing their production or use in war.

The subject of chemical and biological warfare has been shrouded in official secrecy. For years large projects have existed in several countries with the stated purpose of developing defense means against such weapons. We have no direct information about the results of these projects, but inevitably they increase the efficiency and destructive-ness of various types of biological and chemical weapons, and result in the development of new techniques. Judging from the number of technical workers involved in such projects and the money expended, much knowledge related to the production and delivery of micro-organisms for war purposes has probably been gained. Moreover, unsupported statements appear which suggest that such weapons have enormous lethal or incapacitating effects against man, can destroy plants and animals, and have advantages under certain conditions of war. Recently a concerted effort appears to have been made to suggest that these weapons are more humane than other means of war-

We have discussed the general nature of such weapons as well as the properties of the individual agents and their methods of delivery, and have compared them with other weapons. Our discussions suggest that the difficulties of establishing a stable and lasting peace are aggravated by the fact that nations, whether or not they possess nuclear weapons, might produce biological and chemical weapons; international tension would consequently be increased.

POTENTIALITIES OF BIOLOGICAL AND CHEMICAL WEAPONS

Biological weapons-microbes, viruses and their toxic products-can be delivered and dispersed in such a way that fatal or in-capacitating disease might be produced over They can be produced cheaply large areas. They can be produced cheaply on a significant scale, even in a country whose technological development is not highly advanced. Such weapons could be used either alone or together with others. The attack could be local or massive or could consist of individual acts of sabotage. The agent could be selected to cause a great many primary casualties, or to initiate epi-

Infective agents or toxins used as biological weapons would presumably have the following characteristics: (a) Lethal or incapacitating when applied in small amounts; (b) remain potent when stored or dispersed; (c) the diseases they produce should not be preventable by simple sanitary precautions, or by customary practices of immunization; (d) neither the agents themselves nor the diseases they produce should be easily identifiable; (e) the diseases they produce should not be curable by customary drugs or anti-biotics. Many well-known biological agents possess several or all of the foregoing attributes. The simultaneous use of two or more pathogenic organisms might assist the spread of infection and confuse diagnosis.

Highly virulent strains of some pathogenic agents can easily be selected as can strains virulent bacteria resistant to all antibiotics, drugs, and to some disinfectants. Recent advances in microbal genetics make it possible to produce variants, some of which may be even more suitable for biological warfare than naturally occurring strains.

Quantitative information on the infectivity and toxicity for man of biological agents that might be used as weapons is too meager for their effects to be compared at all accurately with those of nuclear weapons. However, a surprise attack on a city might in time cause numbers of casualties approaching those caused by a small atomic bomb. An attack with an infective agent, originally meant to be localized, might lead to an epidemic because of abnormal routes of delivery, the large number of primary casualties, or the disorganization of public

The meteorological and other conditions required for biological or chemical attacks on man are so exacting that the military effects will be far from certain. The necessary conditions for a successful attack might prevail only on some days and at limited times of the day, and would be subject to the errors of meteorological forecast-The discharged material, instead of moving into and staying in the intended area, might recoil on the aggressor. Biological weapons would presumably be stabilized to withstand exposure to the atmosphere and so might remain active for long periods and ultimately fall anywhere.

Attacks on economically useful animals are subject to many of the same limitations as attacks on man. The most likely use of biological warfare on animals would be to disrupt the economy, which could be done by introducing various infections, spread very rapidly and some of which are transmissible to man.

There are also agents that could be used to destroy crops, but their effects are unlikely to be important compared with attacks on human beings and animals. Chemicals such as plant hormones would produce the quickest and perhaps the most serious results, but to be effective would have to be applied over great areas. Some infectious diseases of plants could also be damaging; their introduction, however, could adversely affect the economy of a region for a long time, but most spread too slowly to influence the outcome of a war.

Chemical weapons (poison gas or other oisonous substances) were used in the First World War and several subsequent occasions. In recent years new poisonous sub-stances have been produced which are many times as active as the earlier agents. Means for their bulk production have also been improved as have procedures for their dissemination over areas very much larger than those covered during chemical attacks in World War I. The production of chemical warfare agents could easily be disguised as peacetime chemical industry, or such industry could be quickly converted to produce

The so-called nerve gases, which are chemically similar to certain insecticides, are extremely potent and cheap, and cannot easily be countered with effective defensive measures. Masks and appropriate clothing can partially protect against them, but it is difficult to apply such protection to large populations; and it is unlikely that nerve gas casualties could be treated with antidotes soon enough after an attack to prevent serious consequences. New types of hallucinating agents or of poisons that give rise to transient mental disorganization, without recognizable permanent injury, have been advocated as means of "humanizing" war. Although they do not kill directly, their use could have serious consequences, because individuals or groups of people exposed to them behave unpredictably and often ir-responsibly. The extremely high level of toxicity of new types of poisonous materials, as well as the means available for their delivery, permit their effects to be compared with those of certain types of atomic weap-

Summarizing the previous paragraphs, biological and chemical agents clearly represent considerable additions to modern arsenals. Yet, we realize that nuclear weapons, particularly modern hydrogen bombs, have a destructive power several orders of magnitude greater than chemical or biological weapons. As means of immediate and certain destruction, these weapons cannot compare with hydrogen bombs. The dependence of biological weapons on uncontrollable factors, such as meteorological conditions, and the difficulty of confining the effects to the attacked territory, make them especially unpredictable in scope and effect.

Worldwide apprehension about biological and chemical weapons can be allayed only by measures tending to assure that they will not be produced or used. But, however difficult the international control of atomic weapons may be, the international control of biological and chemical weapons by any system of inspection seems incomparably more difficult.

The first reason is that the specific weapons, or combinations of weapons, likely to be used in a particular instance cannot be foreseen.

The second is that chemical or biological weapons can be selected and prepared in ordinary chemical or microbiological laboratories. The fact that no elaborate or large-scale facilities are needed makes it difficult to identify possible places of preparation for biological or chemical warfare. Even elaborate installations would resemble those normally used in vaccine or antibiotic production. It follows that small and large nations, whether industrially undeveloped or highly industrialized, might secretly prepare to use such weapons; and with each added nation possessing such capabilities, the danger of war would mount.

A third reason is that means of dispersal of chemical and biological agents of warfare are diverse, including planes, submarines, and missiles, as well as saboteurs. Their delivery therefore cannot be prevented because it would require a ban on all forms of trans-

port, civil as well as military.

If control by inspection is so extremely difficult, what alternative ways are there to decrease the danger that chemical and biological weapons will be used? It seems clear that the international renunciation of the use of such weapons, as in the 1925 Geneva protocol, cannot allay apprehension unless all nations, small as well as large, ratify such an agreement without reservation. This is the first necessary step.

the first necessary step.
Secrecy is clearly essential to preparations for biological and chemical warfare. On the one hand, it enables any nation planning aggression to depend upon the element of surprise, and upon the opponent's lack of effective countermeasures taken in advance. On the other hand, the unknown is, of itself, a potent cause of human anxiety, and is even more so when associated with weapons of any kind. Any actual danger there may be will certainly be exaggerated wherever information about any aspect of the situation is denied. Secrecy on the part of pos-sible enemies is even more productive of anxiety, suspicion, and hostility, and may precipitate hostile reactions. Free and frank revelation of all scientific and technical developments is essential to a degree of mutual trust necessary to resolve the acute tensions that now plague the world.

The most hopeful approach to international regulation therefore seems to comprise (a) a general agreement to prohibit the use of such weapons, and (b) the renunciation of official secrecy and security controls over microbiological, toxicologial, pharmaceutical, and chemical-biological research.

In considering how to implement the second of the foregoing proposals, we note the already excellent effects of the report of the U.N. Scientific Committee on the Biological Effects of Radiation. A comparable scientific committee or a permanent U.N. scientific commission on biological and chemical modes of warfare could help to dispel apprehension. A subsidiary function of either group might be to investigate impartially the claims by plaintiff nations that others had openly or

surreptitiously used methods of biological or chemical warfare against them.

The very existence of such a commission might in time arouse the conscience of the individual scientists of all nations, the only ultimately effective safeguard against violations.

In agreement with the Third Pugwash Conference in Vienna, we repeat that, in the end, only the absolute prevention of war will preserve human life and civilization in the face of chemical and biological as well as nuclear weapons. No ban of a single type of weapon, no agreement that leaves the general threat of war in existence, can protect mankind sufficiently. We therefore must look forward to a day when the preservation of peace will transcend the ambitions of individual nations.

Trust between nations cannot be established by proclamation, but only by experience, particularly by experience in coopera-tive work toward common aims. There is already an extensive interchange of scien-tific information and people in the sciences basic to the problems discussed in this statement. We must build on this. The commission proposed to collect and evaluate information bearing on chemical and microbiological warfare should serve not only to allay the fears of mankind that new and more horrible weapons of such types will be invented, but further to dispel the miasma of secrecy that fosters international suspicion and tension, and in its place to extend the benevolent application of micro-biological and chemical knowledge for the benefit of all men.

Johnson Voted "Best Qualified" Candidate in Roll Call Poll

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. VICTOR L. ANFUSO

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 5, 1960

Mr. ANFUSO. Mr. Speaker, this week's issue of Roll Call, the newspaper of Capitol Hill, carries the results of the Presidential Preferential Poll which it has conducted among Senators, Representatives and congressional aides. Those who best know the candidates and work with them and observe them daily believe that Senate Majority Leader Lyndon B. Johnson is the best qualified candidate for President on Democratic Party ticket.

I was the one who originally suggested the poll in a front-page article in the March 30 issue of Roll Call, under the heading "Congress Seen as Best Judge of Candidates' Qualifications." In it, I called attention to a survey made by Life magazine on the qualifications for the Presidency and the five ideal qualities most desired by the American peoples. To these five qualities (listed below), I added a few others which I consider highly important in determining a person's fitness for the highest office in the land, such as, leadership capability, mature judgment, assumption of duties. fulfillment of responsibilities, et cetera. In addition, I emphasized that he must be able to forge unity of the Nation and he must believe in progress and continued growth in every phase of our national life, "for to believe otherwise would mean stagnation, loss of our moral, political and economic positions in the world, and our retrogression to a second-rate power."

It was my feeling that, since nearly all the major contenders are members of the Congress, those who serve with them in the national legislature and those who work on Capitol Hill would seem best to know the qualifications of these men. How do these people feel about the current contenders? Whom do they regard as the best qualified candidate?

The results of this poll, as published in this week's issue of Roll Call, show that Senator Lyndon B. Johnson received 339 votes out of a total of 770 ballots cast in the poll. This is a shade above 44 percent of the total. Vice President Nixon ranked second with 150 votes, or 20 percent of the total.

Other major contenders ranked as follows, in the order named: Senator Stuart Symington, Senator John F. Kennedy, Senator Hubert H. Humphrey, and Adlai Stevenson.

Mr. Speaker, I consider this poll highly significant because to a certain extent it represents the voice of Congress. I suggest that all delegates to the Democratic National Convention in July, all National, State, and local leaders in Democratic ranks, and the American people in particular, study the results of this poll in an objective manner and with an open mind.

At this point I wish to express my appreciation to Mr. Sidney Yudain, the editor and publisher of Roll Call, for the very fair and just way in which he conducted the poll through his newspaper. He has rendered a fine service to Congress and the Nation and deserves to be commended for it.

Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to insert into the RECORD the article from the May 4 issue of Roll Call giving the results of the poll, as well as the tabulation of the vote, the five major qualifications for the Presidency, and a brief statement which I had prepared on the results:

[From Roll Call, May 4, 1960]

JOHNSON AND NIXON WIN POLL—TEXAN GETS
44 PERCENT OF VOTE—20 PERCENT FOR NIXON

Senate Democratic Leader Lyndon Baines
Johnson captured 44 percent of the total
vote to win Roll Call's presidential preference
poll of the Congress.

Tabulations made this week at the close of a 4-week election contest among Senators. Representatives, and congressional aides gave the Texas Senator 339 votes of the 770 ballots submitted.

Vice President Richard M. Nixon garnered 150 votes for a total of 20 percent of the tabulation.

The vote was a nonpolitical basis, but apparently followed party lines. Republican candidates racked up 21 percent of the vote, with Democrats carrying 79 percent.

The Congress is divided 65 percent Democratic, 35 percent Republican.

Second-place runner on the Democratic side was Missouri Senator Stuart Symington with 84 votes, a total percentage of 11. Senator John F. Kennedy, of Massachusetts, was close behind with 10 percent of the vote and a total of 63 ballots.

Senator Hubert Humphrey, of Minnesota, polled 8 percent of the total vote with 63. Adlai Stevenson received 42 votes, 5 percent

of the total. Representative CHESTER BOWLES, of Connecticut, was tendered four votes.

Two surprises of the poll were the 10-vote pull of Representative CHARLES A. HALLECK, of Indiana, and the fact that only one vote was cast for New York Governor, Nelson

Senator HERMAN TALMADGE, of Georgia, and Representative RANDALL HARMON, of Indiana, each received one vote.

Breakdown of the vote was Senators, 47; Representatives, 138; congressional aids, 585.

Although no signatures were required on the ballot which appeared in Roll Call, many were signed, several bore enthusiastic slogans.

The Roll Call poll was the first of its kind

to embrace the entire Congress.

The poll was suggested by Representative VICTOR ANYUSO in a front-page article in the March 30 issue of this newspaper. Anguso pointed out that Life magazine had taken a nationwide poll to determine the ideal qualities the American public desired in a President. After listing the qualities, Anguso suggested that the men and women of the U.S. Congress should be best fitted to judge the qualities of the presidential candidates since they have been working with most of them for many years. All of the ma-jor five contenders are in the U.S. Senate.

Because they were voting on their co-workers and colleagues the congressional Voice expressed in the Roll Call poll is considered significant. While Congressmen and aids are not necessarily delegates to the national convention, their political power and influence is considered.

IDEAL PRESIDENT

Roll Call's poll was based on the following qualities which Life magazine determined the American voter most desired in a President.

1. He must be a man of conviction who is Willing to fight for his principles, but at the same time he must be able by conciliation and compromise to avoid fights.

2. He must be a man who is above partisan considerations.

3. He must be a man with a common touch.

4. He must be a vigorous and decisive man Who can make up his mind, one who can get things done, and who will not be pushed around by other people, especially by the Russians.

5. He must be a man with wide experience in foreign affairs.

Vote breakdown

		Per-
	Vote	cent
Johnson	338	44
Nixon	150	20
Symington	84	11
Kennedy	75	10
Humphrey	63	8
Stevenson	42	5
Halleck	10	1
Bowles	4	0
Talmadge	1	0
Rockefeller	1	0
Harmon	1	0

Vote Johnson____

17 14 Kennedy_ 8 Symington____ Humphrey_____ Stevenson_____

Representatives

Vol	Đ,
Johnson	ä
Nixon 8	3
Symington	Ë
Kennedy	į
Humphrey	ä
Stevenson	ä
Bowles	

Communication of the

Congressional ands	
	Vote
Johnson	259
Nixon	9'
Symington	70
Kennedy	. 5
Humphrey	. 51
Stevenson	35
Halleck	
Bowles	
Rockefeller	
Talmadge	
Harmon	
	100

STATEMENT BY REPRESENTATIVE VICTOR L. ANFUSO

On the basis of these returns, it seems inevitable that a ticket headed by Senator LYNDON B. JOHNSON will be a sure winner. Those who best know the candidates of both parties-those who work for and with them every day-they have spoken very eloquently and clearly of their choice for President.

However, as a northern liberal, I still have some reservations in this matter. True, Senator Johnson kept his promise to the American people regarding civil rights. True, he did a magnificent job in guaranteeing voting rights to all of our citizens irrespective of race, creed, or color.

It is now necessary for him to support legislation that our elder citizens can live in dignity. He must utilize all his energy and influence to obtain passage of a law that would provide adequate hospitalization and medical care for our elderly and retired citizens. They deserve this recognition after a lifetime of work.

Because of the increased cost of living, which still continues its upward trend, today's wages do not have sufficient purchasing power for the average family. Consequently a minimum-wage law, providing at least \$1.25 per hour and wider coverage, should be established by Congress.

Having led the fight for these three basic measures which would benefit the vast majority of our people, viz-(1) Voting rights for all citizens; (2) medical and hospital care for the elderly; and (3) increased minimum wages-Senator Johnson should then be given serious consideration for the nomination by all segments of our people.

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Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law. but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board, or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives or the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

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Ness St. Mr. Justice Stewart, of Ohio, 3013 Q St.

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Seventh judicial circuit: Mr. Justice Clark
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Appendix

Address Delivered by Hon. Hubert H. Humphrey, of Minnesota, at West Virginia University

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, May 6, 1960

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the Record excerpts from an address delivered by me at West Virginia University on Thursday, May 5, 1960.

There being no objection, the excerpts from the address were ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

AN OPPORTUNITY FOR PROGRESS—WEST VIR-GINIA UNIVERSITY, THURSDAY, MAY 5, 1960

Sometimes when I travel from region to region in this country of ours, I think of the hungry little boy who saw a tree full of ripe apples on the other side of the hill.

"Ain't no reason to go over there," the little boy said sadly. "I ain't got no wagon to bring any apples home to the family."

That is the story in too many regions of America today. We do not have enough wagons to haul the abundant resources of one area to meet the desperate needs of another area.

Some regions have more water than they need, while others lie wasted and unproductive in the sun.

Some regions have more food than they need, while others are strained to feed the people.

Some regions have more jobs than men, while other areas represent pockets of unemployment and inactivity.

There are many men who say that this is just a natural state of affairs. They say it is all very sad and unfortunate, but that nothing can be done about it.

Well, I disagree.

I say that an unbalanced water supply, or an unbalanced distribution of food or an unbalanced employment force, should not be ignored. I say that it is the responsibility of Government to balance the Nation, to see that the resources of one area are utilized fully to meet the needs of another area.

Now don't misunderstand. I am not talking about Government handouts or total Government control of the whole fabric and pattern of society. I am talking about Government with enough commonsense and heart to work for the healthy growth of every area, to help each area build its own security and prosperity.

Let me use an example all of you will understand—the unbalanced supply and demand of electric power, the vast supply of coal in West Virginia and the growing demand for electric power throughout the East.

I have seen solid proof of that demand, my friends. America's population is growing by leaps and bounds. Its cities are spreading over wider areas. New homes are springing up like wild grass and new business and industry are boosting their output to service the growing population. And 55 percent of all Americans live within 500 miles of West Virginia. This growing region needs power—and lots of it—to meet the demands of more people, more homes, more business.

West Virginia is in the center of this circle of growth. And West Virginia has the source for power—coal. The State produced 30 percent of the Nation's supply, but still has an estimated eight times the amount of coal it has already produced under the ground. West Virginia's coal can produce power—and lots of it—to meet the needs of the growing East.

The implication is obvious. West Virginia should be the heart of the East—sending out the life blood of any nation's growth, power. But instead, West Virginia and its vast resources are treated like an unnecessary appendage, getting smaller and smaller as the rest of the Nation's body grows and prospers.

You know the results. Coal output is down. Miners are unemployed. The whole State—and all its people—have suffered because the coal industry is the most important in West Virginia.

Despite the tragic effects of the industry's decline, West Virginians have not given up. You are a hardy, determined people, and you are not quitters. Like the little boy eyeing the apple tree on the other side of the hill, you are not going to move off to satisfy your own individual needs. You are going to stay put, and face the responsibility for taking care of your families, your homes, and your State.

And like the little boy who needed a wagon to carry the apples, West Virginia needs a new method for sending the power of its coal to the growing areas which need it.

The cost of hauling your coal to centers of consumption is just too high. The freight charge for transporting coal by traditional methods amounts to almost three-fourths of the average value of coal at the mine. Such costs represent a major competitive disadvantage for coal compared to other energy sources.

There is a new method to reduce such costs and increase the demand and production of coal. This is the establishment of power stations at the mines able to send electricity by line to the major consuming centers.

Traditionally, the cost of transmitting electricity over high voltage powerlines more than 200 miles has been greater than the cost of transporting the coal itself.

But today growing demand has established the need for huge "blocks" of power at specific centers of consumption. Sweden has demonstrated that it is economically feasible to transmit more than 500,000 volts more than 500 miles. And, yes, the Soviet Union has done the same thing.

It is obvious that "mine-mouth electric power stations" represent an exciting new possibility for the growth of the coal industry and the revitalization of West Virginia's economy.

The State is ideally located for such power stations. In time electrical power from your coal could hum steadily through the high lines stretching to America's great industrial and urban centers. The coal beneath your hills could then become the source of new wealth and economic security for West Virginians.

Just listen to one prediction, reported recently by the Federal Power Commission.

FPC experts estimate that 10 strategically placed mine-mouth generating plants could supply the entire area east of the Mississippi with sufficient electrical power. Those 10 plants could do the job done by 1,623 plants now scattered in various regions.

But much must be done. It is the job of the Federal Government to take the lead in encouraging construction of mine-mouth generating plants. We must embark on a bold new program to stimulate the use of West Virginia coal. We must immediately establish a mood of cooperation between Federal and State Governments and private industry to accomplish that purpose.

Right now we have the chance to make a big start in this direction. Congress is considering legislation calling for a study of the electrical power supply situation in the United States. The study would pave the way for additional legislation to assure development of bulk power supply.

The establishment of mine-mouth power stations would not be a boost just for indus-

try in other States.

West Virginia's great potential contributions would be vividly dramatized to the whole Nation. Others would come to understand—as I do—the wealth of this State.

Development of new, low-cost energy resources can be the single greatest attraction to new industry to move into West Virginia itself.

Paper and chemical industries which consume huge quantities of electrical energy and use coal, water and forest products could not resist the West Virginia location.

And—above all—others would come to appreciate the skills and reliability of West Virginia's labor force.

It is time for the Government to take action to balance the Nation. It is time for giant steps to balance the needs for power with the supply of coal here. It is time for transforming the potential wealth of West Virginia into real prosperity for her citizens.

Paper Presented by Dr. Sverre Petterssen Before the Panel on Science and Technology of the Committee on Science and Astronautics

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JOHN W. McCORMACK

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, May 6, 1960

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, the Committee on Science and Astronautics had the great honor recently of playing host to a group of eminent scientists and engineers who make up the committee's panel on science and technology.

During the first meeting of this group, held on March 25, 1960, an important paper was presented by Dr. Sverre Petterssen, professor of meteorology at the University of Chicago.

Under unanimous consent, I insert in the RECORD Dr. Petterssen's paper: PAPER BY DR. SVERRE PETTERSSEN

Dr. Petterssen. Mr. Chairman, members of the House Committee on Science and Astronautics, ladies and gentlemen, our chairman remarked earlier that the scientists were so modest that they didn't offer papers. I can assure you that it was out of modesty that I offered to present a paper. I thought that I might not get the \$50 unless I worked hard for it. [Laughter.] My topic is: "Expected Developments in

My topic is: "Expected Developments in Meteorology During the Coming 10-Year Period."

1. INTRODUCTION

I have read the report entitled "Preliminary Plans for a National Institute for Atmospheric Research," prepared by the University Committee on Atmospheric Research (February 1959) and presented to the National Science Foundation, and I concur in the general philosophies and findings of this document.

I have read also the detailed statement on "Satellite Meteorology," by Dr. F. W. Reichelderfer, Chief of the U.S. Weather Bureau, contained in "The Next 10 Years in Space," published by the Select Committee on Astronautics and Space Exploration, 86th Congress, 1st session, House Document No. 115, pp. 135-144, and I concur with Dr. Reichelderfer's analyses and conclusions.

The purpose of this paper is to supplement the above-mentioned documents, particularly in areas where progress may depend upon proper coordination between space research and conventional meteorological research.

2. SCOPE

Without oversimplifying the essence of the problem, it may be said that our atmosphere communicates with the Sun in two ways: First, there is the direct communication through short-wave and corpuscular radiation via the uppermost part of the atmosphere. Second, there is the conversion of solar radiation into sensible heat and the resulting exchanges of heat and water vapor at the Earth-atmosphere interface. Both of these complexes of processes are important, for to some extent they influence the whole gaseous envelope of the Earth. To secure maximum progress in atmospheric science and technology we must provide observations and carry out research on processes ranging in space from a short distance down in the ground and the oceans all the way out to the tenuous border toward interplanetary space.

In many important problems, we are concerned with the establishment of energy budgets. While satellite observations suffice for establishing the budget for the entire system Earth-atmosphere, observations at the lower interface are needed to determine the amount of heat available to the atmosphere alone. Such observations are essential also for research on the circulation of water vapor and in many other connections.

3. COMMENTS ON OBSERVATIONS

It goes without saying that certain parts of the globe, such as the polar regions, the large deserts, et cetera, are sparsely covered with international networks of observing stations. Less known and even more detrimental to progress in mateorology is the fact that observations to describe the processes at the interface between the Earth and the atmosphere are almost universally absent. As a result, our knowledge of the heat and cold sources associated with the Earth's surface is exceedingly meager, and so is our knowledge of the supply of water vapor to the atmosphere. Though, through indirect methods, we are able to account for long-term balances and mean values, we are quite unable to cope with individual cases. This lack of observations of the processes surrounding the lower interface is a severe obstacle in the way of progress in the science of meteorology and its application to practical problems. It should be noted that this deficiency in our observing system can be eliminated without waiting for new technological developments. Furthermore, observations of the type here mentioned would be of great interest also to oceanography, hydrology, agriculture, water and soil conservation, pollution control, et cetera.

During the last two decades or so we have had international networks of sounding stations where balloons are released twice a day to measure the pressure, temperature, mois ture, and the winds aloft. Under ideal conditions such balloons will reach altitudes of about 100,000 feet, but normally the height is considerably smaller. In recent years customary rockets have provided useful data above about 200,000 to 300,000 feet. We find. therefore, that there is a wide gap, roughly from 70,000 to 250,000 feet which needs to be covered with direct measurements. Here, too, no essentially new technology need be developed to eliminate the deficiency: there are good reasons for believing that relatively inexpensive rockets can be developed and equipped with instruments suitable for the type of observations here needed. In populated regions rocket fragments may create a problem, but it should be possible to develop suitable materials. Observation on winds in the layer here under discussion may be obtained also from radio-telescope observations of meteor trails.

4. COMMENTS ON PREDICTION AND CONTROL

In the normal course of production of new scientific knowledge, one has first to observe, then to describe and lastly to explain. After a phenomenon has been explained, or understood, one may consider to what extent it is predictable and/or controllable. All ex-perience indicates that the large-scale phenomena in the lower atmosphere are predictable to some extent, but the degree of predictability has not been determined. the present time, little is known about the predictability of the small-scale phenomena in the lower atmosphere and nothing is known about the predictability of the phenomena above about 60,000 feet. Also, very little is known about the controllability of any atmospheric phenomenon, except that certain cloud types may be modified locally.

As meteorology develops as an environmental science, the questions of prediction and control will become more urgent, and real mastery of our environment will depend upon progress in these fields.

5. COMMENTS ON MANPOWER

With the rapid development of science, technology, and industry after the Second World War, the acquisition of highly trained personnel has become a major problem. The situation appears to be most urgent in the earth sciences, and within these meteorology occupies a rather unique position.

At the present time less than I percent of the meteorological profession is engaged in teaching, with the result that production of new personnel is far behind the demand for production of new knowledge. With the vigorous programs for stimulation and support of research and education developed by the National Science Foundation we may hope that the influx of young talent to meteorology will increase. However, the impact of these programs on progress in meteorology will be felt only gradually, and the Congress should realize that the atmospheric sciences need special consideration over a prolonged period.

To stimulate and maintain the influx of talent to meteorology we must provide more research opportunities and better scientific careers. In addition to preaching these laudable principles we need establish real beacons to attract young students. The National Institute for Atmospheric Research will be a major beacon when it becomes a

physical reality. Other beacons must be established by our universities. In the meantime, I will assume that, to some considerable extent, the manpower situation will be solved during the 10-year period under review.

6. PROGRESS DEPENDING ESSENTIALLY UPON SATELLITE OBSERVATIONS

It is difficult to speak on this subject without duplicating what has already been stated in the aforementioned paper by Dr. Reichelderfer. Since I shall try as far as possible to avoid duplication, reference must be made with his paper.

I shall assume that by 1970 a variety of satellites, not only of the Earth but also of the Moon, the Sun, and the near planets (e.g., Mars and Venus) will have been in operation for at least one-half sunspot cycle. I shall assume also that "soft" landings on Mars and Venus have been made succesfully. Looking then for results which may be of practical value, the following suggest themselves:

(a) The most important meteorological result to be obtained from a solar satellite would be the chance to observe the time worlation of the solar electromagnetic and corpuscular radiation over a period covering at least one-half solar cycle, say 5 years or more. It is known that the visible radiation undergoes only small variations but the short-wave radiation varies greatly, as does the corpuscular radiation. A quantitative study of the total solar energy input into the Earth's atmosphere and its time variation will yield essential knowledge of the ultimate cause of the atmospheric changes in the upper atmosphere.

(b) The Earth satellites will provide us with the other piece of essential information—namely, the output of the Earth's atmosphere both radiative and particulate (neutrons) and its time variation. The observational difficulties may be great, but I feel they will be overcome within a few years. We will, I hope, be able to explore not only the whole spectrum of the Earth's radiation back to space and the time variation of each portion of the spectrum, but also be able to detect the uppermost atmospheric level from which each part of the spectrum originates.

(c) The combined information from (a) and (b) above will not only give us the desired knowledge of the mean energy budget of the Earth as a whole (a subject upon which we already have some information) but will enable us to attack the more difficult problem of the Earth's reaction to solar activity, answering such questions as: "What layers react most? By how much?" "How far down in the atmosphere are appreciable effects produced?" "Is there a timelag between the operation of cause and effect?" "Do the effects integrate, so that the atmospheric output as a whole varies slowly with Answers to these questions would the Sun?" set up a framework for the study of the more complicated interrelations of the radiations within the troposphere.

(d) The role of the Van Allen belts in trapping high energy particles and the discharge of the particles into the auroral zone of the atmosphere when solar activity is high will be elucidated further. The physicists will certainly do this, but long-term measurements are needed before we can say what effect, if any, these discharges have on the atmospheric circulation above (say) 100,000 feet. So far, only effects on atmospheric density and electrification have been studied. The extremely strong winds already observed in the auroral zone during the polar night, for example, undergo abrupt changes in direction and speed that have been supposed by some to be "triggered" by solar activity. It is conceivable that aircraft may soon be operating in the lower parts of this system. Forecasting of the changes at

these levels is going to a meteorological problem in the not too distant future, and

it will certainly be a difficult one.

(e) Planetary satellites and "soft" landings on other planets will open up fascinating fields in meteorology. The composi-tion of other planetary atmospheres is known to differ from ours. One neighbor, Mars, has roughly the same angular velocity as ours; Jupiter exceeds our greatly; Venus rotates very slowly. The energy input of the Sun varies with the square of the distance. In our solar system, nature has set up a variety of meteorological experiments. It has been said that the meteorologist at present is in the position of a biologist who has to study only one species of animal, though he knows that many others exist. A truly general dynamic meteorology ought to be able to predict the general circulation of any planet. To do so may not be our privilege, but we must prepare the path and do our share of the work.

It is possible to foresee the early establishment of robot observing stations on Mars and Venus. At first these stations will measure for us only surface pressure, temperature, wind, etc., but even this information Would lay down the foundation for a description of the broad aspects of the circulation. In the Earth's atmosphere the water vapor and latent heats play an important part. Mars' atmosphere is notably dry, and it would be very instructive to know, in comparison, how a dry atmosphere behaves.

For other aspects of satellite meteorology reference is made to Dr. Reichelderfer's paper.

7. PROGRESS DEPENDING ESSENTIALLY UPON APPLICATION OF FLUID MECHANICS TO ATMOS-

In this field new vistas have been opened up by two recent developments. First, the development of electronic computers has made it possible to solve equations which describe, at least in broad outline, the evolution of the large-scale motion systems of the atmosphere. Second, through the development of new experimental techniques, it has become possible to reproduce experimentally, in rotating tanks, the essential features of a variety of atmospheric motions. Both these approaches are highly promising and, as more satisfactory observations become available, one may confidently expect to achieve a basic understanding of atmospheric motions and a greater capability to predict changes. In particular, the following developments are expected within the coming 10-year period.

- (a) The development of successful operational models i describing the general circulation of the atmosphere. This will lead to a better understanding of the causes underlying the mobile weather and motion systems and increased ability to predict the behavior of such systems. Considerable improvement in the accuracy of short-range forecasts and some extension of the forecast period may be expected through such researches.
- (b) Our ability to understand and predict the behavior of hurricanes has been very limited, mainly because of lack of observations from the pertinent ocean areas. Observations from Earth satellites, combined with balloon and radar soundings, will greatly enrich the observational data. Furthermore, recent research indicates that it will be pos-sible to construct realistic hurricane models which will lend themselves to numerical treatment by electronic computers. The problem of predicting hurricane storm surges (a related oceanographical problem) lends itself to the same kind of treatment. Progress in these fields will depend greatly

upon the acquisition of pertinent observations.

(c) Much of the weather in the United States develops around mesoscale systems. Examples are squall lines, thunderstorms, hailstorms, tornadoes, etc. As suitable observations become available, it appears possible to construct models which will lend themselves to treatment by electronic computers. Considerable improvement in our ability to predict the behavior (and perhaps also the initial development) of such systems is expected.

(d) Referring back to section 6 it may be noted that the extent to which the circulations of the upper and lower layers of the atmosphere are coupled has remained an unsolved problem. Such coupling has often been postulated but never satisfactorily explained. It is expected that models will be constructed and numerical experiments carried out to determine the extent to which such coupled motions are important.

(e) Many of the mathematical models which can be constructed for tests with electronic computers can be simulated in physical experiments with rotating liquids. It is expected that progress will be greatly accelerated by proper coordination between physical and numerical experiments on the one side and actual observations and analyses of atmospheric states on the other.

8. PROGRESS DEPENDING ESSENTIALLY UPON OB-SERVATIONS WITHIN THE ATMOSPHERE

While satellite observations will provide the items that enter into our global energy budgets, and the present balloon soundings will continue to provide basic data for skeletal analyses, more refined observations throughout the atmosphere are required if we are to explain and predict the behavior of individual motion and weather systems.

The requirements in this area are well described in the aforementioned report of the University Committee on Atmospheric Research, and it suffices here to summarize as follows:

(1) Observations from extensive networks of the exchange of heat and water vapor between the Earth and the atmosphere.

(2) Sounding systems which will provide observations from the layer between about 70,000 and 250,000 feet (see sec. 3).

(3) A network of electronic probing devices to record the physical structure of atmospheric systems and their changes.

(4) A relatively small number of highly instrumented aircraft for observations on the chemical and microphysical process associated with condensation, precipitation, electrification, etc.

Observation of the type described under (3) and (4) above are gradually becoming available, notably in the United States, U.S.S.R., and United Kingdom. As soon as observation in the categories (1) and (2) also become available from sufficiently larger areas, we shall be in a position to really describe the atmospheric processes and understand their behavior.

Though standard observation from the polar regions, large deserts, and certain ocean areas will remain sparse for some considerable time, satellite observations of cloud systems, and supplemental observations from reconnaissance systems will provide data to bridge the gaps. We shall then be in a position to cope with the global aspects of the atmosphere as well as with the behavior of a variety of superimposed weather systems on different scales.

Though all this may not be achieved within the coming 10-year period, we must strive toward this end. On the way we shall find that the questions of the predictability and the controllability of atmospheric process have become considerably clarified; we would expect considerable improvement in the accuracy of general weather forecasts; greatly improved accuracy in disaster warnings (hur-

ricanes, tornadoes, etc.); some extension of the time period for which useful forecasts can be provided; and new capabilities in the forecasting of the conditions of the uppermost atmosphere. Finally, I am certain we shall see that meteorology has developed en-gineering capabilities with extensive applications in agriculture, soil and water conservation, pollution prevention and control, and in a great variety of services to the general public, government, business, and in-

9. WEATHER MODIFICATION AND CONTROL

Though progress in the field of weather modification and control is inseparable from progress in meteorology in general, a word or two may be said here on this isolated subject since public interest in it is very strong. Without being unduly optimistic we may say that if the Government agencies concerned continue to maintain a program of carefully designed experiments which lend themselves to thorough statistical and/or physical evaluation, we shall be able, within 5 to 10 years, to determine the extent to which present techniques are capable of augmenting precipitation, modifying or controlling hall, lightning, etc. By about 1970 the Government should be in a position to formulate a nationwide policy in the general area of weather modification and control insofar as customary cloud and weather systems are concerned.

On general principles it is possible to believe that the behavior of hurricanes could be influenced by cloud physics operations, but little research has been carried out to

ascertain the possibilities.

There is nothing in our present knowledge to indicate that the general circulation of the atmosphere, the distribution of climates, and similar large-scale features can be influenced

by man.

Regardless of the extent to which weather may prove controllable, research on the physics, chemistry, and dynamics of clouds is essential for our understanding of a wide spectrum of atmospheric processes. Progress in this general area has been hampered, at times, by overoptimistic applications and crash projects to determine practical results. The efforts should now be concentrated on thorough scientific investigations which will yield basic knowledge of the processes themselves, and thus clarify the inherent predictability and controllability.

10. FURTHER REMARKS

In concluding I would like to point out some features which are typical of the present state of affairs in meteorology. Firstly, since the end of the last World War meteorology has been a neglected scientific field, the results that a severe manpower problem has developed in atmospheric research. Secondly, meteorology is an integra-tion of many sciences, so that interdisciplinary activities are essential for progress on a broad front. Finally, many of the most important problems in meteorology are of global nature and can be solved only by piecing together information and results of research in many lands. Though the weather systems do not respect frontiers, language barriers have severely hindered free flow of knowledge.

It is my firm belief that very substantial progress in the science and in the service of meteorology can be achieved over the coming

10-year period-

(a) By creating stable research programs, facilities and opportunities which will attract new talent to meteorology and related fields in the earth and space sciences;

(b) By maintaining an extensive program of interdisciplinary activities to stimulate exchange of ideas and coordination of efforts;

(c) By maintaining a greatly expanded program for speedy translation, abstracting, etc., of pertinent publications in foreign languages.

¹ Here, the term "model" refers to a mathematical formulation of the laws of motion applicable to a specified type of atmospheric Bystam.

11. ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

My grateful thanks are due to the colleagues mentioned below for their comments on the progress that may be expected in meteorology over the coming 10-year period: Prof. R. H. Byers, the University of Chicago; Prof. H. G. Houghton, Massachusetts Institute of Technology; Prof. C. E. Palmer, the University of California at Los Angeles; Prof. G. W. Platzman, the University of Chicago; Prof. H. Riehl, the University of Chicago.

Address of Most Worshipful Max Seligman, Grand Master of Free Masons of Grand Lodge of the State of Israel

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Friday, May 6, 1960

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, earlier this year it was my pleasure to visit with Most Worshipful Max Seligman, grand master of Free Masons of the Grand Lodge of the State of Israel.

At that time I discussed with him the splendid humanitarian work of the Masons in Israel. I was so impressed with the work the Masons are doing in Israel that I asked Mr. Seligman to furnish me with some of the details of that work.

I am happy to say, Mr. President, that I now have a copy of the paper delivered by Mr. Seligman before the Masonic Service Association here in Washington on February 25, 1960.

I feel this summary of the work of the Masonic Order in Israel is particularly appropriate, as preparations are being made for the second annual Masonic pilgrimage to Israel and Europe on June 4 through June 29 of this year.

The honorary chairman of the pilgrimage is former President Harry S. Truman.

I should like to say a few words about Mr. Seligman himself, whose varied background and successful career are typical of the leadership of this splendid dynamic State of Israel. Seldom in history have so many gifted men and women joined together to create a completely new society. In some ways it is reminiscent of our own experience on the eastern seaboard of North America when similarly gifted and energetic men and women formed the Thirteen Colonies and later the United States. Mr. Seligman was originally a Welshman and is a graduate of the Technical College of the University of Wales, Cardiff, as well as of the Government Law School in Jerusalem. He has been a prominent member of the Palestine and Israeli Bar since 1929, is the founder and was chairman for a number of years of the Israel and British Commonwealth Association. He was installed as the grand master of the Masons of the Grand Lodge of the State of Israel on December 22, 1959.

I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the Record,

the address of Mr. Seligman of February 25, 1960.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Paper Delivered Before the Masonic Service Association by Most Worshipful Max Seligman, Grand Master of Free Masons of the Grand Lodge of the State of Israel, February 25, 1960, Washington, D.C.

Grand masters and brethren, first permit me to express my gratitude and that of the Grand Lodge of the State of Israel to your executive secretary, Worshipful Brother John Cunningham, for his never falling courtesies and wholehearted friendship. Our American coordinating representative, Brother Monty Winslow has spoken so highly of you, Brother Cunningham, that we feel that we have in you a good and loyal friend. Our thanks also to Brother Conrad Hahn and very par-ticularly to Brother Sam MacIntosh for their interest and helpfulness. I found, upon arrival in Washington, that the first person to greet me was none other than Brother Ray Denslo whom I have heard of for so many years through his heading your foreign relations committee. Freemasonry in Israel-what a veritable wealth of mysticism and significance to our craft is contained in this short phrase. It conjures up many ideas, visions, truths, and evidences of our life, facts and problems that our brethren in Israel face and which are unique to our own jurisdiction. No talk on this subject can be complete, however, without a brief résumé of our grand lodge's history so that you may be more fully aware of how our present day problems have evolved.

As you all know ancient Israel is reputed to be the legendary birthplace of our craft. Our rituals are replete with their references to King Solomon's temple. Modern masonry in Israel goes back to the middle of the 19th century, when the first Freemason's lodge in the then Palestine was formed by French engineers engaged in the building of the Suez Canal. That lodge, the Aurora has seen many forms and now almost 100 years old, retains much of its French origin and works under our present constitution as Barkai Lodge. In 1902 Scottish Freemasonry appeared in Palestine in the ancient Arab citadel town of Acre. As time progressed other constitutions formed lodges in the then open mandated territory. Scottish Freemasons made the greatest impact and left the heaviest continuing impressions on our changing freemasonry scene.

It is of interest to note that, in the latter part of 1948, following the establishment of our present State of Israel and the ending of the British mandate that three lodges operating under the English constitution terminated their Palestine operation and were moved elsewhere.

With the establishment of the State of Israel and under the initiative of a group of energetic Scottish past masters, negotiations were opened for the erection of a sovereign grand lodge of Freemasons in Israel. After no small effort, in which your humble servant played some part, the great day dawned, October 20, 1953, when the present grand lodge of the State of Israel was erected and consecrated under the aegis of the grand lodge of Scotland with the full consent of the grand lodges of England and Ireland. The red letter day in the annals of Israel Freemasonry was marked by the presence of the Earl of Elgin P.G.M .: Grand Secretary R. W. Bro. Buchan; Grand Master Davidson of the grand lodge of Netherlands and large numbers of visitors from Scotland, South Africa, England, the Netherlands, United States of America, and other countries. On the same evening, immediately following the erection ceremonies, and

with the blessing of the Earl of Elgin, all of the lodges, operating in Israel under different constitutions were granted charters by us. We then found ourselves faced with the problems with which every grand lodge must cope plus the added problems en-gendered by the daily vicissitudes of our beloved land of Israel. Today we have 48 lodges operating under the constitution of the grand lodge of the State of Israel. Most of these lodges operate in Hebrew, but there are lodges also operating in French, Rumanian, English, and German. Yes, and there are no less than four Arabic-speaking lodges as well. Of the overall group four are English speaking, one the George Wash-ington Lodge operating under New York rites and preparing Americans who are in Israel under point 4 or as American Embassy staff members. Our proud boast is that we in turn send them back to their native America as master Masons, made in Israel-our favorite export. Our grand lodge seal with its self-contained Star of David (or Mogen David) the cross of Christianity and the crescent of the Moslem world best exemplifies the spirit of true brotherhood and real unity of Masonry in action in Israel which stands at the crossroads of inter-national Freemasonry. We proudly point to the Koran, the Old Testament, and the New Testament which lie on our lodge altars and on which our candidates take their obligations on the respective good book which they individually hold dearest to themselves. So you see that we, every day in Israel live our Masonic lives ever mindful of the basic principles of Freemasonry.

I have mentioned four lodges which are comprised predominantly of Arab brethren. They take an enthusiastic interest in their lodges. You may ask what problems we have that are not akin to yours here. Our grand lodge is faced with several that are indigenous to our land. In Israel our earning power is keyed to the economy of our country. As a yardstick example, a mu-nicipal judge does well to earn 1£500 to 1£600 per month. From this the Govern-ment with various and assorted taxes, including income tax, removes well over 40 percent. From the balance our illustrious member must maintain himself, his family and household, and attempt to provide for his family's growing needs. At this point, for your information, we point out that 1 Israel pound is worth 55 cents Ameri-can. If he is fortunate in having children of high school age there again goes If60 to I£120 per month per child to keep them in school. The Government provides free schooling only through the eighth grade. So you can see where normally elsewhere the grand lodge is supported by its daughter lodges, we grand lodge officers in Israel are faced with the problems of supporting almost 60 percent of our daughter lodges in their charity programs and situations that are not covered by the nominal dues which many of our members have enough difficulty in meeting.

It is significant to know that, in the entire Middle East, Israel forms an oasis where Moslems, Christians, and Jews meet together for Masonic work and pleasure in complete amity. This is really what a speaker yester-day referred to as "applied Masonry." In Israel, up to this past year, we faced the basic problem of our grand lodge (to say nothing of the daughter lodges) having no suitable place to meet. All worked in rented premises often far too small to hold the brethren wishing to enter. However, with the help of the G.A. of the U. we have managed to make some progress in meeting this problem-In Haifa (in the north) our daughter lodges banded together to erect a small but tasteful temple. In Nathanya, likewise. In the south, in historical Ashkelon, our newest and smalest lodge has acquired a suitable plot of land and emulating your American do-it-

yourself craze, are erecting their own temple ultilizing the building skills assembled among the brethren. In Tel Aviv, a city which has just celebrated its 50th anniversary, grand lodge has moved into a new temple by means, to use another American phrase, "Operation Bootstrap," that is, by taxing its own membership a minimum of I£100 per head. I am proud to tell you that every member in Tel Aviv paid his assessment and today we have the first floor of our grand lodge temple completed. Our substantial balance of \$50,000 still due the builders will be paid off, I assure you, within the next 6 months. How, I cannot tell you here, as yet, but it will be the very spirit of brotherhood which has brought our grand lodge to its present milestone of achievement.

In the field of rehabilitation we face a problem which no other grand lodge in the world must meet. Eschewing politics no one can deny that the State of Israel is constantly absorbing new immigrants. A population of half a million has absorbed over a million refugees. Among them are no small number of Freemasons, many of whom have managed to escape from concentration camps and from countries behind the Iron Curtain. They arrive in an impoverished state similar to our new candidates, that is, without any worldly possessions, and to put it mildly, divested of all metallic substance whatsoever.

What is our task in this? In every fashion to help the brother rehabilitate himself and restore his usefulness to himself, his family, and his new found country. To reinstill in him the feeling of being a freeman on free soil. To help him assume his rightful place among his equals, to reaffirm in him the realization that he is among brethren. this end we have established a Masonic oldfolks home in Naharya, an immigrant Ma-sonic fund, an orphanage fund, a student bursary to provide education loans to Masons and their children, a crippled children's fund, a polio victims' fund, a Masonic youth fund, a defective children's fund, a Masonic or-Phans' education fund, and so forth, as well as participation by the daughter lodges on their own community levels in assorted aid

We of the grand lodge of the State of Israel are constantly mindful of the terrific responsibilities which our obligations have imposed upon us in all these respects.

We in turn however are not unmindful of the interest exhibited by our Masonic brethren in other lands, and last year during July we entertained the first annual Masonic pilgrimage to Israel from United States and Canada under the guidance of R. W. Russell P. Kantor 33°. We are at this very moment entertaining 120 Masons from England. Next June 4 we look forward to the second annual Masonic pilgrimage of United States and Canadian Masons under the leadership of your very own Most Worshipful Chester Hodges 33° P.G.M. At this Point, I would most certainly be remiss if I did not extend to all of you a most warm invitation to join this second annual pilgrimage with your loved ones and to visit your brethren in Israel, the land of the Bible. We are proud to tell you that the great mafority of our pilgrimage members will be brought to our shores by Israel's own national airlines, the world famous El Al.

Sincerest thanks to the Masonic Service Association from whom we have learned much this year, and I salute you until we meet again with my country's classic salutation. Shalom, lehitroht.

Some Problems of the Independent Federal Regulatory Commissions

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. OREN HARRIS

OF ARKANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, May 6, 1960

Mr. HARRIS. Mr. Speaker, it was my honor and pleasure to address the annual dinner meeting of the Federal Trial Examiners' Conference on some of the problems of the independent Federal regulatory commissions. In that our committee has been studying these problems for some time and have proposed legislation under consideration, I know of no group which I think more appropriate than this distinguished group for discussion of these problems. Because of its importance and interest manifest in these problems, under unanimous consent I extend my remarks and include it therein:

SOME PROBLEMS OF THE INDEPENDENT FED-ERAL REGULATORY COMMISSIONS

(Remarks of Hon. OREN HARRIS, chairman, House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, at annual dinner of Federal Trial Examiners' Conference, May 5, 1960)

Mr. President, members of the Federal Trial Examiners' Conference, honored guests, it is a great pleasure for me to appear as your speaker tonight, at the annual dinner of the Federal Trial Examiners' Conference. As you know, my duties as chairman of the House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce and of two of its important subcommittees have brought me intimately into touch with many of the problems that confront you. Of course, our committee work has been concerned with the problems of the regulatory agencies administering statutes under the jurisdiction of the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce. For that reason we have not focused on every problem that might face all of you, particularly those of you who serve as examiners in executive agencies. And yet I think that the matters we have had occasion to consider in connection with the adjudicatory functions of the independent commissions are pretty representative of many matters of professional interest to your whole member-

Tonight I thought I would discuss with you four topics of relevance to the adminis-I am sure most of you will recognize that these topics are roughly the same ones considered in the panel discussion hearings held last June before the Subcommittee on Legislative Oversight of the Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee. At those highly instructive sessions, the subcommittee had the benefit of the views of several of you. You will remember that there was a good deal of difference of opinion on practically every point raised. In the matter of ex parte contacts, for instance, everybody professed to be against sin, but a number of our distinguished panelists seemed to prefer a little sin to any proposal that would do away with it. It is the belief of the committee, however, that from the give and take of opposing viewpoints set forth in the hearing record will emerge a workable approach to the ex parte and other

As you know, we have tried to do just that in H.R. 4800, the bill I introduced in the first session of this Congress as a result of recommendations contained in the Legislative Oversight Subcommittee's report to the 85th Congress. I also introduced H.R. 6774, a bill proposed by the American Bar Association and also designed to cope with the problem of improper pressures on agency personnel, Now the legislative hearings we held in March and April of this year indicated a few imperfections in those bills. But I believe that the general approach is a sound one and that legislation in this field is essential.

I. REGULATORY COMMISSIONS AND THE ROLE OF HEARING EXAMINERS

First, I want to touch briefly on the role of the independent commission in the regulatory scheme, and to try to cast some p spective on the adjudicatory function of the hearing examiner. It is not my intention to justify the existence of the independent regulatory commission. While the commission as a regulatory instrument has its critics, I feel it has demonstrated that it has a permanent place in our governmental scheme. I think we'll all concede that no human arrangements are without their flaws. In recognition of this, we strive to diagnose them and to apply whatever remedies seem necessary and practicable. I simply do not hold with certain commentators on the administrative process whose proposals seem to me equivalent to burning up the roost to catch a chicken thief.

Many of us are in danger of forgetting that these regulatory commissions were established, not to fulfill some grandiose scheme of visionary planners, but to meet down-to-earth, practical difficulties. time went by, experience amply showed that rail, water, and air transportation, electric power, interstate communications, security exchanges and the like would not adequately serve the public interest if left in the hands of large unregulated corporate owners. It became clear that the responsibility of the managers of these giant organizations to their stockholders must be accompanied by a corresponding responsibility to their customers and, indeed, to the public generally, Accordingly, the Congress, as representative of the public interest, intervened to redress the imbalances and dislocations in our economy brought about by the unfettered sway of these corporations affected with a public interest.

So it was for practical reasons that Congres delegated to regulatory commissions diverse broad discretionary powers limited by the confines of enabling statutes.

Formal adjudication is but one phase of the work of most regulatory commissions. In addition, they are directed to investigate, advise, prosecute, study, legislate, supervise, and enforce. The commission member must wear many hats. We hear it suggested, and the charge has some foundation, that occasionally a commission member forgets to take off his prosecuting or legislative hat when he is supposed to be deciding an adversary dispute.

The job of the commission hearing examiner is to see to it that such disputes are initially heard and decided in the proper judicial manner when the situation calls for judicial procedures. His duties are not concerned with the legislative, supervisory, prosecutory or enforcement functions of his agency. But when opposing parties compete for favors available through his agency or resist enforcement measures the agency seeks to impose, the trial examiner will be called upon to determine the rights of the parties. His determination must be based on substantial evidence taken at a hearing.

He hears and observes the demeanor of the conflicting witnesses and counsel. He has a firsthand opportunity to appraise the credibility of witnesses and to make findings of fact based on his firsthand experience. In these matters his role is precisely analogous to that of a trial judge or master charged with finding the facts of a dispute without a jury. As such, the agency hearing examiner's findings, if contested, should be entitled to considerable weight. It is no secret to you, however, that the weight given to the findings of fact and conclusions of law of hearing examiners varies widely from commission to commission.

Now without in any way trying to glorify trial examiners or pretending to magnify their importance all out of proportion, it is obvious that the examiner is of central and crucial importance to the success and integrity of agency adjudication. Both the agencies and the Congress, as well as your own Federal Trial Examiners' Conference, are constantly trying to devise means of improving the training and quality of hearing examiners and, correspondingly, of enhancing their compensation and prestige and of improving their working conditions. Of these matters I shall have something more to say later.

II. EX PARTE PRESSURES

The second point I want to take up with you is the problem of improper ex parte approaches to commission personnel. In our consideration of this problem, the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce and the Subcommittee on Legislative Oversight have heard a wealth of commentary. Putting aside for the moment the very tough questions of propriety of ex parte contacts in connection with rulemaking proceedings, even adjudication has given us trouble. When, for example, does adjudication begin? Does it begin when either the agency or an outside party files a first pleading invoking agency action? Or does it begin only when a second party comes into the picture, that is, when a contest of some kind becomes inevitable? Is it sufficient to bar ex parte communications at the stage when the separation of functions provision of the Administrative Procedure Act takes effect, or may the damage not be done by that time? sufficient to prohibit ex parte communications with "decisional personnel," or should the ban go farther? How can routine procedural matters and matters leading to tlements, stipulations, and more expeditious procedures be handled without leaving open the door to more sinister approaches? H.R. 4800 prohibits certain approaches concerning the "issues, merits, and disposition" of agency matters. Does this language go far enough? Does it attempt too much? Is it sufficiently clear to afford reasonable guidance to commission personnel and to the public?

What weight should be given the findings, rulings, and recommendations of hearing officers? What restraints should be placed on their powers to control their own proceedings? Do the hidden review procedures in certain commissions afford a means of circumventing the hearing examiner and thus effecting an improper result?

These are only a few of the questions raised in hearings before us during this session of Congress. Even more difficult questions arise concerning the uneasy borderland between adjudicatory and rulemaking proceedings. The latter are conventionally and, for the most part, properly likened to the proceedings of a legislative body. The agency, like the legislative body, is seeking information from all possible reliable sources to assist it in formulating as intelligently and fairly as possible rules to govern future conduct. The procedures associated with the trial of a law-suit, with its limitations on parties in interest, evidence restrictions, and so forth, are as

inappropriate to the quasi-legislative as to the legislative task.

We are becoming increasingly aware that the distinction made in the Administrative Procedure Act between adjudication and rulemaking in some instances breaks down. Recent developments have taught us that adjudication and rulemaking are not watertight compartments. Rather, they are useful guides, readily applicable in the bulk of agency proceedings. But where, as in the celebrated Sangamon Valley case, handed down in May 1959, the outcome of a rule-making proceeding in effect determines the substantive rights of contesting parties, ex parte contacts with Commission personnel should be strictly circumscribed. Too many people have gotten the idea that the sky is the limit if only they can tag the rulemaking label on a given proceeding. Perhaps the hardest task confronting the draftsman of legislation is to devise language to cover this type of borderland situation.

But despite the many vexatious questions raised by an effort to bring a higher level of integrity to Commission proceedings, many of which I suspect merely conceal a desire to prevent any tightening up at all, our committee intends to go forward with its efforts. If H.R. 4800 or H.R. 6774 or some combination of their provisions cannot best do the job, modifications can be made that will strengthen existing law while recognizing certain criticisms as legitimate. Our hearings on this legislation were to some extent marred because of the failure of some critics to address themselves carefully to the actual language of the bills. In fact, I had doubts as to whether some opponents of the legislation had even read all the provisions they opposed.

III, EXCESSIVE DELAYS AND REDTAPE

The third general topic I want to mention tonight is the question of increasing redtape that is threatening to strangle the administrative process. Among the matters of overriding importance that have caused concern. even alarm, are the related problems of unduly protracted hearings and extensive length of hearing records, the high costs of Commission proceedings, and the frequent lengthy delays in bringing agency matters to a conclusion. Apart from the inconvenience and financial loss caused by these factors to litigants, their representatives, and the agencies, they have been cited as an unintended inducement to ex parte activity. Many such contacts begin as a result of frustration and exasperation with interminable agency delays. As one experienced attorney told the Subcommittee on Legislative Oversight in 1958:

"Ethics in the administrative process is linked with efficiency in administrative operations. The climate for fast deals or sly arrangements is good when administrative operations are marked by excessive delays, inadequate procedures, complexity of regulations, poor public information provisions, and so forth.

"On the other hand, efficient operations tend to keep everyone on a straight and narrow path."

One agency for which the Legislative Oversight Subcommittee has figures is the Civil Aeronautics Board. The CAB issues some 175 opinions and orders a month, some 2,100 a year. At least 32 tons of this "green stuff," as the opinions and orders issued on green letter-size paper are called, are issued and distributed annually. In a recently heard route proceeding now awaiting an initial decision by the Examiner, the written testimony and exhibits which should be required

to be served on all parties were estimated by the subcommittee staff to weigh some 15 tons. We hear of proceedings dragging on over several years, and there is at least one instance of a hearing officer's decision that exceeded 650 pages.

. The cumbersomeness of such procedures represents a burden that falls heavily on the hearing officer. People outside the agencies got a graphic idea of what this burden can mean from a photograph in the September 1959 copy of Fortune magazine showing one of your veteran members, the Chief Hearing Examiner of the Federal Power Commission, almost hidden behind a mound of hearing transcripts, briefs, exhibits, etc., for a single case.

These unwieldy proceedings are expensive, both to the regulated industry and to the Commissions concerned. Ultimately, of course, the American people bear the heavy costs. The taxes they pay suport the Commissions, and they indirectly pay the industry bills through inflated rate bases, subsidies, and the like.

A number of causes are suggested for these problems: inadequate agency personnel, clumsy hearing procedures often stemming from inadequate power in the examiner to direct and control the hearing, excessive and secret intra-agency review of examiners' findings, obstructive tactics by parties and their representatives, inefficient and bureaucratic staff work, uncertainty as to limitations on parties in interest, abuse of the principle of the Ashbacker case, and so on. Unquestionably all these factors and many others contribute to the confusion. The blame, if it is fair to ascribe blame for such a complex situation, lies in no one place. I think there are some respects in which the Congress could lend a hand. But the effort must be a cooperative one. Neither the Congress, the agencies, the examiners, the regulated industries, nor the bar alone can do the job.

I have tried to take at least a first step toward dealing with the situation. With the help of the staff of the Subcommittee on Legislative Oversight and representatives of each of the so-called "Big Six" regulatory commissions, we have established an Advisory Council on Administrative Procedure. The Advisory Council is in the process of collecting, sifting and evaluating a mass of detailed factual information respecting agency procedures. Our expectation is that the council will serve as a clearinghouse that will before long be able to advise the Congress as to concrete measures that might be taken, measures based on a careful appraisal of up-to-date, documented information.

Since one of the classical reasons advanced for resort to the administrative process was the need to avoid the unwieldy procedures of courts of law, it is clear that the situation I have described calls for corrective action. Increasingly we hear doubts as to whether the regulatory commissions can "do the job." It is up to all concerned to show that it can if it will.

IV. PROBLEMS OF HEARING EXAMINERS

Finally, I turn to my fourth point, a discussion of some questions of immediate practical concern to all of you—the role of hearing examiners in the administrative process.

Many factors enter into a determination of this role—the extent to which the agencies determine general questions of policy in advance of the decision of a particular case, the breadth of the discretion vested in examiners to control proceedings before them, the weight attached to their reports, the facilities and assistance furnished to them for the performance of their duties, and,

¹ Sangamon Valley Television Corp. v. United States, 358 U.S. 49 (1958) and, on remand, 103 D.C. App. 113, 255 F. 2d 191 (D.C. Clr. 1959)

² Ashbacker Radio Corp. v. FCC, \$26 U.S. 327 (1945).

above all, the caliber of the men chosen for these positions.

There is a widespread, though by no means universal, belief that examiners could function more effectively if the agencies gave them more policy guidance for the handling of specific cases. One of the most experienced practitioners before the ICC, John R. Turney, has said that:

"The failure of administrative agencies, including the ICC, to engage in clear-cut policymaking has resulted in inconsistent unsound decisions and doubtless, in some cases, in unjust or discriminatory treatment of parties in different proceedings."

I'm sure you are all familiar with the provocative memorandum submitted to the President by Mr. Louis J. Hector at the time of his resignation from the CAB. In that memorandum he placed much of the blame for the delay in the disposition of important cases on the fact that the board assigns them for hearing without any policy direction whatever.

I know you don't all agree with Mr. Hector's view, but I believe it is a point which deserves serious study by the agencies themselves and by Congress.

Another important aspect of the hearing examiner's function is the extent of his power to control the proceedings in cases heard by him. Lack of adequate authority for this purpose is assigned as one of the causes of delay and the inordinate length of hearing records. One experienced examiner in an agency which has given its examiners relatively little discretion made the off-the-record observation that he would probably let a Sears, Roebuck catalog go into the record if any one offered it.

The extent of the examiner's effective control depends not only on the text of the agency's rules. In practice, it also depends to a large degree on the weight accorded to his conclusions in the final disposition of the case. When the final decisions are drafted by anonymous reviewers who are free to disregard the hearing examiner's findings, the examiner is likely to have difficulty in obtaining cooperation of the parties in his efforts to define the issues and expedite the proceedings. This was recognized by the Attorney General's Committee on Administrative Procedures in 1941. That committee noted in its report that as the conduct of the hearing becomes divorced from responsibility for decision two undesirable consequences ensue. The hearing itself degenerates, and the decision becomes anonymous.

Testimony before our subcommittee has shown that the practice deplored by the Attorney General's committee persists in some form in many agencies today. In some the hearing examiner's report passes through the hands of a succession of reviewers, each of whom is free to disregard entirely the report prepared by the examiner and to substitute his own conclusions based on a reading of the cold record. Moreover, the Subcommittee on Legislative Oversight has heard testimony that in at least one agency proceedings before the examiner have been regarded as a costly waste of time, because the final decision is believed to be reached by members of the agency in response to representations made either on or off the record after the hearing examiner has made his report.

While I am not sure that I see eye to eye with all of you as to the extent to which administrative proceedings should be judicialized, I most emphatically agree that every proceeding should be what it purports to be. Any proceeding which by statute or regulation is required to be decided in a record should, in fact, be decided on the record made in open hearings or on written pleadings, evidence and argument available to all interested persons.

I also agree with the conclusion of the Attorney General's committee that the status

of the hearing examiner "is the heart of formal administrative adjudication. It cannot succeed without competent and wellpaid men exercising functions of responsibility and interest. This is necessary to protect both the public interest and the private interests which are concerned in the pro-

There was recently introduced in the House of Representatives a bill, H.R. 11669, which is designed to attract and retain the ablest men as hearing examiners. Although it was referred to another committee, the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce is interested in it because of the central role played by examiners in administration of statutes within our jurisdiction. In addition to the higher salary scale provided for examiners generally, this bill has two other features which are significant to the administrative process. One is the fact that the statute itself prescribes the grade for examiners in each agency. Secondly, places all examiners in any agency in the same grade. Both these changes take away discretion now exercised by the Civil Service Commission with respect to the assignment of examiners in various agencies to specific salary grades. I recognize that there are a number of arguments for and against the vesting of this discretion in the CSC. Two of the arguments in favor of withdrawing CSC discretion appeal to me as meriting particular study. One is that in determining whether to reclassify the position of an examiner in a given agency the CSC is alleged to give undue weight to the volume of the record made in proceedings handled by an examiner. Such a practice, if in truth it is followed, tends to defeat the objective of simplifying proceedings and shortening records. An examiner who hopes for a reclassification of his position or for promotion to a higher grade already allocated to the agency is said to face the dilemma of being penalized if he courageously exercises his authority to confine the testimony to the relevant and important issues, reducing its volume and sharpening the issues, or of being rewarded if he allows the parties to prolong the proceedings and encumber the record with a mass of irrelevant material.

A second point urged in favor of the proposed change is that where examiners in any agency are assigned to two or more grades, the CSC is believed to give great weight to the recommendations of the agency for the promotion of examiners. The result, it is said, is that in certain agencies examiners in lower grades are susceptible to pressure because of the fear that their opportunity for promotion will be jeopardized if they propose decisions contrary to the desires of senior staff members or of individual members of the agency. I refer to these matters not to pass judgment on their merits, but simply to indicate that they deserve serious attention in the consideration of H.R. 11669.

With respect to the proposal to assign examiners in the major regulatory agencies to a higher grade under the Classification Act of 1949. I was interested to discover that in 1941 the Attorney General's Committee on Administrative Procedure recommended that for major agencies, salaries for hearing com-missioners should be \$7,500 and for chief hearing commissioners, \$8,500. Translated into the deflated dollars of 1960, these figures would, I believe, exceed the highest salary now paid to examiners in these agencies.

To make the best use of their examiners' time and skill, agencies must furnish them adequate working quarters, facilities, and assistance. Unhappily some agencies have not found it possible to do this. In such cases a modest investment in additional space equipment and clerical and technical assistance would probably pay large dividends in sounder decisions and speedier disposition of cases.

The Government, and the people, are for-tunate in having men and women of your stature and dedication to duty who are willing to accept, even under adverse conditions, the responsibilities of adjudicating the almost unbelievably complex cases arising under statutes regulating various forms of business enterprise. The Subcommittee on Legislative Oversight has benefited greatly by the insight into the administrative process presented by members of your conference who have participated in its panel discussions. I bespeak your continued interest and cooperation in our efforts to hammer out legislation to improve this process and to put an end to the abuses which our hearings have revealed.

Graham A. Barden and Carl T. Durham

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. SAM J. ERVIN. JR.

OF NORTH CAROLINA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Friday, May 6, 1960

Mr. ERVIN. Mr. President, on May 6, 1960, the North Carolina Society of Washington honored two of North Carolina's ablest and most beloved sons, GRAHAM A. BARDEN and CARL T. DURHAM. who are voluntarily relinquishing their seats in the House of Representatives after years of consecrated courageous and intelligent service to their districts, State, and country. On that occasion the society's charming president, Mrs. Fred W. Morrison, paid eloquent and happy and merited tribute to those distinguished North Carolinians.

I ask unanimous consent that this tribute be printed in the Appendix of

There being no objection, the tribute was ordered to be printed in the REC-ORD, as follows:

It is unusual for the North Carolina Society to pay tribute to two men at the same time. It is logical and appropriate that our guests, Representative GRAHAM A. BARDEN and Representative Carl T. Durham, should be honored together tonight. Both of these North Carolinians got their education at the University of North Carolina, got it through considerable sacrifice. Both served in the Navy in World War I. Both became professional men—one a lawyer, the other a pharmacist. Congressman Barden was elected to Congress in 1934, Congressman DURHAM in 1938. They have served together for over 22 years. They are two friendly, but exceedingly individual persons, each going his own way, subscribing to his own convictions, maintaining, however, at all times, a cordial relationship based on mutual respect.

My husband, who has known both since they were university students (and who thinks he knows them much better than I do—a very manly mistake) has at times said things like this to me about Mr. DURHAM and Mr. Barden. He says each is a gentle-man, and each is a positive character—firm, vigorous in standing up for his thinking and for his position and policy. Their ways of standing up, he says, are usually quite dif-ferent. Mr. Durham is quiet, genteel, sweet in maintaining his position. Mr. Barden possesses these same virtues. But he never means to show them openly until after he

has had a big fight first.

It would be impossible to list formally their achievements. Let me merely say

that Congressmen Barden and Durham are men of great ability who are keenly aware of the uncertain world about them, of the threat of new and dangerous social and economic movements, and of the ominous implications of the discoveries of science. Both men have gained national stature in Congress.

Representative Carl T. Durham, for over a decade, has had to deal with the problems of mass destruction through nuclear weapons as a member and chairman of the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy since it was established in 1946.

Representative Graham A. Barden is now the 20th ranking Member in the entire House membership. He has served as chairman of the powerful Committee on Education and Labor since the Reorganization Act was passed consolidating the Committees on Labor and Education. His leadership in legislation to help the physically handicapped, in vocational education programs, the passage of the Taft-Hartley law, Federal aid to education and the recent laws designed to control corruption in labor unions is well known.

Both of these men are affable, genial and easy to know. They have gone through life possessed with an enormous amount of what I shall call political charm, with which they were able to convert acquaintances into friends. But this genial, affable manner was sometimes deceptive. Occasionally there were people who assumed that this friendly exterior was a sign of softness. Nothing could have been further from the truth. Actually both of these men have in their makeup an element of steel when an effort is made to attack their deeply held convictions.

And so tonight we salute Graham Barden and Carl Durham, who in their separate ways symbolize much of the good in North Carolina. They are men easily recognized in any crowd: Mr. Durham with his silver hair, courtly manner, bowing graciously as he passes from individual to individual, bestowing on all the friendly benediction of a family doctor; Mr. Barden with his dynamic personality, laughing and joking with his friends and displaying that manner which made him equally at home on the streets of New Bern or in the sophisticated circles of Washington.

There is a salutation that has come down to us from the days of ancient Rome which is a combination of joy and sorrow. The words are "Hail and Fareweil." Tonight the members of the North Carolina Society would like to reverse this ancient phrase and acclaim our friends Barden and Durham by saying "Fareweil and Hail." For we are determined not to have them leave us with a word of parting, but to cherish always as a living thing their gallant service for the Nation and the "Old North State." The words of Paul to his young colleague, Timothy, are so appropriate: "I have fought a good fight, I have finished my course, I have kept the faith."

We of the North Carolina Society wish you Agnes and Graham and you Carl a happy and much earned vacation and rest. We will miss you. We wish you to continue to hold on to your abiding interests and friends, to stay young and grow new ones, to play, to work—not too much, to live life—to know the best is yet to be.

The board of governors, by acclamation, confer upon you Mr. Barden and you Mr. Dubham, honorary membership in the North Carolina Society. And from the members of the North Carolina Society I present a small gift to each of you as a token of our love and friendship.

Twelfth Anniversary of Israeli Independence

SPEECH

HON. JAMES ROOSEVELT

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, May 2, 1960

Mr. ROOSEVELT. Mr. Speaker, 100 years ago, in the city of Budapest in Hungary, Theodore Herzl was born. Twelve years ago, in the city of Tel-Aviv in Palestine, the State of Israel was reborn. It was Herzl's birth which made possible the rebirth of Israel.

In 1894 Theodore Herzl was the Paris correspondent for Die Neue Freie Presse. the leading Vienna paper of the time. As such he covered the Dreyfus affair and was deeply affected by the cries of "Death to the Jews" of the Paris mobs. He came to the conclusion that the only solution to the Jewish problem, the only way to safeguard the future of European Jewry, was the establishment of a Jewish state. In 1896 he published a pamphlet called "The Jewish State," in which he set forth his ideas, and, 1 year later, he began putting them into effect by forming the Zionist Organization. For the next 7 years Herzl devoted himself to obtaining the approval of the great powers for the establishment of a Jewish national home in Palestine, but he was unsuccessful, and when he died in 1904. at the age of 44, his dream remained unfulfilled.

Herzl did not invent the idea of a Jewish state. The idea, in fact, was almost as old as the Jewish people. What Herzl did accomplish was to convert the Jews into a political force. In the words of David Ben-Gurion, Israel's Prime Minister:

Herzl created "Jewish statesmanship," and forged the tools and implements the people needed in its fight for liberation and revival: a world platform, the framework of national organization, political representation, the instruments of state finance.

Herzl gave his followers a political purpose and the means to fulfill it. Like another great Jewish leader, Moses, he did not live to reach the Promised Land. However, 2 years after the State of Israel was proclaimed his remains were brought to that country and buried on one of the hills of Jerusalem where the people of Israel paid homage to the founder of modern zionism and the father of the State of Israel.

Theodore Herzl had a favorite saying: "If you will it, it is no dream." The Zionists adopted this slogan as their own. Despite the opposition of many groups they colonized Palestine. In a country which was mainly desert and swamp they reclaimed the land and made it productive. Notwithstanding the slaughter of millions of Jews by the Nazis they readled themselves for independence. Finally, on May 14, 1948, they proclaimed the State of Israel.

The struggle, however, was not over. Immediately after the state was proclaimed it was attacked by five Arab nations. Although Israel defeated the attackers and signed armistice agreements with them the Arabs refused to allow the new state to live in peace. Egypt encouraged "fedayeen," or guerrilla, attacks on Israeli villages. Israeli ships are barred from the Suez Canal. An economic boycott by all the Arab states has been in progress for many years.

Nevertheless, the Israelis have remained true to their slogan. In the brief dozen years of the state's existence it has accepted and absorbed nearly 1 million refugees from Europe, the satellite nations of communism, and from north Africa, and the Middle East. It has increased its industrial production from almost zero to over \$950 million. The cultivated area of the country has been more than doubled, and the area under irrigation increased fivefold. The desert has been made to bloom, cities built where originally mud huts stood. Schools have sprung up to meet the needs of the population.

Israel is attempting also to pay back the United States and the free world for their financial aid and support by giving aid in turn to the newly emerging states of Africa and Asia. Trade agreements between Ghana, Nigeria, Guinea and Burma and Israel are proving beneficial to all parties. Israeli technicians and trade specialists are of invaluable assistance to the Africans. Israel is thus acting as a bridge between East and West and drawing Africa closer to the free world.

On this 12th anniversary of Israeli independence I salute the magnificent accomplishments of the Israeli people. And with them I pay homage to the memory of Theodore Herzl who dreamed a dream which has become reality.

A Cold Wind Blows From North Korea

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. ALEXANDER WILEY

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, May 6, 1960

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, we recall that, in the Korean conflict, the sons of America, along with the sons of other allied nations, paid a great price to withstand the spread of communism, and keep alive the flames of liberty.

Although the shooting has ceased for almost 6 years, the border area between North and South Korea is still an area of serious tension.

Today a great many Americans may have forgotten that we still have 40,000 sons of America in Korea—separated by a single strand of barbed wire from a North Korea bristling more and more with armaments—many imported in violation of terms of the truce.

As all republics striving to establish a free government, the people of South Korea are now having internal problems.

A big question, however, looms: Will North Korea-possibly prodded by Red China-take advantage of the present instability—temporary, I sincerely hope in South Korea to attack South Korea?

Too, we must ask ourselves, are we prepared to meet such a crisis there?

In 1951, the sons of America were rushed out-ill prepared and poorly equipped—to preserve freedom to the Korean frontier. We must not let this happen again.

Consequently, we must ask ourselves: Are we ready and able to assure our troops the adequate equipment and support to defend themselves and accomplish their military mission?

We cannot allow our soldiers in the Korean front lines to be "sitting ducks" if the North Koreans or the Red Chinese, in violation of truce agreements, should

again decide to attack.

Also, the free world, I believe, should restate its firm desire to resist and repel any such aggression. In addition, the U.N., I believe, could again well take a new look at the conditions along the North-South Korean border to provide all possible safeguards against ruses, or excuses, under which North Korea might use the difficulties in South Korea as an opportunity for attack.

Recently, the Milwaukee Journal published a thought-provoking article by Lindsay Hoben, entitled "A Cold Wind Blows From North Korea." In addition, Look magazine recently published an article by J. Robert Moskin, entitled "An Army Poised for Disaster." Reflecting upon serious conditions in an area in Which we have already paid a great price-and in which the free world still has a real stake—I ask unanimous consent to have these articles put at this Point in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the articles Were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Milwaukee Tribune]

A COLD WIND BLOWS FROM NORTH KOREA-EVEN AS FREEDOM RIOTERS WERE BREAKING THE RHEE GRIP IN SEOUL, THE POSSIBILITY OF NEW ATTACK FROM COMMUNIST NORTH CHILLED VISITOR TO BORDER SHED WHERE HOSTILE WORLDS MEET

(By Lindsay Hoben, of the Journal Staff)

PANMUNJOM, KOREA.-Here two worlds meet. They do not mix. Coldy they eye each other-day after day, week after week, month after month, year after year.

The wind rattles the plywood building as You enter the door from the Republic of Rorea. There are a few dozen seats and an oilstove at each end of the building. In the middle is a table with a green felt cover. Five chairs are along each side of the table.

The middle of the table is the border that now divides Communist North Korea and the southern Republic of Korea. About once a month five representatives from the United Nations and five from North Korea, including a representative from Red China, sit face to face across this table. As you look north there is a U.N. flag at the right, a North Korea fing at the left.

For 117 meetings they have sat, sometimes as long as 7 hours at a time. Nothing is accomplished. Nothing is expected to be accomplished. The five from the north come to make charges, sometimes fantastic, to furnish fuel for the Communist propaganda mill to disseminate through the Red world.

Patiently the U.N. members listen and rebut, knowing that nothing will come of this, or of any other meeting of this military armistice commission (MAC). For there is only an armistice between the armies that still face each other all along the breadth of Korea. Both are on the alert 24 hours a

day, ready for instant combat.

The senior member of the United Nations command, a lanky U.S. Air Force of-ficer, tells you of the endless negotiations. At every one of the 117 meetings the North Koreans start by denying the right of the U.N. to be in any part of Korea and by demanding the U.N.'s withdrawal. At every meeting the U.N. refuses the demand and, in turn, demands free elections for all of divided Korea.

All of these endless conversations are taped. Hopeless as it sounds, the U.N. representatives consider the meetings worth while. "After all, they serve as a place of contact. We look at each other eyeball to eyeball—and there is no shooting."

EIGHT-HUNDRED-YARD NEUTRAL CIRCLE

The wind flaps the door at the North Korean entrance to the building.

In the 800-yard-in-diameter circle in which this building stands in the demilitarized zone, both sides may move freely. So you step to the North Korean side of the

You walk out the North Korean door. few feet away stand two stolid North Korean guards on an observation tower. They watch you impassively—no smiles, no scowls, absolutely no expression at all, just a cold war stare.

Here, surely, is one of the strangest borders between the Red and the free worlds. Here stand long, green sheet metal and plywood buildings housing United Nations personnel. Mixed in between them are North Korean masonry and stucco buildings. Some are only a few feet apart. Thus men of the free world and of the Communist worldfrom both sides in this Korean war (for, remember, there is no peace, but only an armistice-live side by side and pass each other every day.

There is no regulation to keep them from

fraternizing. But they never speak to each other. Each side may bring guests (ours is a group of free-world members of the International Press Institute) into this strange 800-yard area. Each side notifies the other in advance of plans to bring in visitors.

LOOK DOWN ON FIRST COMMUNES

You walk along to a height of land where you look down on the first communes of North Korea. Peasants are preparing their rice fields. Before you is the "bridge of no return" across which persons from north and south chose to go depending on their decision on which part of Korea they wished to live in after the shooting on this front ceased toward the end of 1951.

The hills of North Korea stand sharply against the bright blue sky. The sun beats down on the pine and scrubby oak. trenches in the sandy soil are filling in as the sides crumble. Spring is almost here. A few flowers, perhaps azaleas, bloom in the brush. The brown grasses wave in the wind. Small, green patches show in the marshes. Huge, awkward magple nests, 2 or 3 feet across, abound in the willows along the road to the south. Some buds are swelling.

The life of a coming season, yes, but there is no normal human life in this demilitarized zone. Patrols follow the paths only. Deadly mines still lie buried everywhere else. Game abounds for there is no one to hunt it. Only two little villages remain in this zone of death. One is reached, perhaps once a week, by patrols taking in supplies from

the south; one from the north. These vil-lagers refused to leave when war raged around them. They refuse to leave now.

CATSUP BOTTLE CALLED "GRENADE"

But it is a sealed frontier. No one passes across it.

You drive a few thousand yards south on a dusty road just south of the edge of the demilitarized zone. Here is an officer's club in a ritzy quonset hut, * * * fireplace,
* * * mounted Korean ring necked pheasants over the mantle, * * * a hi-fi, * * * piano, * * * the most northerly bar in

the Republic of Korea.

An officer is talking: "Their eagerness to An olicer is talking: "Their eagerness to pick quarrels is beyond belief. One of our trucks drove past one of their guard bar-racks near the MAC building. A plastic cat-sup bottle fell off. Out rushed the north Korean guards. They erected a stone wall around the catsup bottle, to preserve it as evidence, then charged that a U.N. truck had dropped a grenade in front of a north Korean building and demanded a special meeting of the armistice commission. That's the way it goes."

After lunch you go up to a command post high on a hill. You watch a demonstration of manning front positions. An Indian editor from Calcutta is asked to push a button. Sirens screech. Men, like ants, rush from buildings in the valleys; tanks and trucks start up the dusty roads. Jeeps are everywhere. In 19 minutes-a new record-every combat post is fully manned. The com-mander from our hill orders post after post to send up flares to mark position. Green, yellow, red.

A few minutes later smoke billows in grow ing clouds. The flares have fired the dried grass and brush. "Detach as many men as necessary to fight fires on point so and so."

Down the broad valley in front of us have come the invaders of South Korea from the time of Genghis Khan to June 25, 1950, when the North Koreans crossed the 38th parallel.
In the distance, from their hidden look-

outs, Communist North Koreans are watching us now. What are they thinking? Will they attack again, especially if the Republic of Korea is torn open by strife?

The demonstrations are beginning in Seoul. The pressure is mounting against Synghman Rhee. [This was written before he was deposed.] Koreans slipped up to us this morning in Seoul and gave us handbills to read, telling us of Rhee's tyranny and the stolen elections, of their determination to demonstrate in spite of police orders.

"MY OLD MOTHER CAN ONLY WEEP"

The wind has now risen almost to a gale. Our giant U.S. Army helicopters are grounded. We start back to Seoul by bus, over wretched roads, past pitifully poor vil-lages, men and women slaving in the fields. A railroad ends in nowhere. It once brought fine trains down from Manchuria. It was 31 years ago that we came this way as a young correspondent for the Journal.

It was one Korea then, but the people

hated being ruled by Japan.
A Korean surgeon tells us: "My old mother can only weep whenever I go to see her. I fought with the ROK forces. One brother went north and joined the Communists; we do not know whether he is alive. Another brother joined the Japanese Army."

Yes, it is two Koreas now and no one can

see a solution.

But a cold wind blows from North Korea.

[From Look magazine] AN ARMY POISED FOR DISASTER (By J. Robert Moskin)

It is cold in the Korean hills now. And tense. Up front, the infantry patrols in bulky parkas and boots hug old tank trails to avoid the minefields. Rifles and radios weigh heavily on their backs. The wind

from Siberia burns their faces. Sentries shout "Halt!" in English and Korean and, if unanswered, shoot to kill.

Almost 6 years after the Korean war armistice, there is still no peace. A single strand of barbed wire separates North and South Korea; beyond it waits an alert, bitter enemy. Americans back home, listening to the debates over missiles, space shots, and taxes, have forgotten that we still have more than 40,000 soldiers in Korea.

These soldiers, most of them youngsters in their teens and twenties, are helping guard a nervous frontier of the free world. Their military mission is to block the key invasion routes to Seoul. If the Communists attack, they are supposed to help the Republic of Korea's army defend South Korea, held at such a bloody price 10 years ago, and to throw back the invaders if they can.

The shocking fact about our Army in Korea is that it faces disaster. Gen. Carter B. Magruder, commander of United Nations forces and the American 8th Army in Korea, admits, "If there was fighting that used up equipment rapidly, we could not support sustained operations." The thousands of American soldiers there are in danger of being wiped out if war should begin again.

Our Army in Korea is armed chiefly with World War II-style weapons. General Magruder says, "The Army has many items of proved hardware that it has not been to afford to buy in adequate quantities to equip the whole U.S. Army—including the people out here." The 8th Army has no M-14 rifles—the equal of modern Russian rifles—no M-60 machineguns, no M-48 tanks, no M-59 personnel carriers, no surface-to-air missiles for air defense.

"We could do a better job with less casualtles if we had new weapons," says Gen. Isaac D. White, commanding all U.S. Army units in the Pacific. "Our equipment is in good operating condition, but it is old and isn't as modern as we'd like to have. We've been passed by the Russians in the modern quality of equipment they have given their troops since World War II."

Down to rockbottom: Much of our oldstyle equipment in Korea is in short supply. "We are right down to rockbottom in logistic support," says Gen. George H. Decker, U.S. Army Vice Chief of Staff. Vehicles the Army needs for modern mobility—2½-ton trucks, for example—are rebuilt as many as six times to keep them running.

General Magruder adds, "We need funds for operation and maintenance to have the reserve we are authorized to have to support combat operations. We do not have that reserve now."

A major at the supply depot near Seoul sums up the resupply problem thus: "We are at the end of the longest supply line in the world. There is nothing behind us."

If ordered to fight with nuclear weapons, the 8th Army would be no better off. It would have to depend on a few primitive types like the obsolescent Honest John rocket, the 8-inch howitzer, and the dinosaurian 230-mm gun. The Army has developed better nuclear weapons, but they are not available in Korea. And even the newer types would not insure us battlefield superiority. An officer in charge of Army special weapons development warns, "We would be utterly naive to think Russia didn't have missiles as good as ours."

Equipment is only one of the critical problems that endangers our frontline army in Korea. Another is manpower. Even at peak moments, our two divisions there have only two-thirds of the Americans they are supposed to have. They are filled out with native Korean troops. Veteran officers know of no precedent for using members of a foreign army to man American units. For the most part, these Korean soldiers, called Katusas, are unskilled conscripts who speak no English. Because they are useless in technical or skilled jobs, they are used as infantrymen. In some of our rifle squads, more than helf the soldiers are Koreans. Says one U.S. general, "50 percent of our fighting soldiers are missing."

The tour of duty for American soldiers in Korea is now 13 months. This means that a sizable portion of the 8th Army leaves every month. After 13 months, everyone has been rotated—from battle group commanders to infantry privates. The Katusas, who serve in our units from 18 to 24 months, provide the continuity.

Our troops in Korea are supposed to be able to fight until more men and equipment could be rushed in to support them. The trouble is that no one in the U.S. Army knows how long they would have to hang on. Officers in charge of the Army's war plans have been unable to win commitments from the Air Force, which is responsible for air-lifting troops. Army planners don't know the numbers or types of planes that would be ready to meet specific emergencies. "We have no planning figures available to us," protests one war-plans colonel. The defense of Korea, he says, has to be planned in a vacuum.

Reasons for the Army's predicament: Why does the U.S. Army lack the weapons and manpower it needs if lives are not to be wasted and a war in Korea lost almost before it begins?

National policy put ceilings on the \$41 billion defense budget and on the Army's 23-percent share of it. Stretched over the jobs the Army has to do around the world, this money is regarded by the men responsible as inadequate to put more men and materiel into Korea.

According to national policy, the threat of massive nuclear retaliation will prevent the Communists from starting another war. Army officers point out that this deterrent did not prevent Red aggression in Korea, Indochina, Laos, or India. And the recent Rockeller Report on foreign policy and defense asserts that the frightfulness of nuclear weapons makes the retaliatory threat less creditable against local aggression. An enemy like the Chinese Reds might gamble that we would not throw the first hydrogen bomb.

The Army itself is torn between preparing for a ground war and obtaining a role in the missile and space revolution. It is also eager to "go for broke" to develop an antimissile missile for the defense of the continental United States. The Army's leaders argue that they cannot separate ground and space. Even a future nonnuclear war, they say, may require reconnaissance from space or communication via space satellites. Fifty percent of the Army's research and development money, for example, goes into speeding up missile and space work. New rifles and tanks have to move more slowly. But General Decker says, "We have to be ready to fight either way."

An investigation of what could be done to make our troops in Korea ready to fight points to these conclusions:

- 1. Our national policy must include adequate preparation for ground warfare to hold the borders of the free world and to protect the safety of American troops overseas. Last spring, Gen. Maxwell Taylor, then Army Chief of Staff, bluntly told Congress, "We do not have the necessary forces to cope with the threat of limited war."
- 2. Modernization of the Army must be speeded up. The Russians have completely reequipped their army since the end of World War II and are already in a second round of modernization. As in missiles and satellites, we have been passed by the Russians in the quality of the soldier's arms and equipment. President Eisenhower, in his state of the Union address in January, said

Army modernization is going forward "at a rate which will steadily add to our strength." But it will be years, for example, brfore our soldiers in Korea have the M-14 rifle. They still use a World War II rifle and a 1918 machinegun. This weapons gap is not being closed. General Decker warns, "At the present rate, we are going to lag behind."

3. Money must be spent to maintain our current World War II-type equipment. General Magrudor estimates that it would cost \$5 million to give our troops in Kores enough spare parts for combat—a relatively small sum in an age when a bomber costs

\$6.7 million.

4. The 8th Army—nose to nose with an armed enemy—must be relieved of depending on foreign conscripts to fill out its ranks. Until recently, Army brass refused to criticize the Katusas arrangement. But now General Magruder, while praising the Korean soldier as a fighter, admits, "A unit that is partially Korean and partially American is not as satisfactory as one that is all American." He estimates he would need 6,000 more men to fill his ranks properly with Americans. Whether they can be obtained by freeing back-line troops for compat duty or by raising the Army's ceiling of 870,000 men needs to be determined.

5. Plans for airlifting troops must be made in advance. The Air Force is reluctant to do this because it would cut into its missile and Strategic Air Command bomber funds. But until the airlift problem is faced up to, all military planning for a ground war is meaningless. The Army's leaders do not want planes sitting idle awaiting an emergency, but they do plead that new long-range, fast troop carriers be developed and built, that aviation fuel and parts be stockpiled at strategic points and that crews and aircraft be earmarked so they can move out at a moment's notice. Even with such planning, it would require weeks to move a division into Korea.

- 6. Our soldiers in Korea must be provided with adequate air defense. "There is a very great need here for surface-to-air missiles," says General White. Nike-Hercules missile batteries have already been sent to Formosa and Okinawa, but they are not now being used to protect our own soldiers in Korea. Only within the past few weeks has the Army admitted the need there. Some will be sent in the future.
- 7. The Army's generals must be encouraged to fight for their ground-war needs. Representative Daniel J. Flood, Democrat, of Pennsylvania, told the generals at the defense-budget hearings last spring: "The Army does not fight for itself any more. You quit in the last several years." The generals are afraid to speak out and tell the public what they need. Recently, they were warned again that if they opposed the official Washington reliance on a nuclear deterrent too vigorously, they would be "fired." An Army running scared before the fighting begins will cost American lives if war does come.

Ocean Research Studies

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JAMES C. OLIVER

OF MAINE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, May 6, 1960

Mr. OLIVER. Mr. Speaker, today the competition between America and

Soviet Russia is rapidly accelerating in the area of oceanographic research. Which leadership will win in these attempts to reveal the secrets of our ocean depths, and, thusly, gain the advantage Which these incredible resources will givas

In this struggle, our country's oceanographers constitute a vital force in America's first line of defense. Scientists, engaged in the field of oceanic research, are required to devote many hours to tedious routine duties; time Which they could be spending more fruitfully in the evaluation of data and basic research.

Capt. Henry G. Munson, hydrographer of the Navy, has suggested the development of a new educational program designed to train technicians in the field of marine science to relieve oceanographic talented experts from some of these more routine requirements. supplement this proposal, the Navy Department is donating a vessel for the use of the Maine Vocational Technical Institute of South Portland, Maine, as a floating classroom for the training of such technicians. Earl Hutchinson, principal of the institute, is making plans for the initiation of a course designed to accomplish this objective.

This project can and will be an important step forward in accelerating our program of oceanographic research to its fullest potential. It has been most satisfying for me to cooperate in the

initiation of this project .

In more detailed explanation of this program, the newspaper story which ap-Deared in the Portland Press Herald of May 4 is inserted herewith, as well as an editorial published in the same paper on May 5:

[From the Portland Press Herald, May 4, 1960]

MVTI TO GET MINESWEEPER FOR OCEAN RESEARCH STUDIES

(By May Craig)

Washington.—The mothballed mine-Sweeper Seagull is expected to be transferred to the Maine Vocational Training Institute in South Portland in about 3 weeks, U.S. Representative James C. OLIVER said Tuesday

The minesweeper will be used by MVTI as a floating classroom for marine research,

ship handling, and fisheries.

OLIVER said he expects the deal to be consummated perhaps with payment of \$1 to the Navy. He believes the transportation, made without time-consuming legislation, made without time-consuming legislation. He believes the transfer can be

The MVTI will agree to return the ship to the Navy in the event of national emergency, and meantime must maintain it in

condition satisfactory to the Navy.
Principal Earl Hutchinson of MVTI and Oliver confered Tuesday with Capt. Henry G. Munson, hydrographer of the Navy, who is so excited about the prospects that he wants to go down to Philadelphia and help sail the Seagull to South Portland when it is overhauled sufficiently for the voyage.

The Navy is in process of transferring the vessel to the State for use of MVTI, free of charge, except that the school will pay

charges incident to delivery.

Hutchinson and the MVTI instructor in charge, Arthur Jordan, and five or six students will go to the Philadelphia Naval Yard to get the vessel probably in June.

Wednesday Hutchinson, Oliver's Portland assistant Kenneth Curtis, and Lt. Cmdr.

F. S. Vecchione, U.S. Navy, will go to the Philadelphia yard to inspect the Seagull, the wooden-hull minesweeper of the Albatross class, 136-foot length, 241/2 feet width, maximum draft 6 feet, powered by two diesel engines, was manned by wartime complement of 50 officers and men.

MVTI has 150 boarding students, and 150 commuting students, more will be attracted by the expansion contemplated by Hutchinson and Representative OLIVER who is a member of the Oceanography Subcommittee of the House Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

At a press conference Tuesday in the office of Capt. Paul Bower, official adviser to the Oceanography Subcommittee, he and OLIVER and Hutchinson expatiated on the bright future of the institute. Munson described the marine science program as a revolutionary new concept in the field of oceanography.

There is urgent need for oceanographic technicians, they all said. With increasing stress on submarine warfare today, the se-crets of the oceans depths, currents, temperature, deeps and caves are vital to our defense. Disposition of radioactive wastes are an increasing problem, with question whether present disposal in the ocean in concrete barrels is safe.

Hutchinson said we face increasingly efficient Russian fishing vessels, equipment and technique, and the simplicity of oldtime fishing is gone. Fishermen need training in electronic gear and methods not dreamed of by their fathers,

Hutchinson cited the professionalism of fishing today, the larger vessels which the Soviet now has in the Grand Banks, as well

as the Baltic countries.

There is nothing on the east coast like what Hutchinson and OLIVER are contemplating, they said. The Navy is interested because of the defense angle involved and the atomic scientists also. Captain Bower said "we must look at the sea as an environment" for fish, and need to study temperatures and currents in relation to fish.

Hutchinson said that Canada is advertising for 300 to 400 technicians in marine science. The demand far exceeds the supply, and demand will increase, they said. The U.S. Weather Bureau says there are wide gaps in our knowledge of what the sea can teach us and much research is necessary.

[From the Portland Press-Herald, May 5, 19601

OCEANOGRAPHIC STUDIES AT MVII BY NO MEANS A VISIONARY NOTION

With excellent reason the Navy is pushing for an expanded national program in oceanography. It sometimes calls the ocean depths "inner space." The phrase is apt in more ways than one for not only is what lies beneath the surface of the seas more mysterious in many ways than what lies in the heavens but our knowledge is equally fragmentary. Considering that the oceans cover about 70 percent of the earth's surface it is clear that neglect of oceanography is neglect of a good deal that could be useful

in either war or peace.

At first glance the launching of the Maine Vocational Technical Institute into active study of oceanography and the training of people skilled in its techniques seems a long reach on the part of the South Portland school. Long it may be but it makes a large amount of sense for in its small way it puts the youth of the maritime state of Maine in close to the beginning of an endeavor that is bound to broaden. Moreover the usefulnes of oceanographic techniques to Maine's fishing industry is self-evident.

The Navy is interested enough to turn over a surplus World War II minesweeper to MVTI for oceanographic studies. And anyone familiar with MVTI knows that enthusiasm for and application to the new prospect will not be lacking. Our compliments go to the school for this promising venture and to Congressman James C. OLIVER who, as a member of the Oceanographic Subcommittee of the House Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries, has taken a leading interest in this important but as yet generally unrecognized subject.

U.S. Satellites Surpass Reds' in Effectiveness of Instruments

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. JOHN SHERMAN COOPER

OF KENTUCKY

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Friday, May 6, 1960

Mr. COOPER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "U.S. Satellites Surpass Reds' in Effectiveness of Instruments," published in the Lexington (Ky.) Leader of April 18, 1960.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

U.S. SATELLITES SURPASS REDS' IN EFFECTIVE-NESS OF INSTRUMENTS

On the basis of results so far, it is safe to say that the United States has taken the lead from Russia in adventures into space.

In only one respect, apparently, does the Soviet have the advantage, and that is in launching power. Using rockets of tre-mendous thrust, it has put into orbit satellites much larger than any the United States has sent up.

However, the American satellites are far more sophisticated, as the scientists say, than the Russian. Their instruments are more refined and have greater capacity for observing conditions in space and relaying information back to earth.

At the time the Russians launched their first sputnik and many people of the United States went into hysterics of terror, the Leader pointed out that America had not engaged in any race with Russia to see which country would be first up with a satellite. While the Kremlin was striving for propaganda advantage by being first, the United States was seeking scientific knowledge. It wanted to send up instruments that would have a practical advantage, and in this it has vastly exceeded Russia.

In a little over a month, American scientists have launched four valuable satellites, Pioneer V, with its very long-range, longlasting radio; Tiros I, the weather-observation television device, and Transit I-B, which is designed to give navigational fixes for surface ships. Its data will be available to all nations wanting it. It also sent up Discoverer XI, with a capsule that was intended to release at an elevation of 200 miles but remained in orbit instead of descending.

By contrast, Russia has not launched an earth satellite in almost 2 years, but has to and concentrated on tossing spheres around the moon and into solar orbit. Yet in this field, the United States also has made great strides, and has exceeded Russia in perfection of instruments the satellites contain.

Kentucky's John Sherman Cooper, speaking in the Senate last Thursday, asserted that Senators seem more prone to make speeches about Russian space achievements than about America's. He called attention to the success of the three satellite launchings in a 5-week period, and pointed out that they represented three firsts in three different fields of peaceful use of space.

"Had the launching of Pioneer V. Tiros, and Transit been Russian accomplishments, we would have heard many speeches about it on the floor of the Senate, expressing great concern about the state of our scientific progress and the delinquencies of our space program, and calls for imagination and urgent steps by the administration," Senator Cooper declared. "As it is, these exciting demonstrations of scientific progress and technical capability by U.S. satellites have aroused little comment in the Senate."

Prizewinning Letter in Christian Endeavor's Citizenship Contest

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. WALTER H. JUDD

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Friday, May 6, 1960

Mr. JUDD. Mr. Speaker, if we are to win today's struggle with atheistic communism, we must have more citizens with deep Christian convictions, who will take an active part in government at all levels, seeking to apply Christian principles in the political processes by which the kind and quality of government we have is determined.

Under leave to extend my remarks I am happy to include the first-place letter written by a young man from my district in division B—youth out of high school—in Christian Endeavor's citizenship contest for 1960 sponsored by the International Society of Christian Endeavor:

"LETTERS"-DIVISION B

(By David M. Olson, of Mineapolis, Minn., a sophomore at Wheaton College)

Beginnings are important. There can be no Christian citizenship—even limited—without first of all an awareness of citizenship. Christian citizenship means projecting our thoughts beyond ourselves. The natural direction of the human eye is inward—inward, to our own lives and interests and needs. We have to wake up and look outward and just see citizenship first. Instead of staying within our Christian groups and enjoying them, we need to feel a deep responsibility to our neighborhood, our community, and on out to the whole world.

I have three points in expressing myself here on Christian citizenship. I have mentioned the first: an awareness of citizenship itself and the need. Nehemiah saw the need. prayed, went back to Jerusalem, and with a sword in one hand and a shovel in the other, so to speak, rebuilt the wall.

I mentioned that he prayed. My second point is that prayer is an absolute must in being a good citizen for Christ. We do not have just a pattern alone in Christ—although He was a good citizen (rendering unto Caesar the things that were Caesar's). But He is also the source of everything we need for Christian citizenship. One of the most inclusive and encouraging verses of Scripture is Colossians 2: 10—"ye are complete in Him." So I know that the qualifications for Christian citizenship—which must be supernaturally supplied—are in that completeness. But only prayer can connect us with the source of the supply. And I am including in prayer the soaking in each day of His Word. Only a scripturally well-in-

formed person could cope with all that I feel must be involved in Christian citizenship.

Thirdly, I believe that the place to begin Christian citizenship is not far away—that it begins in small demonstrations and then moves naturally into bigger responsibilities. Sanding the icy walk for the old couple living next door is the type of beginning which will eventually lead—through God—to a larger, and then still larger responsibility in community citizenship. There are dozens of little ways of starting out at the beginning in Christian citizenship: courtesy when driving a car, when in a supermarket, when swimming at a public bathing beach, when getting in or out of an elevator, when telephoning. There is also the sharing in community funds of one kind or another. There is the matter of speaking out quietly at the right time—on such matters as liquor, dishonesty, subversive activities, etc. When I say "speaking out quietly," I do not mean without unshakeable convictions. But a caustic, prejudiced, uncontrolled Christian will lack effectiveness.

Here at Wheaton some of us like a little book by Amy Carmichael called "If." The thought presented in the book is that if you have the love of Calvary it will show up in your living with others. Christian citizenship—unlimited—really goes right back to Calvary.

DAVID M. OLSON.

Teacher Shortage

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Friday, May 6, 1960

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, the Senate approved a Federal aid for education bill, S. 8, which includes authority for Federal aid for teachers' salaries as well as for needed classroom construction. I supported this measure and I spoke up during the debate on the need for Federal aid to our States and local communities to help them pay decent salaries to schoolteachers.

In the New York Herald Tribune of April 27 there is a report on our nationwide shortage of teachers. This report underlines the urgent need for further action by Congress and the President on the school aid bill passed by the Senate.

As the Rockefeller Report on Education puts it:

The root problems of the teaching profession remain financial. More perhaps than any other profession, teaching needs dedicated men and women to whom pay is not an overriding consideration; but, until we pay teachers at least as well as the middle echelon of executives, we cannot expect the profession to attract its full share of the available range of talents. Salaries must be raised immediately and substantially.

I ask unanimous consent that the article from the New York Herald Tribune be printed in the Appendix of the Record.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

EDUCATION—TEACHER SHORTAGE IS STILL MAJOR PROBLEM

(By Terry Ferrer)

Need for adequately prepared elementary teachers is imperative now, and will become

even greater in the next 5 years as the Nation's elementary schools feel the full impact of the 4 million bables born each year since 1954.

This is one of the major conclusions of the 13th annual survey of the "Teacher Supply and Demand in Public Schools," prepared by the research division of the National Education Association and released yesterday in Washington. While the class of 1960 will produce 129,295 new teachers prepared to teach next fall, the survey said, only 95,000 of this number will actually go into the schools. This will leave a gross shortage of 135,000 teachers next fall—the same shortage as this year.

Among the prospective teachers, 80,465 have prepared to teach in high school, an increase of more than 12 percent over last year. But prospective elementary teachers number only 48,830, an increase of just over 2 percent.

Since there are eight elementary school jobs open for every five in the high schools, the survey said, "the division of the total supply between the two grade levels is out of balance." The imperative need for properly prepared elementary teachers "far overshadows the acute shortage of competent teachers in any of the high school teaching fields." In preparation, a quarter of all elementary teachers are not college graduates, while a third of high school teachers now hold master's degrees.

BREAKDOWN OF SHORTAGE

Dr. Ray C. Maul, director of the NEA survey, said in the report that the total shortsge of 135,000 is based on ideal conditions, with no overcrowded schedules and no teachers with emergency licenses. Ideally, he said, 230,000 new teachers will be needed next fall to replace the 110,000 leaving, the 40,000 unprepared, the 30,000 necessary because of increased enrollment, the 30,000 to relieve overcrowding, and 20,000 for services not now provided. Subtracting the 95,000 who will actually enter teaching, the shortage will be 135,000, he said.

The greatest gains will be made in the more crucial areas of mathematics, science, and foreign languages, the survey showed. There will be 5,650 new mathematics teachers—a gain of almost 32 percent over last year; 7,797 science teachers, up more than 26 percent, and 2,200 foreign language teachers, up 21 percent.

New York, according to the report, will produce more candidates for high school teaching jobs than any other of the 50 States. New York has prepared 5,711, an increase of almost 31 percent over 1959. Pennsylvania is second (5,195), and Texas third (4,750).

New York is second in preparing elementary teaching candidates, with a total of 4,776. California is first (5,514), and Michigan third (2,932).

More than 12,000 colleges and universities were surveyed for the report, which is available for \$1 at NEA offices at 1201 16th Street NW., Washington,

Panama Canal: Daughters of 1812 Resolution, 1960

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, May 6, 1960

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, it was my privilege on April 25, 1960, to address the national defense meeting of the National Society, U.S. Daughters of 1812 on the subject, "Hemispheric Security—Con-

gress Must Reaffirm Our Historic Policies," which address was quoted in a statement to the House on April 28, 1960, by Representative Francis E. WALTER, of Pennsylvania. Subsequently, this splendid organization passed a resolution on the Panama Canal which I

NATIONAL SOCIETY U.S. DAUGHTERS OF 1812, RESOLUTIONE, 1960, 68TH ASSOCIATE COUN-

PANAMA CANAL Resolution No. 5

Whereas current demands to either "internationalize" the Panama Canal or permit Sovereignty of Panama over the Canal Zone Would not only threaten the political stability of that region but also threaten America's entire defense system; and

Whereas the Panama Canal has been constructed, maintained and operated by the U.S. Government under an absolute grant, in perpetuity, by terms of the 1903 treaty with Panama: Be it

Resolved, That the National Society U.S. Daughters of 1812 urge the Congress of the United States to reaffirm, by Joint Resolution the constitutional sovereignty of the United States over the Panama Canal Zone and further declare that the policy of the United States shall not permit Panamanian flags as "symbols" of a false sovereignty, nor surrender, compromise or in any way weaken the absolute and vital jurisdictional control, management and protection of the zone by the United States of America.

Voluntary Confessions and the Mallory Case

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. SAM J. ERVIN, JR.

OF NORTH CAROLINA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Friday, May 6, 1960

Mr. ERVIN. Mr. President, on May 4, 1960, the Twin City Sentinel, of Winston-Salem, N.C., contained a sound edi-torial entitled "Federal Courts Have Good Reason To Admit Voluntary Confessions." I ask unanimous consent that this editorial be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial Was ordered to be printed in the RECORD,

as follows:

FEDERAL COURTS HAVE GOOD REASON TO ADMIT VOLUNTARY CONFESSIONS

Senator Sam Ervin has introduced a bill designed to mitigate or modify the effect two recent U.S. Supreme Court decisions. His measure would make voluntary confessions admissible in criminal proceedings and prosecutions in the courts of the United States and the District of Columbia.

That such legislation is regarded as necessary by some of our Congressmen may come as a surprise to many people. Over a long Period of time the voluntary confession of the accused has been widely recognized as the best evidence of guilt. But in the Mallory case the Supreme Court handed down a decision about 2 years ago which seemed to cast doubt upon any confession obtained by Federal law enforcement officers from an arrested person prior to a court hearing. This was the action involving an alleged rapist who confessed that he made a brutal attack upon a Washington, D.C., housewife. The confession was largely the basis for Mallory's conviction in the District of Columbia trial court.

After hearing the case on appeal the appellate court held that the confession should have been excluded from evidence. Its ground for this ruling was that the District police had held Mallory for 71/2 hours before bringing him before a judge for a preliminary hearing. The 71/2-hour period was too long, the Court held, and constituted an "illegal delay" between the defendant's arrest and his appearance before a judge. As the result of this High Court ruling Mallory went free, but only recently he was again arrested in Philadelphia and charged with the rape of another woman.

In the Mallory case and in a somewhat similar one involving a defendant named McNabb, the Supreme Court was concerned with safeguarding a defendant's right to protection against coercive third-degree treatment at the hands of police officers and his right to the advice of counsel before a hearing. But many critics have interpreted the appellate court rulings to mean that any statement made by a Federal prisoner after his arrest and before his arraignment are invalidated as evidence against him. Under this interpretation effective Federal law enforcement would suffer a grave blow. And the Mallory decision quite evidently turned a dangerous rapist loose on society.

Senator Eavin's bill would make any voluntary confession valid, apparently without regard to the time elapsing between arrest and arraignment. But in any event, long and seemingly unnecessary delay in bringing the prisoner before a committing magistrate would naturally create suspicion of coercion.

A number of lower appellate court rulings have tended to strip the Mallory-McNabb decisions of their broader interpretation. One such ruling holds that "unnecessary delay" does not mean mere passage of time, but a period in which what could and should be done to give the prisoner a hearing is not done. Another appellate court ruling holds that "reasonable questioning" by the police is permissible until police have had an op-portunity to reach "any accessible magistrate." If these rulings should be upheld by the Supreme Court, the need for the legislation proposed by Senator Eavin might be substantially lessened. But for the safety of society it is probably wiser not to gamble on how the various appellate courts are going to rule in confession cases involving dangerous criminals. A clear, plain statute which validates all voluntary confessions but places due emphasis upon the necessity to prove they are voluntary probably offers the best way to clear up the confusion created by the Mallory decision and abate its dangerous potentiallties.

Border Incidents Started in 1950

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, May 6, 1960

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article from the New York Times, Friday, May 6. 1960:

BORDER INCIDENTS STARTED IN 1950-NAVY PATROL BOMBER LOST OVER BALTIC WITH 10 ABOARD-OTHERS ARE LISTED

WASHINGTON, May 5 .- Following is an unofficial chronology of incidents involving Soviet and U.S. aircraft in the vicinity of the Soviet borders:

April 8, 1950: Navy patrol bomber dis-appeared over Baltic with crew of 10. The United States said Soviet planes shot it down.

November 6, 1951: Navy patrol bomber on weather reconnaissance flight disappeared over international waters off Siberia after Soviet planes fired on it. Crew of 10 missing.

June 13, 1952: Superfortress on reconaissance mission disappeared over Sea of Japan after takeoff from Yokota Air Base, Japan. No trace of aircraft or 13-man crew found. State Department protested to Soviet Union July 16, 1956.

October 7, 1952: Superfortress on routine reconnaissance flight over Hokkaido, Japan, disappeared after radar observation indicated interception at 15,000 feet still over Japanese territory. Communist report later said B-29 had been intercepted after firing on Soviet planes, but no further details.

March 15, 1953: Four-engine reconnaissance plane attacked by Mig 25 miles off Soviet territory and more than 100 miles northeast of Petropavlosk, Kamchatka. of two Mig's fired on U.S. plane, which returned fire. No damage to either plane. U.S. plane returned to Elmendorf Airbase, Alaska.

July 29, 1953: B-50 bomber shot down by Migs over Sea of Japan. One man recovered,

16 lost.

January 27, 1953: Jet reconnaissance plane escorted by 16 Sabrejets on mission over Yellow Sea attacked by eight Migs. One Mig reported shot down. No U.S. casualties.

September 4, 1954: Navy patrol bomber based in Atsugi, Japan, shot down by two Soviet jets over high seas, 40 miles off Siberian coast. One dead, 9 survivors.

November 7, 1954: B-29 photo reconnaissance plane shot down over northern Hok-kaido, Japan. Crew of 11 bailed out, but one was dead when rescuers reached crash site. May 10, 1955: Eight F-86 fighter planes on

patrol mission over international waters off North Korean coast attacked by 12 to 15 Migs. No U.S. casualties. Two Migs shot down and third seen diving down, trailing smoke.

June 22, 1955; Navy patrol bomber attacked by Soviet aircraft near St. Lawrence Island in Bering Sea. Crashlanded on island, no loss

of life.

June 27, 1958: Unarmed Air Force transport plane, diverted off course by bad weather on flight from Turkey to Iran, shot down in Soviet Armenia by two Migs. Nine crew members reported they had been intercepted and set afire at 15,000 feet. All were returned by Soviets.

September 2, 1958: Turboprop transport plane shot down in Soviet Armenia after going off course on flight in Turkey. Soviet returned bodies of six crew members, disclaiming knowledge of others. United States said there had been 17 in crew. United States also released tape recording purporting to disclose conversations between pilots as they had prepared to attack. Soviet

November 17, 1958: Migs fired on two converted bombers, one over Baltic and one over Sea of Japan. No damage, no casualties.

June 16, 1959: Navy patrol plane attacked by Soviet-type Mig over Sea of Japan, 85 miles east of Wonsan, North Korea. Tail gunner seriously wounded. Plane returned to Niho Air Force Base, Japan.

A Business Statesman

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Friday, May 6, 1960

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that an editorial from the New York Times of April 5, 1960, and a news item from the New York Herald Tribune of April 8, 1960, be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD:

I want to join in paying tribute to the leadership and statesmanship of Mr. Carrol Shanks, president of the Prudential Insurance Co. of America, of Newark, N.J., which made the historic precedent-making loan to the Republic of Mexico which is the subject matter of the newspaper items. Mr. Shanks is not only one of America's leading business figures but has also made his mark in the legal community as a distinguished lawyer and in the academic community as a professor of law at Yale Law School and as a coauthor of an outstanding work with the Honorable William O. Douglas. He brings to the American business community a breadth of vision and an experienced background which bodes well for America.

American business has a tremendously important role to play as an extension of our national self-interest broad. The Prudential loan is a demonstration that private enterprise can be an affirmative instrument of American foreign policy. The introduction of large sums of private capital abroad helps our friends in other nations at the same time as it helps the objectives of our Government. The American business community faces a challenge and I have every confidence that it can and will demonstrate its capacity to be ambassadors of good will to other peoples of the world.

There being no objection, the editorial and article were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the New York Times, Apr. 5, 1960] CONSTRUCTIVE COOPERATION

Anyone looking for a recent example of constructive international cooperation between nations will do well to look at the announcement of a \$100 million loan extended by the Prudential Insurance Co. to a financial agency of the Mexican Government. The event deserves attention on several counts. It is the largest private long-term loan to Mexico in more than half a century. It represents cooperation between the Mexican Government and a private lender in a way that makes a mockery of the demagogic claims by some Latin American sources that private American interests are only concerned with seeking to exploit that area. And the Mexican Government has been given a free hand to use the borrowed funds in developing Mexico's economy in such ways as may seem most appropriate.

The reason why this loan was possible is that a climate of confidence has now been created in the relations between Mexico and the United States. In the mixed economy of our neighbor to the south, the efforts of the Mexican Government, of Mexican entrepreneurs and workers, and of foreign capital and skills have for many years been joined together to produce sound economic growth which has benefited all involved. Superficially, it is much less glamorous to do the hard and detailed work that is required to build new sources of wealth for a country than it is to make flery speeches and coin violent slogans. But a people's welfare is not improved by speeches alone, nor by frightening away foreign sources of private capital which, as this Mexican experience again shows, can be useful in helping a nation build a better future.

[From the New York Herald Tribune, Apr. 8, 1960]

WALL STREET, U.S.A. (By Donald L. Rogers)

PRUDENTIAL PIONEERS IN LATIN AID

Without fanfare, indeed almost unnoticed, a private American financial institution entered a pact with the Mexican Government last month in what may be the most significant development in United States-Latin American relationships in a half century. It may also presage a wholesome new attitude on the part of U.S. corporations toward Latin investments. In the midst of the unrest in this hemisphere, this financial deal should be encouraging to the citizens of both North and South America.

The largest private long-term loan to Mexico since before the revolution of 1910 was consummated between Prudential Insurance Co. of America and Nacional Financiera, a financing agency of the Mexican Government. It consisted of an advance of \$100 million made by Prudential and will run for 15 years bearing 6%-percent interest. It will be subject to retirement during the last 10 years of the term.

Most significant: Prudential—which does not toss its money around lightly—did not specify any special purpose for which the money was to be spent. It required no special earmarking.

Nacional Financiera, however, said the money would be used to develop Mexico's basic industries and to expand public improvement projects in progress.

Wall Streeters who watch the progress of inter-American financial relations believe this may be a door opener to a new upsurge in commercial exchange between the United States and Latin countries.

See chain reaction

Quite likely, say the observers, Prudential's move will stimulate other foreign private lending interests to put capital to work in Mexico. Beyond question, Mexico has one of the most stable governments in the hemisphere, resulting in one of the most predictable economies.

Clearly this is the case of a major U.S. corporation practicing, with hard cash, what the President and Messrs. Nixon, Herter, Dillon, and others have been preaching.

This genuine breakthrough by Prudential, the biggest event of its kind in the field of U.S. private-enterprise assistance to the development of a Latin American economy, may pave the way for other corporate loans to such other stable countries as Colombia, Peru, Chile, and Argentina. All of these nations are striving hard and sincerely to put their economic and political houses in order so that they might be attractive to American investors.

Housing program

The Mexican National Housing Institute is considering a number of offers, it says, from private sources in the United States to help finance Mexico's ambitious low-cost housing program. There are also some offers from Europe as well as from Mexican financial interests. Involved is a 15-year loan.

First phase of Mexico's housing program calls for spending \$10 million this year for the purchase of land and the construction of 1,000 apartment units in Mexico City and 2,500 houses in 7 cities.

We cite this case of the Mexican housing plans as typical of the burgeoning programs throughout Latin America, programs which should normally be attractive to the in-

Prudential, one of the largest insurance companies in the United States, is not noted for disclosing the reasoning that results in its lending policies. However, its success is

well known and it's safe to describe the giant firm as a beliwether in almost any new investment field it ventures into.

If it doesn't inspire other institutionaltype lenders to look south of the border, we will be much surprised.

This, of course, is the practical side of inter-American relationships. We may proclaim friendship quite effectively, but we definitely cement it when we share economic responsibilities with our neighbors.

Paper by Mr. Martin Goland of the Science and Astronautics Committee's Panel on Research and Technology

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. OVERTON BROOKS

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 4, 1960

Mr. BROOKS of Louisiana. Mr. Speaker, it was the privilege of the Committee on Science and Astronautics to meet recently with some of the Nation's most eminent scientists and engineers who make up the committee's Panel on Science and Technology.

During the first meeting of this illustrious group, held on March 25, 1960, an important paper was presented by Mr. Martin Goland, president of the Southwest Research Institute, San Antonio,

Under unanimous consent, I insert in the Record Mr. Goland's paper:

PAPER BY MARTIN GOLAND

Mr. Chairman, members of the committee and fellow members of this Panel on Science and Technology. Being the first one to talk before you, perhaps I should start with my favorite definition of science and scientific approach, and so forth, since we shall be discussing things in that particular area.

cussing things in that particular area.

I have a very cynical friend of mine who has this as his favorite definition of the scientific method: He said, "You know, you take a chemist and you sit him down one evening and you take 3 ounces of good bourbon whisky and a half glass of water and he drinks them and he becomes drunk. Then the next night, why, you take 3 ounces of gin, a half glass of water, mix them and he drinks it down, and he becomes drunk again. The third night you do the same thing with a good brandy, with the same result. The fourth night he sits down to write his scientific report. All observations having been concluded and the only common ingredient being water, it is obvious that water makes one drunk." [Laughter.]

Now, I suppose that our scientific studies here will have a little better result than that, although possibly not as pleasant.

of all of the scientific and engineering skills connected with those serving on this panel, my own field, applied mechanics, is perhaps the least familiar to you, and with your leave I will take 30 seconds to tell you about it. With tongue in cheek, I think we might say that those who engage in applied mechanics, that particular scientific area, are misguided engineers, because they are much too theoretical to be really practical; they are displaced physicists, because although they do use physics as rather advanced tools, they are obviously too interested in hardware and black boxes; and they are corrupted

mathematicians, because although in applied mechanics we use a lot of advanced mathematics, but you know how the mathematicians view those who use their noble art only for exploitation in the practical areas.

But in a little more serious vein and just to orient my area, let us say that applied mechanics is synonymous with engineering science whenever we deal with solids, fluids, and heat. This covers much of the scientific matter which underlies mechanical engineering, civil engineering, marine engineering, aeronautical enginering, to give but a few of the areas.

As I understand it, these introductory presentations are intended to call attention to some of the significant developments which may come into prominence during the next decade, as well as to comment on the character of the research being accomplished to bring these advances into being.

In a short talk of this kind, of course, there can be no attempt at systematic coverage, and I shall restrict by remarks to two technical topics which bear on certain themes I would like to develop. Both of these topics are of industrial-research concern, and they both have vital national and international importance.

ENERGY CONVERSION

As my first area I should like to talk to you for a few minutes about energy conversion. The traditional problem of the engineer has been to convert energy from latent or otherwise unusable sources into useful forms. The steam engine, for example, the foundation of the industrial revolution, accomplishes this by transforming the heat from fuel into useful work through the use of steam as the intermediate work-

All heat engines which include such devices as the reciprocating engine, the gas turbine, the nuclear fuel conventional powerplant, and many others, suffer from the limitation that, in principle, all of the heat energy supplied the machine cannot be converted into useful work. In other words, even under the most ideal and theoretical conditions no heat engine is capable of 100-percent efficiency. In practical equipments of the kind I have mentioned, the efficiency of heat engines is generally 35 percent or less.

It is interesting to note that there is a class system among energies, incidentally, depending upon how theoretically usable they are. Electricity, for example, is a very attractive form of energy because it is potentially 100 percent usable; whatever is there, you can use. However, in electrical generation you very often must use a heat engine as an intermediate step in the generation process, and this, of course, immediately pulls the efficiency of the overall system down to the heat engine level, which as I said was 35 percent or substantially less.

this area of electrical generation is one which will undoubtedly see very important advances during the next decade and, even in this space age, when we give so much attention to the dramatic, it is easy to appreciate the far-reaching significance of finding better ways to produce electricity in an energy-hungry world.

Some of the ideas now on the horizon relate to improved methods for the conversion of heat to electricity. Direct conversion Without intermediate steps may one day lead to the elimination of the huge and costly turbines and generators we now associate with central electrical-generating stations.

It is often said that the better our understanding, the simpler is the solution. One idea for direct conversion, now being researched in at least one university and no doubt in a host of industrial laboratories, appears to support this maxim. The idea is simply this: A "hot" junction is placed near a "cold" junction, both in a vacuum.

If the function materials and their temperatures are properly chosen, electrons are "boiled" from the hot emitter and collected by the cold acceptor. The flow of electrons comprises useful electrical energy. Results to date show this approach has considerable promise for operations at efficiencies which may approach the theoretical Carnot (heat engine) values.

There is, however, an even more exciting concept for electrical generation which is now rapidly coming into developmental prominence. It is fascinating, I think, to learn that some 150 years ago, 1809, I believe it was, Sir Humphry Davy constructed the first laboratory model of a fuel cell which in principle is capable of perfect, 100 percent conversion of latent chemical energy into useful electrical energy.

The significance of Davy's laboratory creation 150 years ago, if successfully carried into practice, can be appreciated by noting that if the efficiency of the conversion process is doubled, instead of the 35 percent we must accept now, supopse we go up to 70 percent, 1 pound of fuel can be used as effectively as we now use 2 pounds. This is tantamount to doubling the effective life of our coal, our petroleum, our natural gas

Although the fuel cell is a very complex technological device, as so often happens, its form is elusively simple. In essence, it is nothing more than a direct current electrochemical battery which never runs down because the electrode materials which are normally consumed in batteries are continuously replenished.

For example, in one promising version of the fuel cell a fuel gas stream is fed into one porous electrode of this battery and an oxidizer gas stream is fed into a second porous electrode, and we essentially have a battery which continuously replenishes itself and runs indefinitely. It runs indefi-nitely, of course, providing it is designed properly, and the technical difficulties of the fuel cell relate to very sophisticated electrochemical problems, such as poisoning reactions which take place at the electrodes and which gradually cause the cell to lose efficiency and eventually cease operation completely.

It was lack of advanced dielectrochemical knowledge which, of course, caused Sir Humphry Davy and his associates to discard the device in 1810, although the transactions show an extremely active discussion and the firm conclusion that the fuel cell was probably the way to accomplish electrical generation, all around that time.

Incidentally, successful fuel cell designs will have a great many applications beside the one I have mentioned of central power generation. For example, small units can service homes, commercial buildings, industrial plants, supplying cheap and reliable electric power and eliminating the costly electrical transmission systems which now link the central power station and the user.

The military uses for fuel cells range from power supplies for spacecraft to quiet and efficient powerplants for submarines. Signal Corps of the Army, incidentally, is already using one such small device, a fuel

cell, for a field application.

Even automotive design may and very possibly will be transformed by the fuel cell. because an extremely attractive system consists of a fuel cell generating electricity and serving electric motors which are very compact and powerful at each of the wheels, or at least at two of the wheels of the vehicle. I could go on and on with other uses.

Now, I would like to say a few words about the research and development situation in the fuel cell area. A recent estimate of the level of support for fuel cell work in the United States is on the order of \$1.5 million per year. This will probably double by 1961, because of increasing interest in

this. Much of the research in this particular area, however, is being conducted in the research laboratories of individual private companies, and while this is most certainly a tribute to the free enterprise system, which enables our corporations to balance private gain against technological speculation, the net result is a lessening of the free information exchange which enures to the most rapid national progress.

In an area of research as important as this, there are many who contend that private efforts should be supported by a coordinated central research activity working in the broad public interest and with the responsibility of contributing fundamental knowledge of the electrochemical processes in this case which are characteristic of fuel cell reactions. Thus far, neither the universities nor any other type of research organization, working in the broad public interest, have filled this particular gap.

I will talk a little more about this same thing later, but I would like to point out that the problems of staffing for fuel cell research raise an interesting educational problem which I think would be of interest to you. A common complaint of the universities' staffs today is that students in basic science are preponderantly interested in specializing in the more spectacular fields typified by nuclear physics and astronautics. As a matter of fact, graduate students inter-ested in concentrating on areas with less public-relations appeal are few and far between. Our limited resources of scientists and training are thus being even further handicapped by an unbalanced output which is improperly adjusted to our overall national

MARGINAL PRODUCTION OF PETROLEUM FIELDS

I could continue to talk about energy conversion, but I would like to now take just a few minutes to talk about one other field which is the marginal production of our petroleum resources.

Approximately 2 years ago, I was privi-leged to hear Dr. Furnas deliver a splendid and thought-provoking paper on the growing importance we must attach to producing marginal natural resources, and I hope that he will choose this as a topic for his presentation before you in the future.

In the Southwest, for example, my own part of the country, we have tremendous reserves of iron, aluminum, and manganese, which will become useful as better marginal

recovery techniques are perfected.

In the area of engineering science, however, I would like to discuss with you one specific problem of marginal or secondary recovery which is going to play an increasing and possibly even a controlling role in our petroleum industry and where ful solutions will depend on our skill in engineering and science. I think you are probably all familiar with the primary production process of an oilfield. In a loose and porous formation, naturally occurring pressures may be available to drive the crude petroleum up the drill hole. As the natural pressure gradually reduces, artificial pumping from the surface is employed.

The primary production phase comes to an end when, depending on the nature of the formation and the crude product contained within the formation such extraction techniques are no longer economic. I think you may be surprised or perhaps you know better than I that, on the average, primary production skims only the top third off the available petroleum resource, leaving two-

thirds still in the ground.

For example, I have some figures I picked up here just before leaving San Antonio. Thus far, the U.S. oil box score is as follows: We have discovered to date-this was perhaps the beginning of the year-270 lion barrels of reserves. We have produced through-these figures are for 1957-57.6 billion barrels. We have an economically

recoverable reserve of 30 billion barrels. But here is the astonishing figure. Unrecoverable by present methods, 182 billion barrels.

Now for many years our petroleum indus-try was able to depend on essentially primary production for its next barrel of But a number of factors are now combining to change the industry point of view. Old fields in increasing numbers are playing out for primary production. The invest-ment in the field must be protected. In addition, the location of new reserves, generally requiring drilling to ever deeper levels, is accompanied by rapidly rising costs. These factors are adding value to the secondary oil resources which are part of our total known reserve, and in the years ahead it is this secondary production which will play an increasingly important role in our very important petroleum industry.

Now I am not going to go into many of the current techniques under study for secondary production. These include water-flooding, natural gas repressurization, and miscible phase displacement. Those names may or may not be familiar to you. But I will merely say that each of them is a very excellent technique in certain cases, but that they all leave 30 to 40 percent of the

total reserve still in the ground.

Now these remarks lead to my topic, namely, secondary production by fire flooding. Now in the fire flooding technique, air is injected at one point of the field and a fire is started underground. Production is accomplished through a second drill hole which is close enough to the first so that the formation pressure is increased and both the formation and the crude contained in its pores are heated. The higher temperature reduces the viscosity of the crude and the generated pressure drives the crude toward the producing hole.

Fire flooding has the important advantage of essentially completely producing the reserve, save, of course, for the crude which is consumed by combustion during the underground burning, and this may be substantial if the fire flooding technique is not

properly accomplished.

Perhaps of great importance, however, is the recognition that fire flooding may permit the exploitation of otherwise unproducible reserves consisting of heavy viscous crudes and relatively nonporous formations. Vast, tremendous national reserves of this type are awaiting the magic key of technology to unlock their treasures.

Now for fire flooding to be successful, as general tool, a vast amount of basic scientific knowledge and background is essential.

The physical chemistry of combustion must be thoroughly understood, flow of viscous fluids through porous media, what happens when you try to force a thick fluid through a spongelike formation, multiple through a spongelike formation, multiple phase conditions at the burning interface. These are only a few of the technical fields which are involved. The engineering problem of designing suitable compressor equipment to supply the air required, to say the least, is formidable.

We have here another problem of crucial national importance where private industry is playing the leading research and development role, in this case virtually exclusively with its own funds. As might be expected, much of the work in process is held as closely guarded proprietary information. Being in many things a dual personality—I had originally in these notes "being in many things a schizophrenic personality," and my secretary objected to that—I am tempted to wish that a freer expenses of information. wish that a freer exchange of information were possible between organizations, leading most certainly to faster overall progress, while at the same time I would abhor any interference with free enterprise, the philosophy of free enterprise, private risk for private gain.

There is perhaps a partial answer in a better planned national program of research, leaving the developmental advantages to be accrued on a proprietary basis within each company. It is interesting to note that in England, for example, they approach this problem by establishing industry associations in which private funds are matched by Government funds. Medical research in this country, of course, is conducted in a

somewhat similar fashion.

I wish to make it clear that to my mind any direct Government support of activities in the industrial research area would have very severe disadvantages. And we might also note that the Congress has already established very substantial tax advantages for those contributing to basic research. Perhaps, then, while the situation is not as good as we would like, perhaps it is working as well as we could hope for in an imperfect world.

GENERAL REMARKS

I would like to conclude this with just a few general remarks. I must confess that my choice of topics was with some malice aforethought. I have discussed two subjects which are of vital national concern, yet which lack the spectacular appeal of

both the atom and space.

Secondily, I chose both these topics be-cause the major burden of support rests with private industry. The theme of my remarks is the hope that the members of this committee will keep fresh in their minds the importance of national planning on the broadest of technological fronts. It is of unquestioned importance for us to arrange our relations with the atom and with space, but the same sense of urgency must be devoted to encouraging research and development in commercial fuel cells, secondary petroleum production, and the almost limit less array of other scientific areas which will determine our national health.

Our present resources for the struggle with the Communist ideology are in the opinion of many far too meager. In the defense and allied areas a start toward a solution lies in the injection of public funds, but far more difficult and elusive problems arise when considering the encouragement of technical problems which are largely of civilian and

commercal concern.

Up to now, the enormous strength of our system has kept us far ahead of any competitors, but with the impressive Communist progress in the defense area, and with their attention now being extended to the commercial spheres, the time may well be at hand for a reappraisel of the leadtime we now have, of the leadtime our technological prowess has given us, and the reappraisal to determine whether our research and development environment will result in a widening or a narrowing of our advantageous

Our planning for the future must, of course, be based on the experience of the past. Along these lines, I think it might be interesting for your committee to explore the following, to me, very curious paradox: During the Second World War it was the civilian National Defense Research Council which gave to the military the imaginative technological leadership which helped us to lick them. With the hostilities ended, however, peace upon us, it was bold and courageous planning by the military which kept our support of basic research at as high and vigorous a level as circumstances permitted. What clues does this rather paradoxical history What. hold for us in illuminating our national planning for science and technology?

And finally, I think it is equally interest-ing to analyze the changing role of the individual university professor in the research drama. At one time he was virtually the only player on the stage. Today, however, with the growing complexity of science and

the increasing need for a closely knit interdisciplinary team approach, the effectiveness of the individual researcher is reduced. In what ways, then, must the classical university pattern for fundamental advancement of knowledge be augmented in order to contribute to the strongest national effort? Should, for example, a suitably modified concept of the National Institutes of Health be extended to other scientific areas as well?

These difficult questions are among those your committee must try to answer. If I have not rushed forward with any suggestions for answers this is because I have copied my philosophy on such matters from a statement by Harold Laski: "The expert must always be on tap, never on top." I am sure that I, and the other members of this panel, are on tap for whatever further discussion you believe will be helpful.

Thank you very much.

The Responsibility of Leadership in a Democratic Society

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. STUART SYMINGTON

OF MISSOURI

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Wednesday, May 4, 1960

Mr. SYMINGTON. Mr. President, St. Louis, Mo., with its many modern facilities and its deserved reputation for hospitality, is frequently the site of important conventions.

An outstanding organization of national scope and influence—the National Jewish Welfare Board-held its biennial convention in St. Louis, March 30 through April 3. One thousand delegates were in attendance.

One speech delivered at that convention has come to my attention, by Mr. Hugh R. Jackson, president of the Better Business Bureau of New York and former president of the National Social Welfare Assembly.

Without expressing agreement or disagreement with the various thoughts therein, I suggest that it merits objective evaluation

For such purpose, I ask unanimous consent that the address be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE RESPONSIBILITY OF LEADERSHIP IN A DEMO-CRATIC SOCIETY

(Address by Hugh R. Jackson, at the Biennial Convention of the National Jewish Welfare Board, St. Louis, Mo., April 3,

I am sure that these past 4 days of workshops, discussions, and meetings, centered as they have been about the content and procedures of how to carry forward, to increase and to further build the vital job which you do in your community centers, your YM and YWHA's, and your services to the Armed Forces-have been extremely challenging and fruitful to all of you. And now the time has come for you to return to your home communities across the Nation and to further implement the ideas and the programs which you have discussed and revised in this biennial convention.

I feel greatly honored and not a little awed by the invitation of your program com-

mittee to make some closing remarks to you before this convention adjourns. I must also tell you that I am always a little puzzled and frightened when program committees come up with such cosmic topics as the one handed me for today which, to give it its full title was "The Function and Responsibility of Leadership in a Democratic Society.

How should one go about the task of addressing themselves to such a formidable topic? I suppose there are at least a dozen approaches and points of departure that could be taken-and I am sure that there are at least 50 cliches and an equal number of platitudes that could be strung together such a high-sounding and farflung

We could certainly talk about the need for, and the responsibility of leadership, in connection with the global problems security, of progress—yes, and of survival—which confront us all in our generation. We could talk about the function and responsibility of leadership in our national political community-certainly during the

Presidential election year.

But the sort of leadership that I want to talk about today is not the leadership of the isolated few who emerge from time to time in every field of thought and action-whether it be in politics, in science, the humanities, or religion-and who of course exercise a profund influence on the lives of all of us and our society. What I want to talk about is a kind of leadership which is peculiar to our democratic institutions and particularly to our American democratic society. It is the leadership which emerges in our day-today living in our communities and which affects our attitudes, our behavior, our goals, and our way of life much more profoundly than does the leadership which we see on the national scene. I am talking about the type of leadership which generates and leads our voluntary associations and activitiesour social welfare and community groups such as the local units of the JWB, our civic organizations, our PTA's, our service clubs, and all the rest-as well as the leadership which emerges from our business relationships and from our religious needs and associations. It is here in this pattern of our daily life that-for better or for worse-the leadership arises which most profoundly affects our patterns of thought and behavior and which therefore conditions and establishes our basic strength or weaknessnot only in the conduct of our personal lives-but in the creation of the national sinews and character which make us what We are, establish our posture and image before the world, and make us capable or incapable of meeting the challenges of the world in which we must live and survive.

What are the great issues and the great problems which challenge our need for leadership today? I suggest to you that they are not the political issues of our time, or the specifics of our contest against communism in the race for the winning of the uncommitted peoples of the world. I believe that the greatest issues involve the more fundamental questions of our own individual patterns of thought and behavior, upon which all else depends, and I believe that it is by looking at ourselves and assessing the needs and opportunities for leadership in our communities and in our daily lives that we can best deal with the weaknesses, and develop the strengths, that will help us, as a nation, to achieve our destiny.

There is one such problem which affects you and me and all of us which I particularly want to place before you today. I believe that it is not only important but is the key to many of the more apparent external issues which concern us all in this generation. It is the question of the basic stamina and the moral and ethical fiber of our society today and what, if anything, responsible leadership can do about it.

I am not an alarmist nor a pessimist. But I do not believe that one can observe the present scene of our society without being gravely concerned with the growth of materialism and the worship of material success which has increasingly dominated the attitude of Americans in the postwar period. As someone has said, perhaps we in this country have had it too good for too long.

It is beyond question that the great increase in our physical well-being, and the vast growth and more even distribution of our prosperity and our national wealth among all the people, has produced great and valuable benefits during these past 15 years. It has certainly served to reduce the poverty and the basic wants which were so glaring in the prewar period. But it has unfortunately produced-or at least been accompanied by-an increasing attitude of mind that not only makes us soft and flabby, but which eats away at our moral and ethical concepts and justifies a code of individual and group behavior which is predicated on the concept that almost any means justify the ends provided we or our friends don't get hurt in the process.

We seeem to be in what Allen Drury in "Advise and Consent" called the "age of the shoddy." "This was the time," he wrote. when the job on the car was always half finished, the suit came back from the cleaners half dirty, the bright new gadget broke down a week after you got it home. The great age of the shoddy came upon America after the war and 'everybody wants his' became the guiding principle of far too many."

This is the time when scandals in our national life-while perhaps no greater in number than at earlier times in our historyseem to me to be of far greater significance for the reason that they are accepted and tolerated by the majority of us without

protest or basic concern.

Let me illustrate my point by a few examples. We have witnessed the perpetration of frauds on the American public in the field of entertainment during the past year with no real burning indignation or opposition on the part of most Americans. According to the New York district attorney about a hundred people lied under oath about their knowledge or participation in dishonest TV quiz shows, but when the principals were exposed and caught, they could say that they were sorry and be the object of sympathy rather than the opprobrium of the American public. There was considerable editorial comment at the height of the quiz scandal publicity to the effect that these deceptions and frauds were not isolated phenomena but a reflection and a symptom of the moral standards that characterize our time-and I fear that it is so, for only 2 weeks ago Look magazine reported that the result of interviews with hundreds of Americans across the Nation revealed that nearly 3 out of 4 persons thought that most people would have done what Charles Van Doren did.

In the field of public trust and public esponsibility we have the example of the President's closest adviser using his office to facilitate the fortunes of his friend. And yet, to quote Look's survey again, even the presumably strait-laced and rock-ribbed Vermonters hesitated to criticize his actions and would only say that he was "unwise" or "confused."

We have seen the evidence in my own community in recent weeks of a prominent elected official being indicted for accepting favors from a man who was doing business with the city and conspiring to lie about it to law enforcement officials, and who, after his indictment is thrown out, at least temporarily, on a technical basis, resumes his office as though vindicated and without any real or convincing moral protest from the

majority of the public. We have witnessed during the past month the example of the head of one of the major regulatory agencies the Federal Government who-at the height of publicity over scandals and favoritism-saw nothing wrong in being transported and entertained in Florida for a week by one of the people he was supposed to regulate.

If we turn to the field of business I fear we will find evidence of the same tendencies. Our papers have been full of 1959's most significant contribution to our vocabulary-"payola." But "payola" is coming to stand for a good deal more than the undertable payment to disk jockeys to plug favored records. It stands for the "sharp deal" and the 'fast buck''-the shabby promotion that just skirts the law or the advertising doubletalk that, while it may be literally true in what it says, creates a misleading impression. As one observer put it, "the desire for luxuries plus high taxes and inflation makes it hard for people to keep up. They have to stretch. So they are tempted to do more for a buckand do it in a less honest way."

If we look at education, we can find fur-ther evidence of the striving for ends regardless of means. A variety of studies have reported that cheating in schools is not only greatly increased but is considered acceptable moral behavior by many of our students. "You have to make the grade to get into college and to get a job, so who gets hurt?" seems to be the view of many. Again to refer to my own town of New Yorkwhich I believe is no better and no worse than the rest of the country-we now have a full-fledged grand jury investigation going on of the organized business, apparently well patronized, which is prepared to write anything from a term paper to a doctoral dissertation for our deserving scholars for a fee.

These are, regrettably, not isolated examples. They are, I fear, the public manifestation of the inward sentiment of an increasing number of Americans who-in this era of materialism—find nothing really wrong about padding the expense account, cheating on taxes, or making exorbitant and exaggerated claims on their insurance.

If we can believe some of our more careful students of this current scene, we seem to be moving from a personal code of ethics and an absolute sense of right and wrong to a sort of group morality under which people no longer refrain from doing things because they personally think they are wrong, but only because they would not be acceptable to our neighbors and friends if we were found out. Moral indignation seems to be out of fashion and one opinion survey. at least, came up with the startling conclu-sion that less than 10 percent of the people interviewed felt that honesty was a prime

requisite for success. What is the result of this moral lassitude which seems to pervade the thinking of so many of our people and this striving for personal gain, status, and personal aggrandize-ment with which it is so closely associated? I sumit to you that this trend of thought is at the very heart and core of many of the fundamental problems which beset our democracy and our position and strength as a nation. It is fundamental to our unwillingness as a nation to face up to the problems of national spending for decent housing and education for our people; to our unwillingness to take the cold, hard steps to curb inflation; and to our vacillation and ambivalence in determining to promote our way of life, at whatever sacrifice, and cost. * * * In this latter connection let me quote you a recent statement of our former Ambassador to Soviet Russia, George Kennan, who said "with no highly developed sense of national purpose, with the over-whelming accent of life on personal com-fort, and amusement, with a dearth of public services, and a surfeit of privately sold

gadgetry, with an educational system where quality has been extensively sacrificed to quantity, and with insufficient social discipline even to keep its major industries functioning without grievous interruptions. If you ask me whether such a country has, over the long run, good chances of competing with a purposeful, serious, and disciplined society such as that of the Soviet Union, I must say the answer is 'No.'

This then is one of the great challenges to leadership which I believe confronts us in our democratic society today. It is the challenge of preserving our sense of moral values, the challenge to the capacity to all of us to recognize the fact that our pattern of behavior must be governed by something other than the determination of what will give us the greatest short-term material gain, the challenge to change a shifting national attitude which is veering in the direction of emphasis on the easy personal path of profit at the expense of our strength and responsibilities as a community and a nation.

And how is this challenge to be met? It will surely not be met by the passage of laws or the exhortations of our national leaders. It will be met by a recognition and awareness of the problem by people like yourselves who are leaders of community thought and action in the cities and towns from coast to coast and from North to South. It will be met-if we grasp the larger significance of the issues with which we are dealingthrough the activities and programs of organizations such as those you represent and in your community. In your community center programs, focused as they are on the concept of the family unit and family responsibility, and in the incomparable opportunity for character building services which is yours in your youth programs, you have the opportunity and the obligation, by example, and by precept, to not only meet the recreational and cultural needs of your people but to give aim and purpose and direction to the development of the attitudes and a code of behavior which recognizes our fundamental responsibilities to God, to mankind, and to ourselves and to perpetuate and strengthen the essential elements upon which our Judeo-Christian civilization and our essential democratic concepts depend. The responsibility for leadership in a democratic society rests in your hands and the hands of others like you across the breadth of this country who accept the role of assuming direction and responsibility for our community institutions and associations. a recognition of the real horizon and to full dedication through your own deeds and leadership in dealing with the fundamental issues as well as the specifics of your programs, I wish you Godspeed.

Against the Item Veto

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. JOHN TABER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, May 6, 1960

Mr. TABER. Mr. Speaker, for nearly a century there has been agitation from time to time to give the Executive the power to veto individual items in appropriation bills. The item veto is a very bad proposition.

The gentleman from Missouri IMr. CANNON], chairman of the Committee on Appropriations, an outstanding authority on parliamentary law and procedure, and who has been a Member of the House since 1923, has written an excellent article against the proposition. It appeared in the April 21 issue of the Harvard Law Record.

Under leave to extend, I include the article for the information of Members and others interested in the matter.

The article follows:

AGAINST THE ITEM VETO (By Hon. CLARENCE CANNON)

(The Honorable Clarence Cannon from the Ninth District in Missouri has served in the U.S. House of Representatives since 1923. For many years he was parliamentarian for the House and for the Democratic National Convention. He has authored many books and articles on procedure, including procedure in the House of Representatives and the National Convention Parliamentary Manual. He is presently the chairman of the House Appropriations Committee.)

(This article presents the arguments against any proposal to give the President an item veto, thus answering the proposals of Senator KENNETH B. KEATING, which appeared in the Recorn on February 11, 1960.)

The proposition to clothe the of the United States with power to exercise an item veto on appropriation bills was first introduced in the Congress in 1876. It has since been advocated and agitated many times. A number of Presidents have urged it. It is found among suggestions advanced by the major periodic movements of reform of the Federal fiscal or legislative machinery. But its failure of adoption after 85 years of repeated consideration is perhaps the best indication of its lack of merit.

The item veto proposition is advanced in the name of economy and for the purpose of disencumbering appropriation bills of socalled legislative riders. It is sometimes asserted by the Executive, whose power would be greatly strengthened, and others in sympathy with the idea, that the item veto would permit the Executive to prevent, or nullify, or at least discourage, actions characterized as "evils" of the legislative process in inserting appropriations or legislative riders not to his liking either as to amount or purpose, or both. Thus, the item veto would vastly increase the Executive power while weakening the legislative control of the purse.

The Congress ought to concentrate on effective measures to strengthen its exercise of control of the national purse, not weaken it. In recent years, various devices—some sponsored by the executive branch—to get money out of the Federal Treasury through the side doors and the back doors, rather than the front door, have gained in popularity. Through these sundry methods of diffused action in response to the financial needs of the Government, the Congress has made such inroads on its traditional annual appropriations process that it has in practice deprived itself of a significant measure of effective control of the purse.

SUBSTANTIAL SEGMENT

A substantial segment of new authority to obligate the Government is insulated from effective annual determination in the appropriation bills by reason of such items as permanent appropriations, permanent contract authorizations, authorizations to expend from public debt receipts contained in legislative rather than appropriation bills, and specific formulas in various grant-inaid and other programs in basic legislation beyond practicable reach of the annual appropriations process. Substantial amounts of authority to obligate, and even to actually spend, are granted in other than the regular appropriation bills. Basis for effective annual determination of expenditure levels is undermined. The Congress cannot

continue to place large segments of the budget beyond reach of annual determination without further seriously impairing the practical limits of exercise of effective control of the purse through the traditional means of the appropriation bills.

The alleged evils for which the item veto is advanced as a cure are exaggerated. It is axiomatic that virtually every piece of legislation adopted in every Congress repre sents a compromise, whether an appropria-tion bill or a legislative bill. It would be a rare occasion, indeed, when Members of the House and the Senate did not disagree with one or more items in a bill sent to the President. Yet they often vote for passage of the bill because of concurrence with the major purposes or features or the great majority of items encompassed.

Proponents of item veto plead that without it the Executive must "accept the wasteful and extravagant items along with the useful and necessary ones." Wasteful and extravagant—in whose opinion? Useful and necessary-in whose opinion? In the opinion of one person-the President? [Possibly on occasions with advice of the special interest department with a gimlet-hole view of Government finances and the necessities of the occasion?] Or in the opinion of a majority of the directly elected representatives of the people?

Let us concede that there are wasteful and extravagant propositions in virtually every appropriation bill-in somebody's opinion. And the same is certainly true of the Executive budget from the President-in somebody's opinion. There has never been a budget that could not be reduced, and generally the Congress does reduce itregardless of the party in control.

Under our constitutional separation of powers, it is the function of the executive to propose and the function of the legislative to dispose. And this power to dispose is final and absolute. Of all the legislative prerogatives, the power to appropriate is the most vital. Not a wheel of Government can turn without motivation of an appropriation. Basic authorizing statutes for the most part are broad in scope and grant to the executive rather wide latitude. The one continuing and recurring procedure for congressional control over governmental activities within such statutes is the annual appropriations review and legislative provision of funds.

MONEY BILLS

The annual money bills implement programs and activities previously authorized by law-programs which have in the legislative authorizing stage already run the gauntlet, including the opportunity for Executive veto. The subsequent act of appropriation thus represents the stage of final and, necessarily, conclusive action by the elected representatives of the people, each of whom must accept his own responsibility for his participation before his own constituency. Responsibility for appropriation of the people's tax funds would be unwisely diffused if impinged upon by an item veto.

The present budget system, enacted in 1921, greatly increased the Executive power in Government finance matters. The executive budget concept was established. budget is the President's budget. He has the sole power to include, or exclude, whatever items or amounts or restrictive provisions which in his judgment are necessary. the judgment of someone else; exclusively his own judgment. Under the law he is directed to include that which he deems necessary. But the item veto on appropriation bills would be tantamount to permitting the President to tell the Congress what to include in appropriation bills. It would, in effect, transfer from the legislative to the executive branch of the Government the control of the purse.

Incidentally, force of logic compels the suggestion that the item veto would be as appropriate in application to legislative authorization bills as to appropriation bills. And as far as is known, the President for the first time advocated this application in his budget message of January 1959. The genesis of the appropriating process is in the initial authorization statutes. The Executive is not infrequently-sometimes vigorouslyopposed to a specific item, provision, or re-striction in basic authorizing legislation submitted for Presidential approval. The fundamental purpose of Executive veto is now fulfilled under the constitutional pro-Vision according the President oportunity to take exception to a proposition of legislation in the first instance. That same recourse is available to him on appropriation bills and he has used it at his discretion.

WITHOUT SUBSTANCE

Proponents of the item veto seek to justify it on the grounds that, without it, the President is reluctant to veto a bill providing for many necessary functions in order to register his objections to individual items or provisions. The argument is without substance, as the Congress has never, and cer-tainly would never, adjourn without providing appropriations for the necessary functions of Government.

Furthermore, a vetoed bill assumes high privilege in the House and is almost always disposed of at once—in any event, expeditiously. More important, perhaps, is the record of disposition, for in the majority of instances of appropriation vetoes, Congress has yielded to the President and passed leg-Islation omitting the offensive matter. There is no evidence that the public interest suffered by reason of delaying final settle-ment long enough to dispose of a vetoed appropriation bill.

The item veto would also encourage executive capriciousness. We have seen this happen more than once through unwarranted use of the provisions of the antideficiency statute permitting the Executive, under certain defined conditions, to withhold expenditure of appropriations. An appropriation is not a mandate to spend every dollar provided, but neither was the im-Dounding clause of the antideficiency intended to provide the Executive with a statute to thwart the clear will of the Congress. To provide item veto power would be to give the Executive a club which could be held over individuals and Members and even whole delegations, to coerce their cooperation on wholly unrelated legislative propositions in which the Executive was especially interested.

MORE CHECKS

Legislative enactment of the appropriation bills is surrounded by far more checks and balances than is the preparation of the executive budget. As noted, the executive budget is whatever the President determines it shall be. It is prepared behind closed doors. It can include, or exclude, any proposition the President wants to include, or exclude—and in any amount. It is not subject to a parliamentary point of order. It is not materially restrained by any act of Congress or rule of either House.

In contrast, the appropriation bills are subject to several hurdles and must run a number of gauntiets at both ends of the Capital. Items not previously authorized by basic law and provisions of legislation are subject to deletion on objection of a single Member. Only by majority consent, or vote, are propositions of legislation included in appropriation bills, and most of these are administrative and facilitating, or restrictive, in character; and again, many of them will be found to have been recommended by the President in his budget. Furthermore, only by majority action in both Houses

is the President's budget exceeded. But the President, without consulting anyone, can submit budget increases above the previous year's appropriation.

Drawing a suitable definition of an "item" would entail serious complications and dispute as regards its application to specific instances. What is to be embraced by the term "item"? Is it to be a separate para-graph of a bill or only a portion? Where many projects are financed in a single lumpsum appropriation, and thus not separately identified in the bill, is it the lump-sum total or only a portion? Would it apply to restrictive or prohibitive language intended to deny use of the funds for a certain object or to require their use in a specific manner and no other? Implicit in the legislative power of the purse is the right to prescribe the conditions of expenditure and to deny use of the appropriation for a purpose or object even though previously authorized by law. Would "item" veto embrace the power to strike such conditions or restrictions?

There have been instances where the Congress inserted appropriations and provisions not budgeted by the executive and the action proved beyond question to have been in the national interest. There will be others which the item veto could threaten.

Finally, the legislative appropriations process would resemble a one-way street if the item veto were adopted. The executive would have a greater voice, the legislative branch correspondingly less, in the final determina-We need just the opposite.

The constitutional separation of powers is a two-way street-the executive to propose appropriations and related provisions he deems necessary, and the legislative to enact such appropriations and related provisions as it deems in the public interest. The legislative prerogative of the elected representatives of the people must not be diluted. To permit otherwise would impair Member's ability to act in response to the wishes of the people they are elected to serve.

A real grasp of the full dimensions of the one-way character of this proposition can be had from the following statement of the Director of the Budget, as principal spokesman of the executive branch, made to the Committee on the Judiciary of the House of Representatives in May 1957 in support of the item veto proposal:

"I think it ought to be made clear in whatever bill is reported that authority would be granted to veto legislative provisions as well as appropriation items, and that the authority to veto an appropriation item would include authority to reduce an ap-propriation—but only to the extent necessary to permit the disapproval of amounts added by the Congress for unbudgeted programs or projects, or of increases by Congress of amounts included in the budget."

The import of this statement is clear. Implicit in such reasoning is the assumption that the executive is all wise and superior in judgment as to how much should be appropriated from the Treasury and for what purposes.

I am certain the Congress could never seriously entertain such as absurdity as the item veto.

A Farm Leader Speaks Out

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ED EDMONDSON

OF ORLAHOMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Friday, May 6, 1960

Mr. EDMONDSON. Mr. Speaker, there continues to be in this country a great deal of misunderstanding about the American farmer and the economic conditions of the country affecting him.

I believe one of the best talks on this subject I have read was delivered recently by Mr. Lloyd Patton, of Chattanooga, Okla., president of the Oklahoma Association of Electric Cooperatives.

As an appeal for understanding of the farmer and his problems, and as an appeal for cooperation between businessmen and farmers, the Patton speech is outstanding.

The complete text of the speech, which is sure to interest many Americans, follows:

The farmer today is at the crossroads, he faces a crisis and yet his public relations rating with the general public is at the lowest point probably in history. He and his problems are among the least understood in our community and our Nation. It doesn't take much arithmetic to understand that farm dollars are one-third of Tillman County's entire buying income. And that the farmers, all of them, are businessmen with intricate problems in planning, operations, and marketing second to no other business.

The farmer today as you and I know him here has got the fight of his life. He has become a "whipping boy." A "whipping boy" and a "laughing boy" for those who don't know or don't care to understand his problems. You can spread the blame in a dozen places, but you can't erase it from the shoulders of the farmer himself and his hometown friend and the local businessmen, like you, whose closeness to the scene should but hasn't always given him understanding.

You businessmen should understand that parity is no magical slush fund to make a lazy man rich but instead is a formula attempting to obtain for the farmer a take-home pay near par with the price of things he has to buy. You should know too that as the farmer's share of dollars continues to drop his costs climb upward. You should know also that the support program for the Nation's six basic crops is not the only Government subsidy. That in fact there are more than 800 products and items with support or tariff subsidies, and if we are to be concerned with the farmers' support price and marketing quota program we should be concerned too with oil depletion allowance. It's import quotas and productions allowables which keep the barrel price stable. We should be concerned with the quick tax writeoff of millions of dollars to large firms like electric cooperatives who make capital improvements; and millions of Government cash which goes into aircraft manufacturing. The Government guarantee on FHA house loans really put the housing industry in a billion-dollar boom by underwriting its

financing.

Agriculture is important enough for every businessman to pull his head from the prejudice and misrepresented mud and understand that the farmer is not the only business with subsidy assistance and that in the last 50 years for every \$1,000 the Govern-ment spent for subsidies the farmer got only

\$5 or one-half of 1 percent.

The farmer, himself, is largely to blame for his poor public relations and his general rating with the public. The place for him to start to improve his relations is at his home and his own farm and in his own community where his friends and neighbors know him best. He should make a move for unity of purpose, first in his home com-munity, then through other regions and across the Nation because the farmers of tomorrow will be those who correctly read the signs today and make necessary adjustments in public relations and farming operations.

Farmers today are in a price cost squeeze comparable in many respects to the early 1920's when the farm problem first received prominent public attention. Did you know that since 1952 farm prices have dropped 17 percent, farm wages have gone up 41 percent. Production per farm worker has increased 21 percent since 1952 while the industrial output per worker is up only 5 percent. Industrial wages are up 38 percent but net farm income is down 27 percent compared with 1952.

Farmers received \$1 billion less last year than they did in 1951 for 11 percent more food, but we as consumers paid \$7.4 billion more than we did in 1952. The consuming public is now being brainwashed with the idea that the subsidy payments paid to the farmers is largely the reason for the high prices that they have to pay for food and this is a long ways from the truth.

It is evident that farmers are not responsible for the increased cost of wheat products and I'll give you this example: While a wheat farmer is getting less for what he produces he is paying far more for what industry produces, such as machinery, fuel, and supplies. In 1947 wheat sold for \$2.80 a bushel and a loaf of bread cost 17 cents. When wheat had gone down to \$2.30 bread was 24 cents, now wheat is about \$1.70 and bread is a quarter. You know that there is very little or no connection between the price of wheat and the price of bread.

Do you know that if the farmer gave his products away the consumers would still pay very nearly the same price that they are now paying because the farmers actually get less than 50 cents of the consumer's dollar? Tillman County is an agricultural community and always will be and is the industry upon which all of you businessmen depend. Of course, other industries that have been brought into the county have added greatly to our good economic conditions and have also made it possible for some of the farmers who otherwise could not have stayed on the farm to stay. The farmer, as a group, even though a very small group in our whole economy, is now only approximately 12 percent of our total population, however, he affects the whole economy of the Nation more than any single group and this has been vividly demonstrated last year when the farmers of this Nation had an excellent crop. The purchasing power was felt throughout the industrial east.

You might be surprised to know that the farmers in the United States use more steel than all the automobiles sold and as much rubber as it would take to outfit 600 million cars. Did you know that the farmers have doubled their efficiency since 1939 but during the same period their purchasing power has increased less than than 25 percent. In 1940 farmers received 22 percent of our total income and only 7 percent in 1956.

You might be interested to know that Tillman County's income from wheat in 1958 was \$7½ million, during the same year the farmers in Tillman County received \$7 million from the income from cotton. The total income from livestock and all other farm income was in excess of \$20 million during 1958. Farmers are now facing the greatest dilemma of all times. The Government must decide whether it will continue to support farm prices. If the Government says "No," then the farmers are left with even a harder choice.

They may decide to go back to the free market with roller coaster price rides and accompanying business failures. Now if they choose to take this road they will be faced with this record. According to the records that have been kept over the past 100 years, farm prices have been on a roller coaster. Farm and nonfarm prices get together only during war times, twice over the past 100 years farm prices have exceeded nonfarm prices and that was at the peak of World War I and World War II,

Now for those of you who believe that the farmers would be better off in a free market, let's trace the agricultural history and this is what you will find: That except for a few brief years at the turn of the century farmers have never prospered in a free market during peacetime, so according to experts it is a big myth that agriculture will right itself at a good level of production and prices if the Government will just get out and leave it alone.

There is much said about the cost to the Government of farm price supports, incentive payments, soil bank payments, and other types of support. Please notice Government aids to business over the past 20 years have exceeded \$47 billion. Farm price supports cost for the past 25 years has been only \$5 billion. For businessmen who are continually asking why don't you stand on your own two feet, these facts have been presented for your consideration.

It has been said by businessmen here in Frederick that they would like to put their business in the soil bank like we farmers put our farms in the soil bank. But let me ask you, if you were confronted with the proposition advising you that you could receive 75 percent of what you made last year in your business do you think that you would be overanxious to sign a contract to put your business in the soil bank for a 5-or 10-year period?

Now in my opinion the farmer is confronted with another problem that I believe will destroy the American farm system of free and competitive enterprise as we now know it. This is the system that is now working in certain areas of the United States and is spreading out more and more each year. It is what is known as contract farming or integration. This has come about during the time of rising cost and capital requirements and because of thin margins of profits.

Integration in one form or another has been going on in this country for a long time, in the processing of canned foods, frozen fruits and vegetables. It also exists in the pulpwood processing business. It is fast expanding in the broiler business and now appears to be coming into the egg and hog production. I would not be presumptious to state that even in Tillman County this system of farming will be introduced to a large degree in the next 10 years. Vegetables are being raised in the Tipton area on this basis now. If this type of farming becomes widespread, farmers as we know them will cease to be the individualists they once were and will be reduced to mere sharecroppers.

Did you know that in Tillman County in 1945 there were 2,081 farm operators. Now this includes farmers of every size, including small acreages in towns. The record in 1955, 10 years later, show that the number of farms had been reduced to 1,450 farms. Do you know that the average size farm 25 years ago was 160 acres and in 1955 the average size farm in Tillman County was 395 acres. I believe that the trend toward larger farms has largely been made necessary by economic conditions and mechanized farming.

It has been estimated that the average farm operator in Tillman County has invested in machinery and equipment approximately \$20,000 and the average owner-operator has invested in land, machinery, and equipment in excess of \$70,000. The records also show that 75 percent of the farms in Tillman County are operated by tenants as compared with 25 percent who are owner operators. Now here are some facts that are even more startling than the ones just revealed. Did you know that the average age of farmers in Tillman County is 50 years. A recent survey was completed on 200 farms in the Frederick school district and a breakdown of this survey showed that

there are 89 farmers in this age group, 45 to 54. Fifty-four farmers ages 55 to 65, 40 farmers 35 to 44, 10 farmers 25 to 35, 10 farmers over 62, and 2, 15 to 25.

Now according to the mortality rate in 10 years from this date Tillman County will need replacement for at least 50 percent of the farmers in this area which means there will have to be 700 new farmers to take the place of those who have passed on or retired. In Oklahoma, where there are 111,700 farm operators, it will take 55,800 replacements to replace those who have retired or passed away in the next 10 years. So you can see there is an excellent opportunity for a limited number of young men and women in the next few years to fill the vacancy in agriculture that has been created by those farmers who have retired or passed away.

The small farmers, as we once knew him in Tillman County and the rest of the country, has been eliminated to a large degree and others are going one by one. Small farmers are leaving the farm in such great numbers that many people are saying that the day of the small farmer is gone. Now in my humble opinion this is the first sign of the decaying of our Nation. Now no one would say that squeezing of the small farmer off the land will of itself bring a Nation to disaster but I would say, with emphasis, that the forcing of small farmers off the land is one of the sure symptoms of a highly complex disease that leads to national disaster.

America needs to awaken to some of these symptoms while there is still time to cure the disease. Now, in conclusion, I would like to say that I have pointed out some of the farmer's problems, of which I am a part by virtue of my position I have been caught in the whirlpool of intricate farm problems and I offer no solution to them. But I would like for you to consider them as a part of your problems. Let me leave this thought with you: Agriculture is the foundation upon which this Nation is built and there is no limit to progress where people work together.

Our Defense Posture

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. ALFRED E. SANTANGELO

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, May 6, 1960

Mr. SANTANGELO. Mr. Speaker, our defense budget this year amounts to \$39,337,867,000, an increase of \$2,867,000 over the amount which the President requested in his budget for 1961. The committee reduced in certain areas appropriations totaling \$1,407,800,000 and added \$1,529,700,000, a net of \$2,800,000. The committee hearings disclosed solid achievements in certain areas, useless programs wasting \$4 billion, and many wasteful practices in procurement. The

programs wasting \$4 billion, and many wasteful practices in procurement. The committee hearings also disclosed that this Nation possesses the greatest overall strength in the world, despite its secondary place in missiles with the Soviet Union. Our position is strong, but we must not remain complacently smus. Programs in being will eventually overcome, it is hoped, the Soviet superiority in missiles and maintain our overall superiority with its deterrent capacity.

All these appropriations are provided for

with the hope of achieving a peace but nevertheless preparing our defense.

I have read with interest the three articles in the New York Times during the week of May 2, 1960, in which there is set forth an explanation of our defense posture—the areas in which we are strong, those in which we are secondary, and which make certain recommendations which will prove interesting to the readers and will help them to understand the detailed expenditures for our national security.

A further article in the New York Times of May 6, 1960, by Hanson W. Baldwin sets forth a critical analysis of our defense posture and the thinking which motivated the redirection of expenditures, the justifications of the various items of expenditures which make up this appropriation for our defense needs, approximating more than 50 percent of our total budget.

In my amendment to the defense appropriation bill, I tried to eliminate the excessive costs, the wastes, and mismanagement. This amendment, to bar defense contractors from payment where they hire retired commissioned officers for purposes of selling to the Defense Department, was defeated by the House yesterday on the ground mainly that recent legislation was adequate to correct the situation and that legislative committees should enact legislation carrying out the intent of my amendment.

There follows for the perusal of the readers Mr. Baldwin's timely article: [From the New York Times, May 6, 1960]
THE DEFENSE BUDGET—DEBATE REFLECTS APPRAISALS OF SOVIET STRENGTH AND COSTS OF NEW WEAPONS

(By Hanson W. Baldwin)

Details of Soviet strength and costs of new weapons are some of the factors influencing the current congressional debate on next year's defense budget.

Washington experts declare that there is still no evidence of existence of any Soviet launching sites for long-range missiles except the two known sites at Kapustin Yar, near Stalingrad, and Tyuratam, near the Aral Sea. These two sites have been used for the launching of Soviet developmental missiles. No other operational sites are known to exist, despite intensive and at least partly successful efforts to penetrate the Iron Curtain. Even the smaller sites for intermediate-range ballistic missiles are conspicuous by their absence.

Similarly, there is as yet no evidence that any Soviet nuclear-powered submarines are in operation, although the technological timetable would indicate that the Russlans should now have several in commission.

BURKE'S TESTIMONY NOTED

Adm. Arleigh A. Burke, Chief of Naval Operations, testified recently that Soviet destroyers were being armed with missiles, presumably antiaircraft missiles, but he noted no other unexpected technological naval advances by the Russians.

A Soviet hydrographic ship recently spent sometime charting the Gulf Stream off the east coast of the United States, and one or more Soviet trawlers have displayed obvious interest in our Polaris-missile-firing submarines

One of our own hydrographic ships, on the other hand, has been conducting soundings and taking readings in the Norwegian Sea, a sea earmarked as one of the principal operating areas for our missile-firing submarines and for the attack aircraft carriers of the

United States (and North Atlantic Treaty

Organization's) 2d Fleet.
Soviet production of piloted bombers is continuing at a slow rate and Soviet pilots are practicing aerial refueling, although on nothing like the scale of our Strategic Air Command.

MANY REVISE ATTITUDES

This evidence—or lack of evidence—has led many experts to the opinion that the Soviet nuclear-delivery capability is not so major as many had once believed.

On the other hand, the factors of dollar costs have, as always, influenced the defense budget. The costs of operating and overhauling nuclear-powered ships, as well as the great construction costs, dominated part of the testimony given to Congress.

of the testimony given to Congress.

The House Appropriations Subcommittee refused to provide funds for another Forestal-class carrier. The Navy had asked for a conventionally powered carrier, but Vice Adm. Hyman G. Rickover, maverick of the Navy and a law unto himself, opposed this request by telling the subcommittee the conventionally powered carrier would be obsolete as soon as it hit the water.

In denying this, the Navy testified that it would like a second nuclear-powered carrier—one, the Enterprise, is being built—but said it feit that the increased costs of \$130 million to \$170 million over those for a conventional-powered carrier were not warranted, given a strictly limited budget, by the improved operational characteristics.

For submarines, nuclear power provides one invaluable asset: independence of the earth's atmosphere for protracted periods of high-speed submerged cruising.

But in the case of a carrier, it would extend the "cycle" of combat time perhaps from 3 or 4 days to 5 or 6. The carrier's main propulsion plant would not have to be refueled, but the limited storage place available for aircraft fuel, bomb stowage, etc., means that once every 5 or 6 days the carrier, even if propelled by the power furnished by a nuclear reactor, would have to break off combat operations and take on aviation gasoline, supplies and personnel from tankers and supply ships.

The cost factor of nuclear-propelled ships also enters the debate. The Forrestal, first of the big new class of modern carriers, cost about \$190 million to construct. The Constellation, latest of the conventionally powered vessels of the same class, cost \$275 million. The Enterprise, the only nuclear-powered carrier now under construction will cost more than \$444 million.

HIGH MAINTENANCE COST

Navy witnesses also testified that it cost three to four times as much to operate a nuclear submarine as it did to operate a conventional diesel-engined electric battery boat.

Moreover, the cost of overhauling the Nautilus, first of our nuclear-powered submarines, and the time required to give her a thorough going-over have surprised the experts. The Nautilus has been in the dockyard for more than a year and her overhaul has cost about \$11 million so far.

One estimate is that this cost-time factor is about four times that of a conventional powered submarine; others think it is much higher. Some Navy experts estimate that it will cost the Navy more in the near future to overhaul our fleet of nuclear submarines than the present overhaul bill for the entire Navy.

There are, of course, caveats to these somewhat alarming statistics. The Nautilus is the first of our nuclear submarines to receive an extensive overhaul.

Moreover, her core life has been steadily extended; the first nuclear core provided about 60,000 miles of cruising; the third, now being installed, is expected to provide about

130,000 miles. Thus, the cost per mile of operation will be reduced.

Safety factors, inexperience and the sabotage suffered by the *Nautilus* during overhaul, although this sabotage presented only a minor problem, added to costs and time. With greater experience overhaul costs will be reduced.

Nevertheless, many in the Navy—while agreeing that the increased costs are necessary in the case of the submarine—doubt that the dream of a nuclear-powered surface Navy can be justified if the improved operational characteristics are weighed against the greatly increased costs.

President Truman Appraises President Rhee

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. WALTER H. JUDD

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, May 6, 1960

Mr. JUDD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include an article just published by former President Harry S. Truman, a section giving his appraisal of former President Syngman Rhee of Korea. These two former Presidents had more to do with bringing into being and preserving the Republic of Korea than any others. In the turmoil following the upsurge of the Koreans' will to regain full freedom and democracy after a clique of unscrupulous selfseekers had muscled into powerful positions in President Rhee's government, without the aged patriarch's quite realizing it, it would be easy to lose sight of the true greatness of the man and his 65 years of unswerving single-minded struggle for the independence of his country. No better or truer tribute to Mr. Rhee could be given than this by Mr. Truman: "A person of sterling character, a fine mind, and undaunted courage. He was dedicated, not only to his people, but to the ideals of freedom—a great patriot and father of the republic he created." TRUMAN ASSESSES KOREA—SAYS UPRISINGS

TRUMAN ASSESSES KOREA—SAYS UPRISINGS SHOW PUBLIC WILL NOT FORFEIT DIGNITY

(By Harry S. Truman)

In the recent demonstrations and acts of violence on several continents I see a clear reaffirmation of what I have always believed—that people are no longer content to settle for economic betterment at the expense of human dignity.

Throughout history there has been an unremitting struggle against rule by dictatorship or repression by force. And today's events in Korea, Turkey, South Africa and Cuba reveal that some governments have not kept up with the times in meeting the reasonable aspirations of their people.

I was shocked and saddened by the circumstances that led to revolt in South Korea to preserve democracy there. It was an ironic turn of events that Syngman Rhee, whom history will record as a great patriot and father of the republic he created, should himself, at this time of life, be the cause of uprising. I would like to say this to the Korean people, who know how I feel toward them as a brave and free people, that they must have learned their lesson in democracy well under Syngman Rhee to rise up even against him in order to preserve their democracy.

I had been wondering for some time about what was going wrong with the Government of Korea and watched with misgiving the last election. I could only conclude and have now been able to confirm that Syngman Rhee was a victim of misplaced trust in some of the people around him. Every head of government, especially strong men in critical times, finds it difficult to pass on authority for fear that his policies may be jeopardized.

And, unfortunately, in the history of great leaders there is always a temptation to overstay. I knew Syngman Rhee as a person of sterling character, a fine mind and un-daunted courage. He was dedicated not only to his people but to the ideals of freedom. He was a stanch partner of the West, and a bulwark against international communism. In his present difficulties let us not forget it, lest we malign him out of all proportion to his errors and misjudgments in trying to cling to power.

I hope that Korea will quickly mend the wounds of civil strife and that law and order and responsible democratic government, confirmed by a free election, can be restored. It is encouraging to see that steps are being taken to correct the wrongs and mistakes of the situation in that country. I am glad to see that this is being done by civilian author-ity and that the military is cooperating by keeping its place and maintaining its calm.
For the threat to the independence of

Korea from the North, where Communist forces are still poised for invasion, is as acute today as at the time of th 1950 aggression. Prolonged internal dissension through inability or delay to reestablish a functioning republic could lead to chaos and play into

the hand of Red China. I was glad to see Secretary of State Christian Herter advise Syngman Rhee of the dangers and possible consequences of popdissatisfaction with the manner which the Presidential elections were held. I think it was not only proper for the Secretary of State to interpose our Government's opinion on a matter involving the preservation of Korean democracy, but it was wise in view of our responsibilities to that country under the United Nations.

For me, Korea is the symbol of a people's determination to resist not only invasion but the imposition of a form of government which does not meet the aspirations of freedom and human dignity of people today.

Helping the Handicapped

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. PETER W. RODINO, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, May 6, 1960

Mr. RODINO. Mr. Speaker, earlier this session Congressman Addonizio introduced a bill to provide an additional \$600 exemption for disabled individuals. Because I have received many letters on this problem, and because my personal experience persuades me that this is an excellent proposal, I wish to support Mr. ADDONIZIO today by introducing a similar

For the past 2 years I have served as Essex County chairman for the Sister Kenny Fund, which in that time raised over \$110,000 for the Sister Kenny Institute. In this capacity, I have had the opportunity to learn at firsthand the problems and almost insurmountable

difficulties which face the disabled individual in his struggle to achieve economic independence.

The disabled person not only has trouble supporting himself; he has needs and expenses which the average person does not even contemplate. Even such a matter as buying shoes, which most of us take for granted, can become a terrible burden, when the shoes must be specially designed and frequently replaced. A sudden disability may make the family home inadequate, and the family may have to move to a one-story house for the benefit of the disabled member. Taxicabs for those who can no longer use public transportation suddenly become a necessity. Prosthetic devices, specially equipped cars and special equipment for the household are matters which the handicapped must take for granted.

In addition to unique needs and expenses, the handicapped individual faces an uphill struggle in obtaining employment. Attention is now being focused on this problem by the President's Committee on the Physically Handicapped. which is currently meeting.

All these reasons are cogent ones, in my opinion, for giving the disabled some tax relief and thereby helping his economic adjustment.

A precedent for this measure lies in the additional exemption already accorded the blind.

Citizens Foreign Aid Committee

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. THOMAS J. LANE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Friday, May 6, 1960

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include a release issued by the Citizens Foreign Aid Committee which will be of interest with reference to our foreign aid program:

Charges were leveled today by the National Citizens Foreign Aid Committee as a result of President Eisenhower's two major addresses yesterday which the committee claimed had championed, in effect, widely divergent fiscal philosophies.

were made in a statement The charges issued by Walter Harnischfeger, of Mil-waukee, national chairman of the 45-member committee, the sole nationwide organization exclusively crusading to kill the foreign aid program and simultaneously to seek a broad reevaluation of the national defense program to assure air and space supremacy. The committee is composed of well-known leaders in industry and business, attorneys, and five retired military men of general rank.

"The American people today are witnessing the spectacle of publication by the press two addresses delivered yesterday Washington by President Eisenhower which are inconsistent and irreconcilable. In addressing the U.S. Chamber of Commerce he stated that world peace and stability depend upon the soundness of the American dollar. He pleaded for a balanced budget, financial prudence, fiscal responsibility.

"A few hours later, in an address during which representatives of 15 nations beneficiary of our foreign aid program sat on the platform and applauded, the President urgently pleaded for Congress to vote every penny of his \$4.175 billion foreign aid

We urgently ask the question: How can the White House reconcile a plea for fiscal responsibility and a balanced budget with a continuing giveaway program of \$4.175 bil-lion this year added to approximately \$80 billion already funneled overseas, much of it to nations which long since have recovered from the ravages of war and already have hurt us in world markets.

"The revolts in Turkey, Cuba, Venezuela, Panama, and Korea, all beneficiaries of our foreign aid giveaway program, provide con-clusive evidence that you cannot buy yourself out of communism. If our present policy prevails the Soviet Union will take us

over without firing a shot.

"Our committee takes justifiable pride in contributing to the fight which last year witnessed a cut by Congress in the President's foreign aid request from \$3.9 billion to \$3.2 billion. An aroused citizenry today is urging Members of Congress to make heavy slashes in the President's current \$4,175 billion request. Note that the President is asking not for a lesser amount, in the face of fiscal difficulties and a rising tide of imports, much of it emanating from factories built in full or in part with American taxpayer money, but he is asking for an even greater amount.

"Ask management and labor what is happening to their industries and their jobs as a result of increasing and heavy imports of foreign goods from the big industrialized, prosperous nations where we have exorbitant foreign aid gifts. In 1957, for example, we exported 5.2 million tons of finished steel. Last year our exports dropped to 1.5 million tons, a decline of 3.7 million tons in 2 years. Ask management and labor in other industries like automobiles, textiles, ceramics, etc.

Programs of this kind, plus the cry in some quarters for free trade, are completely unrealistic in the light of our high labor costs. A selective tariff is the only solution. Our giveaway policy undermines our econ-omy and will bring about more unemployment and inflation.

The President's advisers and speechwriters conveniently omitted from his speeches any reference to the fact that Uncle Sam today may be facing bankruptcy in the not too far distant future if our financial house is not quickly set in order. Today, our gold stocks are less than \$19.36 billion, of which an estimated \$23 billion in gold is subject to call by foreigners, if they so desire. Anyone who recalls the 1929 panic knows that it doesn't take much to tip the scales of public confidence and start a run on the bank.

"The President's advisers and speechwriters also conveniently omitted any reference to the recent statement by the President's own Budget Director that Government spending was gaining a momentum threatening to wreck our economy, with our present public debt and future commitments now reaching 'the almost incredible total of about \$750 billion'—three-quarters of a trillion dollars, apart from operating expenses.

'American industry cannot indefinitely sustain these huge expenditures which can only result in lowering our standards of liv-

ing or worse.
"Our committee, from its findings, has every reason to believe that a countrywide taxpayer revolt is developing in the United States, a tarpayer resistance that inevitably will kill the foreign aid program, provided that this Nation has not spent itself into something resembling something resembling bankruptcy in the meantime." Report by Alonzo F. Young

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. THOR C. TOLLEFSON

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Friday, May 6, 1960

Mr. TOLLEFSON. Mr. Speaker, I was privileged to attend the Second Annual Conference of the Iron Shipbuilders International Marine Council, International Brotherhood of Boilermakers, Iron Shipbuilders, Blacksmiths, Forgers and Helpers here in the Nation's Capital on March 9, 1960. An excellent report on the present outlook for the shipbuilding industry was given by Mr. Alonzo F. Young, administrative director of the conference. I believe every Member of Congress who is interested in the Welfare of our shipbuilding industry will want to read it. Therefore, I an insert-ing it herewith in the Congressional RECORD.

REPORT BY ALONZO F. YOUNG

It is, as always, a privilege to welcome each of you as we assemble to attend the Second Annual Conference of the Iron Shipbuilders International Marine Council of the International Brotherhood of Boilermakers, Iron Shipbuilders, Blacksmiths, Forgers and Helpers, AFL-CIO. I wish that the present outlook for the shipbuilding industry was such as would add to the pleasure which invariably prevails when old friends get together. The facts, however, do not permit words of optimism. To the contrary, I must, at the very outset, advise you that the shipbuilding industry is in the throes of a serious depression. Its impact throes of a serious depression. is worldwide. The gravity of the situation cannot be overemphasized. The reasons are varied and complex. We do not profess to know all the answers, but by the same token, neither are we oblivious to the many ills Which, if not speedily remedied, portend disaster for our merchant marine and related industrial activity. The present administration is guilty of neglecting the shipbuild-ing industry, both naval and private; in fact, it has circumvented the will of Congress in refusing to expend the appropria-tions made available, notwithstanding their obvious inadequacy. Although I recognize that statistics are dull, nevertheless, I must portray the realities existent in shipyard areas of the Nation in order that you may have a true picture of the impending hardship and despair which invariably from gross unemployment. The number of Workers in American shipyards on January 1, 1960, was at the lowest level in 10 years; in fact, with the exceptions of the years 1949, and 1950, the lowest since 1940. In the final days of 1959, there was a grand total of less than 200,000 employees in all U.S. shipyards, naval and private. This is 20,000 less than were employed in these yards in the final months of 1958. In naval shipyards on January 1, 1960, there were 90,000 as compared with 95,000 a year previous; in private yards, 100,000 as against 125,000 on January 1, 1959; in the shippards of the North Atlantic, our last figures show about 92,000 against a little more than 100,000 a year ago; South Atlantic 35,000, very little change; Gulf, less than 20,000 compared with about 30,000 in September 20,000 compared with about 30,000 compared with 30,000 compa tember of 1958; Pacific, 38,000 in October 1959 against 51,000 10 months previous; Great Lakes and Inland Waterways, 8,000 last October as compared with 10,000 in March 1959. A cursory analysis of these figures shows a 30 percent drop in employment in Sulf yards, approximately the same on the

west coast, and a 20 percent cut in force on the Great Lakes and Inland waterways. is not necessary to elaborate here on the principal cause of the fluctuation on the west coast. The tremendous increase in the number of unemployed shipyard workers, so vividly depicted by the figures applicable to the gulf coast (30 percent) and the Great Lakes and inland waterways (20 percent), substantiates our assertion that we are in deed confronted with catastrophe. The figures for the latter days of 1958 and early 1959, used as a yardstick above, are far less than those regarded as adequate to maintain appropriate economic and security standards in the shipbuilding industry. There were 50,000 fewer employees in these yards in 1959 than in 1952. Assuming 300,-000 as the bare minimum of shipyard employees, properly balanced geographically, as the nucleus vital to the well-being of industry, you can readily see we are truly in a state of worsening depression. Cutbacks on the Atlantic coast are already in progress and, although the figures herein are not as black as for the other regions, the future is just as bleak unless new contracts are quickly attained. Large scale RIF's have been and are now being effected in our naval shipyards. This, coupled with the proposed disestablishemnt of forge shops, among others, and the consolidation of various shops, as signaled by the Bureau of Ships Instruction 5450.94 underdated of January 8, 1960, constitutes a challenge which has been and must continue to be resisted through every conceivable recourse. The Metal Trades Department of the AFL-CIO, with the full participation of its affiliated national and international unions, of which we are one, have met this onslaught head on, and its full resources and universally recognized prestige are being utilized to combat these bureaucratic acts designed, we believe, to destroy craft identity throughout government installations.

Thousands of our members depend upon the ship repair yards for their livelihood. Employment in 26 major ship repair yards in mid-1957 was about 25,000 employees. The average over the last 6 months of 1959 dropped to approximately 12,500. There were 5,000 fewer employees in these same yards on January 1, 1960, than in 1954 when Congress found conditions in the industry to be so critical that it enacted the now expired Emergency Ship Repair Act of 1954. It is obvious that the yards capable of handling the repair of oceangoing vessels are in desperate need of more work right now-if this country is to maintain even a skeleton of ship repairing defense potential.

It was reported at the annual meeting of the American Bureau of Shipping that:

"On January 1, 1960, 292 seagoing vessels of 6,064,921 gross tons and 2 Great Lakes vessels of 32,500 tons were under construction and/or under contract to be classed with the Bureau. In addition, there were 98 smaller miscellaneous type vessels aggregating 67,110 gross tons also contracted for to be built under the supervision of the surveyors to class with the Bureau. This new construction totals 392 vessels of 6,164,531 gross tons. This is a decrease of 1,475,000 tons from the tonnage totals of 1 year ago, and 2,500,000 tons from the figures of 2 years ago. One year ago, contracts were in existence for the construction of 546 vessels of 7,639,686 gross tons to bureau class.

'Of these 392 new vessels now being built to bureau class, 121 of 968,365 gross tons are on order in U.S. shipyards, compared with 1,244,310 tons in January 1959. This includes 56 oceangoing cargo ships, tankers, and a passenger vessel, of 888,450 tons, 2 Great Lakes bulk carriers of 32,500 tons; and 63 miscellaneous vessels such as tugs, towboats, barges, ferries, offshore oil well drill-ing rigs, etc., aggregating 47,415 gross tons.

"A total of 271 new vessels of 5,196,166

gross tons are on order in yards outside of the United States to be built to American Bureau of Shipping Classification. more than five times the amount of tonnage currently underway in American yards. A number of these will be finished in 1960, but others will not be completed until 1964. These 271 new vessels are being built in 19 countries, and include 5 under way in United Kingdom shipyards, 16 in France, 9 in Belgium, 9 in Sweden, 49 in Germany, 44 in Italy, 7 in Spain, 25 in Holland, 2 in Turkey, 77 in Japan, 2 in Argentina, 6 in Denmark, 4 in Greece, 2 in Israel, 3 in Taiwan, 1 in Brazil, 5 in Egypt, 3 in Yugoslavia, and 2 in the Philippines. These new vessels include tankers, bulk-ore carriers, cargo ships, passenger liners, ferries, dredges, tugs and barges.

"A total of 124 new vessels were completed to bureau class in shipyards outside of the United States during 1959, these aggregating 1,793,240 gross tons. This represents an increase of 156,202 tons over the 1958 results. For the seventh time in the 98-year history of the Bureau, more new tonnage was completed to bureau class in shipyards abroad than in U.S. yards. Again, as in recent years, a large number, 43 were constructed in Japan, while 33 were finished in Italy, 4 in Great Britain, 6 in Belgium, 16 in Germany, 7 in Holland, 5 in France, 3 in Sweden, 2 in Canada, 1 in Lebanon, 1 in Spain, 1 in Brazil, 1 in Taiwan and 1 in Netherlands Antilles. In addition, some repairs and alteration work, on existing vessels was accomplished in ports abroad under bureau supervision."

In his report to the 49th Convention of the Metal Trades Department, AFL-CIO which convened in San Francisco, Calif., September 14, 1959, James A. Brownlow, president, points up more clearly than I could ever hope to do the stark specter of foreign ship construction and repair con-

tract awards and I quote:

"It is almost impossible to realize that U.S. companies and their foreign affiliates, on January 1, 1959, were building or had ordered in foreign yards a total of 150 merchant vessels of almost 4 million gross tons, all of which were scheduled for foreign flag operation upon being commissioned. On January 1, 1959, U.S. companies and their foreign affiliates were then operating a fleet foreign aminates were almost 51/4 million gross of 422 vessels of almost 51/4 million gross tons under foreign flags. The additional tons under foreign flags. The additional vessels presently on order will bring the total foreign flag fleets of such U.S. companies and their foreign affiliates to 577 vessels totaling almost 91/3 million gross tons.

"The great majority of these oversea or-ders were for tankers. One hundred and thirty tankers were under construction or on order for these U.S. firms in foreign yards. with a tonnage of 3% million gross tons; 8 dry cargo vessels of about 100,000 gross tons and 12 ore carriers of almost one-fourth

million gross tons.

"Let us look briefly at some of the U.S. companies and their foreign affiliates which have the largest orders for new vessels in foreign yards:
"Standard Oil of New Jersey, 47 tankers.

"Standard Oil of California, 20 tankers. "Gulf Oil Corp., 16 tankers.

"Tidewater Oil Co., 15 tankers.
"Socony-Mobil Oil Co., 13 tankers.

"The Texas Co., 10 tankers.

"Of the eight dry cargo vessels being built foreign, six are on order for the United Fruit Co. and its affiliates, and two for the State Marine Corp.

"Of the 12 ore carriers on foreign order, 8 were for D. K. Ludwig's Universe Tank Ships, Inc., and 3 for Bethlehem Steel's Interocean Shipping Co. The remaining ore carrier is being built for the Aluminum Co. of America's Alcoa Steamship Co. subsidiary.

"The figures which we have just presented on foreign construction and foreign-flag operation by U.S. companies and their affiliates are particularly applicable to the petroleum industry as the figures themselves show. The percentage of the imports of petroleum into the United States which comes in on U.S.-flag tankers has dropped from 55 percent in 1950 to approximately 7 percent in 1958.

"It is a travesty indeed that, with every gallon of petroleum products which he purchases from the major petroleum companies, the U.S. worker is in effect contributing to the growth of foreign construction and foreign-flag operation of the tankers which haul petroleum products to our shores for our major oil companies."

Harry E. O'Reilly, executive secretarytreasurer of the Maritime Trades Department, AFL-CIO speaking of obsolescene, said:

"Our merchant marine is not only dwindling, it is dying of old age. The vast majority of our merchant ships were built before or during World War II, and are obsolete. Foreign fleets, not only the fleets of genuine maritime powers, but the American-owned ships operating under foreign flag, are, by comparison, newer, stronger, faster, and more efficient than our ships. This is so, and will remain so unless corrected, because there is no incentive to risk the vast amount of capital required to build ships in a dying industry whose doom is sealed.

"These, and other grave problems, have humbled and paralyzed the American maritime industry. Today, we rank fifth or sixth among maritime powers, and far lower in the efficiency of our ships. More Americanowned ships are now flying the Liberian flag than our flag. Russla and Communist China, both of which appreciate the importance of the merchant marine, are rapidly closing the gap between us in numbers, and are already excelling us in quality of ships

and efficiency of operation.

"It is amazing and shocking that this great Nation, its President and Cabinet, and its Congress can look at these facts complacently. But that is what is happening. Our industry is the only great national industry which is in deep depression.

"But the cancer of that depression is spreading to related industries. And, the existence of that depression is undermining

our national defense.

The miserable wages as illustrated in my last report continue to prevail. The menace from these shipyards in Europe and Asia is greater today than ever, a condition which makes it mandatory that the total potential of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations be immediately mobilized to repel the intensified efforts of these foreign shipyards to acquire additional contracts from U.S. industry. Shipbuilding Survey, a bulletin published by the Committee of American Steamship Lines, reported through the press on February 10, 1960, that:

"Washington.—Bargain construction rates are the order of the day at shipbuilding yards throughout the world * * * says that low prices have created a buyers' market in the

ndustry.

"Some yards are trying to drum up business by approaching financially sound owners with new plans at attractive prices.

"As a result, the survey notes, a shipowner can select the country in which he wishes to build and negotiate a price lower than the lowest bid received in international bidding.

"PROFITS REMOVED

"The survey points out that German shipyards, in an effort to survive in the fiercely competitive market, seem to be removing from their proposals most of their profit, both declared and hidden. Overhead reductions have been reported as high as 22 percent, according to the survey, which went on to predict that further price reductions will be made. "Japanese shipbuilders, the report says, face an order shortage during fiscal 1960 in spite of low shipbuilding prices. Expected new orders will amount to about 900,000 gross tons against a capacity of 1,800,000 gross tons per year.

"Production costs are under study in Japan, the report shows, to make shippards there even more competitive in the ship export market. 'Besides attempting to reduce their own costs,' the report says, 'shipbuilders are asking for cooperation from related industries and aid from the Government.'

"In the United Kingdom, the survey says that \$450 million in plant improvements in recent years have produced increased production rates that should make prices more competitive. One example of this increased productivity is a 15,050-ton cargo vessel being delivered 10 weeks after a sister ship from the same berth.

"SUBSIDY MOVE

"The Italian Government has legislated a new loan of about \$16 million applicable to the renewal of the merchant fleet, according to the survey. Italian shipowners who wish to scrap their old vessels, but who will order new tonnage equal to at least 75 percent of that scrapped, will receive a sub-

"The Committee of American Steamship Lines, publishers of the report is comprised of American flag companies on all U.S. coasts serving American commerce on essential trade routes under operating differential subsidy contracts with the Government."

A militant program to arouse the American public from their attitude of complacancy, relative to our maritime industry, must not be delayed. All available facilities for the dissemination of factual information on this subject must be utilized. We have insisted that the Merchant Marine Act must be amended to eliminate the 50-percent limitation on construction differential subsidies and legislation for this purpose is currently before the appropriate committees of the House and Senate of the 86th Congress. The shipyard owners of America are in accord with our desires in this respect. I quote from a letter sent to Senator WARREN G. Magnuson, chairman of the Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee, under date of February 23, 1960, by L. R. Sanford, president of the Shipbuilders Council of America:

"There is today a clear-cut and definite buyers market in the construction of new ships. This is the time, of all times, when a shipowner can get the most for his money in the way of a ship. On the other hand, if through timidity, a failure to realize the real situation, or a lack of available funds, either on the part of the owner or the Government, construction is postponed or deferred until next year, or the following year, or the year after that, both the owner has a contract with the Government to build a replacement ship and the Government who has agreed to share the cost of that replacement to the extent of the construction subsidy will inevitably find themselves in a field of higher costs with resultant greater cost to each, and incidentally closer to that bugaboo of all shipowners and merchant marine, block obsolescence.

"Postponing the decision on whether to rebuild now or wait until later solves no problems. Even in the unlikely event that the actual differential in the foreseeable future might drop back below 50 percent, the actual differential would always be used and no harm would have resulted from the elimination of the 50-percent limitation, the mere fact of which will enable the continuation of the parity concept if at any time the differential should exceed 50 percent. The 50-percent limitation originally placed in the bill had no particular significance—it was purely arbitrary. It is still arbitrary. Parity is the meat of the differential, not an arbitrary limitation.

"Five months have elapsed since a contract has been executed in this country for a seagoing commercial vessel. This hiatus alone has a definite effect on the continuity of future workloads. The Maritime Administration's contractual replacement program is dragging badly due to lack of adequate appropriations. An annual construction subsidy appropriation which averages for a period of 6 years less than one ship per shipyard per year cannot sustain the shipbuilding industry.

"There is no present prospect for additional tanker orders to supplement the tanker workload carryover from the aftermath of the Suez crisis. There likewise is no present prospect of replacements by the nonsubsidized lines and certainly very little prospect of tramp ship replacements, or of ore carrier replacements for other than

domestic services.

"The replacement vessels for which the Maritime Administration still has or will have appropriated funds which could be expended for construction-differential subsidies during the balance of the year are sufficient to cover 16 ships from prior appropriations and 14 ships from fiscal 1961 appropriations and 14 ships from fiscal 1961 appropriations if approved. Awards are usually made on a 3, 4, or 5 ship group basis, which for a total of 30 ships, could mean participation by probably 7 or 8 shipyards provided each group went to a different yard. The net result could be that those yards fortunate enough or desperate enough to obtain such an award might be able to recoup their diminishing workloads, but not necessarily their profit status, whereas the balance of the shipyards by the end of 1960, or shortly thereafter, will have reached a period in which they must face the critical fact of survival."

Throughout the deliberations upon the 1936 act, it was clear that Congress intended to place the domestic shipyards in a position to sell vessels to U.S. operators at prices on a parity with foreign construction costs. At the same time Congress also provided safeguards to insure that there would be no payments in excess of parity.

Since 1936 the policy of the act, including the parity principle of shipbuilding subsidies, has been frequently reviewed by the responsible congressional committees, the Maritime Commission and its successor agencies (Federal Maritime Board and Maritime Administration), the Department of Commerce, and the succeeding administrations in the White House. In each instance that policy and the underlying principle of parity have been reaffirmed.

Congress assumed that the 50-percent limitation provided in section 502(b) would more than cover the actual differential. The report of the Senate Committee on Commerce expressly found, "it is now believed by all experts on the subject that the differential on cargo ships is approximately 40 percent"; and the then existing differentials on passenger and combination cargo-passenger vessels were lower than on rargo vessels. By fixing the ceiling at 50 percent, Congress clearly intended not to limit payments short of parity, but to provide a margin of safety to insure that payments in all cases would equal parity.

Since 1936 the differential between domestic and foreign construction costs has increased. On several occasions Congress has reexamined the 50-perent limitation, in light of this widening differential, to be certain that the limitation did not interfere with the basic parity principle.

The New York Times on March 4, 1960, in reporting on the hearings being conducted before the House Merchant Marine and Fisheries Subcommittee, said in part, and I quote:

"George Killion said studies by his group showed that the price spread between this

country and abroad was exceeding 50 per-

"In his testimony, Mr. Killion, who heads the American President Lines, said the differential was expected to increase further.

"'As long as the construction differential actually exceeds 50 percent and the act remains unamended, the United States in effect is requiring private steamship operators to use their own funds to subsidize domestic shipyards,' he said.

"CALLED RESTRICTIVE

"Frank A. Nemec senior vice president of the Lykes Brothers Steamship Co. of New Orleans, stated the industry's case more bluntly. He called the statutory limitation 'restrictive and unrealistic.'

"If it is not lifted, he warned, nonsubsidized operators will be discouraged from future building.

"Congressional inaction would also have serious consequences on the ability of subsidized companies to progress with their building programs,' he declared.

"Mr. Nemec cited examples of the burdens imposed by the law. He said a Japanese 'S' vessel, an 18-knot cargo type with a capacity of 600,000 cubic feet, could be built in Japan for \$3,700,000.

"An American counterpart, he adds, 'after giving effect to the construction subsidies,' would cost more than \$5 million.

"This difference in cost represents an excess capital cost that must be recovered by the shipowner before his ship is competi-

tively equal to the Japanese liner operator,' he said.

"Burke J. Piper, vice president and treasurer of the Grace Line, said his company's replacement program would not be completed on an economically sound basis unless the parity principle was made effective.

"'It was not the intent of Congress to have American shipowners absorb part of the cost of subsidizing the shipbuilding industry, he testified. 'It would not be realistic try, he testified. 'It would not be realistic to expect private investors to participate in such a basically unsound economic ven-

Our phenomenal economic and social progress as a nation has rendered impotent many palliatives of yesterday. Assuredly the conditions of 1936 cannot be likened to those of 1960. To achieve the parity intended by the architects of the 1936 act, it must be amended, now. This in my considered judgment is the prime objective of the moment. Please contact your Senators and Congressmen-ask your members to write them individually-urging them to support Senate bill S. 2584 and House companion bill H.R. 10129, designed to eliminate the 50 percent subsidy limitation.

It is definitely not our desire to create an atmosphere of gloom and doom. It is our desire and duty to keep you informed, candidly and completely. The advisory released by the Maritime Administration January 11, 1960, announcing that American Export Lines and the Federal Maritime Board have reached agreement on a new 20-year operating differential subsidy contract, radiates a little sunshine.

The new contract makes provision for the replacement by American Export Lines of 22 ships of its 30-ship fleet, including the SS Independence and the SS Constitution, two of the major cargo-passenger vessels of the American Merchant Marine. The other eight vessels of American Export Lines' replacement program are already underway, in keeping with a former contract, which expired December 31, 1959, and is replaced by the new 20-year contract beginning January 1, 1960.

The American Export Lines' replacement program is estimated to have a contract potential of approximately \$436.2 million in shipyard construction. At present Export has eight ships at an estimated contract value of \$96.2 million under construction in two American shipyards.

It is estimated that new construction of 18 freight ships and two combination cargopassenger or 20 freight ships to be replaced, in keeping with provisions of the new contract, would entail shipyard building of approximately \$236 million and the replacement of the Independence and the Constitution possibly another \$104 million. Thus, the total possible outlay under replacement obligations undertaken and underway by American Export Lines could reach the estimated construction cost of \$436.2 million.

The events of the last days, I am happy to tell you, indicate that the Navy brass are preparing plans for a tremendous expansion its Polaris-missile-submarine building program. The administration's present budget request for fiscal 1961, which begins in July, calls for construction of three Polaris-firing submarines and work on some complex parts for three more. In fiscal 1962, under present plans, three more Polaris subs would be completed.

Adm. Arleigh Burke, Chief of Naval Operations, told a Senate committee recently that construction of nine submarines would be possible and desirable in 1961. Navy officials are now studying a formal request for supplemental appropriation of about \$1 billion to pay for this. In addition, it is reliably reported, a request is under con-sideration in the Navy for money for long lead items for 12 more subs, rather than the three already requested. The only problem seems to be the necessary approval of Secretary of the Navy Franke, Secretary of De-fense Gates, and finally the President.

House bill HR. 6483, introduced by Congressman James E. Van Zandt, of Pennsylvania, commands our vigorous support. The references in this report to specific bills should in no sense be interpreted as reflect-ing upon the merits of a multitude of others presently before the 86th Congress relating to the maritime industry.

The steel strike, dearth of ship construction, repair, and conversion in U.S. shipyards, are among the many factors that have impeded our impetus toward the attainment of the goals sought through the establishment of the Iron Shipbuilders International Marine Council. It became obvious in the early days of 1959 that a substantial segment of U.S. industry was adroitly perfecting a blueprint designd to cripple American trade unions. Subsequent happenings proved these contentions and the biggest strike in our history was precipitated by a comparatively few sinister men. They failed miser-ably, primarily because they grossly underestimated the unity which invariably prevails when we are violently attacked. Numerous events, political and economic, during the past year, engendered an extraordinary at-mosphere of hostility in our collective bargaining efforts. The resistance to many legitimate proposals meriting mutual agreement must be attributed, to a degree at least, to the hysteria resulting from the acts of a punitive Congress and a prejudiced press. We have through a series of meetings drafted a skeleton agreement embracing vital identical provisions which will be submitted to those Atlantic coast shipyards with whom we will soon be negotiating. Wage parity, pensions, etc., etc., we repeat, will not be achieved overnight. We have and will encounter a rigidity of opposition to the application of agreement uniformity, from some, which will challenge to the fullest our collective bargaining ingenuity. The master shippard agreement on the Pacific coast and the several area agreements covering our building and construction trade members are symbols of success toward which our progress will be constant and attainment inexorable.

Our naval shipyards have long been a bulwark of our defense system. Their future is

jeopardized by the drastic curtailment of functions apparently emanating from the White House. I reiterate that all of our navy yards are vital to our national security and we will fight any curtailment thereof. We seek expansion not constriction of naval facilities.

I would be derelect did I not acknowledge and express my appreciation for the advice and cooperation afforded me by Vice Prestdent Boggs, International Representative Buoy, and Walter Mason, legislative representative of the AFL-CIO. Our international brotherhood is indeed fortunate and can well be proud of the prestige which they enjoy the Washington level.

Shipyard employees, everywhere, owe a debt of gratitude to International President Walliam A. Calvin. Any attempt here to enumerate his contributions and achievements in this area of endeavor would be nugacious. The stature of President Calvin, especially in those circles which have been or are now identified with shipbuilding, is unsurpassed. He is admired and respected by a host of friends serving our Government in the Halls of Congress and elsewhere. Bill Calvin charted the course and established the beacons which I hope to always observe and follow.

Attached to these remarks is a detailed picture of shipbuilding in the United States as of January 1, 1960, a copy of which has been distributed to the delegates here in attendance.

Tell Khrushchev We Are Ready for War, if Necessary

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. THOMAS J. LANE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Friday, May 6, 1960

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include a statement by Gen. Albert C. Wedemeyer, retired, which will be very interesting to my colleagues and readers of the RECORD:

TELL KHRUSHCHEV WE ARE READY FOR WAR, IF NECESSARY

(By Gen. Albert C. Wedemeyer, retired)

DEAN MANION. With me at this microphone now is one of the most distinguished military strategists of World War II. He has accepted my invitation to talk to you about the dangers that confront this country in the forthcoming summit conference. my pleasure to present the universally respected and widely experienced Gen. Albert C. Wedemeyer.

General Wedemeyer Thank you, Dean Manion, During World War II, Britain's wartime leader Sir Winston Churchill re-ferred to the Soviet Union as "a riddle wrapped in a mystery inside an enigma." This phrase was widely heralded.

To me, however, there was then, and there is now, nothing enigmatic about the Soviet Union. The entire world has been told re-peatedly since 1917 about the Communist plan for world domination. Lenin, Stalin, and now Khrushchev have at all times made their sinister purposes clear—the commu-nization of the world and the destruction of capitalist nations.

Actually, the real enigma or mystery is that we in the United States continue to delude ourselves that we can coexist with the Communists and that American dollars

will buy loyal friends.

Since my childhood, May 16 has always been a day symbolic of happiness, tranquility and peace, for it was my mother's birthday. She has passed on to her richly deserved eternal rest.

May 16 this year could very well be a symbol of abject defeat for freedom-loving people-of surrender to arrogant conspirators who have the avowed purpose of destroying us. We Americans, in fact most people in the free world, are sincere in the desire to maintain peace-peace with honor-peace in

an atmosphere of freedom.

I wonder how many Americans within range of my voice realize the importance of May 16 to our national well-being and security? If the so-called man on the street, the housewife on a shopping tour, the millions of young people in high schools and colleges, the workers in the factory, really understood the dangerous implications of the summit meeting scheduled to be held in Paris on May 16, there would be a wave of protest arising from the grassroots and exhorting the American representatives maintain a firm and realistic position in the finest American tradition.

Analyzing the summit meetings held over the past several years, we find a pattern of carefully conceived preparations on the part of the Communists. The initial step taken by Khrushchev was practically to blackmail our President into agreeing to a summit conference, under the guise of promoting peace.

Next, Khrushchev arranged a series of meetings with key Communist leaders to whom he carefully outlined the courses of action to be followed at the summit meeting. Obviously this will insure solidarity on the Communist front.

Further, Khrushchev made special commitments, economic and otherwise, to neutral nations and uncommitted peoples hoping to win support for the Communist position, or at least to insure that they remain rigidly on the fence.

Next, Khrushchev visited many important countries, outlining his so-called peaceful purposes and announcing his unqualified support of disarmament, the abandonment of nuclear tests, and the feasibility of friend-

ly coexistence.

His association with leaders in the countries visited is depicted behind the Iron and Bamboo Curtains as their approval of Khrushchev's leadership, his policies and plans. His prestige is thereby greatly en-hanced within the Communist bloc nations

and also among the neutrals.

Finally, when the summit meeting occurs, Khrushchev will attempt to seize the initiative by promptly submitting cleverly couched proposals which have double meaning and only propaganda intent. Skillfully and ruthwill make Communist demands upon the free nations while denying to them the opportunity of introducing any subject which might reveal communism in its true light. Every time we have gone to a summit meeting, the cards have been stacked against

We know all too well that it is accepted practice for Communists to lie and distort the truth. Their party discipline requires them to defend anything as true which supports the party line. Such is the dogma of all true Communists.

Why should we make any agreement, therefore, with their representatives at the sumor elsewhere without requiring irrefutable evidence and proof that the facts are not of their own making?

I hold that our representatives at the conference would be wise to question every statement the Communists make. What they present as truth may not be truth at all.

IKE CALLED THE TURN IN 1959

President Eisenhower said that the Communists' disregard of their pledges is one of the greatest obstacles to success in substituting the rule of law for rule by force. In his 1959 state of the Union message, he declared a basic rule for Western self-preservation, as follows:

"We have learned the bitter lesson that international agreements, historically considered by us as sacred, are regarded in Communist doctrine and in practice to be mere scraps of paper. As a consequence, we can have no confidence in any treaty to which the Communists are a party, except where such a treaty provides within itself for self-enforcing mechanisms."

Under these circumstances, as described by the President, I don't understand why we should go to a summit conference. But, we have made the commitment to do so and therefore the American people must do their utmost to insure that our representatives counteract intelligently and courageously the bullying tactics and machinations of Khrushchev.

Certainly, we should not forget that the idea of the summit meeting is Khrushchev's, who is the recognized leader of a regime which is directly or indirectly responsible for the murder of 30 million people since

Our own Nation's representatives come with clean hands and good hearts, for America has not killed masses of people nor ruthlessly seized territories.

On the contrary, America has made great sacrifices in blood and treasure to help the oppressed, the afflicted and less fortunate peoples of the world. We should make certain that everyone on both sides of the Iron Curtain understands those facts.

Khrushchev, the mass murderer, would use the President of the United States, Mr. Macmillan of Great Britain, and General de Gaulle of France, as stooges to convince the satellite countries of Eastern Europe and the Far East that leaders of the Western World are glad to sit in conference with the Soviet leader to discuss peace. He slyly conveys the impression that peace prevails only so long as they knuckle under the hammer and sickle of Soviet Russia.

The summit conference in Paris could very well be the death knell for this Republic and in fact for all free nations unless our representatives fully realize the nature of Communism and prepare to cope realistically with

They must keep in mind at all times that the morals, truth, and decency upon which Western civilization has been built simply do not exist in the Communist world.

They must be fully aware that communism is a destructive philosophy which sweeps aside all human values hitherto held sacred by civilized man. They must never forget the fact that the Communists have violated every treaty and agreement to which they put their signatures, if such violation would bring advantage to their side.

I am an old soldier and dedicated to the survival of this Nation as the last haven of human freedoms. I realize that it is a fait accompli that our representatives will confer in Paris on May 16 with the champion despoilers and killers of all time. How, therefore, should the American representatives conduct themselves at the meetings?

On the opening day, after the official amenities are over, I suggest that our representatives seize the initiative and state unequivocally that the question of Berlin is not subject to negotiation.

They should point out that the allied nations, including Russia, all agreed at the end of the war to the present status of Berlin and that there have been no developments which would justify breaking that agreement.

I suggest further in connection with Berlin and the German areas that our representatives insist upon a United Nations-supervised plebescite in both East and West Germany to permit the peoples living there to determine how and by whom they would be governed.

If Khrushchev's conduct at former conferences is any criterion, when he receives these forthright and realistic proposals from the West, he will immediately resort to his wornout threat of signing a separate peace treaty with East Germany and of establishing Berlin as its capital.

Our representatives, along with those of other Western powers, should then state as one man: "Go right ahead, Mr. Krushchev. If entrance to and egress from Berlin are disturbed, you will be responsible for the catastrophe that will unequestionably follow."

TELL NIK TO GET OUT OF SATELLITES

If Krushchev introduces the controversial question of admitting Red China to the United Nations, our representatives should "That question will be decided in say: plenary session of the United Nations Organization; however, we should relterate our determination to deny membership to Red China or to any other nation which fails to uphold international morality and which defies by word and deed the principles of the United Nations Charter."

When Krushchev demands that the United States abandon its foreign bases and withdraw its troops from foreign soil, I suggest that our representatives announce firmly that we will consider such proposal when the Red army and all Communist-inspired and supported influences are withdrawn from Rumania, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Yugoslavia, the Baltic States, and East Ger-

Every member of the United States delegation to the summit conference should know that Khrushchev comes to the conference table under false colors, mouthing deceitful lies about easing tensions, peace and coexistence.

Every Western delegate should know the Russians will use the conference as a rostrum of propaganda, as they have used the United Nations for 15 years.

What will delegates from the West be doing at Paris while this inevitable Kremlin barrage is going on? Sitting on their hands?

Is there nobody on our side who will rise and lay bare the facts for the whole world to hear—the history of communism, Communist bloodletting, Communist conquest, Communist lies, and Communist tyranny?

Will there be no man from the free world seated at that conference table on May 16 strong or resolute enough to hurl Khru-shchev's lies back into his teeth and let mankind know the fiendish works and satanic ritual of communism?

Will there be no delegate with enough backbone to expose with irrefutable documentation the rape of Hungary, Poland, the Baltic States, East Germany, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria and the other satellites?

Our delegation at Paris must realize at all times that the men across the table are not diplomats, as Western civilization understands that word; they are not dealing with gentlemen; they are "negotiating" with fanatically mad, atheistic materialists, who have been taught by their God, Nicoli Lenin, that every kind of deception and coercion must be used to further Communist conquest of the world and to destroy the capitalist system.

Our delegates to Paris must not be swayed to the belief that our people want "peace at any price." The American people prize human freedom and they would fight to defend it against any lethal weapon the scientists can dream up in their laboratories.

My fellow Americans, if you share my concern about the current world situation and what may develop at the May 16 "sumplease write or wire the Presimit meeting, dent or your Senator suggesting, first, a firm and realistic stand-indicating clearly that we do not seek war but are prepared to use every means at our disposal, including war, in order to maintain peace-peace with honor-peace in an atmosphere of freedom.

Finally, as the President himself suggested, the Western World should make no more treatles or agreements with representatives of the Communist world unless there are foolproof mechanisms provided for their enforcement. Concessions at the Paris "summit" meeting in May could be the twilight of freedom on this planet.

Thank you and God bless you.

Progress on Passports

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. JOHN TABER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, May 6, 1960

Mr. TABER. Mr. Speaker, pursuant to the consent granted me today I submit herewith for printing an article showing some of the progress which has been made in the work of the Passport Office. This article appeared in the New York Times on Sunday, May 1, in its section relating to travel.

The article follows:

PASSPORT PROGRESS REPORT—PROCESSING OF TOURISTS AT NEW PEAK OF EFFICIENCY AS U.S. BUREAU GIRDS FOR ANOTHER RECORD SEASON

(By Alvin Shuster)

WASHINGTON.-The State Department's Passport Office today closes out precisely 5 years under the direction of Miss Frances G. Knight, and she and her colleagues are Purring with self-satisfaction. So, incidentally, are their customers, the citizens Who are taking out passports in ever-increasing numbers.

In one sense, the anniversary was marked on April 18, when the office received more passport applications in a single day than before in its history. The total was 7,024, which was 200 more than the record set one day in the previous week.

Miss Knight and her officials are not claiming credit for stimulating travel to such new heights. However, they are taking a great deal of satisfaction in public praise for the fast processing they have been providing

these days for passport applicants.

When Miss Knight became Director of the Passport Office 5 years ago it generally took 3 to 6 weeks—depending on the time of year—to get a passport after an application was filed. Today Miss Knight reports that passports are being processed in most cases in just 3 days, despite the fact that passport in the applications have jumped 61 percent in the last 5 years.

In all, the Passport Office expects to process a total of 810,000 applications for new pass-Ports and renewals this year, as against 732,000 in 1959 and about 500,000 in 1955. By 1962 the office expects to be handling close to 1 million applications a year.

Looking back over her 5 years in office, Miss Knight points with the most pride at the achievement of prompt passport processing. She notes that it has been reached through better organization, better training of passport employees, modernization, and mechanization.

While this may well be the major result of Miss Knight's work in the last 5 years, there have been some other changes too. range from the modernization of passport offices to the simplification of passport applications. For example, the word "spouse" was changed to "husband or wife." It seems that some applicants did not know just who or what their spouse was.

Color photographs were authorized and, whether owing to vanity or not, more men have been taking advantage of the option. In this connection the Knight campaign to get Americans to smile, so that they look at least happy if not beauteous, has paid off in more bright faces peering out of passport

CHANGE IN FORM

The passport itself has undergone some slight changes. It is now valid for 3 years instead of 2, and it may be renewed for another 2 years instead of 1. It is also thin-ner. This came about after Miss Knight found that 87 percent of passport holders were using fewer than 16 pages for all their visa stamps. So the passport's size was trimmed from 32 to 20 pages, although Miss Knight is now considering a special, thicker edition, even up to 48 pages, for professional travelers who can demonstrate that they need more space for the many visas they require in their journeys.

Moreover, to speed the mechanics of passport handling, the data page-that which gives descriptive information on the traveler-was changed from a vertical to a horizontal listing. This was final recognition of the typewriter as a timesaving instrument, and the fact that it writes horizontally.

Looking to the future, Miss Knight has other ideas on improving the passport, involving possible changes in the cover color, size, and format. There are plenty of the green ones now in use on hand, so any changes that do come about would not be effective until next January.

Among the proposals under study is a

shift of the page for the passport holder's photograph. Miss Knight would like to see it put opposite the data sheet so that entry officials would not have to flip a page to compare the description with the photo-

Another change in format under consideration would be the abolition of the great seal of the United States directly above the signature of the Secretary of State. Miss Knight believes that the red seal is meaningless on the passport and putting it on means extra expense. The Secretary of State's message asking foreign Governments "to pass" the passport holder and protect him if need be may be shortened and shifted to another

SIGNATURE PROBLEM

The facsimile signature of the Secretary of State may be eliminated to avoid the problems that rise every time there is a change in Secretaries. After Secretary of State John Foster Dulles died, the office had to stamp Mr. Herter's signature over Mr. Dulles'. not only meant extra work but it also detracted somewhat from the passport's appearance. New Herter passports are now in stock, but it has been proposed simply to run the words "Secretary of State" without any name at the bottom of his message.

Ast for the outward appearance of the passport, Miss Knight is thinking of perhaps another color and another cover. In her files are several experimental models in blue, yellow, tan, and other colors, in plastic and other sturdy materials.

A reduction in the size of the passport is another proposal. The present one is roughly $3\frac{34}{2}$ inches by 6 inches. The smaller one would be about $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches by $5\frac{1}{4}$ inches.

POINTS TO CONSIDER

"We have a lot of things to consider before we decide on any of these changes," Miss Knight said. "A smaller passport certainly would be easier to carry in a woman's hand-bag or a man's wallet. But what about all those leather passport holders that businessmen have in stock? We would hurt that business. And, besides, women are carrying larger handbags these days."

Further consideration, Miss Knight said. would have to be given to the point that visa stamps for some countries—notably the Soviet Union-already take up the space of a full page. Also, a reduction in size might tend to make the descriptive data concerning the passport-holder illegible.

"Something really ought to be done, though, to make the passport more durable," she said. Look at this shabby one I have in my hand. There is no reason why any American traveling abroad should have to present such a soiled, torn passport to an

entry official.

'We have been experimenting with plastics, but have found they slip more easily out of a man's inside jacket pocket where many men like to carry them. The loss rate on passports, now running close to 4,000 a year, might go up. As it is, we find that most men who lose their passports lose them in countries like Spain and Italy where the climate is warm and where they are likely to walk carrying their jackets across their

What we would really like to come up with is a simple streamlined passport that would serve as a model to other countries. If others like it, it could eventually be the forerunner for an international travel card.

"One thing is sure around here. We are

not married to old ways."

A walk through passport headquarters here, with its new automatic equipment, presents testimony to just that phrase. Indeed, the only evidence of "old ways" are six hand irons that are still used for applying heat and pressure in gluing on passport photos.

"For those," one official said, "we have found no better substitute. But we are still

looking."

The National Defense

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON, JOHN V. LINDSAY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, May 4, 1960

Mr. LINDSAY. Mr. Speaker, in con-nection with the defense appropriation bill which we enacted yesterday, I think it important that my colleagues' attention be brought to a series of three editorials which appeared in the New York Times, Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday of this week, entitled "The National Defense." Part I in this series appears on page A3793 of the Record for May 3, 1960. I would like to include parts II and III at this point.

The editorials follow:

[From the New York Times, May 4, 1960] THE NATIONAL DEFENSE-II

In this, the second of three editorials on the subject of national security, we consider the question of the so-called missile

Missiles and other systems capable of delivering nuclear warheads on targets hundreds or thousands, of miles away obviously ly are of key importance to deterrence against general war. Their development, production, and procurement is generously funded in the 1961 budget, but critics say the funding is not generous enough and that by 1962 the Soviet Union will have ready for use two to three times as many inter-continental ballistic missiles as we shall have.

At the outset, several points seem clear. First, in a matter that could mean life or

death to the Nation, budgetary considerations must not be the limiting factor. The United States is spending for security only about 9 to 10 percent of its gross national product, as compared to Russia's 25 percent.

Second, deterrence is a complex problem. Successful deterrence—that is convincing any potential enemy before the event that it would be foolhardy, indeed ruinous, to attack us or our allies—obviously cannot be keyed to any one weapons system or, indeed, to weapons alone. Deterrence, in its broadest sense, implies defensive as well as offensive weapons of many types, passive or civil defense, and political, psychological, and economic measures.

Third, Congress should avoid what the services call "the numbers racket." Numbers of weapons alone, without reference to strategic requirements, have no meaning. To put the same point in another way, deterrent strength must be keyed to the Nation's strategic concept. Our entire strategy has been based upon the idea that we shall not strike first; in other words, our deterrent-if it is to deter-should be able to survive any enemy surprise attack and then to inflict unacceptable damage upon the enemy. This means that our offensive nuclear capability must be more or less invulnerable to enemy attack; it must be hidden, protected or mobile.

DETERRENT POWER

All these considerations profoundly influence any dispassionate and nonpartisan consideration of the defense budget. Judged by these yardsticks it becomes immediately apparent that the kind of deterrent—its degree of invulnerability and its flexibility—is far more important than number of missiles. Judged by the same yardsticks it is clear that our present ICBM—the Atlas missile—is only one element of our deterrent power, though an important one.

Judged again by the same yardsticks, one is forced to conclude that the United States, influenced too much by service rivalries, industrial pressures, technological uncertainties and the numbers racket, has developed a tremendous "overkill capability" (the capability of devastating Russia many times over) and a very expensive yet fractionally effective warning and defensive system against enemy attack. The bulk of our missiles and planes are at fixed land bases—the locations of which are well known to Russia, and which cannot be protected against surprise attack.

Congress should recognize that the best defense is a good offense, and that the tremendous and expensive defensive systemsthe DEW line, Nike-Hercules, and so oncannot insure anything like an invulnerable deterrent. We have produced weapon after weapon which has approached technical obsolescence even before it was fully operational. Therefore the recent decision of the Air Force virtually to eliminate the Bomarc B long-range defensive missile program and to cut back heavily the SAGE control system are sensible decisions, even though they were forced by budgetary limitations, rather than technological logic. Similarly the Defense Department is wise today to restrict the Nike-Zeus antiballistic missile to development funds until its utility has been proved.

FOR CONGRESS TO CONSIDER

But Congress will find that some things have been left undone. The ballistic missile nuclear-powered submarine, with its ability to cruise submerged across oceans and under the Polar icecap and to launch 1,200-mile city-destroying rockets from beneath the sea, best fulfills today the definition of an invulnerable deterrent. It is mobile; hence its position cannot be preplotted; enemy missiles cannot "zero in" on it. It is hidden in the vastness of the sea and extremely difficult to find. These missile-firing submarines can be

constructed and put into service much more quickly than we have been doing; if there is real concern about years of danger between now and 1965 we should speed up the Polaris program, rather than pour more tons of concrete for more fixed land sites.

A fleet of 45 to 50 missile-firing submarines, plus several hundred land-based ICBM's to reach those targets Polaris cannot reach, plus the newer bombers of the Strategic Air Command (on ground or air alert) equipped with air-to-surface long-range missiles, constitute a formidable deterrent.

But we must look to the future. Missiles, once launched, cannot be recalled; they have a strategic inflexibility which means they must be supplemented by other delivery systems. The piloted missile-firing plane, provided it can keep the air for days at a time, can become tomorrow another form of invulnerable mobile deterrent, similar in a different medium to the Polaris submarine today. Most professional opinion now believes that there will continue to be military use for the piloted aircraft as long as one can foresee.

In this light, the decision to cut back so severely the North American B-70 Valkyrie supersonic bomber program would appear to be a mistake, unless a compensating additional amount had been added to the development funds for a nuclear-powered bomber.

Thus, the U.S. defense budget must be studied in detail, not condemned or supported on the basis of a "gap" in one weapon or one system. Enough money is being made available to provide a reasonable deterrent against nuclear aggression, but not enough of it is going to the most important element of defense today—a mobile missile-launching capability, and to a flexible instrument of strategy—the piloted plane.

[From the New York Times, May 5, 1960] THE NATIONAL DEFENSE—III

The doctrine of massive retaliation—"at a time and place of our choosing"—is, of course, an essential component, indeed a primary component, of our strategic concept, but it provides no total answer to our defense needs. In considering the national defense budget, Congress must determine whether or not the Nation has made sufficient provision for limited war forces. For limited war, as current history has clearly demonstrated, is by far the most likely kind of military emergency we face.

Congressional committees have already highlighted some of our principal weak-nesses in deterring and fighting limited wars. In general, our first and greatest weakness is the increasing obsolescence of much of the Army, Navy, Air Force, and Marine Corps equipment and weapons useful for so-called conventional war. Put quite simply, the great stockpiles of weapons and equipment accumulated during World War II and Korea are being worn out, or are reaching technological senility more rapidly than we are replacing them. The numerical size of our forces also has been shrinking steadily-not only in number of men in uniform but in number of modern and effective arms in use and in stockpile. This shrinkage does not necessarily imply a proportionate decrease in the Nation's combat effectiveness. For new weapons, with greater speeds, ranges, firepower, and so on, can obviously accomplish the same combat tasks as a larger number of older weapons.

There is, however, a clear-cut limitation to the shrinkage process—and in ships, planes, and men—in particular—the services are reaching the point of no return. Admiral Burke, in recent testimony, pointed out that since 1955—the year he took office—the fleet's strength has declined from 1,030 ships to about 817, and from 9,761 aircraft to about 6,800. The construction and mod-

ernization program is by no means keeping pace with the increase of obsolescence.

The reduction in numbers is of particular importance in air strength in any situation imited to the use of conventional weapons only. For no missile has yet been developed—or is soon likely to be developed—that can replace the flexibility and effectiveness of piloted aircraft in attacks on tactical targets. Congress should hoist a warning signal against further reductions in numerical strength—particularly in air strength in the fighter, fighter-bomber, attack and light bomber categories.

THE OBSOLESCENCE FACTOR

The obsolescence factor affects all our services. The Army has a particularly good case to make for modernization and replacement. The Army and Marines have many effective new weapons either on the drawing board, in advance stages of development or in small-scale production. But testimony already given to Congress indicates that the Army is actually barely holding its own. The funds which the Administration has provided are not ample to fully replace brokendown, old, or wornout equipment.

The same observations can be made about the Military Air Transport Service, and the Navy's amphibious fleet. These are the two elements of conventional strength which must provide mobility. MATS is now operating only one really modern cargo plane; there is no doubt that modernization of its fleet is badly needed. Similarly, the Navy's amphibious groups require faster and larger ships.

There are also weaknesses in antisubmarine warfare and in other fields. Most important is the fighting man himself. Many steps to improve his morale and strengthen the incentives for service careers have been taken in recent years; others are still needed. Above all, Congress must avoid the overload factor; the manpower strength of the Armed Forces should be maintained at a level sufficient to avoid overloading those in uniform with constant exercises, alerts and oversea obligations. At the same time the manpower level must be high enough to maintain operational units-particularly those in forward positions-at top manning levels. It is disgraceful, for instance, that the U.S. Army apparently finds it necessary to flesh out its two skeletonized divisions in Korea—divisions closer to the common enemy than any other combat units-with Koreans. Congress should ascertain whether this is a result of budget parsimony or Army misuse of manpower.

There is still another problem Congress should consider—the entire broad problem of the procurement of military manpower, and especially the status and utility of the Reserve Officers Training Corps. The size of the Reserves, particularly of the ground forces of the National Guard and the Reserves, would appear, too, to be growing while the Regular Army is shrinking, a fact that will inevitably result in time in a lop-sided ground force.

Thus it is clear there are many problems and many weaknesses in our capability for deterring or fighting limited war. Not all of these problems or weaknesses are as yet really dangerous. It is not necessary, perhaps, to point out to the more extremist critics that we still have, as Lebanon and other incidents have shown, a very considerable capability to react with strength to limited threats. Nevertheless, unless the weaknesses discussed are soon eliminated, our conventional forces will become in furture years a wasting asset.

THE NEED FOR ALLIES

It is clear that the defense budget requires some major carpentry. But the structure of our security, no matter how strengthened by Congress, can never be firm without additional support.

These editorials have focused upon the contemporary needs of our armed services and our standing in the space race. But the formula for security in the atomic age is far more complex than this; the Atomic Energy Commission, for instance, and the political, economic and psychological elements of na-tional power are major factors.

Above all, it should be reemphasized, particularly at a time when some are urging a go-it-alone policy, that the United States is not now-and can never be again-"an island entire of itself." The days of selfsufficiency and isolation are over; the technological revolution in warfare has doomed forever the "Fortress America" concept. We need bases, outpost lines, friends and allies overseas; we need the world and the world needs us and our military and economic aid.

Modern security means mutual security-NATO, SEATO, and other ties. It means a global view, not a Maginot Line complex.

We cannot stand alone.

Take These Insults, Ike?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON, ALBERT H. BOSCH

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 6, 1960

Mr. BOSCH. Mr. Speaker, with every passing day we hear or read of additional acts of outright disrespect to our Nation and its leaders by the ruler of the Kremlin. Here is one person who is a past master in doubledealing and doubletalking, most of the time out of both sides of his mouth. The record is replete with instances of disregard of common decency, to say nothing of the willful abrogation of treaties and understandings.

Now we have the experience of Mr. Khrushchev boastfully telling his puppets of the shooting down of an American airplane and threatening to destroy American bases throughout the world. If ever there was an act which could be interpreted as substantiating the belief of many of us that the ruler in the Kremlin could not be trusted, this is most assuredly that case. I should hope that our esteemed President will seriously consider canceling any summit conference unless and until a justifiable explanation with appropriate apologies and reparations are forthcoming.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I include the following editorial on this subject from the New York Daily News

of May 6, 1960:

TAKE THESE INSULTS, IKE?

N. S. Khrushchev triumphantly told his rubberstamp "parliament" in Moscow yesterday that Soviet armed forces have shot down what he called a U.S. military plane over Russian territory. His hearers cheered wildly.

The butcher of Hungary and the Ukraine also threatened to bomb U.S. bases in other countries, and/or those countries them-

He used grossly insulting language about Vice President RICHARD M. NIXON, and said General Eisenhower's insistence on limiting the summit conference to a week or so shows our President to be a flunky of "aggressive forces in the United States.

Having belched these boasts, threats, and insults, Moscow's No. 1 so-and-so accused the Western Allies of dimming the prospects for success at the summit.

The incident looks to us like an urgent cue for the President (1) to demand absolute proof that the downed U.S. plane was military and was violating Soviet territory, and (2) to torpedo the summit conferencesink it without trace—unless Khrushchev promptly and fully apologizes for his insults to Eisenhower and Nixon and his threats to our allies.

To sweet-talk this rat at this time would only encourage him to further presummit impudence and make Eisenhower and his fellow Americans look like fainthearted fools.

The Public Community Junior College Construction Act

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. AL ULLMAN

OF OREGON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, May 6, 1960

Mr. ULLMAN. Mr. Speaker, I find that the interest across the Nation in my proposal for Federal assistance to States in carrying out a program of establishing and expanding community junior colleges continues to grow. I am receiving an increasing number of letters expressing support for my bill, H.R. 967, and asking for further information about it. So that my colleagues and others may have the benefit of a short explanation of my proposal, I wish, under leave to extend my remarks, to insert into the RECORD the brief statement I made before the Special Education Subcommittee of the House Education and Labor Committee earlier this year:

THE PUBLIC COMMUNITY JUNIOR COLLEGE CONSTRUCTION ACT

(Statement of Hon. AL ULLMAN before Special Education Subcommittee, House Education and Labor Committee, March 23, 1960)

Mr. Chairman, I am grateful to the members of this subcommittee for the opportunity to appear here today. The current and future needs of America's institutions of higher education certainly demand the kind of careful examination which you are now undertaking. I heartily commend the fine and very necessary work my colleagues are doing by holding these hearings to survey the needs and to consider what legisla-

tion would best serve them.

It is not necessary for me, I am sure, to repeat the statistical evidence of the rising enrollments in our institutions of higher education, the projections of even greater enrollments, and the resulting demands being made on the Nation's colleges and universities. The problems are manifold. The challenges of solving them are multiplying. And the diversity of American higher education implies that no single solution can suf-

Last year I introduced H.R. 967-the Public Community Junior College Act-which I believe represents one method of approaching the increasing demands being placed on our institutions of higher education. This proposal also is intended to make education beyond the high school more readily available to many more of our young people. I do not presume, however, to imply that this proposal is the only way to meet the needs which confront higher education today. Our 4-year colleges and universities, of course, also require expanded facilities. Moreover, I endorse proposals which would assist this

necessary expansion.

The fact remains, Mr. Chairman, that the 4-year colleges have not been able to grow in proportion to the tremendously increasing enrollments. Recognition of this fact is one of the major reasons behind my interest in the community college idea. value and unique advantages of the community college have received considerable attention from educational authorities throughout the Nation, Dr. Edmund J. Gleazer, Jr., executive director of the American Association of Junior Colleges, accounts for the growing popularity of the community college idea with these facts:

1. They are economical to attend; tuition fees are either very low or nonexistent.

2. They are close to the homes of their

students.

They are responsive to local needs.
 Their programs are flexible yet thorough.

5. Through their adult programs they provide opportunities for continuing education.

In my opinion, one of the most significant benefits of the expansion of community college facilities is that such expansion would almost certainly encourage more of the Nation's high school graduates to pursue further education. The Nation needs more highly trained persons. The availability of public junior colleges would surely help to increase opportunities for such training. Furthermore, junior colleges also help to relieve freshmen and sophomore overcrowding at 4-year colleges and universities.

Another distinct advantage of the 2-year college is the semiprofessional or technical training which it provides. This is an espe-cially attractive feature for students who wish to pursue courses of terminal in-

struction.

The community college also helps many students who plan to continue their studies in a 4-year institution by reducing their matriculation and adjustment difficulties.

Also significant is the fact that public community colleges strengthen the American tradition of providing educational oppor-tunity for all since these institutions further extend opportunities for the fuller development of more students.

Two other very practical aspects of pro-viding more public community college facilities are those of economy and geograph-These institutions provide ical proximity. low-cost education for many capable stu-dents who otherwise would be unable to afford post-high-school education. Also, studies made in a number of States confirm the fact that proximity to an institution of higher education is directly related to student enrollment.

Mr. Chairman, at the present time there are 400 publicly supported junior colleges in the country serving over 800,000 students. In fact, one out of every four students who entered a college in 1959 enrolled in a 2year institution. Since college enrollments continue to rise, obviously these junior college facilities must grow concurrently along with those of the 4-year institution.

But, just as clearly, the expansion of State educational programs on the junior college level cannot be undertaken by States and localities fast enough and on a large enough scale without Federal assistance. Letters which I have received from numerous persons in the field of junior college education and several discussions with others con-cerned with community colleges indicate a nationwide need for expanded facilities and the value of Federal financial support. For example, the superintendent of public in-struction and director of education of the State of California, Mr. Roy E. Simpson, informs me that:

"We here in California are deeply concerned about the tremendous pressures we face with the expanding enrollments in posthigh-school education. * * Actually, this year the junior college enrollments exceeded the projection * * * and we now have over 91,000 full-time students enrolled. It is now our belief that we will have over 220,000 fulltime students in the junior colleges by 1970. The increases in enrollments in the State colleges and the university are also serious problems. * * At the same time we are building junior colleges we are also having to expand our State college system and also the campuses of the University of California, so we have a three-way burden.

"Actually, at the present time we have as many full-time students enrolled in junior colleges as we have in the total enrollments in the State colleges and the campuses of the University of California. We believe that the junior college is performing a very significant and unique higher education function in our State; and it is reaching a point where the financial strain of providing facilities for all three is causing deep concern. Your bill, H.R. 967, if enacted into law, would provide a very substantial relief to our problem of meeting post-high-school needs."

From the Midwest, Dr. Harvey D. Martin, of the Education Department of Keokuk Community College, Keokuk, Iowa, writes:

"The community colleges need help in meeting the demands placed upon them by the ever-increasing student body. Our own college, presently bursting at the seams with more than the projected anticipated enrollment for 1958-59, is a good example depicting the needs of the community colleges throughout the United States."

Mr. Chairman, my bill is specifically designed to meet these demands. It would provide assistance to the participating States for the initial establishment of public community junior colleges and for the expansion of those public 2-year institutions which now exist either as subsidiaries of senior institutions or as separate junior colleges. Of equal importance at this time is the assistance that the bill would make available for the public technical institutions which are, under great handicaps, providing us with a large percentage of the technicians and skilled persons our Nation requires.

Not only will this proposal help to meet the demands of increasing enrollments, but it will also encourage the States to expand their diversified educational programs and provide education for many more thousands at reduced financial costs to the student.

H.R. 967 proposes to establish a 5-year program of grants-in-aid to the States for construction and expansion of public junior

The total authorized appropriation for each year of the program would be \$200 million, of which one-half or \$100 million would be apportioned equally among the 50 States, the District of Columbia, and the territory of Puerto Rico. The remaining \$100 million would be apportioned among the States according to the ratio of their total public elementary and secondary enrollment as compared with the national enrollment for these grades. The States would be required to match this second amount on a dollar-fordollar basis.

I believe that the system of a flat Federal grant and a variable Federal grant allows for the greatest amount of equity in meeting the varying enrollment potential among the States. In other words, the flat Federal grant guarantees that each State shall receive at least a minimum amount of Federal assistance through the allotment of an equal share of \$100 million. An equitable share of the other \$100 million would be apportioned to each State on the basis of its public school enrollment. This provision gives special consideration to the States with the highest potential public junior college enrollment.

The bill also provides that funds apportioned shall be used only for the construction of public community junior college facilities, public technical institutes and junior colleges of public senior institutions of higher education, and for the expansion of the facilities of these institutions.

Bearing in mind the importance of reaching those areas within the States which need public community funior colleges the most. have provided within the framework of the bill that consideration would be given under the State plan to those communities which: are geographically removed from other State colleges and universities: desire the establishment or expansion of a community college; are making an effort commensurate with their economic resources; and are unable, solely because of a lack of such resources, to finance the full cost of the needed facilities. H.R. 967 also would require that the State educational agency determine those communities in which the need for community colleges is most urgent. I believe that this bill offers a dynamic, workable, and positive approach to junior college needs of all areas of the Nation.

The construction cost of junior colleges, of course, would vary with the location of those colleges. However, it has been estimated that the average cost of expanded plant per student is \$2,500, or 125 square feet per student at \$20 per square foot. Using this estimate, for example, and calculating on the basis of an authorized appropriation of \$200 million, H.R. 967 could provide for an expansion of public junior college facilities to accommodate approximately 80,000 additional students. This number is equal to almost 10 percent of all those enrolled in public junior college in 1958-59. Moreover, State matching funds provided for under the bill would further increase the number of classrooms available.

Of course, in view of projected enrollments the amount authorized under H.R. 967 is but a small portion of the funds which will be required for needed college classroom expansion in the future. The fact remains, Mr. Chairman, that legislation of this kind would certainly serve as a stimulus to the States and local communities in their efforts to meet the increasing demands for more and better education beyond the high school.

I wish to thank the members of this subcommittee once again for the opportunity to discuss this bill and my reasons for sponsoring it.

Dedication Ceremonies at Jewish Hospital of Brooklyn, N.Y.—Address by Senator Kenneth B. Keating, of New York

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. EDNA F. KELLY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, May 5, 1960

Mrs. KELLY. Mr. Speaker, the Jewish Hospital of Brooklyn, which is non-sectarian, is located in the 10th Congressional District, which district I have the honor and privilege to represent. On Sunday, May 1, dedication ceremonies of the new wing to this great institution were held. It is the hope of all to create here a greater center of healing and research. This noteworthy institution has already established a mark in medical history as the institution in which the Rh factor was discovered. This alone has added so much to the

protection of families and persons to which we all are dedicated.

There was a magnificent representation of public officials—doctors of neighboring institutions, the president of the Borough of Brooklyn, Hon. John Cashmore, and the mayor of the city of New York, Hon. Robert F. Wagner. They as well as I were proud to participate in these dedication ceremonies. My colleague, the Honorable Kenneth B. Keating, of New York, gave the following address to the noteworthy assemblage:

Text of Address by Senator Kenneth B. Keating at Dedication Ceremonies of New Pavilion of the Jewish Hospital of Brooklyn, Brooklyn, N.Y., Sunday, May 1

Mr. Chairman, Mr. Leviton, ladies and gentlemen, this is an occasion my heart would not let me miss. I feel, in a sense, like the man who was present when the acorn of hope was planted, and who returns to join in admiration at the sight of the great full-grown oak of accomplishment. For, in 1958, at the 60th anniversary dinner of the Brooklyn Jewish Hospital, it was my high privilege to pay tribute to the blueprint of a dream that stands before us today as a towering citadel of accomplishment.

There are two ways in which one can view the magnificent new pavilion which opens its doors to humanity this day. We can see it with the physical eye, and marvel at the stone and steel immensity of it—the infinite complexity of its modern equipment, the amazing scope of its medical facilities. Or—and this is the view I would take with you today—we can see it with the vision of the human heart—and here, here only, do we peer through to the true significance, the enduring spiritual achievement that the building of this splendid pavilion represents.

For the human heart sees not the cold beauty of towers and steel, but the warm compassion of this dwelling place. It sees not the electronic wonders, but the relief from pain, the surcease of sorrow, the hope of healing that those wonders exemplify. The heart does not count the bricks and the girders. It counts the blessings-it counts the smiles of those healed and made happyit counts the lives saved and the lives extended-it counts the tender acts of care and kindness-the days and the years of care and kindness that will make this great pavilion a monument not merely to those who built it but especially to those who are to labor in it, who are to dedicate the supreme gifts of their skill and their love to the conquest of pain, the conquest of sorrow.

And the heart looks deeper still to see the true meaning of this great home of healing. It looks back across the years to the brave and good people who—before the turn of the century—joined their wealth of humanitarianism with their poverty of resources to open that tiny dispensary at 70 Johnson Street here in Brooklyn—that dispensary built mostly on love and hope—but whose creation was the seed that has now come to the full and glowing flower in the present justly famous Jewish Hospital of Brooklyn.—In this magnificent and inspiring story of

growth, we find the spirit of America. We find, as well, the spirit of Israel. And, indeed, I believe it to be a common spirit, a spirit shared—the striving of the human soul to ever higher levels of achievement, of richer self-fulfillment.

When I speak of Israel, I speak from my personal experience—one of the deepest and most moving experiences of my life. It was my privilege to visit that dynamic young Republic last November, to attend the dedication ceremonies of a forest in the Judaean hills. The Israeli Government paid me the high and memorable honor of naming this new forest project "The Ken Keating Forest,"

and I know of no honor in my life that means

Before going to Israel I had abosorbed an imposing fund of statistics attesting to her growth, to the teeming energy of her people. Such statistics are impressive in themselves, but they are mere arithmentic until life is breathed into them by the fact of one's own physical presence in Israel.

Israel was built, as this splendid new pavilion was built, from the heart outward. If you will permit an apt allusion, Israel, too, was once a tiny hope at her own 70 Johnson Street, but today she stands, in a dramatic and heart-lifting sense, as a victory of the human spirit over adversity. She has thrived, rather than withered, in the face of difficulties. By sheer force of will, of dedication, of zeal, she has lifted herself to a plateau of prestige in the world that has no parallel in history.

Israel, again like this fine building that We dedicate today-is an act of faith-an act of faith translated into dynamic reality. Everything man-dreamed and man-made in Israel today is a part of that act of faith. Every experiment in human betterment, every probing into the scientific unknown, every eager response to the challenge of the manifold problems that beset a new na-tion—these are the marks of greatness that must inevitably prevail against the forces of frustration and of enmity. We are aware only too vividly of the island status of the Republic of Israel in an unfriendly sea. But to me-as one who has been there-the great force and influence of Israel is like a tide breaking upon the shore. The shore in-escapably must change. It cannot ignore the tide. It must feel its pressures, it must take nourishment from its waters. It must one day realize the tremendous flow of vitality and health and human progress that this beneficent tide represents. eye view would be incomplete unless it brought into focus the thousands of wonderful, devoted, and generous people by whose efforts, by whose sacrifices, the blueprint of an idea has been transformed into the distinguished and imposing actuality that stands before us today. I speak not only of the prime movers—of men like Judge Bel-. Isidor Leviton, Harry Pearlman, Irving Baldinger-and other members of the board of trustees. Their role was vital. indispensable. But in this struggle they had a magnificent army behind them-the loyal and dedicated friends of the Jewish Hospital whose generous and unselfish support has been translated, here before our eyes, into this great monument symbolizing man's humanity to man.

For my part, I cannot think of a finer, more rewarding investment of time, of money, of energy. Each of you, for so long as you live, will receive the richest dividends that humanity can pay to those who befriend it in the spirit of brotherhood. This magnificent pavilion will repay you in the currency that circulates between heart and heart—the currency of kindness and of love.

Dime Store New Deal

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. W. J. BRYAN DORN

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, May 6, 1960

Mr. DORN of South Carolina, Mr. Speaker, regardless of politics, many Americans are beginning to talk "Goldwarer for President." The following

statement by Senator Goldwater as it appeared in the Washington Evening Star is another reason why millions admire the forthright Senator from Arizona:

AGED PLAN HIT BY GOLDWATER—TAGGED AS "DIME STORE NEW DEAL"

Senator Goldwater, Republican, of Arizona, today blasted the Eisenhower administration medical care for the aged program as part of a "dime store New Deal."

The conservative westerner, who heads the Republican Senatorial Campaign Committee, said the health plan unfolded by the administration yesterday is "socialized medicine" no matter how much it is dressed up, painted and network as yountery

and pictured as voluntary.

"What is voluntary about a plan which will entall the participation of every taxpayer whether he wants to or not?" Senator Goldwarer asked. "What is free about a plan which has the Federal Government intervening in any way at all? Where in the Constitution is the Federal Government given the right to become a Federal doctor?

"STRANGE DRAMA

"This is but another act in the strange drama of an administration which gives full support to a sound dollar, a balanced budget and less Federal control, but which in actuality has suggested time and again measures which mean more Federal control, measures which result in less chance to balance our budget and measures which attack the value of our dollar. We could well call these actions the dime store New Deal."

The administration's health plan would be financed jointly by the Federal Government and the States for those aged persons with limited income who voluntarily join the program. It was offered in place of Democratic proposals to add health insurance to the social security system with a small increase in the payroll tax.

NOTES EMPLOYER SETUP

Senator Goldwater accused his party of having spent 30 years saying that the welfare state and centralized government are wrong, but arguing that "a little of it is all right."

He mentioned Federal aid to schools, depressed areas and the \$1 minimum wage law as categories in which Republicans have offered plans for a little Federal control.

Senator Goldwater said he knows he will be charged with being callous, but pointed out that in his own business he and his brother provide their employees with health and life insurance and a profit-sharing plan. He inquired why Welfare Secretary Flemming could not have solved this problem by proposing full deductions from taxes for any amount for medical care provided by an individual or a company.

How Do You Stand?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. HAMER H. BUDGE

OF DAHO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 26, 1960

Mr. BUDGE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include in the RECORD an editorial by the Honorable BARRY GOLDWATER, Senator from Arizona, appearing in the May 3 edition of the Idaho Daily Statesman, published at Boise, Idaho.

The distinguished Senator from Ari-

zona is to be commended for his forthright statement on Americanism. It is a statement which will further endear Senator Goldwater to millions of loyal Americans who look to the Constitution of the United States for the protection of their liberty.

The editorial follows:

How Do You Stand, Sir?
(By Senator Barry Goldwater)

How did it happen? How did our national Government grow from a servant with sharply limited powers into a master with virtually unlimited power?

In part, we were swindled. We have elevated men and political parties to power who promised to restore limited Government and who proceeded, after their election, to expand the activities of Government.

But let us be honest with ourselves. Broken promises are not the major causes of our trouble. Kept promises are. All too often we have put men in office who have suggested spending a little more on this, a little more on that, who have proposed a new welfare program, who have thought of another variety of security. We have taken the bait, preferring to put off to another day the recapture of freedom and the restoration of our constitutional system. We have gone the way of many a democratic society which has lost its freedom by persuading itself that if the people rule, all is well.

has lost its freedom by persuading itself that if the people rule, all is well.

The Frenchman, Alexis de Tocqueville, probably the most clairvoyant political observer of modern times, saw the danger when he visited this country in the 1830's. Even then he foresaw decay for a society that tended to put more emphasis on its democracy than on its republicanism.

He predicted that America would produce, not tyrants, but guardians. And that the American people would "console themselves for being in tutelage by the reflection that they have chosen their own guardians. Every man allows himself to be put in lead-strings, because he sees that it is not a person nor a class of persons, but the people at large that hold the end of his chain."

Our tendency to concentrate power in the hands of a few men deeply concerns me. We can be conquered by bombs or by subversion; but we can also be conquered by neglect—by ignoring the Constitution and disregarding the principles of limited government. Our defenses against the accumulation of unlimited power in Washington are in poorer shape, I fear, than our defenses against the aggressive designs of Moscow. Like so many other nations before us, we may succumb through internal weakness rather than fall before a foreign foe.

I am convinced that most Americans now want to reverse the trend. I think their concern for our vanishing freedoms is genuine. I think that the people's uneasiness in the stifling omnipresence of government has turned into something approaching alarm. But bemoaning the evil will not drive it back and accusing fingers will not shrink government.

The turn will come when we entrust the conduct of our affairs to men who understand that their first duty as public officials is to divest themselves of the power they have been given.

It will come when Americans, in hundreds of communities throughout the Nation decide to put the man in office who is pledged to enforce the Constitution and restore the Republic; who will proclaim in a campaign speech: "I have little interest in streamining government or in making it more efficient, for I mean to reduce its size. I do not undertake to promote welfare, for I propose to extend freedom. My aim is not to pass laws, but to repeal them.

"It is not to inaugurate new programs, but to cancel old ones that do violence to the Constitution-or that have failed in their purpose-or that impose on the people an unwarranted financial burden.

"I will not attempt to discover whether legislation is needed before I have first determined whether it is constitutionally per-

"And if I should be attacked for neglecting my constituents' interests, I shall reply that I was informed their main interest is liberty and that in that cause I am doing the very best I can." How do you stand, sir?

Piercing the Iron Curtain

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRANK C. OSMERS, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 7, 1960

Mr. OSMERS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the REC-ORD. I would like to include an article which appeared in the New York Mirror on Sunday, April 17.

With Communist forces working unceasingly to rob mankind of all human dignity, and using every low, under-handed, barbarous tactic ever conceived to accomplish their malevolent aims, this feature story serves to inject a refreshing note into the free world's struggle to survive.

Two Catholic priests, with an assist from a third, have been quietly engaged in a down-to-earth activity that, in my opinion, will do more to promote world peace and good feeling than many of the verbose negotiations presently being conducted at Geneva and elsewhere.

These clergymen, the Reverend Charles McTague and the Reverend Richard P. O'Brien, of St. John the Baptist Roman Catholic Church in Fairview, N.J., stuck some pins in a map of the Soviet Union, rounded up an antiquated Russian typewriter, and proceeded to bombard small Soviet villages with an awesome weapon-the truth: And the truth unleashed by Fathers McTague and O'Brien consisted simply of bundles containing pamphlets on Christian doctrine and the philosophy of freedom-translated into Russian and east European languages-which were mailed in bulk to one address in each Russian town.

This great example of democracy by doing has been so effective that Radio Moscow is now seeking to throttle these American saboteurs whom they accuse of filling the mails with obscene literature.

Part of this remarkable people-topeople program, which is working without the benefit of huge government appropriations, began during the 1956 Hungarian revolt.

At that time the two priests-guided and encouraged only by love for their fellowman-started helping refugees to find a free life in America. Hundreds of Fairview, N.J., residents were contacted and responded with homes and jobs for the newcomers. In this great venture, aid also came from an outstanding clergyman in neighboring Ridgefield.

N.J., the Reverend James J. Carroll, of St. Matthews Roman Catholic Church.

The refugees, Hungarians, Yugoslavians, and even some Arabs from Israel, have in turn helped the priests in their truth crusade by acting as translators.

All Americans can join in praising the extraordinary accomplishments of these three clergymen, Father McTague, Father O'Brien, and Father Carroll, as well as the open-hearted citizens of Fairview.

The intemperate outbursts of the godless Russian Communist masters are the best proof that an indefensible area has been reached by the truth packets and. further, that the fundamental desire of the Russian people is for freedom with religious training if they so choose.

This article from the New York Mirror, according to its coauthor, Miss Claire Curran, only skims the surface of what has been done by the Fairview and Ridgefield priests. Miss Curran, who is an experienced and highly regarded newspaperwoman in the New York-New Jersey metropolitan area, has told me:

I can't remember in years any story that gave me as much satisfaction as I received from this wonderfully human account.

The article follows:

PIERCING THE IRON CURTAIN

(By Claire Curran and Harry Altchuler)

For once, Radio Moscow was right-well. almost.

"One hundred thousand American saboteurs are flooding our mails with obscene literature," was the thundered warning over the Soviet airwaves.

Pretty close to the truth for Radio Mos-

Of course the number wasn't 100,000, it

was exactly 2. And they weren't saboteurs, they were two Roman Catholic priests from Fairview, N.J. And what the Reds termed "obscene lit-

erature" was a mimeographed catechism in Russian.

The Reverend Charles McTague and the Reverend Richard P. O'Brien, of St. John the Baptist Roman Catholic Church, on Anderson Avenue, Fairview, were delighted when they heard of the broadcast warning.

It meant their Operation Contact was off the ground to a flying start.

Sticking a hundred pins into a huge map of the Soviet Union, they had selected 100 towns and sent a bundle containing 35 copies of the catechism to an address in each town.

The squawk of rage meant they were get-

ting through.
Since then they have busily sent more bundles to more towns behind the Iron Curtain; not only catechisms but pamphlets spelling out Christian doctrine and the philosophy of freedom, put into Russian, Hungarian, Polish, and other East European languages by refugees who have escaped to America.

The genesis of their project goes back to a day in the 1930's when Father McTaguethen a slight, dark-haired teenager from Buffalo-shipped out as an apprentice seaman during one summer vacation from high school. Standing on the deck of a Honolulu-bound freighter, he heard a fervent Communist agitator exhorting the sailors.

"Why," the boy wondered, "doesn't some-body do something about this?"

And instantly in his heart another ques-tion echoed: "Why don't I?"

The nerve center of Operation Contact is an old-fashioned desk littered with books and papers and a creaky Russian typewriter in the study of the church. A detailed map of the Iron Curtain countries on one wall is pricked with the pins which show each village where the story of free worship and unfettered thought has been sent.

It is ironic that Fairview should be the center of this pamphleteering activity; for it was there, along the same Anderson Avenue, that Leon Trotsky, the passionate pamphleteer of communism's early days, traveled daily when he worked as a smalltime bit actor in a Fort Lee movie studio.

Another large and more personal projectwhich fits hand-in-glove into Operation Contact-began with a phone call from Camp Kilmer.

It was in the wake of the 1956 freedom flight of Hungarians from the blood-bathed Danube Valley. The refugees were processed at Kilmer for resettlement all around the country. When the work was just about over, the military commandant called Father McTague. "If you would take the last three," he said hopefully, "we could close down the camp."

"Send them along," was the word. The priests rented quarters for the three Hungarians and arranged for a retired Ho-boken policeman to become their "house-father" until they could get along by themuntil they could get along by themselves.

But that was only the start of the story. Within 3 years there were 168 of these refugees to be settled around the area. priests walked the streets of Fairview, Cliffside Park, Edgewater, Fort Lee, and North Bergen, searching out vacant rooms and apartments.

Landlords were difficult. The prospective tenants had no money, no jobs, few could speak English, some of them had large families. But the rooms were found and the money scraped together, much of it from the priests' own modest stipends.

Snowy mornings; Father McTague, a band of Hungarians trailing him, would ring doorbells to find them jobs sweeping sidewalks and driveways. Father O'Brien canvassed local industries, persuading embroideryplant operators to hire refugees. Restaurants took them on as dishwashers, countermen, and chefs' assistants. Carpenters hired apprentices.

Father McTague and the Reverend James J. Carroll of St. Matthew's Roman Catholic Church in neighboring Ridgefield pooled their savings of \$400 to start a credit union, lending money to the escapees. It is flourishing now, and all the early loans have been

A co-op was opened with a bright, pretty 13-year-old blond youngster from Austria as storekeeper. When one of the refugees ran short in his budget because of an employment agency fee to get him a job, Father McTague and a woman parishioner began an employment agency on their own with no fees.

The entire little town of Fairview-population 10,000-put its heart into welcoming the refugees. Homes were thrown open, jobs were turned up, English classes were also

Along with receiving, the refugees had things to give. Several of them entered the Army and have found spots in the translating division of the Intelligence Corps. And with a score of willing translators on hand, the priests have been able to step up their output of pamphlets.

Father O'Brien, with almost 40 years in the priesthood behind him, and his young curate, Father McTague, have turned group action into a dynamic anti-Communist movement. Call it a phase of the cold war-but "cold" is hardly the right adjective. For this is warm, human, people to people. And they have shown that it works.

Two Thousand One Hundred Eighty Residents of the 20th Congressional District of Pennsylvania Participate in Post Card Survey of Public Opinion

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, JAMES E. VAN ZANDT

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Friday, May 6, 1960

Mr. VAN ZANDT. Mr. Speaker, over the past several weeks 6,000 residents representing a good cross section of the 20th Congressional District of Pennsylvania were invited to participate in a post card poll of public opinion on 15 vital issues being discussed by the American people and their representatives in Congress. It is encouraging to report that 2,180 of my constituents favored me with their opinions on the questions submitted, some of them taking the time to elaborate on their views by attaching explanatory letters which proved very interesting because the position often taken on a subject was the result of personal experience and observations. The number of replies received represents a response from over 36 percent of those polled which is recognized as a very fine average in a public opinion poll by mail. In a few instances, questions were not answered on the grounds that the person lacked adequate information to form a definite opinion.

The idea of using various mailing lists in conducting a survey of public opinion from the residents of my congressional district was an effort to obtain assurance that the sentiment expressed would represent a good cross section of opinion from constituents. The result has been that it has been possible to secure the benefit of the views of persons in all walks of life including ministers, doctors, dentists, veterans, teachers, farmers, members of various professions, housewives, businessmen, and members of labor organizations.

The number of persons participating in the post card poll in the three-county area was as follows: Blair County 1,095, Centre County 536, Clearfield County 549, making a grand total of 2,180 persons responding out of the 6,000 polled.

The question receiving the greatest number of favorable replies was the query concerning the advisability of concentrating on building an all-around defense rather than specializing on missiles. A total of 90.5 percent favored an all-around defense with 9.5 in favor of concentrating on missiles. On the question as to whether the Eisenhower-Nixon-Khrushchev meetings are means of promoting world peace 78.4 percent favored such meetings while 21.6 percent doubted their value in restoring peace to a troubled world. total of 80.6 percent of the 2,180 replies favored retention of the loyalty oath required for student loans under the national defense student loan program while 19.4 percent expressed dissenting opinions.

Concerning the proposal to extend Federal aid to depressed areas suffering from chronic unemployment 77.1 percent favored such assistance. With respect to the questions concerning Government controls over agriculture 79.1 percent favored their abolishment. The question of providing Federal aid to education revealed 57.9 percent in favor with 42.1 percent against such assistance.

Another question which resulted in a very close division in public opinion concerned the proposal to increase the hourly minimum wage from \$1 to \$1.25 with 50.2 percent favoring such an increase and 49.8 percent in opposition. On the subject of the so-called Forand bill designed to provide medical and hospital care to persons receiving social security benefits, the cost to be borne by an increase in payroll taxes, 39.3 percent went on record in favor of the proposal with 60.7 percent against it. In regard to favoring a pension at age 65 for World War I veterans, 65.5 percent were in favor of a pension, while 34.5 percent opposed it.

It is my desire to thank all of those who cooperated in my efforts to obtain a good cross section of public opinion on vital issues of the day. The letters that accompanied the post cards revealed a sincere desire to provide constructive criticism where it was felt that such action was merited. This attitude on the part of the participants in the poll is deeply appreciated, as some of the writers stated that they welcomed the opportunity to express their views through the medium of an opinion poll because of reluctance in writing a personal letter to their Representative in Congress. By aiding me in the poll the result has proven mutually beneficial.

The tabulation of the 15 questions representing the views of the 2,180 persons in the 3 counties in my congressional district is as follows:

1. Are the Eisenhower-Nixon-Khrushchev meetings a means of promoting world peace? Yes. 78.4 percent: no. 21.6 percent.

Yes, 78.4 percent; no. 21.6 percent.
2. Should foreign aid in all forms be reduced? Yes, 69.2 percent; no. 30.8 percent.
3. Should the \$1 Federal minimum hourly

3. Should the \$1 Federal minimum hourly wage be increased? Yes, 50.2 percent; no, 49.8 percent.

49.8 percent.

4. Do you believe the loyalty oath now required under the national defense student loan program should be retained?
Yes, 80.6 percent; no, 19.4 percent.

5. Do you favor Federal aid to depressed areas suffering from chronic unemployment? Yes, 77.1 percent; no, 22.9 percent.

6. Do you believe that Government controls over agriculture should be eliminated? Yes, 79.1 percent; no, 20.9 percent.

7. Are you in favor of increasing the postal rate on letters from 4 cents to 5 cents? Yes, 34.1 percent; no, 65.9 percent.

8. Do you believe the limitation of \$1,200 on outside earnings of those drawing social security benefits should be increased? Yes, 68.2 percent; no, 31.8 percent.

9. Would you favor giving the President the right to veto or accept specific items in an appropriation bill instead of the present requirement that he accept all or nothing? Yes, 77.1 percent; no, 22.9 percent.

10. Do you think that the United States should try to place a man in space ahead of the Russians regardless of the cost? Yes, 13.9 percent; no, 86.1 percent.

11. Should we concentrate on building an all-round national defense or specialize on missiles? Yes, 90.5 percent; no, 9.5 percent.

12. Do you favor Federal aid to education? Yes, 57.9 percent; no, 42.1 percent.

13. Are you in favor of the proposal to provide medical and hospital care to persons receiving social security benefits and paying the cost by increasing payroll taxes? Yes, 39.3 percent; no, 60.7 percent.

14. Do you favor approval of a GI educational benefit program for peacetime veterans? Yes, 36.6 percent; no, 63.4 percent.

15. Do you favor a pension for World War I veterans when they reach age 65? Yes, 65.5 percent; no, 34.5 percent.

The Navy's Role in Missile Warfare

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, May 6, 1960

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Rec-ORD, I include a fine address delivered by Vice Adm. John T. Hayward, Deputy Chief of Naval Operations for Development, at the Loyalty Day program held at Nanticoke, Pa., near Wilkes-Barre, on Saturday, April 30, 1960. It was a great pleasure for me to appear on the same program with Admiral Hayward and the admiral appeared at my invitation, for which I am most appreciative. Admiral Hayward's address on the Navy's role in missile warfare was highly informative and very well received by those attending that impressive program. It is my hope that Admiral Hayward will appear again at some future date to participate in another program in my congressional district.

The address follows:

THE NAVY'S ROLE IN MISSILE WARFARE, LOY-ALTY DAY, WILKES-BARRE, PA., APRIL 30, 1960

(By Vice Adm. John T. Hayward, U.S. Navy)

It is indeed an honor and a pleasure to be here to talk with you today. When Congressman Floor invited me to talk before you who are joined together by the medium of loyalty, I was reminded of the great sense of pride and satisfaction that we in the service experience aboard ship at sea where loyalty is required both "up and down" in order that the internal integrity of the ship is secure from all sources of danger. There are few sailors who have never experienced this truly great feeling. This feeling is also experienced in the civilian world, I'm sure. And as we in Washington are using all efforts possible to have the best defense posture for our country, I would like to discuss with you the Navy's role in missile warfare.

First, I am assuming that some of you may have a somewhat confused opinion concerning the responsibilities and roles of a specific service which has caused "interservice strife or bickering." To a certain extent this is dependent on what publication one reads. As it was said not so long ago, according to many publications, Congress debates, the Supreme Court deliberates, but we in the services bicker.

So there can be no misunderstanding on the subject, I would like to make it clear we in the Navy realize fully that we need the best Air Force and Army in the world if we are to meet the challenge.

My friends General Schriever of the Air Force and General Trudeau of the Army (who are both in research and development work as myself) I'm sure, would agree we need the best Navy. We are a team. However, as in all of our way of life we are also to some extent competitors but at the same time loyal to our service and country. In spite of what people say competition is not malum per se. On occasion it has done more good than harm.

As you know, many people in our country are very concerned over the problems that face the free world today. Unfortunately, we in the United States have a tendency to oversimplify issues. It has always been an either/or situation. As an example, many people believe it is either missiles or aircraft, submarines or aircraft carriers. An objective look at the problem quickly shows that there is no easy solution or an answer such as this.

A foreign relations committee in the U.S. Senate who are concerned on the impact on our national policy of modern technology had a study made on the subject by a very able group at the Washington Center of Foreign Policy Research of Johns Hopkins University. This study is not classified and their very fine recommendations can be used to give you a picture of the Navy's role in the present challenge that faces our country.

As a result of their analysis of the impact of modern military technology the following recommendations were made.

The first was that a high degree of security is essential for the deterrence of strategic surprise attack and top priority should be given to increased efforts to reduce the vulnerability of American and allied strategic forces.

What better way of saying that the sea and the inherent mobility one obtains with systems based on it is one of our greatest assets. We have in Polaris submarine weapons system one of the finest deterrent systems possible. It is a tremendous step for us.

The second recommendation was that a strenuous effort be made to accelerate the development of solid fuel ICBM's amenable to large-scale production and mobile sitting.

With the Polaris system we have mobility on the high seas and is in fact an ICBM and is the first solid propellant one in the deterrent system. We, in the Navy, have all the problems of the other services compounded by our environment, the sea. We fly above it, sail on it, and roam its depths. With our confined spaces and the fact that we must live and sleep with our missiles made us produce the solid propellant. We have ploneered in this field.

The third recommendation is that the objective of a strategic weapons system should not be the matching of the Soviet capabilities in number of ICBM's, but instead should be the early attainment of such diverse and relatively secure retallatory systems that the potential aggressor could not have confidence in a surprise attack.

Here again is a vote of confidence for the Polaris system, but, in addition, brings into focus the fact of our advantage of having deployed seagoing forces such as the four fleets. These fleets fly our flag and roam that priceless asset, the sea. It is only an asset as long as we can maintain freedom of the seas. The performance of these farflung forces in projecting our power across the seas to help our friends in the 15 years since World War II are familiar to all of you, I am sure. Do not forget that in order to maintain the freedom we need free access to control the air above it and have the power to actually use it. The success of the Navy's Side-

winder air-to-air missile loaned to the Chinese Nationalists is a good example.

You can be assured that in resisting aggression if we are called to go against enemy aircraft it will be against the best the opposition has. This is why it is mandatory the Navy has modern up-to-date high performance aircraft. And so it follows it is also necessary in order to accommodate planes of this type that we have a landing space of 750 feet. This is why we need the modern carrier. I wouldn't want to put down a 707 or DC-8 jet airliner at your airport here in Wilkes-Barre, excellent though it is for the purpose of its design. Similarly the World War II carriers are inadequate for the operations of modern jet aircraft.

The fourth recommendation was that in view of the decreasing deterrent value of the U.S. strategic force with respect to a broad area of lesser aggressions, greatly increased American and allied effort should be devoted to a strengthening of an alternative to U.S. strategic deterrence.

Once again it emphasizes we must have something besides great strategic retaliatory forces if we are to meet the total spectrum of the challenge.

The fifth recommendation is that, though we equip ourselves and allies with weapons appropriate to tactical nuclear war, which is necessary to deter the Soviet Union from resorting to tactical nuclear war, it should not be treated as a substitute for the establishment of nonnuclear forces, for two reasons: The first, dependence on nuclear weapons, even though tactical, means great destruction, and, secondly, such weapons will not compensate for the numerical inferiority of the troops employing them against forces similarly armed. Nonnuclear capabilities must be increased, and allies should be encouraged to give priority to building up nonstrategic dual-purpose forces able to stop or deter attacks.

This leads to several thoughts on our ability to respond to situations wherever they are. This is why one needs a manned airplane. You need precise delivery of weapons on military objectives. This is our job in the Navy, and we will most certainly employ a manned aircraft for the job for many years. One must always remember we haven't been able to give any missile the flexibility and judgment a man possesses.

You can see and appreciate that the challenge we face is a grave one, for it calls for a response across the entire spectrum. It is political, economic, and psychological, as well as military, and the above should give you a feel for how your Navy fits across the whole military challenge in this struggle the free world faces. Remember, the United States of America is the heart of the free alliance and this alliance is bound together by the sea. If we lose access to the sea, the free alliance will fail. Let me assure you we in the Navy are working hard to employ all modern technology in order to make sure we don't lose this precious asset for the free world.

Remembering that man has not and probably never will conceive an ultimate weapon, it is apparent that, despite differences in the degree of invulnerability between systems, we cannot afford to concentrate our total effort on just one weapon system for deterrence.

This policy will provide the degree of flexibility and control so necessary for our Government in internal negotiations to prevent general war. Simultaneously, this policy will provide sufficient conventional forces to let our Government negotiate from strength in limited situations in the face of blackmail threats of general war. We in the Navy believe we can meet this challenge.

Dr. Goddard's Enigma

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. PHILIP J. PHILBIN

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 28, 1960

Mr. PHILBIN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to revise and extend my remarks in the Record and include therein biographical data relative to the career of the world-famous scientist, Dr. Robert Hutchings Goddard, the pioneer of modern rocketry and space flight.

The Congress, in passing my resolution, House Joint Resolution 19, which has now become Public Law 86-277, 86th Congress, has authorized a suitable gold medal honoring this great American scientist who, with great faith and vision, once said: "It is difficult to say what is impossible, for the dream of yesterday is the hope of today and the reality of tomorrow."

Dr. Goddard's brilliant, epic, career typified the truth of this statement because he lived to see his basic ideas of rockets and space flights accepted and implemented during his lifetime.

Great as his achievements were in fabricating workable rockets for national defense and in piercing the mysteries of space, there are tragic overtones indeed to some of his very unhappy experiences with the American public and with high-ranking armed services officials of this Government during his time.

It is a bitter irony indeed that at the time Dr. Goddard was successfully developing his rockets, the value of his work to the Nation was not appreciated and recognized by the leaders of our armed services until a relatively late date. It is stated authoritatively that if his countrymen, at the time, had listened to Dr. Goddard, the United States would be far ahead of its present position in the international space race, and, of course, would also be far ahead in the military implementation of rocket and missile systems.

It is asserted, for example, that there might, in fact, have been no race in this field such as we know today, had Dr. Goddard's experiments and discoveries been rightly appraised.

been rightly appraised.

Several times in his career, and espe-

several times in his career, and especially in 1940 when we were on the threshold of World War II, he tried to interest our Armed Forces in the potential of rockets, but, alas, met only with courteous inaction.

This tragic failure to comprehend the real meaning and incalculable value of Dr. Goddard's experiments was a colossal blunder, and it is quite impossible at this time to appraise the real magnitude of its costly results to our defense and space programs. Only the future can now lift this yeil.

America can ill afford the luxury of such grave errors of judgment on the part of leaders in any generation. Yet, the results of these failures in this instance are both shocking and pathetic, indicating as they do, such stupendous oversight and lack of judgment on the part of high-ranking officials.

It is sad commentary, too, that this blunder occurred about the same time that Gen. Billy Mitchell was being castigated, disciplined, and severely punished for daring to assert the true value and potential of military airpower.

Thus, at about the same time, some of our leaders were demonstrating the almost incredible and fantastic misjudgments that rejected and stubbornly refused to recognize the value of airpower,

rockets, and space missiles.

I seriously doubt whether there is any similar instance in all history where ideas, experiments, and scientific programs so vital to the survival of freedom in the world were so unceremoniously and carelessly swept into the wastepaper basket.

It will be many years before the free peoples of the world can possibly know just how harmful and disastrous these ghastly mistakes may be. But even at this late date, there should be a lesson in these instances for contemporary American leaders and for this Congress never to allow such terrible misjudgments and miscalculations to occur again. God forbid that this Congress should allow them to occur at this time.

Dr. Goddard's scientific work has changed the history of man. Let us hope and pray that it will change it to avoid war and further the cause of lasting

Members of Congress may be interested to know that the distinguishd Director of the Mint, Mr. W. H. Brett, has now been authorized to proceed with the work on the Dr. Goddard Medal, and the sculptors and engravers at the Philadelphia Mint are already working on the preparation of designs and models, suitable emblems, devices, and inscriptionsthese to be determined by the distinguished chairman of the House Committee on Science and Astronautics, our esteemed friend, Congressman Overton Brooks, and by our distinguished, esteemed former colleague, Senator Lyn-DON JOHNSON, the chairman of the Senate Committee on Aeronautical and Space Sciences.

I am deeply indebted to Mrs. Goddard, the widow and most admirable helpmate of Dr. Goddard, for the splended bio-

graphical data which follow:

BIOGRAPHICAL DATA-DR. ROBERT HUTCHINGS GODDARD, AMERICAN PHYSICIST: PIONEER OF MODERN ROCKETRY AND SPACE FLIGHT (1882 - 1945)

Dr. Robert Hutchings Goddard, American physicist and engineer, was the pioneer scientist and engineer who laid down the technical foundations for most of today's prodigious developments in long-range rockets, missiles, earth satellites, and space flight. He founded a whole new field of science and engineering, now grown into a multibillion-dollar industry. In the course of his pioneering work, Dr.

1. Was first to develop a rocket motor using liquid propellants (liquid oxygen and gasoline) (1920-25).

2. Was first to develop and launch a liquidfuel rocket (March 16, 1926, at Auburn, Mass.).

3. Was first to launch a liquid-fuel rocket which attained a speed greater than that of sound (mach 1) (1935, near Roswell, N. Mex.).

4. First developed gyrostabilization apparatus for rockets (1932).
6. Received the first U.S. patent on the

idea of multistage rockets (1914)

7. First explored mathematically the prac-

ticality of using rocket power to reach high altitudes and escape velocity (1912). 8. Was first to publish in the United States a basic mathematical theory underlying rocket propulsion and rocket flight

9. First proved experimentally that a rocket will provide thrust in a vacuum

(1915).

10. Developed and demonstrated the basic idea of the bazooka during World War I (1918), though his plans lay unused in the U.S. Army files until they were put to use in World War II.

11. First developed pumps suitable for rocket fuels, self-cooling rocket motors, variable-thrust rocket motors, practical rocket landing devices, and forecast jet-driven air-planes, rocket-borne mail and express, and

travel in space.

At his rocket proving range near Roswell, N. Mex., Dr. Goddard developed during the 1930's large and successful rockets which anticipated many features of the later German V-2 rockets, including gyroscopic control, steering by means of vanes in the jet stream of the rocket motor, gimbal-steering, power-driven propellant pumps and other devices.

A crowning irony is that if his countrymen had listened to Dr. Goddard, the United States today would be far ahead of its present position in the international space race. There might, in fact, have been no race. Several times in his career, and especially in 1940, he tried to interest our Armed Forces in the potential of rockets, but met only with courteous inaction.

Dr. Goddard began his ploneer experiments in rocketry long before other scientists or engineers in the United States or Europe had perceived the full value and promise of the rocket. He continued until his death in 1945, at which time he was engaged in developing jet-assisted takeoff and variable thrust liquid propellent rocket motors for

the U.S. Navy.

Dr. Goddard was born in Worcester, Mass., on October 5, 1882. He was graduated from Worcester Polytechnic Institute in 1908. Upon graduation he obtained a position as an instructor of physics at WPI, and at the same time began graduate work at Clark University. He received his M.A. from Clark in 1910, his Ph. D. in 1911. He was a research fellow in physics at Princeton University in 1912-13, and the following year joined the faculty of Clark University, where he became a full professor in 1919.

He began his interest in rockets at the age of 17, in 1899. As early as 1908 he carried out static tests with small solid-fuel rockets at Worcester Polytechnic Institute. In 1912 he worked out the detailed mathematical theory of rocket propulsion, and showed that the rocket, because it needs no air to push against, could be sent to the moon or into space, provided an efficient motor could be

developed.

Upon returning to Clark University in 1914, he began to experiment with larger rockets. By 1916, he had reached the limit of what he could do on his own resources. Smithsonian Institution came to his aid, and with this help he was able not only to continue his work on solid-propellent rockets, but to begin the development of liquid-propellent rockets as well.

After the entry of the United States into the First World War in 1917, Dr. Goddard volunteered his services to the Nation, and

was sent by the U.S. Signal Corps to the task of exploring the military possibilities of rockets. He succeeded in developing several types of solid-propellent rockets intended to be fired at tanks or other military objectives, from a launching tube held in the hands or steadied by two short legs-devices similar in many respects to the bazooka of World War II. These developments he successfully demonstrated at Aberdeen Proving Ground a few days before the close of the First World War. They were the basis of the great U.S. developments in solid-propellent rockets in the Second World War.

In 1919 he summarized his mathematical

explorations, the results of his solid pro-pellent research, and some of his space flight ideas, in a classic paper entitled "A Method of Reaching Extreme Altitudes," published by the Smithsonian Institution. That paper today is one of the basic documents in technical rocket and jet propulsion literature, and the source of numerous developments that have come about since its ap-

pearance.

In the following two decades he produced a number of large liquid-propellent rockets at his shop and rocket range at Roswell, N. Mex. These rockets are now in the Nation Air Museum, Washington, D.C. Other early components are displayed at the museum at Roswell, N. Mex.

This research work was made possible by financial assistance from Smithsonian Institution, Daniel Guggenheim and the Daniel and Florence Guggenheim Foundation. In the mid-1930's he reported on the progress of his liquid-propellent work in "Liquid Propellent Rocket Development," published by the Smithsonian Institution in 1936. The work in New Mexico was described in further detail in 1948 in a book edited posthumously from Dr. Goddard's notes, and published by Prentice-Hall, Inc., under the title "Rocket Development."

He again offered his services in the Second World War, and was assigned by the U.S. Navy to the development of practical jetassisted takeoff, and liquid propellent rocket motors capable of variable thrust. In both areas he was successful, and demonstrated the resulting devices in tests at Annapolis. The work continued until his death in 1945.

Dr. Goddard was the first modern scientist who both perceived the possibilities of rockets and space flight, and undertook the enormous work of bringing them to practical realization. He lived to see his dream of rocket power come to fruition. His idea of the ultimate in rocket development-flight into space—has now become a reality. His contributions are recognized as among the most important technical achievements of modern times, marking as they do a turning point in the history of mankind.

Law Day and World Peace Through Law

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. GORDON L. McDONOUGH

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 5, 1960

Mr. McDONOUGH. Mr. Speaker, on May 1 Law Day was observed throughout the United States. In Los Angeles, Calif., Law Day ceremonies were cli-maxed by a Law Day luncheon meeting at the Ambassador Cocoanut Grove which was presided over by Attorney Adele I. Springer, of Los Angeles, national chairman for Law Day of the National Association of Women Lawyers of which she is past president, who delivered an address on "Law Day and

World Peace Through Law."

The meeting also heard Law Day addresses by Justice Mildred L. Lillie of the California District Court of Appeal, Second District, who is the highest ranking woman judge in the Nation, and Mr. Loyd Wright of Los Angeles, president of the International Bar Association and past president of the American Bar Association.

I am including the three addresses delivered at the Law Day meeting in Los Angeles, and am sure that my colleagues will find the remarks of these outstanding members of the legal profession on Law Day of special interest.

LAW DAY AND WORLD PEACE THROUGH LAW

(Address by Adele I. Springer, of Los Angeles, member of the bar of California and New York: past president, National Association of Women Lawyers; national chairman of its Nationwide Committees on Law Day and World Peace Through Law, delivered at Law Day luncheon of National Association of Women Lawyers with 70 participating women's organizations, May 1, 1960, at the Ambassador Hotel Cocoanut Grove in Los Angeles)

Law Day and world peace through law-it can be done.

As we observe Law Day, let us not overlook the fact that justice is universally symbolized by woman.

The greatest unreleased power in the world today is woman power.

Women, with concerted action, can make their voice heard in the world councils for

world peace through law. Seventy women presidents are assembled at the president's table here participating in the observance of Law Day. They represent a cross-section of the leading women's civic clubs and business and professional women's associations in the Los Angeles area. will report the message of Law Day to the many thousands of women in their respective organizations—a formidable force.

The support of women throughout the world will be enlisted in the battle for world peace through law, to make every day Law

Day.

Why cannot law displace force in the settlement of international disputes? Why cannot nations taken their cases against each other to a world court, just as people sue one another in local, State, and Federal courts; and why cannot proper measures be taken for enforcement of judgments by a world tribunal, just as people are forced by police to obey the laws of God and man?

Why not? It can be done.

Women have had no easy road to recognition in their chosen fields, but they proved it could be done.

When Myra Bradwell, first woman in the world to apply for a license to practice law. in 1869, was refused because of her sex, the galiant women did not give up. Determined women relentlessly pursued their cause for decades, all the way up to the Supreme Court of the United States and through Congress and State legislatures, from the time Arabella Mansfield became the first woman lawyer in 1869, until the last of the States granted to women "equal justice under law" as lawyers.

Though the intrepid ladies who pioneered in medicine for women preceded by two decades the pioneering Portias, their aims and gains were the same. When Elizabeth Blackwell, the first woman doctor, found all hospital doors closed to her because of her sex, that didn't stop her-she built her own

The story was the same, with little variance, in other fields. And so it was, with all the other courageous women of yesteryear who fought the good fight to enable them and succeeding generations to invade the masculine strongholds and attain the distinguished place that women now occupy in all the professions and occupations.

We are the successors of those great and courageous trailblazers, those heroic pioneers who fought, and won, against seemingly insurmountable odds, the battle of the sexes, which opened all doors to the women of our

That each one here is conscious of your responsibilities to the women who come after us and to future generations, is made evident by this assembly of thinking women. and also of brave men who have invaded this predominantly female stronghold this day to balance the scales of our Law Day ceremonies.

The guidance and activity of women are greatly needed in government housekeep-The world can be enriched, as the home has been endowed, by having both sexes contributing to the well-being of this Nation, and for the objective of world peace through law.

With united action, world peace through law can be made a fact and not a phrase. Let's go to court instead of to war.

LAW DAY, U.S.A.

(Address by Loyd Wright, president, International Bar Association; past president, American Bar Association; member of ABA Special Committee on World Peace Through Law, delivered at Law Day luncheon of National Association of Woman Lawyers at Ambassador Hotel Cocoanut Grove, May 1, 1960)

I am gratified because of the opportunity of visiting with so many of the influential women of our communities, for it has been my observation that it is the womenfolk who get things done, and who are not easily sidetracked by the Wall Street Journal news of the office balance sheet.

Law Day was conceived by Mr. Charles Rhyne when he was president of the American Bar in 1958. His proposal was approved by the Board of Governors of ABA. The President of the United States designated May 1 as Law Day, U.S.A. It is, as the name implies, a day for the American people to pay tribute to our judicial systems and our inherent rights and responsibilities under the rule of law.

Because all lawyers take pride in the contribution the profession made it is with restraint, of course, that I desist extolling the virtues and accomplishments of my profession in the establishment of our form of government, which lays emphasis upon the dignity of the individual, but rather I choose simply to acknowledge our debt to the citizens and statesmen who conceived the principle of government that freemen have certain inalienable rights which may not be transgressed, even by their own government.

Today is May Day in other parts of the world. The contrast between Law Day, U.S.A., and May Day in the iron-curtained The contrast between Law Day, world is plain for all to see. No other day demonstrates with such clarity the vast gulf that separates the earth into two contending powers. Our meeting here symbolizes the faith that guides America and the free world, our faith in the rule of law and the dignity of the individual.

The American Bar has undertaken through a committee called World Peace Through Law to try and indoctrinate other peoples and other governments with our concept of the dignity of the individual under the rule of law. Law Day. U.S.A., and World Peace Through Law have no connection whatever except so far as through the press and other media of communication we may inspire the thinking citizens of other nations who follow the continental idea of centralized government, to inquire into the benefits of our great experiment of government.

World peace through law is the antithesis of brute force and murder on the battlefield. It is not a new idea, but has been lingering in the hearts of men since the dawn of time. It is the purpose of the American Bar Association, recognizing that this is not a new idea but a long-range program, to hold conferences not only in America but in other nations as well, to implement the under-

standing of what we enjoy.

I know of no decent citizen who does not in his heart hope that some day there will evolve on this battlescarred world a brotherhood of mankind, but I know of no one, who is realistic, but realizes that this is a long evolutionary process, a process of education and a process in which each of us must accept responsibility, as our opportunities af-ford us, to spread the gospel of rule of law.

I had the honor of appointing a committee of world peace through law of the International Bar Association. You may be surprised to know that peoples of other nations schooled in the art of diplomacy look somewhat askance at the thought of abandoning the historic method of conducting business between nations and substituting the submission of problems to a court chiefly composed of judges from countries who have entirely different philosophies of govern-ment, and it was with some reluctance that the International Bar Association finally agreed to institute its own committee. Sir Edwin Herbert, one of the most noted solicitors of England, is the chairman of the IBA Committee, and its membership is comprised of representatives from England, Canada, Denmark, France, Germany, Japan, Mexico, Turkey, and the United States of America. This committee has agreed to progress slowly but surely, and its first effort is going to be to endeavor to get the businessmen of various nations to submit their legal controversies to arbitration or to an international court. It so happens that Sir Edwin Herbert has beeen working on this very thing in the International Chamber of Commerce for a number of years, and it is our hope that we will break down the barriers and can progress as we accomplish.

In this field of substituting judicial determination for mass murder, you and I can make our best contribution, I believe, by availing ourselves of the opportunity to inform other peoples, as well as our own people, of the blessings we have enjoyed under the rule of law, and thus through propa-ganda, if you wish to call it such, enlighten all the world to the fact that there is a great nation which holds fast to its belief in God and the dignity of the individual, and that there is a great nation whose laws protect the individual even against his own government. While it is a long road, this would not deter us, but it seems to me we should rather look upon it as a challenge to perpetuate the freedoms, privileges, and opportunities as well as the responsibilities that we have inherited in our own glorious experiment of government.

One who seeks the living Constitution must look not into the Library of Congress but in the hearts and minds of the American

An enduring truth that makes itself felt in times of crisis and upheaval is the fact that the principal custodian of liberty the judiciary. In any land and at any time, the human rights that can be said to exist are those that the courts stand ready to enforce. Through the work of the judges, life is breathed into the principles of the Constitution; through their judgments and decrees the ideals of freedom are transmuted into actuality. It is important then, that on Law Day, U.S.A., we pay just tribute to our judiciary, Federal and State.

LAW DAY, 1960

(Address by Justice Mildred L. Lillie, highest ranking woman judge, justice of the California District Court of Appeal, Second District, delivered at Law Day luncheon of National Association of Women Lawyers at Ambassador Hotel, Cocoanut Grove, in Los Angeles, May 1, 1960)

Law Day and the May Day of the Soviet Union, both occurring on May 1, dramatize the contrast between the American concept of human freedom and justice under law, and the suppression of individual freedom under communism and tyranny which enslaves the people of one-third of the world today. As despots flaunt their military might of rule through force, fear, and total immorality (symbol of the philosophy of the Communist world) we Americans have set this day aside to affirm our faith in the rule of law as the only safeguard of human freedom and dignity.

Law Day was inaugurated by Presidential proclamation in 1958, the President recognizing the supremacy of the rule of law as essential to the protection of the rights of the individual citizen and the existence of our Nation, and its great potential as a force in world peace. And it is on this crucial role of law in world affairs and the hope it offers for settlement of disputes among nations that we, as lawyers, today focus our attention.

The function and purpose of the law, then, is to protect man in the enjoyment of those rights, against excesses and abuses of government and the majorities. Without law there could be no freedom-no liberty-no man could be safe in his person or in the enjoyment of his property. Government by rule of law is a means certain of thwarting the ambitions of every would-be dictator. The crux of our legal philosophy and the essence of our way of life is the profound concern with the individual-his rights, his duties, his dignity, his equality; as contrasted with the system in which the main concern is the state, to which human beings are expendable. This is the strength of America.

But the rule of law does more than insure freedom from the arbitrary action of rulers. It insures justice between man and man. To Americans the law is our ally. It evokes no dread, no fear, no suspicion, as to those living under the shadow of communism. The police is our protection; the courthouse the symbol of a free judiciary, the law a guarantee of justice and equality regardless of social, economic, or political status, race, color, or creed. Carved in marble above the U.S. Supreme Court Building are the words "Equal justice under law." This concept of equality is not new. America has become the greatest Nation in the world in large part on account of the su-

preme productive capacity of the American citizen assured to him by our law.

But Americans seem to be slow in the realization that maintaining their way of life presents a continuous challenge from generation to generation. The fact that we are a democracy now is no assurance that we forever remain one. The admonition that "eternal vigilence is the price of liberty" is a living, breathing one which serves well to remind us of the essential role of law and the courts in the American way of life, and it is only in this way that we can convince the other nations of the great potential and the workability of the rule of law as a force for peace; and it is only as the world comes to accept the rule of law and agrees on its common principles that there will be hope for a lasting peace.

In this age of the atom and outer space, to prevent total destruction, it is enevitable that the peaceful administration of international disputes be substituted for the slaughter of the battlefield.

What we need now is the universal will to recognize the necessity and workability of the rule of law in a democracy such as our own and to accept peaceful settlement of disputes among nations in a framework of law. We have demonstrated to other countries that the supremacy of law is the strength of America; we have served as an example of a people who can live in peace and harmony, security, and freedom under law. Perhaps our actions will convince other nations of the world that this same framework can, as well, permit them to live together in peace and harmony, security, and freedom.

So, as this traditional day is celebrated in Red Square in Moscow and in the cities throughout the Communist world, glorifying the spirit of a powerful lawless conspiracy in a government of self-appointed and self-perpetuating dictators whose words and whims are the law of the land, is this not a most appropriate time for us to demonstrate our faith in the rule of law, not for America alone, but for the world.

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board, or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representa-

tives or the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS FOR SALE

Additional copies of Government publications are offered for sale to the public by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D.C., at cost thereof as determined by the Public Printer plus 50 percent: Provided, That a discount of not to exceed 25 percent may be allowed to authorized bookdealers and quantity purchasers, but such printing shall not interfere with the prompt execution of work for the Government. The Superintendent of Documents shall prescribe the terms and conditions under which he may authorize the resale of Government publications by bookdealers, and he may designate any Government officer his agent for the sale of Government publications under such regulations as shall be agreed upon by the Superintendent of Documents and the head of the respective department or establishment of the Government (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 72a, Supp. 2).

RECORD OFFICE AT THE CAPITOL

An office for the Congressional Record, with Mr. Raymond F. Noyes in charge, is located in Statuary Hall, House wing, where orders will be received for subscriptions to the Record at \$1.50 per month or for single copies at 1 cent for eight pages (minimum charge of 3 cents). Also, orders from Members of Congress to purchase reprints from the Record should be processed through this office.

CHANGE OF RESIDENCE

Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the RECORD.

CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY

The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. No sale shall be made on credit (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p. 1939).

PRINTING OF CONGRESSIONAL RECORD EXTRACTS

It shall be lawful for the Public Printer to print and deliver upon the order of any Senator, Representative, or Delegate, extracts from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, the person ordering the same paying the cost thereof (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 185, p. 1942).

3936

Daily Digest

HIGHLIGHTS

Senate cleared for President bills on area redevelopment and bank mergers. House passed AEC authorization bill. See Congressional Program Ahead.

Senate

Chamber Action

Routine Proceedings, pages 9002-9008

Bills Introduced: Four bills were introduced, as follows: S. 3501-3504.

Bill Referred: H.R. 11998, Defense Department appropriations for fiscal year 1961, passed by House on May 5, was referred to Committee on Appropriations.

Page 8983

Tariff—Shoe Lathes and Casein—Correction: Daily Digest on May 5, page D380, in reporting passage of H.R. 9862, to continue for 2 years the existing suspension of duty on certain lathes used for shoe-last roughing or for shoe-last finishing, incorrectly stated that Senate amended committee amendment by adopting an amendment by Senator Hartke to limit suspension of duty on imports of casein to March 31, 1961. As a matter of fact, this Hartke amendment was rejected and the suspension of duty on casein until June 30, 1963, as provided by committee amendment, was retained in the bill.

Pages 8892-8899

Area Redevelopment: By 45 yeas to 33 nays (motion to reconsider tabled), Senate adopted Johnson (Texas) motion to agree to House amendment to S. 722, to establish an effective program to alleviate conditions of unemployment and underemployment in certain economically depressed areas. This action cleared the bill for President.

Pages 8983-9002

Bank Mergers: S. 1062, to amend the Federal Deposit Insurance Act to require Federal approval for mergers and consolidations of insured banks, was cleared for President when Senate adopted Fulbright motion to agree to House amendment thereto. Motion to reconsider this action was tabled.

Pages 9009-9013

Great Lakes Pilots: Senate passed with committee amendments S. 3019, providing for certain pilotage requirements in the navigation of U.S. waters of the Great Lakes.

Pages 9016–9019

Air Transportation Rates: H.R. 4049, to authorize free or reduced rate air transportation for certain additional persons, was passed with committee amendments.

Pages 9020-9021

Naval Vessels Construction: Senate made its unfinished business H.R. 10474, authorizing construction of naval vessels.

Page 9021

Legislative Program: Majority leader announced that as soon as House adopts conference report on H.R. 11510, Mutual Security Act of 1960, Senate will proceed promptly to its consideration; also, that in scheduling bills for action, priority will be given to appropriation bills.

Record Vote: During Senate proceedings today one record vote was taken, which appears on page 9002.

Treaty Received: Agreement between U.S. and India for avoidance of double taxation with respect to taxes on income, signed at Washington on November 10, 1959, was received and referred to Committee on Foreign Relations (Ex. H, 86th Cong., 2d sess.). Page 9008

Nominations: Senate received the following nominations: 3 judicial; 5 Army; 44 Air Force; and 26 in the Public Health Service.

Poges 9027-9028

Program for Monday: Senate met today at 9:30 a.m. and adjourned at 12:36 p.m. until noon Monday, May 9, when its unfinished business will be H.R. 10474, construction of naval vessels. As soon as House has adopted conference report on H.R. 11510, Mutual Security Act of 1960, Senate will consider it.

Pages 9013, 9014, 9021, 9027

Committee Meetings

(Committees not listed did not meet)

APPROPRIATIONS—LEGISLATIVE

Committee on Appropriations: Subcommittee concluded its hearings on fiscal 1961 budget estimates for the legislative branch, after hearing testimony from

Appendix

Foreign Economic Policy—On the Road to Peace

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CARL HAYDEN

OF ARIZONA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, May 9, 1960

Mr. HAYDEN. Mr. President, on May 1, the distinguished junior Senator from Missouri [Mr. Symington] appeared before the Tucson, Ariz., Sunday Evening Forum, a public-affairs forum of national stature, and spoke to an audience of over 2,000 on the need for a long-range foreign economic policy.

His remarks that evening are especially timely if one hopes to understand the interrelationship of tariffs, foreign aid, and foreign investment in developing a dynamic American foreign policy. Therefore, I ask unanimous consent that the text of his address be printed in the Appendix of the Record.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

FOREIGN ECONOMIC POLICY—ON THE ROAD TO PEACE

(Address by Senator Symington, Sunday Evening Forum, Tucson, Ariz., May 1, 1960)

Whether we like it or not, the United States is no longer an island of freedom and strength, safely surrounded by great oceans on the East and West, and great friends on the North and South.

The freedom and strength are still here, and so are the oceans and our friendly neighbors. But distances between nations have shrunk almost overnight—and the oceans are hidden tunnels for potential aggressors.

The subject of foreign policy is no longer a weekend exercise, and the alternative of noninvolvement is no longer ours.

We are involved—and the involvement is bound to become greater, not less,

Our lives, and the lives of our children and grandchildren, will of necessity become increasingly affected by what happens all over the world, and—let us not forget—

throughout space as well.

This we can readily see—whether it be a threatened attack upon one of many nations with which we have defense commitments or whether it be the prestige effect of Soviet satellites upon uncommitted nations.

There is, however, another interrelationship in world affairs—one which is too often overlooked. I refer to the interrelationship between tariffs foreign aid, and foreign investments.

Each of these affects the other. None can be handled in isolation, any more than we can have a policy about the unification of Germany without regard to the pronouncements from the Kremlin.

THE RELATIONSHIP OF EXPORTS AND IMPORTS

Yet, so far as I can discover, our Government has no policy which meshes these important things together. Nor has it explained their interrelationship to the American people.

Rather, the question of imports of goods is treated as a special type of economic invasion of our country—for the purpose of depriving American laborers of their jobs and American stockholders of their profits.

Exports, on the other hand, are considered to be good business, and any effort of some other nation to undersell us abroad is termed unfriendly—and even Communist-inspired.

Of course, any sound businessman knows that his sales are a total loss unless he gets paid for them. The same is true in the world of foreign trade. Imports are the means of payment for our exports; hence, anything that cuts down on imports makes it more difficult to export. A policy which tends to encourage exports and another policy which tends to discourage imports are operating against each other.

In the short run, there is little difference between exports for which we do not receive comparable value of imports in return, and foreign aid grants. The latter are also exports, generally, of goods produced here in the United States—but given away, rather than paid for by returning imports.

Yet, if you were in Washington, you would soon see that the same organization, or even the same Government official, urges an expansion of exports, a curtailment of imports, and a decrease in foreign aid.

To understand the interrelationship of these things, however, does not automatically

solve the problem.

Take the businessman who is having difficulty competing with foreign imports. It doesn't help him to know that some other businessman is benefiting because such imports are the means by which the latter businessman gets paid for his export sales.

A TWO-EDGED TARIFF POLICY

I believe we should have a two-edged tariff policy, based on a full realization of the economic significance of both edges.

First, for good practical reasons we should keep down our tariff barriers. The reasons are as follows:

- Tariffs are taxes paid by American consumers—not by foreign sellers.
- 2. Tariffs are inflationary. They are taxes added onto the price of imported goods; or, if they are sufficiently protective, they permit higher prices for domestic goods.
- 3. Tariffs encourage other countries to raise barriers against our export goods and therefore cost us part of our foreign market.
- 4. Tariffs encourage the investment of American capital abroad. Some of this money could well be used in building up our own country.
- 5. Tariffs may even cause unemployment in the United States, in that they decrease sales of our most efficient large-scale production industries.

The other edge of the tariff policy, however, should be this: when commodities flow into our country, underselling U.S. goods and threatening the employment of U.S. labor and capital, the facts in each individual case should be examined carefully to see if the damage to our own people is such as to merit an exception to the general tariff policy and give that industry at least temporary added protection.

In each case in which such a decision is made, the Federal Government should cooperate with local governments and private organizations to see if new industries and new production cannot be introduced into the areas which have been hurt by the foreign competition.

The argument that tariffs protect domestic industries and their profits and therefore cause a greater flow of income tax revenue to the Government is, to put it bluntly, non-sense.

Curtailment of international trade decreases income tax revenue to the Government.

Nonetheless, I would not make individual tariff judgments on a Government revenue basis, but on how the people in the areas concerned are affected.

I am convinced that the added tax revenues from increased exports would be more than sufficient to foot the bill for the research and the Government financial assistance which may be necessary to modernize those industries which find they cannot beat foreign competition.

The United States is the greatest exporter of goods in the world. We undersell other countries in a large volume of goods. It is obvious that we could do this only if our costs and prices were lower in those goods. Otherwise, foreigners would buy them someplace else.

There is no basis for complacency in this situation, however, as an examination of our recent trade statistics reveals. We have to keep improving both quality and our production efficiency if we are to maintain the advantage we have held for so many years.

SOVIET COMPETITION

There is, moreover, an increasing concern—and rightly so—about the threat of economic competition from Soviet Russia. So far, this is not serious in the sense of free competition, because no one seriously considers that Russian costs of production are generally as low as ours. For example, some of the top production men from our steel industry visited Russia recently, went through their plants, and examined their techniques. Their conclusion was that Russian costs of producing steel—a commodity so basic to the production of other goods—was far above ours.

The serious aspect of Soviet competition lies in the fact that their prices are not determined on the basis of cost. Rather, they are set by the dictator at whatever level he considers would best serve the aims of this foreign policy.

As example, the Russians put the aluminum industry into something of a frenzy last year by the simple process of dumping a small amount of aluminum on the world market at a price well below the existing level. This was done even though Russia has not enough aluminum to meet its own needs, and undoubtedly offered the aluminum at a net loss if figured in our own accounting terms.

With a population about 15 percent greater than ours, and a gross national product about 55 percent less than ours, Russia is in no position to take away much of the world market from the United States. Yet, we are in danger of losing it anyway if we don't change our policies.

If our Government continues to push up interest rates, and certain of our large basic industries continue to take advantage of their semimonopolistic position to set high prices, we will lose customers. It will not help to blame the Communists.

AN AMERICAN ECONOMIC OFFENSIVE

Anybody who doesn't believe that this country, with its free labor market, its vast amount of investment capital, its successful business experience, and its wealth of natural resources, cannot meet competition with other countries, bases his conclusion on fear and not on facts.

Curiously enough, our export business is threatened more by our own policy weak-nesses than by any Soviet dictator, or lowwage rates in other countries.

I hasten to emphasize that I do not minimize the significance of either the Communist economic potential or the occasional advantages which may accrue to those whose labor costs are lower than ours.

But, I am convinced that, with sound policy leadership in our Government and astute management in our private businesses, the United States can launch an economic offensive which cannot be matched by any country or any combination of countries throughout the world.

FOREIGN AID

Closely related to the foreign trade problem is the matter of foreign aid.

This question is greeted with fewer facts and more emotion than almost any other is-

sue before the country.

Mostly, foreign aid is viewed as an unnecessary tax burden or as an example of undue generosity on the part of the United

It is true that foreign aid costs money, and therefore the taxpayers have to pay for it. It is not necessarily true, however, that economic foreign aid over the long run adds to the total tax burden. Whether it does or not depends more on our foreign aid policies and how they are administered than on the amount of money involved.

Most Government grants as well as loans to foreigners increase our exports of goods. Almost all of the money we spend for foreign aid is spent in this country-to buy our agricultural surpluses, our machinery, and our other manufactured goods.

In addition, to the extent that foreign assistance builds up underdeveloped countries, we are adding potential customers for more of our goods through commercial channels.

If everyone who consumed alcoholic beverages in the United States cut out every third drink-and I do not take a position on that one way or the other-the amount saved would pay for our entire foreign ald programs, both military and economic.

I mention that just to put the size of the program in perspective.

The entire mutual security appropriation will amount this year to less than eighttenths of 1 percent of our gross national

With the exception of emergency gifts of medical supplies, food, and similar essentials, there is little room in a foreign aid policy for what might be called altruism or generosity for generosity's sake.

Rather, we should evaluate each foreign aid program on the basis of whether it will benefit the citizens of this country. This is only reasonable, and is the only fair approach as far as our taxpayers are concerned.

In talking about foreign aid, I want to emphasize that assistance to our distressed areas here at home must always have a higher priority than aid to other countries.

On that premise, it is my belief that well administered foreign aid can do several things, all of which can benefit this country.

First. It can help build up the underdeveloped countries and forge ties of trade and friendly relations with the United States.

Second, it can blunt the Communist propaganda and economic offensives, or at least make these Communist programs very much more expensive to the Soviets.

Third, it can establish a realistic basis for uncommitted countries to support the United States as the free world leader in the United Nations, as well as in high level international negotiations.

If the less fortunate countries of the world could achieve, through the stimulus of a well managed foreign aid program, a per capita income increase of 1 percent a year during the coming decade, they could well offer to the United States alone a \$14 billion market for our goods. This would amount to double the present market in those areas.

It is a matter of good business sense, if you want to increase your sales, to look for new markets.

So far as the makeup of a foreign aid program is concerned. I favor an increased proportion of the total aid to be economic rather than military, and believe such aid should be primarily in the form of longterm loans rather than outright grants.

LONG-TERM PLANNING NEEDED

Such programing should be on a longterm basis-not chopped into annual, unplanned segments, as is currently the situation.

For example, to get the best return on our investment, our Development Loan Fund should be financed over a period of a minimum of 5 years.

One major feature of a long-term program could and should be an increased flow of our surplus agricultural commodities. It is my belief that this could be accomplished. much more effectively on a 5-year basis than on a 1-year basis.

The foreign assistance-investment program of the 1960's should be a cooperative venture of all free industrialized nations. To be most effective, such cooperative efforts should be directed toward investment to stimulate growth-not toward investment for immediate profit returns. Before such investment can bring real growth, both time and money must go into what are called preinvestment activities.

Such activities should be carefully planned and programed, and should range from labor resource surveys to educational and technical assistance.

High on the list of such programs would be those which would raise the skill level of the labor force in those countries.

Along with such training should go a clear understanding of the benefits of private enterprise and the knowledge that benefits from economic improvement can be enjoyed by the population as a whole only under democratic types of government.

SOUNDNESS OF THE DOLLAR

We can have a sound overall foreign economic policy without impairing the integrity of the dollar. It is true that in the last few years there has been some outflow of gold-and even some talk of devaluing the

The facts are that this outflow of gold has in no way affected our economic growth or the soundness of our financial structure. Incidentally, we still have more than half of the total supply of gold in the free world. If such an outflow were to continue indefinitely, there might come a time when we would have to worry about it.

However, that time has not come-and there is no reason for it ever to come.

Until the last 7 years, the rate of economic growth in the United States has been such as to attract foreign investment; and those who accumulated funds here as a result of sales of goods and services have been eager to invest those funds in our thriving economy.

Recently, however, our growth rate has slowed to a walk and has been surpassed by other countries. Hence, there has been some encouragement for those who accumulated balances here to withdraw them in the form of gold, and either hoard them in their banking systems or invest them elsewhere.

I am convinced that we can and we must, with firm leadership in our Federal Government, reinstate the previous high growth

If we do that, the steady outflow of gold will cease and gold in international finance will revert to its customary role of adjustment of international banking balances.

It is my conclusion that there is nothing wrong with our international economic position which sound foreign policies and firm leadership will not cure and cure promptly.

As Usual Hanson W. Baldwin of the New York Times Brings Some Much-Needed Commonsense and Perspective to Another Vital Issue Affecting Our National Security and Survival in an Age of Challenge-The Recent U-2 Plane Incident

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. SAMUEL S. STRATTON

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, April 21, 1960

Mr. STRATTON. Mr. Speaker, I trust that before any of us in this body, or any other American, for that matter, is tempted to sound off at our Government in connection with the recent incident involving the U-2 plane he will first read the thoughtful and extremely timely article that appeared this morning in the New York Times of May 9 under the byline of Hanson W. Baldwin, the distinguished military editor of that great newspaper who always brings to its pages a much-needed element of hardheaded commonsense and perspective based upon sound realism. Let us not lightly forget the nature of the threat which faces us in the world today. Let us not lose sight of the high obligation that we as Members of Congress have to see that this country never foolishly lets down its guard against that threat. Let us not forget how many times the charge has been raised, in this body as well as elsewhere, that America has in the past been "caught napping" when it comes to knowing what the enemy has been up to-at Pearl Harbor, Bogota, Suez, and Korea. And let us not forget how quickly we too would raise that same charge again were we to find that our military and intelligence leaders had deliberately left undone any possible action they should have taken to make fully certain this country would never again be caught by surprise. The article follows: INTELLIGENCE AND SURVIVAL-PLANE INCIDENT

POINTS UP DILEMMA INVOLVED IN INFOS-MATION MISSIONS

(By Hanson W. Baldwin)

One young American faced his "moment of truth" about 65,000 feet over the Soviet Union a week ago yesterday. He apparently decided that life was better than death and his instinctive reaction produced an international incident of unpredictable consequences. The capture of Francis G. Powers, pilot of a U.S. reconnaissance aircraft, gave Premier Khrushchev an important political

and psychological advantage just prior to the East-West summit conference. It was an advantage the Soviet leader was quick to exploit.

The U.S. Government, many Members of Congress, and much of the press had been mousetrapped into premature denials. Mr. Khrushchev was able to show—with the capture of the pilot—that these were, as he bluntly put it, "complete lies." The United States had been caught redhanded in a major espionage operation, with all the embarrassment that such a coup causes.

All these and other consequences stemmed from one man's instinct for survival in the few seconds when Francis Powers faced his crucial decision.

The negative aspects, from the U.S. point of view, of the young pilot's decision are obvious. They are so obvious that the demand for the scalps of the "guilty" officials already has started. Harold E. Stassen, former disarmament adviser to President Eisenhower, implied Saturday that "some of our military officers" had engineered Mr. Powers' flight to upset the prospects for the summit conference.

But the negative aspects of the Soviet

But the negative aspects of the Soviet counter-espionage coup must be balanced by the entire history of the Lockheed U-2 project. It is a history that effectively answers Mr. Stassen's accusation.

The U-2's essential feature is its amazing high-altitude capability. The plane has extremely long wings and its very light wing loading enables high subsonic speed and maneuverability in very thin air. Mr. Khrushchev said Mr. Powers' craft was flying at 65,000 feet when shot down; presumably even that rarefied altitude is not its absolute ceiling.

Thus the U-2 must have had, when it first became operational about 5 years ago, a ceiling considerably higher than any of the far faster but heavier of the world's fighter-interceptors.

HIGHER ALTITUDES REACHED

The latest U.S. interceptors produced since the U-2 was designed are able to reach 60,000 to 70,000 feet; in fact, altitude records above 90,000 feet have been established by both United States and Soviet military aircraft. But these records were established by high-speed "zoomups," that is, sharp pullups with maximum power from straight and level fight. Maneuvering ability at these high altitudes is extremely limited and interception at such altitudes by a piloted fighter, especially if the interceptor must take up a "stern chase," is very difficult.

Thus the U-2's high-altitude capability gave it until a week ago a certain degree of invulnerability to antiair defense.

It is noteworthy that it was an antiair-craft rocket fired from the ground—not a piloted interceptor—that brought down the first U-2 lost to Soviet attack in 5 years of operations. The feat of rocketry, despite the Soviet boasting about it, is not remarkable. It has, in fact, been within the U.S. capability for a long time.

The U.S. Nike-Hercules antiaircraft missile, which can carry either a nuclear or a conventional warhead, has shot down targets traveling at three times the speed of sound and has hit targets at altitudes ranging from 1,000 to 100,000 feet. Even the Nike-Ajax, which has been operational for 7 years, has an altitude capability of at least 60,000 to 70,000 feet.

SOVIET LAG INDICATED

The shooting down of Mr. Powers' U-2 on May 1 indicates not a Soviet lead in defensive antiaircraft missiles but, on the contrary, a Soviet lag. There have been rumors that the Russians were having trouble with their antiaircraft missiles and there had been little hard evidence of the tremendous defensive strength so often credited to the Soviet Union.

Two deductions are possible from this successful firing of an antiaircraft missile against the U-2.

The shot could have been lucky—that is, the pilot might have blundered within firing range of a missile battery that reconnaissance planes normally would try to avoid.

On the other hand, the Soviet Union may at last have corrected some of the faults in its antiaircraft missile and may now have in operation missiles comparable in effectiveness to the United States earlier Nike-Ajax, or perhaps approximating the Nike-Hercules.

Both deductions are probably correct.

A broader evaluation of the U-2's career gives reason to conclude that it probably has been one of the most successful reconnaissance planes ever built.

MANY FLIGHTS ALONG BORDERS

Judging from the Government's own account, the U-2 has made numerous flights in the last 5 years along the Communist frontiers. It has operated from Alaska, Japan, Germany, the Middle East and elsewhere. Mr. Khrushchev declared in his first speech on the incident that another U.S. alreraft, presumably also a U-2, had crossed Soviet frontiers on April 9 from the direction of Afghanistan, and that that one, through detected, was not intercepted.

All this would seem to indicate that the U-2's flight plan on May 1, which according to Mr. Khrushchev was to take it straight across the Soviet Union, from south to north, was not unusual. It seems likely, judging from the Soviet revelations that the U.S. Government's somewhat equivocal admissions, that similar flights had occurred in the past.

If this is so, the data gained in photographs and by other means must have been of immense importance. The U-2 project and other secret methods of intelligence collection presumably explained in part the Government's confidence about U.S. military strength relative to that of the Soviet Union.

Moreover, if repeated flights over the Soviet Union actually occurred, the conclusion would seem to be that Soviet defenses have been weaker than the world realized. In fact, if photographs similar to those from the downed U-2 that Mr. Khrushchev proudly exhibited were taken in previous flights, the U-2 program must have been until 8 days ago the most successful reconnaissance-espionage project in history.

This chapter abruptly came to an end May 1 when Mr. Powers made his decision to live.

DATE OF THE FLIGHT SIGNIFICANT

Numerous questions remain:

Why was such a flight made just before the summit conference? It may be noted that the incident occurred on May Day, a day dedicated in the Soviet Union to glorification of the Communist regime, and at a time when the Russians were widely expected to attempt a spectacular presummit space or missile shot.

Was the flight authorized by Washington? Saturday's somewhat equivocal U.S. statement, probably deliberately cloudy on this point, declared that "insofar as the authorities are concerned, there was no authorization for any such flights as described by Mr. Khrushchev."

But it would be stretching a very long bow to infer from this, as Mr. Stassen did, that some U.S. military commander had gone off halfcocked" on his own initiative. The whole history of the U-2 project, as revealed piecemeal in Washington and through Mr. Khrushchev's revelations, shows clearly that the activities were managed and probably closely directed by Washington.

What was the directing authority?

What was the directing authority?

It has been acknowledged that the initial version of the incident issued in Washing-

ton—that the U-2 was a weather plane operated by the National Aeronautics and Space Administration—was false. It is easy to deduce from this, from Mr. Khrushchev's assertions, which there seems no reason to doubt, and from the United States own somewhat lame explanations, that the U-2 project was a Central Intelligence Agency effort, and a very successful one.

SPACE AGENCY SEEN AS COVER

The NASA and the Lockheed Aircraft Corp. were probably so-called cover agencies. The pilots, judging from Mr. Powers' background, were apparently former Air Force or Air Force Reserve pilots on inactive duty, attracted to their hazardous occupation by adventure and very high pay.

Do the Russians do this sort of thing?

Do the Russians do this sort of thing? Of course, and perhaps much more. Soviet planes do not have the advantage of bases close to the continental United States. But Soviet aircraft have flown over parts of Alaska, northern Canada, Japan, and other Western defense areas. The Communist espionage system is one of the world's most efficient, whereas that of the United States has always been handicapped by the Iron Curtain.

Why did the pilot survive?

This is a question that only Mr. Powers can answer, and he may spend the rest of his life trying to answer it satisfactorily.

The instinct of self-preservation is strong in every human and it is contrary to the Judean-Christian and the American ethic to destroy one's own life.

Yet an unwritten law of every secret intelligence organization postulates the suicide of an agent rather than capture, possible torture, and revelations of importance to an enemy.

Mr. Khrushchev has quoted from an alleged confession by Mr. Powers and has declared that a hypodermic needle or pin and pistol were recovered. These, he said, were for use by the pilot to prevent his capture alive.

The photograph of the wreckage of the U-2 released by Moscow and the fact that Mr. Powers lived to fall into Soviet hands indicates something of how the flier must have reacted in time of crisis.

The plane apparently was hit by a fragment of the rocket's explosive warhead and was disabled. Apparently Mr. Powers rode it down for some distance and then parachuted. The U-2 almost certainly had a self-destructive charge, which apparently was not set off.

FILMS AID KHRUSHCHEV

Mr. Powers' alleged confession, the plane's wreckage and even films from its camera thus have aided Mr. Khrushchev's dramatic psychological coup. It is safe to guess that all that Mr. Powers knew about the U-2 operations is now known to the Russians.

Thus the Central Intelligence Agency, an agency of a nation that is formally dedicated to the protection of human life, undoubtedly would have wanted Mr. Powers to destroy his plans and himself—a concept wholly antithetical to the average American.

Mr. Powers' dilemma in the few seconds of free choice he may have had is indeed the dilemma, not only of a secret intelligence agency in a democratic government, but of a democratic nation facing a secret Communist conspiracy in the atomic age.

It is part of the world we live in. Values often become mixed and truth often becomes falsehood. But the greatest value, and the reason for the U-2 program itself, is survival—not the survival of Francis Powers but national survival. The danger of surprise attack in the age of hydrogen bombs is so great that responsible government feels it must have all possible information.

Mr. Powers and his agonizing decision and the secrecy with which the whole U-2 project was necessarily surrounded, were inescapable results of this overriding need to know. West Conference Issues

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ALEXANDER WILEY

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Monday, May 9, 1960

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, for some time now, the world has looked hopefully toward the upcoming summit conference.

As realists, we have not expected panacea-type solutions to East-West differences. Nevertheless, it has been hoped that at the summit conference involving and comprised of Premier Khrushchev. Prime Minister Macmillan, President de Gaulle and President Eisenhower, we can at least make some progress toward resolving East-West differ-

Now, the flight of a U.S. pilot deep into Soviet territory has raised significant

questions.

Apparently, the authorization for such a cross-country flight was not made in Washington. The President, the Secretary of State, and the Nation deserve an answer not only for scheduling of such a flight, not only for such deep penetra-tion into Soviet territory, but also for reaching such a decision at this critical time in international affairs.

To meet the situation forthrightly, I believe we might well adopt the follow-

ing course:

First, acknowledge to the Soviet Union the flight, designating that the decision was not made in Washington.

Second. Urge the Soviet Union to retain all data and information in possession of the pilot they deem necessary to their security.

Third. Point out that the pilot's armaments—a small, .322 caliber pistol—could hardly be a military threat to the Soviet Union, particularly in competition with what Mr. Khrushchev calls his "remarkable missiles."

Fourth. Request the return of the pilot to the United States for appropriate action in accordance with the situation.

Fifth. Again, stress-as President Eisenhower has done-the need for lessening of international tensions to allow greater freedom of airspace.

Regrettably, Soviet activities in subversion, espionage, and other similar activities has created the need for counterefforts to obtain information to protect ourselves against possible sneak attack-presumably the reason for the flight.

What effect will all this have on the proposed summit conference?

As yet, it is not possible to say, After the sensationalism of the incident has simmered down-and all the facts are in-perhaps it will be easier to assess the situation.

For the most part, I believe we-and the world-must attempt to put the incident in perspective—that the flight of one plane, over one country certainly is not enough to upset the global applecart.

We can expect, of course, that Mr. Khrushchev will play the incident to the

Need for Public Understanding of East- hilt for propaganda purposes. However, perhaps a greater question in the whole affair now is whether or not Khrushchev will go off the deep end far enough to make it appear questionable as to whether a summit conference, scheduled to open on May 16, should be held at all.

If, however, it still appears that such a meeting would have a chance to lessen world tensions, there are, I believe, fundamental issues which would need to

be considered at such a time.

Recently, I was privileged to review a few of the major issues in an address over radio station WGN in Chicago reviewing the situation. I ask unanimous consent to have the text of my address printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD,

as follows:

EXCERPTS OF ADDRESS BY SENATOR WILLY

WILEY STRESSES NEED FOR PUBLIC UNDERSTAND-ING OF EAST-WEST CONFERENCE ISSUES-SAYS WORLD OPINION WILL BE FIFTH POWER AT CONFERENCE

Friends, I weclome the opportunity to discuss with you the major challenge facing America and the world—that is, keeping the peace; or conversely, preventing World War III, which would wound, dismember, if not destroy mankind.

If a major war can be averted, however, then we can all look forward to a better.

brighter future.

In the modern world, the idea of a fortress America, go-it-alone kind of policy has been made obsolete by development of jet planes, missiles, nuclear bombs, and other modern weapons of destruction that eliminate distance, oceans, and terrain as barriers. result, we cannot close our eyes; pull in our personal, family, and community interests around us; and hope that the dangerous ogre, communism-the major threat to world peace-will vanish.

To the contrary, we must either face its threat and defeat its purposes of world conquest-if possible in a peaceful way-or be-

come its slaves.

Outlook for summit conference-opening May 16, 1960

As you know, the summit conference, comprised of President Eisenhower, Prime Minister Macmillan, President de Gaulle, and Premier Khrushchev, will begin meeting in Paris, France, on May 16-about a week from now. The world is waiting, watching ex-pectantly and prayerfully, hoping that these leaders of two conflicting ideologies will find a way: to resolve some of the international differences, and to establish a pattern of followup action—perhaps by successive top— or lower—level conferences to continue efforts to ease the tensions between the East-West blocs.

In reviewing the summit outlook, I shall not attempt to be a prophet-to be all knowing on such crucial international matters affecting us.

In an election year-with a ringful of hats for the Presidency; and a corral full of dark horses for both the No. 1 and No. 2 spotsthere are more than enough self-styled ex-perts floating around the country declaring condemning, criticizing, admonishing, at the tops of their voices—with the last word on every issue.

As a Senator and citizen, and a human being who, along with each of you, deeply desires peace, I believe, however, we all must obtain as clear an understanding as possible of the challenges ahead, and the alternative ways in which to meet such challenges.

World opinion-Fifth power at summit

Generally, the summit will be considered a conference of four great powers. However, I

believe there will be a fifth power at the conference—that is, world opinion. Neither the East nor the West can ignore this fifth

Around the globe there is a deep-seated yearning in the hearts of almost all people for the dawning of a peace in which the dark-cloud threat of nuclear annihilation will be lifted from above the heads of mankind.

During the negotiations, this great world-wide will for peace will, I believe, make its presence—and its force—felt by both East

Whatever agreements may be reached at the summit affecting the destiny of mankind, I believe, will bear the invisible signature of this fifth power.

Major issues of the conference

Now, what are the major issues at the upcoming conference?

The gamut of East-West differences, of course, is widespread and complex.

First, a major issue confronting the East-West conference is the problem of Germany, including Berlin. Why? For the following reasons: A lasting peace in Europe depends upon protecting the freedom and integrity of the 21/4 million West Berliners and finding a realistic solution for German unifica-Unless this is done, Germany will tion. remain a powder keg for years to come.

Settlement of the German question, too, represents a test of whether or not the Soviets can be depended upon to adhere to agreements—which are already established in relation to West Berlin—or whether again

they will be treatybreakers.

Second, attaining safeguarded agreements on reduction of armaments, including bans on nuclear testing, is essential to reducing tensions and lessening the possibility of war.
While these constitute major challenges

at the Paris summit meeting, additional issues—really as farflung as the world fronts-include:

Third, curbing the propaganda warfare by the Communists, which in itself constitutes a form of aggression.

Fourth, reaching agreements on limitation of arm shipments to such areas as Asia, Africa, and South America and other places in the world where "invasions of such mili-tary arsenals" would serve to stir up greater tensions and possibly create open conflicts.

Fifth, the question of the future status of the so-called captive nations, too, is legiti-mate subject matter for discussion. As in the past, however, we can expect that the Soviets will be reluctant to discuss this topic.

And a wide variety of other East-West differences that require ultimate solutionbefore there will be peace in the world.

East-West seek different objectives

The job of obtaining realistic achievements at the Summit is made particularly difficult because the East and the West leaders—although they will discuss the same issues—are actually seeking different goals.
The West—in accordance with its tradi-

tional policies—is attempting to obtain a settlement of the problem relating to Germany, of reduction of armaments and other major issues to establish a just and lasting peace.

By contrast, the Communists—although they give "lip service" to peace—have not yet disavowed their ultimate goal of world conquest.

Consequently, this narrows the field of possible agreements to areas in which negotiations—or perhaps even mutual concessions—may service different objectives.

As humans, we, of course, wish for a panacea-type solution to the struggle: "Let's settle it and forget it." Unfortunately, the outlook is for no such accomplishment.

Even if the conference attained a high degree of success, it would still leave a great many unsolved problems.

Among other goals, the conference will need, I believe, to attempt to establish a

pattern of future negotiations to carry forward efforts for resolving the multitude of problems that will still exist between the free and Communist worlds.

Major free-world goals

Unfortunately, in the complex jungle of East-West negotiations—including false Communist propaganda and our efforts to refute it, we-and the world-may lose sight of our goals in international affairs. Consequently a restatement of United States and Western objectives would, I believe serve a useful purpose.

The major objectives include:

1. A unified Germany, free to elect its own government by vote of the people.

2. Existence of the European nations—now the so-called captive nations-under selfdetermined governments.

3. The attainment of realistic agreements for reduction of armaments to: reduce the fear of war, and enable nations to channel more of their resources, manpower and brainpower to benefiting-not threatening to destroy-mankind

4. Creating greater respect for, and willingness to abide by, international law, to preserve peace and order on the globe.

5. A redefinition of world relations-as recently emphasized by Under Secretary of State Douglas Dillon—declaring that coexistence among nations should not necessarily be by international agreement. Rather, the rights of separate states and systems to exist should be unquestioned-so long as the respective governments are determined by the people within each country.

Coexistence has always been, and should continue to be, a minimal condition of peaceful international relations-not a subject for negotiation or for ratification by the

Kremlin.

6. A restatement of our willingness, as evidenced by postwar programs, and reaffirmed recently by President Eisenhower-to channel more of our resources-particularly savings resulting from safeguarded agreements for reduction of armaments, to aiding the less developed nations of the world to create a better way of life for their people.

In essence, this would mean emphasis on our adherence to a philosophy, not just of live and let live, but also to help others live

better.

Overall, there are a great many ways-economic, intellectual, cultural, spiritual—in which nations, instead of threatening to destroy each other, could cooperate construc-tively to provide a better climate and a brighter future.

Government "of, by, and for the people"— not communism—most revolutionary

Prior to concluding, I would like to knock down one more strawman created by Communist propaganda: that is, that commuhism is a new, revolutionary political-economic system, designed to create a better life for people under its dominion.

Actually, this is contrary to the truth.

Communism, as we know it today, is really totalitarian dictatorship. Throughout his-tory, dictatorial ideas and individuals have paraded behind many facades and masks to attain their goal of absolute power—and that means the decisions, not just of rights and privileges, but of life and death (and too often, the latter) over a people.

The Soviet Union and Red China, representative of modern-day communismno different from the bloody tyrannical regimes of the past that have subjugated peoples, deprived them of fundamental rights—and yes, annihilated them if it served

the purposes of the state.

Realistically speaking, our form of government—"of, by, and for" a free people—is the most revolutionary in history.

As a novel adventure in self-government by a people—vigilant to preserve for themselves the maximum freedom consistent with an orderly society-our free system stands unique.

Only by constant vigilance and selfless dedication to high principles and ideals—consistent with our traditions—however, can we expect to remain a free people.

Conclusion

Today, we are beseiged by the Communist menace, employing all kinds of tactics, military and nonmilitary, to attain its objectives of world domination.

Can we defeat it?

Yes. I believe we will prove that freedom is the superior system.

To accomplish this, however, will require an ever-greater understanding by our citizens-you and me-of the scope of the danger; as well as a rededication of time, manpower, brainpower, and resources to further strengthen our system for withstanding one of the great tests of its life.

As we face this great challenge, however, I am confident that we will come through

with flying colors.

U.S. participation in the summit con-ference—with President Eisenhower representing us-illustrates, once more, the President's willingness-reflecting the will of our people to go the "extra mile"-if it offers promise of promoting lasting peace.

Thank you for listening.

If Reds Hold U.S. Pilot, America's Duty Is Clear

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. J. CARLTON LOSER

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, May 9, 1960

Mr. LOSER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD. I include an editorial from the Nashville (Tenn.) Banner, which points up rather clearly America's duty in connection with the unfortunate occurrence of a few days ago when Francis Gerry Powers was allegedly shot down over Soviet Russia. The very minimum demands of our State Department in connection with this matter are set forth in this editorial; namely, access to Powers by our Ambassador, to interrogate him on the facts of the case; to provide counsel, looking forward to his early release, and to assure the protection to which he is entitled in any trial contemplated. The editorial follows:

[From the Nashville Banner, May 7, 1960] IF REDS HOLD U.S. PILOT, AMERICA'S DUTY CLEAR

If, as Nikita Khrushchev now boasts, Russia is holding the pilot of an American plane shot down over Soviet territory on May 1, justice decrees direct access to him by U.S. authorities-both to establish the truth of the case and to assure the protection to

which he is entitled by full, official repre-sentation in any "trial" contemplated.

America does not and cannot take the Soviet word for what has happened. It cannot blindly accept either the report that Francis Gerry Powers is in custody, or that, under whatever circumstances, he has "confessed" to charges conveniently rigged to suit Khrushchev's propaganda purposes.

Ambassador Llewellyn E. Thompson is this Nation's representative in Russia—both available and by duty commissioned to bear its responsibilities in that land. Certainly he has every right to demand access to the

reported prisoner, to interrogate him on the facts of the case by which America's own course will be doubly clarified, and to provide counsel, looking to his immediate release.

That the allegations to date incorporate a tissue of lies is evident not only from information at hand respecting Powers' assignment in Europe-the mission on which his single-motor, unarmed plane was engaged from its base in Turkey; but in Khrushchev's bombastic claim that he was shot down by some powerful new "rocket," of unerring, single-shot accuracy. For now it is claimed that he bailed out.

President Eisenhower has indicated as of yesterday that he is calling off his scheduled visit to Russia. Such a decision is in order. as this newspaper observed when the case broke. He also should notify Khrushchev that he is attending no summit conference so long as this state of renewed tensions, deliberately revived by the Soviet, persists.

They menace the discussions, and assuredly foredoom them to failure.

Specifically, he could instruct the Kremlin that he is not going to the Soviet unless and until Pilot Francis Gerry Powers is free, and a full apology has been received for this whole infamous incident.

Let the whole world be on notice that America does not do business, nor fraternize, with outlaws. It must yield to neither the blandishments nor the blackmail of this enemy.

Address by Associate Justice John M. Harlan at Law Day Exercises in U.S. District Court for the District of Co-

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. ALAN BIBLE

OF NEVADA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Monday, May 9, 1960

Mr. BIBLE. Mr. President, a highlight of the observance of Law Day in the District of Columbia was an address by Associate Justice John M. Harlan of the U.S. Supreme Court at Law Day exercises on May 2 in the ceremonial courtroom of the U.S. District Court in Washington, and under the sponsorship of the District of Columbia Bar Association in cooperation with the Federal Bar Association, the Women's Bar Association, and the Washington Bar Association.

I ask unanimous consent that the remarks of Mr. Justice Harlan be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD, for I believe his observations on American citizenship are indeed worthy of thought not only to lawyers, but to the public in general.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

REMARKS OF JOHN M. HARLAN, ASSOCIATE JUS-TICE OF THE SUPREME COURT OF THE UNITED STATES, AT LAW DAY EXERCISES IN THE U.S. DISTRICT COURT, WASHINGTON, D.C., MAY 2, 1960

No more appropriate event could have been chosen to mark our part in this third nationwide observance of Law Day than the admission of a new group of American citizens. Such an occasion symbolizes much for which this country stands.

Fifteen foreign lands are represented in this citizen group; Brazil, Canada, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Germany, Great Britain, Greece, Japan, Pakistan, Panama, Philippines, Russia, Spain, Sweden, and Yugoslavia. My few remarks this morning will be addressed to you new citizens. I shall venture to say something of the promise and of the obligations, which I believe the future holds for the important step you are taking today.

First of all you are most welcome in our midst. This is so because your oath of allegiance evidences your faith in this country's institutions and free society, and also because, like the many who have come be-fore you from foreign lands, we expect you to enrich our outlook. For my part I have never much admired the term "the great American melting pot," for it connotes some things that are quite out of keeping with the American concept of the dignity of the individual. In assuming your place as citizens you will not be asked to relinquish in any degree your own diverse cultural her-itages and backgrounds. You will be ex-pected to conform only in one respect, namely, in steadfastness to what we hear so often referred to in these times as "the American way of life." This means a society free of enforced conformity and dedicated to the protection of individual rights, habits, points of view, and tastes—a society which finds its unity in the common purpose to assure to each individual the right to lead his life according to his own lights, subject to his recognizing the same right in others, and to not abusing his own right at the expense of others. This is what the Declaration of Independence meant when it stated that "all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."

It was to make that ideal a reality that the Constitution of the United States was ordained. This annual ceremonial exercise is dedicated to the same objective. No one would pretend that we have achieved our goal in all respects. Yet, without undue sentimentality or boastfulness, this much, I believe, can fairly be said: We have gone further than most other nations toward achieving a society in which the individual can proceed as far as his abilities may carry him. In the areas of our national life where it may justly be said that we are still deficient we are honestly facing up to the problems and striving to overcome them.

More concretely from the point of view of those of you who come to us from abroad, you need have no fear lest your foreign heritage may place you under handicap. Indeed, in our dynamic and competitive society the special skills and talents which you bring with you from your homelands will find an eager and ready market, provided you are ambitious, imaginative, and do not shun hard work.

If any of you are doubtful about the validity of this prediction, you can easily satisfy yourself of its truth simply by glancing at the impressive past and present rosters of distinguished non-Anglo-Saxon names reflected in various facets of American life—whether it be in business, the professions, the arts, the labor movement, the world of sport, or the field of government, including, I may say with satisfaction, the Supreme Court of the United States. Indeed the only preferment that will be closed to you is the office of the Presidency of the United States. But I daresay few of you will find that constitutional limitation a serious handicap in working out a useful and satisfying life in your adopted country.

American citizenship in this era also carries with it deep responsibilities for all thoughtful persons, requiring of them an informed interest in public affairs. Too often such responsibilities are associated only

with those who happen to be in public office. It is not uncommon to hear said such things as that "the President, the Congress, the Governor, the State legislature, or one or the other of the numerous regulatory agencles will protect us." or that "our basic liberties are guaranteed by the Constitution and, failing all else, are secure in the hands of the courts." To be sure that point of view is, by and large, happily well founded, and it does bespeak the fundamental soundness of our institutions. Yet such an attitude frequently also evidences a complacency towards public affairs which ill fits the kind of society we have, in which the people themselves are the final guardians of freedom. It is sometimes forgotten that the Constitution and Bill of Rights are not a selfexecuting guaranty of liberty. Their strength as the charter of our liberties depends upon two things-a willingness at all levels of government to follow their principles, and the determination of an enlightened and self-reliant people to preserve the institutions which the Constitution establishes, and to respect their just authority. This is what is meant by the expressions "ordered liberty" and "the rule of law."

So my hope is that you will take an active interest in the affairs of your country. As a beginning I am sure you would find it a repaying experience to sit down and read the Constitution of the United States. It will not take long for you to read it from cover to cover, for it is a short document: and you need not be a lawyer to grasp at least the extraordinary confidence it breathes in the ability of our then young nation to prosper and grow strong under principles of ordered freedom. At a time when such principles are being challenged as inadequate to meet the aspirations of the modern world, the brilliant fulfillment of the vision of our forefathers surely gives us every reason for facing the future with calm resolution and assurance.

Finally, let me close with an expression of two wishes that I hold for you as you start on this great adventure of American citizenship. The first is that you will be citizens of independent thinking, humility, and tolerance, qualities which are sorely needed in these turbulent times. My second wish is that you will be citizens of great pride in the traditions of this country, and with sure confidence in its ability to preserve its own free way of life and to take its full part in helping other peoples to do the same within the framework of their own national traditions

I am grateful to Chief Judge Pine and the Committee on Arrangements for giving me the opportunity to participate in these ceremonies, and particularly to talk to you new fellow Americans on what I hope will always be for you a memorable day.

Godspeed to all of you.

Syngman Rhee

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WINT SMITH

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 9, 1960

Mr. SMITH of Kansas. Mr. Speaker, much has been printed recently about the fall of Syngman Rhee's government in Korea. Of course, as usual, the "sob sisters" and international dogooders loudly proclaim Syngman Rhee a dictator who should be classed slong with Hitler

and Mussolini. Many eyebrows have been raised as to just what our own State Department was doing.

It has been quite evident for a long time that genuine patriots, either at home or abroad, are generally downgraded—that patriotism in this so-called international age is archaic and must be forgotten if we are to build a new international world where the watchword is "togetherness."

"togetherness."
Mr. R. L. Thompson, editor of the Moran Sentinel, Moran, Kans., knows from firsthand knowledge some of the pitfalls we have fallen into in our handling of Korean matters.

I commend the following article by Colonel Thompson:

SYNGMAN RHEE

Syngman Rhee must be nurturing some unpleasant thoughts as he sits in retirement, sneered at by his own countrymen and reviled by his former friends of the outside would who betrayed him. He is a very old man but he may yet live long anough to witness the collapse of his tiny Republic and hence the shattering of a dream that has been dear to his heart for more than a half century.

During his entire lifetime this man has been the Far East's most conspicuous champion of human liberty. For precisely 40 years he fought unremittingly and courageously to break the yoke of Japanese imperialism and to put down Japanese exploitation in Korea. For the past 12 years he has fought equally hard to unite Korea and establish a working democracy.

He has failed, I incline to think, not be-

He has failed, I incline to think, not because of holes in his own armor but because of the inepitudes of a timorous ally, the United States. Three times this 85-year-old patriot has been sold down the river. The first occurred when Roosevelt and Churchill agreed to partition Korea at the 38th parallel in their negotiations with Stalin during World War II; the second when the United States removed its troops from Korea in 1948; the third when the United Nations, with our concurrence, declined to carry the Korean war through to a complete victory.

The first faux pas was, of course, inexcusable; the second was completely asinine, and the third will be remembered in history as an act of unparalleled cowardice.

During the past fortnight Mr. Rhee has come in for a cruel blistering from the American and British press. In plastering him these editorial writers reached a new low in impudence and unrestrained journalistic license. Nothing they have written remotely touches upon the truth about the man's character and the impediments that have been thrown in his way, both from without and from within. His motives have been distorted and his so-called ruthlessness has been magnified in a scandalous manner.

Mr. Rhee is a man of exemplary character. He has, to be sure, employed rough methods to put down lawlessness, but there was no other alternative in a land infested with thousands of Communists. His lone objective has been to unite North and South Korea and to give the nation a free and honest government. There is no evidence at all that the election of last March was rigged; the Communists have made that charge ever since the first election which was held in 1948. It has not been Rhee's government but the Communist agitators who have sought to stuff the ballot boxes.

Rhee's troubles began late in 1945 when the Western Powers acquiesced in the communization of North Korea. Since then the agents of the Kremlin have been active in South Korea and there seems to be little doubt that the recent uprising against the Rhee government was inspired by them.

It has always seemed strange to me that the historians, who are still eulogizing the late Mr. Roosevelt, have not sought to explain why Korea, at least our spiritual ally during War II, was partitioned and Japan, our enemy, was not.

As I have said, old Mr. Rhee must be harboring some bitter thoughts at the moment. He was right in 1944 when he protested against the partitioning of his country; he was right in 1948 when he begged the United States not to remove its troops from Korea; and he was certainly right in 1953 when he opposed the armistice and urged the United Nations to quit talking and win the war.

What the future holds for South Korea is anyone's guess. With Rhee safely benched at our insistence, it seems fairly certain that the Communists will find it easy to make further inroads and ultimately grasp the reins of government.

Thus, the \$5 billion and the 50,000 lives the Korean war cost us seem destined to go up in smoke. If this happens it will attest not only to our own folly but to the greatness of Syngman Rhee who, along with General de Gaulle, seems certain to have his judgments vindicated by time.

Needed: Watchdog Committee for Defense Expenditures

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. ALEXANDER WILEY

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Monday, May 9, 1960

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, the creation of an ever-stronger defense is a major challenge confronting the country.

Today, almost \$40 billion, or over onehalf the Federal budget, is earmarked for national defense.

As a nation-faced with a threat to its survival by a powerful Communist blocwe cannot afford to be less than adequately prepared.

Particularly, the rocket rumbling of Mr. Khrushchev's recent statement creates more evidence that the Communists will continue to try to play power politics, utilizing their armed might as devices of threat and blackmail to attempt to attain their goals.

In view of the fact that a substantially large portion of the Federal budget-supported out of taxpayers' pockets-is earmarked for security programs, the Defense Department, I believe, has a special obligation to the American people to guard against waste, duplication, unnecessary stockpiling, and any other type of mishandling or mismanagement of

My colleagues will recall that earlier this year, I proposed the establishment of a watchdog committee on defense expenditures. Frankly, I believe that this Would not only be in the best interests of the American taxpayer, but also of our defense itself.

To help assure that the taxpayers' dollars are being spent efficiently and effectively for necessary costs of defense, I believe the establishment of an economic watchdog committee, perhaps within the Department of Defense, would serve a useful purpose.

I am aware, of course, that currently there are administrative procedures to accomplish this purpose. Unfortunately, the recurring reports of excessive waste stockpiling and other such actions require, I believe, special action to guard against any such waste of the taxpayers'

The creation of such a special watchdog committee, I believe, would not only serve to enable the Defense Department to keep a more watchful eye on its expenditures, but also help to reassure the American taxpayer that his hard-earned dollars are being earmarked-and utilized effectively-for the defense of the country.

Reflecting the public concern for guarding against such waste, I ask unanimous consent to have an editorial from the Milwaukee Journal entitled "Military Waste Continues" printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

MILITARY WASTE CONTINUES

The military services do a gigantic annual business. Last year their purchases amounted to more than \$25 billion, and the value (this is pretty theoretical) of their personal property inventory on June 30 was almost \$50 billion. Just the surplus property disposed of during the course of the year had an acquisition cost of \$7.6

In so vast an operation, some waste is inevitable. Mistakes are bound to be made when out-of-this-world weapons are stantly being introduced. Just because of these hazards, one would expect the services-if only for their own good-to display extra zeal for saving and efficiency.

Such is hardly the case.

Now it is the House Appropriations Committee that has censured the military for bumbling purchasing procedures and lack of "normal good judgment." Cited is the case of the Air Force base in Germany that ordered 300 footlockers from this country, was sent 30,000 by mistake at a cost of \$100,000 for shipping, and turned the excess over to an Army depot in Germany from which it could have obtained the lockers in the first place.

Subject for special criticism, however, was the services' "seeming inability" to switch from negotiated contracts to purchasing on a competitive bid basis even though savings are inherent in the competitive process. Army, for instance, cut the cost of missile items 3 percent to 15 percent by competitive bids, and the Navy reduced the cost of a disposable wing tank from \$2,200 to \$900.

The most telling evidence of the advantage of competitive bidding, however, was noted in the procurement of an electronic unit for the SAGE information gathering system. The item was obtained in 1956 and 1957 through negotiation with a manufacturer. In 1958 and 1959, some of the items were able to be obtained through bids, with these price results: 1958, \$21,400 per item by bids and \$41,000 on a negotiated basis; 1959, \$18,849 by bids and \$28,850 on a negotiated contract. In 1959, when all the items were acquired through bids, the unit price under one contract was \$16,450 and under another \$22 .-

"This is unfortunately not an isolated example," said the committee dolefully.

Small wonder, then, that the committee recommended a flat 3-percent reduction in various appropriations for items the military must purchase. The saving is expected to be a sizable \$400 million.

Hon, Graham A. Barden, of North Carolina, Honored

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. WILLIAM M. COLMER

OF MISSISSIPPI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, May 9, 1960

Mr. COLMER. Mr. Speaker, on April 30 last the American Good Government Society, a nonprofit, patriotic institution, dedicated to the cause of good government in these United States, held its annual dinner and made its annual awards to two outstanding Americans. Each year this splendid institution presents the George Washington Award to two outstanding American patriots. This year these highly coveted honors went to the Honorable GRAHAM A. BAR-DEN, a Member of the U.S. House of Representatives from the State of North Carolina, and to the Honorable BARRY GOLDWATER, a Member of the U.S. Senate from the State of Arizona.

The dinner was held in the Sheraton-Park Hotel. In attendance were some 600 or more guests who are interested in seeing good government perpetuated in this Republic. The American Good Government Dinner speaker was the Honorable Maurice H. Stans, the highly respected Director of the Bureau of the Budget.

The Honorable STROM THURMOND, a Senator from the State of South Carolina, made the presentation of the award to his colleague, Senator Gold-

The Honorable Charles A. Halleck, the minority leader of the House of Representatives and a distinguished Member of that body from the State of Indiana. made the presentation of the award to the Honorable GRAHAM A. BARDEN.

Mr. HALLECK's remarks in presenting this highly coveted award to Mr. BARDEN, together with the text of the award of the society to this splendid North Carolinian follows:

REMARKS OF HON. CHARLES A. HALLECK

This is one of those occasions which finds me happy and somewhat sad at the same

I'm happy that the chance has come my way to join in tribute to a great American, the Honorable Graham A. Barden, of North Carolina. But I am sad in the knowledge that this high honor is coming to him at the close of a distinguished career in the Congress of the United States.

You know, Graham, some people-who don't think I have the right philosophy of government—have announced that they are going to end my political career come next November.

But I think maybe the people of the Second District of Indiana are going to have something to say about that, and I expect to be back down here next January.

But, folks, things won't be quite the same

as far as I'm concerned.

Our honored guest and beloved friend has announced his decision to retire, and I shall miss him more than I can tell.

I know of no Member of the Congress of the United States who more richly deserves this recognition from your fine organization than my long-time friend and col"Hap" and I were both freshmen in the '74th Congress. But he has a few months' seniority on me, because I won a seat in the House of Representatives in a special election just after the Congress convened.

Through the years he has been a generous, warmhearted, loyal friend of mine, and I have come to feel a devotion toward him that can only be appreciated by men who have stood side by side and shoulder to shoulder through the smoke and fire of legislative battle.

The fact that he is a Democrat, and I am a Republican by allegiance, has never been a consideration, as we have fought together for common ideals, common principles, and a common faith in the inherent strength and majesty of our constitutional way of life.

Early in my career in the Congress I saw in Graham Barden a public servant who could be counted upon to put the well-being of his country above private or party considerations.

I saw in him a stalwart American who had the courage to stand up and be counted when the chips were down on issues vital to the maintenance of the freedoms we cherish as citizens of this great Republic.

ish as citizens of this great Republic.

I saw in "Hap" Barden an able, articulate and dedicated Representative of the people, who time and again brought his considerable talents and energies to bear against what on many occasions seemed to be an irresistible tide of political radicalism.

As I look back over the years of our service in the Congress together, I am well aware that in spite of our best efforts there seems to have been an erosion of some of the old-fashioned virtues that made this country the greatest on the face of the earth.

Thrift, self-reliance, faith in the future, the willingness to put forth sustained effort, and the courage to face adversity, seems, in too many instances, to have been abandoned in favor of what has been falsely sold as the easy way of life—let Washington do it.

But I am convinced of this: It is to the everlasting credit of men like Graham Barden that this Nation of our has not gone the whole way of so many other liberty-loving people: into socialism or something worse.

And I am also convinced of this: We are now witnessing a reawakening of our citizenry to a sense of values we might well have lost forever.

And I foresee that with the continuing support of the kind of people here tonight—citizens who recognize the worth of men like "Hap" Barden—we will see a steady resurgence of support for those principles of government for which he has fought so nobly and so long.

"Hap", my most sincere congratulations to you on the occasion of this recognition you have so well earned by your distinguished contributions to the cause of good govern-

And before I read this citation I just want to say one more thing:

If you don't invite me to come down your way to help you catch some of those fish you are going after in your leisure I'm going to publicly repudiate all of the nice things I've said about you tonight.

said about you tonight.

Now, it is with a deep sense of personal satisfaction that I read this citation symbolic of the American Good Government Society's award for 1960:

TEXT OF THE AWARD TO HON. GRAHAM A. BARDEN

Patriot, jurist, and legislator, has devoted half his years to the service of his native State of North Carolina and to the Nation more than a quarter-century of them in the U.S. House of Representatives.

Courage, integrity, and wisdom have made him a major constructive force in the movement for responsible labor legislation and tower of strength against one-sided and unbalanced proposals, destructive of the mutual interests of employees, employers, and the public. In the field of education he has been a steadfast leader in the continuing struggle to keep control of public education in the States and their communities.

Representative Barden, over the years of his service, has exerted a powerful influence for good on the work of the Congress of the United States. In well-earned retirement, he will be long remembered as one of North Carolina's most illustrious sons.

Butte, Mont., Man Invents Satellite Tracker

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JAMES E. MURRAY

OF MONTANA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, May 9, 1960

Mr. MURRAY. Mr. President, I rise to commend an intrepid inventor from my home town of Butte, Mont., Mr. W. O. Holmes.

When he was a boy in Butte, Mr. Holmes engaged in a common boyhood pastime of dropping rocks down abandoned mine shafts. He noted that when a rock was dropped down a straight shaft it would hit a side of the shaft before it hit bottom, because of the earth's rotation. He continued his interest in physics and space and recently devised a satellite tracker.

Mr. Holmes called my office, and said he would like to bring the satellite tracker to the office. This created some consternation, as it was expected that a satellite tracker would be of launching pad proportions. However, he easily brought up not one but many trackers, in his brief case.

Mr. Holmes also determined, by scientific calculation, a new center of the United States, following the admission of Hawaii into the Union. He located it in northeastern Oregon. This was a personal disappointment to me, because the calculations of a member of my staff had indicated that the new center of the United States, following the admission of Alaska, was in the State of Montana, in Fritz Massar's pasture near the town of Circle. Nevertheless, I shall always entertain new evidence.

Mr. President, recently articles about Mr. Holmes and his invention, which was successfully used by schoolchildren, appeared in the Redwood City (Calif.) Tribune and the San Jose (Calif.) Mercury. I ask unanimous consent to have them printed in the Appendix of the Record.

There being no objection, the articles were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Redwood City (Calif.) Tribune, Nov. 12, 1959]

SATELLITE TRACKED BY PUPILS (By Louise Evans)

Nine excited eighth grade satellite trackers last Saturday predicted the moment of separation of the nose cone from the satelliterocket, Discoverer VII—and missed by only 2 minutes.

Time of separation was predicted by the youngsters, after careful calculations, as 3:26 p.m., Pacific standard time, Sunday, November 8, west of Hawaii, at 161 west longitude and 25°, 30 minutes north latitude, during the Discoverer's 17th orbit of the earth's poles.

Actually, Vandenburg authorities disclosed, the nose cone was scheduled to discharge at 3:28 p.m. Sunday, but a failure in the satellite's electrical system caused a malfunction.

Had the Vandenburg test been successful, the youngsters' calculations would have been only 2 minutes off.

Enthusiastic but nervous, they gave up their usual Saturday afternoon play activities to return to McKinley School for an hour and a quarter of arithmetic, utilizing the Holmes Satellite Tracker as the guide for their calculations.

After learning the firing time of the Discoverer from Vandenburg Air Force Base and the orbital time, the seven boys and two girls, all 12 and 13 years old, made their predictions. They used pencil, paper, and blackboard, plus the graphs and charts printed on another large sheet of paper, the Holmes Satellite Tracker.

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION CALLS NA-TIONAL NOTE TO SATELLITE TRACKER

SAN CARLOS.—The U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare has included the Holmes Satellite Tracker in its new Aviation Education Series, edited by Willis C. Brown, specialist for aviation education in Washington, D.C.

Decision to circulate the information about the tracker to all the school administrators and teachers in the country was made after the Holmes Satellite Tracker was selected at the First World Forum of Aerospace education leaders in association with the World Congress of Flight held at Las Vegas, Nev.

In a letter to Research Publications, Inc., publishers of the Holmes Satellite Tracker, Mr. Brown stated that, "Certainly all school administrators and teachers should know of this great teaching aid."

[From the San Jose Mercury, Oct. 22, 1959]
ASTRONOMER DEVELOPS CHARTS FOR EASY
SATELLITE TRACKING

San Carlos.—A small scientific publishing firm here has come out with a complete home tracking station for \$1.50 with which the man in the street can calculate the orbits of earth satellites.

The home tracker was developed by W. O. Holmes, an inventor, writer, and astronomer, who was perched in his private observatory in the ghost town of Dayton, Nev., when the Russians launched Sputnik I in October 1957. Celestial navigation was his specialty and he immediately went to work tracking the Soviet satellite and later, others launched from both sides of the Iron Curtain.

Holmes found that, using a few fairly simple charts, he could calculate where a satellite would be at any particular time once he knew its farthest distance from earth (apogee), its closest distance (perigee), and the time it needed to complete one orbit.

He developed these charts further and then conferred with several space scientists. Next, Research Publications, Inc., added some space art and the charts were ready for anyone interested in tracking the manmade moons.

George Bunton, manager of the Alex Morrison Planetarium in San Francisco, said it is possible to keep track of satellites by Holmes' method.

Other experts agreed, but pointed to the system's limitations. Joseph Brady, a missle expert at the University of California, said, for example, it was unlikely any such tracker could take atmospheric drag into account.

Using only the home tracker and maps, a 16-year-old boy was able to predict accurately the times when Discoverer V would pass over various cities of the world.

When the Air Force launched the satellite last August 13, George Kirchner, a student at Sequola High School in Redwood City, Calif., wrote down the perigee, apogee, and orbit time, which had been published in the newspapers.

Then he went to work with his home tracker and 2 hours later had drawn up a schedule of a dozen cities with the time the

satellite would pass over each.

George calculated that the Discoverer would be over Hawaii, where it was to drop its space capsule, on its 17th trip around the world, between 2:38 and 2:45 p.m., Friday afternoon. The time was actually 2:42 p.m.

According to Holmes, his tracking system can be used for any satellite, with any kind of orbit. All the user needs are the basic facts of perigee, apogee, and orbit time.

The tracker charts, maps, and instructions are printed on a large sheet of heavy paper about 2 feet by 4 feet. Holmes doesn't claim it can beat the big computers, but he does believe his charts will do the job.

America's First Radical

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. CLARENCE J. BROWN

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, May 9, 1960

Mr. BROWN of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the Record I include therein an oration delivered by a high school senior from my congressional district, Fred C. Hubbel, of Waynesville, Ohio, which won him first place in the oratory contest of the Ohio Society of the Sons of the American Revolution held recently in Cleveland. As first-prize winner in Ohio, Fred was awarded \$100 and the right to represent our State next month at the society's national contest in Memphis, Tenn.

I am sure the House of Representatives will join with me in congratulating this student on his excellent discourse on Thomas Paine, "America's First Radical," which is as follows:

AMERICA'S FIRST RADICAL

Preceding the Revolutionary War, we were thinking about independence from England, but many of the colonists were afraid to take such a radical step. If the American colonists were to overthrow English rule, how would they self their products? If they did declare their independence, there would be no turning back. George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, and Ben Franklin had thought and talked privately about American freedom but had never come right out and said so. However, our first free-speaking American, Thomas Paine, not only talked privately about freedom but shouted for it publicly. He, and he alone, united America for the first time against a common enemy, the mother country.

This situation may be compared to that of a chemical process where several elements are brought together to form a single compound. If all of the elements are present, they will not unite until a catalyst is added to them. The catalyst in America's fight for freedom was Thomas Paine. While Wash-

ington whispered for independence, Thomas Paine shouted for it.

Thomas Paine could be called our first radical. Many of the colonial leaders wanted to work out a compromise with England, to improve a bad situation, but not to break away completely. Thomas Paine wanted no part of this. He wanted complete inde-pendence or nothing. Paine had been brought up in England, and was a staymaker by trade. When he went to London in his early manhood, he met Ben Franklin. From him Paine probably got his first impression of America. When Paine came to America about 10 years after he met Franklin, Franklin gave Paine a letter of introduction to the editor of the Pennsylvania magazine. Here Paine published many of his articles. The Pennsylvania magazine was located in Philadelphia, the center for the movement of American independence. Here Paine wrote a pamphlet called "Common Sense." In his pamphlet he pointed out the In his pamphlet he pointed out the folly of a strong, self-reliant people who were taking order from a nation across the sea. This article brought the revolutionary impulses to a head and sent the colonists moving in the direction of independence.

George Washington said of "Common Sense." "I find Paine's 'Common Sense' is working a wonderful change in the minds of my men." Only now do we realize the full extent of Paine's influence and accept the fact that he kept the spirit of the Amer-

ican Revolution alive.

Our democratic process has kept us strong for 188 years, but are we now becoming a weaker nation? Will we fall from within instead of without? Are we a do-nothing nation, celebrating victories of former wars? Are the Sons of the American Revolution worthy of the ancestors through whose names membership is determined? Does the organization represent the same patriotic people who were willing to sacrifice and to fight for our idependence? Is the organization looking forward sanely and enthusiastically—but unselfishly—to the future? Are you helping prepare the young people for the future?

The American Revolution brought out the best in men for the best in a country. The colonists proved to England that men will fight and endure almost any hardship to secure freedom. No democratic practices or processes can work without the presence of one essential element—the sensitive, individual conscience. Many must be sensitive to his rights, his obligations, and his responsibilities if freedom is to work. Are the Sons of the American Revolution making sure that the American youth know their rights and obligations and that they shoulder responsibilities?

Our American youth, adults too, are too complacent. There are 43 seniors in my class. I asked my government teacher to ask them four questions: (1) Who were Ohio's two U.S. Senators? (2) Who was their U.S. Representative to Congress? (3) Who was their State Senator? (4) Who was their State Representative? Out of 43 seniors, 5 could answer all of these questions. Thirty-eight of tomorrow's voters didn't know who helped run our country. What's more, they didn't care.

A stanch nation is a religious nation. Are we losing our respect to God? Are we really and truly a Christian nation? When Sunday morning comes, are we in church giving thanks to God for this great and wonderful Nation? The patriots who founded our Nation were religious men. Are we following in their footsteps?

We can respect the past, but we must depend on the present as we look to the future. Two of our greatest living Americans today, as I see them, are Richard Nixon and Lyndon Johnson. Richard Nixon was the first American to stand up to Khrushchev and tell him what he thought. If he had

the guts to stand up to Mr. K., and walk through mobs in South America, he's the kind of man I want to lead our country, whether he be Republican or Democrat. RICHARD NIXON is the strength of America, the ordinary American who grows in stature and earns respect not because of his position but because of his ability and his dedication to his country.

tion to his country.

Thomas Paine was so patriotic that he pleaded that fellow Americans follow him and support his beliefs in order that Americans be freed from oppression. He never hinted that this would be easy. Like Thomas Paine, other Americans who care, Americans who are informed, Americans who are God fearing, who are patriotic and dedicated, Americans who dare to stand by their convictions, will recognize the times "that try their souls" and find a solution to the problems.

Future Rests on Continued Development of Young Minds

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. ALEXANDER WILEY

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, May 9, 1960

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, last week, May 1-7, the Nation observed Youth Fitness Week.

As President Eisenhower stated in proclaiming a special week:

The fitness of our young people is essential to the strength and progress of our Nation; we must always strive to improve the wellbeing of our youth by determined and coordinated efforts in their areas of learning, work, play, and matters of the spirit; and in this challenging world, fraught with peril on every side, it is imperative that our young people recognize their obligations to themselves, to their families, and to all of us, in order to prepare themselves for lives of satisfying and useful citizenship.

Currently, the Torch, a splendid publication of the Milwaukee Advertising Club, is presenting to its readers a review of articles on various aspects of community life essential to progress.

The April edition contains a useful, constructive article by Robert A. Kidera, entitled: "Your Milwaukee—Its Future Rests on Continued Development of Young Minds,"

Among the conclusions in the article are the following:

Even a cursory review of the schools serving the city of Milwaukee indicates that Milwaukee citizens have struggled for decades to give this community a truly outstanding school system—uniquely suited to the needs of this community.

The result over the years has been a rather articulate and well-informed citizenry which has contributed to a considerable extent, to the healthy state of political life in this community.

Citizens of Milwaukee have long recognized that the future growth and development of their city depends upon the education of their young people—upon the minds of the young—and they have built a tremendous school system as evidence of this belief.

Reflecting creative efforts to provide educational and other opportunities for youth, I ask unanimous consent to have this article printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

YOUR MILWAUKEE-ITS FUTURE RESTS ON CONTINUED DEVELOPMENT OF YOUNG MINDS

(By Robert A. Kidera)

Even a cursory review of the schools serving the city of Milwaukee indicates that Milwaukee citizens have struggled for decades to give this community a truly outstanding school system-uniquely suited to the needs of this community.

The result over the years has been a rather articulate and well-informed citizenry which has contributed to a considerable extent, to the healthy state of political life in this community.

Citizens of Milwaukee have long recognized that the future growth and development of their city depends upon the education of their young people-upon the minds of the young-and they have built a tremendous school system as evidence of this belief.

When analysts and researchers attempt to evaluate the assets of a city such as Milwaukee, they usually talk in terms of its geographic location, its power supply, its transportation facilities, its trained labor supply and other similar tangible physical factors, Seldom do they add in one of its most important assetts—the minds of its young people.

Presumably the task of evaluating the intellectual capacities of a city's youth is just too difficult for the scientific researchers and so they omit it, giving the impression that they consider it of little importance.

But if the analysts appear to overlook the importance of the minds of the young people, citizens of Milwaukee certainly don't. And it didn't take the threat of the Russian Communists and their beeping sputniks to spur the citizens of Milwaukee into this awareness.

The citizens of Milwaukee have exhibited a deep interest in the minds of their youth and the education of these young people. Even a cursory review of the schools serving the city of Milwaukee indicates that Milwaukee citizens have struggled for decades to give this community a truly outstanding school system, uniquely suited to the needs of this community.

Today more than 180,000 young people are enrolled in Milwaukee schools ranging from kindergartens for 5-year-olds to graduate schools for Ph. D candidates.

On the elementary level, the Milwaukee city school board operates 122 schools with an enrollment last fall of 69,158. Milwaukee is also served by 76 Catholic and 19 Lutheran schools with an enrollment of parochial 40,523 and 3,850, respectively.

On the secondary level, Milwaukee is served by 48 junior and senior high schools, of which 28 are public schools, 14 Catholic, 3 Lutheran, and 3 nonsectarian private in-The public schools enroll 33,262 stitutions. students, while the private schools serve 12.570.

In the technical area, three institutions dominate. These are the Milwaukee Institute of Techology, which is operated in con-junction with the Milwaukee Vocational and Adult School; the Milwaukee School of Engineering, a private institution which offers wide training for technicians and engineers; and the Layton School of Art, perhaps the outstanding institution of its kind in the State.

On the college and university level, almost 20,000 students, are regularly enrolled. The University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, with an enrollment last semester of 5,362, offers a 4-year degree program in most fields of the liberal arts.

Of the six private Milwaukee institutions of higher learning, one, Milwaukee Downer, is nonsectarian and offers a quality education for young women with emphasis on the

humanities and social sciences. Its present enrollment is 178.

Concordia College, located on the west side of the city, is operated by the Missouri synod of the Lutheran Church and offers a liberal training for 174 young men.

Three Catholic colleges for women offer liberal education with specialties in music, education, home economics and art. They are Mount Mary College, 1,062 students. verno College, 979 students; and Cardinal Stritch College, 352 students.

Marquette University with its 11 separate schools and colleges-including a graduate school offering doctorate degrees-enrolls 10,746 students-almost 60 percent of all the regularly enrolled students attending college Milwaukee.

The tremendous amount of learning which takes place daily in the minds of these 180,-000 young people represents the single most important asset to this community-and it continues to grow and compound year after year to provide this community with the knowledges, skills, and wisdom needed if Milwaukee is to meet the complex challenges of the future.

Like all Americans-in fact, like free peo ples throughout the world-Milwaukee citizens are being faced with increasingly complicated problems concerning their safety, welfare, and happiness in a world gripped in death struggle between contradictory ideologies backed by military might. But in addition to these general problems Milwau-kee has many unique problems of its own.

The problems of urban living, its industrial specialization, its human problems of providing better health, recreational, and cultural services, its adjustment to its new role as a world port and international trade center-all these provide a unique challenge to the Milwaukee of the future and to its citizens of the future.

Fortunately, the minds which must wrestle with these problems in quest of a solution are now being educated in one of the Nation's outstanding school systems, truly unique in that it is especially adapted to the cultural, economic, and pluralistic nature of this city.

Basically, the Milwaukee school system is distinctive and unique in four ways:

provided the First. Opportunities are young people of the community for study in virtually every profession and technical field. While continuing to live in his Milwaukee home and avoiding the cost of living away from home, the Milwaukee youngster can select from hundreds of vocations, ranging from the simplest trade to the most complicated profession.

All the engineering and manufacturing fields are covered; all the health service fields are represented; teacher training. business education, and artistic skills are also available. Generally speaking, only pharmacy and architecture are the main areas of specialization required by the city which are not provided for in the Milwaukee area.

Second. The quality of education is the highest. Its elementary schools have pio-neered in special teacher benefits insuring a superior teaching staff; special sections are provided for special problems-such as the blind, the hard of hearing, and various other physically or mentally handicapped. instance, 8 special teachers are employed for teaching the blind and 21 teachers for instructing the hard of hearing. The test-ing and counseling programs of the Milwaukee system have also been the models for many other cities.)

Especially in the college and university area, emphasis has been on quality rather than quantity. This is reflected in the national reputation of many of these schools and their ability to attract to Milwaukee many outstanding students, many of whom then elect to make Milwaukee their perma-

Third. The Milwaukee school system includes a wide variety of different types of schools, many with distinctive emphasis or orientation, reflecting the pluralistic nature of the community.

Milwaukee's large Catholic and Lutheran populations have established many schools aimed at serving the needs and wishes of the parents and students who seek a type of education which the city or State schools in our democratic society cannot provide. Catholic parents and students support 76 elementary schools, 14 high schools, 3 colleges, and 1 university. Lutheran parents in Milwaukee support 19 elementary schools, 3 high schools, and 1 college.

In addition, several nonsectarian private high schools and one nonsectarian colege are provided for students seeking this type of education. On the elementary and sec-ondary level, more than 35 percent of all students attend these private schools, while on the college level more than 70 percent are enrolled in the private institutions.

This diversity of type of school representing in general the diversity of the population of the community, is an extremely healthy situation insuring the growth of all the religious, cultural, and ethnic groups which contribute to the thriving pluralism of our community. By encouraging parents to educate their children according to their own way of life, the Milwaukee school system makes a genuine contribution to our free and democratic society.

Fourth. The large number of private

schools on all levels means that the cost of maintaining this extensive school system is relatively light on the Milwaukee taxpayer. With almost 40 percent of all the students in the schools in Milwaukee attending nontax-supported institutions, the burden left to the regular tax-supported institutions is considerably reduced.

On the elementary and secondary level these privately operated institutions are being subsidized to a considerable extent by the various churches which operate them. On the college and university level, how the private institutions are self-sustaining for the most part-depending for their income upon student tuition and the philanthropy of the Milwaukee community.

One result of this has been the relatively low tax rate for citizens of the Milwaukee area for the support of the city and Stateoperated schools. Most industries have found it much more economical to contribute to the support of the private schools so that they may continue to provide for their share of the school population, rather than depend upon tax-supported institutions to provide for Milwaukee's educational needs.

There is still another large area of education not counted for. This is the adult of continuing education activities in this community. Almost all of the colleges and universities offer some type of evening part-time education. Some of these courses are almedat developing hobbies or special skills in the crafts, while others are meant to be a continuation of the formal education of the students enrolled. Perhaps it is the long winter season that has influenced Milwaukee's development into one of the Nation's leading continuing education centers.

Thousands of different courses are available in the evening, ranging from basket weaving to Aristotelian philosophy. The result over the years has been a rather articulate and well-informed citizenry which has contributed to a considerable extent, to the healthy state of political life in this community. These excellent opportunities for continuing education will also be available to the citizens of tomorrow.

In the spring of 1958, the Governor's Conference on Higher Education in Wisconsin held a 2-day session based on the theme, "Education: Key to Wisconsin's Future." Citizens of Milwaukee have long recognized that the future growth and development of their city depends upon the education of their young people—upon the minds of the young—and they have built a tremendous school system as evidence of this belief.

Secretary of the Interior Fred A. Seaton Outlines Dramatic Electric Power Gains Under Eisenhower Administration

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. PHIL WEAVER

OF NEBRASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Friday, May 6, 1960

Mr. WEAVER. Mr. Speaker, under permission to extend my remarks, I would like to call the attention of my colleagues to one of the most important policy statements made by the Eisenhower administration concerning the development of hydroelectric power in the United States. Secretary of the Interior Fred A. Seaton made this statement before the American Public Power Association at its annual convention here in Washington on Wednesday May

The speech was met of course by mixed reaction but on the whole most favorably. Afterward I heard many comments that this was the most forthright, hard-hitting statement of the administration's position on this vital subject in many years. In his speech, Mr. Seaton not only outlined the tremendous sains made in the orderly development of our natural resources under the Eisenhower administration, and more particularly under his own administration of the Department of Interior, but also pointed the way to a vital growing future in this area.

It is an honor and a real pleasure to present this speech to my colleagues. It follows:

The American Public Power Association represents a vital component of the electric power industry of the United States. For that, and other reasons, it is a great pleasure to participate in your program.

As Secretary of the Interior, by way of the Bureau of Reclamation, and the Southeastern, Southwestern, and Bonneville Power Administrations, I am myself directly involved in the great industry of which you are a part.

You and I have many interests in common. Most important of these, as servants of the American public, is our joint concern that this Nation always has sufficient electric power to meet its present and future needs.

In 78 years, electric power has moved from the status of just a new-fangled item of public curiosity to that of an absolute necessity.

Gone from use now, with only rare exceptions, are the gas lamp and kerosene lantern. In their place there is electricity, for use in lighting, for powering industry and the home, for making possible everything from the X-ray to our whole vast electronic system of communication. It affects our daily lives and even our national security in hundreds and thousands of different ways.

Today the annual electric energy requirements of the United States total more than 700 billion kilowatt-hours, almost double

that of 10 years ago. By 1980, this Nation likely will need over 2,100 billion kilowatthours each year—three times more than today. Even so, there is no doubt in my mind as to our ability to stay ahead of this increasing demand. Two factors, in particular, warrant that conclusion.

The first is the tremendous technological progress of the industry itself. Where Edison's original Pearl Street Sta-

tion in New York had 6 dynamos, each with the capability of lighting 800 incandescent lamps, today the Nation's largest generator is turning out enough energy to provide

electric power for a city of 500,000 people.

And even larger generators are being designed and constructed.

It took 10 pounds of coal to produce 1 kilowatt-hour in 1882; last year about nine-tenths of a pound did the same job. In 1940, 16 cubic feet of natural gas were required to produce a kilowatt-hour; in 1958, 1114 cubic feet.

Taken together, these facts represent solid reasons to foresee more efficient generation, higher transmission voltages, advances in plant design, and a whole host of other improvements to come. Encouraging, too, is the fact that technological advances are now coming at a faster rate than ever before in

your industry's history.

These achievements, coupled with the greater efficiency made possible by volume operations, have enabled you to meet an ever-increasing demand and at the same time reduce the cost of electricity. Thirty-four years ago the consumer paid just under 3 cents a kilowatt-hour. The average price today is a penny less. And I don't need to remind you that this was accomplished during a period when general living costs have skyrocketed.

Without question, your members have contributed materially to the operating practices and efficiencies which have brought these cost reductions about.

The second reason for my optimism that the United States will have enough electric power to meet its future needs is the record of accomplishment made by the several segments of the electric power industry during the past 7 years.

Less than a decade ago, you will recall, a serious power shortage existed in the Pacific Northwest. Mandatory curtailment of power consumption adversely affected the economic development of the area. Existing industry was seriously hampered, if not prevented from expanding. New industries were unable to locate in the region, simply because there was not enough available power. Most unfortunately, even important defense production was affected.

Such an intolerable situation demanded action—action which would put added kilowatts on the line rather than merely mouthing political promises of power sometime in an uncertain future.

You and I know there are no brownouts today. To the contrary, the Nation's power additions remain well ahead of predicted load growth.

Let's look at the record.

During the two decades from 1932 to 1952, additions to the net generating capacity of the United States were made at an average of 2.723,000 kilowatts per year. Over the last 7 years ending December 31, 1959, annual additions averaged in excess of 11 million kilowatts. In simple arithmetic, this represents a difference of 4 to 1.

Despite the fact that annual energy requirements almost doubled from 1952 to 1959, reserve capacity last year was more than four times what it had been in 1952.

Between June 30, 1953, and June 30, 1959, the United States added to its generating capacity 65 million kilowatts. That is the largest amount added in any 6-year period in this Nation's history. And it is 88 percent greater than the amount added in the last 6 years of the preceding administration.

The facts are that we have made a better record in every type of power: In Federal power, 10.4 million kilowatts to 5.6 million; in non-Federal power, 54.7 million to 28.9 million.

Within less than the short space of one decade, the United States has moved from a period of electricity shortage to one of plenty, and a firm foundation has been laid for expanding requirements in the future.

This accomplishment speaks for itself. The principal reason for the dramatic change is because the Eisenhower administration has created a climate for the development of water resources, including hydroelectric power, which has been favorable for a triple teamwork assault on the job.

In 1953 President Eisenhower freed our economy of stifling and needless controls. In the electric power field his action meant two very important things.

First, it abolished the futile and foolish Federal policy of preemption of all water power sites.

Second, it removed material controls which had made it difficult, to say the least, for your industry to design and obtain necessary equipment.

This administration believes that neither any area of Government nor of private industry has the exclusive right or responsibility for the construction of dams or the generation, transmission, and sale of hydroelectric energy.

We do believe that all licensed non-Federal development must be consistent with the overall requirements of wise and multi-purpose use of our natural resources. When non-Federal projects meet that test, why then should the Federal Government insist on preempting the site and prevent either private or public organizations from making their contribution in the electric power field?

In the public interest, privately owned utilities are strictly regulated, and they should be. Consumer-owned utilities are, of course, responsible to the people they serve.

As to whether electrical energy should be supplied by a consumer-owned or a private agency in any particular area, I firmly believe that is a decision for the people affected to determine.

For instance, in my State of Nebraska, the people have themselves determined that all power distribution shall be by public and consumer-owned agencies.

In the State of Kansas, where I grew up, much of the production and distribution of power is in the hands of private utilities.

Each State, and the areas and municipalities within it, made its own decision. What is wrong with that?

As the Secretary of the Interior, I shall continue to support the right of any State to make its own choice and, consistent with State laws, for the right of any locality to itself decide whether it wants public or private or Federal power. But I will not support the fallacious and dangerous proposition that the Federal Government has a public utility responsibility, the inevitable end result of the which could only be a Federal monopoly and a complete lack of local determination and control.

In the power field, as in all other areas, the proper function of the Federal Government is to do only that which must be done in the national interest and then only when non-Federal agencies cannot or will not do it.

With that principle firmly in mind, the Federal Government, by cooperative effort with other power services, is now setting an example in assuring the fullest possible utilization of the capabilities of all the elements in the power industry—public, private, and Federal. A long-standing example of this kind of cooperative effort is the Northwest Power Pool, pulled together largely by

means of the Bonneville Power Administration's backbone transmission grid.

Another possibility of this kind lies in the Missouri Basin. Last December, a group of consultants, led by former Senator Arthur V. Watkins, recommended to me that steps be taken to bring about the general coordination of all Missouri Basin power supplies by means of pooling, integration, and interchange arrangements utilizing the Bureau of Reclamation's backbone transmission grid.

I am hopeful that this grid can be the means of working out arrangements to make the best possible use of all available power

resources in this area.

I have read with much interest the article concerning the proposed upper Colorado storage project transmission system which appeared in your Public Power magazine for April 1960. The author states that the "biggest decision will be to determine who will build the backbone transmission system and to decide whether Arizona will be within the marketing area."

This past week the Bureau of Reclamation submitted to my staff for review recom-mendations upon which a decision as to the marketing area may be based. The Bureau also suggested basic data against which proposals for the construction of the transmission system may be weighed. Previously, the Department of the Interior had concurred with five basic principles which transmission system proposals must meet.
As of now, it seems highly unlikely that

any non-Federal organization will be able to provide a backbone transmission system which will meet the necessary principles, and particularly the requirements of the project itself.

In any event, let me assure you that these decisions will be made promptly and that both the spirit and letter of the preference

clause provisions of Federal law will be

ance.

The provisions of Federal law which provide preference be given to public agencies in the sale and distribution of power generated at Federal installations do not have

be spelled out to your association. You and I regard the preference clause as the hallmark of the power marketing policy of the Federal Government. And I am opposed to repealing it by legislative action or eroding it by administrative noncompli-

Here again, let us look at the record.

For example, Federal power sales to preference customers, for the fiscal year commencing July 1, 1959, totaled 37½ billion kilowatt-hours. Notwithstanding the fact that many public agencies throughout the United States materially increased their own generating capacity in the 7-year period, this is an increase of some 74 percent over 1952.

Furthermore, we have underway largest water resources program in history. For fiscal year 1961 alone, \$1.4 billion are programed. This fiscal year we are investing nearly \$1.3 billion in these programs. Thus, we have set an alltime record.

It would be shortsighted and extremely wasteful if hydropower were not added to Federal water control and conservation projects wherever economically feasible. fore, the Corps of Engineers and the Bureau of Reclamation have programed, for the years 1960 through 1965, the installation of hydrogeneration in excess of 41/2 million kilowatts.

All in all, the Eisenhower administration has already installed in Federal multipurpose projects generating units having a capacity of 5.7 million kilowatts.

In its 7 years, this administration has completed more than 7,000 circuit miles of transmission lines to transport power to market centers. This is almost one-third the circuit miles completed by Federal agencies in the

preceding half century.

Even more important to future prospects in the electric energy field, in my opinion, has been the stimulation we have given to consumer and privately owned non-Federal agencies for the development of hydroelectric

During the 7-year period 1952-59, applications for non-Federal power projects having an aggregate capacity of more than 33 million kilowatts were filed with the Federal Power Commission. This is an amount far greater than ever applied for in any comparable

previous period.

Outstanding projects being undertaken by consumer and private non-Federal entities, which have been licensed or for which applications have been pending, include the New York State Power Authority's Niagara project of over 2 million kilowatts-the largest single project of its kind in the country. Included also are the joint Ontario Province-New York State Power Authority's St. Lawrence project of 940,000 kilowatts; the private Coosa River project of about 420,000 kilowatts; and several projects, both consumer and private, in California and in the Pacific Northwest, totaling about 7 million kilowatts.

Non-Federal agencies are now able to act on their own initiative, always subject, of course, to proper licensing procedures. Each of you in your association can now plan your development program without having to beg someone in Washington for permission to do that which, in your judgment, is in the best interest of the public in your community.

Surely, most of us will agree that the strength of America, in large part, lies in the massive diffusion of power, of knowledge, of skills, and of initiative going down to the very roots of our economic and social

If the day ever comes when any group, private or Federal, can monopolize control of the electric power field in this Nation, that day your segment of the industry at best will begin its decline. In the long run, it will lose its identity altogether.

In spite of all forces to the contrary, I am confident that your organization, following the traditions of this great Republic, will insist on preserving your role in power de-velopment for the future.

Comparison of Federal Grants-in-Aid With Federal Taxes

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. HUGH SCOTT

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Monday, May 9, 1960

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "Our Own Money," which was published in the Philadelphia Inquirer of April 13, 1960.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

OUR OWN MONEY

Uncle Sam treats his children, the States, with free-handed generosity. To Pennsylvania, for instance, he gave in fiscal 1959, in grants-in-aid, the impressive sum of \$489,-158.000.

This was received here with rejoicing. We Pennsylvanians did not look at the adjoining column in the accounts which showed how much our taxpayers chipped in to make this liberality possible. Federal taxes levied on Pennsylvanians totaled in the same pe-

riod \$5,392,798,000.
You don't get something for nothing. even if you live in Mississippi, which paid in only \$193,120,000 and got back \$175,-

115.000.

The difference between our gifts from Uncle Sam and what we paid to get them went, of course, to support national defense, foreign ald, interest on the debt, and a horde of Federal employees. But our grants-in-aid come out of our own money; we pay for them through the nose. It would be a mistake to regard them as velvet. When we ask for more we might well reflect on which of our pockets it is to be taken from.

The Legacy of the South

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JAMES C. DAVIS

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, May 9, 1960

Mr. DAVIS of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, on Confederate Memorial Day, April 26. a distinguished Georgian delivered an eloquent address at memorial exercises in Augusta, Ga. The speaker was Hon. William M. Lester, a prominent attorney of Augusta, who has served with great distinction in both houses of the Georgia General Assembly.

In his able address Mr. Lester presented views on several important current questions. There are, of course, varied opinions regarding some of the views stated. However, they are thought provoking and well worth reading. Pursuant to unanimous consent previously granted, I insert Mr. Lester's address herewith:

THE LEGACY OF THE SOUTH-HEREIN LIES OUR STRENGTH

I deeply appreciate your invitation to address you today. I deem it a great privilege to be with you and to have a part in this

The armies of the Confederate States were disbanded almost a century ago. The period since that time has been not only an important and extraordinary one for people of the South, but for the entire world. A number of wars and other events have attracted our attention during this time, but the period of 1860 to 1865 is still the most important in the history of world, because of the valor, loyalty, endur-ance, and sacrifice of the men and women of the South during the 4 years of the War Between the States.

The battle scenes which the heroes of the South have painted, the memories of heroism, fortitude, and courage of our Confederate veterans, the more than Spartan inspiration of the women of the South, and the principles for which the South fought will dignify for all time the annals of the civilized world. We of the South will always cherish their recollections, and are justly proud of being descended from such men and women. We have, therefore, come today to this sacred place to stand again with uncovered heads beside the silent mounds, and above the sacred dust of our soldiers, who laid down their lives for us in war's grim struggle, and to commen-orate the great deeds of the men who wore the grav.

All of our soldiers have now answered the last rollcall. We have come today to their camping ground to beautify the white stones with flowers so that the world may know of our love. We rejoice in the spirit that guards so tenderly their memory, loves even their dust, and strips our homes of their rarest flowers to scatter on their graves.

WOMEN MADE GREATER SACRIFICE

It is not only of the Confederate soldier that we think on this day. There were many whose sex forbade them to offer their lives, but who gave instead their happiness. The women of the South sent their husbands and sons to fight, and if need be, die for the rights of the States as provided by our forefathers. When the sad messages came that darkened their homes forever, they pressed their lips more tightly together and went forth to fight life's battle alone. It was woman's soft hand that cooled the fevered brow of our soldiers; it was woman's sweet voice that spake comfort and hope to the dying, and we will never be able to repay the debt that we owe them.

We are also grateful to the women of the Memorial Association, the United Daughters of the Confederacy, and other patriotic organizations for preserving the history of the War Between the States. Through you a fallen cause has been glorified. The world would have never known how nobly our forefathers fought and died if you had not kept their memory in tender reverence. The tragedy of the Confederacy must not be forsotten. We are depending upon you seeing that the unborn generations hear the story

of our southern heroes.

Stirred by the inspiration of this hour, memory sweeps back the years. We are not here, though, to draw into notice the deeds of our heroes, because they are known to every man, woman, and child of the South. The record of the armies of our Confederate States has like a meteor streamed upward and onward in an unbroken track of light in spite of opposition from the northern People. Stonewall Jackson's fame is known to all the world today. Lee is recognized as the greatest and most stainless of earthly commanders. It will not be possible for me to mention the names of all the leaders of our armies, but the world treasures no names more worthy than those of our officers.

The volunteer soldiers of our armies have received the highest praise. The private soldier did not have the promise of military glory. They endured hunger, though, thirst, weary marches, faced death on the battlefield, bared their breast to lead and steel, for the rights of the South. They were inspired by duty, patriotism, love for the South, and in the book of the chronicles of the brave it is recorded that they were a hero's heart within.

LOSS SUFFERED BY SOUTH

Te heroism of the men and women of the South did not stop when the armies were disbanded. When the men in grey returned home in 1865, the South was prostrate, exhausted, and drained of its material resources. It had lost one-tenth of its population, \$31/2 billion of its wealth, and an effort was being made by an Army which occupied its territory to destroy its social order. Its loss was so great that the South did not regain its per capita wealth of 1860 until the beginning of the 20th century. Our soldiers did not give up in despair, but accepted the bitter award of the bloody arbitration. It is due to the fidelity of the men and women of that period, and their sons and daughters which followed them, that our social order and southern customs Were maintained.

The blackest spot in the history of the world is the period following the War Between the States, the period characterized by carpetbagger and Negro rule in the South. Although living in fear and despondency,

our forefathers waged and consummated a victory against the most overwhelming odds that ever confronted a defeated people. Their success was due to their willingness to make sacrifices, commit resources, incur risk for the common good, and to remain united in the cause for which they had fought without any thought of compromise. This is our legacy. It is a priceless birthright which should be deeply felt, deeply valued and more adequately expressed than I am capable of doing.

LEGACY BEQUEATHED

This legacy has given us the South. A land that has known sorrow; a land scarred and riven by the plowshares of war and billowed with the graves of her dead, but a land of legend, a land of song, a land of hallowed and heroic memories. It came into existence during the Missouri Compromise debates in the U.S. Senate. The rising storm of jealousy and hate preceding the War Between the States made us a nation on February 4, 1861, when delegates from six of the lower South met in a convention at Montgomery, Ala., and formed the Confederate States.

Our forefathers lived under this government for 4 years. Many of them gave their lives for it. All gave of their wealth to support and maintain it. They were compelled to yield to overwhelming numbers and resources in 1865, but were never conquered or subjugated. An embittered North attempted to do this for 10 years after the war, but failed in 1876 when our forefathers drove the carpetbaggers from the South.

The War Between the States and the Reconstruction period which followed made the South. It was an experience which had never happened to anyone else in the world. We were made one in our political and cultural ties. Many writers have attempted to describe the South and its people. In "The Swallow Barn," Kennedy pictured the popular conception of the South as one great plantation, "open as an inn and as rich as a castle." This tradition reached its full flower in the 1850's under South Carolina's Gilmore Simms. The romantic conception of the South survived the War Between the States.

None of the writers, though, from Nelson to Caldwell have given a true picture of the South. Prof. Norman Foerster described the South in the University of North Carolina Press as "a land of varied forest and varied contour from mountain to sea, a land of exceptional natural beauty, inhabited by a people who impresses one at once with their different voices and different accent."

The South of today, as suggested by Workman in his "Case for the South." is a family closer united than any of the other regions by ties of blood, belief and behavior which distinguish us from other sections of our country. A major portion of this common bond stems from a heritage which might be termed Anglo-Saxon or Celtic-Teutonic, as we never had the successive waves of immigrants from southern Europe and other foreign lands that swept into the North and West to dilute their customs and traditions. We are a paradoxical and individualistic people, yet friendly and hospitable which is our greatest attraction.

We are a land also inhabited by two races living separately. We are the only States of the Union that are a part of it by force of its armies. Further distinctions could be made, but these are sufficient to show that we are different as to our customs, institutions, and ways of life.

STRUGGLE FOR SURVIVAL

Many changes have come to the South and to the Nation during the past century. During this period we have had three calamitous wars with revolutionary consequences, a technological transformation, migration of peoples, the growth of great cities, impor-

tant cultural and educational developments.
We have shared in all of these changes,
but have at the same time maintained our

southern institutions, customs and way of life. This has brought about a continued relentless effort from the rest of the world to force us to modify these peculiar customs and institutions.

In view of the recent school and transportation decisions of the U.S. Supreme Court and the threat of discriminatory and punitive legislation by Congress, we are faced with a crisis in the South. In fact we are facing a great test in a struggle for survival of the South.

Some of our people have an idea that a change in our southern institutions and customs are inevitable. I am sure this idea does not exist in this State or in the other States of the South which were a part of the Confederate States. Our southern institutions and customs are a part of the Union. It began before the organization of the Union, and grew to fruition under the Federal Government, with the North and West each having a peculiar trait. The expanse of our country is so great that the high regions of the North have scarcely thrown off their icy mantle, when the southern planter is preparing to discontinue the cultivation of his cotton. While the morning sun tips our eastern hills, the valley of the West reposes in midnight darkness. Our different customs and institutions are due to this vast territory and is authentic American, and as such is entitled to the protection of the Federal Government. This protection can be obtained under the Federal Constitution.

As we look back to 1860, we find many important issues were facing our forefathers. They were complicated, and the deeper implications were not clear. These issues were largely political. They were mostly concerned with the existence in America of the institution of human slavery. In the cotton States of the Deep South this institution was a going concern, immensely profitable to a small but powerful group. In prior years slavery had existed in all of our States and was recognized by our Constitution when adopted.

In the Southern States, as time went on,

In the Southern States, as time went on, slaves became more numerous. This was due to the difference in climate, soil, and industrial development, and not in any degree to moral consideration. There was no real unanimity of feeling about it anywhere. The question of slave and free States became, though, a political football which forced the South to leave the Union.

Going back a century in our history, we find in the spring of 1860 that the people were preparing for a presidential election just as you and I are preparing for a presidential election. The Democratic Party had met in Charleston, S.C., for the purpose of nominating a candidate for President. The convention, after convening on April 23, became involved in a fearful difference between the northern and southern wings for party control. The attempt to find a compromise platform or candidate failed. The one party which could claim to be truly national divided into sectional groups. The northern section nominated Stephen Douglas, of Illinois, and the southern group named John C. Breckinridge, of Kentucky.

The Republicans, a purely northern party, took advantage of this division and concentrated on finding a candidate who could win the election. Abraham Lincoln was, of course, nominated and elected, by a minority vote. South Carolina seceded from the Union on December 20, and the inevitable conflict between the North and South followed. The essential sovereignty of our States was destroyed in our defeat at Appomattox and under the amendments to the Constitution which were passed by an embittered North during the Reconstruction period. Our interest once represented by

our States must now be protected as a section. We have common needs, common hopes common fears, and common dangers, In the future we must act as a section and speak with our votes as a solid South. The strength of our States lies in a solid South.

There are many lessons to be learned from the War Between the States for us and the rest of the country. Our first lesson should be that our forefathers left us a legacy of southern institutions and customs which differ from the rest of the world. In the coming struggle we must be prepared to tell the world of the advantages of our civilization and be unafraid to defend it. The world must understand, as well as the South, that our institutions and customs follow God's design for mankind.

He made all of us after His image, but each one different from every other one. Even no two humans ever born have exactly the same fingerprints. Differences in individuals extend to their physical, mental, and moral characteristics.

If we have faith in God, we must realize that He had a purpose in designing us so that no person is like any other person. Each person is a distinct individual who should be free to find his place in the scheme of things as determined by his own Godgiven abilities and as a result of his own freedom of choice.

Variation among human beings has allowed one person to procure more than another, with resulting differences in material possessions. Any effort to equalize the social and economic status of all individuals by the coercive force of government is a contradiction of Nature's laws.

No one in the South is opposed to any individual having the equal right to the development of their personality, so far as may be compatible with the common good. This is proven by the opportunities we have given the colored people, for an education and for economic development.

Our two races can be compared to the key-board of a plane with its white and black You can play a tune of sorts on the white keys and you can play a tune of sorts on the black keys, but for harmony you must use both black and white. Our institutions and customs are built upon this foundation. and our future depends upon the world recognizing this harmony. Our customs and institutions are certainly of no concern of Russia or other nations of the world. The claim that Russia and other countries of the world are interested in our problems of race relations has been distorted by demagogs of the North and West. Our race problem is sectional and cannot be made an international question.

MUST REMAIN IN DEMOCRATIC PARTY

The lesson that we should begin with. though, and remember forever is that we must never again leave the Democratic Party as we did in 1860. Our leaving the Democratic Party then brought on the War Between the States. The division in the Democratic Party elected Lincoln President. After becoming President, he disregarded the recognized rights of the South to withdraw from the Union, cast aside the Constitution and made war on the South before convening Congress. If the South had remained in the Democratic Party, someone else would have been elected President, and the war would have been avoided. The South would never have gone to war over slavery. It would have been abolished within a few years with the industrialization of the South.

A southern militant group must be organized and maintained in the Democratic Party. but we of the South cannot join any other party. Failure to do this can have but one result. Under a two party system in the South, our people will be divided into two groups. In such a situation the colored minority could and would determine who won. In this way they would control the local and State governments of the South. We experienced this situation during the Reconstruction period and know the waste and corruption of such a government.

We may release our presidential electors from any obligation to vote for the party nominee, abolish our primary system, nominate candidates in local and State conventions, and do whatever else is necessary to control our elections. We must be united throughout the South in one party, and at this time the only party for us is the party of our forefathers.

SEPARATE PUBLIC SCHOOLS

The important lesson for the South, though, is that we must maintain our separate public school system for each race, as established by our forefathers following the Reconstruction period. We must recognize that education is not mere learning or even discipline, but a force that molds the character and customs of the Southland.

In the emotional excitement of the Supreme Court's decision in May 1954, we have overlooked that an effort was made to operate integrated schools in the South during the Reconstruction period when the carpetbagger governments were supported by troops, but they were unsuccessful. Although 6 years have passed since the Supreme Court's decision, we still have separate schools for the races in most of our Southern States. They can continue even though further far-reaching decisions have been made by the Supreme Court of the United States, if we continue an uncomprosing united front.

Pupil placement laws mean a compromise. Private schools will not give us the educational system required for the continual ad-vancement of the South. The responsibility is upon the general assembly or legislatures of the various States to maintain adequate State supported separate schools for both This can be done through the appropriation act and fiscal policies of the State. It cannot be done, however, by appropriating money to the State department of education or the board of regents. The appropriation must be made direct to the school on an annual basis, and made after the enrollment is determined each year. Wherever integra-tion appears as a problem, the appropriation to that school could be eliminated and the children placed in other schools, or given grants in sufficient amount which will enable them to attend private schools. The appropriation act could even be used to eliminate couress, grades, or departments whenever such action was necessary to continue the school or college on a segregated basis.

Time will not permit a discussion of the details of this plan, but the procedure will be within the constitutional rights of our States and would minimize the inconvenience to our people. The rights of the South were obtained during the Reconstruction period through acts of the legislatures of the various States. Our forefathers have given us the way to protect our southern way of life and our southern institutions through our State legislature under the constitutional rights which they have.

CONCLUSION

Our forefathers were dedicated to the preservation of our southern customs and institutions. They held fast to this purpose through the years. There was frustration and agony in the war and during the Re-construction period. They won in the end. Our fields became fertile farms, hamlets grew into industrial cities, and we are today a part of a Federal Government of 50 States.

Our security lies in the legacy left us by our forefathers. It lies in our willingness to make sacrifices, commit resources, and incur risk for the common good, as our forefathers did. We have been given a birth-

right of freedom and the heritage of a goodly land. We must keep, hold, cherish and preserve this legacy for generations unborn.

Franklin D. Roosevelt told the Nation in 1936 that "There is a mysterious cycle in human affairs. To some generations much is given. Of other generations much is ex-We have been given a great legacy. The light of a grander day appears on the horizon. Through this legacy and the selfreliant efforts of the men and women of this generation and the generations to follow, we will master the weapons of an industrial civilization and keep in step with the spirit of the 20th century, without sacrificing our southern political and social instincts of our institutions and customs. There will always be a South. Herein lies our strength.

Polish Constitution Day

SPEECH

HON. ALVIN M. BENTLEY

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, May 3, 1960

Mr. BENTLEY. Mr. Speaker, it is a great privilege to join many of my colleagues who have called attention to the fact that last Tuesday, May 3, marked the 169th anniversary of Poland's Constitution Day. This is indeed a great day for all peoples of Polish origin as well as for the many other friends of Poland who are desirous of assisting the Polish people in their efforts to regain their

liberty and independence.

It was most fitting and timely that Postmaster General Arthur E. Summerfield saw fit to announce that the "champion of liberty" postage stamp in commemoration of the 100th anniversary of the birth of Ignace Jan Paderewski will be issued sometime during the fall of 1960. I was equally happy to join many of my colleagues on both sides of the aisle in pointing out to the Postmaster General the numerous historical facts and qualities of Mr. Paderewski and in urging that appropriate recognition be given to this eminent statesman and patriot who was a true champion of liberty for his native country of Poland and the Western European nations. It was gratifying to know that the Postmaster General confirmed our admiration for Mr. Paderewski as a worldknown personality in the field of music and for his service to the Western World in the struggle for freedom and independence of all mankind. Both the memory of Ignace Jan Paderewski and our deep regard for Poland and its brave people have been amply shown by this significant commemoration. It should also be pointed out that 1960 marks the 150th anniversary of the birth of another great son of Poland, Frederic Chopin.

In calling attention to this memorable day in Polish history, it is indeed inspiring to learn that the next half-dozen years will serve to prepare the appropriate celebrations to be held in 1966 on the millennial adoption by the Polish Nation of the Christian religion. The faith of the Polish people in our common Christian heritage has served to support this brave nation throughout her long and troublesome history and, I am convinced, will again serve to bolster the fires of freedom in the hearts of the Polish people until that day comes when they may again know true liberty and independence.

Captain Robert E. Roeder U.S. Army Reserve Center Dedicated at Schuylkill Haven, Pa.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. IVOR D. FENTON

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 9, 1960

Mr. FENTON. Mr. Speaker, the Captain Robert E. Roeder U.S. Army Reserve Center was formally dedicated on April 30, 1960, at Schuylkill Haven, Pa., and I had the privilege of attending the very impressive ceremonies.

This fine \$200,000 center will stand as a monument to Capt. Robert E. Roeder, of Summit Station, who gave his life for his country in the defense of Mount Battaglia, Italy, in 1944. He was one of Schuylkill County's four Congressional Medal of Honor winners.

Mr. Speaker, I would like to state at this point that down through the wars Schuylkill County has had 12 Congressional Medal of Honor winners, a record probably unsurpassed by any other part of the Nation.

It was indeed very fitting that one of America's alltime great heroes, Gen. Matthew B. Ridgway, came to Schuylkill County as the principal speaker at the dedication ceremonies. General Ridgway paid high tribute to Captain Roeder and other heroes of our Nation in his dedicatory address.

A memorial plaque which will be permanently placed in the lobby of the Reserve Center was unveiled by Captain Roeder's mother, Mrs. Cora M. Roeder, and Maj. Gen. Ralph C. Cooper, commanding general, Headquarters, 21st U.S. Army Corps Reserve, Indiantown Gap Military Reservation.

Also participating in the unveiling were M. Sgt. Charles Roeder, his wife Gloria, and their son Robert, who was named for his uncle. Sergeant Roeder, a brother of the Medal of Honor winner, is a member of the 365th Engineer Battalion, Headquarters Company, one of the three units which train at the new center.

The inscription on the plaque is:

In memory of Capt. Robert E. Roeder, U.S. Army, who made the supreme sacrifice, World War II.

Much of the success for the dedication program can be attributed to the dedication committee, headed by Attorney John Lewis and ably assisted by John Bamford, John Schimmel, Hon. Mark Bast, Russell Farley, Maj. Russell Yoder, U.S. Army Reserve, and Elwood Bodenhorn. Capt. Charles Buchanan, senior

united adviser for the units that train at the center, assisted as military adviser.

The formal dedication program opened with the Reverend Lee F. Adams, First Methodist Church, Schuylkill Haven, delivering the invocation.

The special guests and general public were welcomed to the new center by Capt. Charles Buchanan.

Col. James T. L. Schwenk, Schuylkill Haven's native son and West Point graduate, was the master of ceremonies. He is now assigned to the office of the

Joint Chiefs of Staff in Washington.
Following the introduction of civilian and military guests, General Cooper and Mrs. Roeder unveiled the plaque dedicating the center to Captain Roeder.

The Honorable Mark H. Bast, chief burgess of Schuylkill Haven, accepted the center for the community.

Following General Ridgway's address, the program closed with the benediction by the Reverend William J. Powers, St. Ambrose Church, Schuylkill Haven.

Musical selections for the dedication and open house were provided by the 324th U.S. Army Band from Aberdeen Proving Ground, Md., Pottsville's 3d Brigade Band, and Cressona Town Band.

Civilian and military guests introduced by Colonel Schwenk included myself, the Honorable John P. McCord, who represented Senator Hugh Scott: Col. Frank McCartney, Pennsylvania State Police commissioner; the Honorable G. E. Gangloff, president judge of the Schuylkill County Orphans' Court; State Representatives George Heffner and William Knecht; Mayor Michael Close, of Pottsville; Col. Sidney Brown, Jr., western Pennsylvania sector commander, 21st U.S. Army Reserve Corps; and Lt. Col. Robert G. Logan, deputy sector commander, the two officers who accompanied General Ridgway from Pittsburgh; and Lt. Col. Lester Derr, commander of the 365th Engineer Battalion with headquarters located at the Roeder

At this time Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to place in the Record the wonderful and impressive speech delivered by General Ridgway, as follows:

Mrs. Roeder, members of the Roeder family, members of the Army of the United States, and citizens of this community, we are here for a purpose which is both a high honor and a cherished duty.

The most appropriate way by which I believe we can fulfill that purpose, is to begin by reading the citation for the Congressional Medal of Honor, posthumously awarded to the splendid citizen-soldier of this community whose name this Reserve center is to bear.

"Roeder, Robert E., captain, Company G, 350th Infantry, 88th Infantry Division. Mount Battaglia, Italy, 27-28 September 1944. G.O. Mo. 31, 17 April 1945. Citation: For conspicuous gallantry and intrepidity at risk of life above and beyond the call of duty. Captain Roeder commanded his company in defense of the strategic Mount Battaglia. Shortly after the company had occupied the hill, the Germans launched the first of a series of determined counterattacks to regain this dominating height. Completely exposed to ceaseless enemy artillery and small-arms fire, Captain Roeder constantly circulated among his men, encouraging them and directing their defense against the persistent

enemy. During the sixth counterattack, the enemy, but using flamethrowers and taking advantage of the fog, succeeded in overrun-ning the position. Captain Roeder led his men in a flerce battle at close quarters, to repulse the attack with heavy losses to the Germans. The following morning, while the company was engaged in repulsing an enemy counterattack in force, Captain Roeder was seriously wounded and rendered unconscious by shell fragments. He was carried to the company command post, where he regained consciousness. Refusing medical treatment, he insisted on rejoining his men. Although in a weakened condition, Captain Roeder dragged himself to the door of the command post and, picking up a rifle, braced himself in a sitting position. He began firing his weapon, shouted words of encouragement, and issued orders to his men. He personally killed two Germans before he himself was killed instantly by an exploding shell. Through Captain Roeders able and intrepid leadership his men held Mount Battaglia against the aggressive and fanatical enemy attempts to retake this important and strategic height. His valorous performance is exemplary of the fighting spirit of the Army of the United States."

As we here today give play to our imagination, we recognize the significance of the many things the recital of this one man's actions represent. They include courage of the highest order, above and beyond the call of duty; love of country; dedication to the ideals and principles on which this country was built and by which it has been brought to greatness; awareness of the privilege, not the obligation, of military service. His actions exemplify many other of those intangible values which, as we each grow older, we come to see are the most tangible things in life.

Let me try, in simple language befitting the utter simplicity and dignity of Captain Roeder's heroic example, to relate these values to us and our problems of today.

Life to him must have been just as precious as to any of us. In his young and vigorous manhood he must have truly loved life. And because there is no true love without a deep inner willingness to sacrifice, if necessary, he stood ready, as his actions so amply proved, to sacrifice all that he had—his life.

He did not do this, we can be sure, in bravado. He did not respond to the challenge he faced in any accidental or impulsive manner unrelated to his upbringing. What he did and how he did it on that climactic day of his young life was the culminating fulfillment of all the training here received from childhood. Family, church, school, community, and his circle of friends had through the years and each, in its own way, contributed something virile and fine to the spirit which that day fiamed within him. Each exerted an influence. Each was a separate source of strength, which, when his ordeal came, merged into a mighty stream that raised him to the heights.

A scant few miles from here are other shrines ennobled in earlier days by other Americans, predecessors of Captain Roeder. They came of many stocks, of differing creeds, of varying environments and cultures, men from other lands besides our own. In Independence Hall these earlier Americans hammered out our first bonds of nationhood. At Valley Forge they, and other lovers of freedom from overseas, gave it life. At Gettysburg they fought and died to preserve our Union, the Union brought to life by our Constitution, which the wisdom of their forebears had created.

It is cleaning to look back, as these recollections lead us to do. It is sobering and humbling to perceive, as these memories so forcefully compel us to perceive, the incalculable debt we owe to those who conferred upon these honored shrines the enduring

fame they have and deserve.

And it is not just to those giants of physical, intellectual or spiritual stature, the leading figures in these accomplishments, to whom homage is due, but also to the countless other men and women, who in humbler circumstances and unknown to fame, yet made their indispensable contributions, bit by bit, to the attainment of our national goal.

need to recall these things. urgently need to look backward. For without a clear picture of the lessons of the past there is little chance of intelligently looking forward, of wisely applying those lessons to the immense problems of the great historical era we have only recently entered.

Most Americans have known only liberty and freedom. In our fortunate geographic detachment and material abundance, many are prone to regard these priceless possessions as a birthright forever ours, and beyond the reach of forces ceaselessly seeking to despoil

us for these treasures.

Many seem at times unmindful of the tremendous forces currently in movement among the peoples of this earth, and of the vital importance to us of understanding the origins of these forces, of perceiving the directions in which they are moving, of resolutely continuing to give of our spiritual as well as our material riches to encourage the good and to curtail the evil contained in these great world forces.

We should by now have learned, in many bitter lessons, that the continued possession of liberty depends as never before upon the characters of men and women individually, upon the spiritual strength of the groups into which they associate themselves, of the authorities they select to govern them, and of the international agencies they voluntarily form in their own collective interests.

Yet, neither material resources, nor scientific knowledge, nor managerial ability, nor industrial techniques will of themselves maintain our freedom. The simple basic qualities of courage, integrity, and steadfast perservance because of an abiding faith, alone offer the means whereby these other great assets can be employed to insure our future liberties.

Other peoples in the world have held liberty briefly, and through circumstances, in some cases beyond their control, have lost it, and for periods of yet undermined dura-

If we are to remain free, we may well ask ourselves, what is demanded of us?

First. I believe we should see with unmistakable clarity the lessons which Captain Roeder and the people who bred him, back through many generations, have written by their own sacrifices.

Then we should recognize that the preservation and the extension of liberty is, by God's law, a continuous struggle by freedom lovers in every generation. We must see that military service to our country and kin is not an obligation imposed by government, but a privilege freely acknowledged by our inner selves; not a routine chore to be avoided if possible, or to be sloughed off as a distasteful legal duty and as quickly as possible, but a responsibility of mature citigens resolved that their country, their government, their institutions, and their kin shall remain forever free. Finally should-we must-agree on what our Nation's goal is to be.

What is that goal? To me the answer is clear.

Freedom is our goal-the goal for which we strive-the goal for which any sacrifice that God may demand should be gladly made.

Today that goal is as difficult of attainment as ever it has been on this earth. The path by which it can be reached is studded as never before with obstacles which only strength of spirit, and willingness to sacrifice, and persevering courage can conquer. We confront a deadly, implacable, and openly avowed enemy overseas, and a scarcely less deadly, insidious, and conspiratorial foe within our borders. International commu-nism is the external enemy, ceaselessly seek-ing world domination, and wherever it gains control, extinguishing freedom. Selfishness, or materialism, with its evil companion complacency, is the inner foe-a silent partner communism. abetting

The challenge is here today staring each of us in the face, as it stared Captain Roeder in the face; as it confronted the men in Constitution Hall, the men on the icy ridges of Valley Forge, the men who faced the hail of fire at Gettysburg, and countless men and women in other crises before and since. Will the challenge be met? That is the question. and the question is to us and to our country.

So the answer must come from us: from the heart of each man, woman, and child who, as Captain Roeder did, really loves this country and what it stands for, who really loves freedom under God, and is willing gladly to fight for it.

Freedom and Self-Determination of Captive Peoples

SPEECH

HON. ALVIN M. BENTLEY

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, May 2, 1960

Mr. BENTLEY. Mr. Speaker, I am happy to join my colleague from Wisconsin in supporting House Resolution 633, since I was the author of similar legislation, House Resolution 623.

I am very happy that the House of Representatives has gone on record as urging the President to bring up the question of the freedom and self-determination of the captive peoples at the forthcoming summit conference. Of course, I am well aware that on previous occasions the Russian leaders have refused to discuss this matter, alleging that it would constitute intervention in the internal affairs of those states. However, since it is my understanding that there is as yet no fixed agenda for the summit conference, and since there may very well be topics which Mr. Khrushchev is anxious to bring up for discussion, I feel that President Eisenhower should be fortified with this expression of intent on the part of the Congress, in the event it becomes feasible to place this item before the conference itself.

Unhappily, the free world has been unable to take little concrete or positive action on behalf of the captive peoples except to protest in the strongest terms against their continued enslavement. Even if the question of their captivity is broached by the President and even if it is again summarily rejected by Mr. Khrushchev, it would nevertheless serve two important purposes. In the first place, it would help to strengthen the hope of the captive peoples themselves

and would further show them that we and indeed the entire free world still believe in freedom, justice, and self-de-termination for them as for all other peoples of the world. In the second place, its expected rejection by the Soviet leader would serve again to point with clarity to the fact that the chains that bind them are linked directly with the Kremlin in spite of any Communist propaganda that may be heard to the contrary.

I certainly hope that the Senate will take similar speedy action on this resolution so that it may be in the President's hands as he proceeds on his important mission to the summit meeting in Paris.

Twilight of the FPC

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JOHN D. DINGELL

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, May 9, 1960

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, the sad and sorrowful history of the regulatory activities of the Federal Power Commission for the past few years has become a national disgrace.

There is strong evidence of conduct . which raises the inference of indifference to responsibility, complete lack of judgment, or corrupt activities on the part of members of the Federal Power Commission. The best things which may be said of most of the membership of this highly questionable Commission is that they lack good judgment. There are, however, many who feel considerably more strongly about the recent conduct of some of the members.

However, worse things than this may be said about the Commission with entire respect for the truth, and that is that the Commission has become a repository for papers and has resolutely refused to regulate the instrumentalities it was created to control.

The backlog of independent producer cases, pipeline cases, and the record of appeals stand out as sordid examples of improper reluctance to carry out appointed duties.

In the midst of this pathetic performance one man has stood out as representative not only of the consumer but of the people of the United States and that is Commissioner William R. Connole.

I herewith insert into the RECORD an editorial appearing in the St. Louis, Mo., Post-Dispatch of April 28, 1960, setting forth sound newspaper opinion on this subject:

[From the St. Louis Post-Dispatch, Apr. 28, 1960]

TWILIGHT OF THE FPC

President Eisenhower's weak explanation of his decision to scrap the only strong member of the Federal Power Commission, and charges by Congressmen that the Commission has stalled for 6 years on the Supreme Court decision directing it to regulate natural gas prices at the wellhead, bring that regulatory agency to a new low.

"I think I can get a better man, that's all," Mr. Elsenhower's only stated justification for not reappointing William R. Connole, is not really an explanation at all. Nor can he expect Congress or the public to accept his unsubstantiated judgment in regulatory matters as he has done in the military, on grounds that he knows more about it than anyone else. In what way would the new appointee be better than Mr. Connole, and what makes the President think so?

Surely President Elsenhower knows, what is as old as the history of the regulatory agencies, that the scarcest commodity on those commissions is courage. The easiest thing is to succumb to the temptation to follow the lead of the private agencies one is supposed to regulate, for they hold in their hands favors and the prospects of advancement. Yet one man on a commission who is dedicated to the public interest can sometimes put starch in the spines of two or three others who would never stand up without it.

If Mr. Elsenhower is aware of these vital intangibles in the regulatory function, how can he ignore the corollary that letting go a man with courage will be interpreted in all the regulatory agencies to mean that it is safer to be supine than it is to stand up and attract notice?

If the President has a case against his own appointee, he should state it. It will have to be a good one to counter the storm of protest that is blowing up in Mr. Connole's support. The mayors of more than 60 large cities, through the U.S. Mayors Committee on Natural Gas Legislation, have now urged the President to reappoint Connole as the only FPC member who has "held out for effective regulation" of the natural gas industry. Members of regulatory commissions in six New England States had already urged the President to reappoint their Connecticut colleague as "the most preeminently qualified person in New England in the field of regulation."

In view of the trouble brewing over FPC's nonenforcement of natural gas price regulation, the commission not only sadly needs Mr. Connole but several more of his caliber. Representatives Yarrs, of Illinois, and Vanik, of Ohio, accuse FPC of not even having worked out a formula for natural gas regulation after 6 years, much less putting regulation into effect as the Court determined it was its duty to do. How far is the decay of the regulatory function to be allowed to proceed before it is halted by a demand for courage, and by the reward of courage with reappointment?

Ike Speaks Out on the Farm Problem

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. GEORGE S. McGOVERN

OF SOUTH DAKOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, May 5, 1960

Mr. McGOVERN. Mr. Speaker, in view of President Eisenhower's repeated use of the veto to block farm legislation bassed by the Congress, there has been considerable speculation of late as to what type of farm bill Congress could bass that would be acceptable to the President. Trying to clarify the situation, a newsman directed a question to the President at a recent press conference as to his attitude on farm legislation. The President's answer as re-

ported by Columnist Peter Edson was as follows:

Now, if there were any kind of reasonable plan that connected with other features of the thing they could bring something about that seemed reasonable and fair to the farmers, well, I would be glad to look at it and, because as I say, if it looks reasonable to me, I will approve it because I am just to this point—I know that we are in a bad fix, the farmers are, and I have had correspondence recently with some of my farmer friends because, individuals, to get statistics.

Mr. Speaker, I trust that this clarion call from the White House will inspire the Congress to be a little more reasonable about farm legislation.

Birmingham City Commissioners Sue New York Times and Harrison Salisbury

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. GEORGE HUDDLESTON, JR.

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 21, 1960

Mr. HUDDLESTON. Mr. Speaker, many citizens throughout the Nation are aware that the New York Times recently published two articles, written by Mr. Harrison Salisbury, which purported to be an accurate account of the political and racial situation in Birmingham, Ala., the city which, as part of my district, I am proud to represent. These articles were not, as I have previously attempted to demonstrate to my colleagues in the Congress and to all fairminded Americans, by any means accurate but were, to the contrary, a combination of gross exaggeration and pure fiction which served to defame the reputation of a decent community and its elected officials.

Though retractions have been demanded of the Times, none have been forthcoming. Thus, because of the serious nature of the charges made in these scurrilous articles, the commissioners of the city of Birmingham, who were especially pictured in a bad and totally false light, have felt constrained to bring suit against the New York Times and Reporter Salisbury.

I am inserting in the Record, under leave heretofore granted, a copy of the complaint filed by Hon. Eugene Connor, a member of the Birmingham City Commission, against the Times and Mr. Salisbury, and a copy of a statement Commissioner Connor made at the time the suit was filed. Similar suits have been filed by Hon. James W. Morgan, mayor of Birmingham and a member of the city commission, and by Hon. J. T. Waggoner, also a city commissioner.

The material referred to follows:

"(In the U.S. District Court for the Northern District of Alabama, southern division; Civil Action No. —: Eugene Connor, Plaintiff, v. the New York Times Co., a corporation, and Harrison E. Salisbury, Defendants.)

"COMPLAINT

"1. The jurisdiction of this court in this cause is founded on diversity of citizenship and amount in controversy.

"2. The plaintiff is a resident citizen of the State of Alabama.

"3. The defendant Harrison E. Salisbury is a resident citizen of the State of New York. The defendant the New York Times Co. is a corporation organized under the laws of the State of New York and is a resident-citizen of that State, with its principal office and place of business in the city of New York, in the State of New York.

"4. The matter in controversy exceeds,

"4. The matter in controversy exceeds, exclusive of interest and costs, the sum of \$10,000.

"5. The plaintiff, who is a commissioner and a member of the City Commission of the City of Birmingham, Ala., the governing body of said city, claims of the defendants the sum of \$500,000 as damages, for that they published, or caused to be published, in a daily newspaper known as the New York Times, on April 12, 1960, with intent to defame the plaintiff, falsely and maliciously, an article entitled 'Fear and Hatred Grip Birmingham,' a true and correct copy of which article is attached hereto, marked 'Exhibit A' and incorporated herein by reference.

"6. Plaintiff further avers that more than 5 days before the commencement of this action the plaintiff made written demand upon the defendants for a public retraction of the charge or matter published in said article, and that the defendants, and each of them, falled or refused to publish a full and fair retraction of the aforesaid charge or matter in as prominent and public a place or manner as that occupied by the charge or matter published in said article.

"7. Plaintiff avers that the said article of

"7. Plaintiff avers that the said article of April 12, 1960, subjected the plaintiff to public contempt, ridicule, shame and disgrace, and caused plaintiff to be embarrassed, damaged his reputation, personally and as a public official, and injured and damaged the plintiff in his office, profession, trade, calling or business, in that it falsely charged, falsely inferred or falsely insinuated, among others, the following separate and several matters with respect to plaintiff as an individual and as a commissioner of the city of Birmingham, viz:

"(a) That he was derelict in his duty as a

public official, as aforesaid.

"(b) That he encouraged or condoned racial hatred.

"(c) That he encouraged or condoned religious intolerance.

"(d) That he encouraged or condoned violence against members of the Negro race in the city of Birmingham, Ala., of which city he was at the time a commissioner.

"(e) That he encouraged or condoned the supplanting of law and order with fear, force, and violence in the city of Birmingham, Ala. at a time when he was a commissioner of said city.

"(f) That he conducted a campaign for public office on a platform of race hate.

"(g) That, as a member of the City Commission of the City of Birmingham, aforesaid, he approved or supported an alleged custom of mistreating persons charged with vagrancy by not permitting them to make ball and by holding them incommunicado for 3 days.

"(h) That he was guilty of malfeasance in discharging the duties imposed upon him as a commissioner of the city of Birmingham, aforesaid.

"(i) That he ignored the law and supported or aided in enacting ordinances inconsistent with law.

"(j) That he encouraged or condoned the support of racism by the police of said city at the time he was a commissioner thereof.

"(k) That he was guilty of, engaged in, or condoned oppression of the Negro race.

"(1) That he was guilty of, engaged in, or condoned oppression of persons charged with vagrancy.

"(m) That he encouraged or condoned violence or mob action.

"(n) That he encouraged or condoned the tapping of telephone lines.

"(o) That he encouraged or condoned the interception of mail.

"Wherefore, the plaintiff brings this action and demands judgment against the defendants, as actual and punitive damages, in the sum of \$500,000 and costs."

JAMES E. SIMPSON, WILLIAM L. CLARK, JAMES A. SIMPSON, Attorneys for Plaintiff.

Lange, Simpson, Robinson & Somerville, of counsel.

Address of attorneys and counsel for plaintiff: 317 North 20th Street, Birmingham, Ala

Jury demand: Plaintiff demands a trial by jury of the above case.

JAMES E. SIMPSON, Of Counsel for Plaintiff.

STATEMENT OF COMMISSIONER EUGENE CONNOR OF THE CITY OF BIRMINGHAM

Mayor Morgan, Mr. Waggoner, and I have given the New York Times ample opportunity to correct its incredible article.

We each wrote the paper, as well as the author, Mr. Salisbury, pointing out its vices and asking them to correct it. They have not only refused to do this, but have callously repeated it in part and reaffirmed it in whole.

Although our State courts are among the fairest in the Nation, we are taking this case directly to the U.S. courts. This is to forestall the cry of local prejudice if they go star the try of hence whipped of justice as they should.
We are rejuctant to file this suit. We have We are reluctant to file this suit. done everything we could to avoid it. There is a limit beyond which men, however averse to controversy, cannot be pushed and retain their self-respect.

This gross article and the cold disdain with which our protests have since been treated leave us no recourse but an American court

For a National Task, a National Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. LEE METCALF

OF MONTANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 26, 1960

Mr. METCALF. Mr. Speaker, the distinguished junior Senator from New Jersey [Mr. WILLIAMS], chairman of the Senate Subcommittee on Migratory Labor, recently addressed the Western Interstate Conference on Migratory Labor sponsored by the Council of State Governments and the American Public Health Association.

Hearings are currently being held before the General Education Subcommittee of the House Education and Labor Committee under the chairmanship of the gentleman from West Virginia [Mr. BAILEY] on measures to improve the educational opportunity for migrant children and adults. Members of the Congress will find the address of Senator WILLIAMS informative, factual, and persuasive in consideration of legislation to provide for a greater measure of human dignity to these unfortunate victims of our unbalanced agricultural economy.

Senator WILLIAMS' address follows:

FOR A NATIONAL TASK, A NATIONAL PROGRAM (Address by Senator Harrison A. WILLIAMS, Jr., at the Western Interstate Conference on Migratory Labor, April 10, 1960)

To be here today is more than an honor. It is an opportunity to meet the men and women with an interest in, and responsibility for, dealing with migrant problems in an area covered by almost one-fourth of the

States of our Nation.

For the chairman of a Senate subcommittee which is less than 1 year old, today's conference is an excellent way to receive the benefit of your years of experience; we can find ways in which your jobs and mine mesh on the question of migratory workers and those who use the services of those workers.

Men and governments do effective work when there is a goal in sight, and when they are working toward that goal and not away from it. We are here today, I think, to make that common goal a little clearer, a little closer.

We are here to speak up. First to each other; and then to every person who can be persuaded that he, too, has a part to play in remembering the "forgotten people," those "lonely wanderers on the face of our land."

And to do that we should offer a national program for a national task-one that will put all our resources to work: citizens' interest, State programs, Federal agencies, Congress, and the many organizations which have done so much already.

There is no one Federal program, or group of Federal programs, that will end the prob-lems affecting the migrants, the growers, and the citizens whose lives are affected in one way or another by the migrant.

From what the subcommittee has already learned, it is clear that individual states can do only part of the job. We know also that private citizens and organizations however energetic and sympathetic their workers are, look to their legislators and government administrators. Therefore, we must draw up a balance sheet of responsibility and action.

On one side of the sheet should go the details of the job that must be done. On the other side should go a listing of the forces that we can put to work to fight the many poblems which you and the subcommittee know about and some which we may not, even yet, know about.

When we have this fundamental tool-this worksheet for progress-then we will have a new perspective and a new impetus. The tob is hig enough for all, but not so hig that we can afford duplication of effort or no effort at all in areas which might be neglected if we concentrate on only a few of the more glaring inadequacies.

And we must remember, I think, that we are dealing with a sick industry. American agriculture is the marvel of the world; even the Soviet Union is willing to admit that our Nation can outdo theirs at least in this one segment of our economy. Yet American agriculture is the cause of the single most perplexing domestic problem facing us. The migrants and the growers are caught up in this malaise; no diagnosis of their problems can be separated from the stark fact that most agricultural income is going down, and that we as a Nation really don't yet have a good program at work to keep that income from going down even more.

If, therefore, we overlook farm problems and try to make the grower the villain of the migrant worker drama we shall have jettisoned a basic source of essential understanding and knowledge.

There are no villains and no heroes in the drama. But there should be, and there is, national concern. We must put that concern to work, and that is one reason we are here today in 1960-a clear-cut case of East meet-

ing West and liking it very much indeed.

And, it seems to me, 1960 is a good year for action. We're at the start of a new decade. Like the man who makes New Year's resolutions, we feel a need for freshness and change. We could not believe it, if someone were to tell us, that the sixties could pass with little or no progress on the problems to be described here in the next 2 days. The fact is, however, that someone has to work hard to make certain that progress is made, and we are part of that force of "someones" who must do the work.

This first year of the sixtles is a year of anniversaries. It is the silver jubilee of the great social legislation enacted under the leadership of Franklin D. Roosevelt. Twentyfive years have passed since Congress enacted laws to reduce the suffering and distresses caused by unemployment.

Americans watched in 1935, too, as Congress passed the Wagner Act. Here was another historic cornerstone in the structure of laws that express the conscience of our citizens, and their faith in Democratic pro-

The thirties brought us social security. Federal minimum wage legislation, and other bills based on the premise that no man's comfort or profit can be based, even partially, on another man's suffering or exploitation.

All this happened decades ago.

And so, in this great year of 1960, when we are assured that we Americans are living in a happy state of peace and prosperity, when an alltime record of 64 million employed Americans has been established, and when many Americans apparently really believe that this is the best of all possible years in the best of all possible worlds, it certainly behooves us to give special thought to the more than 1 million migrants who help bring food to our tables and fiber for our garments.

They-the migrant workers-could look with some bitterness on another anniversary which could be observed this year. It was just 21 years ago that John Steinbeck wrote the "Grapes of Wrath."

His Dust Bowl is now green; "Okies" are people of the past. But the open road and the shack by that road are still with us. Children are still dying in the 1960's, in highway tragedies and isolated outbreaks of avoidable illness and they are dying intellectually, too. They are dying in terms of limitations upon their lives—in education. in progress from one generation to the next, in their outlook and belief in the improvability of themselves or the children who will follow them. We have waste, and we cannot afford waste. It takes too great a toll of national conscience and national strength.

Suffering persists among the migrants who have taken to the road since World War II. County health officers shake their heads as they tell the subcommittee about the ditch used for drinking water or the child who knows no cleanliness. Teachers tell us how they make a little education go far, but they also tell us how much farther they have to go. Growers are not proud about much of the housing they offer, but they don't know how they can provide more. Migrant man and wife count their money at the end of a season and find that their earnings are only in the hundreds of dollars.

As for the future, there is little reason to think of it because the present is so hard.

Who are these migrants? What do they do for our Nation?

A 1959 series of articles in the Washington Post and Times Herald on the migratory worker in Maryland starts off with these

"Tally McNeil lives in a dingy, one-room shack on the eastern shore with his pregnant wife, five children and his worries.

"They share three cots, a two-burner stove and a gnawing uncertainty over where the next dollar will come from.

'In the last 2 days I ain't picked more than \$2 worth of tomatoes, said Tally, head hunched between his husky shoulders. "That don't buy us much."

"When the harvest is good, a migrant picks until his knees are sore and his back aches. In a bad season, there is the specter of empty stomachs for himself and his family.

"This summer the shore has been hit by a devastating combination of drought and heavy rain. Because of the weather, there has been only half the usual crop of tomatoes, cucumbers, beans, and peppers.

'Nevertheless, Tally McNeil, his parents, five brothers, and two sisters will be back from Pompano, Fla., next year to gamble again with nature, just as they have for the

last 11 years."

Our subcommittee's early studies indicate that almost half a million persons are in our domestic migrant forces: the Texas-Americans, the southern Negroes, the Puerto Ricans, the American Indians, and others.

Among the foreign migrants we have ap-Proximately 400,000 Mexican braceros and 12,000 British West Indians. Smaller numbers of Canadians and Japanese have worked in the fields.

If we were to add the wives and young-Sters who travel but who do not work with the men we would have to add hundreds of thousands more to the number of persons Who live the migrant way of life in this Nation.

All in all, there are at least 22 of our States which depend on a skilled or semiskilled labor force ranging from 6,000 to 205,000 persons to harvest their perishable fruits and vegetables. And their skills must often be Quite varied.

A president of a large New Jersey farm, has said that; "I think, actually, that the average farm laborer requires a great deal more skill and a much wider range of skill than the average industrial laborer does. Conditions on a farm are such that the job content changes constantly. You can't break a farm job down into series of repetitive, easily supervised operations like you can a factory job. I'm an engineer; I've run quite a few factories and I've run quite a few farms. I've never seen an honest job evaluation yet that didn't come to the conclusion that the farm job ought to be paid more than the factory job."

In Arizona, the migrant might work on citrus and cotton. In California, on peaches, huts, cotton, and strawberries; in Colorado, sugar beets and cherries; in Connecticut, tobacco; in Georgia, appropriately enough, On peaches. Idaho: potatoes; Illinois: peas; and so the story goes. Each State has, with some exceptions produced the crops most Adaptable to its soil and climatic conditions.

As Prof. Daniel H. Pollitt, of the Uni-versity of North Carolina, has said in a study

Prepared for our subcommittee:

These crops enrich our diet and our level of living. The sale of these crops brings Important revenues to the States; the average cumulative payroll of the migrants is substantial. If for no other reason than this economic one, the welfare of the mi-grant is worthy of investigation and improvement."

Of course, you here today are interested in more than economics. The very sponsorship of this conference, and the variety of Government agencies represented in audience, indicate how widespread these interests are.

The idea for the conference goes back to the September 1959 meeting of the Western Governors' Conference which adopted a resolution calling for a regional conference On the migratory labor problems facing the States. In furtherence of that resolution, the sponsors of this conference in Phoenixthe Council of State Governments and the American Public Health Association-have planned and devised the excellent 3-day program we are initiating here tonight.

WORK OF THE SUBCOMMITTEE

Already I've referred to the Senate subcommittee a few times. Let me tell you a little more about it and then discuss the part the subcommittee could play in the national program I discussed earlier.

The subcommittee was created last August. Two Senators from the West-James E. Mur-RAY, of Montana, and BARRY GOLDWATER, of this State-are among the members. others are JENNINGS RANDOLPH, of West Virgina, and JACOB K. JAVITS, of New York.

At its very inception the subcommittee had before it three bills which had been under consideration by the full Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare.

One, S. 1778, would require registration of crew leaders to protect workers and growers against the occasional unscrupulous labor contractor-the man who makes work arrangements between farmer and migrant. Another, S. 2141, would extend child labor provisions to migrant youngsters. Two very fine western Senators, Murray, of Montana, and Yarborough, of Texas, are among the cosponsors. S. 1085 would bring the migrant workers under minimum wage protection.

As soon as I was named chairman, I introduced another crew registration bill. had more detailed standard by which activities of crew leaders could be measured, whereas the earlier bill leaves a large discretionary area to be handled through regulations by the Department of Labor.

We began hearings in Washington last summer. The Department of Labor sent witnesses, and so did the Department of Agriculture. Even though, as you well know, there are differences of opinion between these two Departments, their witnesses did try to give constructive testimony. I am disappointed, however, about the failure of the Department of Labor to follow up the testimony with additional statements about specific legislation. Except for the crew leader bills, which they approve, the Department of Labor and the Department of Agriculture have thus far taken no position on the pending bills. Perhaps after the Departments have resolved their family feud, they will come forward with meaningful help and concrete legislative recommendations.

In October the subcommittee went to Wisconsin, Michigan, and Minnesota. We went out into the fields and had our first look at some housing that was fairly good and other housing that was unbelievably-shall I say

primitive? That's a polite word.

In New Jersey, in December, we found that bad housing is not limited to any one State or group of States. We also visited New York and Pennsylvania, and our witnesses included everyone from Eleanor Roosevelt to three crew leaders who send their workers in buses every morning from the streets of Philadelphia to fields 20 and 30 miles away.

To bring you up to date, we thought a few weeks ago that the subcommittee would spend 4 days on field trips and hearings in the vegetable belt of Florida. The roundthe-clock debate of a few weeks ago-known in some quarters as a filibuster—has forced us to postpone that trip.

As things stand now we may soon have another round of Washington hearings; after that we hope to reschedule the Florida hearings and also conduct a California hearing in middle or late July.

As a result of our early journeys, I intro-duced three bills in January. In some ways these bills—two on education and one on housing for migrants—are the essential foundation for other legislation, and I'd like to discuss them briefly.

Incidentally, I'd like to take a moment to thank any of you who may have been at

the White House Conference on Children and Youth last week. A forum at that conference endorsed the housing and education bills in principle, as well as other proposals now before the subcommittee.

KEY PROBLEMS: HOUSING AND EDUCATION

The White House Forum paid particular attention to education for migrants, and so will I.

One of the bills I introduced on January 20 would, in very brief terms, do these things:

1. The Federal Government would help bear the additional cost of educating these children during regular school sessions. Funds would be provided to pay 75 percent of the State's cost of educating the child for each day of attendance. The Federal share of 75 percent would be maintained for the first 2 years; thereafter, the Federal share would be 50 percent of the cost.

2. Another section of the bill would help communities pay the extra expense of educating migrant youngsters in special summer sessions: \$300,000 in grants would be available annually for this purpose over a 5-year period. Institutions of higher education programs would be eligible to sponsor a summer school under this part of the program.

3. Two hundred and fifty-thousand dollars annually, for 5 years, would be earmarked for State planning grants to encourage in-terstate cooperation and fact-gathering on educational programs. In other words, if Arizona has a good program, Idaho, and New Jersey need to know about it.

Not only would this program encourage fact-gathering; it would encourage fact-trading. Our hearings and field trips have convinced me that this could be a very valuable program.

All three programs proposed in this first education bill would, when added together,

cost only about \$2 million a year,

In terms of missiles or farm surplus storage costs, this is not much money. In terms of positive good to a large number of citizens, it is an impressive sum. Only youngsters of domestic migrant workers would participate in this program. Braceros live bachelor lives, I'm told, and do not have their children with them.

Youngsters aren't the only ones who would benefit from better education. Adult migrants can profit also.

The second bill I introduced on January 20 is the direct result of talks I have had with growers, public health officials, and others

Perhaps the strongest and most justifiable complaint expressed by growers again and again is the one which I'll paraphrase like

"Well, I've done a lot of things to improve the welfare of migrants on my farm. I've built them new housing, put in toilet facilitles, new showers, cooking facilities, nice new bedding, plenty of garbage cans. what happens? They mark up the walls, kick holes in the window screens, stop up the tollets, pull the knobs off the showers and stoves, tear the blankets, and tip over the garbage cans."

The farmer has a right to his hurt feelings and his resentment; often he has stretched his thin profits a little thinner so that he could build better quarters. Sometimes the migrant for whom the facilities were built, however, didn't even know what the facilities were for.

The root problem here is a lack of education in fundamentals of modern living. And it is to this problem that the second bill is directed. It would authorize \$250,000 annually for 5 years for a program of practical education for the workers themselves, and it would follow the path so successfully blazed by the Cooperative Extension Service, which now combines the efforts of some 11.000 county extension workers and 1.2 million voluntary local leaders to provide information about home economics and agricultural methods to more than 12 million persons.

You know, when you talk about education, you sometimes have a feeling of which came

first, the chicken or the egg.

If children receive proper education, won't child labor legislation be more effective? Or is it the other way-if a child does not have a school to go to, what does it benefit him to be forced from the fields. The same question arises about minimum wages. Unless adults are given some instruction in the benefits of good, healthful living, won't he lose some of the advantages that extra dollars in his pockets could give him?

In Fredericksburg, Va., last month I spoke before a group of church women. Though they were genteel, they had a hard-bitten appreciation of migrant problems—the kind of understanding possible only to those who have actually seen the migrants in their home camps. Their biggest response of the home camps. day came when I described the education bills; they seemed to believe that schooling

is the big first step forward.

Let me say here, too, that educational opportunities have been seized upon by mi-grants wherever they have been offered, to judge by what we have seen or heard about so far. The usual experience is that a summer school has more students each year; and the children look forward to the school session as one of enjoyable parts of their journeys to other States.

There was, for instance, a report we received at our hearings in Michigan. A superintendent of schools told about a 5-week demonstration summer school there.

read one paragraph:

"I have never found a nicer group of children to work with. For the most part they were smart children, eager to learn, appreclative, and loved books. Somewhere they have either learned good work habits in school or are just that eager to learn * * * many were constantly reading or looking at books. From their conversation it was very evident that they were happy with the opportunity to go to such a school and also to be able to ride to and from school in the

One of the little girls who went to a Michigan summer school wrote back to her teacher friends in Michigan. She said, among other

"Just a few lines to say that I am missing you a lot. I have started school already but I don't like it as much as I liked that school over there. My teacher over here is Mrs. Price and every day she buys a can of candy from Laura, a girl that I know for \$8, but you didn't buy us any but you are still the goodest teacher I have had and you will be. Well, I guess that's all for now. By-by, hope you get to come over here where it's warm. Your friend and yours truly, "MARY ANN CASTILLEJA."

Mary Ann still has to brush up a little on her grammar, but I think her enthusiasm for education is just about perfect.

You here today know about many of the State schools established to promote migrant education: the \$50,000 pilot plant in Oregon, Ohio's \$175,000 reimbursement program to school districts, action in New York and in New Jersey. I think that you must be interested in the 3-year study of special educational problems underway in Colorado, with the help of the U.S. Office of Education, Texas and Wisconsin are trying to find a good way to determine the educational needs of each child in the home district of that child and then transmitting that information to another State. Wisconsin could thus, for example, be in a position to give the child the educational program he should have when he arrives.

These and other efforts point up the need all the more, I think, for coordination, exchange of information, and encouragement from Federal levels down to the local school

board level. It would be shameful, in this day of massive emphasis on educational improvement, if we were to permit this educational lag to continue among large numbers of these migrant youth. We do know that the lag is there; one study, for example, estimates that more than 50 percent of 100,000 school-age migrants are from 1 to 4 years behind in school by the time they reach the age of 14.

THE HOUSING BILLS

Encouraging as the educational interest is, it is only part of the picture. We need good housing, too, but who is to provide it? many growers the migrant is a temporary visitor, and the grower frequently believes that the investment in housing should be kept to a minimum, often a very bare mini-The subcommittee has seen shacks mum. that have been made almost livable by the migrantsin one wooden frame hut not too far from Princeton University, a woman was happy when we met her because her husband had just nailed an orange crate to the wall, thus giving her a new shelf.

And the subcommittee has also seen fairly good buildings which have been almost wrecked within one growing season-another good illustration. I believe, of the need for the education bill I mentioned earlier.

Growers, of course, are at a disadvantage when they try to finance housing for migrants. Lenders generally don't regard such housing as good mortgage security; the farmer might discover that he would have to mortgage his entire farm to provide shelter for his temporary visitors—and it would take many arguments to persuade him that this is a wise thing to do.

To help deal with the housing question I introduced a bill on January 27. The first section would authorize the Secretary of Agriculture to insure loans up to \$35 million a year for migrant homes. Another section of the bill would authorize direct loans to farmers associations, and State or county governments.

The direct loans could be used for nonprofit housing of migrants and they would come from a \$25 million revolving fund to be established by congressional appropria-

The bill is intended to help the farmersand we have seen them-who try to provide good housing despite slim profit margins and no assurance that the competition will pro-

vide equally good housing.

We have inspected, for example, camps in which central dining areas were provided, in which rooms were painted in attractive colors, and in which sanitary facilities were new, well-maintained, and adequate. grower told us that his model camp is a source of pride to him. And he gave one practical reason for being so proud. He said that his camp helps attract a steady supply of skilled workers to his farm each year, thus cutting down his turnover rate and replacement costs.

Other growers have found that improved educational apportunities have the same effect—workers want to come back year after year because they have found something they want. Sometimes that something is a feeling of growing self-respect and self-understanding.

Housing is a subject of such importance and complexity that I feel the subcommittee must give it intensive attention. What can be done, for instance, about the migrant who actually owns his own small plot of land? He lives in his makeshift quarters there and goes into the surrounding countryside to harvest crops. You delegates from Califor-I understand, are fully aware of this problem and will probably agree that it is worth an entire study in itself.

OTHER BILLS BEFORE THE SUBCOMMITTEE

Earlier I briefly described the other bills before the subcommittee. Each one has its own part to play in any national program on migratory workers.

Take the minimum wage, for instance. This is a very difficult legislative field, be-cause in devising such legislation I think we must give great weight to the fact that the piece-rate system of payment, in many instances, is prized more dearly by the worker than by the employer. In addition, fringe benefits of certain kinds should be into account. It is also desirable that such legislation produce an opportunity for orderly adjustment of the wide regional variation in farmworker wages. And, of course, as I have already indicated, we must be ever mindful of the general deterioration in national farm income.

Even though there are substantial problems still to be resolved on the minimumwage question, I believe we have made a good beginning in our study of the minimum-wage bill introduced last year by Senator McNamara, of Michigan. Senator Mc-Namara's bill, which has considerable merit, in my opinion, would apply a minimum-wage floor to employees of large farm enterprises.

Under its terms, farm operators employing more than 2,244 man-days of hired farm labor during a calendar year would be required to pay at least 75 cents an hour. This minimum would be adjusted upward to \$1 an hour within 3 years.

Reasonable men may disagree as to detail, such as the size of the farm enterprise to which this law should apply. But I believe that the principle proposed in the bill is sound and should be enacted into law.

You know the subcommittee has been asked to do something about minimum wages which, when we first heard it, sounded impossible. Crew leaders and workers, too, asked us to devise a minimum-wage standard for piece-work rates. Our first reaction was that it was a good trick if anyone could do it, but how to do it? Now we have heard that at least one western State actually makes such a system work, and work very well, indeed. I hope to learn more about that system while I am here.

Two bills before the subcommittee would require registration of crew leaders. All here have probably heard stories about the families who work all season only to find that, after they have paid their "debts" to an unscrupulous crew leader, they have earned only a few hundred dollars, even less than the \$892 per year which is the average annual income for all migrants.

Senator Javirs, of New York, introduced the administration bill for crew-leader registration; I have introduced a more comprehensive bill calling for greater control of these labor contractors.

The final bill now under consideration asks for child labor protection among migrants. I was startled last week when a magazine interviewer said she had heard from informed sources that it might take 10 years for such a bill to pass. I can't imagine that any one could stand for such a postponement of the inevitable and the imminent. The day is

fast coming for this basic reform.

Unfortunately-and this is particularly unfortunate because the American Public Health Association is one of the sponsors of this conference—the subcommittee as yet has no specific proposals for betterment health conditions about migrants. I think it is obvious, though, that the Federal role in this field should go far beyond mere technical advice and assistance. It's time to put to work the lessons we have learned through pilot projects and local demonstrations. We intend to take a close look at health problems among migrants, and to find out what should be done that isn't being done already.

A NATIONAL PROBLEM

As you may realize from this summary, the subcommittee still has much work to do, but its work won't mean much-as I said earlier—unless you and others elsewhere can define the role which you should play.

A great deal of thought, for instance, has

already been given this problem by Federal administrative officials. And, to judge from the events of recent weeks, much more

thought is yet to be given.

But the administration should decide where it's going, and so should Congress. So should the States. So should every county agent or schoolteacher, or social workers, or just plain citizen who has become concerned

about the migrants.

Growers, I think, have a special responsibility. They have not asked for the prob-lems that come with the migrant, but the Problems exist, all the same. As long as growers have peak labor needs—and call upon migrants to meet those needs-he, the grower, can't disassociate himself from some of the consequences which arise because he needs seasonal help.

As I said before, the subcommittee has already received much clearsighted appraisal and cooperation from farmers. We're going to need more as we go on with our job.

The fact is that reforms and improvements will come with the growers' help or without it. But, from the growers' view-point and the viewpoint of everybody else, it would be better if the farm contributes to that change and believes in it.

But I repeat, the improvements will be made, with such help from growers or with-

out it.

I have already mentioned that the average citizen looks to his legislators and Government administrators for help. Let me make it clear, too, that we shall need the advice and interest of citizens. Their role, in fact, is of the utmost importance.

Unless the small rural community recognizes its responsibility to help educate the migrant child, unless many millions of Americans believe that they have a direct responsibility whenever a migrant is killed in a highway accident, or whenever an honest proposal is made to correct some of these abuses-unless, in short, they are concerned. then the lawmaker and the administrator Will not have the kind of support he must have to do the work that is called for.

For a national effort, we need a national program and full use of all the resources. and I am grateful for the opportunity to be here and witness your determination.

I'd like to close, after taking so much of your time, with just a few paragraphs from Steinbeck's "Grapes of Wrath." He described a different time in history. But from the final lines, you will see why I read it here

"And the rain pattered relentlessly down, and the streams broke their banks and

spread out over the country.

"Huddled under sheds, lying in wet hay,
the hunger and the fear bred anger. Then boys went out, not to beg, but to steal; and men went out weakly, to try to steal.

"The sheriffs swore in new deputies and ordered new rifles; and the comfortable people in tight houses felt pity at first, and then distaste, and finally hatred for the

migrant people.

"In the wet hay of leaking barns babies were born to women who panted with pneumonia. And old people curled up in corners and died that way, so that the coroners could not straighten them. At night the frantic men walked boldly to hen roosts and carried off the sqawking chickens. If they were shot at, they did not run, but splashed sullenly away; and if they were hit, they sank tiredly in the mud.

"The rain stopped. On the fields the water stood, reflecting the gray sky, and the land whispered with moving water. And the men came out of the barns, out of the sheds. They squatted on their hams and looked out over the flooded land. And they were silent. And sometimes they talked very quietly.

No work till spring. No work. "And if no work-no money, no food.

"Fella had a team of horses, had to use em to plow an' cultivate an' mow, wouldn't think a turnin' 'em out to starve when they

"Them's horses-we're men.

wasn't workin'.

"The women watched the men, watched to see whether the break had come at last. The women stood silently and watched. And where a number of men gathered together, the fear went from their faces, and anger took its place. And the women sighed with re-lief, for they knew it was all right—the break had not come: and the break would never come as long as fear could turn to wrath.

"Tiny points of grass came through the earth, and in a few days the hills were pale

green with the beginning year."

If I might add just one thought, wrath has a kinship to hope because wrath is somehow impossible unless our sense of justice has been offended. And, in every nation where freedom persists and grows, a sense of justice persists and grows, too.

Washington Public Service Commission Opposes Federal Excise Tax on Communications Services

> EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. DON MAGNUSON

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 9, 1960

Mr. MAGNUSON. Mr. Speaker, acting in behalf of the people of the State of Washington, the Washington Public Service Commission has unanimously adopted a resolution urging the Congress to disregard the administration's request to continue the Federal excise tax on local telephone calls, and to give consideration to eliminating Federal excise taxes on all communications services.

I concur in the resolution, which follows:

RESOLUTION BEFORE THE WASHINGTON PUBLIC SERVICE COMMISSION IN THE MATTER OF THE REMOVAL OF FEDERAL EXCISE TAX ON COM-MUNICATION SERVICES

At a regular meeting duly called and attended by all members of the Washington Public Service Commission on the 10th day of March 1960, at Olympia, Wash., the following resolution was unanimously adopted:

Whereas legislation was enacted by the Congress in 1959 terminating the Federal excise tax on local telephone service effective June 30, 1960; and

Whereas the President in his budget message calls for the continuance of the telephone excise tax on local telephone service during the fiscal year 1961; and

Whereas this commission has actively and consistently opposed the continuation of the Federal excise tax on all communication services: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the Washington Public Service Commission, That it urgently requests the Congress to disregard all attempts to continue the collection of Federal excise tax on local communication services and that such excise taxes be repealed on June 30, 1960, as previously voted by the Congress; and be it

Resolved, That consideration be given to the elimination of Federal excise taxes from all communication services at the earliest practicable time; and be it further

Resolved, That a copy of this resolution be forwarded to the congressional delegation from Washington; to the Ways and Means Committee of the House of Representatives; to the Senate Finance Committee; to the Governor of the State of Washington; to the secretary of the National Association of Railroad and Utilities Commissioners; to the Federal Communications Commission, and to the secretary of the U.S. Independent Telephone Association.

Made and entered at Olympia, Wash., this

14th day of March 1960. WASHINGTON PUBLIC SERVICE

COMMISSION. FRANCIS PEARSON. Chairman PATRICK D. SUTHERLAND,

Commissioner. DAYTON A. WITTEN,

Commissioner.

Attest:

WESLEY L. BARCLIFT. Executive Secretary.

U-2 Plane Incident

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. CHESTER BOWLES

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, May 3, 1960

Mr. BOWLES. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks I wish to include excerpts from yesterday's NBC-TV program, Meet the Press, containing my remarks in answers to questions on the controversy over the U-2 plane incident. The panel members were Peter Lisagor of the Chicago Daily News, Chalmers Roberts of the Washington Post, John Steele of Time-Life, Inc., and Frank Bourgholtzer, NBC news. The moderator was Ned Brooks. The excerpts follow:

Mr. Brooks. Now, Congressman Bowles, if you are ready, we will start the questions with Mr. Bourgholtzer.

Mr. BOURGHOLTZER. Mr. Bowles, if you were foreign policy adviser to a President, rather than a candidate, would you advise him in this situation where an American pilot has been shot down by the Russians and has admitted being a spy, would you advise just admitting that he wis a spy as has been done?

Representative Bowles. You have asked a very tough question. It seems to me that the administration did about all it could with a very difficult, very unpleasant, and highly embarrassing situation. It is pretty clear that Mr. Khrushchev knew what was going on. He appears to have the evidence with which he could confront the world and presumably persuade the world. I think it is a very bad situation. I think it would have only made a bad situation worse if we had tried to cover it up.

Mr. BOURGHOLTZER. On the same question there are a lot of aspects but I am wondering particularly what your viewpoint would be, particularly thinking of the upcoming administration, to the point of the President being unaware of such an activity, as apparently is the case in this incident. Do you think the President should be kept purposely unaware of certain intelligence operations?

Representative Bowles. Well, let's start with the fact that I believe this will go down in history as probably the most embarrassing and in some ways shocking occurrence in the last 7 or 8 years. We are going to hear

a lot more of it.

I wish I were talking about it 2 or 3 days from now when, perhaps, we will have a better chance to settle down and think it through. Certainly I want to be sure that anything I say is very responsible and thoughtful, because no one has any desire to make this worse, certainly not for partisan reasons.

But it seems to me that the whole situation has placed the State Department in the position of having deliberately told a falsehood. I assume they did not know the actual facts, that these facts were initially simply given them.

I would go on to say that the President himself is placed in the position of not appearing to know a very major development in regard to our foreign policy. The Soviet Union has been encouraged to be suspicious of us—they are already very suspicious—on this whole matter of controls and inspections. They have always charged that the reason we want inspection in disarmament agreements is for spying work and espionage generally.

They now have been granted a beautiful opportunity, and they will certainly use it very adroitly to weaken our already weak position as we approach the summit. The whole world has been given a very deep contrast between our professed desire for peace, our desire to try to negotiate, while carrying on this kind of activity almost simultaneously. I think it is a very bad situation.

Mr. Steele. Mr. Bowles, I want to get one thing straight. Are you criticizing the activities of the plane or are you criticizing the pilot getting caught?

Representative Bowles. Well, let me say this. I don't think any one of us who is simply an outsider and a newspaper reader, as I am, can know what is essential here in the way of espionage. We all are realists. We all know that this is a difficult and complex world. We know we are at a disadvantage, and that the Soviet Union is a closed police state which has certain very great advantages over us.

However, it seems to me that this is not really the point here. Esplonage may be necessary under certain circumstances, depending of course on the technical problems, of how great our lack of knowledge really is. The point is the timing. The point is we are preparing for a summit meeting. The whole history of the world may depend upon our ability to negotiate with the Soviet Union, to talk with them with at least some degree of mutual trust. By timing this particular excursion at this particular time, we have certainly gone a long way to undermine that hope.

Mr. Stelle. Well, now let's see if I understand. You mean these activities are all right except when we have an international meeting; is that correct?

Representative Bowles. I don't know that they are all right at all, Mr. Steele, because I don't know the inside story of how much information we have or what we lack or what risks should be run to get it. I would assume that we should not do this sort of thing for a marginal gain but only if the gain was so very vital that it could be justified to the utmost degree on the basis of our national security.

But the point is that we are now in a very delicate position and certainly this would be a time to be far more circumspect than these people obviously have been. I think they have committed a gross case of misjudgment. I think the flight was highly reckless, dangerous, and hurtful.

Mr. STEELE. Mr. Bowles, you are the foreign policy adviser to Senator Kennedy and presumably will become the Secretary of State if he is elected President.

Representative Bowles. I wouldn't presume that for 1 minute.

Mr. Sterle. You would not presume it? Representatives Bowles. No. There will be lots of possibilities.

Mr. STEELE. There has been talk of keeping the candidates informed about developments in foreign policy. Have you been kept informed as to these flights, either as Senator Kennedy's foreign policy adviser or as a member of the House Foreign Affairs Committee?

Representative Bowles. No, I have not heard of them. I have not been kept advised in any way, and I doubt that he has. I am very sure that none of us have.

Mr. Lisacor. On another point, Mr. Bowles, in Milwaukee last night I believe you made a speech blaming a good deal of Mr. Khrushchev's bitter blasts at the United States recently on what you called China and the extreme rightists within the Soviet Union, suggesting, according to the accounts I read, that these people want to torpedo a summit conference.

Now how do you square that kind of a statement with the general belief here in Washington that Mr. Khrushchev needs peace and needs certain relaxation in order to get his 7 year plan to work?

Representative Bowles. I haven't seen the paper, the quotation wouldn't be quite accurate if that is the way it appeared.

I asked the question, How much influence have the Chinese had in this situation? How much influence does the old Stalinist regime still have within the Soviet Union? I asked that as a question, and I think it is a very proper question, too.

The Chinese have always timed a lot of their intransigence in the Far East, Quemoy and Matsu and the rest, for the periods when we were trying to negotiate and talk with the Soviet Union. It is my guess that Mr. Khrushchev would really like to try to develop an easier atmosphere here. I felt this strongly when I saw him and talked with him a little over 3 years ago in Moscow. I had a long 3-hour talk with him, and I came out of it quite convinced that he wanted a détente. He wanted to see the situation ease. He felt the need of it for his own country, but was highly suspicious and was feeling his way.

It would seem to me that this development is not necessarily in the interests of the Mao Tse-tung government in Peiping. They naturally want to keep the cold war between the Soviet Union and the United States just as active and vigorous as they possibly can, because this assures them of a flow of material and loans and the other things they need from the Soviet Union.

I would assume that there is at least a potential clash here between Chinese Communist interests and the Kremlin's interests.

Mr. Lisagor. But do you not believe that Mr. Khrushchev is secure enough today in Russia so that he can move on toward relaxation if he so chooses at a summit conference?

Representative Bowles. I don't think we really know. I hope so.

I visited Belgrade in November. I wanted to go there to talk to some of the Yugoslavs who often follow pretty much the Soviet line. For instance in regard to Berlin, their line is almost identical with the Soviet position. But they do have some insight on what is going on in the Soviet Union and also in China.

I found a general feeling in Belgrade that Mao Tse-tung's government in Peiping had some contracts and some hope for support for an extreme position from certain elements in the Soviet military. They were inclined to feel that this was the case. William Green, 1870-1952

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. ROBERT W. LEVERING

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, April 21, 1960

Mr. LEVERING. Mr. Speaker, on May 2, President Eisenhower and Mr. George Meany, president of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations, joined in the dedication of three stained glass windows honoring the late Samuel Gompers, Philip Murray, and William Green at the Washington Cathedral. It is fitting that such a fine tribute be made to these men of high idealism who led the free labor movement at various times in our Nation's history—they are among our finest citizens—our country is justly proud of them.

Mr. Speaker, I and the people I have the honor to represent in Congress from the 17th Ohio District are especially proud of one of these men, William Green, who was born and lived in the city of Coshocton. His charming daughter, Clara Green Scarr, still resides there.

Mr. Speaker, it was my privilege to know Bill Green personally as a man of high ideals and meticulous honesty dedicated to making our Nation the best and strongest in the world.

Under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I include the following biographical sketch which was printed in connection with the window dedication ceremony which briefly relates the story of William Green as I knew him:

WILLIAM GREEN, 1870-1952

William Green was both a symbol of America and of the labor movement which he headed from 1924 to 1952.

Born in a small midwestern coal mining town in 1870, he literally followed the footsteps of his father into the coal mines and into the coal miners' union. He also bore the imprint of his deeply religious family; and as he grasped the problems of his fellow workers he recognized that they were being deprived not only of the material benefits which their labor helped to produce, but also of their God-given dignity as men. His dedication to social justice earned for him well-merited recognition as a champion of oppressed people everywhere.

For more than a quarter of a century he served America and his fellow trade unionists as the president of the American Federation of Labor. When he accepted this call for service in 1924, there was no indication of the turbulent decades which were just in the offing. For not only was there the economic catastrophe of the 1930's, but it was accompanied by a veritable revolution in the social thinking of America which challenged all but the most basic principles that had guided not only the trade union movement, but also the Nation itself. As though these social changes were not enough to test his fortitude, he saw the labor movement, which he headed, divided before his very eyes. Moreover, before these currents had sufficient time to run their course, the Nation was confronted with World War II which had been instigated by the dictatorship of the right and utilized by the dictatorship of the left.

A lesser man would have cowered before these challenges. William Green remained upright and confident that only by doing his utmost would he be doing his best. That utmost bore tangible results which are indelibly marked in the life of America, in the progress of the labor movement and in the hearts of that vast number of human beings who remember William Green as their gentle

Birmingham News Editorial Refutes New York Times Articles on City

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, GEORGE HUDDLESTON, JR.

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, April 21, 1960

Mr. HUDDLESTON. Mr. Speaker, in a series of two articles, under the byline of Harrison E. Salisbury, the New York Times recently attempted to portray the city of Birmingham as an area where fear and violence prevail and whose citizens and elected officials have no respect for law and order. Such a vicious attack, so totally unfounded on truth and so deceptively couched in innuendo, has to my knowledge never before been launched against a decent community by what is ordinarily conceded to be a decent newspaper.

Efforts have been made by many Birminghamians, including myself, and by interested and impartial citizens of other localities who know the truth about our city, to correct the falsities of the Times' articles and to counteract the great harm Which has been done, by such irresponsible reporting, to our citizenry and to good journalism. None of these efforts have been more forceful or effective than that manifested in an editorial appearing in the Birmingham News on May 8,

I insert that editorial, at this point, in the RECORD and earnestly commend it to the attention of my colleagues:

THE SALISBURY CASE

The citizens of Birmingham have read the Harrison Salisbury articles which appeared on the front page of the New York Times on April 12 and 13 and which were reprinted by the Birmingham News in full on April 14 and 15 in order that the people of this city and State might know the false and slanderous image of them circulated by an important

horthern newspaper.
The News on May 4 also reprinted a statement which was prepared in Birmingham and which was published in the New York

Times on May 4.

The latter statement was sent to the Times presumably to refute the Salisbury articles. If so, it completely failed of its purpose, because nowhere did it give the true for the true for the salisbury articles. true facts about the many half-truths or outright misstatements contained in the Salisbury articles.

The News believes that the people of Ala-

bama should have these facts.

On the same date that the Times printed the statement purporting to be Birming-ham's case, Mr. Turner Catledge, managing editor of the Times, printed a statement of his own in which, in essence, he defends his reporter outright.

In two particulars Mr. Catledge refers to Omissions in Mr. Salisbury's articles.

The Times' managing editor said:

"The articles did not stress the obvious fact that an overwhelming percentage of the citizens of Birmingham lead happy and peaceful lives in a growing and prosperous community.

"Neither did they stress the fact that this substantial element of the citizenry deplores any lawlessness that may exist and is working in its own way to correct and reduce such tensions as do exist."

Not only did Mr. Salisbury not "stress" these two points, he omitted them entirely.

CALLED ABLE, PERCEPTIVE REPORTER

In the same statement Mr. Catledge terms Mr. Salisbury "one of the ablest and most perceptive reporters of the New York Times.

"Mr. Salisbury has a background of many years as an outstanding newspaperman. He was recipient of the Pulitzer Prize Award for 1955 for his reporting from the Soviet Union.

"The controversial articles were based on interviews and observations he made in Birmingham and other parts of Alabama over

a span of 5½ days.
"Furthermore, he was aided in his researches by news items previously published

in Alabama newspapers.

The New York Times has every confidence that Mr. Salisbury reported the situation as he saw it through the eyes of an objective newspaperman. He did not go to Birming-ham 'seeking sensationalism' or anything else but the facts in a situation that involved Birmingham as well as other cities. We are only sorry that his findings had to be unpleasant to anvone."

INTERVIEWEES REMAIN ANONYMOUS

The Birmingham News does not doubt that Mr. Salisbury interviewed people and consulted newspaper clippings. But the interviewees all remain anonymous—though we know who some of them were.

Further, from every evidence at hand, his interviews did not represent a cross section of the people of this community. bulk, we believe, they were with people who had some special grievance with conditions

The fact that Mr. Salisbury used clippings from Alabama newspapers is a specious cover-up, and we believe that his managing editor, Mr. Catledge, an old hand at newspapering from Mississippi, well knows that injudicious use of such clippings can create impressions which are not true images of a situation or a community.

A reporter, in any city in the United States. can select elippings from its daily papers, ignoring all else, and write an article that does not truly reflect conditions in that

ABBREVIATED STUDY GIVES INCOMPLETE PICTURE

Mr. Salisbury's editor knows, as any competent newsman knows, that it takes more than 48 hours' study of any community with the complexity of Birmingham to learn enough to have any reasonable basis for a conclusion.

Birmingham does not resent and resist "outsiders" reporting-this is a free land with a free press permitting any duly assigned man to go about and make inquiry. But this was single-shotting and it was single-shotting at its worst.

Birmingham is not unaware of "unpleasant findings," as Mr. Catledge refers to them in expressing sorrow that this was the re-

The city's residents in vast majority do not believe, however, that it is the historic policy of the New York Times to present "un-pleasant findings" as a rounded picture. That is our point.

The New York Times can print stories about bombings, about series of bombings, about certain tensions that arise from time to time. Such have been reported to Birmingham and Alabama readers already.

But the two Salisbury articles were couched in terms of the whole picture, not just a report on some of Birmingham's problems.

STATEMENT LEAVES IMAGE OF BLACKNESS

Mr. Catledge concedes that the Times did not "stress the obvious fact that an overwhelming percentage of the citizens of Birmingham lead happy and peaceful lives in a growing and prosperous community." This is in sharp contrast to Mr. Salisbury's key conclusion-"every channel of communication, every medium of mutual interest, every reasonable approach, every inch of middle ground has been fragmented by the emotional dynamite of racism, reinforced by the whip, the razor, the gun, the bomb, the torch, the club, the knife, and the mob, the police and many branches of the State's apparatus."

Such a statement could only leave readers of the distinguished New York Times with

an image of utter blackness.

We know this was the reaction for, on the basis of the two Salisbury articles, editors of newspapers in other sections of the country sent personal letters to this newspaper expressing sheer horror that this had come about * * * and asking why had secrecy prevented the revelation of this situation.

The citizens of Birmingham know that these are not the facts, that fear does not dominate their days and nights. They know that there are those who would violate the laws of the city, the State, and even the Nation, just as there are those who violate such laws in every city.

NO MOB RULES BIRMINGHAM

Even the most prejudiced, the zealot with the wildest eye, knows that "the whip, the razor, the gun, the bomb, the torch, the club, the knife, the mob" do not rule Birmingham. Mr. Salisbury could have found this out if he had taken the trouble to look at the entire community.

Remember, now, that Mr. Catledge admitted in his statement that the Salisbury pieces did not "stress the fact that an overwhelming percentage of the citizens of Birmingham lead happy and peaceful lives in a growing and prosperous community.'

He said, too, but Salisbury did not, that this substantial element of the citizenry "deplores any lawlessness that may exist and is working in its own way to correct and reduce such tensions as do exist."

We contend that the picture of Birming-ham" could not have been objective and factual in the Times' report, according to Mr. Catledge's own admission, without this aspect of the community being fully and fairly reported along with the matters that Mr. Salisbury did report.

CITY DISTORTED BY SENSATIONALISM

It could easily be deduced from Mr. Catledge's statement that the Times' report reached over into the field of sensationalism. Birmingham people were shocked as much by this apparent surrender of the Times to sensationalism as by the distortion that was presented of their city, its people, its problems, and the manner in which the city was going about handling those problems.

Mr. Catledge said, "If in the further investigation the Times should find any statement in Mr. Salisbury's articles to be incorrect, or inaccurate in any respect, it will publish an appropriate correction.

The News invites Mr. Catledge to have his own southern staff writers investigate the following items of fact presented in Mr.

Salisbury's articles:
1. Mr. Salisbury said: "A drive is on to forbid Negro music on white radio stations."

See if this isn't true-this drive was a columnist's effort to substitute good music. Negro or white, for the trashiest kind of Negro music. In the same paragraph the originator of the drive, Roger Thames, the Birmingham News radio-TV editor, said, "There is much Negro music that is good, some even fine—this is not an objection to Negroes' records per se."

2. Mr. Salisbury said: "Mail has been intercepted and opened. Sometimes it does not reach its destination."

See if this isn't true-that only one complaint involving any possible racial angle has been made to opstal authorities mingham in many years. That this single complaint, from the Reverend F. L. Shuttlesworth, involved three packages of third-class That the Reverend Shuttlesworth was asked to bring the three packages to the postal authorities for further investigation, and failed to do so.

3. Mr. Salisbury said: "Dynamite attempts have been made against the two principal Jewish temples in the last 18 months.'

See if this isn't so-that there have been no Jewish temple dynamite attempts in Birmingham in the last 18 months. That the only such attempt at Temple Beth-El occurred April 28, 1958, when this community was shocked by an unsuccessful attempt to dynamite the house of worship. The community raised thousands of dollars of reward for the arrest of the culprits.

4. Mr. Salisbury said: "Mr. Connor is the author of many widely quoted aphorisms. He once said, "Damn the law—down here

we make our own law."

SEEKS TO ENFORCE LAW, REGARDLESS OF RACE

See if this is true—that Commissioner of Public Safety Eugene Connor since taking office for his present term has fully sought to enforce all laws in the city of Birmingham in relation to all persons, regardless of race, creed or color. And that Commissioner Connor said in a public statement published about 4 weeks before Mr. Salisbury's visit to Birmingham—"this is to notify all citizens, white and Negro, that the city of Bir-mingham will not tolerate activity on the part of anyone, or any group, that will breach the peace or infringe on the rights of others. The Department of Public Safety will guarantee the rights of all citizens to go about their affairs in a normal and proper way."

5. Mr. Salisbury said: "Both he (Shuttlesworth) and his wife were injured and a white pastor was badly manhandled by a Birmingham mob when the three of them sought to use the white waiting room of the local bus

depot."

See if this isn't true-that neither the Reverend Shuttlesworth nor his wife was injured in any way. That the incident oc-curred at the Terminal Railroad Station and not a local bus depot. That the Reverend Shuttlesworth and his wife successfully sat in the white waiting room and boarded a train without molestation. That an unsuccessful minor white political candidate, and not a pastor, was the man who came in conflict with a white group outside the station.

6. Mr. Salisbury said: "For weeks Negro children had to go to school an hour early and were held in school an hour later so they would not come in contact with white

children."

See if this isn't true-that Parker High School students (Negro) go to school 30 minutes later and leave school 30 minutes later as a means of relieving public trans-portation problems. And that this was done at the request of the Birmingham Transit

7. Mr. Salisbury said: "That his (Connor's) man apprehended two young men with an old-fashioned hearse in which dynamite and anti-Semitic literature were found. They had parked beside a synagogue and told a Negro watchman they were going to blow the place up. But the young men did not go to prison. They were freed on their own cognizance by the judge when the witness did not appear. Neither the witness nor the rabbi had been told the case was coming up.'

See if this isn't true-No dynamite was found in the hearse. The Negro watchman was present at the trial in which the two young men were given jail sentences of 180 days each, with the sentences suspended on condition they leave Birmingham.

There are other such statements as "telephones are tapped or there is fear of

tapping."

Can Mr. Salisbury prove a case of "tapping?" Birmingham cannot disprove that one of its more than 200,000 telephones have not been tapped.

Yet Mr. Salisbury has written that all this means "the eavesdropper, the informer, the spy have become a fact of life."

Does Mr. Salisbury intend really to convey to the people of New York and the many readers of the Times over the land that Birmingham is so marked?

INJUSTICE DONE BY ARTICLES NOT RECTIFIED

There are various reports of attacks and violence. Certainly most have occurred. But they range over a period of some years. Telescoped, they put upon us an ugly stamp.

But we need not go in such catalog. sadly concede that the Times apparently does want to put things in perspective.

The Times in its statements by Mr. Catledge and the Birmingham presentation, which Mr. Catledge did invite and which he did present in the columns of the Times as it was written, have not rectified the injustice done Birmingham by the Salisbury articles.

The statement published by the New York Times on May 4 made no attempt to point out to the New York Times readers the errors of fact, the half-truths and telescopic distortions enumerated above, which was the only reason for Birmingham to have a statement in the Times. The Birmingham statement did not in any way take advantage of the opportunity to refute the misstatements about the city before a national audience.

We repeat, the New York Times, long in an enviable position to present the full record, remains derelict, unhappily, because it has not returned to the scene, and it has not been supplied through the Birmingham statement with a documented refutation.

There is a real story.

We hope that Mr. Catledge will exercise the Times tradition and get Birmingham's real -the balanced story, the full story that he points up in his own statement as to omissions from Mr. Salisbury's reports to the New York Times.

Juvenile Crime Among Newsboys Practically Nonexistent

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. MELVIN PRICE

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, April 27, 1960

Mr. PRICE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include herewith an editorial which appeared in the Belleville (Ill.) News-Democrat on May 7, 1960. The editorial, "The End for Newsboys?" entitled follows:

THE END FOR NEWSBOYS?

Many forces are now at work to institute legislation which would make practically impossible any work by newspaperboys—the youngsters who deliver your daily News-Democrat. It is conceded that many of these forces are sincere, but it must be recognized that they are also misguided and definitely

unrealistic in their approach to the betterment of youth today.

Rather than concentrating on the work done by the newspaperboy these forces might well direct their energy toward the problem of juvenile delinquency in some other way than admitting that it is becoming a growing evil. Something should be done about it and the beginning is not to destroy the newspaperboy, FBI Chief J. Edgar Hoover has said many times that juvenile crime among newspaperboys is practically nonexistent. It is difficult, therefore, to understand the thinking of those who seek to destroy a situation which is a definite deterrent to youthful crime and misdemeanors.

Opportunity to work during leisure time. and without interference with school, is a good thing. It keeps young boys out of trou-ble because idleness is one of the major causes of delinquency. Busy boys have no time to join street gangs, to hang around street corners, to plan ways and means of getting-dishonestly-a few dollars. time is occupied and they earn their own They are learning lessons of thrift. of business methods, and of how to spend time to good advantage.

Intervention Movement in Cuba

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. ROBERT R. BARRY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, May 3, 1960

Mr. BARRY. Mr. Speaker, on No-vember 24, 1959, the insurgent government of Cuba passed a law whereby its minister of labor was given discretionary power to appoint intervening authorities to take over any private property in Cuba. There is a question as to whether or not this so-called intervention constitutes a seizure. I say it is an arbitrary seizure, an imposition on the rights of our citizens who, through their investments, have contributed much to the progress of the Republic of Cuba-Furthermore, this action bears a serious lesson for the U.S. Government, which has encouraged private enterprise abroad. The deplorable policy of the Castro regime with respect to American business operations in Cuba is comparable to the story of the dog biting the hand that feeds it. The fact that the insurgent powers have so far refused to negotiate seriously with our State Department on outstanding differences is even more outrageous. I would like to invite the attention of

my colleagues to one typical case involved in the intervention movement. The facts of the case have been submitted to me by Mr. Percy Douglas, executive vice president, Otis Elevator Co., of Yonkers, N.Y. The Otis Co. established a plant in Cuba in November 1924 and has maintained a satisfactory operational relationship over the years. All of the permanent employees at the plant have been Cuban citizens, the total of which was 201 at the end of 1958. Pursuant to the enactment of the aforementioned law, the minister of labor appointed a native of Guatamala, Mr. Julio Caceres, a person 23 years of age with no apparent experience in the elevator

business as intervenor at the plant. Mr. Caceres' first action was to dismiss Mr. Vincent Pedre, a native Cuban with 34 years continuous service at Otis, 23 of Which were spent as the manager of the Cuban plant.

Immediately following are the claims presented by the minister of labor as Justification for the intervention at the Otis plant-and in contrast, the facts in connection with each assertion:

MEMORANDUM BY OTIS ELEVATOR CO.

Subject: Intervention of Otis Elevator Co., Cuba.

On November 19, 1924, Otis Elevator Co., a corporation formed under the laws of the State of Maine, United States of America, was registered in Havana to do business in Cuba and since that time it has actively carried on the business of installing and servicing elevators and escalators.

For the past 25 years all of the permanent employees of Otis Elevator Co. in Cuba have been Cuban citizens and the number of employees on its payroll at the end of 1958 totaled 201. Of this total number of employees 36 were in the office, 59 were engaged in servicing elevators, and the remaining 106 were assigned to the installation of elevators in new buildings.

On December 23, 1959, Mr. Julio Caceres presented to the Otis office in Havana a resolution of the minister of labor dated the same day which appointed Mr. Julio Caceres the intervenor and empowered him, pur-Suant to law 647 of November 24, 1959, to intervene the company and assume full charge of its operation.

Mr. Julio Caceres is a native of Guatemala, 23 years of age, and we understand arrived in Cuba during April 1959. So far as we know, Mr. Caceres has had no ex-perience in the elevator business.

Mr. Caceres' first action was to dismiss the Otis manager, Mr. Vincent Pedre, a native of Cuba who has been in the employ of the company for 34 years and as manager of Otis in Cuba for the past 23 years. Mr. Pedre is thoroughly experienced in the elevator business, both from a technical and managerial point of view.

The claims outlined in the attached resolution by the minister of labor as a justification for the intervention are completely unfounded and in order that there be no question on this point, the facts in connection With the claims made by the minister of labor are hereinafter stated:

1. It is claimed that the attitude assumed by the employer toward the workers is not satisfactory but the claim is not specific.

The fact is that for the past several decades, prior to the revolution in 1959, the labor and employee relations with the management of the Otis organization in Cuba had been normal.

2. It is claimed that the company refuses to discuss workers collective agreement pre-

sented by the laborers.

This is not a fact because the revolutionary minister of labor on August 24, 1959, advised the Otis management as well as Mr. Vincente Gonzalez, secretary-general of the local union, that further discussion of the Workers collective agreement would be postponed until after arriving at a formula for the release of some 60 surplus temporary construction men who had been working on the installation of elevators in new build-

This same minister, several weeks later after studying Otis' case thoroughly, agreed that all surplus workers could be released under a formula which was perfectly acceptable to both Otis and the union. ever, before the decision could be implemented, the minister was replaced by an-Other and all attempts to reopen the discussion on this subject with the new minister were unsuccessful.

Early in 1959 the end of an unprecedented building boom occurred when such large buildings as the Havana Hilton Hotel, Hotel Capri, Palacio Municipal, Hospital Nacional, Seguro del Medico, Hospital Mercedes, Hijas de Galicia, Terminal de Helicoptro, Immobiliarlo Golfo San Lazaro, reached completion.

In accordance with normal construction procedure, the Otis men assigned to the installation of elevators in these buildings became surplus when and as the elevator installations were completed and as many of these men were engaged originally as temporary constructors, they would under normal conditions have been released. The minister of labor, however, refused to allow Otls to discharge these temporary constructors even though Otis had no further work for them. In spite of this decision the company continued to negotiate with the workers and at the same time to plead its case with the minister of labor for the discharge of these surplus employees right up until August 24,

3. It is claimed that the company refused to allow the surplus employees, who were still being paid by the company, to be given

actual work on the job.

The fact here is obvious-there was no work to give the men. Otis made every possible effort to find work for the surplus employees even to the extent of advancing all

repair work schedules.

The minister of labor when he refused to permit the dismissal of the surplus employees early in 1959, agreed that if the company paid the employees and allowed them to use their time as they desired, the company would be fulfilling its obligation. This the company did and for many months Otis paid the surplus employees, which eventually totaled 60 in number, their full

The interventor has already assigned these surplus construction employees to-

(a) Installations from which the com-pany had withdrawn its construction workers due to the nonpayment of contract obligation on the part of the owner. Otis contract protection against nonpayment has therefore been removed by the interventor;

(b) Other jobs which were adequately manned thus creating the practice of

featherbedding.

It should be pointed out here that the construction business is of a cyclical nature and that the fluctuations in the volume of employment of construction workers must conform with the trend of construction contract awards. To attempt to maintain a constant volume of employment under the conditions prevalent in the building industry in Cuba over the past year is economically

4. It is claimed that the company threatened to close the office and did not attempt to secure new orders for the installation of elevators, as well as quoting unreasonably high prices in order to avoid obtaining new business, which all resulted in the slow dissolution of an enterprise where a large number of workers render their services.

These claims are completely unfounded in that Otis has taken no action to close its business in Cuba and it has submitted reasonably priced bids on new projects for elevators throughout 1959 with necessary credit precautions.

Why Otis Elevator Co. would consider withdrawing from such a market after 25 years of satisfactory operations in Cuba is hard to conceive.

Throughout the difficult period of 1959 Dr. Esteban Ferrer, attorney of the firm Bufete, Salaya-Casteleiro; has acted as our legal counsel and had continually assisted Otis in the filing of appeals to the Government, particularly to the Ministry of Labor. On January 6, 1960, Dr. Ferrer filed an appeal with the supreme court of Cuba for the removal of the interventor and the restoration of the business to Otis Elevator Co. on the ground that the intervention was unconstitutional.

The total loss to which Otis Elevator Co. is subjected from the intervention of its Cuban business is approximately \$500,000, not including past and prospective earning

Another concern arising from this inter-vention is the treatment to which Otis Elevator Co. is now being subjected after 35 years of continuous operations in Cuba, its employment of Cuban citizens, and its contribution to the economic development of the Republic of Cuba.

This memorandum is submitted in the hope that our Government may be of assistance to the Otis Elevator Co. in securing the restitution of the Otis interest in Cuba.

Mr. Speaker, this is a very disturbing report. I am deeply concerned. Fidel Castro and his government must be held accountable for any property belonging to the United States or her nationals that is seized without adequate compensation.

This particular action of Dr. Castro happens to be a direct blow to the people of my city of Yonkers, where is located the Otis elevator plant which has supplied the Cuban company with millions of dollars' worth of manufactured equipment. As a result of this seizure in Cuba, many jobs may be lost.

I would like to invite my colleagues' attention to these facts. It is clear that some way must be found to see to it that American property owners in Cuba are adequately compensated for these seizures.

Supreme Lack of Coordination in U-2 Incident

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. CHESTER BOWLES

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, May 3, 1960

Mr. BOWLES. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include a statement which I released earlier today on the controversy over the U-2 incident. The statement follows:

SUPREME LACK OF COORDINATION IN U-2 INCIDENT

People throughout the world have been profoundly shocked and disturbed by the news that an American espionage plane was shot down over the Soviet Union. There is no doubt that our Government has suffered a serious setback at a critical moment. As an incident this one is likely to go down in history as the greatest single item of national embarrassment in the 8 years of the Eisenhower administration. As a symbol of what is basically wrong with the present conduct of our foreign policy, it is of even greater importance. I am conscious of the delicacy of the situation itself. I am aware that while the administration has been embarrassed by these events, all Americans are embarrassed with it. I do not wish to add personal or partisan fuel to the controversy which will be raging for weeks ahead on this issue. Nor do I wish, in anything I say, to imply that I have any more information, official or unofficial, on the intelligence aspects of this case than does any other American

As I said on television yesterday afternoon ("Meet the Press," NBC-TV, Sunday, May 8, 1960):

"I don't think any one of us as outsiders can know what is essential in the way of espionage. We are all realists. We all know that this is a difficult and complex world. We know we are at a disadvantage, that the Soviet is a closed police state and has certain very great advantages over us. I don't know the inside story of how much information we have or what we lack or what risks should be required to get it. I would assume that we should not do this sort of thing for a marginal gain.

"But we are preparing for a summit meeting. The whole history of the world may depend upon our ability to negotiate with the Soviet Union. We are in a very delicate position and certainly this would be a time to be far more circumspect than obviously these people have been. I think they have committed a very gross case of misjudgment and I think it is highly reckless, dangerous,

and hurtful."

Here, as I see them, are the unalterable, embarassing facts which now face us.

1. The State Department has been caught in a dramatic falsehood. The Department may have been the victim of misinformation provided by other Government agencies. Nevertheless, foreign governments—both friendly and otherwise—are bound to press the point that the word of the U.S. State Department can no longer be trusted. In international negotiations, as in personal relationships, lack of trust is damaging and costiv.

2. If the flight really was not authorized in Washington, the incident demonstrates that the President has been kept in ignorance of critically important developments and activities within our own Government. This, in turn, seriously undermines the president of the President at a time when the world urgently needs his strength and in-

fluence in behalf of peace.

3. The Russian suspicions of our good faith in negotiating the control and inspection systems which are essential to disarmament programs have been increased. As a result, we will find them even more difficult to deal with on these critical questions at the Summit.

4. We have placed ourselves in a defensive position in our efforts to negotiate a step by step relaxation in cold war tensions. In contrast the Soviet position has been greatly strengthened. It is safe to assume that the Kremlin will use its advantage to the limit in mustering world opinion against us.

Hence this incident adds up to a devastating loss of faith in the quality of American leadership: A loss of faith in the reliability and straightforwardness of official U.S. statements; a loss of faith in the President's role in the conduct of critical policy matters; and a loss of faith in U.S. sincerity in easing tensions in advance of the summit meeting.

The role of clandestine operations is inherently difficult for a democracy. I do not underestimate it. But that is an argument for greater Presidential control, not less. The astonishment and incredulity of many millions of Americans today over the headlines is magnified by the knowledge that our President and his administration are simply not in control of their own operations. The bumbling nature of this whole incident—the supreme lack of coordination between one Department of our Government and the others—this is what is so serious and what merits our strongest dismay.

It symbolizes what is chiefly wrong with this administration's record in foreign policy. Indeed we can generalize from this

instance.

The administration is uncoordinated. No one is in control. The State Department is not—it doesn't even know what some of our military and intelligence people are doing.

The President is not a master in his own house. Each sector of the administration undermines another.

This has been the story all along—on defense, on disarmament, on foreign aid. No one has a firm grasp on where we are headed. Lacking overall goals, we continually let means get in the way of ends. Our military policy defeats our economic policy. Our intelligence policy defeats our diplomatic policy. Our short-term requirements defeat our long-term ones.

This Government and this Nation simply cannot survive piecemeal, uncoordinated administration where our vital national inter-

ests are clearly at stake.

This incident, embarrassing, dangerous, and damaging as we know it to be, may in the long run prove to be worthwhile if it will wake America and the world to the hideous dangers of this cold war struggle.

Every thoughtful person must now see that we are walking a tightrope in world affairs. Miscalculations either in Moscow or in Washington could plunge us all into a war that no one wants, that no one could win, and from which few could survive. The stupendous dangers we face have been clearly dramatized.

What is required of us now is a bipartisan effort to break the logjam in world affairs and to embark on a new study of methods to ease our way gradually out of the impasse into which the world has stumbled and to begin to lay the foundation for a

meaningful peace.

In saying this, I do not suggest that peace will come easily. On the contrary, the difficulties are enormous. I simply say that it is time that mankind took charge of its own destiny while we still have the opportunity to act rationally.

Substantial Pay Raises for Postal and Federal Employees Urged by Mrs. Maurine B. Neuberger

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. CHARLES O. PORTER

OF OREGON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Friday, May 6, 1960

Mr. PORTER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I include the following testimony by Mrs. Maurine Neuberger in support of pay increases for postal and Federal employees. Mrs. Neuberger appeared before the Senate Post Office and Civil Service Committee on May 5, 1960.

Her husband, the late Oregon Senator, served for almost 6 years as a member of the Post Office and Civil Service Committee. In 1958 Dick Neuberger was chairman of the Federal Pay Subcommittee which wrote the long-needed legislation giving Federal and postal employees a 10-percent pay raise.

Maurine Neuberger worked closely with her husband. In her testimony she has pointed up deficiencies which concerned Senator Neuberger and her. I was particularly interested in her observation that some agencies of the Government have realized the expense of today's high cost of living. She told the committee:

The Federal Housing Administration indicated that a letter carrier does not make enough money to purchase a \$15,000 house.

With minimum down payment a \$15,000 house on a 30-year mortgage payment requires an annual income of \$5,384, but the letter carrier in the top longevity grade with 25 years of service receives only \$5,175 a year.

The lumber industry is a major industry in Oregon. The inability of people to purchase homes they need starts a chain reaction which affects our economy adversely.

Mrs. Neuberger's full testimony follows:

TESTIMONY BY MRS. MAURINE NEUBERGER IN SUPPORT OF PAY INCREASES FOR FOSTAL AND FEDERAL EMPLOYEES, SENATE POST OFFICE AND CIVIL SERVICE COMMITTEE

Mr. Chairman and members of the Senate Post Office and Civil Service Committee, my name is Mrs. Maurine B. Neuberger, of Portland, Oreg., wife of the late Senator Richard L. Neuberger who served for many years as a member of your committee. I am pleased to have the opportunity of testifying in support of needed pay increases to our postal and Federal employees.

The administration spokesmen tell us that wage increases must wait, must wait for the completion of studies currently being made by the Bureau of Labor Statistics. We are told that these studies may be completed by December, and that if we wait until January of next year Congress then can consider wage increases based on the results of this study.

Of course by waiting this administration will leave office on January 20, 1961, and a new administration may well want to take a new look at pay proposals for Federal and postal employees. In other words, what the Eisenhower administration is suggesting is to brush under the carpet vitally needed wage increases and wait for the next administration.

As your committee well knows, the whole history of pay legislation for Federal employees under the present administration has been one of inaction and veto. Three times Congress has passed wage increases for Federal employees which were veteed by the President—in 1954, 1957, and 1958. We were successful in getting through in 1955 a 7-percent pay increase which was scaled down to meet administration objections, and a 10-cent pay increase in 1956 which was coupled with postal rate increases desired by the administration.

It is indeed ironic that this administration can spend billions for higher interest rates and cannot pay adequate salaries to its employees. For example, the cost of managing the interest on the Federal debt in fiscal 1953 was \$6.5 billion. The estimated cost of interest in 1961 is \$9.5 billion—12 percent of estimated 1961 budget expenditures. In fact, what the administration is telling us is "billions for interest; nothing for Federal employees."

While the administration prepares its so-called vital surveys of wage rates in its last year of office the Mitchell-Nixon settlement of the steel strike provided important new benefits for steelworkers. Steelworkers received a minimum 6½-cent immediate wage increase by company absorption of all health and welfare costs. Wages are pegged to the cost of living, and additional wage increases are provided effective the first of next year. Is it fair for the administration to sponsor pay increases for steelworkers and shirk its responsibility to Government employees? What about the inflationary effects for steelworkers and steel which is an item so important in our industrial society, as well as the high interest rates for those fortunate enough to hold Government and private notes?

Millions of Government employees cannot wait to eat and to live but must go ahead with their own individual family lives. For example, a letter carrier after 21 years of

Government service with a wife and children takes home \$86.95 per week. Another letter carrier, after 8 years of service and with a family of four takes home only \$76.

Some agencies of our Federal Government have realized the expense of today's high cost of living. The Federal Housing Administration indicated that a letter carrier does not make enough money to purchase a \$15,000 house. With minimum downpayment a \$15,000 house on a 30-year mortgage payment requires an annual income of \$5,384, but the letter carrier in the top longevity Brade with 25 years of service receives only \$5,175 a year.

While a laborer in my city of Portland, With a letter carrier's \$1.81½ in 1949, the laborer now earns \$2.67 per hour while the letter carrier income is \$2.34 an hour. Since 1949 the laborer has had 10 wage increases While the letter carrier has had but 4, and how receives 44 cents an hour more than the letter carrier. Seventy-five percent of all letter carriers either have a second job or the wife is forced to work.

Since July of 1951 until November 1959, Postal clerks received wage increases averaging 381/2 cents an hour, or approximately 20 percent, while workers in all industry received wage increases of 70 cents an hour, Or in excess of 45 percent. This represents a lag of 25 percent between July 1951 and November 1959 for postal clerks.

Mr. Chairman, I think it is obvious that

wages of people in private industry are far ahead of wages paid in Government employment. There are costs not just to the wage earner but to the Federal Government itself in this situation. Federal employment becomes less desirable, less sought after. There is a high turnover as qualified persons leave to seek better jobs and the less qualified seek employment with the Government. The cost of high turnover is indeed a very important factor in measuring the Government's so-called inability to grant needed pay increases.

If we assume that qualified employees were paid in 100-cent dollars in 1939 just prior to the start of World War II, the employee is actually worse off today than he was 21 years ago by \$100. Salaries in higher brackets show even a greater loss. The current GS-5 salary would have to be increased 5.2 percent to make it equal in terms of purchasing Power to the salary paid for the same grade in 1939. The loss has been more severe in higher grades. The GS-7 salary has lost 11 Percent, GS-9 has lost 13.6 percent, and GS-13 Durchasing power has declined 20.3 percent.

Sixty-four percent of all Federal ployees, or almost two-thirds, are paid either under the Classification Act or the Postal Pay Act. Approximately 31 percent of all employees salaries are in the per diem, or wage board, group. Wage board employees receive regulation pay raises based on salarles paid for comparable work in their areas.
For example, a wage board W-7 employee who received 86 cents an hour in 1943, in 1959 received \$2.19 per hour, or a 155 percent increase, while a GS-4 employee who received 89 cents an hour in 1943 is now up to \$1.85 Per hour, or an increase of 108 percent.

There is a need, my husband and I have telt for some time, for an automatic procedure for reviewing classified salaries at regular, stated intervals, so that changing conditions and new economic situations hight be taken into consideration. Wage board employees receive regular increases of substantial amounts at regular intervals, while classified employees lag far behind.

Mr. Chairman, while the administration in its last few months of office decides that the classified and other pay systems are outmoded and must be reviewed—in other words it wishes to stall any pay increases— Federal and postal employees must continue to live, to eat, to raise their families. It is for this reason that I strongly urge a substantial pay increase for all Government em-

For the National Welfare Summit Talks Should Be Kept Clear of Partisan

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. MELVIN PRICE

OF TLUNOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 27, 1960

Mr. PRICE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include herewith an editorial from the St. Louis Post-Dispatch, which appeared in a reprint page of editorials appearing between April 25 and May 1, 1960. The editorial entitled "Clumsy Summit Politics" follows:

CLUMSY SUMMIT POLITICS

President Eisenhower used a heavy hand when he announced that Vice President NIXON might become his stand-in at the summit conference if it goes on too long. Almost anybody could see partisan politics sticking out of this gesture at 500 paces. The President will be wise if he quietly shelves

Ostensibly the announcement was a velled warning to Premier Khrushchev to be ready for business the first week of the talks, scheduled to open May 16. The President has agreed to visit Portugal May 23 and 24. If the summit talks are still going on then, he said, he would either return to Paris or, if "domestic requirements" necessitate a return to Washington, will send Mr. Nixon in

As 55 Democratic Congressmen almost instantly made clear with a loud cry of pain, this did not fool anybody. If the President was warning Khrushchev, he was clearly also revealing an intention to help Mr. Nixon's buildup as his successor by identifying him with the summit negotiations.

From a political standpoint such tactics are to be expected, and the Democrats might as well get accustomed to them. Every sitting President naturally makes use of the advantages of his position in behalf of himself or his party in the election. But wise Presidents recognize a limit, and Mr. Eisenhower should know that the limit lies somewhere this side of the summit conference. For the national welfare, these talks should be kept well clear of partisan politics.

The Vice President has no constitutional function whatever to perform at a summit conference. He has no authority and no responsibility that would make him anything more than an errand boy. The Secretary of State, as foreign policy adviser to the President, does have constitutional authority. If any stand-in were needed, Secretary Herter, who is intimately familiar with the negotiations, ought to fill the role.

But why a stand-in at all? The summit talks are important enough to warrant Mr. Eisenhower's sustained attention. important enough not to be hobbled with arbitrary closing dates. They are even important enough to justify the President in postponing a purely ceremonial Portugal visit if need be. Should the talks be making important progress at the end of a week, the President would be betraying his highest responsibilities if he allowed anything whatever to interfere with continuing them.

Advantages of Nez Perce Dam Cited in Public Power Address

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. AL ULLMAN

OF OREGON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, April 27, 1960

Mr. ULLMAN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I want to insert the following item from the Wallowa County Chieftan of April 21. 1960. It provides a detailed statement from the proponents of a high dam at

Nez Perce regarding the recent and controversial filing on that site by the Washington Public Power Supply Sys-

[From the Wallowa County (Oreg.) Chieftan, Apr. 21, 1960]

ADVANTAGES OF NEZ PERCE DAM CITED IN PUBLIC POWER ADDRESS

An interesting discussion of the proposed Nez Perce high dam below the mouth of the Salmon River was presented at the Northwest Public Power Association, annual membership meeting at Eugene, Oreg., April 6, 7, and 8, 1960, by Owen W. Hurd, managing director, of Washington Public Power Supply System. Hurd spoke in part as follows:

"It is my privilege and assignment to discuss the key element of the middle Snake River development and the purpose and philosophy underlying the FPC license application by the Washington Public Power Supply System to construct this great Nez

Perce project.

"Mr. Cleaveland has oriented you with regard to its location below the confluence of the Salmon and Snake Rivers between Oregon and Idaho and a few miles below the southeast corner of the State of Washington. He has also indicated that the project layout contained in the Corps of Engineers current 308 review report would result in a 700-foot-high dam, impounding 41/2 million acre-feet of usable storage, with an initial installed capacity of 1,200,000 kilowatts and an ultimate capacity of 2,550,000 kilowatts. Of course, these plans provide for facilities to satisfactorily pass migratory fish. The corps estimated the project would result in an annual flood control benefits amounting to \$5,900,000 power benefits of \$38,100,000, and recreation benefits of \$115,000. Annual costs would be \$13,700,000, and the project would have a benefit-to-cost ratio as a Federal project of 3.21 to 1.

"It is not necessary to dwell on the recognized superiority of the Nez Perce project. All agencies, including the Corps of Engineers, the Federal Power Commission staff, and the Oregon Water Resources Board, who have studied potential unlicensed projects in the middle Snake, have concluded that any combination of projects which includes the Nez Perce is superior to any combination of projects that does not include the

Nez Perce.

"The Federal Power Commission in denying the Pacific Northwest Power Co. a license to build the Mount Sheep and Pleasant Valley projects (which would prohibit the construction of the Nez Perce project) did so without prejudice to the company making an application to construct the Nez Perce project." FPC FINDINGS ON NEE PERCE

The FPC staff in 1957 pointed out that: "1. The Nez Perce project was feasible for non-Federal public or private construc"'2. The flood control benefits of the Nez

Perce project were urgently needed.

"3. The problems of fish passage presented by the Nez Perce project were no different than at the Brownlee Dam of the Idaho Power Co. upstream from the Nez Perce project on the Snake River.

"'4. Recent biological and engineering accomplishments justify confidence that satisfactory means of passing downstream migrants at Nez Perce can be developed."

"In spite of this clear invitation by this sgency charged by Congress with the responsibility for maximum comprehensive development of the Nation's water resources to file on the Nez Perce project, the company, after nearly 2 years of delay, made application to construct the inferior Mount Sheep project.

"The Corps of Engineers, after amply documenting the superiority of the Nez Perce project, chose to ignore their own persuasive arguments in favor of the Nez Perce and have recommended the inferior Mount Sheep project as an element in the major water plan. The corps review report and recommendations are now being studied by the Governors of the Northwest States. Congress is not expected to have an opportunity to act on the review report during this session of Congress.

"As amended, Senate Concurrent Resolution 35, which would hold up licensing of projects in the middle Snake until Congress has had time to act upon the Corps of Engineers' review report and provide for an accelerated fisheries research program, is now in the Senate Interstate and Foreign Affairs Committee. The NWPPA has actively supported this resolution in hearings in Washington, D.C., and the Northwest. It is doubtful that Congress will take favorable action on this resolution. We hope the association will continue to support Senate Concurrent

"Senate bill 2586 would create a fish sanctuary on the Salmon River and would have the immediate effect of forever blocking the Nez Perce project and delay for many years, if not forever, the construction of any sizable project on the Salmon River. This bill is also presently in the Senate Interstate and Foreign Affairs Committee. This bill, although intended as a conservation measure, would actually be in direct opposition to true conservation and maximum use of our water resources.

Resolution 35.

"It will be recalled that the excuse the FPC examiner in the high Hells Canyon hearings gave for recommending the three low dams to the Idaho Power Co. was that neither Congress nor any other agency was proposing to build the vastly superior high Hells Canyon project. Many believe that had local public agencies applied for a license to construct the high Hells Canyon project, a full and orderly development of the middle Snake would have been assured."

NEZ PERCE APPLICATIONS

"The intervention of NWPPA and the National Hells Canyon Association in the Mount Sheep application faced a costly, futile, and unrealistic prospect to prevent the issuance of a license for the Mount Sheep project. It was with full knowledge and awareness of this situation and circumstances that the executive committee of the NHCA met in Portland on February 18 and unanimously recommended that the Washington Public Power Supply System make application to FPC for a license to construct the Nez Perce project.

"This recommendation did not take WPPSS by surprise. Since its organization, in 1957, the problems and feasibility of such a filing on the Nez Perce had been considered. The invitation of FPC in 1957 to the Pacific Northwest Power Co. to file on Nez

Perce and denying the low Mount Sheep application stimulated these considerations, and the matter was discussed rather widely throughout the region. We expected that the corps in its review report would take an uncompromising stand in favor of the Nez Perce project and Federal authorization. This argued against a filing on Nez Perce. When the corps failed to take such a stand, Senate Concurrent Resolution 35, which would delay the licensing of the Mount Sheep project, was considered preferable to a filing. With legislative action to save Nez Perce moving slowly and proceedings before FPC on the Mount Sheep application accelerating, it was obvious that the time for action on a Nez Perce filing by a non-Federal public agency was at hand.

"WPPSS moved swiftly and on March 15 (3 weeks and 2 days after the decision was made by the board of directors) an application to construct the great Nez Perce project was filed with the Federal Power Commission in Washington, D.C.

"It is generally recognized by all familiar with the situation that the action taken is a positive, constructive, and sound means of insuring proper consideration by FPC on the Nez Perce project and development of the middle Snake in the best public interest.

"However, this action has also been accompanied by honest and sincere expressions of concern by some and, of course, some outright criticism by a few who are not concerned with maximum usage of our water resources and the value of low-cost power to the economy of our region.

"I would like to devote the time remaining to me on this panel to briefly state our position with regard to those matters which appear to be of greatest concern to those desiring to make an objective evaluation of the merits of the WPPSS proposal to construct the Nez Perce project.

"First, there is the concern about the market and power allocation for a project utilizing the water resources common to three States by a municipal corporation composed of public utility districts in the State of Washington.

"Our position with regard to power allocation and power marketing can be summarized as follows:

"POWER ALLOCATION

"1. Low-cost power from the Nez Perce project as it becomes available will go to industrial users and public and private utilities who have executed power purchase contracts at the time the project is financed by the sale of revenue bonds.

"2. It is obvious that industries and utilities foreseeing the greatest need and benefit from this low-cost source of power will have the greatest incentive to execute power sales contracts. Power from this project, as with all other projects, will go where the need exists and where economics dictates regardless of geographical or political boundaries. This has been true of Federal projects and the large Columbia River projects of Grant and Chelan PUD's as well as the Pend Oreille PUD Box Canyon project.

"3. Public agencies in the Northwest participating with WPPSS in the development of this project will have equal opportunity to share in the future benefits of the project.

"4. This is equally true whether these agencies are in Oregon, Idaho, or western Montana. The main point is that when fuller development of any site is achieved, we have a bigger power pie to cut.

"5. The downstream benefits will be equal to another Bonneville Dam, creating still more kilowatts to distribute.

"The possible use of low cost Nez Perce power to develop and conserve the recovery of chemical and fertilizer phosphates from the low grade ore in southeastern Idaho will not be ignored. Surveys and appraisals will be made to fully explore this market.

"Nez Perce power will become available at a time when power contracts for Northwest aluminum plants expire and when it is expected there will be a need for additional aluminum production capacity. The retention of present plants and their expansion by low cost power will benefit the entire region.

"We have noted the commendable efforts of Governor Hatfield and business leaders in Oregon in an aggressive and forthright effort to create jobs and economic opportunities by inviting industrial and business expansion in Oregon. We hope that public and private utilities in Oregon, as well as in Idaho, Washington, and western Montana, will seize the opportunity to aid the efforts Governor Hatfield and others by cooperating in the development and use of Nez Perce power."

THE FISH PROBLEM

"Another concern is the possible adverse effect the Nez Perce project might have on future salmon reproduction in the upper reaches of the Salmon River. Our position on the fish problem can be stated as follows:

"1. The fisheries industry is important to many areas served by public and cooperative power agencies, particularly along the coast. We have a great stake in not only protecting the fisheries industry, but in expanding it. It has been said that power and fish are in conflict. What often is overlooked is that floods kill off fish in great numbers. Therefore, as we achieve flood control, we improve conditions for a bigger and healthier fishing industry.

"'2. A proposal for fish passage facilities to be incorporated in the design of the Nez Perce Dam utilizing methods of advanced and proven performance will shortly be submitted to the Federal and State fish agencies.

"3. It is expected that testimony to be presented during the Nez Perce-Mount Sheep hearings will bring into sharp focus the progress which has been made and the success achieved in passing fish over dams as well as the significance of recent developments in fields of stream improvement, disease control, artificial spawning grounds, fish farming and scientific management of our fish resources."

"Another concern on the part of some is that the Nez Perce application will result in a delay in bringing into production a source of power from the middle Snake. To this, our answer is that with the full cooperation of all concerned, Nez Perce power can be put on the line as early as any alternate and lesser project in the same reach of the Snake River. We will work to make this become a reality.

"The Nez Perce is only one of several large unscheduled projects that will be required to meet the region's growing power requirements during the next 10 years. Present estimates are that more than 3 million kilowatts of additional firm capacity will be required before 1970. The Nez Perce project can supply one-third of the needed new capacity.

"The Nez Perce does not have to be the next project developed in the region. There are alternative sites where we know we can achieve full development, such as Bruce's Eddy and Lower Monumental, not to mention the 700,000 to 900,000 kilowatt Hanford reactor.

"The superiority of Nez Perce is unquestioned. The region needs this project for flood control and the benefits of the low cost power it can provide. The fish problems can be satisfactorily solved. What is needed is more cooperation and less controversy."

How Do You Stand?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. HAMER H. BUDGE

OF IDAHO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 26, 1960

Mr. BUDGE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include in the Record an editorial appearing in the May 2 edition of the Idaho Daily Statesman, published in Boise, Idaho.

Written by the Honorable BARRY GOLD-WATER, Senator from Arizona, the editorial is a short history of our Government from the days of the drafting of the Constitution down to the present time. It shows what the Founding Fathers intended, and what we have done to those intentions.

The distinguished Senator from Arizona has shown how far we have drifted away from the precepts of those noble Datriots who gave the United States the greatest form of government in the history of the world.

Mr. Speaker, we should return to them immediately.

The editorial follows:

[From the Boise (Idaho) Daily Statesman, May 2, 1960]

How Do You STAND, SIR?

(By Senator BARRY GOLDWATER)

To understand the importance of the Federal Constitution, we must recognize that it is primarily a system of restraints against the natural tendency of government to ex-Pand in the direction of absolutism.

We all know the main components of the system. The first is the limitation of the Federal Government's authority to specific, delegated powers. The second, a corollary of the first, is the reservation to the States and the people of all power not delegated to the Federal Government. The third is a careful division of the Federal Government's power among three separate branches. The fourth is a prohibition against impetuous alteration of the system—namely, article V's tortuous, but wise, amendment procedures.

Was it then a democracy the framers created? Hardly. The system of restraints, on the face of it, was directed not only against individual tyrants, but also against a tyranny of the masses. The framers were Well aware of the danger posed by self-seeking demagogs—that they might persuade a majority of the people to confer on government vast powers in return for deceptive

Promises of economic gain.

And so they forbade such a transfer of Power: first, by declaring, in effect, that cer-tain activities are outside the natural and legitimate scope of the public authority; and secondly, by dispersing public authority among several levels and branches of government in the hope that each seat of authority, jealous of its own prerogatives, would have a natural incentive to resist aggression by the others.

But the framers were not visionaries. They knew that rules of government, however brilliantly calculated to cope with the imperfect hature of man, however carefully designed to avoid the pitfalls of power, would be no match for men who were determined to disregard them.

In the last analysis their system of government would prosper only if the governed were sufficiently determined that it should. "What have you given us?" a woman asked Ben Franklin toward the close of the Constitutional Convention. "A republic," he said, "if you can keep it."

We have not kept it. The system of re-straints has fallen into disrepair. The Federal Government has moved into every field in which it believes its services are needed.

The State governments are either excluded from their rightful functions by Federal pre-emption, or they are allowed to act at the sufferance of the Federal Government. Inside the Federal Government both the executive and judicial branches have roamed far outside their constitutional boundary lines.

There are a number of ways in which the power of government can be measured.

One is the size of its financial operations. Federal spending is now approaching a hundred billion dollars a year (compared with 31/2 billion less than three decades ago).

Another is the scope of its activities. study recently conducted by the Chicago Tribune showed the Federal Government is now the biggest landowner, property manager, renter, mover and hauler, medical clinician, lender insurer, mortgage broker, employer, debtor, taxer, and splender in all history.

Still another is the portion of the people's earnings Government appropriates for its own use: nearly a third of earnings are taken

every year in the form of taxes.

A fourth is the extent of Government interference in the daily lives of individuals. The farmer is told how much wheat he can grow. The wage earner is at the mercy of national union leaders whose great power is a direct consequence of Federal labor legisla-The businessman is hampered by a maze of Government regulations, and often by direct Government competition.

The Government takes 6 percent of most payrolls in social security taxes and thus compels millions of individuals to postpone until later years the enjoyment of wealth they might otherwise enjoy today. Increasingly, the Federal Government sets standards of education, health, and safety.

The Constitution is not an antique document. It is as pertinent today as it was when it was written. Our great error has been in departing from the letter and the intent of the Constitution as a document to restrain the concentration of power. How do you stand, sir?

Washing a Few Brains at Taxpayers' Expense

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JAMES C. DAVIS

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, May 9, 1960

Mr. DAVIS of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, the recently concluded White House Conference on Youth and Children has left many of us wondering if this "rigged" Conference had any purpose other than to indoctrinate and brainwash the youth of America. If this Conference had a legitimate purpose, it was surely lost among the pernicious rabble which paraded before it as speakers. The transparency of its speakers removed all doubt that this Conference was anything but a continuing effort for social revolution, at the taxpayers' expense, by radicals and leftwingers.

The Metropolitan Herald, one of the outstanding newspapers published in Atlanta, in my district, recently ran an editorial which had appeared originally in the Richmond News Leader. This editorial addresses itself to the very heart of this so-called White House Conference. It is a thought-provoking and thoroughly clear analysis of the effects this sham conference tried to achieve, and I commend it to the Members of this body.

Pursuant to unanimous consent, I insert this editorial herewith:

WASHING A FEW BRAINS AT TAXPAYERS' EXPENSE

The 1960 White House Conference on Children and Youth has come and gone. It has left no visible impression, so far as we can determine, upon most of the body politic. Virginia, at least, the sessions Here in claimed little newspaper attention; it would be doubtful if one person in a thousand could quote even one of the hundreds of recommendations the conference left behind. It is as if the participants walked across a beach without leaving footprints.

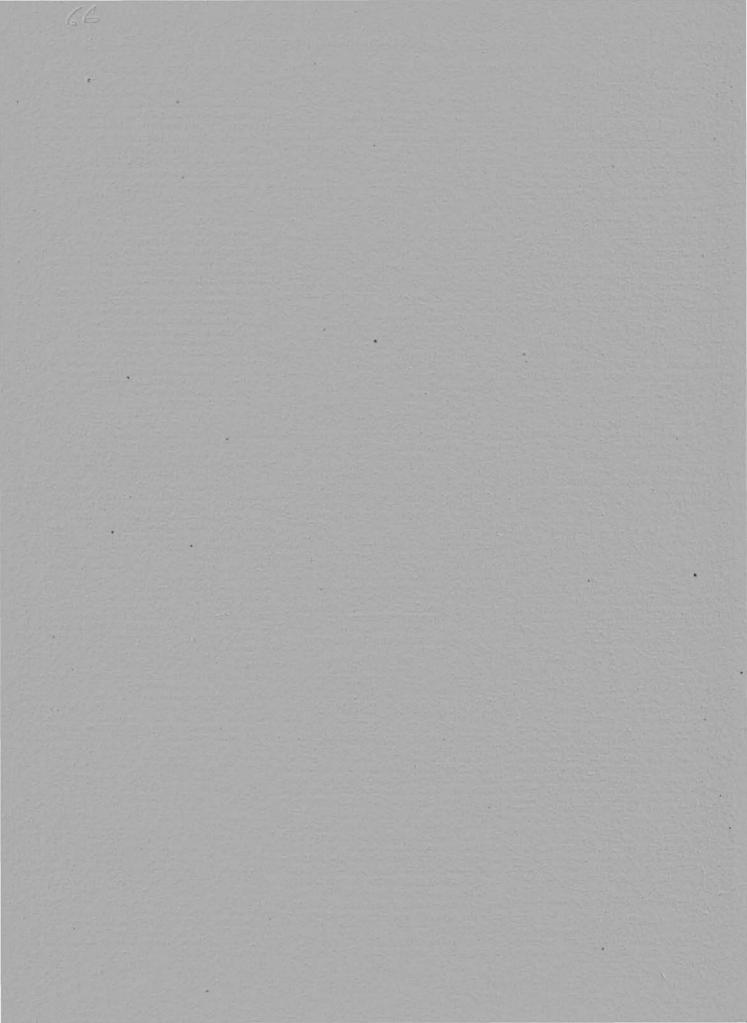
Yet this pianissimo record seems to us highly deceptive. Upward of 7,000 delegates attended these well organized and smoothly conducted sessions. They were subjected to a week of concentrated political and social indoctrination. The Conference was rigged by experts, so that nothing of importance would be left to chance.

The 7,000 return to their home communities like 7,000 smooth and unobtrusive pebbles dropped in 7,000 ponds; the ripples spread. In classrooms, in community centers, in young peoples' groups of the various churches, the influence of the White House Conference is bound to seep in.

What ideas are sucked up in this capillary action? If the 1960 Conference had one principal theme, it was the subordination of the individual. In one session after an-other, the delegates were subtly instructed in the doctrines of statism-no problem, large or small, is to be solved by the individual by means of self-reliance; on the contrary, all problems are to be approached with a sense of social consciousness, of solution by gov-ernmental action. There must be Federal aid to school construction, Federal aid to school operation, Federal housing, Federal health, Federal grants and subsidies in a thousand fields. The concept of "one world" is to be embraced; the United States, unjustly rich, must atone for its wealth by giving its wealth away. All men are brothers; national boundaries are relics of outmoded thinking; patriotism is a distasteful, embarrassing, and unsophisticated attitude. And, of course, the myth of "race" must be abolished through a steadily coerced plan of racial integration.

These were the recurring themes of the Conference as a whole. Pauline Frederick, NBC news commentator, lectured the delegates on an accommodation with Russia. Harold Fleming, director of the leftwing Southern Regional Council, deplored the extent to which local feelings have been respected in matters of integration. Dr. David R. Mace, a marriage counselor of the University of Pennsylvania, comfortably acknowledged that integration inevitably would result in racial intermarriage, until "coffee-colored compromise" had been achieved.

All this cost the American taxpayers \$350,-It is a high price for laundry, for bleaching out boldness and originality, and ironing away all the interesting wrinkles. We may be thankful these antiseptic Mon-days come only once every 10 years. So far as our young people are concerned, this is quite often enough to wash their most vital asset-their brains.



Appendix

Loyalty Day, 1960

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. JAMES E. VAN ZANDT

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 10, 1960

Mr. VAN ZANDT, Mr. Speaker, the Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States planned to observe Loyalty Day, 1960, at Valley Forge State Park, Valley Forge, Pa., on Sunday, May 1, but because of inclement weather the program was canceled. Another effort was made on Sunday, May 8, to stage the program, but rain again interfered, with the result that it has been necessary to abandon this year's observance of May Day at Valley Forge.

Having been invited to deliver the principal address at the May Day program at Valley Forge, I am inserting in the RECORD at this time the address which I had prepared for the occasion: SPEECH BY REPRESENTATIVE JAMES E. VAN

ZANDT, LOYALTY DAY CELEBRATION AT VAL-LEY FORGE STATE PARK, VALLEY FORGE, PA., SPONSORED BY THE VETERANS OF FOREIGN WARS OF THE UNITED STATES, SUNDAY, MAY 1. 1960

The 1960 Loyalty Day celebration recalls years of effort by the Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States to have May 1 of each year permanently designated as Loyalty

This occasion is further enhanced by the very nature of our geographical location, Valley Forge, which truly signifies heroic devotion to the principle of American loyalty.

The events that occurred here at Valley Forge almost 200 years ago have become sacred chapters in the annals of America's heritage.

It was a great honor to accept the invitation to bring you a loyalty day message and—as many of you know—my interest in this particular day holds both pride and

After years of persistent effort to have May 1 of each year designated as loyalty day-1958 the Congress endorsed a House joint resolution which it was my privilege to in-troduce as a Member of the House of Repre-

The resolution was duly signed by President Elsenhower on July 18, 1958 and thus May 1 of each year was established as Loyalty Day.

This legislation requests that the President of the United States issue an annual proclamation inviting the people of the United States to observe loyalty day with appropriate ceremonies—"In which all of our people may join in the expression and reaffirmance of their loyalty to the United States."

The 1960 loyalty day proclamation of President Eisenhower reminds us that "the existence of the United States as a free Nation is dependent upon the unswerving and enlightened loyalty of its people," that "our priceless heritage of freedom is in constant danger from forces inimical to our tradiwhich is our fundamental principle of lib-erty under law"—and "that on one special day of the year we give grateful expression to our country's deep hold upon our hearts

Fellow Americans, we can do no less than give these ideals so ably expressed by President Eisenhower our earnest attention as loyal and liberty-loying citizens of this great Republic.

Before I give you some of my thoughts on the subject of loyalty-I should like to extend a well-deserved tribute to the Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States.

It had long been the goal of the VFW to secure a definite means by which we could counteract the demonstration of the Communists on May Day which often grew to large proportions in many cities, especially along our eastern seaboard.

Someone has said the VFW is not regarded as merely a lot of ex-servicemen engaged in

giving more lipservice to lofty ideals.
Since its inception in 1899—the VFW has to its credit an endless list of projects which have benefited communities across our entire Nation.

The "good of the public" has been kept in mind at all times.

The VFW has realistically believed that its members want to continue their service to their country through broad activities in time of peace to help strengthen the foundations of the Nation they helped defend by bearing arms against enemies on foreign battle-

It was appropriate-indeed-that the Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States should take the initiative in establishing Lovalty Day.

This adds one more chapter to the VFW's record of patriotic service to America.

It is not incidental that the Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States on February 22 of this year was again honored by the Freedoms Foundation at the foundation's 11th awards-presentation program.

It was the 10th consecutive year that the VFW has been named to receive a Freedoms Foundation distinguished service award-which was based on the VFW's nationwide leadership in the observance of Loyalty Day-May 1.

Fellow Americans-what should we emphasize today in our thoughts about loyalty to our country?

Often historical illustrations are overlooked in our rush to launch another satellite or another missile, however important such efforts may be.

It has been said that Americans today are living examples of the terse comment that "the one thing we learn from history is that we learn nothing from history."

May I relate to you a very interesting coin-

cidence of history.

Just as Edward Gibbon was nearing the

manumental work, "The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire," small group of men, assembled in Philadelphia, was creating a new republic in the Western World.

No writer had ever attempted a larger task than Gibbon in the history of Rome.

No one would have believed that so many pages would ever again be required for the portrayal of such an epic.

We might well ask ourselves today these

(a) Will some future historian record on an equal scale the decline and fall of our Western civilization?

(b) As the years pass will there be an erosion of American ideals?

(c) As in many countries will the tide of our national ideals be turned back by a sudden reversion to a dictatorial form of

The Republics of Rome and America are not identical.

But some points of similarity might well give solemnity to the warning that the same fate which overtook the one might easily overtake the other.

Rome based its dominion on the powers of the Caesars, but the strength of our Western Republic is derived from the people.

Rome collapsed when it became drunk with

On the other hand, America faces the choice of maintaining the bulwark of its Constitution or slowly submitting to the numerous "isms" which crowd into the headlines of our lives.

Therefore, we are faced with these ques-

(a) Will the American people continue to uphold the Constitution?

(b) Can we continue to maintain our political and social equilibrium without destroying our liberty?

In considering these questions—one may wonder if the makers of the Constitution dreamed that such questions would arise in regard to that document.

The spirit of the Constitution is set forth in the words of Madison when he said that the general opinion of the Convention was to secure the private rights against majority factions-and at the same time-to preserve the spirit and form of popular government.

It is evident, therefore, that the American people must be brought to the realization that these objectives must be maintained or constitutional government will give way.

American ideals can be maintained—my fellow Americans, through the repetition of ideas-ideas that point up loyalty to our

Likewise, the repetition of ideas, which are contrary to our way of life will ulti-mately result in the acceptance of something less than the American form of government.

Does the average American citizen recognize that we are being literally deluged with propaganda of all kinds?

Since 1917, and with intensified force for the last two decades, the Communist masters of the Soviet Union have sought to sell the American people the thesis that the Communist system represents the tide of the

On the other hand, there has been a tendency in America to dwell upon our shortcomings and to place our thoughts upon the faults of our own system—a system that in reality is the envy of all the world.

It is unthinkable, yet true, that in some circles the very word "loyalty" has been frowned upon as being old fashioned and somewhat ridiculous.

It has been stated that the United States is both an obstacle to communism and a target for it.

Yes, it is an obstacle because our whole way of life reveals the falsity of the Com-munist claim that people find happiness and prosperity only under Communist rule.

Yes, it is likewise a target because our economic and industrial strength is built upon free institutions which Communist theory condemns as unworkable and doomed

Communist activities, therefore, should be of grave concern to loyal Americans.

To combat communism effectively we need to know how Communists are organized and how they operate.

We need to know and recognize their strat-

egy and tactics.

The graveness of the threat to a Nation's security from Communists within its borders cannot be measured merely by their numbers.

In fact, the Communists have been a minority-and often a very small one-in the

countries they have taken over.
So we cannot afford to take lightly the possible danger from Communists in this country just because the number of party members in our midst has been small

The Communist Party in the United States was outlawed by an act of Congress-signed by President Eisenhower on August 24, 1954.

Membership in the party is not a crime. But the Communist Party in the United States was stripped of the rights, privileges, and immunities of legal bodies created under the jurisdiction of the laws of the United States or any of its political subdivisions.

Presumably this means the party cannot

hold bank accounts, obtain aid from the courts in enforcing contracts, or run candidates for public offices.

The Communist Party in action has two parts.

One appears on the surface and its actions are open to view.

The other part operates underground.

The chief underground operations are esplonage and conspiracy against the Government of the United States.

The use of the printed word has become increasingly important to the Communist in light of our Government's ability to expose subversive activities of the Communists of the United States.

Congress has passed a number of laws dealing with specific problems in curbing

the Reds.

For example, individuals and organiza-tions acting on behalf of foreign powers in the United States are required to register with Federal authorities.

In addition, the Smith Act made it illegal to advocate overthrow of the Govern-

ment by force and violence.

The Congress also voted to take American citizenship away from any person convicted of conspiring to advocate violent overthrow of the Government of the United States.

Today peacetime spying is subject to the death penalty.

Fellow Americans, it is common knowledge that the Soviet Union betrayed the great alliance of World War II by launching the cold war that envelops the world at this moment.

The task of the Communists everywhere in the world is to undermine resistance to the Soviet Union and Red China through their phony appeals for peace.

Nations are persuaded to disarm, and confidence of the people of a free nation in their leadership is destroyed.

In short, free nation is set against free nation.

Therefore, it is paramount that in defending ourselves against Communist infiltration and Communist fronts, we be alert to identify and expose the real enemy and not attack each other.

There are weapons the average citizen

can use to combat communism.

We might appropriately call them indis-censable tools designed for daily use by each loyal American.

These weapons in our arsenal are many.

For example, information is a very important weapon.

In this field, we should keep abreast of current affairs because freedom of the press and freedom of speech are essential to political liberty.

Where men cannot freely convey their thoughts to one another-no freedom is se-

One may ask in all sincerity, "How can we distinguish truth from propaganda?'

The answer is-

(a) We must analyze rather than follow blindly the conflicting ideas that constantly enter a free society.

(b) We should maintain an intense and active loyalty to the principles upon which our Nation was founded-and finally

(c) These principles are a splendid guide to use in determining what is true and what

Another worthwhile weapon in our stockpile is "alertness."

In this connection, no one should permit himself to innocently support Communist

To the contrary—we should pay more attention to what Communist leaders tell us about the techniques they intend to adopt to underline the structure of our form of government.

Fellow Americans-loyalty day is a day which should bring us to our feet to salute the flag of our country.

it should bring us to our feet in a state of alertness to the factions that would undermine our Nation.

There is no doubt that the trend toward stricter control and greater unity of Com-munist thought and action throughout the world has intensified during the past 18 months.

Khrushchev's visit to the United States in the fall of 1959 and his activities since have made it clear that though the Communist leader emphasized in general terms his desire for peace, he reacted negatively to any proposal for a compromise on the concrete issues dividing the free world and communism.

We recall his appearance before the United Nations on September 18, 1959 when he proposed general total disarmament within 4 but confined himself to generalities, as the Soviet Union had done in two previous proposals of a similar nature made to the League of Nations by Soviet spokesmen.

It seems that we go through periods of hope for peace and goodwill and at times grow lukewarm toward the cold war which is all around us.

Those who expected Khrushchev's visit to the United States would change in substance the issues of the cold war have been disappointed.

Mark you, disappointment often breeds in-

Therefore, America must remain alert to new and more provocative incidents that overnight can affect the position of the United States in the eyes of the world.

There are many bright spots on the horizon as we view our world today, but there are also many dark spots.

Unfortunately, the basic problems have not been solved.

It is appropriate at this point to recall a statement made by President Eisenhower on March 1 of this year during his South American tour when he said in Santiago, Chile:

"The peace that we all seek, in justice and in freedom, can be based only on one thing, mutual understanding. Unless we have that among peoples, and eventually governments which are always seemingly be-hind the people rather than ahead of them unless we have that kind of understandingmutual understanding—we are not going to have true peace.

"Each of you that helps in the tiniest way to bring about this understanding is thereby promoting the peace for himself, his children, and those who are to come after him."

Fellow Americans, in striving for universal justice and freedom, it is essential that we keep in close touch with America's attitude toward its way of life-and its attitude toward political and economic problems.

Our loyalty demands that we be proud of many things-but it also demands we bear in mind that we are not perfect.

Our loyalty demands that we avoid the vice of self-complacency.

We should acknowledge the fact that the American system has many safeguards.

With the proper forces at work in the minds and hearts of the American people in the future—as in the past—the spirit of liberty will flourish in our beloved land.

Finally, my fellow Americans, our loyalty must keep this country militarily strong, mentally alert, and above all, ever mindful of the heritage on which we as liberty-loving Americans base our hopes for a peaceful future.

Senator Thurmond's George Washington Award Speech to Senator Goldwater

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. KARL E. MUNDT

OF SOUTH DAKOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Tuesday, May 10, 1960

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. President, at the annual George Washington awards dinner of the American Good Government Society on April 30, attended by many of our colleagues in the Senate and the House, Senator BARRY GOLDWATER, of Arizona, and Congressman GRAHAM BAR-DEN, of North Carolina, were the award recipients. It was a great occasion attended by nearly 700 distinguished Americans.

Senator STROM THURMOND, of South Carolina, made the awards presentation speech to Senator Goldwater and I ask leave at this point to have his address printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the remarks were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

REMARKS BY SENATOR THURMOND IN MAKING PRESENTATION OF THE GEORGE WASHINGTON AWARD TO SENATOR GOLDWATER AT THE AN-NUAL GEORGE WASHINGTON DINNER OF THE AMERICAN GOOD GOVERNMENT SOCIETY. APRIL 30, 1960

I feel very highly honored tonight to have the privilege of making the presentation of a George Washington Award of the American Good Government Society. This award carries much distinction and honor because it is presented by a great organization which stands for the highest American principles and traditions and also because the award is based on the lofty ideals of the greatest American, the Father of our Country, George Washington. I am particularly pleased to have the opportunity to make the presentation of this award to one of my most valued friends, a man who has never hesitated to place principle above expediency, country above party, and honor above profit.

This man possesses all the basic qualities which are so vital in winning and holding the respect and confidence of his fellowman. He is a man of great intellect, wisdom, judgment, industry, integrity, sincerity, and courage. In addition, he is one of the most handsome and personable gentlemen in public life. All of these qualities have played an important part in the outstanding success he has attained as a businessman, an Air Force Reserve officer, and as a public servant.

Of all the qualities I have mentioned in describing the recipient of this award, there is one upon which we must place a premium in our country today, especially for public servants, and that quality is courage. Winston Churchill has well said that "courage is rightly esteemed the first of all human qualities because it is the quality which guarantees all others."

I do not know of any man who has demonstrated this priceless quality to a greater extent in performing his duties as a U.S. Senator than the recipient of this award. He has opposed the demands of special interest groups when their demands were not in the interest of the public. He has ex-posed and moved to correct the corrupt practices of big labor bosses in the interest of the working people even in the face of attempts by the labor bosses to retire him from public life. He has fought to preserve personal liberty during this period when conformity appears to be the order of the day. He has defended our great free en-terprise system against the rising tide of socialism. He has stood up for the Con-stitution and the rights of the States as against usurpation of power and a central-lization of Government in Washington. He has spoken up against deficit financing and in favor of fiscal sanity and a balanced budget. He has advocated a program of national defense which would insure ade-Quate strength and readiness to cope with the aggressive intentions of any enemy Power. And he has proposed a bold foreign Policy program of strength and wisdom in seeking victory for the free world in our struggle against the dictatorial and godless forces of communism.

The Republican Party of South Carolina, as well as his home State party, recently selected this man as their favorite nominee for President. Knowing the southern peo-ple as I do, it is my opinion that if he should be selected as the nominee of either major political party, he would carry the South; and if elected, he would make a great President.

It is a unique and distinct pleasure for me to present this very coveted award to an able Senator, an outstanding soldier, a dedicated statesman, a true patriot, a distinguished citizen, and a great and courageous American, my good friend, BARRY MORRIS GOLDWATER.

TEXT OF CITATION ON SCROLL—RESOLUTION OF TRIBUTE AND HONOR

BARRY MORRIS GOLDWATER

Merchant and soldier, statesman and political leader, has dedicated half of his adult Years to the service of his fellowmen-in the Army Air Corps, in the city council of Phoenix, and in the U.S. Senate.

Knowledge, energy, integrity, and courage characterize the service of this distinguished Senator. His belief that the protection of God-given personal liberty is the first pur-Pose of national independence has made him a leader of those who would revive and restore the blessing of liberty in this coun-

Instilled with the American heritage of Anglo-Saxon law, he is a resolute foe of those who would erase the sacred rights of mankind. Thus, he repudiates the idea that our National Government can delegate a sovereign power to tax men and to rule commerce and industry to trade unions. Senator Goldwarer has enriched the field of politics, the noblest calling any man can

Man's Work at Niagara

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. EDWIN B. DOOLEY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, May 10, 1960

Mr. DOOLEY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to include in the RECORD an editorial from the New York Times of May 10, concerning the hydroelectric power project at Niagara Falls,

This project, which will cost threequarters of a billion dollars, will be the largest hydroelectric power project in the Western World.

The magnitude of what is being done at Niagara Falls challenges the imagination. It involves the creation of new parks, parkways, highways, and bridges, the relocation of railroad tracks, and the movement of great masses of earth and stone. When it is finished the project will serve a great area of New York State, Pennsylvania, and Ohio.

The editorial follows:

MAN'S WORK AT NIAGARA

No one has succeeded in describing adequately what nature has done at Niagara Falls and words are likewise unequal to convey the magnitude of what man is doing there now in construction of the \$720 million hydroelectric power project and related improvements to enhance visitor enjoyment of a trip to the falls. Old battles give way to new. The contests in Congress and the courts are history. What spring visitors now see when they turn away from the hypnotically beautiful sight of the torrents bearing the last of winter's ice, is man's mastery of a river whose cruel force would have seemed unconquerable.

Some measures of size and speed help in the comprehension of what the New York State Power Authority is building. This is the largest hydroelectric generating installa-tion in the Western World. First, power will flow in February 1961, 3 years after award of first construction contracts." Main elements are the water intake 21/2 miles above the falls, conduits whose inside measurements are 46 feet by 62 feet, two generating plants and a huge reservoir. In the month of April 9,000 men were on the job, yet so vast is the backdrop, so great the distances, that the tempo seems deceptively slow.

If Niagara Falls, the city, could have been evacuated of business, industry, and residents, the job would, of course, have been infinitely easier. But life had to go on much as usual. Utilities, railroads had to be relocated. Water had to be supplied to industry even though part of the river was temporarily dried up. This is not just a case of building great powerplants which are below the falls. It is a major project of creating new parks, parkways, highways, bridges, a tower with elevators creating new vistas—vast improvements for the visitor to the American side of the falls.

Basic to this whole construction are such incidentals of ponderous scope as the largest aggregate plant ever built to supply crushed rock and sand, and concrete mixing plants on the site, while rock gouged out of the gorge wall and elsewhere contributes material for fill for such widely varied purposes as roads, parking areas, a new housing subdivision, reservoir dikes, and all the massive fundamentals of the power project itself.

So there are two great sights at Niagara this summer—the falls and the power-construction tob-for visitors who will not soon or ever again have such an opportunity midway in construction. Robert Moses, as chairman of the power authority, has been giving up some jobs, taking on another big one in the World's Fair. But at Niagara he is in the midst of a rushing to completion a work that stands large and unmatched in his singular career of accomplishment.

One Hundredth Anniversary of First Treaty of Amity and Commerce With Japan

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. LYNDON B. JOHNSON

OF TEXAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Tuesday, May 10, 1960

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. President, I should like to briefly mention the observance in Dallas, Tex., of an important event which happened 100 years ago. That was the signing by the United States of the first treaty of amity and commerce with Japan, opening trade routes between the two nations.

That treaty is being commemorated in Texas, Mr. President, because it now represents an important source of prosperity for Texas and other States in the South and Southwest, as well as Japan. Last year the Japanese bought nearly \$100 million worth of American cotton. In return, America is an important customer for Japan's ancient, but still popular, luxury fiber-silk.

In recognition of this important trade relationship, Japan is sending to Dallas a silk exhibition which will feature scores of silk textiles and ladies' fashions created from them. I think it is of real significance that Dallas has been chosen as the site for this exhibition. I think it is of real significance that Japanese-American trade is once again healthy and prospering, and that the silk exhibition signifies these restored friendly relations.

I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a letter on this subject which I have re-ceived from John H. Shoaf, executive secretary of the Dallas Manufacturers and Wholesalers Association.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD. as follows:

DALLAS MANUFACTURERS & WHOLESALERS ASSN., INC. Dallas, Tex., April 28, 1960. Senator LYNDON JOHNSON,

Senate Office Building, Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR JOHNSON: Because our country and Japan this year celebrate the cen-tennial of their first treaty of amity and commerce, I wish to call your attention to a splendid example of such amity and commerce taking place in Texas this spring.

I feel this centennial is uniquely significant to Texas, because today much of our State's foreign commerce is with Japan. Cotton, of course, is one of our main ex-ports; and Japan buys most of the Texas

cotton that is shipped abroad. Last year she bought nearly \$100 million worth of American cotton, and much of even the part of that which was grown in other States is shipped from Texas ports.

Historically, Texas like the rest of the Nation has sold and shipped a great deal more to Japan than it has imported from Japan, and the Japanese trade has been important and profitable to our State.

This year, for the first time, Japan is sending to Dallas, Tex., its lavish and brilliant annual Japan Silk Exhibition, a display of newly woven silks all produced this year, and representing all the great silk mills of

It strikes me that this is a wonderful illustration of the importance of international trade at its best-demonstrating an exchange that can be mutually useful and profitable, and also the importance of Japanese-American trade not only to the whole United States, but especially to the South, and to individual States and cities,

Silk seems to me an extraordinarily happy symbol of the Japan-American trade which this year's centennial celebrates-and which today has vast new importance to the entire world and in fortifying free-world strength, stability, and prosperity in the danger areas of the Far East.

Silk was one of the first and most valued products of our trade with Japan from the time it began just 100 years ago, and throughout the generations until the Second World War.

During the war, not only the entire trade ended, but the industry in Japan was largely destroyed; by the time trade was reestab-lished, new synthetic textiles had largely replaced silk for American use.

But silk continues to be-as throughout all recorded history—the outstanding luxury fabric, and today it is enjoying the fashion revival of which it is worthy.

It also is symbolic of desirable interna-

tional trade in another way. Silk is an in-digenous product of Japan. We do not raise it in this country in any appreciable quantity. And because it is an unique natural product which duplicates no other and cannot be duplicated, it is a noncompetitive material. Japan exports silk; we export cotton. Both countries use and wear both materials, so that it makes a mutually fortunate trade.

The 1960 Japan Silk Exhibition in Dallas will display scores of Japan's newest silk textiles in an extraordinary variety of weave and design. Besides showing the beautiful silk materials themselves, it also presents a fashion show to demonstrate the use of these silks in international fashions. For this 10 of Japan's leading fashion designers created 30 original costumes, both American and Japanese-a spectacular array which is most fascinating and picturesque. You know how our Texas women love fashion

Personally, I feel that Dallas, Tex., is honored to be the only city in the Nation where this Exhibition is to be shown, outside New York and Los Angeles-and it occurs to me in view of the national observance of the Japan-American trade centennial, it would be most appropriate, and very gratifying to us in Dallas, if you could give it recognition by some suitable comment on the floor of the Senate.

It is interesting that in this centennial year, Japan has become of such vital importance to our country that for the first time in history a President in office is making it an official visit. This emphasizes anew the importance of Japan-American amity and commerce which led to the writing of that first treaty which was ratified just 100 years ago, on May 22, 1860.

If you could feel it worth while to make a Senate reference to the significance of the 1960 Japan Silk Exhibition in Dallas as an example of Japan-American trade relations at the end of the first 100 years, we certainly should appreciate it very much, and be enormously grateful.

With warmest good wishes and great regards,

Yours sincerely,

John H. Shoaf,

Manu Executive Secretary, Dallas Manufacturers Wholesalers Association, Inc.

DALLAS CHAMBER OF COMMERCE

Dallas, Tex., April 27, 1960. Acceptances received to date in reply to Mr. Potter's invitation to Washington diplomats to visit Dallas on May 10-11 indicate that over 30 foreign countries will be represented.

Your Dallas Chamber of Commerce is doing everything possible to encourage better trade relations between our business community and oversea markets throughout the world.

A first step was to extend invitations to all foreign embassies in Washington to send their commercial counselor to Dallas for 2 days for the purpose of seeing first hand, on a person to person basis, what Dallas is and what Dallas has.

Response to the invitation has been heart warming and we sincerely hope that you will take this opportunity to meet with the com-mercial counselors of the world during their Dallas visit.

Dallas Diplomats Day program includes:
1. Luncheon at the Dallas Trade Mart,

2100 Stemmons Expressway, Tuesday, May 10, 12 noon, \$3 per person.

2. Informal reception and dinner, grand ballroom, Sheraton-Dallas Hotel, Tuesday, May 10, 7:30 p.m., \$6 per person. Ladies invited.

3. Luncheon at the Century Room, Adolphus Hotel, Wednesday, May 11, 12:15 p.m., \$3 per person.

Appointments for consultations with commercial counselors may be arranged through the world trade department for Wednesday, May 11 from 1:30 to 3:30 p.m. on a first call, first served basis as time is very limited.

For luncheon or dinner reservations, please use the enclosed form.

Sincerely yours,

JOHN H. SHOAF, Secretary, World Trade Committee.

The Importance of Depressed Area Legislation to the Biddeford-Saco, Maine, Area

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JAMES C. OLIVER

OF MAINE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, May 10, 1960

Mr. OLIVER. Mr. Speaker, legislation to assist the chronically depressed areas in our country is now before the President for signature. In many regions of the United States, the action taken by our Chief Executive will have a profound effect on millions of Americans. The chance to lead a full life for many who want to work but cannot find employment is at stake. Many of these men and women have been without work for months. Positive action, which will result in jobs for millions of unemployed Americans, is needed and needed now. I am convinced that the Area Redevelopment Act supplies this need.

As a means of underlining the importance of this legislation to one specific area, I would like to insert a statement prepared by Mr. Michael Schoonjans, director of the Biddeford-Saco, Maine, Joint Board of the Textile Union of America. Mr. Schoonjans clearly and accurately outlines the importance of this bill to the Biddeford-Saco, Maine, area where there has been substantial unemployment since 1954.

The statement follows:

The passing of the aid-to-depressed-area bill by the House of Representatives Wednesday, March 4, makes those of us who have worked untiringly for this bill very happy and we are indeed very grateful for the efforts of Democratic Congressmen FRANK M. COFFIN and JAMES C. OLIVER in working for the passage of this much-needed legislation. It is our sincere hope that President Eisenhower will sign this important piece of legislation because it could mean the salvation of the industrial area in the Biddeford-Saco

Certain sections of this bill would directly benefit all of the depressed areas in the State of Maine such as Portland, Biddeford-Saco, Sanford, and others. For instance, this bill would create a new area redevelopment administration who would designate industrial areas eligible for aid, the authorization of two \$75 million revolving funds from loans to help finance new industrial projects.

It would also set up a program of Federal loans and grants to help areas such as ours make an economic comeback. The Federal Government, under this bill, would foot up to 65 percent of the cost of the project.

Another section of this bill would also authorize the new agency to make up to \$50. million on a 40-year loan basis and \$35 million in outright grants to State and local governments to build water and sewage plants and other public facilities needed to stimulate economic growth. This would mean that the Saco River could be completely cleaned up with the results that the real estate values on both sides of this river would increase tremendously plus the added value of attracting new industry and a tremendous increase in tourist business as this would mean clean and healthful waters

for industry or recreational purposes.

Another section of this bill which is presently needed in this area and all of us should be very much concerned is the measure that would permit the grants of up to \$4,500,000 a year for depressed areas and up to \$1,500,000 to help the State provide vocational education to the jobless in these communities and \$10 million for jobless persons training for new jobs who are not receiving unemployment compensation.
This would be an immediate help to the Biddeford-Saco area and to the present existing industries such as the shoe and textile industry. It has become increasingly necessary to have skilled workers available so that the present industries would not be forced to import skilled help from other areas. There are, at present, approximately 1,000 unemployed workers in the Biddeford-Saco area who no longer can collect checks and would be helped by a vocational and training program which in turn would be an added potential for attracting new industries and retain the present ones.

It would also create an incentive for keep ing our youth in our particular areas and in the State of Maine. There are presently over 200 senior high school students of this area that have registered for full-time employment when they graduate in June. These are students who, because of economic conditions in their families, will not be able to continue their education; perhaps, after graduation day, many more students will register for permanent work.

The depressed area bill, as passed by the House of Representatives, is the answer to our immediate and future economic prob-

lems of the Biddeford-Saco area.

It is our sincere hope that President Eisenhower will sign the depressed area bill without further delay so that the Biddeford-Saco area may once more become the industrial areas they once were. If Mr. Eisenhower has any feeling for these unfortunate unemployed workers who want to stay and work in Maine, he will not hesitate to sign this very important piece of legislation.

Tribute to Joseph R. Knowland

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOMAS H. KUCHEL

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, May 10, 1960

Mr. KUCHEL. Mr. President, the State of California is justly proud of its farflung series of parks, beaches, and other areas which, over the years, have been set aside by representatives of the People for the enjoyment of all.

During the last 25 years a distinguished Californian—one who was born in that State, and who has lived his long life there—has served as a member of, and, for 19 years, as chairman of, the California State Park Commission. I think it may be truthfully said that, in great part, he was responsible for the development of the California park system.

A few weeks ago he retired from service on the California Park Commission. He takes with him the satisfaction of unselfish work well done for his fellow Californians.

I believe it is of particular interest to the Members of the Senate to know that Joseph R. Knowland, of Oakland, once a Member of the House of Representatives from the county of Alameda, and the father of a former distinguished U.S. Senator, who, during a number of the years of his service here, graced the seat of Republican leader of the Senate, is the person to whom I refer.

Under date of April 18, the San Francisco Examiner commented on the unselfish service which Mr. Joseph R. Knowland has rendered; and I ask unanimous consent that the editorial be printed in the Appendix of the Record.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

UNSELFISH SERVICE

Joseph R. Knowland, the Oakland publisher, has retired from the State park commission after nearly a quarter of a century of far-sighted and unselfish service to California's park system. He was the commission's chairman for 19 years.

During his long regime the State built a park system that preserves for all time its most important historic sites, its loveliest scenic spots and large recreational areas needed for our swiftly growing population. From today's vantage point it is evident that the creation of this system constitutes one of the wisest investments California ever made.

California history has been one of Mr. Knowland's lifelong interests. Even before he went on the commission he worked with another native son, the late William Randolph Hearst, to preserve famous structures dating back to California's Spanish and 49'er periods.

We salute him for a lifetime of distinguished service to the cause of California's

public parks.

C. & O. Canal National Historical Park and Parkway

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JOHN R. FOLEY

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 10, 1960

Mr. FOLEY. Mr. Speaker, H.R. 2331, to establish the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal National Historical Park and Parkway, will come to the floor shortly. In order to provide the Members of the House with basic documentary material not included in printed 1959 hearings on H.R. 2331, I am inserting the following contract and substantive agreements in the Congressional Record.

On August 6, 1938, the U.S. Government purchased the C. & O. Canal from the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad. The contract of purchase and sale appears on page 85, House Document No. 687, 81st Congress, 2d session, August 16, 1950. The contract is as follows:

CONTRACT FOR SALE OF PROPERTY OF THE CHESAPEAKE & OHIO CANAL CO.

This agreement, made the 6th day of August 1938, by and between Edgar W. Young, R. S. B. Hartz, and G. L. Nicolson, receivers, as hereinafter mentioned (herein referred to as "receivers"), parties of the first part, and the United States of America, acting through the Secretary of the Interior or other authorized representative (hereinafter sometimes referred to as the "purchaser"), party of the second part.

Witnesseth:

Whereas, by order entered April 29, 1938, by the Circuit Court for Washington County, Md., in the equity case entitled "George S. Brown et al., Trustees, v. The Chesapeake and Ohio Canal Company et al., Nos. 4191 and 4198, Equity, Consolidated Causes," and by order entered May 2, 1938, by the District Court of the United States for the District of Columbia in the ancillary equity case entitled "George S. Brown et al., Trustees v. The Chesapeake and Ohio Canal Company et al., Equity No. 12240," the said courts upon petition of the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad filed in said causes, did appoint Edgar W. Young, R. S. B. Hartz, and G. L. Nicolson as receivers of all the property, estate, rights, and franchises of the Chsapeake & Ohio Canal Co. and authorized said receivers to negotiate for the sale and to enter into a contract or contracts for the sale of said property, estate, rights, and franchises in one or more parcels and upon such terms and conditions as they might deem to be in the best interests of the estate and creditors of the Chesapeake & Ohio Canal Co., subject, however, to the approval of said courts; and

Whereas said receivers have negotiated for the sale of said property, estate, rights and franchises, with certain reservations hereinafter set forth, to the United States of America, and believe, after a careful examination of the whole subject, that a sale upon the terms and conditions hereinafter set forth will be, under all the circumstances, a fair and adequate one, and are willing to report the same to said courts with the recommendation that the same shall be accepted by said courts and that thereupon such further proceedings shall be had in said cases as said courts shall direct to vest a good and satisfactory title to said property, estate, rights and franchises in the United States of America, or such Department, or nominee or nominees thereof, as it may direct, subject to the terms of this agreement; and

Whereas, as a preliminary to such report of said negotiations, it is necessary that the parties hereto execute this agreement, which is to be made a part of any report of sale of said property, estate, rights and franchises, and of the ratification thereof, and of any deed ordered by said courts to be made granting the same to said purchaser, and which is to be and become fully effective and binding as to all its parts, covenants and specifications between the parties hereto in case said courts shall approve said negotiations and contract to sell and by proper proceedings cause title to said property, estate, rights and franchises to be vested in said purchaser as aforesaid.

Now, therefore, in consideration of the premises and of \$1 cash in hand paid, and in order to carry out all the aforegoing objects and purposes, it is covenanted and agreed between the parties hereto as follows:

(1) Said receivers agree forthwith to recommend to said courts that all property. estate, rights, and franchises of the Chesapeake & Ohio Canal Co., now vested in them, excepting, however, the reserved portions hereinafter described, be sold to the United States of America for the sum of \$2 million, and it is understood and agreed by both parties hereto that the real property referred to above includes all of these parcels or tracts of land in the States of Maryland, Virginia, and West Virginia, as shown on the "property maps of the Chesapeake & Ohio Canal Co. as surveyed by B. F. Mackall under the direction of G. L. Nicolson, general manager," and all of those parcels or tracts of land in the District of Columbia as shown on the "plats of the Chesapeake & Ohio Canal Co. property as surveyed by H. W. Brewer, February 1894," to the extent that said property is now owned by the said receivers, together with any and all other parcels or tracts of land, the title to which is now vested in the said receivers.

(2) The United States of America agrees that in case said courts shall aprove this contract to sell and by proper proceedings cause a good and sufficient title to said property, estate, rights, and franchises to be vested on or before January 1, 1939, in the United States of America, or such department or nominee or nominees thereof, as it may designate, that it will pay in cash to said receivers, upon the execution and delivery of a proper deed, the sum of \$2 million.

(3) The United States of America agrees that it will not use or permit to be used all or any part of the property herein referred to for the conveyance of freight or passengers by land without the prior written consent of the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad Co.: Provided, however, That this covenant shall not extend to such transportation facilities on the lands covered by this agreement as are considered by the Secretary of the Interior, or his successors, to be reasonably necessary to provide accommodations for the visiting public.

(4) The portions of property of the Chesapeake & Ohio Canal Co. described in exhibit A, attached hereto and hereby made a part hereof, are reserved to said receivers for other disposition and are excluded from the operation of this contract of sale except as specifically provided therein.

(5) That all of the lands being reserved from sale in accordance with exhibit A of paragraph (4) of this contract shall be surveyed and the corner posts and boundary lines thereof definitely established by the receivers, or their agents, within 6 months of the date of approval of the final contract for

courts having jurisdiction over such prop-

(6) That before title to the lands covered by this contract shall be accepted by the United States, the said receivers, or their agents, shall secure from all occupants of land covered by this contract a cancellation or surrender of any leases, licenses, or other instruments, or termination of their right to occupancy, which such occupants may have covering such property, provided, how-ever, that this provision shall not extend to existing water leases. Any occupants failing to cancel or surrender such instruments, or whose rights have not been otherwise terminated, shall be removed by the said receivers, or their agents, before title to the canal property covered by this contract is accepted on behalf of the United States, unless the Secretary of the Interior, or his successors, shall waive this requirement as to any such occupants.

(7) That, upon the approval of this contract by courts of competent jurisdiction, the said receivers shall make available to the Secretary of the Interior, or his successors, all existent land and other records relating to the canal property, and such additional data, maps, reports, papers, documents, and personal property as bear upon the ownership and history of the canal. The said Secretary of the Interior, or his successors, shall then be entitled to possession of such of the material so made available as in his discretion is desirable for permanent retention by the United States when title to the said canal property is accepted by the United States of America. It is understood, however, that this provision does not obligate the said receivers to produce records, docu-ments, maps, etc., if they have no rights of possession or ownership thereto.

(8) That during the period covered by this instrument the said receivers do hereby grant to the officers and accredited agents and representatives of the United States of America, at all proper times, unrestricted right and privilege to survey or enter said property of the Chesapeake & Ohio Canal Co., for all proper and lawful purposes in connection with the negotiations for the acquisition

(9) That when the United States of Ameracting through the Secretary of the Interior or other authorized representative, shall have approved and signed this contract then, in that event, this instrument shall constitute a contract of bargain and sale

between the parties hereto.
(10) No Member of or Delegate to Congress or resident commissioner shall be admitted to any share or part of this contract or to any benefit that may arise therefrom. Nothing in this paragraph, however, shall invalidate this contract if made with a corporation for its general benefit.

In witness whereof, said receivers and the United States of America have caused this agreement to be executed in triplicate the

day and year aforesaid.

Signed, sealed, and delivered in the presence of (two witnesses to each signature):
[SEAL] EDGAR W. YOUNG,

D. WILLARD, Jr., HENRY J. MEIER. Sr., [SEAL] R. S. B. HARTZ, D. WILLARD, Jr., HENRY J. MEIER, Sr.,

[SEAL] G. L. NICHOLSON, D. WILLARD, Jr., F. J. WORTHINGTON.

Receivers of the Chesapeake & Ohio Canal Co.

THE UNITED STATES. OF AMERICA, By E. K. BURLEW, Acting Secretary of the Interior. Approved August 6, 1938.

On June 30, 1958, Conrad L. Wirth, Director, National Park Service appeared

the sale of the said canal property by the before the Public Lands Subcommittee of the House Interior and Insular Affairs Committee. He placed in the record recitals of basic understandings reached by the National Park Service and the Maryland Game and Inland Fish Commission on the C. & O. Canal National Historical Park. They appear on pages 20 to 22 of the 1958 85th Congress printed hearings. Since these agreements do not appear in the 1959 printed hearings, they are inserted at this point in the Con-GRESSIONAL RECORD:

> STATEMENT OF OBJECTIVES FOR THE PROPOSED CHESAPEAKE & OHIO CANAL NATIONAL HIS-TORICAL PARK

> 1. To preserve the historic and scenic values associated with the canal through the repair and restoration of essential canal structures and through such land acquisitions as are necessary for the preservation of the scenic and historic setting of the canal.

> 2. To increase the public use and enjoyment of the proposed park by rewatering segments of the canal, where feasible, to facilitate canoeing, fishing, winter sports, and other suitable recreation activities; by providing access and parking space, drinking water, and sanitary facilities; maintaining the towpath as a naturalistic trail suitable for hiking and bicycling; providing campgrounds and picnic areas, boat facilities and services, museum exhibits, and other interpretive devices to explain the story of the canal and the region it traverses.

> 3. To assist the State of Maryland and political subdivisions thereof in their programs for the propagation of wildlife, wilderness conservation, and public recreation, which are related to the proposed park. Federal lands especially suited to these State and local programs would be made available for such purposes, to the extent consistent with the preservation and public use of the park, under long-term cooperative agreements or leases.

> 4. To develop a scenic parkway, approximately 23 miles long, generally away from the canal, from State Route 51 to a State highway in the vicinity of the Woodmont

> 5. To encourage the establishment of overnight accommodations and other related visitor services outside the park.

> 6. To promote public use of the area through the use of informational literature and other mediums.

> STATEMENT OF RELATED PARK OPERATIONS AND PLANS

> 1. In accordance with section 1 of the Beall-Hyde bills, the Secretary of the Interior will continue to grant perpetual easements of rights-of-way through, over, or under canal lands for industrial and other utilitarian purposes as authorized and directed in the act of August 1, 1953.

2. Service regulations now permit hunters and others to cross canal lands, under reasonable regulations, for the purpose of gaining access to the Potomac River, islands in the river, and other hunting areas situated on either side of the park project. The Service would have no objection to such assurance being written into the pending bill.

3. The Service would not object to the placing of offshore duck blinds adjacent to park property in accordance with State law except at areas of concentrated public use where public safety might be involved. We would have no objection to such assurance being written into the pending bill.

4. Where park lands extend to the river, the Service would seek to provide boat access sites at appropriate intervals.

5. The Service would seek to avoid the development of visitor use facilities that would conflict with use of areas that are of primary interest to hunters or are utilized for wildilfe propagation.

GUIDELINES FOR THE ACQUISITION OF LANDS FOR THE PROPOSED CHESAPEAKE & OHIO CANAL NATIONAL HISTORICAL PARK

1. To acquire only such lands as are essential to (a) the preservation and public enjoyment of the scenic, natural, and historic values of the canal and its visible, immediate environs; (b) lands indicated by detailed planning to be required for public access, and for parking areas, for other public use sites such as campgrounds, picnic areas, boating facilities and services, and for access to the river where the river and canal are so close as to be visibly related recreation resources—generally, not more than onefourth mile apart; and (c) small areas of historic significance closely related to the active canal transportation era.

2. Except where clearly essential for the preservation of park values or public use of the park, club properties would not be acquired for park purposes. If a club by appropriate action, should express a desire for its property to be included in the park, the case would be considered on its merits.

3. Lands for the parkway right-of-way, between Maryland State Highway 51 and the vicinity of the Woodmont Club, will be selected in cooperation with the appropriate State agencies, according to the usual na-tional parkway standard of 100 acres per mile average.

4. In the selection of lands of primary value for park purposes and of lands of primary value for hunting, the Service will do everything it reasonably and properly can to reach accord with the Maryland State hunting program so that land designation for the two programs may be worked out

harmoniously and amicably.

In accordance with the preceding statements of objectives and guides for land acquisition, the Service believes that it should be possible to reach amicable agreement with the State of Maryland concerning lands that are to be included within the proposed park and lands that are not to be included within it because of their value for public hunting grounds, agriculture, industry, or other important purposes. It is expected that islands in the Potomac River would not be included within the proposed park and would remain available for hunting, as here-

A Great American Is Honored

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. LEO E. ALLEN

OF HAINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, May 10, 1960

Mr. ALLEN. Mr. Speaker, through its 56 years the University Club of Washington has opened its clubhouse with cordiality to Members of Congress, both as members and as guests.

The University Club the other evening gave a testimonial dinner to Senator THEODORE F. GREEN and a feature of the occasion was the presentation to Senator Green of a scroll, written by my longtime good friend, Cecil J. Wilkinson, a past president of the club and author of the club's exhaustive 50th-anniversary history in 1954.

The text of the scroll reads as follows: Within the hospitable halls of our clubhouse on this 3d day of May 1960, the members of the University Club of Washington salute a distinguished statesman, scholar, and fellow member Theodore Francis Green.

Born in 1867 in Little Rhody, small in square mileage but tremendous in the measure of her native sons.

Graduated a bachelor of arts in 1887 from Brown University, ancient and tvy-covered. Recipient of the degree of master of arts from his alma mater in 1890.

Trained at Harvard Law School and admitted to the Rhode Island bar in 1892 and a practitioner in Providence since then.

Currently the senior fellow and oldest living alumnus of his university.

Wearer of the golden key of Phi Beta Kappa.

Thrice honored with the accolade of honorary degrees—doctor of laws from the University of Rhode Island and from Providence College and doctor of education from Rhode Island College of Education.

Infantry lieutenant during the Spanish-American War.

Proud bearer of the name and fame of his beloved Psi Upsilon.

Twice occupant of the Governor's mansion

of his State of nativity.

Elected to the exalted position of U.S. Sen-

ator in 1936, and thrice returned, serving as chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations.

To the manner born, whose pattern has been woven brightly into the tapestry of the kaleidoscopic social life of the Capital City.

A nonagenarian, whose infinite variety age

cannot wither nor custom stale.

A jolly good fellow whom his university clubmates of a score of years hail upon this loyous occasion as a "verry parfait knight, sans peur et sans reproche."

Center for Cultural and Technical Interchange Between East and West

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. LYNDON B. JOHNSON

OF TEXAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, May 10, 1960

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "Security in Another Way," published in the Washington Daily News of today, May 10, 1960. The editorial relates to the unanimous action of the Senate in authorizing the Center for Cultural and Technical Interchange between East and West in Ha-Wall, and is succinct, forceful, and persuasive. I enjoy and respect the editorials apeparing in the News, of which Mr. John T. O'Rourke is the editor, but I have enjoyed reading none more than this one, which approves of the action of the Senate in this matter.

I think the idea of an East-West Cultural Center in Hawaii is a good one. I believe the conferees have retained the amendment adopted by the Senate. I hope it will be possible to secure a budget estimate during the year which will enable the actual start of work on the cultural center next year.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SECURITY IN ANOTHER WAY

Two new ideas having no relation to tanks or guns, but which promise to help

strengthen the mutual security of the free world, have now been written into the House-Senate compromise of the foreign aid authorization bill.

First approved by large bipartisan majorities of the Senate, we hope they are confirmed by equally significant votes in the

One authorize a Center for Cultural and Technical Interchange Between East and West in Hawaii.

The other calls for a State Department report on the feasibility of creating in Puerto Rico another such center devoted solely to this hemisphere.

Senate Democratic Leader Lyndon Johnson of Texas, is the inventor of the East-West center. He proposed it more than a year ago. While our Governmental processes moved slowly, the Russian leaders stole the idea and moved fast. They have established such a center for Asians and Africans in Moscow. It was Senator George Smathers, Democrat of Florida, an expert on Latin America, who applied the original Johnson idea to this hemisphere.

The Hawaii center, when money is appropriated, will start with 125 scholarship students, building up to 2,000 after 5 years. Three-fourths will be from overseas, one-fourth from the United States. Additional qualified students will be accepted on payment of tuition fees. There will be an international college, where students from the East and West will learn together. There will be an international training facility, to provide technical instruction for Occidentals and Orientals alike, and an English language institute.

Construction and operating costs the first 3 years are estimated at \$32 million, with Hawaii contributing \$2 million. The total is somewhat less than one-tenth of the sum the Pentagon wanted for a new aircraft carrier.

This money, if spent as the sponsors intend, would do much good.

Facing Up

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON, GLENARD P. LIPSCOMB

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 10, 1960

Mr. LIPSCOMB. Mr. Speaker, a question uppermost in many minds over the last several days is what to make of the incident involving the U.S. airplane over the Soviet Union.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I submit for inclusion in the RECORD an editorial which appeared in the May 9, 1960, Los Angeles Examiner, which sets forth what I believe is a well-reasoned and sound answer to this question:

FACING UP

The decision of President Eisenhower to acknowledge that our reconnaissance plane was deep over Soviet territory on an espionage mission when it was shot down, is the most intelligent and courageous move that could have been made in this acutely awkward situation.

To deny it, against the evidence Khrushchev has gloatingly assembled would play into his hands. It would enable him to exploit his propaganda-psychological victory all the way to and through the summit beyond. By acknowledging it the President has scored a counter point of candor. He has also directed the attention of Americans

and the world to what should be common information but perhaps is not.

This is that spying has been carried on by both sides for years. It has been international practice for centuries. The reconnaissance airplane has merely added a new dimension.

Besides the agents who have been caught here, and the espionage-diplomats Russia has assigned to the United Nations and Washington, Soviet planes have spied over parts of the United States, and over allied air, naval, and missile bases throughout the world. One think to be regretted is that we didn't shoot any down.

Scores of Soviet "fishing" travelers have

Scores of Soviet "fishing" travelers have been fishing for information off our military posts in the Atlantic and Pacific. Recently one trawler was photographed very close to missile launching exercises of the first Polaris submarine

There is no reason to be shocked at disclosure that we have been spying too. We would be neglecting our security if we didn't. And we have a great deal more reason to do so. What is public knowledge here, such as locations of missile and strategic airplane bases, would be a treasonable revelation in Russia.

What is appalling is the inexcusably bad timing of this particular mission. Whoever ordered it did not stop to consider how fallure—which is always a risk—would damage summit preparation.

Khrushchev is a realist. It goes without saying he is aware of what is going on both sides. In fact, he conceded it a few months ago when he remarked sardonically that he reads many of the same documents that come to the desk of Allen Dulles, head of our Central Intelligence Agency.

Therefore his simulated fury over the plane incident is a political maneuver aimed at subverting our position and blackening the President's image at the summit.

We offer this recommendation: The State Department, in cooperation with Central Intelligence, should put together a documented bill of particulars of Soviet spying and be ready to slug Khrushchev with it if he continues to further use this single incident as a diplomatic hydrogen bomb.

Goals for America-Natural Resources

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. ROBERT S. KERR

OF OKLAHOMA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, May 10, 1960

Mr. KERR. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the Record a statement headed "Goals for America—Suggested Policy Statement, Democratic Midwest Conference, Detroit, Mich., March 26, 1960—Natural Resources," presented by Gene McGill, Democratic State Chairman for the State of Oklahoma.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

GOALS FOR AMERICA—SUGGESTED POLICY STATEMENT, DEMOCRATIC MIDWEST CONFER-ENCE DETBOIT, MICH., MARCH 26, 1960— NATURAL RESOURCES

INTRODUCTION

Words, like people, tend to become tired with the passing years. So it is, perhaps, with the words "natural resources." To borrow a concept and expression from the television industry, perhaps they have become

overexposed in thousands upon thousands of speeches, reports, newspaper and magazine articles, legislative acts and hearings, and even in platforms of the political parties. All too often the words suggest all too little to the minds of the American people. They are inclined, we are afraid, when they consider the subject at all, to think of statistics and charts and what appears to them to be stale and musty studies suitable only for the perusal of the scholars in the various technical fields involved. If they think further than this on the subject of natural resources and conservation they are apt to remember only the last time water was rationed in their homes, or when lawns, flowers, and foliage died in the last drought. Too often they do not relate the subject even to food. They forget that life on this earth is made possible only by a few thin layers of soil which encircle their globe, and even the word soil most often is thought of as dirt rather than the living organism which it is. Imaginations are not sufficiently stirred and consequently momentous decisions and imperative actions to preserve the means of physical life for our generation and all the generations to come are tragically delayed.

This anxious condition cannot be remedied or improved under a national administration which is almost continuously apathetic on the subject, failing to give leadership and allowing the instrumentalities of government which have responsibility in the field to become paralyzed. Any objective study of the Republican administration of the past 8 years will reveal that these criticisms and indictments are well-founded in fact. Dynamic leadership has been wanting, planning has been inadequate, appropriations have been niggardly, and progress has halted. On the few occasions when the Elsenhower administration has taken any action at all in the field the action has been feeble, insufficient, and inevitably motivated by the traditional concern of the Republican Party for the big and few. We have only to recall the Hells Canyon fiasco, and the deliberate and calculated attempt to destroy the truly magnificent Tennessee Valley Authority project by the execution of the morally reprehensible Dixon-Yates contract to validate what we have said.

For a proper and responsible consideration of the subject which has been assigned to your Committee on Natural Resources, it is recommended (in the word suggested in the title of the forthcoming published work of the distinguished senior U.S. Senator from Oklahoma, the Honorable Robert S. KERR) that we substitute the words "land, woods, and water" for the words "natural resources" and add to these words the word "people," for the people now and in the future are not only the beneficiaries but they constitute the priceless human resources without which any constructive program for the development and conservation of land, woods, and water is meaningless and impossible.

Just as the approach of the Republican Party to every domestic problem through big people and big interests is traditional, so is the Democratic approach to all such problems through the people themselves traditional. The clashing philosophies of Hamilton and Jefferson still follow their historical channels in all matters of vital policy. Alexander Hamilton and the Republican Party stood and still stand on the concept of political philosophy that if Government assists the prosperous to further prosper, an economic seepage will set in which will even-tually reach the people. The Democratic Party, in keeping with the precepts of classical Democracy has always and does now look to the well-being of the individual first, with full confidence that if men, women, and little children are doing well, great interests inevitably thrive. The Democratic Party believes with Carl Sandburg, that "there is but one woman and her name is all women; that there is but one man and his name is all men; there is but one child and his name is all children." Following this dedication the Democratic administration of Roosevelt and Truman hurled social progress forward by a hundred years in the space of a few years, and their great programs and policies resting in humanity and concern for common people will strengthen and enrich our country for centuries to come.

THE COMMITTEE'S APPROACH

Up to the time of this reporting your committee has not had the advantage of carefully prepared technical studies and papers by outstanding experts in the various fields of nature's bountles, either those which are renewable or those which are exhaustible, as was true of the very fine platform adopted by the Western States Democratic Conference, but in a sense perhaps this is just as well. It is true that the resources of science and the learning and genius of scientists are indispensable to a dynamic program of conservation and development of the riches of America. We acknowledge our indebtedness to science and the scientists and to numerous distinguished and effective organizations and groups in the making of studies and recommendations in the technical areas of our concern. We would encourage even greater contributions from these sources and provide for even deeper and wider studies in the future, but after the work of the men and organizations of science give the reservoir of knowledge for judgment, then it be-comes the peculiar and inescapable function of national leaders and political organizations to establish priorities, determine when, where, and how much can and should be done in the field of action, and to declare the values and philosophies which shall direct the endeavor. For instance, science and technology must determine the appropriate site for a multipurpose dam and prepare the studies showing its potential for flood control, water conservations and the generation of power, but political leadership must then decide when the work of construction shall start, how much shall be spent, who shall maintain and operate the completed enterprise, and finally, determine the priorities of

SPECIFIC INTERESTS OF THE MIDWESTERN STATES

To say, as we have said, that this report is not grounded in technical papers and studies does not mean that your committee is not aware of and concerned with the great conservation and use projects in which the States which make up this distinguished organization have a special interest. tremendously interested in the great Missouri River Basin project, including among many other undertakings the East Bench unit and Three Forks division; the Clark Canyon Dam and the Barretts Diversion Dam in Montana; the Bostwick division; the work accomplished and to be accomplished in Harlan, Webster, and Nuckolls Counties in Nebraska, and Jewel, Republic and Cloud counties in Kansas: the Frenchman, Cambridge division in Nebraska; and the Crazy Horse unit in South Dakota. Our admiring concern extends to the North Drainage Basin undertaking in Minnesota and in South and North Dakota, including the projects on Lake Tarverse and the Bois de Sioux Rivers; Lake Ashtabula and the Baldhill Dams in Sheyenne River, N. Dak. We have some acquaintance with the projects at Elkport on the Turkey River in Iowa and the reservoirs at Coralville, Central City, Rochester, and Red Rock in that great State.

As we consider the means to effectuate

As we consider the means to effectuate them we think of Calumet Harbor and River in Illinois and Indiana, Indiana Harbor and Michigan City Harbor in Indiana; the proposed locks and dams on the Illinois River in the State of Illinois; and the great program of improvements of rivers and harbors in Michigan, including those initiated or projected on the St. Mary's River, the St. Clair River, the Detroit River, the Kalamazoo River, the Grand River Basin, and the Maumee River Basin, affecting the States of Indiana, Michigan, and Ohio. ate the value of the Conneaut Harbor on the Conneaut River as it flows easterly from Cleveland and from the south shore of Lake Erie. We think of the locks and dams on the Fox River in Wisconsin and the many needed undertakings for that great State. We have been mindful of the Muskingum River projects in Ohio, the cannelization program in the Ohio River Valley, the Minnesota River projects at Carver and Montevideo, and of course all of the great programs on the Mississippi River, including those at Brainerd and Grand Rapids in Minnesota, and share the interest of the easternmost State of our conference, West Virginia, in the projects at North Wheeling and Wheeling Island and at Elkins, W. Va. as it is concerned with the Monongahela River. We are convinced of the tremendous potential involved in the development of the Arkansas River Valley, the Washita Basin, and the bold and imaginative, though completely logical and sound, project for the Canadian River in Oklahoma.

We participate fully in the deep convictions held by the citizens of all the States represented here concerning agriculture, soil conservation, water pollution, and all of the problems which must be boldly attacked if we are to faithfully carry out our trust, not only for men, women, and children now living, but as trustees for the generations yet to come.

In the area of minerals we think of the 200 billion tons of coal reserves underlying the fertile plains of Illinois, and the substantial reserves of unmined coal in eastern Oklahoma, where it has been estimated there is enough coal to heat every home, operate every factory and run every train in America for a hundred years. Indiana also is involved in the great challenge to step up research into new and effective uses for coal. The importance of the coal industry in West Virginia is internationally recognized. North Dakota, likewise, has substantial coal reserves which must be considered in our plans as it already annually produces about 2,800,000 short tons of lignite coal. We have not overlooked the fact that South Dakota mines more gold than any State in the Union, and that a precious resources exists here which must be conserved and put to maximum use.

In the area of our study we are intensely involved in the exploration and production of oil and gas affecting almost every State which is a member of this conference. If steps are not immediately taken to strengthen the great petroleum industry now threatened by the unreasonably enlarged imports of foreign oil, the economy of the States, including that of Oklahoma, will be paralyzed and the Nation will find it is at grave disadvantage in time of national and international crisis. In recent history the international emergency grow-ing out of the Suez Canal incident emphasizes the importance of our domestic oll industry in a way that cannot be exaggerated, and if the oil industry is permitted to fall on evil times we cannot restore it overnight even though the national safety may require that it be quickly restored.

We cannot hope to call the lists of all the rich resources of the area represented here today which have already contributed so much to the economy of our Nation and to the well-being of our people, but we would be remiss not to mention the priceless deposits of iron ore in the Mesabi Range in Minnesota, and the great mineral industry

in Michigan which also produces iron, gypsum, salt, peat, and marl.

We embrace the momentous matters of conservation and use of forests, wildlife, and parks for the recreation of our citizens in a time when modern technology is giving and promises to give even more leisure to our citizens. In our thinking and dedication we contemplate the unity of nature and all of her gifts realized and yet to be realized from land, woods, and water, and above all we contemplate man in the sense of all men, women, and children deriving from these gifts life, and life abundantly, for we are considering spiritual as well as natural resources.

IMPERATIVE NEED FOR ACCELERATION

The committee feels it would be a reprehensible dereliction of its duty if it did not once again emphasize the imperative demand for acceleration of all programs of development and conservation of all resources. Our Nation, established on this rich continent, has too long inclined to feel that the specter of scarcity haunts other nations and areas of the world but not our own, but this complacency is simply no longer justified. Water consumption in the United States quadrupled between 1900 and 1950 and will double again by 1975. We add 21/2 million additional people each year and will have 300 million by the end of the cen-tury. Forty million citizens of our country are in real water trouble as we meet today because of inadequate supply or unsatisfactory quality. We are no longer self-suf-ficient in supplying the physical needs of our people, contrary to the general impression. In 1900 we produced 15 percent more raw materials than we consumed (exclusive of food). In 1950 we were consuming 10 per-cent more materials than we produced and this deficit will increase to 20 percent within the next two decades. I

This is the situation which confronts us at home and does not take into account the truly appalling picture now and in the future over the rest of our globe. While we are aware of the awakened interest of the last two decades of government, industry, and of the public generally, which has improved forest practices, advanced agricultural techniques, stimulated study of water problems, and increased recognition that wildlife and nature areas must be protected, yet the fact remains that only a start has been made and that progress has halted almost completely under the 8 years of the present Republican administration. The ancient Biblical injunction challenges us, "We have compassed this mountain long enough, move northward." We recommend:

1. We join our allies of the Western States Democratic Conference held in Albuquerque, N. Mex., last month in urging the creation of a Council of National Resources Advisers to be appointed by the President to aid him in preparing an annual report on natural resources. This report should be reviewed by a special joint congressional committee on the natural resources problem. This proposal, which follows the pattern of the Council of Economic Advisers in the Executive Office of the President, is now before Congress.

2. In the area of research and planning we urge sharply increased momentum. We feel that long-range planning and leadership should emanate from the very highest national levels of government and society. We do not underestimate the importance of cooperation with the regions, the States, the counties and the municipalities, and with the people themselves. The Nation's future timber is on millions of farms and other private holdings, for instance, 85 percent being a maximum 100 acres in extent. We appreciate and salute the significant and beneficial work done by the democratically organized soil conservation districts, but we

are speaking of a national interest which requires that the focus of our action be placed at national levels.

3. The Democratic Party has never been a frightened party, nor timid to act when the people's interests demand bold action. therefore recommend adequate financing, and that immediately, through necessary appropriations and through methods of capital budgeting for self-supporting re-sources programs, making a clear distinction between annual operating expenditures and resources activities, such as national forests which produce revenues and are of continuing value to the Nation. We would abolish the unrealistic fiscal approach now in effect, which requires that projects which will serve the people and produce revenue for decades and centuries shall be financed by congressional appropriations made during the years such projects are under construc-tion. The result of this unrealistic and arbitrary method of budgeting is that economy drives and drives for balancing the budget often halt half-accomplished projects or preclude essential scheduled starts.

4. We advocate continued and intensified research in all the areas of science which can serve our development and conservation program and recommend that all moneys be made available which can be effectively used for research. We are aware of the differences in the problem to be solved in the areas of renewable resources and those which are not renewable, such as our mineral and oil and gas resources. We believe much useful research can be done in this area of nonrenewable resources so that technology and methods will be available when needed, such as the economical extraction of iron from taconite and oil from shale.

5. We suggest that our program of development and conservation be undergirded with the principles of balance drawn from nature and nature's laws, which are: (a) Use with minimum waste; (b) use and management for productivity in services and materials of quality; (c) equitable distribution between present and future inhabitants of the earth.

In final conclusion the committee expresses its confidence in the spirit in which the Democratic Party will undertake the prosecution of the great resources program in the public interest. Some months ago it was reported that Mr. James C. Hagerty, press secretary to the President, when chided that the Republicans had embraced almost all the Democratic program conceived and enacted by Congress under the leadership of our great Presidents Franklin Roosevelt and Harry Truman, replied that this is true but that there was a difference—the Republicans did it with refuctance, the Democrats with enthusiasm. We accept the unintended compliment. The people of America know where we stand. We always act with enthusiasm in the protection of their interests.

Citizenship-Free and Responsible

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JAMES E. VAN ZANDT

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, May 10, 1960

Mr. VAN ZANDT. Mr. Speaker, the United Churchwomen of Altoona, Pa., observed May Fellowship Day on May 6, 1960, at the Westminster Presbyterian Church in that city.

With representative groups of churchwomen present it was my privilege to deliver the following address: CITIZENSHIP—FREE AND RESPONSIBLE

(Speech by Representative James E. Van Zandt, Member of Congress, 20th District of Pennsylvania, for the May Fellowship Day program, sponsored by the United Churchwomen at Westminster Presbyterian Church, Altoona, Pa., May 6, 1960)

It is a privilege to be invited to participate in the May Fellowship Day observance sponsored by the Christian social relations committee of the United Churchwomen of Altoona.

The theme "Citizenship—Free and Responsible," adopted for May Fellowship Day 1960, is timely since the joys of citizenship and freedom have been lost by over a billion of God's children now living in servitude under the banner of world communism.

We are reminded by the theme of this May Fellowship Day of the priceless possession we enjoy in being citizens of a freedom-loving nation and of the responsibility we are charged with in safeguarding our birthright of liberty and freedom.

Since 1960 is a national election year this program gives added emphasis on the necessity of taking inventory of our efforts to preserve our glorious heritage of American citizenship.

The extent of a Christian's responsibility in this day and age has not changed from the responsibility prescribed when God gave Moses the 10 Commandments as an eternal rule of love and faith.

That rule of life designed for all generations of mankind was further exemplified when our divine Lord said in defining the first commandment "and Thou shalt love the Lord thy God, with all thy heart and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind—and with all thy strength * * *."

And the second is like; namely, this, "Thou

And the second is like; namely, this, "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself, there is none other commandment greater than these"—Mark 12: 30-31.

Despite this divine injunction when we discuss the responsibilities of citizenship from a Christian standpoint we find it becomes a controversial subject filled with misunderstanding and too often avoided in discussions.

I do not know all the answers, but it is my sincere hope that today we can in some measure take home a little "food for thought" from your well-planned meeting.

Someone has said that christianity does not remove a person from the world and its problems; it makes one fit to live in the world, triumphantly and usefully.

It is on that thesis that we can proceed to discuss your theme for this May fellowship day—"Citizenship—free and responsible."

To further clarify this occasion, I speak to you as a layman on the Christian's responsibility to the state.

We live in a nation where church and state are entirely separate, but this fact was never intended to mean that Christian citizens should not actively participate in politics.

Indeed, throughout our history, our political leaders and statesmen have emphasized the need for Christian citizenship in these United States

these United States.

In 1954 the words "under God" were added to the pledge of allegence to our flor

to the pledge of allegiance to our flag.

This was accomplished through passage of legislation by Congress and subsequent Presidential approval.

Presidential approval.

I recall there was some objection from some corners of our country to the addition of the words which revised the pledge to read "one Nation under God, * * *"

There was warning that by adding the words "under God" we were not keeping church and state separate, that we were acting contrary to existing principles.

It will be 4 years next June 14, Flag Day, since "under God" was added to the pledge

of allegiance, and I trust that anyone who objected has now learned that our citizenship is of no real value to us unless we can open our souls before God and before Him conscientiously say, "I am an American." Upon every coin of our Nation, down to

the last penny, we impress the words "In

God we trust."

If we remain true to this motto, we will uphold and obey our laws; strive without malice and indifference toward the things we know to be right; live and work for the American principles of freedom, justice, and equality.

Then our lives will be a vindication of our faith.

Our citizenship will be a credit to us.

Perhaps what I have just said will in some measure clarify my opinion of our theme.

There have always been people who have echoed one of the complaints which we often hear, namely, that religion and politics do not mix."

You recall that one of the charges against Jesus was that he threatened the stability of the Roman Empire and its strangle hold on downtrodden peoples like the Jews.

Whatever else his death represents and it represents a great deal more-it represents in part the attempt of the Roman Empire to get rid of someone who was fast

becoming a political nuisance.

John Calvin and John Knox-and all the reformers—got into difficulty themselves discovered that to take the when they Christian faith with full seriousness meant involvement in political life, political decisions, and political responsibility was inevitable.

In our own day, there have been ministers, for example, who have discovered that to preach Jesus Christ means preaching about the political and economic situation in which

their congregations live.

They have also discovered that the people who control the political and economic situation-whether Nazi or Communist-take a very dim view of this sort of thing, with the result that a great many ministers in Gerespecially, have had to answer their lives for speaking with such boldness.

It is apparent that one of the reasons people keep on insisting that "religion and politics do not mix" is that they are not at all sure they will like the result that emerges

from the mixing.

They have a right to be perturbed.

The times of greatest vitality and strength in the history of Christian faith have been the times when it was recognized a revolutionary faith—as a faith that made demands-that challenged the status quo-the way things were going politically.

But this kind of talk can remain very

abstract.

We want to come down to earth and talk of some of the ground rules of Christian citizenship

writer has suggested that A current Christianity gives no precise answer to any of the problems of life-certainly not the political ones.

But it provides what is more important: direction, understanding, commitment.

There is no exact Christian position in the U.S. House of Representatives, but there are better and worse positions, relatively just and relatively unjust acts.

The Christian should seek what is good and just.

A Christian citizen in the United States has the most compelling reasons to concern himself with politics.

It is a major error for any Christian citizen to look down on politics because he regards the whole political world as a bit shady.

However well or badly the political affairs of the Nation may be conducted, politics is the process by which a nation or a community makes decisions.

The decisions that are made by political means often have momentous moral signifi-

As a Member of your Congress I am singularly aware of this.

In this 20th century world, government has become more important than ever before, it touches all our lives every day.

The sort of world in which we live, the kind of jobs that are available, the education our children receive, the extent of freedom and security we enjoy, are all vitally affected by

Politics is the human activity which creates government.

We cannot escape politics.

If we try to ignore politics, it will not ignore us.

Taxes, roads, schools, housing, and atomic power are all political problems.

The question is, therefore, are you willing to sit back and let others make the basic decisions which will control your destiny.

The individual who does is both foolish and irresponsible: foolish because he lets others run his life for him; irresponsible because he refuses to accept the obligations and duties which our Republic requires of its citizens for the continued enjoyment of rights and privileges.

Political decisions may determine whether

we will have war or peace.

Political decisions may determine whether ours will be a nation in which certain factions are intimidated or a nation whose citizens preserve civil liberties and preserve a general atmosphere of freedom.

Certain political decisions profoundly affect the efforts of our country to move into

the area of lasting peace.

Christianity most certainly has a stake in such issues.

I have said there is no "Christian position" in the Congress.

I would like to amplify that observation. We can expect Christians to differ in their choices of political parties, in their choice of emphasis in regard to social goals.

This is apparent, for example, in the constant problem of aid to underprivileged na-

It is possible for two Christian personstwo members of the same denomination, in fact-to hold a difference of opinion on many issues.

William Lee Miller has written a little volume entitled "The Protestant and Politics" which is published by the Westminster

While I do not agree with all the theories set forth by Mr. Miller, I would like to quote the following:

"Morally earnest Americans often say that they are independent in politics, and not tied to any party: 'I don't vote a straight party ticket, the way a party tells me to; I vote my honest convictions.'

The implication seems to be that conscientious citizenship necessarily requires independence of political parties and that independence is morally superior to party allegiance. But it is not.

There are, of course, many different positions that Christians may, and do, take in

American politics.

"These include allegiance to one of the major parties (Republican or Democratic) independence of any party, allegiance to a minor party (Socialist or Progressive), or even good old-fashioned apathy.'

These are all possibilities.

However, I cannot believe that apathy, or the more extreme or violent political positions taken by some of the political parties cited above by Mr. Miller would coincide with the political beliefs of a Christian citizen.

Have you ever noted that on occasion some Christians are shocked to see that there is conflict even in a Christian community.

A student at a youth conference, shaken after the first day of floor debate came to the chairman to say that he had never believed Christians could fight with one another that way.

But they can as any battle-scarred veteran

of church meetings knows.

In certain contexts, they should.

It is the obligation of a Christian to defend what he sees to be true and valuable.

There is a common feeling, my friends, that political parties and the type of political life that is lived close to party ganization must always be so much involved in compromise, or so close to corruption, that a Christian citizen would do well to assume the role of the independent voter.

There is no doubt that the independent voters do have some wholesome influence on our political party system—they keep both

parties worried.

Perhaps there are people who by temperament or vocation should be independent voters.

Idealistic Christians should come to realize the enormous importance of party organizations as instruments for creating a consensus that is necessary for decision and

Also, they should see that while the independent voters do have some influence on party organizations from the outside, they are limited in their choice to candidates and programs.

Candidates and political platforms emerge from areas of controversy within the party.
Intraparty debate and struggle bring out

the best party candidates—the best party

Actually, the independent voters leave the most difficult, the most unappreciated, work to the faithful party members in local clubs and committees.

In any threat to free government in America, religious people have more to lose

than any other class.

If the basic freedoms were to go, not only would the churches be closed, but the mouths of believers as well.

If the church people will vote during the week as they vow on Sunday, representative government will gain a victory, whichever candidates win.

Many a great American out of our past has spoken in eloquent terms concerning this subject.

John Quincy Adams said:
"My own deliberate opinion is that the more of pure moral principle is carried into the policy and conduct of a government, the wiser and more profound will that policy be."

Henry Clay said:

"Government is a trust, and the officers of the Government are trustees; and both the trust and the trustees are created for the benefit of the people."

William Jennings Byran has been recorded as saying:

'The humblest citizen of all the land, when clad in the armor of a righteous cause, is stronger than all the hosts of error.

More recently Herbert Hoover stated: "A citizen has a complex duty.

"He ought to learn to express his opinions and to make up his own mind on the

principal public issues. "He ought never to miss the ballot box. "And when he casts his vote for some-

body, he should weigh that somebody in scale of morals-which includes intelluctual integrity." The Christian citizen can have no part

in a partnership which breeds bitterness and untruth; which leads politicians to raise false issues or to trifle with grave matters of policy for a political advantage.

True partisanship requires much moral patience; it must accept a strange assort-ment of bedfellows.

But it should remain self-critical and in sight of the purpose of the whole process.

It should seek to make the party a more consistent instrument of that purpose.

The belief in a judging and forgiving God-Who stands beyond all our human enterprises-should introduce a certain modesty and bring a greater immensity to Christian citizenship.

It has been suggested that evil does not have one address, like Moscow, or just one instrument, like war, communism, or corruption in a Federal office.

The evils of our time-which free and responsible citizenship should be the first to recognize—reappear in constantly changing forms.

Citizens are humans-not gods-and for this reason alone the free and responsible citizen should recognize the need to apply Christian principles to the control of our

If Christians are to hold on to free and responsible citizenship they must participate successfully in government and politics.

Further they must know what is happening around them.

The blessings of our country were gained long ago by struggle and vigilance on the part of those who have gone before us. We must safeguard our American heritage

with the same enthusiasm, with the same determination and with the same political insight.

The oft-quoted line "eternal vigilance is the price of liberty" is never out of date.

Christians can make a great contribution to a community by assisting in maintaining spiritual health, without which politics become hopelessly corrupt.

By the same token christianity will not make its best contribution to politics unless it encourages Christian citizens to associate themselves with the machinery of politics and take an active part in the political life of the community.

Free and responsible citizenship takes more than repeating the pledge of allegiance to the flag and repeating the Lord's prayer.

In these stormy times things of momentous importance to future generations are afoot.

Often the issues are not discernible amid the noise.

However, we do have the benefit of the faith and character of our forefathers at their best.

Will posterity wonder why we, who have the privilege of living now, did not better understand the spiritual, social, and ecohomic problems of our time?

These are years of tremendous change. Not long ago nations, races, and religions were fairly well capsuled by geographical isolation.

Each nation could live for itself.

But at times it seems that the peoples of the world have suddenly been poured into one container.

We can be certain of one thing.

We cannot get out of the cold war and solve our other problems in a hurry.

But the abiding factors of this last half of our 20th century are its vitalities: Our ideals, our demands for life, liberty, and the pur-suit of happiness, our endeavors to better our conditions.

Serene incidents have not been the creative epochs in human history.

Serene incidents did not bring forth the dawn of Christianity-or the birth of the Presbyterian Church.

Nor did serene incidents bring forth the birth of our own Nation.

Responsible Christian citizens cannot avoid the conflict.

They cannot avoid the throbbing issues that through satisfactory solution will culminate in continued freedom for America.

We often hear this period of our history classified as an age of abundance, in contrast with past ages of economic scarcity.

The promises of America's political future are great. But its perils are so real that we cannot evade the challenge which this new age brings to the Christian conscience.

To the shallow expression "We have never had it so good," the free and responsible Christian must reply, "We have never had such heavy demands upon the Christian conscience."

Espionage Against the United States

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. LYNDON B. JOHNSON

OF TEXAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Tuesday, May 10, 1960

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. President, I have enjoyed reading an excel-lent article entitled "House Unit Reveals How Fake Czech Attache Spied on United States." written by the competent and respected newspaperman, Marshall McNeil, a Scripps-Howard staff writer, and published in the Washington Daily News of today, May 10, 1960.

I ask unanimous consent that the article be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD, and I hope all Members of Congress will read it. I commend Mr. Mc-Neil for having written the article, and the Scripps-Howard newspapers for having published it.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

HOUSE UNIT REVEALS HOW FAKE CZECH ATTACHÉ SPIED ON UNITED STATES

(By Marshall McNeil)

New evidence of widespread Communist spy activity in the United States as recently as 8 months ago was revealed today by the House Un-American Activities Committee.

The revelation came when it released testimony of Col. Frantisek Tisler, who was military and air attaché at the Czechoslovakian Embassy here until he defected from the Communists in July 1959.

He testified that the Embassy was a "cover" for espionage activities directed against the United States.

He said one of his jobs was to recruit American citizens to act as agents to furnish him with secret information related to U.S. military developments.

FUNDS

The Embassy, he said, provided funds for the defense of an American Communist on trial in Cleveland for alleged violation of the Smith Act.

Between August 1955 and July 1959, Colonel Tisler said, "approximately 45 percent of the personnel of the Czechoslovak Embassy in Washington and the Czechoslovak delegation to the United Nations in New York was engaged in some type of intelligence activity while in this country."

"The Tisler testimony," said Represent-ative Francis Walter, Democrat, of Penn-sylvania, chairman of the committee, "confirms and reiterates the overwhelming evidence of widespread Communist espionage on American soil, conducted under the guise of legitimate diplomatic activity.

"The recent incident in which the Communists shot down an unarmed American · · plane must not detract attention of

the world," Representative WALTER said. "from the wholesale espionage, sabotage, and propaganda operations conducted by Communists in every country of the free world."

NOTIFIES

Representative Walter, who is in Naples, notified his committee by transatlantic phone to release the testimony today. It was taken, the transcript shows, at a time and place which cannot be revealed on the

Colonel Tisler said he "broke my ties with Czechoslovakia on July 25, 1959." But it wasn't until last November 4 that newspapers carried stories that he had quit and asked U.S. asylum.

He joined the Communist Party of his country, he said, on April 2, 1946. He said he has been considered an "old ardent Communist." But disillusionment soon set in. "And," he said, "the longer I stayed in the United States the better was I able to convince myself that if an individual was interested in freedom, human dignity, and life without terror, this could only be obtained in the free world."

TRANSFERRED

The former Czech officer said funds of the Embassy here were "transferred from members of the Embassy staff to intermediaries, who subsequently saw to it that these funds were used to aid" Antonin Krchmarek of Cleveland in his defense during trial for alleged violation of the Smith Act. The amount thus spent was not revealed in the testimony.

He said the then Czech Ambassador Karel Petrzelka recommended to Prague that he be "authorized to pay Krchmarek \$3,000 for

living expenses and propaganda."

He also said that the Ambassador used Charles Musil, identified as an American citizen, who was editor of a Czech language newspaper in Chicago, as an intermediary between himself and Krchmarek. Use of intermediaries apparently was recommended by the then Soviet Ambassador Georgi N. Zarubin.

"In this connection," Col. Tisler testified, "Zarubin told Ambassador Petrzelka that the Soviets never maintained direct contact with members of the Communist Party of the United States because the Soviets wanted to avoid embarrassment."

The Un-American Activities Committee revealed that both Krchmarek and Musil are under its subpena to testify May 26.

Kennedy's Criticism of Wisconsin Press

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. MELVIN R. LAIRD

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, May 9, 1960

Mr. LAIRD. Mr. Speaker, Mr. John Wyngaard, dean of the Wisconsin Capital's Press Association in Madison, Wis., wrote a very interesting article on Senator Kennedy's criticism of the Wisconsin press. Mr. Wyngaard writes for some 14 papers in Wisconsin. I ask unanimous consent to include his column of Monday, May 2, 1960, in today's Record.

The article is as follows:

KENNEDY, CRITICAL OF COVERAGE BY STATE PRESS, CAN BLAME HIMSELP

(By John Wyngaard)

Manison.-There is no greater critic of the American press than the politician who cannot handle it as he wishes.

There is no one more aware of the problems—and weaknesses—of the American press than the professional newspaperman, or more ready to acknowledge how far is the gap between the ideal and the possible under the laws of economics and others that apply to journalism as to all other human pursuits.

The most significant political campaign in recent American history was put on the front steps of the voters of Wisconsin, to so speak, when Senators Kennedy and Humphrey brought their ambitions to the Wisconsin people earlier this year for a test ballot. Now that the affair has ended, both camps

are making broad indictments of the failure of the Wisconsin press in that event, Senator

KENNEDY most particularly.

Senator Kennedy told a convention of newspaper editors a few days ago that he was disappointed at the shallowness of his press coverage in Wisconsin, bluntly indicted the newspapers for emphasizing the trivia and the frills, and subordinating or ignoring the significance in his campaign and particularly his speeches.

There are several things that ought to be

said in rebuttal.

First, KENNEDY was making the speech to

the wrong audience.

Editors didn't cover his bout with Hum-PHREY. They know no more about what happened on the campaign trail, as a group, than do the men who put the stories into type, or the circulation managers who saw

that the papers got delivered.

Reporters covered the campaign and they did a more extensive, conscientious, and ex-pensive job than in any other primary that

this State has ever seen.

Senator Kennedy grumbles that they concentrated on the sidelights, and ignored his main themes on policy and his program.

Senator Kennedy wasn't talking like that when he campaigned here and wanted the good will of reporters. Moreover, he knows very little about the function of the American press if he believes that the reporter is going to file each day the same repetitious little homilies about politics that the man from Boston was reciting, almost as if by

Every reporter who covered Kennedy had the same experience. After a day or two there was nothing new that was left to say, and the tendency was to concentrate on the incidentals. It was not their doing. It was Senator Kennedy's conception of how to run

Senator Humphrey made a greater effort to make serious addresses to the voters. But covering him quickly became monotonous too. Anybody who had heard HUMPHREY four or five times had heard virtually all that he had to say.

If these men were disappointed by the flavor of their publicity, they need not long

seek those responsible.

Who elevated the "bean feed," so-called, into a symbol of proletarian democracy?

Who made the parlor coffce party a po-

litical rite? Who imported Alan Ameche and Jackie

Robinson to lecture to the athletic-enamored voters of the State?

Who played the raucous Sinatra recording in every village square of the State for 6 weeks?

Was the drenching of the State with billboards and television spot announcements an appeal to the reasoned judgment of the Wisconsin electorate?

Who brought into this State the deceptive invitation-reception gimmick?

Who made of the fast handshake a fundamental part of the appeal for votes of candidates for the highest office in the world?

It is the function of the press to relate the nature of public life as it is, not as it ought to be. Anything that was lacking in the story of the Presidential campaign in Wisconsin as it was told for the most part can be laid to the men who controlled its character.

Montana Attorney Practices Law Over One-Half Century

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. MIKE MANSFIELD

OF MONTANA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Tuesday, May 10, 1960

MANSFIELD. Mr. President, Mr. Montana has a wealth of able and talented practicing attorneys but there are few whose career is so parallel to the growth of one of Montana's major cities as that of Grover C. Cisel, of Billings, Mont. Grover has been practicing law in this community for 53 years. He was one of the first lawyers to come into eastern Montana after graduating from the University of Michigan Law School. Grover Cisel has been most active in community affairs of all kinds and is one of the leaders in the Democratic The Billings Gazette recently carried a feature story quoting a number of Grover Cisel's words of wisdom. I think that his best is his advice to those entering professional fields: "Know your responsibility as a citizen and be a good one."

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that this feature article appearing in the May 2 issue of the Billings Gazette be printed in the Appendix of the

RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

AFTER TAKING A STEP, YOU WALK AHEAD (By Addison R. Bragg)

Grover C .- it stands for Cleveland-Cisel curled his hands over the arms of his office chair, swung it back with a creak and nodded

"I guess I can talk about being a lawyer," he said. "I've been one for 53 years now."

The year 1907 was significant for the Billings attorney, then a brandnew graduate of the University of Michigan Law School. He passed the Montana bar that year, opened his law practice and was married, all in the same 12 months.

"There was only one lawyer in Billings when I came here," he said, passing a fore-finger back and forth over the gold rims of his glasses, "who's still here today-Lou Chapple."

Cisel and a classmate, James Davis, now retired and living in Santa Ana, Calif., came to Billings together to enter practice. in those days, Cisel said, a young lawyer's main business was collecting debts.

NO AGENCIES

"They didn't have collection agencies then," he said. "And the older, established firms were the ones people went to for im-portant legal advice."

He inspected the stub of a cigar in a cracked

ivory holder.

"When I came here," Cisel said, "there were three lawyers-William Johnston, O. F. Goddard, and Fred Hathorn, who had all the good business and 75 percent of all the legal business in town."

The finger went back up to the glasses as Cisel recalled the first case brought to him and his partner.

"A party came in," he said, "with a bill for \$5 she hadn't been able to collect-and we collected it for her."

A DOLLAR EACH

The client got \$3, Cisel said. His partner took one and he took the other.

He swung his chair forward, pulled open & desk drawer, fished around for a moment and tossed a coin on the desktop.

It was a tarnished silver dollar bearing

the date 1884. Cisel smiled slowly.
"You know," he said, "a lot of my old friends kid me about keeping the first dollar I ever made. Until they read this they'll never know how right they were."

The dollar was minted, Cisel pointed out, the same year that he was born in Allendale, Wabash County, Ill. "They were all Demo-crats back there," he said, "except for two families-and they later went into the oil business, moved to Oklahoma-and turned into Democrats, too."

Politics, Cisel said in a more serious vein. is something that not only lawyers but everyone else should take an interest in.

IT'S FUNDAMENTAL

Political activity, he declared, is "fundamental to our type of government."

A man who practiced once what he now preaches, Cisel served as Montana State Democratic chairman from 1934 to 1938. He held elective officer as a member of the district school board and served as an appointee on the State highway commission, the park board, and the executive council of Eastern Montana College.

What advice would he give a young man contemplating a career in law today?

A hand passed through the close-cropped gray hair as Cisel considered his answer.

"My advice," he said slowly, "would be about the same to anyone planning to enter any profession: Know your responsibilities as a citizen and be a good one.

If he had it to do over again?

The chair creaked again and a hand toyed with the silver buttons bearing a thistle design on his gray sweater.

IF NOT IN LAW?

"My best grades in school," he said. "weren't in law subjects but in mathematics, chemistry, and physics. I often wonder what I could have done if * * *."

The brown eyes warmed with a slow smile as the chair came forward again.

"But after you take the step," said. Grover Cleveland Cisel, "you walk ahead."

And he rose from his desk to meet a waiting client.

A New Civil Aeronautics Board Member Looks at the Local Service Industry

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. A. S. MIKE MONRONEY

OF OKLAHOMA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Tuesday, May 10, 1960

Mr. MONRONEY. Mr. President, the recent quarterly regional meeting of the Association of Local Transport Airlines. held in Philadelphia, Pa., Thursday, April 28, honored the distinguished jurist and new member and Chairman of the Civil Aeronautics Board, the Honorable Whitney Gillilland.

Chairman Gillilland responded with his address, entitled, "A New CAB Member Looks at the Local Service Industry. which I believe will be welcomed by my colleagues who share my interest in the steady growth and improving efficiency of airline service to the smallest communities of this country.

Stressing today's problems of shorthaul transportation, the chairman expertly analyzed the need for and attention being given by the Civil Aeronautics Board in the areas of traffic growth potential through liberalized operating authority, the advantages of an industry class mail rate development and the opportunities for reducing subsidy that may be inherent in a proposal to restudy present techniques of apportioning the proceeds of joint fares on interline tickets. This latter proposal on joint fares is one that I have made as an interesting area of study and one that promises considerable financial improvement to the industry

Mr. President, I am informed by the Public Printer that the cost of printing the address is \$189. Notwithstanding the cost, I ask unanimous consent that it may be printed in the Appendix of the Record.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

A New Member Looks at the Local Service INDUSTRY

(By the Honorable Whitney Gillilland, member Civil Aeronautics Board, before the Association of Local Transport Airlines, Philadelphia, Pa., April 28, 1960)

I consider it very much an honor to have been invited by your distinguished general counsel and executive director to address the Association of Local Transport Airlines. General Adams is highly regarded by all of his former associates at the Civil Aeronautics Board, for his abilities and for his determination of purpose. He is a longtime friend of the local service industry and in opening these remarks I cannot do better than to quote from his own words while he was a member of the Civil Aeronautics Board. Dissenting in the service to Trenton case he said:

"I have on several occasions reaffirmed my belief in the ultimate success of the local air service program. I have made it plain that my interest in that program is based upon my interest in the maintenance of adequate airline service for the smaller communities in the United States."

And again he said:

"If airline service to smaller cities is to be expanded and encouraged, and if at the same time the dependency of our local carriers upon subsidy mail pay is to be reduced, this Board must be willing, as opportunity is offered, to increase the flexibility of our local service carriers operations."

It is good that your meeting is in Philadelphia, the city of brotherly love, beyond doubt a dependable omen for General Adams

and for your association.

Here, ALTA is well represented by your member, Allegheny Airlines. Allegheny serves the cities of Pennsylvania, the Ohio Valley, and along the eastern seabord, providing local air service within these regions and to the key metropolitan centers of New York, Philadelphia, Washington, Baltimore, Pittsburgh, Cleveland, Detroit, and Buffalo. From Philadelphia, Allegheny provides service to 25 cities.

During October of last year, Allegheny established an experimental "no reservation" fare between Philadelphia and Pittsburgh. The Board is much interested in the results. Due to the fact that the fare is the subject of an investigation by the Board, I am unable to comment upon the issues. However, I can state that this tariff was not suspended when filed because the Board considered that it represented a worthwhile experiment in promotional fares and lower cost service. It was, therefore, permitted to become effective pending the results of the Board's investigation into lawfulness. I have seen the preliminary data and the traffic that appears to have been generated is impressive.

During my short membership on the Board, I have experienced an increasing appreciation for the accomplishments and future prospects of the airline industry, and, despite some warning signs, I can be much more properly classed as a bull than a bear.

I am particularly impressed with the progress of the local service carriers. During the years of growth, you have had many problems and setbacks, perhaps more than your share, but you have met them with vigor, initiative, and courage. I am confident that you will continue to do so.

I would like to review some of the high spots. The local service carriers were created following World War II to pioneer scheduled service to intermediate-size and smaller cities—cities deemed sufficiently large to merit service within the stated purposes of the Civil Aeronautics Act and eventually to support that service.

As of today, the 13 domestic local service airlines carry passengers, mail, and cargo in and out of approximately 450 cities. During the past year, they operated some 286 aircraft, providing frequent daily schedules over 30,000 miles of routes blanketing the entire Nation.

In the matter of the acquisition of new aircraft the last year was especially significant. Three aircraft types, new to the local service carriers, were put in operation.

These new types were the piston-engine Convair 340 and Convair 440 and the converted turboprop Convair 540. Whereas in the previous year only two carriers had Fairchild turboprop F-27's and a total of 9 so equipped, by the end of 1959, 4 of the carriers had F-27's and a total of 26. Moreover, the first F-27 had not been put in service until September 1958. This represents the most significant equipment improvement in the history of the local service group.

As a result in 1959 the relative importance of that famous old work horse of limited usefulness, the DC-3, began to decrease, and in a period when total local service traffic was increasing by 25 percent. During 1959 the DC-3 accounted for 62 percent of the total passenger miles. This was significantly lower than the 80 percent level attained by the DC-3 during 1958. It, therefore, can be expected that during 1960 the importance of the DC-3 will take a further drop, as more turbo-prop Convairs and F-27's come into service, and possibly, for the first time, some of the larger Martin M-404's.

Next to the DC-3 the F-27 accounted for the largest proportion of total traffic, 15 percent. In 1958 it had been 1 percent. The Martins accounted for the third largest share, 10 percent, approximately the same as the previous year. Next was the Convair 240 with 7.3, also approximately the same, and the Convair 340-440 with 5 percent, and none in 1958. The single Convair 540 of Allegheny's contributed 0.4 percent.

Thus, in 1959 all aircraft types except the DC-3 either held their own or made significant increases. The newer aircraft types undoubtedly generated new traffic the DC-3's

might never have attracted.

Last year's passenger load factors for the newer aircraft types are interesting. They ranged from 43 percent for the Convair 340-440 to 57 percent for the Convair 240 and were all higher than for the DC-3's, which was 41 percent. This, of course, reflects the fact that most of them were operated on the better routes. The load factor for the F-27 was 50 percent and for the one Convair 540, 47 percent. With their greater seating capacity the new types had average passenger loads ranging from 18 to 23 persons or roughly double that of the DC-3's, 10 persons.

As would be expected the DC-3 flew the shortest average stage length, 83 miles. The others except the Convair 540 which, because it flew only selected route segments was greater, had averages ranging from 99

to 122 miles. The average for the local service carriers, as a whole, rose slightly from 84 miles the previous year to 87.

As of the close of last year the aircraft operated by the 13 domestic local service carriers may be broken down as follows: DC-3, 219; F-27, 26; M-202, 19; CV-340, 10; CV-240, 7; CV-440, 4; and CV-540, 1.

Nine of the local carriers were operating mixed fleets. Only 4 were limited to DC-3's. In that yetar the local service carriers generated over 1 billion passengermiles, an increase of 1,000 percent over 1948. The number of passengers carried increased from 400,000 to 5 million, the passenger load factor from 27 percent to 44 percent. The reason, of course, for this proud record is that local service is needed for the progress of America. It is needed all over America. It is especially needed in our splendid new States of Alaska and Hawaii where a fine record has been made which merits, although I have not given it, special detailed mention.

In making a comparison of your record during 1959 over 1958, I find that in nearly all categories there has been marked improvement. In passengers enplaned there was a 23-percent increase, in passenger-miles a 25-percent increase, in express and freight-ton miles a 31-percent increase. Although the average total operating expenses in cents per revenue ton-mile increased 4.3 cents, 5 carriers showed decreases, and while the average break-even need of all carriers increased 5.2 cents per revenue-mile 6 carriers showed decreases.

The service you provide could be characterized as a 3-in-1. First, you link the smaller communities with one another, (2) the smaller cities with their principal trading centers, and (3) provide connecting service with the long-haul domestic trunks and international airlines. Each one is a separate and necessary service and is provided by each one of the local service carriers. You have shattered the barriers of isolation of the smaller communities and opened rural America to industrial expansion.

Your industry now stands on the threshold of a revolutionary age in air transport, the jet age, and as a result of the jet age, your problems will be compounded. The trunk carriers will be operating high speed, large capacity, long-range jet aircraft almost exclusively. Therefore, the importance of efficient short-haul service will be increasingly pronounced. The jets will stimulate traffic and this means that your traffic will be increased. Your service, therefore, must be constantly improved. It will be necessary within your capabilities to improve the speed, the comfort, and the convenience of the service that you provide. The alternative, of course, is that the increased traffic will be lost to your competitor, surface transportation. Your record is no precedent for such a result. The Board will expect to provide assistance and cooperation.

In my judgment the success of local service depends in large measure upon your relations with the communities you serve. There should be close cooperation with the local governments, the chambers of commerce, and the business men. Once you have convinced the communities of the merits of your product the selling should be relatively easy. Problems involving your service to these communities should be worked out on a satisfactory basis.

It is my sincere hope that the Board will never be called upon to decide an adequacy of service case involving a local service carrier.

Now I believe I have a duty to speak directly to one of the local service industry's most vexing problems. House Committee Report, dated April 14, 1960, on the Independent Offices Appropriation bill, includes the following language:

"An appropriation of \$60 million is recommended for payment of subsidies to local air

This is an increase of \$1,500,000 carriers. over 1960 and a reduction of \$8,984,000 in the budget estimate. During the hearings the committee expressed its concern to board that it is not auditing subsidy payments on a current basis, but makes monthly payments, and audits the accounts only annually. It is also suggested that the board examine its policies to be assured that carriers receiving subsidies are not encouraged to raise borrowed instead of equity capital by receiving a subsidy on their borrowed

This is not an isolated expression of view by a committee of the Congress. It is rather a typical view. The Board has become increasingly concerned with the problem of subsidy and I know that you, for many rea-

sons, share the same concern.

Since 1950 the subsidy per revenue passenger-mile has steadily declined from 9.6 cents to 4 cents, and the subsidy per revenue passenger has decreased from \$18.75 to \$8.04. Nevertheless, total subsidy payments have risen 62 percent since 1955. The total sub-sidy for 1959 amounts to approximately \$42 million. The Board's budget estimates for future years' forecast increases in subsidy. I know of no statistics to support a predic-tion of a reversal in the subsidy trend. In my judgment the trend will not in fact be reversed except by decreases in costs coupled with increases in traffic. The achievement of such a result is very largely up to you, and I am sure you will agree that such a result is very much in your own interests.

The Board cannot put passengers on air-planes nor can we operate airplanes. The Board does stand ready to provide assistance and guidance in order to achieve the goal of a healthy and prosperous local service in-

dustry

In the past the Board has established various policies to ald local service. For example, the Board has permitted carriers to experiment freely with commercial rates and to seek an optimum fare level. However, as you know, the ability to reduce subsidy by increasing fares is restricted by the deterrent effect on short-haul traffic.

The Board has also instituted several area proceedings which have resulted in substantial expansion of the local service systems. But, although expansion is accompanied by an increase in traffic, it also frequently re-sults in an increase in subsidy. In the seven States area investigation, the resulting subsidy cost of the new services amounted to 12 percent of the total local service subsidy estimated for 1960.

The withdrawal from service of routes with low traffic potential will, without doubt, produce savings in subsidy. However, if selfsufficiency were to be sought by this remedy alone, it would result in such curtailment of local service as to render such service

little more than an empty gesture.

The basic problem of the local service industry is low traffic density and passenger load factors coupled with the high unit cost of short-haul operation. These factors do not produce high profit margins. The Board is entirely aware of this and has attempted to overcome some of the basic handicaps by route adjustments and liber-alizing operating authority.

There are definite limits to greater route flexibility in that there should be a minimum of direct competition between local service carriers and trunk carriers. Morethere should not be such degree of flexibility that the local service carriers would tend to concentrate on the terminalto-terminal nonstop service to the detriment of the intermediate points.

The Board has, nevertheless, granted liberalized skip-stop authority in many cases and continues to grant it where warranted. As a general rule the Board's policy is that carriers operating new routes should have authority, after a minimum volume of two daily round trips have been scheduled to intermediate points, to provide nonstop service between noncompetitive terminals, but to make at least one stop between competitive terminals, Skip-stop service results in increased length of haul, operational flexibility, and better service, at lower

The Board has also adopted such measures as the suspension of trunkline service at points served by local service carriers, the transfer of local service authorizations of trunklines to local service carriers, the addition of points and routes expected to strengthen the earning potential of local carriers, and the elimination from local service certificates of low volume points.

It is commonly conceded that low volume communities generally gain a superior service when the service is provided by a local

service carrier.

The Board's so-called "use-it-or-lose-it policy" announced in the Seven States Area Case was designed to help the local service industry. It is a liberalized policy of affording communities of marginal traffic potentialities a chance to demonstrate whether they can support local air service. The Board announced that it would review the traffic experience of the newly certificated points and routes at the end of 18 months and on the basis of traffic results would determine whether or not to institute formal proceedings to suspend or terminate the ervice. The decision set forth certain specific community traffic standards: Five enplaned passengers daily to be achieved by the end of 18 months.

In 1957 the Board sponsored legislation to authorize the guarantee of purchase money loans for more modern aircraft. This proposal became law and we believe its results to have been of substantial benefit.

On March 24 the Board approved the release of a letter, to the president of each local service carrier, requesting an expression of views as to the current technique of apportioning the proceeds of joint fares on interline tickets for travel over two or more domestic air carriers. The current technique is a "rate prorate" under which the revenue of two or more carriers from a joint fare is determined by the ratio of each carrier's fare over its line to the total amount of such fares. The Board did not express any view in its letter. The Board is interested in the views of the carriers and after it has an opportunity to analyze them will decide what further action, if any, is appropriate.

One of the most important steps to improve the local service program is the pro-posed revision of the method of administering subsidy. This is the project for the development of a subsidy class-rate structure. The Board was disappointed that the joint efforts of the Board's staff and the industry during the past 2 years failed to develop a reasonable and equitable class-rate structure. The efforts are being continued.

The Board has recently appointed a toplevel class-rate study group with instruc-tions to develop a workable class-rate plan. In turn, the local service industry has two separate liaison groups working with the Board's staff.

Last July the staff released a revised plan. The carriers were requested to review it and submit comments. Of the 13 reporting carriers, 2 raised serious objections to the classrate concept on the basis of legality, equity, and timeliness of any uniform class rate. third carrier questioned the legality, but indicated it did not object if modified in accordance with its recommendations. The remaining carriers, although favorably disposed toward the class-rate concept, pro-posed extensive modifications and liberalizations of the formula components.

It is the Board's current opinion that the basic advantages of a class rate are: (1) a more predictable and controllable subsidy bill, and (2) a greater incentive to managements to operate their companies more efficiently.

It appears that there are two major attributes basic to any acceptable plan: (1) Final prospective rates not subject to retroactive adjustment, and (2) subsidy rates based upon industrywide standards as to operating costs, loads, load factors, and number of schedules to be underwritten with subsidy support. In other words, subsidy rates would not be based upon the need of an individual carrier but rather upon a class of carriers.

The advantages of a class-rate, if one can be developed, are sufficient to justify the major effort involved in seeking it. One of the most desirable features would be the avoidance of retroactive or open-rate periods. With the many route modifications that have occurred in recent years, and the transition from DC-3 aircraft to more modern equipment, subsidy rates have shown an unfortunate tendency to remain on an open rate basis. Operations on open mail rates for long periods of time may result in retroactive and costly adjustments. Sustained periods of open rates for large segments of the local air carrier industry are also likely to have a damaging effect on the credit position of the carriers and an unfavorable effect on the carriers' ability to finance on reasonable terms.

In view of the Board's at least temporary lack of success in its efforts to develop satisfactory class-rate, it did recently publish scheduling standards designed to provide a more firm but not inflexible basis upon which to approach the scheduling problems in future rate conferences. I would like to emphasize, since the application of the standards has sometimes been misunderstood, that they are not to be considered as a predetermination with respect to an individual rate. The standards are not definitive but ought to be regarded merely as an aid to both the carriers and the Board in meeting the objectives of placing all carriers on final rates by the end of this

I think the relationship of the Board to the local service carriers, with partial ac-curacy, may be compared to a young father who, after a late and large evening, and faced with an early rising for an important morning, paces about hopelessly in the middle of the night with his healthy but wailing and unsympathetic son in his arms. He then looks forward longingly to that future time when he no longer will be confronted with such completely insoluble problems. But despite his pride in the subsequent achievements of his son he finds that the problems in fact increase and accelerate in complexity until the son at least reaches complete maturity.

Now I think that to the extent this comparison may have any validity and the local service carriers are to be considered the son. that then the son has just about reached maturity, and that he and the old man are going to get along all right, and that all of the problems will eventually be solved, but there remain a few mighty tough problems ahead for the last few years while the son goes to the university.

Editorials From the Audubon Magazine

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. ALEXANDER WILEY

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Tuesday, May 10, 1960

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, the National Audubon Society, one of our great conservation organizations, is carrying on useful constructive programs to promote conservation and a better understanding by our people of our outdoor heritage and the relationship of living things to their natural environment.

In my home State, for example, one of the society's fine camps—one of four in the Nation—is located near Sarona, Wis. The purpose of the camp is for training teachers, conservationists, youth group leaders, and other interested individuals in plant, aquatic, bird, and wildlife, and other aspects of nature. Since establishment in 1955, the total of 889 teachers and citizen conservationists attended the camp.

In an age in which our out-of-door areas are too-fast vanishing under the expansion of industrialization, urbanization, and 'other "izations" we need greater efforts to preserve—as well as expand understanding of the value of maintaining unspoiled natural heritage.

Recently, the president of the Audubon Society, Mr. Carl W. Buchliester, well known in Wisconsin and throughout the country for leadership in the nature preservation, published a series of editorials in the Audubon magazine. The editorials, reflecting the views of the society, bear also upon issues of interest to the Congress. I ask unanimous consent to have the editorials printed in the Appendix of the Record.

There being no objection, the editorials were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Needed: A "Coordination Act" for Pesticides

To those who have followed the fire ant controversy it is now obvious that much unnecessary destruction of wildlife could have been avoided if there had been adequate study of the problems, and genuine consultation between insect-control agencies and wildlife agencies, before the massive aerial spraying program was begun.

In the first place, if the real facts about the imported fire ant had been commonly known, the public and Congress would not have been misled by the promotional campaign which erroneously pictured the fire ant as an all-consuming plague, devouring crops in the field, killing livestock, and menacing human life.

But after Congress had appropriated the money and after the spraying planes were in the air, it was difficult to bring about any reasonable second-look at the methods. It became increasingly difficult after the control agencies were put on the defensive by mounting criticism.

The fire ant flasco and other examples of the careless or mistaken use of chemical controls by public agencies have led the National Audubon Society to conclude that what is needed is a "coordination act" for pesticide Programs similar to the famous Coordination Act of 1946 (amended in 1958) that put advance planning and protection for wild-life into the Federal flood control and reclamation programs.

The principle of such a law is simple. It would require advance consultation with the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service, and advance testing of the materials and methods proposed, before the start of any Federal program involving the widespread use of insecticides, herbicides, or other chemicals designed for mass biological controls. Through such advance consultation and testing, the probable effects upon wildlife and other resources could be studied and techniques devised to prevent or minimize losses. We recognize that in this complicated world some chemical controls will be employed, but we must insist they be used safely.

A Federal law could not regulate pesticides operations by State agencies or on private lands, of course, if Federal funds were not involved. This means supplementary State laws may also be needed.

Enthusiasm for a proposed "coordination act" spread rapidly at the recent North American Wildlife Conference in Dallas, Tex., which your President attended. We can now predict that such legislation will be introduced soon in Congress, probably before this magazine goes to press.

OIL POLLUTION TREATY GOES TO SENATE

The high seas, vast and deep as they are, cannot continue to take increasing loads of oil pollution without intolerable damage to natural resources upon which the whole world depends. The problem has already become acute. Recreational beaches are despoiled by the tarry wastes that wash ashore. The reduction of marine life needed for human food is largely unmeasured but known to be serious. Nowhere—and we repeat, nowhere-is the destruction more dramatic and shocking than in the effect upon birdlife: 250,000 birds foundered and died in oil slicks off Newfoundland during the past winter. It was the worst winter in history for bird mortality in that area, according to the Audubon Society of Canada. As only one result, the razor-billed auk, formerly present in goodly numbers, is now thought to be virtually extirpated as a breeding bird in Newfoundland. Waterfowl and sea birds continue to perish in large numbers from oil pollution along the coasts from Boston to New York, particularly in the Nantucket area.

Here is an emergency which requires international cooperation and national enforcement in territorial waters, and action more prompt than usually characterizes international negotiations. In 1954 United States representatives at a London conference helped draft a convention (treaty) for the prevention of oil pollution of the high seas, but 6 years later the United States has not yet signed it. Twelve other nations including Canada have joined, or ratified, the convention, which calls for zoning and international controls on the dumping of waste oils at sea.

The pollution usually occurs when tankers are cleaned at sea; when bilges are dumped; or when oil water is discharged in ballasting operations to maintain a vessel's balance.

In a message of February 15, 1960, to the Senate, President Eisenhower asked it to ratify this "International Convention for the Prevention of Pollution of the Seas by Oil." As of this writing, the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, to which the document was referred, had scheduled no hearing or other action upon it. We have written to Senator J. W. Fulbright, committee chairman, requesting that this urgent matter not be overlooked.

WILDERNESS BILL WILL BE HISTORIC ACHIEVEMENT

The continued postponement of action on the wilderness bill, despite the wildespread popular demand for this basic conservation measure, is a result of the delaying tactics so successfully used by the opposition. The opposition is well known: certain groups representing commercial users of the public lands who think that some day they may wish to develop the few remnants of American wilderness which the bill seeks to protect. They must be looking to the future because no individual who presently grazes lievstock, operates a mine, holds a mineral lease, or otherwise enjoys private rights or privileges on the public lands, would be ousted by the moderate bill now pending.

Conservationists can see no excuse for further delay and continued delaying tactics will be recognized and branded for what they are. On the other hand, passage now of the

wilderness bill would give Members of the 86th Congress an historic conservation achievement to which they could point with bride.

THE ARCTIC WILDLIFE RANGE

Members who attended our November 1959 convention will recall the eloquent plea by Dr. Olaus J. Murie, Audubon Medal recipient, for establishment of the proposed Arctic Wildlife Range. We now commend the House of Representatives in Washington, D.C., for its recent unanimous passage of a bill to accomplish that objective. Similar action by the Senate would assure the preservation of unique, and irreplaceable, wildlife and wilderness values in a great 9-million-acre area of northeast Alaska. We sincerely hope that Alaska's able Scnators, Mr. Barlett and Mr. Gruening, will support the bill.

Because so much of the new State of Alaska is federally owned, and because the teritory was so long governed by the distant "great white father," any kind of Federal land withdrawal or reservation is said to be unpopular with Alaskans. However, here is a conservation proposal that will benefit the whole Nation and generations yet unborn. Tourism is now one of the major industries of Alaska. Assistant Secretary of the Interior Ross Leffler has estimated, probably correctly, that within 25 years the Arctic Wildlife Range will itself attract more visitors than the present total summer influx into Alaska.

With respect to the attitude of Alaskans, it must not be overlooked that the present drive to set aside an Arctic Wildlife Range was started in Alaska by Alaskan organizations. The rest of us followed along and well we should.

The Secretary of the Interior can withdraw the Arctic Wildlife Range by Executive order, closing it to mining and mineral leasing, and conservationists are urging him to do so regardless of the possibility such action by the Secretary might become a political issue. Passage of the pending legislation would be more to Alaska's advantage, however, because it would permit mineral development under reasonable controls to protect the wildlife.

A GREAT FRIEND PASSES

Conservation lost a great and dedicated advocate with the untimely passing March 8 of Richard L. Neuberger, as he was nearing the end of his first term as U.S. Senator from Oregon. As evidence of the stature he had attained, the place he had won for himself, virtually every Senator who joined the next day in heavyhearted tribute to their departed colleague spoke of his leadership in natural resources conservation and emphasized it. As journalist, author, historian, and legislator, he used his remarkable talents to assure that future generations of Americans will know and enjoy a fertile and beautiful land.

Advertisement of Montana's Attractions

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. MIKE MANSFIELD

OF MONTANA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, May 10, 1960

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, on many occasions I have spoken to my colleagues here in the Senate about the many wonders and attractions that exist in Montana. On occasion I have felt that some people feel that I was exaggerating a bit but recently a situation de-

eastern part of the country had an opportunity to see firsthand what Montana did have to offer. I might say the response was overwhelming.

Several weeks ago the Fulmer-Giardello fight was held on the campus at Montana State College in Bozeman and it attracted boxing fans and sports enthusiasts from all over. These people were completely taken in by Montana's hospitality and friendliness. Many of them returned home to write about it.

The May 3, 1960, issue of the Montana Standard carried a fine editorial on this aspect of Montana's advertising campaign and, Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have it printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD,

as follows:

MONTANA BECOMES A FIRST PAGE STORY

Montana is getting the thing it most needed-advertising-and from an unexpected source.

A score or more eastern writers who came to Montana to cover the Fulmer-Giardello fight, wrote a lot of words about the fight, but they also have written a lot more about Montana. And they're still writing.

Nearly all of the writers are coming back to Montana. Some of them want to come here to live. This is not surprising. What is surprising about it is that the truth about Montana has been so long in coming out. But apparently the idea that Montana is a great State is taking hold nationally.

It seems to have been a well kept secret

heretofore.

Some of the visitors are even a little

jealous, we suspect.

Martin Kane of Sports Illustrated, Life, and Time remained in Bozeman after the fight to witness the 14th annual intercollegiate rodeo at Montana State College.

"This is the first rodeo I've seen, except on said Kane. "I'm so impressed with the fact that so many colleges and high schools compete in this sport out West that I'm going to ask for an assignment to come back here next year and do a story.

"We don't have anything like this in the East. I think it's wonderful to see these kids competing—the idea fascinates me." Another writer, Lester Bromberg of the New York World-Telegram and Sun, ex-

pressed similar sentiments.

The writers also were impressed by the hospitality and friendliness of Montana people. They regarded Montana fishing as fantastic. They thought the scenery was "way out."

Said Bromberg: "My stay here has been a record. I've never been so long in any town where I've been sent to cover a sporting Every day has been enjoyable and those steaks are out of this world.'

It was Bromberg who boasted that he ate a 52-ounce sirloin steak at a single setting.

That's 31/4 pounds.

Another thing that amazed the visitors was the fight crowd. Some 12,000 witnessed the championship match. Back East fight crowds are considerably smaller. Sometimes as few as 800 people turn out. The big income is from TV.

It's another reason the West may expect to witness more topflight sporting events. In the East they're tired of sports. That's why the baseball teams are moving West.

Montana is going to be a page 1 story throughout the Nation all summer with the Governors' conference in Glacier Park and with the discovery of the Treasure State by the visiting writers.

veloped whereby many folks from the Leadership of Indiana in National Rural families. These are the families that pro-Development Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. HOMER E. CAPEHART

OF INDIANA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Tuesday, May 10, 1960

Mr. CAPEHART. Mr. President, on Sunday, May 8, 1960, the New York Times published a front-page article on the national rural development program. It shows especially how Indiana is helping give leadership in this program which is operating in 30 States and Puerto Rico.

I am told that other States have plans to get started on this program, which is helping especially the families on small low-income farms. As the very able writer William M. Blair says in this article:

Its objective is to help the country's lowincome families. These are the families that produce less than 10 percent of farm products marketed today and have largely bypassed by the benefits of price supports.

Starting in 1955, the rural development program has been solidly developed to aid the small family farmsthe farmers who most need help.

The entire article so well illustrates the program which is underway in broad areas of the lowest income farm areas of the Nation that I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD,

as follows:

RURAL HELP PLAN TESTED IN INDIANA-POOR HILL COUNTY IS FINDING NEW HUMAN RE-SOURCES WITH AID OF U.S. PROGRAM

(By William M. Blair)

CANNELTON, IND., May 7 .- Perry County, Ind., is a part of a vast rural laboratory.

What is going on in this rural hill country, in the central tip of Indiana along the Ohio River, is also going on in counties scattered throughout 30 other States and in Puerto Rico. It may chart a worldwide course for the development of human resources in agriculture.

The project has attached attention abroad. The Canadian Government has sent representatives to study it. It has been endorsed by the Organization for European Cooperation.

Farm surpluses, the abundance of American skills in science and technology, price supports and farm subsidies, and the anguished cries of farmbelt politicians on the land and in Congress have occupied the news spotlight. But here on the land, in marginal low-income areas where farming is a precarious business at best because of poor resources, natural, and otherwise, the development of human resources lags far be-

NEW OPPORTUNITIES SOUGHT

It is the development of human resources and the opening of new jobs and other opportunities off or on the farm that has turned the country into a laboratory. Officially, the program is the rural development program.

This long-debated idea was adopted by the Federal Government in 1955. Its objective is to help the country's low-income duce less than 10 percent of farm products marketed today and have largely been bypassed by the benefits of price supports.

These farm families in Perry County and throughout the country depend on small, poorly paying farms. Their off-farm job poorly paying farms. opportunities are limited. They lack adequate land, credit, capital, equipment, and, perhaps more important, adequate education and information about themselves and what they need to do.

In Perry County today a group of citizens has been organized into a long-range planning committee in a program to assess themselves and their county. They seek answers to many questions, ranging from how to make a living on the farm to health prob-

NEW INDUSTRY WANTED

From these answers, it is hoped, will come solutions and actions that will widen their horizons, fit them into the main stream of progress, and make a contribution to the community and national welfare.

They are talking of attracting more industry, recognizing their schools, finding ways to enlarge farm units and shifting to better farming methods, and to other crops. They are also talking about market opportunities, getting better roads, rebuilding the cut-over forest land, and the possibility of tourist trade in forest recreation areas.

We're long on scenery and short on soil," observed one farmer as he looked over the beautiful rolling hills greening up in spring.

Perry County's problems can be duplicated in nearly all low-income countles in the country, although individual needs may be different.

The county is near the bottom of the income ladder. It ranks 78th in net farm income among the State's 92 counties. It also ranks 78th in the value of farm products sold.

It has two substandard rural high schools with an enrollment of 194 pupils. Both schools have outside toilets. For one, water has to be hauled from Tell City.

A LONG RIDE TO SCHOOL

About 425 rural pupils ride buses, some for an hour and a half each way, to the more modern high schools in Cannelton and Tell

In all, the county has 4,100 pupils enrolled. It has two one-room schoolhouses and several two-room schools among its 17 schools.

Loren Lanham, county school superintendent, estimated that 40 percent of the 69 teachers lacked college degrees.

Now, more than a dozen Federal, State, and local agencies, spearheaded by the agricultural extension service of land-grant colleges, are engaged in a rural development ef-

Purdue University's cooperative extension service, started long-range planning in Perry County 2 years before the Federal program was adopted and allocated Indiana \$20,000 for the human-resource research.

Indiana made a natural merger into the national program, which is an educational one rather than a direct aid program. All kinds of resource, however, are available at Federal and State levels. These include loans from the Farmers Home Administration and the Small Business Administration.

"We knew we had a problem and we knew it meant more than just a county agricul-tural agent's services to rural people," said L. E. Hoffman, director of the extension service at Purdue.

"It's not our purpose to put a lot of money into building things and to force projects on folks. Our purpose is to help them help thems-lves. In that way, the building will be permanent and lasting.

SAME RESULTS SUBPRISING

This mental, do-it-yourself effort has produced some startling results. It also has disclosed some conflicts.

"We're on the threshhold of a new era," Robert Cummings, editor of the Cannelton News and a leader in the local rural development program, said the other day. He and others foresaw Perry County's participating in the industrial boom taking place in the Ohio River Valley.

"But, of course, we must know our problems before we can partake of what we hope will come." he said.

The road is slow. Some counties have

moved faster than others.

It is difficult to pinpoint actions that have produced new opportunities for higher incomes and higher standards of living for rural dwellers. However, the rural development program can say it had a hand in many direct actions that have changed attitudes, gained new industries in various places, and made other changes.

Four small businesses have located along the river in recent years, as the result of

local initiative.

Other examples of the many-sided program in other areas include the formation of farmers' marketing cooperatives in two Kentucky counties, and the organization by businessmen in Bertie County, N.C., of a produce company that built a \$70,000 market.

EDUCATION PUT FIRST

The most startling development to be found is that the people in many areas and in Perry County, in particular, have assigned first priority to one problem—education. They extend that aim to adult education, too.

"Education is oging to make it easier for us to make a living, make it easier for our children and their children," is a commonly heard opinion.

Arnold Mulzer, who has taken the lead in seeking industry as a part of the development program, expressed the viewpoint of many about approaching the problems of the underdeveloped county.

"You can't separate the problems," he said. "You can't say it's all farm problem or all lack of industry or all inadequate educa-

tion."

"It's all one ball of wax," he remarked. "It's a community problem and the whole community must put its weight behind doing what needs to be done. You can't stand still or you die."

Edgar Braun, an oil jobber in Cannelton, is chairman of the long-range planning committee. He told of some impatience among some people with the program be-"it hasn't been showing tangible results, like pouring concrete or such things."

However, he remarked, "We're dealing with a lot of intangibles, with ideas which we've got to have before we can get what we need."

Some people, he remarked, fell in with the long-range planning "because it was the thing to do" or it helped them maintain their business or social standing. But, said Mr. Braun, "we get converts every day."

He pointed to a health survey of the country, the first comprehensive study of its kind in the area. The long-range planning committee developed the idea.

In cooperation with the county health council, civic, church, and other action groups, the committee covered more than three-fourths of the county's 18,000 persons.

"That survey opened a lot of eyes," Mr. Braun said. "It also made people aware of the need for long-range planning."

As well as covering the broad health needs of the county, the survey also pinpointed the sore spots. For example, it uncovered a high incidence of cancer. Now, a subcommittee is getting ready to tackle that problem with local and State health authorities.

Hiram E. Wallace, Perry County agricultural agent who has kept the long-range planning on its course with the help of Purdue specialists, put it this way:

"These people have learned to recognize their problems according to their own values. It isn't a question of somebody telling them what their problems are, but of getting them to see them. Then they can move ahead."

William Freeman, one of the few full-time farmers in the county, heads a county committee under a State school reorganization plan for consolidating and improving schools. He put his fingers on "problem

recognition" in a different way.
"Six or seven years ago," he he said, "vou probably would have been ridden out of town on a rail if you mentioned school reorganization. Now at least you can talk about it without getting hurt."

NEW PLANTS RAISE WAGES

For many years wood products, mainly chairs, were the backbone of this forested Wages climbed as a river barge county. manufacturer came in and a vacuum tube plant was opened. The General Electric Co. employs about 2,300, mostly farm women, in its tube factory.

A small safe manufacturing company is installed in an old cotton mill along the river here. When it opened to hire about 125 persons, some 600 applicants stretched for four blocks.

An Eastern maker of fiberglass small boats was induced to locate here recently with a plant partly financed by local money.

The employment in all plants here is about 5,000 to 6,000. But the available male labor supply in this country and adjoining southern counties, facing similar problems, is many times that number.

New industry poses conflicts in such rural communities. Local leaders tend to min-imize the conflicts but they do not deny them. One is the customary opposition of small-town businessmen to higher-paying jobs in cheap labor areas. Farming people also tend to look down on labor unions, but this attitude seems to be changing.

The Federal development program is administered by a committee headed by Under Secretary of Agriculture True D. Morse. It includes Under Secretaries of the Departments of the Interior; Commerce; Labor; Health, Education, and Welfare; and Administrator of the Small Business Administration; and a member of the President's Council of Economic Advisers.

The former dean of Purdue's College of Agriculture, Harry J. Reed. is national co-ordinator of the program. Purdue's present agricultural dean, Earl Butz, helped set up the program in 1954 when he was an Assistant Secretary of Agriculture.

Despite some opposition and many doubts among some people in Perry County, the hope of many may be seen in the comment of the mother of five young children. She is Mrs. Paul Ziegelgruber, who was a member of a women's planning subcommittee.

"I have never learned so such about our situation in so short a time," she said.

The Government's Role in Baseball

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. MILTON R. YOUNG

OF NORTH DAKOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Tuesday, May 10, 1960

Mr. YOUNG of North Dakota. Mr. President, an excellent article by Mr. Red Smith on the general subject of the Government's role in baseball was published in the Minot Daily News, Minot, N. Dak., on May 3, 1960. The title of the article is "Continentals Drag Feet in Purchasing Franchises."

This article expresses the views, I believe, of the great majority of baseball fans in North Dakota including myself. I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD. as follows:

CONTINENTALS DRAG FEET IN PURCHASING FRANCHISES

(By Red Smith)

New York .- "Within 3 years," Branch Rickey said recently in a passionate interview, "I can see boys who will steal 60 bases, boys who will win 20 games, boys who will hit .400 "

He was talking about Continental League boys, but not old Continental League boys like Branch Rickey. Moving with the stately dignity of Helen Traubel running out an infield grounder, the old Continental League boys haven't got to first base.

New York City was formally committed Thursday to build a ball park for the Continentals in Flushing Meadow. This is what they've been waiting for, the Continentals say, for without a New York team in a suitable playpen their major league pretensions would collapse.

Now that they're going to get the play-ground, they need a team to garnish it. Jack Cooke, one of the founding fathers, owns the Toronto Maple Leafs, which gives him the nucleus of a Continental League team.

Backers in other cities either have an interest in the hometown team now or plan to buy the club as a starter. In New York there is no team to be bought, no place to put any players who might be signed before the proposed opening date in 1961.

York contemplates moving in in "New 1960," Bill Shea said last August when this point came up before a major league committee, "by the acquisition of a player agreement immediately with a Triple-A ball club or Double A."

In other words, the New York group would buy a minor league team and operate it outside New York until the Continental League could open. With that in view, Walter O'Malley was asked to put a price on his Montreal farm. It may astonish some of Walter's admirers in Brooklyn to learn that he opened his books to show his investment of \$200,000 in Montreal, then said: "You can have it for \$150,000."

Here was a club the New York interests could buy at an eminently fair price to operate in the International League and use as a repository for Continental League talent until moving into the city. The Continentals dragged their feet for a while, then backed off because Montreal isn't a money

For years, Atlanta was one of the country's great minor league towns but last summer attendance approached the vanishing point. The Continentals were offered the club for \$1 on condition that they operated for the time being in the Southern Association. They said no thanks because it was a loser.

These are disconcerting facts, especially to one with an almost idolatrous respect for Branch Rickey, a firm belief that major league baseball should expand, and hearty good will toward the Continental League.

There was a good deal in the papers, some of it misinformed, about the little hassle with Ford Frick over Rickey's plan for a Western Carolinas League. The Continentals planned to underwrite this league up to \$120,000, staff it with kids they would pick

up as free agents, and hold these rookies in a pool for future distribution to Conti-nental League teams.

This is clearly against the rules and the commissioner refused to sanction it, citing a string of precedents established by Judge Landis who pointed out that when one organization controls players on two or more teams in any league, "the power exists to regulate and control the competition of those clubs."

Unable to relax the rules against "syndicate baseball" for anybody, Frick outlined a plan whereby the Continentals could support the Western Carolinas League through legitimate club-to-club working agreements.

Almost immediately he got a letter from Senator Estes Kefauver compounded about equally of misinformation and a veiled threat of antitrust action. While the commissioner was straightening the Senator out, Rickey was complaining that the ruling prevented the Continentals from signing any free agents because they had no place to put 'em.

This wasn't and isn't so. The Western Carolinas League is going to operate within the rules, supported by the Continentals on the club-to-club basis Frick suggested. There was no need to run whimpering to the chairman of the Senate Antitrust and Monopoly Subcommittee.

In Bartlett's "Familiar Quotations" there a description of statuesque immobility which seems singularly apt just now. It was written by Guy Humphries McMaster when Rickey was a boy:

"In their ragged regimentals, Stood the old Continentals, Yielding not, While the grenadlers were lunging, And like hail fell the plunging Cannonshot."

Mrs. Joan Whitney Payson, the gracious lady backing the New York entry in the Continental League, said the other day that she and her friends were groping for a name for the team. Considering the pace at which the Continentals have been moving, how about New York Counts? Sure they're oysters, but they come from Long Island.

Make Our Presidents Senators

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. CARL T. CURTIS

OF NEBRASKA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES . Tuesday, May 10, 1960

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. President, one of the most rewarding talents to be encouraged in our youth is that which strives for excellence in public speaking. Of the many achievements which can be pursued in our abundant life, I am sure none will better serve a young person than experience in public address. am pleased to offer my colleagues the text of a speech delivered by Karen Kneifl, a student at Marian High School in Omaha, Nebr. This recitation, and another delivered by Karen's teammate, Marcia Brazelton, of Omaha, Nebr., won for Marian High School first place in the recently held National Forensic League speech tournament for the State of Nebraska.

There being no objection, the speech was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WASTE NOT-WANT NOT

At the dedication of the Truman Library in Independence, Mo., a few years ago two former Presidents of the United States met. Half ruefully, half jokingly, Harry S. Truman asked Herbert Hoover:

'Just what is the role of a former President?'

After a thoughtful pause, Mr. Hoover answered:

"The only thing for an ex-President to do is to take pills and dedicate libraries."

Have you, as a citizen, as a student, or an NFL member ever considered what happens to our Presidents once they have climbed the ladder to the top and served our country for 4 or 8 years? All of a sudden they not only are unemployed but they are divested of all authority and importance. They are pushed aside and more or less forgotten.

The most glaring of all of the wasted intellectual resources of our Nation is that of our country's best leadership, that leader-ship being within the capacities of our ex-U.S. Presidents.

Any former President, whatever his party and whatever his record as President, acquires a vast amount of information and insight that Members of Congress and the general public must not overlook. This is the priceless experience of the sages of our time that we are wasting.

A country which wastes its resources can never reach its peak. I have heard many people remark at the time of someone's death that it was too bad he could not leave his talents behind-yet we are wasting supremely invaluable wisdom and experience of our former Chief Executives who are still with us because we have not recognized this bank of knowledge and experience for what it can offer America.

The problem, then, is by what method can we utilize this wisdom of our ex-Presidents and, at the same time, add to their role the dignity and honor due them as the sages

of our era?

James A. Farley, one of America's shrewdest minds, suggests that we pass a statutory law making all former Presidents lifetime nonvoting Senators-at-large. This would give the past President the role of a "father Senator," continuing to represent all the people of our country, with all the privileges of regular Senators excepting the power to vote. Today we would like to advocate that these Presidents be lifetime Senators with the power to vote.

A former President would find the Senate an excellent forum in which to speak out on major policy questions and military affairsit is precisely these areas where retired Chief Executives would have substantial special knowledge. These father Senators would not have to worry about reelection; therefore, they could speak with exceptional force and

There have been some happy cases of an incumbent President wisely using the services of a predecessor on a special assignment.

During the Truman administration, former President Hoover directed the Hoover Commission, which helped reduce Government inefficiency. Also, back in 1902 President Theodore Roosevelt made Grover Cleveland chairman of an effective body which investigated the bitter coal strike.

But mostly, in the past years, instead of the opportunity to use their wisdom for the advancement of our country, we find these men who have held the greatest office in the world are left to feel neglected and useless. as they are retired with nothing of promise ahead of them.

Let's take a look at the wasted years of Theodore Roosevelt. This dynamic man, who was barely 50 when he finished his second term, wanted to run again, but refrained because of his 1904 pledge that he wouldn't be a candidate in 1908. So, instead, he went

big-game hunting in Africa for a year. But in 1912, when the Republicans renominated Taft. Roosevelt bolted the party to run for President again himself as a Progressive. Democrat Woodrow Wilson easily won in this three-cornered election.

During the 10 years after he left the White House, restless Teddy Roosevelt dissipated his energies in so many directions that in 1919 he died an unhappy, embittered man. What a pity that this brilliant ex-President wasn't given a dignified, constructive job in the U.S. Senate, where his versatile and inexhaustible vitality would have aided the country.

Today we may anticipate that future Presidents, including the one to be elected this year, will leave the White House with many years of service still before them. For that matter, even in the past most Presidents had many years still before them when they left the White House. You may be surprised to learn that 25 of our Presidents before Eisenhower lived an average of 11 years in retirement. That's 275 years of potentially valuable service wasted.

What are we going to do with our President Eisenhower who will finish his term this year? President Eisenhower's experience both as general and President, and his firsthand acquaintance with world leaders will make him extraordinarily valuable—provided we don't push him off into the sidelines and forget him. With his wisdom gained as world traveler, dealing with all other countries, as well as steering our affairs for 8 years, he would be invaluable in helping solve crises. Are we going to turn all of this valuable wisdom from our helm because we now have a new President? .

Ex-President Mr. Eisenhower can be of great value to our country as a Father Sena-tor. For he will not be beholden to any political party, or to any select groups, such as labor or management. For the first time he can evaluate all experience in the light of what is good for our country with no strings attached. Thus he should prove a wise counselor indeed for those Senators who may have outside pressure exerted upon them.

Back in 1889, James Bryce, the English historian, commented on our strange failure to take advantage of ex-Presidents' abilities.

In his famous book, "The American Commonwealth." he wrote: "They managed things better at Rome, gathering into their Senate all the fame and experience, all the wisdom and skill of those who had ruled and fought as consuls and praetors at home and abroad."

In 1906, Historian Charles Francis Adams also urged putting our ex-Presidents in the Senate, warning "We have lost absolutely the value of their ripe experience and great abilities—these eminent citizens were cut off from public utility at the maturity of their powers and during the best years of their lives as counselors.

In England, Winston Churchill went on erving his country after ceasing to be Prime

While in America we have accepted the attitude of "Off with the old, on with the new"—the younger generation is taught less We find and less to value grandpa's wisdom. much of the present-day attitude lends itself to invite this disregard for the experience of our elders.

However, it is necessary that we waste not for wasting the experiences and abilities of our Presidents has always been wrong. must stop treating our ex-Presidents as unemployed has-beens, when we need their wise counsel as never before.

For an interim of 70 years citizens have discussed the merits of making the ex-Presidents Members at Large of our Senate, but even though no one seems to really be against it, nothing has been done about it. Most lawmakers, like most Americans, are fust indifferent.

Can you and I do something to awaken our country to take action?

More than ever before we do need to retain the wealth of knowledge gained by our President Elsenhower—knowledge that he has gleaned as he convened at Camp David and traveled from country to country endeavoring to learn the solutions to world problems.

Our body of National Forensic League members represent the outstanding youth of America. Let us have our National NFL Congress draw up a resolution asking our Congress in Washington to take immediate action to make our ex-Presidents Members of our Senate. Besides that, at the same time, we could ask each chapter to storm Congress with letters requesting individual representative Senators to demand immediate action to provide this law before our next President takes office in January 1961.

We must stop wasting the intellect and abilities of past Presidents. For if we waste not, we will want not, but if we so carelessly regard any of our resources, the day of want will be upon us.

The Morals of Extermination

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. BYRON L. JOHNSON

OF COLORADO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 10, 1960

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. Mr. Speaker, the prophetic voice is more necessary than it is welcome. The events of the past few days have reminded us how close we can come to the abyss of extermination. Mr. Lewis Mumford in an essay, from the Atlantic Monthly last October, on "The Morals of Extermination" has sought to sting the soul of America with an honest facing of the human side of the issues before us.

In times of global conflict the human side of our policy tends to disappear from our calculations. Most of our writers and critics can be characterized as "the bland leading the bland." Mr. Mumford writes prophetically. His essay does not make me happy; it will not make you happy. But if humanity is to survive, then these things must be said in the simple candor Mr. Mumford adopts:

Since 1945, the American Government has devoted the better part of our national energles to preparations for wholesale human extermination. This curious enterprise has been disguished as a scientifically sound method of insuring world peace and na-tional security, but it has obviously failed at every point on both counts. Our reckless experimental explosion of nuclear weapons is only a persuasive salesman's sample of what a nuclear war would produce, but even this has already done significant damage to the human race. With poetic justice, the earliest victims of our experiments toward genocide—sharing honors with the South Pacific islanders and the Japanese fishermen-have been our own children, and even more, our children's prospective children.

Almost from the beginning, our investment in nuclear weapons has been openly directed against a single country, Soviet Russia. In our Government's concern with the self-imposed problem of containing Russia and restricting by force alone the area of Communist penetration, we have

turned our back on more vital human objectives. Today the political and military strategy our leaders framed on the supposition that our country had a permanent superiority in nuclear power is bankrupt, so completely that the business probably cannot be liquidated without serious losses.

As things stand now, we are not able to conduct even a justifiable police action, as a representative of the United Nations, with the backing of a majority of the nations, without the permission of Russia and China. When they refuse permission, as they did in Korea, the limited war our strategists fancy is still open to us turns into an unlimited humiliation, as the painful truce that continues in Korea should remind us, for every original issue remains unsettled. But if we challenge that veto, our only recourse is to our absolute weapons, now as fatal to our selves and the rest of mankind as they would be to Russia and China. The distinguished army combat generals who have publicly recognized this state of impotence have been forced out of the armed services.

This situation should give us pause. While every scientific advance in nuclear weapons intercontinental missiles only widens to planetary dimensions the catastrophe we have been preparing, our leaders still concentrate the Nation's efforts on hastening these advances. Why, then, do we still listen to those mistaken counsels that committed us to the cold war, though our own military plans have wiped out the possibility of war itself and replaced it by total annihilation as the only foreseeable terminus of the tensions we have done our full share to produce? By what standard of prudence do we trust our lives to political, military, and scientific advisers who have staked our national existence on a single set of weapons and have already lost that shortsighted gamble, even if they become desperate enough to use these weapons or remain blind enough to believe that they can conceal that loss by not using them?

What was it that set in motion the chain reaction of errors, miscalculations, delusions, and compulsions that have pushed us into the impossible situation we now occupy? Every day that we delay in facing our national mistakes adds to both the cumulative dangers that threaten us and the difficulty of undoing them.

The first step toward framing a new policy is to trace our path back to the point where we adopted our fatal commitment to weapons of mass extermination. This moral debacle, it is important to remember, was not a response to any threat by Russia or by communism; still less was it imposed by Russia's possession of similar weapons. 'Actually, the acceptance of extermination antedated the invention of the atom bomb.

The principles upon which the strategy of extermination was based were first enunciated by Fascist military theorists, notably General Douhet, who believed, like our own Major Seversky, that a small air force could take the place of a large army by confining its efforts to mass attacks on civilians and undermining the national will to resist. This reversion to the vicious Bronze Age practice of total war was a natural extension of fascism's readiness to reintroduce terrorism and torture as instruments of government. When these methods were first carried into action, by Mussolini in Abyssinia, by Hitler in Warsaw and Rotterdam, they awakened horror in our still morally sensitive breasts. The creed that could justify such actions was, we thought correctly, not merely antidemocratic but anti-

In the midst of World War II a moral reversal took place among the English-speaking allies, such a transposition as happened by accident in the final duel in "Hamlet," when Hamlet picks up the weapon Laertes had poisoned in advance in order to make sure of his enemy's death. The Fascist

powers became the victims of their own strategy, for both the United States and Britain adopted what was politely called "obliteration bombing," which had as its object the total destruction of great cities and the terrorization and massacre of their inhabitants.

By taking over this method as a cheap substitute for conventional warfare—cheap in soldiers' lives, costly in its expenditure of other human lives and in the irreplaceable historic accumulations of countless lifetimes—these democratic governments sanctioned the dehumanized techniques of fascism. This was Nazidom's firmest victory and democracy's most servile surrender. That moral reversal undermined the eventual military triumph of the democracies, and it has poisoned our political and military policies ever since.

Civilized warfare has always been an antrocity per se, even when practiced by gallant men fighting in a just cause. But in the course of 5,000 years certain inhibitions and moral safeguards had been set up. Thus, poisoning the water supply and slaying the unarmed inhabitants of a city were no longer within the modern soldier's code, however gratifying they might once have been to an Ashurbanipal or a Genghis Khan, moral monsters whose names have become infamous in history. Overnight, as it were, our own countrymen became such moral monsters. In principle, the extermination camps where the Nazis incinerated over 6 million helpless Jews were no different from the urban crematoriums our Air Force Imporvised in its attacks by napalm bombs on Tokyo. By these means, in a single night, we roasted alive more people than were killed by atom bombs in either Hiroshima or Nagasaki. Our aims were different, but our methods were those of mankind's worst enemy.

Up to this point, war had been an operation conducted by military forces against military targets. By long-established convention, a token part, the army, stood for the greater whole, the nation. Even when an army was totally defeated and wiped out, the nation it represented lived to tell the tale; neither unarmed prisoners nor civilians were killed to seal a defeat or celebrate a victory. Even our Air Force, the chief shaper of our present policy, once prided itself on its pinpoint bombing, done in daylight to insure that only military targets would be hit.

As late as the spring of 1942, as I know by personal observation, a memorandum was circulated among military advisers in Washington propounding this dilemma: If by fighting the war against Japan by orthodox methods it might require 5 or 10 years to conquer the enemy, while with incendiary air attacks on Japanese cities Japan's resistance might be broken in a year or two, would it be morally justifiable to use the second means? Now it is hard to say which is more astonishing, that the morality of total extermination was then seriously debated in military circles or that today its morality is taken for granted, as outside debate, even among a large part of the clergy.

More than any other event that has taken place in modern times this sudden radical change over from war to collective extermination reversed the whole course of human history.

Plainly, the acceptance of mass extermination as a normal outcome of war undermined all the moral inhibitions that have kept man's murderous fantasies from active expression. War, however brutal and devastating, had a formal beginning and could come to an end by some formal process of compromise or surrender. But no one has the faintest notion how nuclear extermination, once begun, could be brought to an end. Still less can anyone guess what pur-

pose would be accomplished by it, except a release by death from intolerable anxiety and fear. But this is to anticipate. What is important to bear in mind is that atomic weapons did not bring about this first decisive change; they merely gave our already demoralized strategy a more effective means of expression.

Once extermination became acceptable, the confined tumor of war, itself an atavistic pseudo-organ, turned into a cancer that would invade the bloodstream of civilization. Now the smallest sore of conflict or hostility might fatally spread through the whole organism, immune to all those protective and political restraints that a healthy body can mobilize for such occasions.

By the time the atom bomb was invented our authorities needed no special Justification for using it. The humane pleas for withholding the weapon, made by the atomic scientists, suddenly awakened to a moral crisis they had not foreseen while working on the bomb, were automatically disposed of by well-established precedent, already 3 years in operation. Still, the dramatic nature of the explosions at Hiroshima and Nagasaki threw a white light of horror and doubt over the whole process; for a moment a sense of moral guilt counteracted our exorbitant pride. This reaction proved as short lived as it was belated. Yet it prompted Henry L. Stimson, a public servant whose admirable personal conduct had never been open to question, to publish a magazine article defending the official decision to use the atom bomb.

The argument Mr. Stimson advanced in favor of atomic genocide—a name invented later but studiously reserved for the acts of our enemies—was that it shortened the war and saved perhaps more than a million precious American lives. There is no need here to debate that highly debatable point. But on those same practical, "humanitarian" grounds, systematic torture might be employed by an advancing army to deter guerrilla fighters and to blackmall the remaining population into accepting promptly the torturer's terms.

That only a handful of people ventured to make this criticism indicates the depth of moral apathy to which our countrymen had sunk in less than a dozen years. Those who used this illustration, however, were not surprised to find that the French, themselves the victims of Hitler's carefully devised plans of torture and mass extermination, would authorize the use of military torture in Algeria a decade later. Our own country had forecast that depravity by our national conduct. This conduct still remains without public examination or repentance, but, unfortunately, retribution may not lie far away. Should it come, Civil Defense estimates have established that it will at once wipe out 40 million American lives for the 1 million we once supposedly

Let us be clear about cause and effect. It was not our nuclear weapons that committed us to the strategy of extermination; it was rather our decision to concentrate on the methods of extermination that led to our one-sided, obsessive preoccupation with nuclear weapons. Even before Russia had achieved a single nuclear weapon, we had so dismantled our Military Establishment that we lacked sufficient equipment and munitions to fight successfully such a minor action as that in Korea.

The total nature of our moral breakdown, accurately predicted a half century ago—along with the atom bomb—by Henry Adams, can be gaged by a single fact: most Americans do not realize that this change has taken place or, worse, that it makes any difference. They have no consciousness of either the magnitude of their collective sin or the fact that, by their silence, they have individually condoned it. It is precisely as if the Secre-

tary of Agriculture had licensed the sale of human flesh as a wartime emergency measure and people had taken to cannibalism when the war was over as a clever dodge for lowering the cost of living—a mere extension of everyday butchery. Many of our professed religious and moral leaders have steadily shrunk from touching this subject; or, if they have done so, they have naively equated mass extermination with war and have too often given their blessing to it, for reasons just as specious as those our Government has used.

It is in relation to this gigantic moral collapse that our present devotion to nuclear weapons and their equally dchumanized bacterial and chemical counterparts must be

When we abandoned the basic moral restraints against random killing and mass extermination we enlarged the destructive capacities of our nuclear weapons. What was almost as bad, our pride in this achievement expressed itself in an inverted fashion by our identifying our safety and welfare with the one-sided expansion of our weapons system. Thus we surrendered the initiative to our instruments, confusing physical power with rational human purpose, forgetting that machines and weapons have no values and no goals, above all, no limits and no restraints except those that human beings superimpose on them.

The one thing that might have rectified our Government's premature exploitation of atomic power would have been a public assize of its manifold dangers, even for wider industrial and medical use. As early as the winter of 1945-46 the Senate Atomic Energy Committee made the first full inquiry into these matters, and the physicists who appeared before this committee gave forecasts whose accuracy was fully confirmed in the tardy hearings that have just taken place before a joint congressional committee. Almost with one voice, these scientists predicted that Soviet Russia would be able to produce a nuclear bomb within 5 years, possibly within 3. On that basis, the nations of the world had 3 safe years to create through the United Nations the necessary political and moral safeguards against the misuse of this new power.

There was no salvation, the more alert

There was no salvation, the more alert leaders of science wisely pointed out, on purely national terms. Naturally, Russia's totalitarian isolantionism and suspicion made it difficult to arrive at a basis for rational agreement, but our own sense of holding all the trump cards did not lessen this difficulty. All too quickly, after the Russian rejection of our generous but politically unsound Baruch proposal, our country used Russian hostility as an excuse for abandoning all further effort. Even before we had openly committed ourselves to the cold war itself—a now obsolete preatomic military concept—our leaders preferred to build a threatening ring of air bases around Russia rather than to pursue with patient circumspection a course directed toward securing eventual understanding and cooperation. So the difficult became the impossible.

became the impossible.

As late as 1947 this situation, though grave, was not disastrous. Our very mistakes in turning to mass extermination were capable, if openly and honestly faced, of leading both ourselves and the world back to the right path. Up to then, our totalitarian weapons system had not yet consolidated its position or threatened our free institutions; the organs of democratic society, invigorated rather than depressed by the war, had not yet been enfeebled by official secrecy, repression, suspicion, craven conformism, or the corruptions of absolute power, shielded from public criticism. Meanwhile, unfortunately, the strategy of mass extermination, which did not bear public discussion or open assessment, was rapidly taking shape.

For a brief moment, nevertheless, our leaders seized the political initiative, though they were handicapped by ambivalent intentions and contradictory goals. Our contribution to organizing the United Nations, though it had been originally proposed by the United States, was as cagey and inept as Russia's, for the frustrating Council veto was an American conception. Under a more imaginative leadership two other, admirable American proposals came forward, UNRRA and the Marshall planBoth these agencies had great potentialities, for at first we had the intelligence to offer their benefits even to Communist countries.

Had we followed these efforts through, they might have permanently increased the whole range of international cooperation. In wiser executive hands, these initiatives would not have been prematurely terminated. Rather, they would have been employed to reduce world tensions and to win general assent to a program for giving all nations the prefatory exercises in magna-nimity and understanding essential to the reestablishment of moral order and the control of our demoralizing weapons. But even in their brief, limited application these agencies did far more to fortify the assisted nations against oppressive Communist dictatorship than all the billions we poured into NATO and SEATO to build up futile armaments for wars neither we nor our allies were capable of fighting. Witness our long series of backdowns and letdowns: Czechos-lovakia, Korea, Vietnam, Poland, East Ger-

may, Hungary, Egypt.

In our commitment to the strategy of extermination, under a decision made when General Eisenhower was Chief of Staff, the United States rejected the timely warnings of the world's leading scientists and the common counsels of humanity. Instead of holding a series of world conferences in which the dangers of nuclear energy could be fully canvassed, not alone by physicists but by thinkers in every threatened field, our official agencies deliberately played down these dangers and used every available mode of censorship to restrict the circulation of the knowledge needed for such an appraisal. In this obstinate desire to exploit nuclear power solely for our national advantage, our Government relied upon insistent publicity and indoctrination to build up a false sense of security. Instead of regaining our moral position by ceasing the reckless experiments whose mounting pollution justified a worldwide apprehension, we flatly denied the need for any such cessation and allowed Russia, after it had come abreast of us, to take the moral lead here. Even at a recent U.N. conference, which clearly demonstrated the dangers, our own representatives helped vote down the Russian preamble to the conclusions of the conference, which called for & cessation of all further nuclear testing.

To explain this obstinate commitment to the infamous policy of mass extermination one must understand that its side reactions have proved as demoralizing as its central purpose. Within a bare decade, the United States has built up a huge vested interest in mass extermination—in the weapons themselves and in the highly profitable manufacture of electronic equipment, planes. and missiles designed to carry them to their destination. There are tens of thousands of individual scientists and technicians engaged in nuclear, bacteriological, and chemical research to increase the range and effectiveness of these lethal agents, we boast we already have a stockpile of nuclear weapons capable of wiping out the entire planet. There are also corporate bodies—the air force, the Atomic Energy Commission, great industrial corporations, and extravagantly endowed centers of research-whose powers and presumptions have been constantly widened along with their profit and prestige. While the show lasts, their careers depend on our accepting

the fallacious assumptions to which they have committed us.

All these agents now operate in secret totalitarian enclaves, perfecting their secret totalitarian weapons functioning outside the processes of democratic government immune to public challenge and criticism or to public correction. Whatever the scientific or technical competence of the men working in this field, their sedulous restriction of interest and the limited conditions under which they work and have contact with other human beings, do not foster wisdom in the conduct of life. By vocational commitment they live in an underdimensioned and distorted world. The sum of their combined judgments is still an unbalanced judgment, for moral criteria have, from the start, been left out of their general directives.

Is it any wonder that even in the narrow segments of science where they claim mastery our nuclear officials have made error after error? They have again and again been forced to reduce their estimate of the "permissible" limit of exposure to radiation, and on the basis of knowledge already available they will have to reduce these estimates still further. Thus, too, they made an error that startled themselves, in their undercalculating the range and the lethal fallout of the hydrogen bomb, and they sought to cover that error by concealment and calumny, at first denying the plight of the Japanese fishermen they had injured. Some have even used their authority as scientists to give pseudoscientific assurances about biological changes that no one will be able to verify until half a century has passed. Furthermore, in matters falling within their province of exact knowledge, the judgment of these authorities has repeatedly proved erroneous and mischlevous.

All this should not surprise us: neither science nor nuclear energy endows its users with superhuman powers. But what should surprise us is the fact that the American Nation has entrusted its welfare, safety, and future existence to these imprudent, fallible men and to those who have sanctioned their demoralized plans. Under the guise of a calculated risk, our nuclear strategists have prepared to bring on a calculated catastrophe. At some unpredictable moment their sick fantasies may become unspeakable realities.

Does anyone really think that, unless a miracle supervenes, there can be a more favorable outcome to the overall policy we have been pursuing? If this policy had a color of excuse before Russia had achieved her first nuclear weapon in 1949, it became thor-Oughly discredited in Korea in 1950 and became suicidal as soon as Russia's superiority in rocket missiles was established. The fact that Russia now has equal or better weapons of extermination and has joined us in these same insane preparations doubles our danger but does not halve our original guilt. Neither does it nullify our willful stupidity in now clinging to an obsolete, discredited strategy based on a negation of morality and a defiance of common sense.

The only possible justification of our continued reliance upon weapons of total extermination would be that they do no present harm and would never be used by either side under any extremity of provocation. Can any mature mind comfort itself with either hope? Even our experimental explosion of nuclear bombs, at a rate of more than two for Russia's one, has poisoned our bables' milk, upset the delicate ecological balance of nature, and, still worse, defiled our genetic heritage. As for the possibility that nuclear weapons will never be used, our children in achool know better than this every time they are put through the sadistic mummery of an air-raid drill and learn to "play disaster." Such baths of fear and hostility are gratui-

tous assaults against the young, whose psychological damage is already incalculable; their only service is to bar more tightly the exits that would permit a real escape.

There are people who would defend these plans on the grounds that it is better to die nobly, defending democracy and freedom, than to survive under Communist oppression. Such apologists perhaps exaggerate the differences that now exist between our two systems, but they err even more seriously in applying to mass extermination a moral standard that was defensible only as long as this death was a symbolic one confined to a restricted number of people on a small portion of the earth. Such a disaster, as in the bitter-end resistance of the Southern Confederacy, was still relatively minor and retrievable; if the original resolve to die were in fact an erroneous one, in a few generations It could be corrected. Nuclear damage, in contrast, is cumulative and irretrievable; it admits no belated confession of error, no repentance and absolution.

Under what canon of sanity, then, can any government, or any generation, with its limited perspectives, its fallible judgment, its obvious proneness to self-deception, delusion, and error, make a decision for all future ages about the very existence of even a single country? Still more, how can any one nation treat as a purely private right its decision, on a matter that will affect the life and health and continued existence of the rest of manking?

There are no words to describe the magnitude of such insolence in thought or the magnitude of criminality involved in carrying it out. Those who believe that any country has the right to make such a decision share the madness of Captain Ahab in "Moby For them Russia is the White Whale that must be hunted down and grappled Like Ahab in that mad pursuit, they will listen to no reminders of love, home, family obligation; in order to kill the object of their fear and hate they are ready to throw away the sextant and compass that might give them back their moral direction, and in the end they will sink their own ship and drown their crew. To such unbalanced men, to such demoralized efforts, to such dehumanized purposes, our Government has entrusted, in an easily conceivable extremity, our lives. Even an accident, these men have confessed, might produce the dire results they have planned, and more than once has almost done so. To accept their plans and ensuing decisions, we have deliberately anesthetized the normal feelings, emotions, anxieties, and hopes that could alone bring us to our senses.

No one can guess how a sufficiently wide recovery of moral responsibility and initiative might be brought about. Neither can one predict at what moment our Nation will see that there is no permissible sacrifice of life, either in experimental preparation of these vile weapons or in a final conflict whose very method would nullify every rational end. Certainly it seems doubtful that popular pressure would bring about such a change in Government policy, except under the emotion of a shattering crisis, when it might well be too late. But great leadership, exerted at the right moment, might clear the air and illuminate the territory ahead. til we actually use our weapons of extermination, there is nothing that we have yet done that cannot be undone, except for the existing pollution of our food and our genetic heritage with strontium 90 and carbon 14. But we must make a moral about-face before we can command a political forward march.

Yet if once the American Nation made such evaluation of the morality of extermination, new policies and appropriate decisions would quickly suggest themselves. This would do more to effect an immediate improvement in the relations between the

two powers now committed to preparing for mutual extermination than endless parleys between their heads of government.

A moral about-face does not demand, as those whose minds are congealed by the cold war suppose, either a surrender to Russian communism or a series of futile appeasements; neither does it mean any increase in the dangers under which we now live: just the contrary. Those who see no other alternatives are still living in the prenuclear world; they do not understand that our greatest enemy is not Russia but our treacherous weapons, and that our commitment to these weapons is what has prevented us from conceiving and proposing the necessary means for extending the area of effective freedom and, above all, for safeguarding mankind from meaningless mutilation and massacre.

No dangers we might face once we abandoned the very possibility of using mass extermination would be as great as those under which we now live; yet this is not to say that a bold change of policy would be immediately successful, or that before it had time to register its full effects in other countries it might not tempt Russia to risk measures to extend over other areas its own monolithic system of minority single-party government. But need I emphasize that these possible penalties could hardly worse than those our Government meekly accepted in Czechoslovakia, Poland, and Korea, at a time when we still hugged the illusion of wielding absolute power through our monopoly of nuclear weapons? While sober judgment need not minimize these transitional difficulties and possible losses, one must not underestimate, either, the impact of a new policy, wholly concerned to re-establish the moral controls and political cooperations necessary to enable man-kind to halt the threatening misuse of the extraordinary powers that it now commands.

Even in a purely military sense, this changed orientation might produce the greatest difficulties for those Communist governments who misunderstood its intention and sought to turn it to their private national advantage. Russia would no more be able to escape the impact of our humane plans and moralized proposals than it was able to avoid the impact and challenge of our nuclear weapons. If we railied the forces of mercy, humanheartedness, and morality with the vigor with which we have marshaled the dehumanized forces of destruction, what government could stand against us and face its own people, however strong its cynical suspicion and misgivings?

This is not the place or the moment to spell out a new policy which would start with the complete renunciation of weapons of mass extermination and go on to build constructive measures addressed to all those tasks which the cold war has caused us to leave in abeyance. Fortunately, George Kennan, the only official or ex-official who has yet had the courage to admit our earlier miscalculations, has already sketched in, with some boldness, the outlines of a better policy, and his proposals might be amplified and enlarged in many directions once we had overcome our official obsession with Eussia and our fixation on mass extermination as an ultimate resource.

But the key to all practical proposals lies in a return to human feelings and sensitivities, to moral values, and to life-regarding procedures as controlling factors in the operation of intelligence. The problems our Nation has tried to solve by mechanical weapons alone, operated by a detached and demoralized mechanical intelligence, have proved insoluble by those means. A great leader would know that the time has come to reinstate the missing human factor and bring forth generously imaginative proposals addressed to mankind's survival and working toward its further development.

Balanced Budgets

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. PETER FRELINGHUYSEN, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 10, 1960

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. Mr. Speaker, balanced budgets, so often a topic for discussion on the Federal level, are no problem in New Jersey. When the State constitution was rewritten in 1947, under the guidance of former Gov. Alfred Driscoll, the balanced budget was made mandatory. The following article from the May 2, 1960, edition of the Newark Evening News, by reporter Dawes Thompson, explains the workings of the New Jersey bureau of the budget. He also outlined some of the antideficit safeguards which are incorporated in the constitution:

STATE DEFICITS CAN'T HAPPEN

TRENTON.—The coming fiscal year's \$431-million State spending program, to be introduced at today's legislative session, will leave an estimated surplus of only \$471,000 at year-end. However, budget director Abram M. Vermeulen and his deputy, Walter Wechsler, say they are sure there will be no deficit when June 30, 1961, rolls around.

Even a major depression probably could not bring the fiscal dilemmas the State faced in the early 1930's. By enacting a series of safeguards which give Mr. Vermeulen's office broad powers over spending in the 14 departments of the State government, the legislature has made certain that deficits are a thing of the past.

The treasury got so low in 1931-32 that the legislature had to return to Trenton to cancel \$2,616,000 of the appropriations it had made earlier in the year. Even then there was only \$140,870 left over at year's end.

IN THE RED

That year was sandwiched between 2 years when there were deficits of \$583,385 and \$2,708,000 in the general State treasury, which in those days was one of the two independently operated big money pools in the State government. The second was the State highway fund, the discontinuance of which 13 years ago gave the budget director one of his most effective safeguards of the State's solvency.

The general fund's deficit was smaller than the road fund's leftovers in 1931, so there was a small net surplus. But the two funds went in the red in 1933 and 1935. For several years during the 1930's at least one of the pools ended up below the zero level.

Incidentally, the half-dozen capital construction jobs which were dropped by the 1932 legislature were completed eventually, some as late as the mid-1950's, and at a cost which at least tripled the \$2,616,000 slated to be paid for them in the depression.

DEFICIT FORBIDDEN

Under the 1947 State constitution, the State may not enact a budget which anticipates a year-end deficit. Lawyers say the more complicated language of the previous constitution had essentially the same meaning. Although the general fund ended up with depression deficits, the constitutional "out" was that they were not anticipated when the budgets were adopted.

A high Federal budget official once outlined in a Trenton speech a list of the best possible anti-deficit safeguards—and added that New Jersey had adopted them all.

The reforms centered around a law which combined the old budget, accounting and

comptroller's office under one director, putting preparation and execution of the budget under one authority. Not only does Mr. Vermeulen's office draft and execute the budget, but it passes on every voucher to see that the State's money is being spent as the legislature intended.

Each account in the budget is set up on a quarterly basis, but up to 10 percent of the year's allotments of many of the big ones are put aside into a fifth pile—a reserve which can be grabbed if anticipated revenues fall off.

GOVERNOR'S POWER

Other important budget reform laws have given the Governor authority to make any budget cut he sees fit when he finds evidence of extravagance or that the agency is not operating in the State's best interests.

Also, the constitution prevents borrowing more than 1 percent of the State budget without the voters' consent. Even this small amount—it would be \$4,310,000 next year—has never been tapped without a referendum.

The Federal Government may appropriate any amount without a guarantee of matching it with revenues, but what's good enough for Uncle Sam isn't necessarily good enough for New Jersey.

Mr. Vermeulen's office, under the law, makes a continuous study of departmental requirements in order to justify the appropriations it recommends for the Governor to propose to the legislature.

If all these protective devices aren't sufficient, another State law makes it a crime for an official to incur debts beyond his appropriation. This law never has put anybody in jail, but some tough-to-handle officials get reminded of it occasionally.

HIGHWAY BACKSTON

Mr. Vermeulen said the old practice of overestimating revenues at budgetmaking time in order to build a bigger surplus was dropped years ago. However, even the nearly on-target estimates of more recent years has not increased the danger of a deficit, he said.

If one of the State's two capricious or difficult-to-predict tax sources, the inheritance and corporate net profits levies, dropped sharply below anticipated revenues at the end of some fiscal year, the budget bureau could simply cancel the \$10 million or more which the highway department always has on hand, but not under contract.

This highway backstop was not available to the State house's fiscal officials in the depression days when the road department had its separate fund.

Even another sudden imposition of wartime gasoline rationing probably couldn't throw the State treasury in the red, Mr. Vermeulen says. In such an emergency nearly the whole roadbuilding program could be canceled and the funds substituted for the gas tax losses.

The Nature of Politics

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. CLIFFORD G. McINTIRE

OF MATN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, May 10, 1960

Mr. McINTIRE. Mr. Speaker, the Maine Line is a publication issued and edited by employees of the Bangor & Aroostook Railroad Co., and the Marchapril issue carries a comment by W. Gordon Robertson, president of the railroad, on the nature of politics.

Because this statement serves remarkably to bring the true meaning of poli-

tics into proper perspective, I introduce it to the RECORD and commend it to the attention of my colleagues:

TALKING IT OVER

To My Fellow Employees:

I would like to discuss a subject with you that can be of critical importance to us as railroaders in this election year: politics. It has become fashionable to sneer at politics as something unclean with which nice people should not be involved. This is tragic for us as a nation and as an industry.

Politics, the technique of government in a democratic society, allows those actively interested to secure the kind of government they want. It is neither clean nor unclean in itself, but takes on the character of its practitioners. And it creates not only a franchise to vote but a responsibility also.

The disturbing aspect of American politics is the apathy toward this responsibility that each of us bears. Representative government doesn't come from shirt-sleeved men in smokey rooms or from lobbyists in the corridors of Congress or the State house. It comes from people who go to the polls on election day and who actively support some political party. Officeholders are responsible to the party that puts them in office and political parties are extremely sensitive to the wishes of voters.

This business of government is vitally important to every one of us, especially to railroad people. It affects our jobs, the cost of the food we eat, our shelter, the education of our children—almost every facet of our lives.

We are in the midst of important political change. The people we put in office during the next few years must be the best that we have. I urge you not merely to vote, but to make sure that the party of your choice offers the very best it has.

Sincerely,

W. G. ROBERTSON,
President.

Financing Our Postal Operations

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. RAY J. MADDEN

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 10, 1960

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Speaker, Postmaster General Summerfield has been very insistent during the last few sessions of Congress about an increase in the cost of first-class mail to the millions of postal patrons throughout the Nation. The Department having received an increase to 4 cents now is asking for a 5-cent stamp on first-class mail.

The following letter from Russell E. Wise, attorney at law, Union City, Ind., sets out some brief and timely facts regarding the financing of our postal operations:

UNION CITY, IND., May 6, 1960. Hon. RAY MADDEN,

House Office Building, Washington, D.C.

Dear Ray: The proposal of the Post Office Department for increased rates would increase the mailing cost for many small town papers as much as 300 percent to 800 percent. It would add as much as \$1.80 per subscriber to many of these papers. Many small weeklies are only charging around \$2.50 a year per subscriber. It is obvious that it would put them out of business.

It is hard for me to understand why the Post Office Department insist on subsidizing mail-order houses and jobbers by keeping the third class mail rate and loading up the Dublic with a lot of junk mail. This mail costs as much to handle as first-class mail. If they would put the third-class rate up to or higher than the second-class rate, they would not have any trouble.

I also want to point out to you that this third-class mail rate subsidizes mail order houses and jobbers in direct competition with the small town retail merchants in your congressional district. Why should you

support such a program?

With personal regards and best wishes, I remain.

Very truly yours.

RUSSELL E. WISE, Attorney at Law.

Panama Rejects Communism

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 10, 1960

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, it was indeed gratifying to read a news story on how Panama is rejecting communism by Larry Sullivan, coordinator of information of the U.S. House of Representatives, which was published in the April 17, 1960, issue of the New Bedford (Mass.) Standard Times.

As one who has known the Pana-manian people over a long period of years. I believe the story reflects accurately the real feelings of the over-Whelming majority of Panamanians and commend it for reading by every Member of Congress.

The indicated news story follows:

PANAMA REJECTS COMMUNISM

(By Lawrence Sullivan, Coordinator of Information, U.S. House of Representatives)

WASHINGTON .- A 10-day look-see in Panama convinces me beyond question that Kremlin communism is hard at work in Panama City.

But the Kremlin stooges find little simpatico when the proud and industrious people of Panama finally discover that the first devil in the Communist lexicon is the United States of America.

The people of Panama do not hate the United States of America, as some hand-picked American reporters and TV editors

Would have us believe.

The distressing agitation throughout Central America against the United States represents, at best, not more than 10 percent of

the population.

And that 10 percent is inspired and directed, though not always wholly controlled, by Moscow-trained Communist leadership.

when a New York reporter goes to Panama he often digs out, and talks to, professional agitators who are never interviewed by the local press.

And when a New York camera crew goes to Panama nothing makes acceptable film footage for the TV save marching mobs, demonstrations, cat calls, hissing, and placards hurling spite and hatred at the United

Yet, the round-the-clock truth is that an overwhelming majority of the people of Panama are humble, devout, hard-working and aspiring folk, very much like most peo-ple everywhere else in the free world,

Most of them would like very much to be left slone, to pursue their own ambitions and designs for living. But communism

and designs for living. But communism will not let them alone, politically, socially, economically, or spiritually.

Communism constantly prods every social organism in Panama, seeking first the one-in-a-hundred neurotic spirit who will take up the banners of apoplectic hatred against the United States of America.

Most temporary recruits are found in the beatnik student groups. A few more are recruited in the ranks of migrant labor, and still others among the itinerant coastal fish-

Most Panamanians ignore the Communist fringe maneuvers, but visiting editors and TV sages accept them as public opinion in Panama

In many instances, our own State De-partment is not able to distinguish clearly between public opinion and Kremlin stage setting.

Meanwhile, the life and work of Panama is carried forward from day to day by the great mass of the people, most of whom do not even pause at the street corners to heed the convulsive harangues of the professional agitators.

Castro's mad anti-American invectives from Cuba have inspired new energies within the Communist ranks of Panama during the last year. By adroitly flaunting the slogans of an ancient and proud national in-stinct which dominates all the people of Panama, the Communists have attempted assiduously to make any true defense of hemispheric interests shamefully unpatri-

To circumvent this tactic, the vast majority in Panama simply seek the cover of studied silence

The Panamanian presidential elections, set for May 8, are thus germinating in a visible atmosphere of hateful incitement, not because violence truly reflects the majority public opinion of Panama, but only because all reflective opinion has been, for the moment, silenced by threats of terror.

In this sense, a vast majority of the citi-

zens of Panama are actively on the side of

law and order.

In theory, it would be possible to extract from Panama perhaps 500 professional agitators (most of them Europeans or criminal exiles from other Latin-American countries) and peace once more would flower throughout

But such repression is not in the nature of free people. Instead, the good people of Panama simply ignore their professional hell raisers. Only the visiting editors and TV camera crews from New York and Miami fail to follow the lead of the people of Panama. The U.S. editors are after the story. And the story is, as any Communist mouth-piece will tell you, "Yankee go home."

Truly, poor communication is the big problem between Panama and the United States of America. In both countries, one finds vast reservoirs of good feeling, confidence, cooperative spirit and cordial mutual interest, welling toward the other land.

It is reflected in every walk of life in Panama. It is reflected in the glowing pride of all Panamanians who work in the Canal Zone. It is witnessed night and day in the genial contacts of business, of travel, or recreation.

Panama has been developing in the tradition of Christianity for almost 500 years. Some of her churches are among the oldest and most beautiful in the world. Such institutions and such manners do not reflect a people bent upon the total destruction of their own civilization by the torch of revolu-

No one can measure precisely the deep and quiet influences of order and stability in any community. But one can feel them in a crowded elevator, in a cathedral, in a remote

and almost primitive fishing village along the majestic Pacific 75 miles down the coast from Panama City.

Surely the time will come soon again when these deeper human instincts for peace and order will find fearless expression, not only in the press of Panama, but in the press of the United States of America, and on all TV footage the world around

The hucksters who gave us "Alas, Babylon" can't remain in the saddle much longer.

One need visit Panama for only a week to be impressed deeply that practically nobody in that proud land wants any part of Castro's Cuba today.

Unquestionably, our diplomatic intercourse with Latin America has been marked in recent years by shocking equivocation or cowardice. Yet the real inspirations of American idealism have not been wholly submerged, either in Panama, Cuba, or any other nation of Central or South America.

Our mutual interests are molded in half a milennium of history, and there is no evidence anywhere that 40 years of bolshevism in Russia really has turned back the Latin-American clock to the days of witchcraft and the cavedweller.

The slower, surer forces of human advancement still are at work, and need sorely to be protected and stimulated by every re-source of good will and friendly relations between both governments and peoples.

In such a setting, the people of Panama would contribute more than their fair share to a brighter tomorrow for the entire Western Hemisphere, and thus for all the world.

Communism lives by the torch. Human destiny moves by the constructive inspirations of our Christian moral order.

Area School Offers Computer Course

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. FRANK E. SMITH

OF MISSISSIPPI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, May 10, 1960

Mr. SMITH of Mississippi. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, I include the following article from the Washington Post:

AREA SCHOOL OFFERS COMPUTER COURSE

The care and feeding of an electronic brain is a new and demanding study for 20 juniors and seniors at Silver Spring's Northwood High School.

These 16- and 17-year-olds are exploring space-age math 3 hours every Saturday this term, with 8 hours of homework a week-all without school credit.

Their teacher, Marvin M. Wofsey, is Data Processing Chief at Navy's Bureau of Supplies and Accounts. With his Bureau planning to add a new computer in September, Worsey won school approval for his course last winter so he could train students to

Northwood became the country's third high school to try the program.

"I don't want to hire people away from the outside," said Wofsey. "There's already a shortage of 200,000 programers in the country.'

Three of his juniors have already won summer job in Wofsey's office—GS-2 trainee jobs that will bring them \$62 a week. Seven more jobs in other agencies are in the works, he added—summer jobs, since the future programers are expected to go on to college.

The class, with IQs of from 122 to 157, is top college material. "The weeding-out exam we gave 38 interested students in January just wouldn't weed out," Wofsey beamed. Two of his senior students have just been accepted at Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

Joan Dudik, 17, of 10917 Jarboe Avenue, confided, "My math teacher is standing over there, but this is the most interesting math course I've taken." She is one of four girls in the class.

There is even a contest going on homework, according to Paul Kleinberger, 16, of 10918 New Hampshire Avenue. "We bet a tenth of a cent for each 17-millionth of a second we can get the computer to save in a problem."

The proof of the pudding, said Wofsey, comes in June when the class gives its "recipes" to a Remington-Rand Univac at the D.C. Transit Co.

The final exam is straight from Wofsey's Navy desk. It's an already solved problem of verifying Navy's field activity reports. His summer trainees will write programs and "debug" them for the arrival of the computer.

The World Bank and the Panama Canal

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, May 10, 1960

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, too many of our colleagues are inclined to pass off the immoral conduct of the World Bank in lending Dictator Nasser and his United Arab Republic money to improve the Suez Canal as necessary appeasement to encourage Arab friendship.

Obviously they have not yet learned the lesson that immorality breeds immorality, and condoning acts of criminality invites more of the same.

When the United States acquiesced in Nasser's seizure of the Suez Canal, I said we are establishing a precedent and an invitation for the same thing to happen with the Panama Canal.

When the Bretton Woods agreement was approved by the Congress, a condition imposed on the establishment of the World Bank was that it must be operated in accordance with U.S. policy which required that loans would be made only to such countries which were cooperating in furthering world peace by engaging in free commerce and observing the freedom of the seas and international waterways and by observing international law and obligations.

The action of our American representatives on the World Bank with reference to the Suez Canal loan must be deplored. We must be certain it does not recur, otherwise that may become a precedent to repeat the offense elsewhere.

That this can happen with the Panama Canal is not fantasy. The handwriting is on the wall for all to read.

In that connection, I commend to our colleagues' attention the article by James C. Tanner, which appeared in the Wall Street Journal of May 6, 1960. It follows:

PANAMA'S BITTER ELECTION CAMPAIGN BODES
TROUBLES FOR UNITED STATES NO MAITER
WHO WINS

(By James C. Tanner)

Panama.—The Panamanian presidential election, only 48 hours away, threatens new troubles for Uncle Sam no matter who wins,

The election outcome still is in deep doubt. But the bitterness of the battle—and the battering that Uncle Sam is taking in the villain's role—is churning up an anti-American sentiment that's certain to bring fresh pressure on Washington policymakers.

So high is tension running that authorities here fear a burst of violence, possibly even a revolt. "We're sitting on a powder keg," worries one U.S. official. "and this may light the fuse." If it does, nearly everybody here agrees American interests would be the first to feel the impact.

Prime U.S. interest in this narrow isthmus Republic, of course, is the American-operated Panama Canal connecting the Pacific and the Caribbean. Once a vital U.S. military facility—and still considered a key link in American defense by many strategists—the 50-mile-long waterway today ranks most important perhaps as a commercial artery. More than 1,000 vessels a month now wend their way through the canal.

CANAL TRAFFIC RISING

Fast rising traffic through the canal is expected to push tolls in the current fiscal year ending June 30 over the \$46.5 million reported in 1958-59, says Maj. Gen. William Potter, President of the Panama Canal Company (whose sole stockholder is the U.S. Secretary of the Army) and Governor of the Canal Zone.

U.S. equity in the canal is calculated at about \$460 million, and new projects underway to ease the traffic jam promise to boost the total.

In caring for the canal and the 10-milewide U.S. zone that straddles it, the United States pumps more than \$60 million a year into Panama's economy. This includes an annual rent of \$1,930,000, wages of some 10,000 Panamanians employed in the zone, and payments to Panama concerns for supplies and services.

"No matter how the election goes," vows a ranking Panamanian official, "Panamanians will reunite to renew their campaign to correct the injustices of the United States."

Last month, President Eisenhower announced a new series of grants, including a 10-percent wage increase for Panamanians employed in the Canal Zone. The President's move is interpreted here as an attempt to ease some of the anti-U.S. feeling that boiled over into violence and a march on the Canal Zone last November.

But passions fanned by the campaign and exploited by professional agitators are prodding authorities here to take extra precautions as the election nears. National guardsmen patrol the streets and stand guard in front of hotels where Americans are staying. The government has stopped issuing tourist cards and visas until after Sunday's balloting.

Fearful of postelection outbreaks when results become known, officials have promulgated new laws designed to assure a clean election. They call for the use of transparent voting boxes at each of the country's 955 polling points to prevent ballot stuffing. Ballots also are to be counted in the boxes right after the election, rather than carted away by national guardsmen to be tallied elsewhere. The 300,000 or so voters here have been assigned certain places to cast their ballots in a move to prevent multiple voting.

AIMS OF CAMPAIGNERS

Inevitably perhaps, the United States and its hold on the Canal Zone have emerged as

the chief talking points in the campaigning. All three presidential candidates are pledged to push for greater benefits from Uncle Sam. Precisely what advantages are sought is difficult to determine; public appeals almost always revolve around a charge that Panama just isn't getting a fair shake, rather than on specific points. Generally, however, the demands seem to boil down to Panama's right to fly its flag in the Canal Zone to demonstrate its sovereignty, revised interpretations of United States-Panama treaties that give the United States supervision of the canal "in perpetuity," and a fatter chunk of canal revenues.

Most striking about the election fight from the domestic point of view is the breach it has opened publicly in the country's ruling oligarchy, a clique of 20 or so aristocratic families that control most of the land's leading industries—sugar refining, breweries, and newspapers—and which historically, with brief exceptions, has controlled the nation's politics through the doling out of political jobs. Today, this group is split into bitterly feuding factions.

Deepening the rift was the Panama administration's selection of Richardo Arias, 48, a strapping, handsome professional politician from a leading family, as the candidate to succeed President Ernesto de La Guardia, Jr. A former Ambassador to the United States who also served as Panama's temporary president for 20 months after the assassination in 1954 of President Jose Antonio Remon. Mr. Arias has one unforgivable misfortune in the eyes of some Panamanians: He was born in Washington, D.C., while his grandfather served in the legation there. Though he ranks as leading contender for the presidency, Mr. Arias still is trying to live down the derogatory charge of "gringo" hurled at him by opponents.

At least partly because of the Yankee taint on Mr. Arias, a group of opposition parties has broken from the administration and put up their own candidates. One is the National Union of Opposition, formed last January out of five dissident factions. Its nominee is Roberto Chiari, a rancher and successful businessman who appears to be the favorite of many of the 2,000 Americans living in Panama outside the Canal Zone. The third coalition group is the Popular Alliance, also formed last January. Carrying its banner is Victor Voytia, widely known liberal leader and lawyer who lost out in the 1956 presidential campaign.

Recent campaigning has taken a harsh turn. A clandestine radio broadcast in English from Colon claimed that Mr. Chlari had suffered a heart attack this week and couldn't finish the campaign. It was false. In the past week, pro-Arias and pro-Chiari papers have traded charges that each side is arming for violence. Strike plans of bus drivers have been played up heavily in newspapers opposed to the administration; the Arias group contends the strike is being pushed by the opposition to create unrest before the election.

Currently, political observers here figure Mr. Arias will garner about 40 percent of the votes cast with the other two candidates spliting the rest. This in itself is causing concern among impartial bystanders because it means the victor is likely to come out with only a minority of the votes cast.

As the campaign rushes to a showdown, there's increasing evidence that more extreme factions are preparing to take advantage of any election troubles that might develop. Ultra-nationalists, mainly composed of students at the University of Panama, have been getting more active of late, clamoring among other things for a 50 percent share of canal revenues for Panama. Communist agitators have shown up at rallies and meetings. The Cuban Embassy is attracting excellent attendance at sessions

Where it shows movies of the Cuban revolution.

While Panamian politicians find the canal a handy weapon to wield in their campaigning, the resentment against the United States generally and local Americans particularly goes beyond mere political doctrine and expediency

and expediency.

In the Canal Zone, where most Americans reside, there are tidy homes with fine lawns, and pools. In this Yank area, Americans can buy luxuries from Government-run commissaries and some seldom need to go beyond it for anything. In Panamanian eyes, the zone has become something of an antiseptic island haughtily isolated but adjacent to the huddled sium areas of Panama.

Irritating these feelings are low wages, high unemployment and a poverty-riddled existence. Of a work force of some 300,000 persons, unemployment runs around 15 percent. Some 60,000 workers covered by social security receive an average of only \$1.60 a week. Squatters have used their machetes to carve living rooms out of dense jungle patches.

Has There Been a Shocking Change in Defense Policy?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. ROBERT W. KASTENMEIER

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 10, 1960

Mr. KASTENMEIER. Mr. Speaker, on Friday, May 6, the Milwaukee Journal wrote a vigorous editorial concerning the disturbing new definition of "deterrence" presented by the Appropriations Committee of the House in reporting on the Defense Department appropriations bill. On Thursday, May 5, I said on the floor that I absolutely disassociated myself from the view expressed by the committee, which was that the United States should be ready to launch an attack before the agressor has hit either us or our allies, if an attack on us seems obviously "imminent." It should therefore be clear that I fully agree with the Journal's editorial.

Since I believe the points it makes are unassailable, and since the paper has a high reputation throughout the country for intelligent news coverage and comment, I should like to bring the editorial to the attention of my colleagues, by inserting it in the body of the Record at this point:

HAS THERE BEEN A SHOCKING CHANGE IN DIFFENSE POLICY?

In a report accompanying the defense appropriations bill recently the House Appropriations Committee said: "The big issue which confronts the Nation and which the committee sought to deal with appropriately is this: What is adequate deterrence against war?"

The official position of this Government has been that deterrence meant a force so strong and diverse that even if we were attacked by an aggressor and much of our Nation destroyed, there would be enough power left to retaliate and destroy the enemy. Massive retaliation the late John Foster Dulles called it.

But the committee this time comes up with a proposed policy that is disturbing when found in an official document. The committee said this:

"In the final analysis, to effectively deter a would-be aggressor, we should maintain our Armed Forces in such a way and with such an understanding that should it ever become obvious that an attack upon us or our allies is imminent, we can launch an attack before the aggressor has hit either us or our allies. This is an element of deterrence which the United States should not deny itself. No other form of deterrence can be fully relied upon."

In other words, in the committee's view, we must be able and willing to attack first. Here is a new concept advocated as official policy. We have had, of course, military and civilian officials and some outside of government who have preached preventive war. We have even heard some wild men talk of destroying our potential enemies to end the tensions that might bring war.

But our top policymakers and our official policy have insisted over and over that we would never start a war, never be the first to attack. It has been accepted theory—and, indeed, philosophically almost gospel—that a democracy cannot start a war, would not be an aggressor. This has been our assurance to the world and to our own philosophy and heritage.

It is deeply disturbing that an official document, representing the majority views of a congressional committee, should advocate preventive war under any circumstances. There must be those in Congress who will stand up in opposition, as there must be in the military and executive leadership.

If not, something sinister and terrible has happened to our national policy.

Beyond Call of Duty

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, May 10, 1960

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, a brave young man from my congressionad district died last week in a crash of a jet aircraft near Los Angeles. He died, Mr. Speaker, because he was unselfish and was aware that if he ejected himself from the aircraft it would have crashed into a residential area, thus causing incalcul-able destruction to life and property. Rather than risk the chance, the U.S. Marine Corps flier, Lt. Neil Dadurka, of Forty Fort, Pa., stayed with his stricken aircraft and rode it to his death when it crashed in a rural area. As the Wilkes-Barre Times Leader stated in an editorial on May 7, 1960, "this would seem like service above and beyond the call of duty, entitled him posthumously to the Medal of Honor, the country's highest decoration for members of the Armed Forces." In this judgment, I heartily concur as Neil Dadurka was indeed a brave and truly heroic young man.

A newsstory on this tragedy from the Wilkes-Barre Times-Leader of Friday, May 6, 1960, as well as an editorial from the same publication of Saturday, May 7, [From the Wilkes-Barre Times-Leader, May 6, 1960]

LIEUTENANT DADURKA DIES—JET PILOT GIVES
LIFE TO AVERT AIR TRAGEDY

Heroic and successful efforts of a Forty Fort jet pilot to avert a civilian tragedy after his plane developed mechanical trouble near Los Angeles cost the flier his life last night.

The victim, Lt. Neil Dadurka, 25, U.S. Marine Corps, died of injuries in March Air Force Base Hospital, Riverside, Calif. He suffered the injuries early Wednesday when his plane crashed 55 miles from Los Angeles as he was returning from a flight to the El Toro Marine Air Base, where he was stationed.

Had he decided to think only of himself, Lieutenant Dadurka probably could have escaped with minor injuries. For when his jet aircraft became disabled while flying over a residential area, he could have ejected himself from the craft. Had he done so, the jet may have struck one or more homes, leaving a path of destruction and fire.

CRASHED IN OUTSKIRTS

Rather than risk the chance, Lieutenant Dadurka apparently decided to fly the plane out to a lesser populated area.

In the end, Lieutenant Dadurka accom-

In the end, Lieutenant Dadurka accomplished his mission as the plane crashed at the edge of town between two farm houses and no one else was injured. He was trapped in the cockpit as the jet slammed nose downward in the earth.

He was rushed to the March Air Base Hospital, where doctors had to amputate one of his legs and attempted to treat the foot of the other leg which was badly mangled. The physicians at the hospital were amazed Lieutenant Dadurka still lived, with his body burned so bad that a tube had to be inserted into his neck so that he could breathe.

His fiance, Miss Mary Homan of New York City, a senior at Wilkes College, was at Lieutenant Dadurka's bedside when he died. She flew out to California as soon as she heard about the accident on Wednesday. She and Lieutenant Dadurka were to be married on June 12 in New York. Word of the crash was received here by

Word of the crash was received here by a phone call to Lieutenant Dadurka's brother and sister-in-law, Mr. and Mrs. Warren Dadurka of 1114 Murray Street, Forty Fort.

Lieutenant Dadurka's parents, Mr. and Mrs. Frank Dadurka of Los Angeles, formerly of Forty Fort, telephoned the news to their son here.

A graduate of Wilkes College in June 1957, Lieutenant Dadurka played varsity football and was a member of the varsity wrestling team of the college. He also played varsity football and was active in other sports at Forty Fort High School. He was cocaptain of the 1957 wrestling team at Wilkes.

He served as president of the Lettermen's

He served as president of the Lettermen's Club and the senior class as well as the Retailing Club at Wilkes.

Surviving, in addition to his parents and brother, are a sister, Judy, Los Angeles, and a number of nephews and a niece.

[From the Wilkes-Barre Times-Leader May 7, 1960]

BEYOND CALL OF DUTY

In the finest tradition of the United States Marine Corps, Lt. Neil Dadurka, a former resident of Forty Fort and graduate of Wilkes College, gave his life to save others when his jet plane developed mechanical trouble over a residential area in California where he was on duty. He might have bailed out, but he stayed with his disabled craft rather than jeopardize civilians below. In the subsequent crash, he was fatally injured.

This would seem like service above and beyond the call of duty, entitling him posthumously to the Medal of Honor, the

country's highest decoration for members of the Armed Forces.

It is distressing, to be sure, that one so young and valiant should die with so much of life ahead of him, including his marriage to a Wilkes senior a month hence. But, then, it is not how long we live that matters as how well.

In death, a salute to him from a proud, if sad, community.

If Our Uncle Sam Meant Business

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. FRED MARSHALL

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 10, 1960

Mr. MARSHALL. Mr. Speaker, the production explosion in grain crops because of increased capacity and efficiency has helped to make acreage controls as archaic as the horse and buggy. Improved management, better disease control, and increased mechanization all contribute to steadily increasing yields. Any attempt to bring production into balance through acreage control only increases the incentive to boost yields. In legislation I have introduced in the past several years, we have attempted to stress the importance of using bushels, bales, and pounds in any provisions relating to production.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I call the attention of the House to an interesting discussion of the problem by Alfred D. Stedman in the St. Paul Sun-

day Pioneer Press of May 8:

IF OUR UNCLE SAM MEANT BUSINESS (By Alfred D. Stedman)

If Uncle Sam meant business about reducing the Government's \$9 billion farm surpluses, he might (in a very nice way, of course) say to the farmer:

"Look here, Buddy, you've got to cut price-supported crops like corn and wheat a lot

more than anything talked about.

"And this means cuts in production, not just acres. It means closing up the loopholes. The 15-acre wheat exemption will be out the window. So will the no-limit rule on planting corn.

"Also, you can't go circumventing acreage controls by upping your yields with improved farm practices. You get a Government license. It lets you sell only your normal yield on your acreage allotment. Licenses of farmers caught chiseling on crop controls can be canceled."

Sure, a few years of such a plan might control surpluses. Farm prices might soar. Some farm leaders have suggested some such plan. But-this is election year.

So in Washington, farm plans stay full of loopholes. New farm bills rely mostly on cutting acreages. Ike and Congress are at odds on tightening. Farm groups are split. It is a perfect stalemate.

But out in the country, things are on the move toward practices that undermine acreage controls.

Wheat farmers are hearing they can double yields with fertilizers. For years, some corn farmers have been getting 100 bushels or more per acre that way. U.S. fertilizer output is up again. The industry is better equipped with blending plants and distribution facilities. North Dakota, having increased fertilizer use seven fold in 9 years,

looks for another big increase in 1960. But this is only one method of boosting yields per acre.

Another is the use of chemical weed killers. Sig Bierken, State weed control chief, has seen yields doubled this way. Last year, Minnesota farmers sprayed for weeds an area about as big as St. Louis, and Itasca counties. This year they'll spray close to half their grain.

Chemical war on insects and diseases will be waged harder than ever. Farmers will plant better yielding and more diseaseresistant varieties. They can sow more corn in the row and soybean rows closer together. Even in this State, says T. S. Moulton of Withrow, there is now a surprising amount of irrigation to insure yields.

Sure, the late spring has been delaying everything. But with machines that can plant up to 85 acres of corn a day and apply liquid fertilizer 10 rows at a time, farmers can really "go to town," once they

get started.

As to boosting yields per acre, farmers al-ready have gone far. In 1958, they grew double the amount of wheat on about the same acreage that had been sown in 1939. In that period they have boosted their average corn yields 75 percent in that time. They grew a fourth more cotton on a third fewer acres last year than 20 years before.

Also this process of limiting the effectiveness of acreage controls on the size of crops is only beginning. Iowa's Rosewell Garst predicted a further rise of 50 percent in average corn yields largely due to use of nitrogen. Many farmers have proved the same thing can be done with wheat.

Does somebody rise to reaffirm oldtime faith in acreage cuts alone as a basis of Government programs reducing farm production? Well, then, please note that acreages of the big surplus crops are staying

about as high as ever.

Wheat plantings will be about the same. The number of farms using the 15-acre wheat exemption will be up close to 700,000. Corn farmers with no limit are planning to plant even more than last year. Their creases will be in the Corn Belt with its big potentialities for higher yields.

So prospects of cutting surpluses with farm programs that are tied to acreage cuts

don't look bright.

J. Edgar Hoover-A Dedicated American

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. SAMUEL L. DEVINE

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 10, 1960

Mr. DEVINE. Mr. Speaker, today marks the 36th anniversary of John Edgar Hoover as Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. I feel privileged to join my colleagues in paying tribute to this truly dedicated American on this occasion.

It was my good fortune, nearly 20 years ago, to accept an appointment from Mr. Hoover as a special agent in the Federal Bureau of Investigation. The following 5 years gave me an excellent opportunity, as a member of his team, to learn firsthand that Mr. Hoover lives by the slogan he adopted for the F.B.I.—Fidelity, Bravery, and Integrity.

Often maligned by those engaged in activities inimical to the welfare and security of this country, Mr. Hoover has steadfastly maintained the Bureau on a high plane and has unswervingly carried on the fight in resisting communism wherever it may be found.

He has successfully demonstrated that a governmental agency can be efficiently operated free from political influences. Further, he selects his agents after careful investigation to determine whether they can meet his high standards, and they function on the basis of merit and ability, free from civil service restric-

Mr. Hoover is highly respected, not only in this country, but around the world. He has earned this respect by his true dedication to the highest principles of law enforcement. Cooperation with local law enforcement bodies and his resistance to a national police force have added to his fine reputation.

The men of the FBI have great admiration for their Director because he never requests any agent to perform any function that he himself has not or will

The members of Congress should be proud to single out J. Edgar Hoover as the perfect example of a successful dedicated American who has devoted his life to useful service to his country.

The Adjutants General of the United States Choose a New Jersevan as President

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. FRANK THOMPSON, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, May 10, 1960

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, I take pleasure in submitting for the Record today an editorial of congratulations on the election as President of the Adjutants General of the United States of Maj. Gen. James F. Cantwell. General Cantwell's success is most gratifying to all of us in Trenton and throughout the State of New Jersey who are numbered among his friends. As New Jersey's chief of staff, the general's performance has been particularly pleasing to me, since we have been friends for many years. I am delighted that this additional honor has been bestowed upon him.

Entitled "'President' Cantwell", the editorial appearing in the Trentonian of May 9, follows:

[From the Trentonian, May 9, 1960] "PRESIDENT" CANTWELL

In electing New Jersey's Maj. Gen. James F. Cantwell their president, the Adjutants General of the United States gained a leader who not only is outstandingly capable but who also owns a place in the front rank of any popularity contest.

His competence is attested to by the fine job he has done as Governor Meyner's chief of staff of the New Jersey Department of De-fense, and by his selection by Secretary of the Army Brucker to be chairman of the the Army Brucker to be chairman of general staff committee on National Guard and Army reserve affairs.

As for his popularity, there are thousands of people in New Jersey who will unhesitatingly tell you that "Jim" Cantwell is a nice guy and a splendid officer.

Declassification of Commodity Credit Corporation Records

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JOHN E. MOSS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 10, 1960

Mr. MOSS. Mr. Speaker, the Agriculture Department has issued new regulations removing the "Administratively Confidential" stamp from the records of the Commodity Credit Corporation—the agency which handles the farm price

support program.

Under the new regulations the documents on which farm price support decisions are based—called CCC dockets— Will be classed as public records as soon as the information can no longer be used by speculators. Now the farmers, the merchants, and the consumers affected by farm price supports—as well as the other taxpayers who finance the program-can learn the basis for the im-Portant policy decisions. The new system established by the Agriculture Department also permits careful protection of information which must be held confidential, by law, to prevent speculators from gaining a commercial advantage. The regulations require those documents Which need protection to be stored in safes with combination locks.

The Agriculture Department reports that only 19 CCC dockets which are in current use still will be restricted by the "administratively confidential" stamp. Even these dockets are to become public records as soon as the need to prevent unfair speculation no longer exists. Compared to the 19 dockets still restricted, the Department estimates thousands of dockets will become public records under the new system. These are the CCC policy dockets which have been developed since the agency became a part of the Department of Agriculture in 1939.

The new break in the administrative secrecy barrier was not easy to accomblish. In a report presented to the House Agriculture Committee in January 1959, the Agriculture Department Outlined the then-current system for restricting public access to all CCC policy documents. In October 1959 the House Government Information Subcommittee asked the Department a series of questions on the secrecy policy and discovered that the legal authority relied on Was 5 U.S.C. 22—the Government's 180year-old housekeeping law to which a freedom-of-information amendment was added in 1958.

When the subcommittee pointed out the absurdity of basing secrecy regulations on a freedom-of-information law, the Agriculture Department fell back on the claim that authority for secrecy surrounding CCC policy documents "is

based on the inherent power in the executive branch"—nothing more than the claim of an executive privilege above the law.

After this claim was questioned, the CCC Board of Directors adopted the new policy which classes all but 19 of the thousands of CCC policy documents as public records. Following is the general order putting the new policy into effect:

Notice Gen-580, U.S. Department of Agriculture, Commodity Stabilization Service, Washington, D.C., Terminating the Administratively Confidential Nature of

1. Background: Docket CZ 157, Revision 2, "Policy and Procedure Governing the Submission of Dockets to the Board of Directors of Commodity Credit Corporation and the Handling of Dockets considered by the Board", was approved by the Board March 22, 1960.

DOCKETS

- 2. Policy for establishing termination date: This revision provides that for all future dockets the B.ard will establish a time after which the docket shall no longer be classified administratively confidential. The establishment of a termination time is based on a determination for each docket that after such time the information contained therein could no longer provide special advantage to persons having access to the docket. The Board established the following criteria to be applied in pursuance of this general policy:
- (a) A price support docket will remain administratively confidential until public announcement of the program.
- (b) A supply docket will remain administratively confidential for the period during which purchases are made.
- (e) A policy docket will remain administratively confidential until the Secretary of Agriculture has approved the docket.

Exceptions may be made to these criteria as the Board may determine necessary in the case of any individual docket.

- 3. Review of prior dockets: The revision also provides that the Executive Vice President shall cause all prior dockets classified as administratively confidential to be reviewed and made a matter of public record except those which upon such review it is determined should remain administratively confidential for a continuing period of time.
- 4. List of prior dockets to remain administratively confidential: Will you carefully review all past dockets for which your division or office has responsibility, or joint responsibility, and inform me not later than April 8, 1960, the title of all dockets which you recommend remain administratively confidential. Will you also recommend a time when each such docket can be made a matter of public record. Such recommendations should be based on the criteria set forth above with such exceptions for individual dockets as may be desirable.

National Milk Sanitation Bill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. WILLIAM B. WIDNALL

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, May 10, 1960

Mr. WIDNALL. Mr. Speaker, dairy farming is one of the principal segments of the highly diversified economy of the Seventh New Jersey District. The welfare and stability of the dairy business in my district is a matter of great concern to me. In this connection, under leave to extend my remarks, I insert in the Appendix of the Congressional Recond the text of a statement made recently by Phillip Alampi, secretary of agriculture of the State of New Jersey, before the Subcommittee on Health and Safety of the House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee. Mr. Alampi is president of the Northeastern Association of State Departments of Agriculture, on behalf of which he testified before the subcommittee.

STATEMENT OF PHILIP ALAMPI, ON BEHALF OF NORTHEASTERN ASSOCIATION OF STATE DE-PARTMENTS OF AGRICULTURE, AT THE HEARING ON THE NATIONAL MILK SANITATION BILL

My name is Phillip Alampi, and I am secretary of agriculture of the State of New Jersey. My address is I West State Street, Trenton, N.J. I am appearing here today as president of the Northeastern Association of State Departments of Agriculture. The States represented in this organization are Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Delaware, Pennsylvania, and Maryland.

The dairy division of this organization has studied in detail H.R. 3840, known as the National Milk Sanitation Act. We have contacted the States in this region and have obtained their opinions as to the need for and the effect of the proposed legislation.

In the interest of agriculture in the Northeastern States, as well as the general public, and more specifically the Northeastern dairymen, this organization is opposed to the enactment of H.R. 3840. This position represents the thinking of all of the above-mentioned States. In opposing this legislation, we are supporting the position of the vast majority of milk producer organizations in the Northeast.

REASONS

1. The milk markets in the Northeast already have very adequate milk sanitation regulations. These markets can most effectively determine what health standards best serve the interests of the people of their area. The consumers look to their local authorities for the protection of their milk supply.

milk supply.

2. H.R. 3840 completely nullifies any State or local milk sanitation program that is not based on the recommended ordinance and code of the U.S. Public Health Service. The bill provides that the only means of certifying the milk supply which is shipped in interstate commerce are those criteria established by the Surgeon General. This means that the milk ordinances or codes of an individual State or local municipality would become ineffective as far as they relate to the interstate supply of milk. In many instances this would tend to lower the quality of milk shipped into the various receiving States.

The proposed act does not require any State or municipality to adopt the U.S. milk code, nor is there anything to prevent milk shipped in interstate commerce from such State having to meet higher requirements than those of the proposed code. Nevertheless, the States cannot set up standards higher than those of the proposed act without discriminating against their own plants. Therefore, the proposed legislation would inevitably downgrade the quality of milk for fluid use in all of the major Northeastern

3. H.R. 3840 is entitled "A bill to amend the Public Health Service Act to protect the public from unsanitary milk and milk products shipped in interstate commerce without unduly burdening State commerce." As far as the Northeast States are concerned, this bill does not carry out the mandate of its title.

It has been shown that the standards of quality would be lowered. Therefore, the bill becomes an economic measure rather than a quality measure. Furthermore, lowering the quality standards is detrimental to the promotion and expansion of market outlets for milk and milk products which is not in the interest of the entire dairy in-

4. The intent of the proposed legislation will fall short of its major goal. The basic purpose of H.R. 3840, as we see it in the Northeast, is for one purpose only: namely, to permit the shipment of milk for fluid use from States of surplus production into distant markets where it may be sold at a higher price than that currently received by the producers of such milk. Proponents of the bill assume that prices for fluid milk particularly here in the East-are established at a level which would permit the movement of milk from midwestern areas to the East at a price somewhat lower than the prices prevailing here now, but still higher than the return midwestern producers would realize on such milk if it were used for manufacturing. It is our considered opinion that the proponents of H.R. 3840 are doomed to disappointment because this legislation cannot possibly achieve this major purpose in the long run. The price differential between surplus milk producing States, such as Wisconsin and Minnesota, and the Northeast importing States, is not sufficient to induce the movement of a permanent supply of milk from the surplus producing areas.

Consumers in the Northeast will not benefit as has been suggested by the proponents of this act and actually they could receive

lower quality milk.

5. No appropriation should be made from the General Treasury for the administration of H.R. 3840. Section 814 provides for a direct appropriation of \$1,500,000 per annum to the Public Health Service of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare to administer the act. Inasmuch as H.R. 3840 is designed to benefit a small segment of the U.S. population, it seems rather inequitable that a direct appropriation should be made from the General Treasury to administer such a bill. Moreover, there is nothing in the bill which would benefit consumers in the Northeast. Hence, if Congress deems it advisable to enact such legislation, then the individuals who are the chief beneficiaries should bear the cost of administering the entire program.

We, from the Northeastern States, have pointed out in the above five reasons why we believe that this proposed legislation is unnecessary and detrimental to the dairy industry and the consuming public.

However, if in the wisdom of Congress this bill should be enacted into law, we strongly recommend that the following principles be incorporated into the act:

1. The receiving State should be permitted and authorized to make inspection of the milk being shipped in interstate commerce to the market.

The shipping plant desiring to ship the milk should pay the cost of inspection of the producers and the plant.

2. All milk and milk products for all pur-poses should be included in the proposed

3. The administration of the law should vested in the Department of Agriculture rather than in the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. The purpose for this recommendation is that the Department of Agriculture is more keenly aware of milk production and marketing problems.

On behalf of the Northeastern Association of State Departments of Agriculture, I wish to take this opportunity to thank the members of this Committee for permitting us to give you our views on the legislation now under consideration.

United States Blunders

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. CHARLES A. VANIK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, May 10, 1960

Mr. VANIK. Mr. Speaker, I am not among those Members of this body who feel inclined to congratulate those persons in the administration who are chargeable with responsibility for the unfortunate flight of American aircraft over the territory of Soviet Russia on a mission of espionage on the eve of the summit conference.

Whoever is responsible for this untimely blunder must assume responsibility for tampering with the already slight hopes for some success at the summit and the hopes for world peace.

The following editorial in the Cleveland Plain Dealer of May 9, 1960, is a commendable summary of the incident:

UNITED STATES BLUNDERS

Let's face it: The U.S. Government committed a colossal blunder in the way it

handled the spy plane incident.

Above all there was the initial stupidity of sending an airplane out on such a dangerous and sensitive reconnaissance flight at this particular time, virtually on the eve of the summit conference. Then, having been caught and exposed, responsible U.S. military and diplomatic agencies tried to present an alibi through false information, which gave Nikita Khrushchev a gala propaganda field day. Finally, we were forced to make a frank admission that the captured pilot had been on a spying mission.

American prestige would have been strengthened had Washington taken the initiative in the beginning. By holding back, the United States permitted Khrushchev to dramatize the incident far beyond its worth.

And he is still exploiting it.

It is a matter of common knowledge that nations engage in espionage and collection of information, politely termed the gathering of intelligence. Since the Soviet has been as blatant as any in these operations, Khrushchev's gloating comes with poor grace when the record is examined.

Soviet planes are known to have been over U.S. bases abroad; Soviet submarines and fishing boats have been sighted in and near American waters. Just 2 weeks ago a fishing trawler, equipped with espionage apparatus, was photographed observing tests of an atomic submarine off Long Island.

Also to be recalled were the Alger Hiss and Rosenberg cases, among others, and the arrest and conviction in 1957 of Col. Rudolph Ivanovich Abel, who for 9 years lived in and around Brooklyn posing as a photographer while acting as a Russian spy. He is now serving a 30-year sentence, which was up-held last March 28 in a 5-to-4 ruling by the Supreme Court.

So the Russians have been caught spying, too, but that does not excuse the United States for playing it dumb in this case of the downed pilot,

Khrushchev is acting badly, but this is his hour of triumph and he is having a particularly hilarious time making us squirm. However, he may be overplaying his hand, for President Eisenhower is not one to take such insults and reproaches to the Nation gracefully. He has a temper and it could explode should Khrushchev go too far with his taunts.

At this moment, it is safe to say that thoughtless and irresponsible action by some U.S. intelligence agency in ordering the es-

pionage flight and the hateful reaction displayed by Khrushchev have combined to throw new shadows over the summit conference, if, indeed, it is not called off.

About all that is left is the prospect that the heads of government probably will go through the motions of meeting next week and speaking words, but nothing much will happen. This is not surprising. We didn't expect much anyway.

Panamanian Spanish-Language Press Reveals Long-Range Objectives

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, May 10, 1960

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, in the course of numerous addresses to the House on the question of sovereignty and jurisdiction over the Canal Zone and the Panama Canal, I have repeatedly emphasized the long-range Panamanian objectives of gaining sovereign control over the Canal Zone and eventually of nationalizing the canal.

In arriving at my conclusions, I have had the advantage of many well-informed sources of information, among them the Spanish-language press of Panama as well as its English press.

The emphasis in the news stories of these two differ, the English-language press being designed mainly for Canal Zone readers and the Spanish-language for Panamanian readers. The latter is obviously aimed at securing political action with respect to the one great enterprise on the isthmus and Panama's largest source of income—the Panama Canal enterprise.

In order that the Congress may know the nature of the Panamanian political program and some of the tactics used in fostering it, I quote the following excerpts translated from the Spanish-language press of Panama. From these, it is clear that any formal display of the Panamanian flag in the Canal Zone would be a diplomatic blunder of the first magnitude.

The excerpts follow:

La Nacion, April 19: "Mr. Floop again and the 'daughters of Potter,' La Nacion says in a headline, containing an obscene pun, over a Prensa Latina dispatch reporting Representative FLoop's address to the DAR that the time has come to end the U.S. policy of appeasement toward Panama.

La Estrella, April 20: "Presidential candidate Arias' statement that the new concessions means Panama is advancing and will continue to advance is given an eightcolumn lead play by La Estrella. The ninetop-of-the-page story."

El Dia, April 20: "El Dia editorially com"

ments that President Eisenhower's announcement of a nine-point plan which will benefit Panamanian employees of U.S. Gov-ernment agencies in the zone is a laudable effort to improve relations between the United States and Panama.

"The plan will improve relations but still does not fully satisfy the desires of Pana-manians particularly in two points—equal pay for equal work and the recognition of Panama's visible sovereignty over the Canal Zone, which was not mentioned in the Presidential release.

"Jorge Turner continues his campaign for the recognition of Panama's sovereignty over the Canal Zone and is presently planning a tour of newspapermen to South America.

Speaking Softly reports:
"Regarding the Washington announcement on the nine-point plan Aquilino Boyd is quoted as saying that the concessions announced by Washington were mere trifles compared to what Panama is actually en-

"Boyd also stated that it was rather surprising that the President made no men-tion of the moral obligation he has to raise the Panamanian flag in the Canal Zone as

Symbol of Panama's sovereignty." Critica, April 20: "The Foreign Office will not cease its battle to have the flag fly in the zone,' are Critica's headlines over a back page report quoting official sources of Panama's Foreign Office that although they are Pleased with President Eisenhower's plan toward improving United States-Panamanian relations, action will continue until the Panamanian flag flies beside the U.S. flag in the Canal Zone.

"Not one of the nine points in the plan ap-Proved by President Eisenhower even men-tions this aim for which the Panamanians are fighting, the item says."

Tree Farm Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF I

HON. OVERTON BROOKS

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 10, 1960

Mr. BROOKS of Louisiana. Mr. Speaker, on March 9, 1960, in the town of Mansfield, La., there took place a dedication of the 1,000th certified tree farm in the State of Louisiana. This program has an especial interest to all of us who are concerned with forestry and all the many industries growing out of the lumber industry. I commend for your reading the remarks of Mr. John H. Hinman, President, American Forest Products Industries, on the occasion of this dedication:

REMARKS OF JOHN H. HINMAN, PRESIDENT, AMERICAN FOREST PRODUCTS INDUSTRIES 1000TH TREE FARM DEDICATION, MANSFIELD, LA., MARCH 9, 1960

Ladies and gentlemen, the dedication of the 1,000th certified tree farm in the State of Louisiana is an occasion of considerable importance to us all. Tree farms mean different things to different people. They mean cash crops of lumber and pulpwood to the landowner; to someone like myself, in a pulp and paper company, they mean an assured supply of raw material for the future; to many of you, they mean jobs; to many others, they offer opportunities for hunting, fishing, and other outdoor recreation; and to all of us, they mean taxes for schools, roads, and other essential services.

I am delighted that my duties as president of the American Forest Products Industries Association have brought me here to Louisiana today for this observance and to honor this new member of the American Tree Farm movement, Norman Gallaspy.

The practice of sound forest management holds particular meaning for me and for my company, International Paper. My company and I have many roots in your State.

It was the purchase of the former Bastrop Pulp and Paper Co., back in 1925 that first brought International Paper into the South. Today, 3 of our 10 southern papermills are in Louisiana, 2 in Bastrop and 1 in Springhill; and 2 of our divisions operating former Long-Bell Lumber Co. facilities are located in DeRidder. So this is familiar and friendly territory for me.

The forests have played an important role in the life of Louisiana ever since the first settlers came here. But forestry, as you know it today and as we recognize it at this dedication, is relatively new. Many of you will remember Henry T. Hardtner of Urania He helped start good forest practices in Louisiana back in 1904. There have been many others since then and today your State is fortunate in having such men as Leon Walker, president of Louisiana Forestry Association, and Jim Mixson, your State forester, who are providing exemplary leader-ship. No less a debt is owed to the many Federal, State, and private foresters whose dedication to good forestry has helped retrieve Louisiana from the brink of forest poverty on which it was balanced just 20 years ago

The American Tree Farm System, one of the American Forest Products Industries' many successful projects, has played a large part in encouraging the reforestation of this State, the South, and the Nation. At a time when so many organizations depend upon government leadership, this program stands as a symbol of what can be done by private industry and determined individuals.

In its 19-year history, the tree farm program has brought millions of acres of merly unproductive or idle land into potentially full and sustained production. matter of fact, the 50 millionth acre of certified tree farm will be dedicated near Brewton, Ala., soon.

During this same period, the South has come to be regarded as the leader in American forestry. There are many reasons why this is true: Today, in the 12-State area stretching from Virginia south and west into Texas and Oklahoma, there are 193 million acres of commercial forest, 40 percent of all the forest land of the Nation. No other single region approaches this in forest resources. Fifty-five percent of all the tree farms in the Nation are in the South, and these represent 66 percent of the Nation's tree farm acreage. About two-thirds of the wood to feed the Nation's gigantic appetite for paper is supplied by the South.

The South not only leads in forest pro-duction today, it also leads in forest research for tomorrow. The paper industry has been experimenting in cooperation with several universities and Federal and State agencies in the development of a race of fast-growing supertrees. They are studying not only how to speed up growth, but how the individual fibers are formed and how, through genetic research, we can improve the fiber characteristics for papermaking of various species of trees. We are also investigating the factors that influence the superior resistance of some trees to the attacks of insects and disease and give some the ability to withstand long periods of drought. Other studies concern the effect of site and soil conditions on tree growth. We hope eventually to be able to identify the specific type of tree best suited to grow the maximum of wood cellulose fiber for paper or lumber on any given location anywhere in the South.

One field of study that needs special attention is forest fire control. Recently the Georgia Research Council dedicated a new Forest Fire Research Laboratory in Macon, Ga., where Federal, State, and industrial agencies can work together on this problem.

Actually, fire is a problem for all of us, not only business and these agencies. We must all work together to prevent both the fires

that start accidentally and those that are set deliberately, which every year endanger the economy of so many southern communities.

According to an interim report by the U.S. Forest Service, fires claimed some 120,000 acres in Louisiana last year. I am glad to learn that the losses in your own parish were low, only 218 acres. This loss to fire is a tragic waste that none of us can afford. We need strong leadership at the community level to end this wasteful loss.

The people of Louisiana have a tremendous asset in their forests. More than half your land is covered with forests, totaling some 16 million acres and averaging about 51/3 acres for each man, woman, and child in the State. There is more forest land in Louisiana than there is farmland—about 5 million acres more. About 2.5 percent of the total forest area of the United States is here.

This valuable resource is the base of industries that are a major part of Louisiana's economy. The forest industries—those that make lumber and wood products of all kinds, as well as pulp, paper, and paper products-are directly dependent on forests for raw material.

These industries mean jobs in Louisianafull-time jobs for about 44,000 people, and part-time jobs for thousands of others in woods and mills.

The payrolls of industries in Louisiana that convert trees into some of 5,000 wood articles we use every day amount to about \$11 million a year. One in every \$5 paid out to Louisiana industrial workers comes from the forest-dependent industries.

Aided and encouraged by progressive forest industries, your citizens are improving the protection of their forests from fire, animals, insects, and disease. They are rapidly learning to manage their woodlots for maximum production of quality timber, and to grow trees as a regular crop. By planting new trees, they are turning idle or lazy acres into busy acres and thereby adding to their potential forest wealth. And each year they are enrolling more acres of well-managed woodlots as certified tree farms on taxpaying

One of the special values that many of you enjoy as a direct result of the increase in the number of tree farms is a much wider opportunity for outdoor recreation. The multiple use of forests to include many forms of outdoor recreation is a basic philosophy in tree farming.

Managed tree farms provide a first-rate habitat for game of all kinds. One of the requirements for certifying a tree farm such as this is fire protection. This alone elimas this is fire protection. This alone eliminates one of the greatest hazards to wildlife. I know that almost all of the industrial companies that own timberlands, mine included, welcome public use of their lands for recreational purposes-subject, of course, to occasional restrictions when fire hazards are high, or when operations in a particular area might create a safety hazard.

More and more people have the leisure time for outdoor sports these days, and I am convinced that well-managed private timberlands, operated to provide full use-timber, water, wildlife, and recreation-are going to make a tremendous contribution in this field in the years ahead.

The fact that all this is being done by individuals working with the wood-using industries of their State is certainly exemplified by your own DeSoto Parish. I am told that of the total 360,000 acres of forest land in this parish, almost one-third is in certified tree farms. It is not difficult to see why the growing and harvesting of trees contributed more than \$1 million to the income of DeSoto Parish in 1959.

Not long ago I had the pleasure of reading a folder published by L. C. Ewing, a progressive pulpwood dealer in Jonesboro. In this very excellent mailing piece, entitled "What Forest Industry Means to Your Community," Mr. Ewing quoted some in-teresting facts from the U.S. Forest Service.

This is what happens, he says, when 10,000 acres of idle land are brought into full forest production:

1. Banks will show \$337,500 more bank deposits.

2. At least 370 more jobs available for local residents.

3. At least 140 new homes will be built.

4. People in the parish will receive \$737,500

more personal income. 5. Auto dealers will sell more than 134 ad-

ditional new cars

6. Five more retail establishments will be needed.

7. Local stores' sales will jump more than \$450,000 each year.

Mr. Ewing makes another interesting ob-rvation. "The forest economy is here to servation. stay," he says, "providing it has a good business climate in which to survive." I heartily agree that each of us—no matter where his interests lie-must be on guard to protect this important industry from any condition such as unduly burdensome tax measures that might discourage its growth.

This is particularly important in terms of tree farming. We feel that each timber-growing State should subscribe to the policy that sustained-yield forest management is in the public interest. Further, tax policies should not add to existing pressures for clear-cutting of timber or discourage expenditures for forest management such as planting, thinning, fire prevention, and road construction and maintenance.

The forest crop holds tremendous economic potential for the rural South. Landowners should be encouraged in every way

to develop this potential.

Another factor that must be considered in our efforts to expand our forest economy is the importance of knowing at all times how much timber we are producing and how much is being used. These figures are kept on a current basis by the Forest Service. Obviously, if an area or a State attracts too many industries dependent upon a regular supply of wood, an otherwise stable forest economy could be completely thrown off balance. We should aim for full utilization of our forests without an undue concentration of these industries.

Now, I would like to depart from any further discussion of tree growing and woodusing industries, and take this opportunity to congratulate our host, the owner of this 1,000th Louisiana tree farm.

It is with a great deal of pride that I bring Mr. Gallaspy the congratulations of the American Forest Products Industries and the thousands of men and women who look to the continued growth of forestry in the South as the key to a prosperous future.

I think we could do nothing better than to dedicate this 1,000th Louisiana tree farm to that mutual hope.

Thank you.

Law Day, U.S.A.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. FRED SCHWENGEL

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, May 10, 1960

Mr. SCHWENGEL. Mr. Speaker, Sunday, May 1, was observed throughout the Nation as Law Day. Of all of the statements written and delivered in observance of this occasion, I was particularly impressed with a guest editorial which appeared in the Times-Democrat of Davenport, Iowa, on April 30, 1960. This editorial was written by Attorney Clemens Werner, chairman of the Law Day U.S.A. Committee of the Scott County (Iowa) Bar Association.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I am glad to call this editorial to the attention of my colleagues. The editorial follows:

LAW DAY, U.S.A.

The purposes of Law Day, U.S.A. are educational and patriotic. The event is not a "lawyers' day," but a day for honoring the place of law in American life and the contribution which law has made and must continue to make in our Nation's growth, as well as its great potential as an instrument of world peace.

Law is the foundation for civilization. If we are to live together in liberty and security, we must recognize and appreciate that it is only possible under a system of

law.

Generations before us have provided in our Constitution for the separation of governmental powers and the limitation of Government power over our person and property. They provided for the rule of law. Without laws and their observance, no person or property would be secure. There would be no freedom of the individual to worship, speak, write, assemble, or right to live, acquire property, buy and sell goods, choose employment, marry, and educate children. Only one generation ago we witnessed

what happened in Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy. The rule of law was stripped from the people in those countries by their leaders. They lost their freedom, rights and property; they were easy prey of the secret police because there was no law to protect their

Today, we are witnessing the breakdown of law and order in Cuba. Freedom of the press and speech is gone; opposition to the present Government is being stamped out, and private property is being confiscated without regard to its fair value. The rule of law is lost in Cuba.

We, the people, elect representatives who enact and enforce our laws. Our legal framework is entirely in the hands of the people. Through our representatives we can change an unreasonable law or eliminate it through peaceful procedure. Our failure to observe certain laws leads toward further breakdown in law and order.

Without law and order to protect our freedoms, rights, and property, we are the easy victims of leaders who would rule by any type of violence. And they would con-tinue to so rule until some other group overthrows them by force. After all, there cannot be a peaceful change in Government without law and order.

Thus, if we are to maintain our form of government, we must voluntarily accept and abide by the laws enacted by a majority of the people for the greatest good of our citizens on a local, State and National level.

Not just on Law Day but on every day let us strive for the two basic objectives of the observance:

1. To foster an abiding respect for law, enabling our Nation to grow in moral strength as it grows in leadership.

2. To keep freedom for the individual under just laws administered by independent courts, and in so doing to demonstrate before the world the contrast between the rule of law in the United States and the rule of force and fear under communism or a dictatorship.

Such individual responsibility is an obligation of good citizenship under the American way of life. Once we clearly understand such responsibility, we then will ap-preciate the wonderful privileges we enjoy as citizens of this country. Let us do the daily work before us, ever mindful of our obligation under and made possible only by law and order

The great challenge before mankind is the acceptance of law and order by nations on an international or world level. Speaking on this subject, President Eisenhower, at Delhi University, in New Delhi, India, on December 11, 1959, stated:

The time has come for mankind to make the role of law in international affairs as normal as it is now in domestic affairs. course the structure of such law must be patiently built, stone by stone * * a reliable framework of law grounded in the general principles recognized by civilized nations is of crucial importance in all plans for rapid economic development around the earth. Economic progress has always been accompanied by a reliable legal framework
* * the principle that men must keep bargains is a fundamental of every great system the world has ever known. Whenever it has broken down, commerce, invention, investment and economic progress have also broken down. * * * If an international controversy leads to armed conflict, everyone loses; if armed conflict is avoided, everyone wins. It is better to lose a point now and then in an international tribunal and gain a world in which everyone lives at peace under the rule of law

Whether the people of the world will ever manage to extend law from the national level to the world level, history will recordam happy to report that the American Bar Association, through its special committee on world peace through law, is engaged

in serious study of the problem.

In its report of August 24, 1959 to the House of Delegates at the 82d annual meeting of the American Bar Association, the committee stated: "Our task in the months and years ahead must be to encourage increased cooperation among the lawyers of all nations in research, education, exchanges of information and experience, and above all. leadership in directing the ever-rising tide of interest in the rule of law internationally toward proper and meaningful goals. Years and decades of hard work will be required to achieve tangible progress in this complicated area of expanded international use of the rule of law. But with the knowledge that increased use of the rule of law internationally can only lead toward a peaceful world, no effort should be spared to further interest in, and work upon, every possible subject, procedure or avenue encompassed in this program. No effort by our associ-ation can be more meaningful or more important to mankind."

Indeed, such a vigorous effort must be made by the people in all countries toward enforceable world law and order if world peace is to be secured. Only then will peace mean more than just an absence of war. Then we will have taken the most important step for world order since Moses brought the word down from the mountain's crest. We will then appreciate the meaning of. "Blessed are the peacemakers for they shall

be called the sons of God."

The Wall Street Journal Opens New Printing Plant in Chicopee, Falls, Mass.

> EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. EDWARD P. BOLAND

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, May 10, 1960

Mr. BOLAND. Mr. Speaker, the nationally respected business daily newspaper, the Wall Street Journal, achieved a new milestone in its history Sunday When its seventh printing plant began operations in Chicopee Falls, Mass.

Thus, the eastern edition's printings of this great newspaper now speed to subscribers along the east coast from three different cities, New York, Washington, D.C., and Chicopee Falls, to keep pace with the ever-increasing demand for the Wall Street Journal.

The highly automated facility in Chicopee Falls is a near-duplicate of the Journal's new plant in Cleveland, Ohio, Where publication began 5 weeks ago. Operations at Chicopee Falls will be coordinated completely with all other

editions of the Journal.

The central control over editing, layout, and other news and advertising functions will be maintained by the Wall Street Journal in New York, but once these tasks have been accomplished, the Chicopee Falls plant is fully equipped to produce a complete newspaper to serve subscribers in New England, upper New York, and eastern Canada.

Mr. Speaker, I wish to take this op-Portunity to welcome the Wall Street Journal and its plant manager, Assistant Managing Editor Larry Farrell to our community and the Second Congres-Sional District of Massachusetts.

Remarks by Fred C. Scribner, Jr., at the Annual Lobster Dinner of the Maine State Society, Department of Interior Auditorium, Washington, D.C., Friday, May 6, 1960

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. CLIFFORD G. McINTIRE

OF MAINE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 10, 1960

Mr. McINTIRE. Mr. Speaker, I include for insertion into the RECORD the following remarks of the Honorable Fred C. Scribner, Jr., Under Secretary of the Department of the Treasury:

This assignment presents an opportunity not only to report to you on the splendid contributions made to the Government of the United States by our career civil servants, but also to comment on the impact of the people, the products, and the principles of Maine on the Treasury Department.

Let's begin with the main Treasury Building, situated just east of the White House. The present site was also the site of the Nation's first Treasury Building, the construction of which was undertaken around 1798. The first building was made of brick. It was 2 stories in height and contained 30 rooms. Since the total number of Treasury employees in 1800 was about 69, space Was also provided in the building for the 7 employees of the State Department, and for employees of the Navy Department. This building was destroyed by the British when they occupied Washington in 1814. Following withdrawal of the British forces, a new Treasury Building was promptly authorized, but the second structure and most of its contents were destroyed by fire on the early morning of March 30, 1833. President Andrew Jackson directed that a de-

tailed and searching investigation be made as to the cause of the fire. The investiga-tion was carried out by the Attorney General, with the assistance of other members of the Cabinet and with the chief justice of the Circuit Court of the District of Columbia presiding. This investigation, as has been the case in so many others which followed, was most inconclusive.

Some time later two brothers were ar-rested, charged with setting fire to the building for the purpose of destroying cer-tain papers on file in the Treasury which would go to prove fraudulent conduct on the part of persons engaged as Treasury agents. One brother was tried four timesfinally acquitted because of the statute of limitations. The other brother was convicted and sentenced to 10 years in prison.

The present Treasury Building, which covers two city blocks at 15th Street and Pennsylvania Avenue, was authorized on July 4, 1836, and begun that year. The location of the building has always raised much question. It has never seemed to be in keeping with the original scheme, which was leave an unobstructed view from the White House to the Capitol. Washington lore has it that President Jackson, impatient at the delay of the architect and the supervising committee in selecting the site, walked over the ground one morning, stuck his cane in the extreme northeast corner of the land, and said, "Here, right here, I want the cornerstone laid."

Colorful as this story is, popularly accepted as it may be, the first architect to work on the Treasury Building, Robert C. Mills, designed only the central or eastern portion of the building, which is the section which now fronts on 15th Street. Mills did not draw the plans for the south wing of the Treasury Department, which is the portion which obscures the White House from the Capitol. This south section was designed by Thomas Hugh Walter and was not completed until 16 years after President Jackson's death, or in 1861. Another difficulty with the story of the original location of the building is the fact that the State Department Building was situated on the spot at which Jackson is reputed to have planted his cane.

The cornerstone of the present structure was laid in 1834 by Levi Woodbury, then Secretary of the Treasury. The style of the building follows that of the temple Pallas Athena at Athens. The original section had a frontage of 340 feet on 15th Street with a depth of 170 feet. As stated, the south wing was completed in 1861, the west wing was completed in 1864, and the north wing received its final work in 1869.

On March 4th of that year, Grant's inaugural ball was held in the north wing's marbled "cash room," the walls, floors, window frames, and doors of which are of solid marble.

The present Treasury Bullding with its modified Grecian architecture and Ionic columns appeals to all lovers of art and is thought by most to be second only to the Capitol in its beauty.

Of particular interest to this society is the fact that the granite used in the south, west, and north wings, and the solid granite monolithic columns on these three wings, were quarried on Dix Island, near Rockland, Maine, and brought to Washington in sailing ves-Each of the 38 columns is 36 feet in height and weighs approximately 30 tons. As I have said, these solid granite columns are monolithic. I urge your careful inspection, not only of our beautiful Treasury Building but of these Maine columns. I know that your mind will go back many times, as mine has, to the ingenuity of the Maine people who, with the tools and transportation available in the 1860's, quarried these columns, sailed them to Washington, transported them from the river to the building site, and put them in place.

Thus, there is much of Maine physically present in the Treasury Department at the Nation's Capital.

Of even more impressive consequence is the contribution which Maine people over the years have made to Treasury operations. The Pine Tree State can quite properly lay claim to three Secretaries of the Treasury.

The first Maine man to hold the office of Secretary was William Pitt Fessenden of Portland. While Fessenden was born in New Hampshire, he was educated at Bowdoin, practiced law at Bridgeton, Bangor, and Portland, and died at the latter city on September 8. 1869.

Fessenden had been elected to the U.S. Senate as a Whig in 1854 and reelected 6 years later. While in the Senate he served as chairman of the Finance Committee. was said of him by Sumner that he was "in the financial field all that our best generals were in arms."

Senator Fessenden was asked to take over the Treasury Department in 1864 at a time when the Nation was losing confidence in Treasury policies and when the country's finances were indeed imperiled. On July 5. 1864. Fessenden took office and served until the end of Lincoln's first term. The country's capacity to raise funds for the purchase of Government securities seemed to be exhausted. Secretary Chase had found it necessary to withdraw an offering of securities for want of acceptable bids. We were truly in a time of inflation. Gold was at 280.

Immediately upon accepting office, Fesenden indicated that his first step to curb the inflationary pressures would be to cease the printing and issuance of additional paper money. Appealing directly to the people, he offered a loan in the form of bonds bearing interest at the rate of 7.3 percent. These were issued in denomina-tions as low as \$50 and people of the most limited means could purchase them. senden then undertook vigorous steps to extend the Nation's debt and to consolidate it. Under his strong, soundly-based leadership, the country's financial situation did improve. Resigning in 1865, Fessenden was returned to the Senate by Maine and was serving as a Senator at the time of his death.

Maine's first Secretary of the Treasury was followed in office by another Maine man, Hugh McCullough of Kennebunk. While McCullough is usually attributed to the State of Indiana, he was born in Kenne-bunk on December 7, 1808, he attended Bowdoin College, and then studied law in his hometown. After practicing law for a short time in Boston, he went West to Fort Wayne, Ind., where he became one of the State's leading bankers, McCullough had come to Washington in 1863 to serve under Secretary Chase as the Nation's first Comptroller of the Currency. This service is of interest because McCullough had been one of the most vigorous opponents of a national banking system. He changed his views when he saw how necessary such a system was to enable the Government to secure funds with which to prosecute the

Secretary McCullough is best remembered in the Treasury Department because of his leadership in organizing the U.S. Secret Service. On April 14, 1865, the morning of the day on which Lincoln was shot, Mc-Cullough attended a Cabinet meeting at the White House, and there called attention to a growing counterfeit menace. upon the President the organization of an aggressive, permanent, enforcement organization managed by a directing head. Permission to organize a special bureau in the Treasury Department was granted, and the

first Chief of the U.S. Secret Service took office in July.

Almost immediately after the close of the Civil War, McCullough advocated the grad-ual withdrawal of the legal tender notes,

commonly called "greenbacks."

Secretary McCullough has the distinction of being the only man to be Secretary of the Treasury on two different occasions and to serve under four Presidents. In his first term his Chiefs were Lincoln and Johnson. In the fall of 1884, President Arthur induced McCullough to again come to Washington and to take office as Secretary of the Treasury. Although McCullough was then 78 years of age he responded to this call and served for the remainder of President Arthur's term and for a few days under President Cleveland.

Lott M. Morrill of the Imperial Kennebec was the third Maine man to head the Treasury Department. His term was brief, be-ginning on July 7, 1876, and ending on March 9 of the next year. Morrill was born in Belgrade, Maine, on May 3, 1818. He was educated at Waterville College, now Colby, and was elected Governor of Maine in 1857. He was twice elected to the U.S. Senate, resigning near the end of his second term to serve in Grant's Cabinet. Morrill, like his predecessors, gave his leadership and his influence to the strengthening of the Federal currency and to the maintenance of sound fiscal policies on the national level. In his annual report in 1876, Morrill urged immediate although gradual contraction of the currency and declared that specie payments could be resumed in 1879.

During the 19th century, there were many other prominent Maine citizens who made major contributions while serving in im-portant positions in the Treasury Department. There is time to speak in detail of only one other, John F. Hartley, of Saco and Portland. Hartley's career is particularly intriguing, and it is my hope that some day I will have the opportunity to learn much more about this man, particularly concern-

ing his early days in Maine.

The records of the Treasury Department contain a letter sent on December 3, 1838, by John Fairfield of Saco, then a Member of Congress from Maine, recommending to the Secretary of the Treasury, John Fairfield Hartley, of Portland, Maine, for a clerkship in the Treasury Department. At about this time, a number of distinguished Maine residents, including William Pitt Preble, Nathan Clifford, and Asa Clapp, forwarded a petition to the President of the United States, Martin Van Buren, urging Hartley's favorable consideration. These recommen-dations were effective and Hartley was sworn in as a clerk in the Treasury Department on December 22, 1838. His starting salary was \$1,400. In 1861, Hartley became Acting Chief Clerk and took over as Chief Clerk in 1863. We can be sure that he was a source of great strength to his Maine brethren, Secretarics Fessenden and McCullough, and on July 11, 1865, culminating 27 years of service in major posts of responsibility in the Treasury, Hartley was appointed by McCullough as Assistant Secretary of the Treasury. He was the first Maine man to serve in this office and served for nearly 10 years until May 4, 1875. He has the record of serving longer as an Assistant Secretary than anyone else in the country's history.

I have reported to you on some of Maine's distinguished sons who added much to the Treasury in the 1800's. It is with very real satisfaction that I now record some of the career officials in the Treasury Department who claim residence and training in the

Pine Tree State.

The first of these, in point of service, is Edwin L. Kilby, who has nearly 43 years of Government service. Mr. Kilby came from Dennysville, Maine, was educated in Bangor, and is now the Commissioner of Public Debt. He has held this responsible position since 1946. His is the responsibility for the preparation of all documents incident to public debt offerings as well as supervising the public debt transactions of fiscal agents and agencies issuing and paying savings bonds. With refunding and new issues totaling about \$80 billion a year during each of the last several years, you have some appreciation of the heavy responsibilities which Mr. Kilby carries. He was recently honored as one of ten career Government employees receiving national recognition from the National Civil Service League.

In 1953 Commissioner Kilby was joined at the Treasury by Nils Lennartson. While I regret to report that Nils was born in Massachusetts, he is a graduate of Bates College and was employed for several years by the Gannett newspapers in Portland. He was an employee of the Public Relations Staff of the Maine Central Railroad and, most important of all, married a Skowhegan girl, Emily Weston. He received the Air Force's Exceptional Civilian Service Award for his work as Deputy Director of Public Relations in the Air Force. Thereafter, he served as Public Relations Director at the Commerce Department and the Treasury has been fortunate to have had his services since 1953. He is now Assistant to the Secretary of Treasury. His excellent judgment and his detailed understanding of Treasury policles and practices are of invaluable assistance to all of us at Treasury.

A third Maine resident carrying major responsibilities at the Treasury is your last year's president, Artemus E. Weatherbee of Bangor. Secretary Weatherbee graduated from the University of Maine in 1939 and was nominated by his university for a Rhodes Scholarship. Following college he undertook an internship under the National Institute of Public Affairs. After service with the Navy during the war he served for years in the State Department, finishing his service there as Acting Director and Deputy Director of Personnel. For 5 years he was with the Post Office Department, completing his service there as Deputy Assistant Postmaster General, Since Sentember 1959 he has been Administrative Assistant Secretary of the Treasury, bringing to this new task a wealth of experience and an invaluable understanding of personnel problems. We are fortunate in this new association. He, too, married a Maine girlthe former Pauline Jellison of Bangor.

There are many other Maine people in im-

portant Treasury positions. They include, among others, Harold Master, Director of Planning for our U.S. Savings Bond program; the Chief of Staff of the 13th Coast Guard District at Seattle, Capt. Arthur Hesford; and Head of Entry and Value Section, Bureau of Customs, Paul McCarthy: officer-in-charge of Marine Inspection, Coast Guard, Comdr. Emmett Corrigan, at Portland, and Comdr. Lewis Baker at Cairo, Ill., and Chief Personnel, Northeast Service Center, Internal Revenue Service, William New-

As I began to put this speech together I thought that I could tell you that there were more Maine people in major positions in the Treasury Department than in any other department of the Federal Government. The facts, however, did not bear out this conclusion. The State Department appears to head the list. Of particular significance is the fact that at this ttime, among the State Department's career ambassadors, are five men from our State: Ellis Eriggs in Greece, Tyler Thompson in Iceland, Francis Russell in New Zealand, William Snow in Burma and Karl Rankin in Yugoslavia.

Proud as I am of the record of service in the Federal Government now being written on all levels by our friends and relatives from Maine, I have an equal pride in our career civil service and all that it means. As you know, for some 10 years I was an official of a company employing some five to six thousand men and women. I have had an opportunity to know firsthand the performance records of those who serve in private industry and those who serve the Federal Government. We have in the Federal Government at the present time a career service composed of outstanding men and women-interested in their assignments. considerate of their associates and of the public, knowledgeable and enthusiastic. Contrary to statement which may from time to time be made by those who are not in Government, I have found a most genuine interest in tasks and responsibilities assigned. Exceptional, indeed, is the Federal employee who is interested only in putting in his time. The Federal standard is an employee who wants to understand the job which he has and who is ready to try and reach the objectives which his job was . established to achieve.

We take particular pride in the Treasury Department in the fact that on January of this year we had 13,000 fewer civilian employees than were with the Treasury on January 1, 1953. This substantial reduction in our civilian work force has been achieved in spite of the fact that most of the workloads of our bureaus have increased in & very substantial manner. Many more people are filing tax returns. Many more forms and blanks must now be processed. Millions of additional people go through customs each year. The number of check and counterfeiting cases to be followed by the Secret Service has more than doubled, and so it

We have achieved success in the reduction of the number of employees on our rolls in large part due to the sincere cooperation of the men and women who hold civil service positions. They have responded.

Most of the suggestions for work-saving steps have come from them. Since 1954, some 38,000 suggestions have been received, resulting in annual savings of approximately \$41/2 million. Under our incentive awards program about \$250,000 has been paid to Treasury employees for these suggestions.

When new procedures have been put into operation we have received most excellent

cooperation.

I do want to comment on one major responsibility of the civil service personnel within the Federal Government which I am sure is many times overlooked. This is the responsibility for long-range, or long-term planning, if you will, and the carrying out of major new programs which can only be brought to fruition over a period of several years. Many students of government wonder how continuity within Government in major fields can be provided when so many top Federal officials serving in appointed positions held office for only a very few months or a few years. This is a wellmerited query.

We do have within the Federal Government a very happy melding at the present time of career people and political appointees. Each group provides an important point of view and performs an important function. I believe that each group is essential to making our Federal institution responsive to the will of the people and effective in carrying through their delegated chores. Nevertheless, it is thanks to the people who are spending their lives in Federal service that some of the long-range problems are spotted well in advance of the time that emergencies may arise and that necessary programs, essential equipment, and changes in personnel training are undertaken and achieved.

Let me give you a single example. If, in the years ahead, the Internal Revenue Service is to cope with the expanding population of this country and the increasingly complicated industrial and business establishments of the free enterprise system, it must use to the fullest extent possible new machines and new methods. We must adopt the latest type of automatic data processing. It has now been determined that it will be possible to create a master file of all Federal taxpayers. Plans are underway for the development of such a system and preliminary blds for some of the first steps in the system have been requested. This system, however, can only be developed, conducted, and projected over a period of many years-perhaps as much as a decade. Complicated as it is, the system cannot be handled piecemeal with each new Treasury official or Director of Internal Revenue making new decisions or adopting new programs not meshed into the long-range programs carefully worked out by experts charged with the responsibility.

Here is the perfect example of a system which will only reach effectiveness if we have within government people who will start with a system, take a personal responsibility for it and stay with it through its many years of development. We do have such people in the Revenue Service. This system will make a major contribution to the tax collecting process of this country. I am sufe that it will be successful, and its success will be a real tribute to our career

Our Federal public servants have earned and deserved the appreciation of the American people. They deserve more than mere words of appreciation. They are entitled to adequate and attractive conditions at places of of employment, and adequate tools and equipment with which to work. Federal employees deserve rewarding and stimulating. ing conditions of employment. I believe that during the last several years greater progress has been made in this area than in any similar period of our history.
In addition to the substantial salary in-

creases that have been granted, recognition of the principle that Federal career salary rates should be generally comparable with private enterprise pay levels, and substan-tial expenditures for improvement of buildings, equipment, lighting, air-conditioning, etc., a number of very significant fringe benefits have been granted, including the follows:

following:

1. Low cost group life insurance.

2. Group health insurance starting this July with major medical as well as basic

3. Unemployment compensation.

4. Free fidelity bonds.

Tax-free uniform allowances. 6. Greatly liberalized retirement and sur-Vivorship benefits.

7. Additional holiday and travel allowance benefits.

8. Social Security coverage for temporary

employees.

9. Special benefits for specific groups such as postal workers who obtained a modern pay system, longevity pay and military leave for substitutes, increased equipment allowances. ances, and other special benefits.

10. Incentive awards program under which Pederal employees may receive up to \$25,000 for outstanding contributions.

11. Extension of career competitive service

12. Outside training authority.
13. Reemployment rights for oversea em-

These benefits are, of course, in addition to the liberal annual sick and military leave provisions and other benefits previously in

Now, for a moment I turn back to Maine and Maine people.

I have told you of the record of service made by John F. Hartley in the Treasury and I commented on a petition submitted in his behalf to President Van Buren. I want to reacher to read a portion of this petition:

"The undersigned citizens of Maine most respectfully call your attention to the unequal selections hitherto made from the several States to fill the subordinate offices in the departments at Washington, whereby the citizens of some of the States have been nearly all excluded from any participation In the honor or profit of such appointments

"Believing that changes will be made, and knowing that Maine has nothing like her fair proportion of clerks at Washington, We cordially unite in recommending John F. Hartley, Esquire, of the city of Portland, for a clerkship in one of these departments."

With a change in date and a change in names, a similar petition would have been in order at any time during the last decade. I do not believe that we have enough Maine people within the Federal establishment. All us from Maine can fairly and properly repeat the urgings and the comments which were sent out on behalf of John F. Hartley,

Much of the greatness of the United States has come from those who spent the early years of their lives in our small communities, and from those who have lived close to nature and to the land. The self-reliance and commonsense of these people has been demonstrated time after time. They have lived in areas where, of necessity, they were required to depend on their own planning and own judgments and own ability to meet and cope with the challenges of nature and of the elements. With these people sturdy independence, thrift, integrity and fairmindedness are essential virtues taken for granted and assumed to be possessed by all.

It is my belief that we do not now have enough of these people moving into places

of responsibility in public life.

I do not in any sense place the major re-sponsibility for this failure on the Federal Government's lack of cooperation in finding places of challenging responsibility for those who have moved to Washington. I know from personal experience how difficult it is to translate from northern New England to the Nation's Capitol. I know from the number of refusals I have received how many of the young men and women in our section of the country are uninterested in leaving New England for other sections. I am certain, however, that all of us here can do much in searching out places and positions which would be of interest to the young people of the north country, and then aiding them in determining the value of these positions and in making the difficult choice of undertaking new responsibilities in unfamiliar areas.

We need more people from northern New England in the Federal Government. Their presence here will add, in a very real sense, strength and character to Federal operations. Their presence here will be of benefit to northern New England. Their presence here will set a challenging example which others will follow-to their benefit and to the benefit of the public service.

Free Enterprise on a New Frontier

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON, HOWARD W. ROBISON

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Friday, May 6, 1960

Mr. ROBISON. Mr. Speaker, speaking last week in Los Angeles, Ralph J. Cordiner, chairman of the Board of Gen-

eral Electric Corp., urged that private industry be allotted the major role in the exploration and economic development of outer space. Otherwise, he warned, when the "space frontier" is ready for economic development we might find the area preempted by the Government, with room for only a "nationalized industry" in outer space.

Not so long ago, I heard someone coinpare man's feeble and wondering fingertip touch of the nearer fringes of the vast universe in recent years to the sensations enjoyed by a potato bug in a potato in a sack of potatoes in the hold of a great ship full of potato sacks wondering what made the ship's engines go. Well, be that as it may, it seems quite clear that man is going somewhere beyond the confines of this old earth, though his destination is still unknown.

In our natural desire to be there first we must, I think, be careful lest, in Mr. Cordiner's words:

The United States may find itself be-coming the very kind of society it is struggling against-a regimented society whose people and institutions are dominated by a central government.

He then urged Congress to publicly state its intention that "competitive private enterprise" will be used to the maximum in space project management and to encourage private investment in space commerce, so that this new frontier would be successfully opened up as was the trade route to India and the settling of the American West.

Although we have plenty of troubles and of things to worry about here at "home," what Mr. Cordiner said should be food for thought, and to add a little more fuel to the fire I include an editorial from the Wall Street Journal of

May 9, 1960:

MONOPOLY OF SPACE

Among the fantasies of the space age, it' may seem weird indeed to talk of the role of private business in space development. The retort is likely to be, What conceivable business?

Yet, as these columns have suggested, it may be none too soon to discuss the question, at the rate technology is rushing. And now Chairman Cordiner of General Electric, whose head presumably is not stuck in the clouds of science fiction, argues that space can open a vast field of opportunity for private enterprise—If it is permitted the opportunity.

It should be noted at once that industry is very much in space as it is, but so far the activities are all Government controlled, the firms under Government contract whether civilian or military. What we are talking about is private firms getting into space work on their own.

Already, Mr. Cordiner notes, space projects are speeding progress in electronics, communications, power resources, high strength materials, medical and biological research. As he sees the early stages, pri-vate firms might work in global communications by satellite, private weather forecasting and rocket transportation. Looking further into the future, he can envision the mining of new or rare materials on other planets for refining on this one.

The question, then, is whether all these enormous undertakings are to be, now and for all time, a Government preserve. If the question is not even asked, says Mr. Cordiner, then when the space frontier is ready for economic development, "we might well find the area preempted by Government. This would leave the Nation almost no choice except to settle for nationalized industry in space." He adds that because of the vastness of such industry, "the United States may find itself becoming the very kind of society it is struggling against—a regimented society whose people and institutions are dominated by a central government."

Some people in America today would not blanch at that prospect. But let us leave aside the ideological implications for the moment. The case for permitting private enterprise a major role in space can be made

on purely practical grounds.

First, the incredible industrial development of this country is the work of individual initiative. That is not a slogan but a fact. Totalitarian countries have only been able to copy, and are still doing so. And it is a fact highly relevant to the struggle with the Communists, viewed either in economic or military terms or both. It could be said that World War II was won on Henry Ford's primitive assembly lines. No sane person could contend that we would have our present economic or military strength if the Government had monopolized the auto industry in its infancy and hung on all these years.

We have, furthermore, recent and present evidence of what Federal monopoly of a great innovation, really a turning point, means. The Government monopolized the atomic energy field for nearly 10 years after World War II and precious little progress was made in its peaceful applications. Today, the Government still has much too tight a grip on the atom for the development of its

potentials.

The practical matter, from the standpoint of the welfare of this country, is that large-scale private participation can greatly accelerate the race for space that we hear so much about. The competition, the numbers of minds, the interaction of those minds that come from business enterprise can never be duplicated in a Government monopoly. Let Russia have its regimentation; the secret of this Nation's success is the reverse.

Congress, so conscious of its guardianship of the national welfare, should get some discussions going. Businessmen should start considering Mr. Cordiner's remarks if they do not want to see the space race lost by default to bureaucracy. For what is certain is that nothing can change if nobody even

talks about it.

Happy Birthday, REA

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. LESTER R. JOHNSON

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 26, 1960

Mr. JOHNSON of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, on May 11, the rural electrification program will have reached the quarter-century mark. In the 25 years since President Franklin D. Roosevelt signed the Executive order that created the Rural Electrification Administration, this program has revolutionized the way of living down on the farm.

My home State of Wisconsin was one of the trailblazers in the rural electrification movement and has a sizable number of REA "firsts" to its credit. They are summarized in an article by Loren H. Osman, which appeared in the May 8, 1960, issue of the Milwaukee Journal,

Milwaukee, Wis. Under leave to extend my remarks, I include that article in the

REA WILL CELEBRATE ITS 25TH ANNIVERSARY— AGENCY HAS BROUGHT ADVANTAGES OF ELEC-TRICITY TO THOUSANDS OF WISCONSIN FARMS

(By Loren H. Osman)

Madison, Wis.—A birthday anniversary is approaching—one in which an electric light bulb would be more appropriate than candles on the cake.

The Rural Electrification Administration (REA), the agency that brough farms out of darkness in Wisconsin and throughout the country, will be 25 years old Wednesday.

Although the celebration will be in Washington, D.C., the occasion is not going unnoticed at the modern offices of the Wisconsin Electric Cooperative (WEC) here. The WEC is the service and engineering organization for the 30 rural power cooperatives in the State. Its officials look back with satisfaction on a number of REA "firsts" in the State.

STATE WAS LEADER

Wisconsin was the first State where REA cooperatives generated their own power, a project that grew into the giant Dairyland Power Cooperative. It was the first to have a manufacturing function for electrical supplies.

WEC claims also to be the first such statewide group formed by cooperatives, although there had been some activity by the farm bureau in Indiana in negotiating power contracts. More noteworthy, perhaps, is that WEC was set up at a time when the REA officially frowned on such statewide organiza-

WEC also had the first publication for REA users. It was a mimeographed leaflet called "Contact," predecessor of the present REA news. Yellowed early issues hold stories of the economic impact and human conflicts that attended rural electrification.

BRIGHT LIGHTS BROUGHT JOY

In the record, too, is the account of the great joy that came with the bright lights. Only a person who has groped his way from barn to house with a kerosene lantern can fully appreciate how farm life was changed.

In those days, 2 Wisconsin farmers in 10 had electricity from a central source. This was twice the proportion nationally. Now nearly all Wisconsin farms have been electrified with the exception of a few "pockets" where power is coming. More than a third are served by REA. The proportion of rural electrification is nearly as high nationally. REA serves about half of the farmers in the United States.

Former Gov. Philip La Foilette created the rural electric coordination agency in Wisconsin in October 1935. The late Orland S. Loomis, of Mauston, its first head, took his job so seriously that he came personally to plead the cause of rural power to local meetings.

FIRMS REDUCED RATES

The first organizations, in Jefferson, Lincoln, and Walworth Counties, came to naught when private companies eliminated former charges of customer contributions for line construction and reduced farmer rates. Still the effort was not lost, REA points out, for this was estimated to have saved the farmers of those areas a million dollars.

The James Hanold farm near Richland Center was the first in the State to get REA "juice," as part of the energizing of 267 miles of lines in the Richland Cooperative Electric Association. Turning on the power on May 7, 1937, climaxed a contractors' race in which the Columbus Rural Electric Cooperative came in just a day behind.

As in other States, Wisconsin farm electrification had been preceded by tussles with

private power interests, organizational problems, and even suspicion and misunderstanding by the farmers themselves. Depression ridden for years, they were wary of everyone. The few dollars it cost to join looked large indeed

President Franklin D. Roosevelt, who signed the Executive order operating REA May 11, 1935, had done so under the Emergency Relief Appropriation Act. The aims were to provide employment and get REA funds flowing into commerce as soon as possible. Morris L. Cooke, the first Administrator, quickly saw that the skilled labor needed for line building would not be found on the relief rolls.

After the legal aspects were cleared, REA was established as a lending agency, with authority for a program on an interest-bearing, self-liquidating loan basis.

CONSUMPTION INCREASES

The Richland Cooperative has grown to 2,200 members on 740 miles of lines, according to C. F. Baldwin, its present manager. It represents only one of the success stories of the REA in the State. Only 1 of the 31 borrowers for electrical purposes is not a cooperative. REA telephone loans also have been made for about the last 20 years, but only 9 of the 43 borrowers in the State are cooperatives.

From 1940 to 1960, the miles of REA-energized lines tripled, to 31,700, and the number of consumers rose from 23,323 to 95,000. But of great importance to officials, with an eye on costs, was the jump in power consumption per user. This went from 830 kilowatt-hours in 1941 to 5,460 in 1958. The total rose from 21,900,000 in 1941 to 464 million in 1959.

Because of the greater availability of private power in the eastern half of Wisconsin. REA has evolved largely into an operation west of the Wisconsin River. An official estimated that only 2 to 3 percent of the power consumption in the State was REA.

Starvation Amid Plenty

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. THOMAS B. CURTIS

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 10, 1960

CURTIS of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, the subject of good nutrition is one which should be of major concern to every American family as it affects every member of the family. Mrs. Vera Glaser, a distinguished national newswriter, and the North American Newspaper Alliance deserve our commendation for a report entitled "Starvation Amid Plenty—American Youth Warned on Poor Eating Habits." This thought ful and constructive article was printed by many newspapers around the country which use the worthwhile news features issued by the North American Newspaper Alliance. These papers include the New York Times, Washington Star, San Diego Union, Des Moines Register, Chicago's American Dhiladel Register, Chicago's American, Philadelphia Bulletin, Miami News, and St. Louis Globe-Democrat.

Mrs. Glaser was formerly on the staff of the Washington bureau of the New York Herald Tribune and prior to that was on the staff of Congressional Quarterly News Features. Her work on

"Eisenhower—The Inside Story," a bestseller by Robert J. Donovan, Washington Bureau Chief of the New York Herald Tribune, was praised for its thoroughness and accuracy. Her writing experience also includes work for the National Aeronautics magazine and the former Washington Times-Herald. She has also been active in the field of radio broadcasting.

In a time when there is a tendency for quick, sloppy reporting, it is indeed a welcome pleasure to be able to commend Mrs. Glaser for a sound, scholarly research and writing job which makes clear to our young people the importance of proper diet. NANA also deserves our thanks for presenting worthwhile think pleces which help the reader with the broblems confronting our Nation and individual families. All too often the heavy pressure of daily news crowds out discussion of important topics which are not solved or understood in one quick reading. The following article is one Which undoubtedly has been discussed in many American homes and so has contributed to the greater strength of Our family life and our country.

I quote from Mrs. Glaser's article which was printed in the New York Times, Sunday, March 27, 1960, and was written for the North American Newspaper Alliance:

STARVATION AMID PLENTY

"While Mom and Dad are setting the world's best table and running up a \$78 billion annual food bill, 6 out of every 10 of America's teen-age daughters suffer Berious diet deficiencies. In fact, most of our future wives and mothers are so poorly fed that scientists tag them 'malnourished.'

Teenage boys are runners-up in the starvation sweepstakes, but nutritionists worry most about 9 million girls between the ages of 13 and 19 who will bear tomorrow's bables. More than 5 million of them exist mainly on snacks, soft drinks, french fries, pizza, candy, hamburgers, and

"True, Americans are taller, live longer and eat 15 percent more than they did half a century ago. But unless the younger gentration gets 'hep' to nutrition and fills dan-Berous diet gaps with milk, meat, fruits, and vegetables, the pendulum could swing back-

BENSON CITES NEED

Never have young people been more in heed of wise advice and guidance on food. Agriculture Secretary Ezra Taft Benson told he. Replacing their present faulty food habits with good ones will take the full co-operation of parents, teachers, and teenagers themselves.

"Schoolwork and alertness suffer when the teenage body is short-changed on vital food elements. It shows up in bad temper, acras acne, or loss of stamina. Too often teenage pimples are borne patiently as 'part of growing up' when they are a sign of poor diet.

A teenage girl, obsessed by beauty, may slash
her interher intake so drastically that her authentic

long-range glamor is undercut.

"In her concern for a slim figure," said
one in the concern for a slim figure, said one her concern for a sinh inguity, the nutritionist, 'A girl may gamble with her hardings, 'A girl may gamble with her health by making total war on calories. She plunges into a hippo-to-slimo routine, inventional and the control of the cont inventing her own reducing diet. Too often she skips valuable potatoes, bread, and milk, bypassing entire meals, then cancels it out with gooey sweets. A low-calorie diet, if properly planued, can include every nutrient.

If it doesn't, it's dangerous.'

"The long-term results: impaired health, future generations weakened. Mainutrition is sometimes connected with juvenile delinguency."

CRITICAL YEARS

"At about 11, a girl's growth spurts and for the next 9 years her body burns a lifetime high in food energy. By 16 she should reach her maximum height. By 18 her weight probably will level off as nature turns to firming muscle, bones and tissues-in short, building an adult body. The food she eats must fuel this growth, at the same time providing teenage go-power for jitterbugging, softball, hockey, and a hectic school calendar.

"But at the very time her body demands a peak intake of calories, vitamins and minerals. Miss Tenn's parents relax discipline over her food habits. Even if they didn't, the young lady, proudly wearing her first pair of 2-inch heels, undoubtedly would issue her own declaration of diet independence. 'No time.' She shouts, sprinting past the breakfast table. Or, 'not hungry.'

"The starving teenagers come from rich, poor and middle class homes. At one junior high school here, morning hunger headaches are common and valuable class time is lost when youngsters are sent to the nurse. a senior high school here, when breakfastless boys fainted at early-morning cadet drill, school authorities launched a 'better breakfast' campaign.

"The food habits of these youngsters mirror a nationwide teenage famine amidst plenty. For lunch Miss Teen selects a luscious looking wedge of pie from the cafe-teria line. Watching the trays go by, dieti-cians who plan well-balanced hot meals see many nutritious, energy-packed dishes ignored. 'They'd eat three desserts if we didn't have a rule against it,' one commented. Sandwiches brought from home often are tossed in the ash can or left to draw ants on locker shelves."

AFTER SCHOOL SNACK

"'How about stopping at the shake shop?" is the afterschool rallying cry and Miss Teen usually does, ordering a hot dog or milkshake. By the time she reaches home, dinner is only an hour off. She barely nibbles on the roast beef, baked potato and salad dished up by mother. Hunger pangs will disappear later as she snacks on pretzels over a book or television.

"If this young lady is the Census Bureau 'average' she will be married by the time she is 20 years old. Doctors point to malnutrition as a key factor in miscarriages and unhealthy babies. Years of poor diet, they warn, cannot be corrected in a few weeks.

"In State after State, danger signs have been popping up for the blue jean set:

- "1. Only 19 out of 2,500 Pennsylvania teenages examined had perfect teeth. More than half of them were chronically tired. Two-thirds of the girls showed low hemoglobin, a warning of diet-connected anemia.
- "2. In New Jersey 9,000 10th and 11th graders from city and farm districts were questioned. Diets were short of green and yellow vegetables needed for vitamin A; also citrus fruits, tomatoes, and raw cabbage; sources of vitamin C.
- "3. A Nebraska study showed greatest need of improving intakes for mothers and teenage girls. (Oddly enough, men and boys with poor food habits do not show up as badly. Generally they eat 50 percent more than women and the heavier load supplies extra nutrients.)
- "4. Of every 10 girls in Montana, only two were rated adequately fed. Half of them were short on iron and vitamin C, needed for healthy gums and teeth.
- "5. Among Iowa children teenage girls were conspicuous for poor diets."

CROSS-COUNTRY SURVEY

"But the blockbuster exploded late in 1959 when the University of California released the most ambitious study to date. Eleven years of research on 4,000 adolescents in 39 States showed: 'The average intakes of the girls was seriously low-as for calcium, iron, thiamine, and ascorbic acid-or borderline low, as for calories and proteins. The diets of teenage girls presented the least favorable picture of all examined.'

"Every teenager's diet was measured against the nutrient minimums recom-mended by the National Research Council. Less than two-thirds of the NRC minimum was marked inadequate. Blood composition, height and weight measurements confirmed

these findings.

"What does this boil down to in everyday terms? Is it really something for Miss Teen to worry about? A calcium shortage may develop brittle bones, bad teeth, or rickets. Lack of iron leads to nutritional anemia, listlessness, gastric upsets, dizziness. Insufficient thiamine brings on nervousness, poor digestion, abnormal fatigue-even beriberi. Lack of ascorbic acid causes deformed bones, bleeding, scurvy. Poor protein intake results in stunted growth, premature aging, low resistance to disease.

Teenagers' worst food errors, according to the American Dietetic Association, are skipping breakfast, overloading on sugary snacks, fad diets, combining crazy foods for weight control, low intake, a 'who cares' attitude toward nutrition. Arresting this trendwhich is rooted in ignorance, indifference, or poverty-will take a real shift in food habits. In the average home a nutritious diet may be had for much less than the family spends, but it takes know-how.

HOPEFUL FACTORS

"The national school lunch program, which makes available at least one nutritious meal a day, is now operating in about one-third of U.S. schools. Teachers claim it has ad-vanced the study of nutrition and certainly it has been a forward step in the quality of food eaten by teenagers.

The Agriculture Department sets nutrition standards for the lunch, at the same time distributing a wealth of information on proper eating through its various publi-

cations.

"Every 10 years the Nation takes a long look at the problems of its young people. The 1960 White House Conference on Children and Youth has recognized the importance of food for youth by the appointment of two outstanding nutritionists: Dr. Helen R. Le Baron of Iowa State College and Prof. Vera L. Newburn of Colorado State College.

"In the long run, better food habits must be achieved by the teenagers themselves. They have inquiring minds, self-reliance, tremendous drive, and capacity to learn. Getting off their massive snack binge will take intelligence and resolution, but they can do it if they make up their minds."

Wyoming Valley Veterans Recall V-E Day 15 Years Ago Yesterday

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, May 10, 1960

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the REC-ORD, I include the following article, written by Mr. Lou Rauscher, which appeared in the Wilkes-Barre Sunday Independent on May 8, 1960, the 15th anniversary of V-E Day, Victory in Europe:

VALLEY VETS RECALL V-E DAY 15 YEARS AGO TODAY

(By Lou Rauscher)

Fifteen years ago today, Wyoming Valley rejoiced with the rest of the Nation at the announcement of V-E (Victory in Europe) Day. It marked the close of one of the bloodlest sagas ever recorded on the European Continent and one which involved countless thousands of area men.

The German surrender marked the end of World War II in the European theater of operations. German armies began capitulating on May 4, 1945, and unconditional surrender was signed in Rheims Headquarters May 7 at 2:41 a.m. Cessation of operations took place on May 8, 5:01 a.m.

A cross section of Wyoming Valley veterans, asked for their recollections of that fateful event, 15 years ago today, had this to say:

Charles Rouse, 37 Second Avenue, Kingston; service officer for Disabled American Vets-served with the 2d Army Division in Europe-was wounded in invasion action in France:

"I was already discharged by that time. I got out in March of that year after spending 9 months in the hospital.

"I still remember spending the day contacting Red Cross officials in the hope of

finding my kid brother who was a prisoner.
"Things didn't look too good at that time—but we've since found my brother and he's doing fine."

Joseph Cepin, Harwood Mines, Hazleton; engraver—served with 794th Antiaircraft Battalion—logged total of 1½ years overseas-participated in the Battle of the Bulge:

"I don't recall exactly where I was on that day. It was somewhere in Germany close to the Rhine River.

'Our unit was getting ready for redeploy ment to the Pacific-I still remember that. We knew that surrender was imminent.

"All of the boys experienced a genuine

relief when they heard the news."

William Langan, 177 McLean Street, city; postal clerk-served with the 157th Army Combat Engineers in Germany-was among group that blitzed through the famed Dachau concentration camp:

"We were close to Lintz, Austria, at the time and if I remember correctly I was assigned to guard an outpost.

"Most of us knew the war would be ending any day but it still came as a real relief to find it out definitely.

"However, V-E Day just meant that we

faced redeployment to the Pacific."

Bernie Rogan, 48 Dillon Street, city; electrician-served with the 449th Automatic Weapon Battalion; spent 35 months in Europe; participated in Normandy invasion; recipient of five battle stars:

"I was stationed in the Bavarian Alps when news of the German surrender came.

"I was on guard duty and remember that the sky was suddenly full of German airplanes on their way to points of capture (which we found out about 3 hours later when word came through on the company

"Everybody was thrilled, to put it mildly." Charles Murray, 12 North Welles St., city: dispatcher with local brewery-served with the 2d Infantry "Indianhead" Divisionwounded in action in Germany:

"I was in a hospital in Swindon, England, when the news hit. We first heard it from a nurse who told all the ambulatory patients that they had passes waiting for them.

"We had been anticipating the surrender. Those of us who were bedridden had to be satisfied with knowing it was all over-no celebrations for us.'

William Agurkis, 221 Brown St., city: masonry contractor-served with the 834th Aviation Engineers:

'I remember being on the outskirts of Pilsen, Czechoslovakia, when it seemed all the German officers in the area took part in a mass surrender.

"We were working on an airfield at the time and all of us were expecting the surrender any day. There was brass all over the place. We weren't allowed to go into town to celebrate—all of us were restricted to the airfield."

John Howanitz, 25 Willow St., Hanover Green; upholsterer—served with the 99th Infantry Division in Europe-wounded in the Rhineland campaign-spent about 20 months overseas:

"I was convalescing in a hospital in England at the time when it was announced over the public address system. All the guys let out with one heck of a roar.

"I was scheduled for KP that day and I recall that all of us took off once we heard of the news. They soon got us back to work for dinner but no one was worrying about supper.

"Everyone got a pass." Ed Umphred, 364 Warren Avenue, Kingston; printer-served with the 411th Antiaircraft Artillery of the 3d Army—par-ticipated in landing at Normandy and 3rd's march across Germany:

"All that day the sky was full of German aircraft. We were ordered to shoot down as many as possible even though there was a rumor floating around that Germany had surrendered.

"I still remember our outfit downing an ME-410 and a Gotha 145. I think they were the last enemy planes shot down in the ETO.

"We knew the end was coming but still couldn't believe it when we did finally get the official word."

Bill McGinnis, Andover Street, city; truckdriver-served with the 10th Infantry Division in Europe:

"I was in Czechoslovakia that day and I remember it well. We were holed up in a town about 25 miles from Munich and there was still considerable bombarding going on when all of a sudden we noted a lull.

"Then we got the word. We all felt re-

John Gill, 1 Spencer Street, Wilkes-Barre township; elevator operator-served with the 438th Antiaircraft Battalion-spent 2 years overseas-participated in the Normandy invasion:

"I remember that we were getting our equipment straightened out after a skirmish near Leipzig. I forget the name of the little

'We were in this wooded area when word was released through battalion headquarters that the war with Germany was over. We all started rejoicing."

John Kalinowski, 4 Spencer Street, Wilkes-Barre Township; American Legion post stew-ard—served with the 61st Engineering Battallon in Germany-spent total of 44 months in service:

To tell you the truth, I don't remember just where I was or what I was doing that day.

"We were moving so continuously around that time that for all I know we were on the go somewhere. No kidding, I don't recall where I was.'

Peter Yenchis, 38 Railroad Street, Wilkes-Barre Township; unemployed—served with the Army Signal Corps—spent 4½ years of his 51/2 years of service time in the Pacificwas stationed at Pearl Harbor when the Japs attacked:

"It seems odd, with all the time I spent in the service, that I was on furlough at the

"I'll never forget the day. I was in town and soon as I heard the good news I went to St. Mary's Church on South Washington

Street to offer a prayer of thanks."

Robert Zagorsky, 15 West Main Street,
Plymouth; construction engineer—served 3 years with the 8th Air Force in Europe as a gunner on a B-24:

'I was sitting in my barracks at North Pickenham, England, when word came.

"Actually, for us the war was over 2 days prior thereto. There was a 48-hour lull and on May 6 we were flying an observation mission over the Rhine. The river was loaded with wrecked ships and bridges.

"When the official notice came, we were half happy and half sad-happy that it was over, sad over what it cost in lives."

Anthony Drobish, 56 North Walnut Street, Wilkes-Barre township, shipper at the Tobyhanna Signal Corps Depot-served with the 111th Infantry in the Pacific, logged 41/2 years in the Army:

"I was home on furlough getting prepared to marry. I remember being in township that day when news came of V-E Day. I was glad because it meant we could concentrate all our efforts on the Pacific.

'I never enjoyed a furlough so much." Michael C. Hemene, 63 Courtright Avenue, city; county director of veterans' affairs, served aboard the aircraft carrief Croatan, was in Navy almost 3 years:

'We were somewhere off the coast of England when we got the word. Our mission was to accompany the German submarines which had surrendered into a port.

"Naturally, all the guys on our ship were happy to hear of the end."

Ray R. Ritz, 43 Hillside Avenue, Edwards ville; service officer for the VFW, served with the 90th Infantry Division of the 3d Army. participated in D-day and Patton's march across Germany:

When V-E Day was announced I was at Marywaneci, a little town in Czechoslovakia, still fighting the war.

"It was a town about the size of Pringle. There were men killed for several days after V-E Day.

"The German SS troops were still maraud" ing around in wolf gangs in the town at night and it was our job to clean them

"It took 3 days and nights and I never will quit feeling sorry for our needless casualties after the war was over.'

James Price, 4 West Kirmar Avenue, Alden; official of Property Owners Association served with the 26th Infantry Regiment of 1st Division in Europe—awarded the bronze star-was later sergeant major at war crimes trials in Nuremberg:

"Yes, I still remember the day. We had orders to move out at 5 a.m. but just as we were ready to take off we were recalled.

The most touching thing I can recollect about learning it was the end of our war with Germany was the fact that, instead of a lot of dancing in the streets, just about every American soldier jammed into a small church in the little Czechoslovakian town where we were grouped.

"Many of the townpeople were there, too I couldn't go because I was on duty, but I'll never forget the reaction."

Libero Passeri, 351 Scott Street, city; gro--served as an infantryman with the 28th Division in Europe-wounded in action in Germany:

"I remember the day very well. I was in a rehabilitation center in Texas at the time.

"When the news came, there wasn't any special fuss made. All the guys were happy to see that it was over but we were still worried about Japan and the guys over there."

Ed Barvinski, 24 Oaklawn Avenue, Park; butcher-served with the 449th Antiaircraft Battalion in Europe-logged total of 21/2 years overseas:

"I don't recall that well any more. I know that the surrender was expected and that all of us were waiting for the official word. "It seems that we were finishing a push or something because I don't recall being in

action at the time.

"You can bet we were happy."

Henry Levandoski, 313 Bennett Street, Duryea; bookkeeper—served as a flight engiheer on a B-17 which was shot down during a raid on Berlin—was a prisoner of the Germans for 1½ years:
"I was still in German hands when news

came that the war in Europe was over.

"I still remember how our captors began marching us toward the American lines, and let me tell you it felt pretty good.

"I can't remember too much else about the

day_I've been trying to forget."

Earl Detweiler, 219 Penn Avenue, Dupont; Service officer for the Amvets-served with the 3d Armored Division in Europe—was Wounded in action east of the Rhine-lost his leg on Palm Sunday of 1945:

"I was lying in a hospital bed in McGuire General Hospital, Richmond, Va., when news

of V-E Day came.

"I had a good feeling, I guess

"Most everybody was jubilant." Luther Hall, 302 James Street, Kingston; American Legion service officer—was field artillery observer with the 10th Mountain Division in Europe-received the Bronze Star-Air Medal with Clusters-also served again later in Korea with the 10th Field Artillery: "For us, V-E Day was anticlimactic. I was

in the Italian campaign and V-E Day in Italy came May 2.

"On May 8 we were in the process of collecting prisoners around the southwestern tip of Lake Garda in northern Italy.

Two RAF pilots came in to tell us it was all over."

Washington Report

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. BRUCE ALGER

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 2, 1960

Mr. ALGER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Rec-ORD, I include the following newsletter of May 7, 1960:

WASHINGTON REPORT

(By Congressman BRUCE ALGER, Fifth District, Texas, May 7, 1960)

The Department of Defense Appropriation, 1961, was the focal point of a full legislative week which showed an increased tempo in House activity. The appropriation bill, of approximately \$39.3 billion (\$39,300 million) is our largest annual spending bill, equaling half the total na-tional budget. Personnel, pay and allowances, get \$11.8 billion, split among Army 870,000 Active, 700,000 National Guard and Reserve; Navy, 794,000 Active and 174,000 Re-Serve; Air Force, 825,000 Active and 134,000 Guard and Reserve. Operation and maintenance take \$10.3 billion. Procurement (of Research and development, testing and evaluation get \$4.2 billion. These funds allocated are the state of the located by service branch are as follows:
Army \$9.4 billion, Navy \$11.9 billion, Air
Force \$16.8 billion, and Office of Secretary of Defense \$1.2 billion.

Our military objective is to maintain "adequate deterrent forces" so adequate or strong that no nation or combination of nations will dare attack, thus risking their almost certain destruction by our forces. So it is

that we must maintain a mixed attack force so that our forces at no time could be wiped out no matter of what nature the surprise attack. Our Strategic Air Command bombers (airborne missile launching platforms), our unmanned bombers, the missiles of all types (short, intermediate, and long range), our nuclear submarine forces are some of these mixed attack forces, so maneuverable and flexible they could not be simultaneously destroyed, but would in combination retaliate to destroy the attacker. All of this retaliation rests on our warning systems so we continue to improve these systems to give us time between attack origination and hitting us. Research, of course, underlies all these efforts. Here the factor of "time lag" enters, the time between discovery of a practical new weapons, or warning, system and the time of readiness for use. Here, too, is a large part of the cost through obsolescence and surplus.

Our military preparations are basically wasteful, since we must always be in readiness and then discard the weapons and ammunition never used, and be glad. missile gap (if there is one will be closed by 1963) the airborne alert, the airlift, the sealift, all were part of the debate and re-

ceived careful attention.

Yet valid criticisms remain involving unnecessary waste and duplication by the military, including unbusinesslike supply management, wasteful handling of surplus goods, uneconomic ownership and operation of real estate and other business properties, excessive travel and living allowances, and others. All excessive spending should be trimmed and the military leaders be held accountable to the taxpayers.

Most important of all, as I see it, is the need to remember that a strong military position rests on a strong economy and our economy rests on free enterprise and private initiative, not federally planned bureaucratic regimentation of our lives. we fail to eliminate nonessential, nonmili-

tary expenses (as well as military waste), and our taxpayers end up under Federal domination-in or out of war emergencywe have already lost the fight for freedom.

The Area Redevelopment Act was the prima donna bill of the week. In the effort to delay or kill it on Calendar Wednesday, 14 separate rollcalls were demanded, 11 of them being votes, 3 attendance quorums. The House did not adjourn until 9:40 p.m. The bill passed 201 to 184. It would authorize a new Administrator to designate "depressed areas," industrial or rural, and Federal funds would be provided with almost no limitation, as to who gets it, except the amount of money on hand. At this time the amount asked was \$251 million. There would be Federal help for hardship resulting from technology change (so we'd have sub-sidized buggy makers when autos came in), migration of industry to other areas, shifts in demand, and depletion of resources. Under this act, employees in summer resort areas could be subsidized the rest of the year. Beyond the obvious fallacy of this not being the role of Federal Government, there were many others. The same criticism condemns equally an administration effort (although only one-fifth as much in cost as the Democrats' bill) to provide a palatable solution.

The administration medicare program of help for the aged is a new development in the health field, in which the AFL-CIO is trying to brew up a political storm and an election issue by backing the Forand bill. The Forand bill would impose a special payroll tax on the first \$4,800 of everyone's pay to provide Federal health care for those over 65 and covered by social security. The medicare program will permit those over 65, who do not pay income tax (i.e. whose income is less than \$2,500 or \$3,800 per couple) to pay \$24 enrollment fee and then

be eligible for extensive insurance coverage providing they pay the first \$250 per person (\$400 per couple) and 20 percent of the entire cost. This rather ingenious system is quite a different approach and deserves careful study. Enclosed is a statement I put out earlier in the week when the plan was first proposed.

STATEMENT OF BRUCE ALGER, FIFTH DISTRICT OF TEXAS, MAY 4, 1960, RE ADMINISTRATION MEDICARE PLAN FOR THE AGED

For my part, I am not categorically for or against this new suggestion since there are Federal and State problems—medical and insurance viewpoints—and taxpayers to take into account before evolving final legislation.

I do not agree with Secretary (Flemming) statement that "Executive branch of Government fully recognizes and accepts the fact that the Federal Government should act in this field. A careful consideration of facts such as the following can lead to no other conclusion." The hearings on the Forand bill did not establish an area of need. As a matter of fact, the medically indigent and needy are already taken care of by government under Federal-State public assistance under social security. To that extent the Government is indeed in the field already and is meeting the need aided by the most important contribution of local efforts, community chest, churches, charities and free medical care for anyone who cannot af-

ford to pay.

I am interested in this proposition because it avoids many of the basic flaws of the Forand bill which would not help those who need the help. I am interested because this could be a more businesslike approach to public assistance and not a further pyramiding of Federal programs, rather a replacement or shift of cost currently paid by Fed-

eral tax money.

The only Federal program even needed is one that better does the job. Can this one do a better job that needs to be done by Federal Government? Is this a better way to care for the medically indigent? If it is and the cost is shifted in public assistance rather than generate new spending programs the budget may not be jeopardized.

The answer to these questions and others can come only from study of the facts, judiciously without political expediency. facts can come from hearings where all interested parties can be heard. The Ways and Means Committee has a responsibility to Congress and our people to do this job and do it well. This administration proach deserves our full study and consideration. No final answer is possible until the Secretary provides us more information. This includes at the least his analysis of State share of costs, State by State, the Federal-State equalization formula, further data on administration costs, including personnel, information on present State programs of public assistance and more detailed information on total cost.

Lincoln, the Man

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. WILLARD S. CURTIN

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, May 10, 1960

Mr. CURTIN. Mr. Speaker, this year the Lehigh County Republican Committee in my district sponsored two essay contests on the subject of Abraham Lincoln as a part of the Lincoln Day celebrations; one being for senior high school students, and the other for junior high school students. I am very proud of these fine students and the essays they write for this contest. This year, the contest for the junior high school students, in which several hundred students competed, was won by Ruth Weinstock, who is a freshman at the South Mountain Junior High School in Allentown, Pa.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I would like to include the winning essay of this young lady, entitled "Lincoln, the Man":

LINCOLN, THE MAN

I might speak of Lincoln as a great orator, a great writer, or a great statesman, for all of these things he was, but I rather choose to speak of him as a man, the quintessence of greatness.

But what is greatness, and how is it to be measured? It is more than being able to use fine words and preach fancy speeches, as did so many of Lincoln's time; it is more an intrinsic quality, originating in the heart, a spirit, a purpose. It is not only living and working for the present but sacrificing for future generations, for all eternity.

Lincoln was a man of the people. He could understand them, because, after all, "look where he came from." He was one of

them, yet different, very different.

Much as we, today, see his greatness, it is more for our descendants to realize. This greatness, like wine, mellows, ripens with the passing of years. It is like standing on top of a mountain, looking down on the lesser peaks, then, upon descending, seeing its true majesty, its real height.

On his death, his enemies wept.

Lincoln believed so very strongly in equality. The war being fought was not just to free the slaves, not just to save the Union, but to settle a question for time immortal: whether people should live as freemen or remain half slave, half free.

He did not attempt to say which side was right or wrong. He respected the Confederacy, for he knew that they believed that what they were dong was right. I suppose he felt that no man has the right to judge others unless he himself is free of all the world's guilt, a state bordering on perfection.

Lincoln was a modest and simple man, not claiming to know the hearts of people. His thoughts were deep, most likely too deep even to put into words his full meaning. His speeches were simple and direct. Take, for example, his Gettysburg Address.

Lincoln believed this to be a failure. Asked to make a few appropriate remarks, he followed Everett's 2-hour oration with a dissertation lasting but a few minutes. The people were disappointed. Why, this was the President of the United States. How could the President make such a simple speech? What they didn't realize is that quality is more important than quantity. Rather than going into a long, philosophic or political discussion, Lincoln chose a few fitting words that completely summed up the situation. Every word meant something and was vital to the context. He wasn't speaking directly to the audience but beyond them to all the world. Short, it may have been, but a failure, no. Today we realize the true meaning of the Gettysburg Address.

He is not to be compared with any other man. Great men are not to be measured against others but rather, each deserves his own niche in the path of history. Lincoln was a very individual man. He was a study of human nature, an expression of the people: their good and bad. By no means was he an extremist.

He possessed a kind of mystic loneliness, a steadfast purpose and idea of democracy, added to a great character and modesty. Of his autobiography he wrote, "There is not much of it, for the reason, I suppose, that there is not much of me." He claimed to be nothing other than himself.

Lincoln was taken by the people as a luminary, a new figure of hope. He had been raised in an environment similar to their own. A symbol of decency, honesty, direct talk, and justice, he stood, holding up a nation. His shoulders weighed down with burdens, he nevertheless found time to laugh.

Lincoln loved to laugh. He used humor to soothe his nerves and often, in speeches, to get across a point. This humor made him the butt of many a joke, this combined with his gawkiness, but Lincoln was not one to hold much faith in others' criticism; as long as he was sure, himself, that his purpose was true.

"Let us have faith that right makes might and in that faith, let us to the end dare to do our duty as we understand it," he said in his Cooper Union speech. How true to his character. How vast were the thoughts of the man.

And again, he stated, "In times like the present men should utter nothing for which they would not willingly be responsible through time and in eternity. How well this illustrates his directness. His purpose was in everything, his goal in helping everyone. He realized, I'm sure, that what he was doing then would make its mark on the world for time to come.

"I shall do nothing through malice; what I deal with is too vast for malice." Yes, he says it himself. A great man realizes that he cannot live only for himself, that he must set an example, be just and allowing for human nature, for human nature is a mysterious force which is indomitable. So Lincoln was forgiving, for perfection is mortally impossible to attain.

I feel, however, that he reached his zenith in his second inaugural address. "With malice toward none, with charity for all, with firmness in the right as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work we are in, to bind up the Nation's wounds, to care for him who shall have borne the battle and for his widow and his orphans, to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and lasting peace among ourselves and with all nations."

Now, amidst the furor of war, amidst the turbulence of the times, a man could emerge so unselfish, so unprejudiced, so adamant in his desire for peace and unity, with such faith in God.

For Lincoln had great faith in God. He believed in "a providence that guided the world and whose purpose, far outstripping human wisdom, would ultimately work in all things for good."

Perhaps it was this faith which made him what he was, a man so great he is acclaimed by all the world a hero. As he strove for peace he set an example for all the world. The Civil War was not without purpose. In spite of the many lives lost, the great suffering, it proved the value of democracy and freedom, or if it has not yet satiated this cause, sometime in the future, as Lincoln almost prophetically foresaw, I feel certain it will.

As the Bishop Matthew Simpson said after Lincoln's death, "There are moments which involve in themselves eternities. There are instants which seem to contain germs which shall develop and bloom forever. Such a moment came in the tide of time to our land, when a question must be settled, affecting all the powers of the earth. The contest was for human freedom, not for this Republic merely, not for the Union simply, but to decide whether the people, in their entire majesty, were destined to be the government or whether they were to be sub-

jects to tyrants or aristocrats, or a class rule of any kind

of any kind.

"This is the great question for which we have been fighting, and its decision is at hand, and the result of this contest will affect the ages to come. If successful, republics will spread, in spite of monarchs, all over the earth."

The issue was decided. The result was successful, largely because of Abraham Lincoln.

He said said of those who feign the love of liberty, "Our progress in degeneracy appears to me to be pretty rapid. As a Nation we began by declaring that 'all men are created equal.' We now practically read it 'all men are created equal except Negroes. When the know-nothings get control, it will read 'all men are created equal except Negroes, and foreigners, and Catholics.' When it comes to this I should prefer emigrating to some country where they make no pretense of living liberty." Lincoln was one of the true lovers of liberty.

He will live forever. He will live in the

He will live forever. He will live in the ideal that "government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth." He will live in the hearts of men and women who understand that "wherever there is freedom there have been those who fought, toiled, and sacrificed for it." He will live in the hearts of all generations for eternity, not as "Lincoln, the statesman," but as "Lincoln, the man."

"Now he belongs to the ages."

North Dakota's Huge Garrison Dam Completed After 13 Years' Construction

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. DON L. SHORT

OF NORTH DAKOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 10, 1960

Mr. SHORT. Mr. Speaker, the other day there was an announcement to the effect that the huge Garrison Dam in North Dakota has been completed after 13 years of construction. The dam is truly a magnificent project. It has backed up a lake of water behind it that is 200 miles long. But that is not the whole story, Mr. Speaker. North Dakota, to supply this dam and the benefits it provides to the Missouri River Basin, gave up nearly 400,000 acres of lush, productive river bottom land, some of the best in the entire State. In return we were promised the Garrison diversion project which, as a partial compensation for this sacrifice, was to provide irrigation through diversion of some of the impounded waters to some of the more arid areas of the State.

North Dakota fulfilled its promise, Mr. Speaker. The former towns, ranches, and farms now under water can testify to that. But we are still in the position of having to try to collect on the promise that was made when these thousands of acres were taken.

Under unanimous consent I include at this point an excellent editorial on the subject from the May 7, 1960, issue of the Minot (N. Dak.) Daily News:

A GREAT DAM IS FINISHED

Just for the record, if for no other reason, it should be noted that the great Garrison Dam is now a finished project.

Announcement was made Wednesday that the fifth and presumably final generating unit had been put on the line. That increased the power potential to 400,000 kilowatts, and made the dam the largest power producer now operating in the Missouri Val-

Since the first of the year there have been repeated announcements of transfers of Corps of Engineers personnel from Riverdale to other assignments. The establishment at Riverdale has been reduced from a district

office of the corps to a field office.

So we come to the end of a 13-year period of history in which the dam as a great construction project loomed large in our eyes and captured lots of headlines. It was, certainly, the most spectacular feat of engineering that we have witnessed in our part of the World. Harnessing the mighty Missouri was a job which brought before the eyes of our readers a variety of astronomical statistics. For instance we were told that in 1953, the year of the closure, a total of 12 million cubic yards of earth had been moved. We learned, too, how to speak of millions of acre-feet of Water impounded behind the dam, most of It supposed to be for multiple use, as the phrase goes.

The project put a great rip-rapped, steelribbed rolled-earth wall across the wide valley. The great earth fill was shaped, seeded to grass, and had a road built on top of it. It was equipped with a vast concrete-lined spillway. Tunnels were put through it to deliver water to the hydroelectric turbines and to the down-face tail race. The dam backed up a lake of blue water 200 miles long that was big enough and deep enough to make some of the country's large bodies of water look like the excavation of an old

tile factory.

Now that the dam is finished, and has ceased to be the mammoth anthill of construction activity which it was for some Years, it is still a marvel to look at. The lake it created is still filling, slowly. We begin to see the dam and the lake as something of a tourist attraction, fit for the eye of

all-comers. Yet we remember that close to 400,000 acres of land were acquired to provide space for this huge reservoir, and that thousands of People had to give up their homes and their land bases to make it possible. And we are reminded that the multiple use of the water, through diversion of part of it into channels across the State, where it would do us untold good, is still to be realized. The diversion project, itself a marvel of planning, is all blue-printed and the statistics of costs and benefits analyzed, and the report has been delivered to Congress.

The Garrison Dam is finished. But for North Dakotans the task of realizing substantial benefits from it in the form of water for irrigation and for municipal and industrial use, has barely begun. We have a lot of human engineering ahead of us—most of it to be accomplished in Congress—before the blue waters of Lake Garrison mean something more to us than a surface to go boat-

Mr. Speaker, with the fifth and presumably final generating unit now installed at the Garrison Dam, the total generating capacity will be 240,000 kilo-

Of this generation within our State, based on the latest information available from the Reclamation Bureau, North Dakota's allocation for preferred customers amount to only 161,665 kilowatts. Of this amount 8,000 kilowatts of power is being held in abeyance for the Grand Forks, N. Dak., Airbase, and 6,000 is being held for the Minot, N. Dak., Airbase.

Power from the Garrison Dam under presently policy is integrated to meet area requirements along with the power units at Fort Peck-excluding one unit-Oahe, Fort Randall, and Gavins Point. Among States benefiting or to benefit from the integrated power are Montana, North Dakota, South Dakota, Minnesota, Iowa, and Nebraska-west of the 101st meridian.

The Enizmas in the Pilot Powers Case

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. EDWIN B. DOOLEY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, May 10, 1960

Mr. DOOLEY. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, I include in the REC-ORD a statement by Arthur Krock in the New York Times of May 10, 1960, which appears to be an excellent analysis of the international incident in which Pilot Francis Gary Powers was shot down over Russian soil.

Mr. Krock points the finger of criticism at the Government agency responsible for the timing of the espionage activity, coming as it did just before the summit conference. He rightly says that the timing either implies incompetence or irresponsibility in the use of discretionary authority which the agency has been given by the President, or it implies an assumption of authority which merits severe criticism. Such an assumption, in the eyes of Mr. Krock, violates the laws of the land and the Constitution, for it places the decision of peace or war in subordinate Government hands.

The article follows:

IN THE NATION-THE ENIGMAS IN THE PILOT POWERS CASE

(By Arthur Krock)

WASHINGTON, May 9 .- Until and unless the pilot of the U.S. U-2 plane can give specific and credible answers to certain fundamental questions which were raised by his spying mission over Soviet Russia and its debacles a final overall judgment will not be reached by fair and sensible people, including critics at home and abroad who merit the description. There are too many unsolved mysteries remaining in the case to justify more than these corollary conclusions:

1. Whichever Government agency was responsible for the timing of this espionage activity, just before the summit conference, should be exposed and punished. The timing either implies incompetence and/or irresponsibility in the use of the discretionary authority which the agency has been given by the President. Or it implies an assumption of authority that merits severe punishment. For such an assumption not only would violate the laws and the Constitution. It also would in effect lodge the decision of peace or war in subordinate Government hands.

2. The United States, which in this instance was represented to the world by the Department of State, compounded the error of the timing of the U-2's flight by a combination of mistakes on which questions of its competence are fairly founded. These mistakes were: (a) to be trapped by Premier Khrushchev into making a false statement

of the U-2 mission on the amateur conclusion that his first account was complete becaus: he didn't say it wasn't; and (b) to dilute its belated and enforced admission of espionage with this sentence:

"It has been established that, insofar as the authorities are concerned, there was no authorization for any such flight as described

by Mr. Khrushchev.

The words "as described by Mr. Khrushchev" interposed a quibble into a text designed to demonstrate that the United States was making a clean breast of an espionage activity which had been detected by the Soviet Union. It was a quibble because it diverted the reader from the admission that the Premier's principal accusation was true by setting up and knocking down his sideline propaganda that the U-2's purpose was "aggressive provocation aimed at wrecking the summit conference." And this was absurd and untrue on its face.

4. The final corollary conclusions suffi-ciently supported by this record are that coordination of policy and act has not yet been attained by the National Security Council and the Operations Coordinating Board, even in connection with procedures involving the peril of initiating nuclear war; and that there are vital missing links between the President and his authorized agents.

UNSOLVED MYSTERIES

These are sound foundations for criticism of the administration by the people, and it is proper also for the Democrats to urge the transfer of executive power to that party in 1960. But before an overall judgment of the U-2 incident can intelligently be made, the following enigmas must be solved to which Premier Khrushchev has made no substantial contributions:

- 1. Did Pilot Powers descend to a level within the target range of the Russians as previously pretty well established? If so, was oxygen failure responsible? Or have the Russians acquired a higher altitude in their antiaircraft gunnery?
- 2. Why didn't the pilot use his ejector seat to descend, in which case the plane's mechanism for self-destruction would have operated? How could the Russians have pictures of almost unwrecked sections of the plane, lying close together, unless the pilot before parachuting rode it down to an altitude which makes this photography even faintly conceivable? And, if he did that, was survival his only inducement?
- 3. Was the territory of Pakistan used for takeoff without authorization, and the territory of Norway similarly marked for landing? If so, what the U.S. source of this order, as well as of the mission and its timing?

Maybe there never will be satisfactory answers to these questions, or at least none available to this generation.

The Nature of Waste

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. BYRON L. JOHNSON

OF COLORADO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 14, 1960

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado, Mr. Speaker, many Americans believe they can avoid waste simply by not spending money. Unhappily economics teaches us that waste takes many forms-sometimes failure to spend money wisely leads to a tremendous waste of resources.

appeared in the Washington Post on Monday, May 2, in a column by Philip Stoddard Brown, which I commend to the attention of my colleagues:

OUR CHANGING ECONOMY-WASTE ENCOURAGES ECONOMIC SECTS (By Philip Stoddard Brown)

A friend tells me that once at a cocktail party he overheard a serious young lady "I know it's true because I've said it before."

In the past week, this young lady's remark has come to mind, for I have been reading a lot of management and trade union publications written by barrister-type economists. I've been struck by how much all this special pleading resembles a certain type of religious tract. Both accept as "fact" any useful oft-asserted belief or tired-out conclusion.

Economics, like religion, has many sects. Each has its own set of beliefs; each claims the truth. The adherents of some are ingenuous and establish their "truths" simply by asservation, or-like the young lady my friend tells about—by quoting them-selves. Others are sophisticated; they es-tablish "truth" by citing authorities—that is, other persons' assertions—and they know that the longer ago an assertion or conjecture was made the more authoritative it is.

Just as spiritual lords throughout the ages wanted theologies to justify their powersand temporal lords, political theories to validate their powers—so business and labor want to rationalize their rights. Actually, it's not just business and labor, but farmers and city dwellers, lenders, and borrowers, the regulators and the regulated, importers, and exporters. These and dozens of other conflicting groups want to rationalize the rights they claim. Consequently economics has become tainted, messy, and tedious.

WASTE TOO PREVALENT

There is another reason, too, why this Nation has become a hotbed of economic sects. That is the prevalence of waste in the land today. Let me explain.

There were 4.2 million persons unemployed in March and countless others who, though not actively seeking work, would have applied if there had been a better chance of getting work. (It's worth noting that the Government's labor force figure, which includes the employed and unemployed, was the same as that for March 1959, after allowing for the inclusion of Alaska and Hawaii. Yet, in the past year, the number of adults not in school and not too old to work increased by about 1 million.)

Of those who had jobs, 25 percent worked less than 35 hours a week in March-many involuntarily. Underemployment also results when trained and talented Negroes are excluded from whole sectors of the economy-in Washington, for example, from all but the lowest-rung jobs in banks, savings and loan associations, insurance companies, brokerage houses and real estate firms.

Manpower is also wasted when a million or so workers living on subsistence-type farms are surplus and when tens of thousands of miners eke out a living in halfdeserted communities because they can't find work elsewhere.

Waste takes many forms. It results not only from enforced idleness but from misdirection of effort and from a faulty order of priorities. As an example of the latter, there is a 3-mile segment of a new highway in Nevada, along which three elaborate interchanges have been built at a cost of \$384,000; these interchanges together handle 89 vehicles a day-serving some old mines, a power line, four or five small ranches, and a house of ill repute, according to a report of the General Accounting Office. At the same

An excellent statement on this issue time, on the fringe of most cities, there are traffic bottlenecks that individually cause the daily loss of thousands of hours of motorists' time and a great waste of fuel.

RESOURCES ARE WASTED

Resources are wasted when the Potomac and other rivers are polluted and when, for lack of planning, slum areas are created, as they are today, in many of the suburbs of Washington.

This is a period of budget-obsessed leadership, slackening attention to public interests, and growth of vested interests. But we have come about as far as we can with old plans, by amending and extending them. It's going to take some new plans to train and employ some 20 million young people who will enter the labor force in the 1960's.

Economists, I hope, will be drawn once again into cooperation with artists and architects, educators and engineers, medical leaders and social workers in formulating projects of grand design to beautify the public domain, improve education, advance the arts, and help the great masses of people in South America, Africa, and Asia.

No longer should we tolerate "sound policies" that involve the future loss of billions of dollars of goods and services: By not retraining and relocating idle workers, not improving teacher training, not giving more scholarship aid, not providing more help for seriously disturbed children, and not planning in Government as we do in business.

My principal criticism of the present Federal administration (and of Congress) is that it has been so extravagant. The govern-ments of Maryland and Virginia, too, have been extravagant beyond the bounds of future tolerance.

Extravagance is to waste people, their time and talents. This type of waste is never re-couped. Money, on the other hand, though it may be passed around foolishly, is never

Oppose Giveaway

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. AL ULLMAN

OF OREGON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Friday, May 6, 1960

Mr. ULLMAN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I would like to call my colleagues' attention to the following excellent editorial from the Baker, Oreg., Record Courier of April 28, 1960. It is a brief but hard-hitting analysis of the proposed "upstream benefits" bill—a bill that is well named since all the benefits will certainly accrue to the upstream power companies:

[From the Baker (Oreg.) Record Courier, Apr. 28, 1960]

OPPOSE GIVEAWAY

In Congress currently there is a very innocent-sounding measure going through the mill under the title of "Coordinated Operation of the Waterpower Resource.'

Actually the measure has nothing to do with the comprehensive and coordinated operation of the waterpower sites, but is a financial scheme of the private utilities to obtain a subsidy from the public for the public's own water.

The bill, in brief, would authorize payment by downstream power projects for water released through upstream plants such as Brownlee and Oxbow.

If, indeed, the private utilities could get away with this, it is a morally wrong public policy. We are glad to see Congressman AL ULLMAN fighting the bill.

The private utilities under Federal law are required by license to coordinate their projects. It is a condition under which they seek and accept their licenses, even though unfortunately the coordination is not being done. In many instances-and this was certainly the case at Hells Canyon—the private utility campaigned the length and breadth of the land promising a coordinated project in its successful fight to kill the high dam which by its very nature was coordinated with downstream plants. Now that it has the license it is morally wrong to claim compensation in order to do that which it gave a solemn pledge that it would do.

Nor is a damsite a right under present law. It is a privilege. Any measure that makes compensation a paramount principle between the public and the licensee converts the privilege on the rivers to a right which is completely contrary to the intent of the commerce and welfare clause of the Constitution and is extremely prejudicial to the very serious problem of the loss local interests and States have suffered in the field of water rights.

The purpose of the bill to coordinate is indeed a fraud, since the very licenses command coordination and the Federal Power Act itself contains the mandate of Congress that FPC cannot license but for maximum development and coordination of water uses. To institute the principle of giving private utilities, who already have squatted upon valuable public waterways, keys to the Federal Treasury would only step up the political drive by which they could further usurp other sites on other rivers against the public welfare. The principle of the public paying the criminal for wrecking comprehensive development programs would be ridiculous. How the legislation ever got started, got the support of the reactionaries and the administration is beyond comprehension.

Partywise it might be a good thing to get this bill out and defeat it with a record vote. But the bill is too dangerous to even let out of committee. It should be summarily purged in committee and its backers again chastised for again coming up with a giveaway and a resource pirating scheme.

Jersey City Celebrates Tercentenary Anniversary

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. CORNELIUS E. GALLAGHER

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 10, 1960

Mr. GALLAGHER. Mr. Speaker, Jersey City, N.J., is celebrating its tercentenary anniversary and it started officially last Sunday when the largest parade ever witnessed took place in that

It was a tremendous event and Jersey City has certainly contributed a great deal of history in her 300 years.

I would like to include as part of my remarks the attached articles, one from the Jersey Journal of May 3, 1960, and the other from the New York Times of May 8, 1960:

[From the Jersey Journal, May 3, 1960] PARADES? NEXT SUNDAY'S IN JERSEY CITY WILL TOP 'EM ALL

Jersey City has had a great many parades in its 300 years but none was ever like that scheduled for Sunday-the one that will launch a calendar of activities in celebration of the city's tercentenary reaching way into next October.

It's going to be a parade which will stop talk about all the big parades in the last 300 years hereabouts. Everyone in town is likely to be in the parade or watching it, and there are going to be plenty of "visiting firemen" too with every community in the county pledged to come along and help.

The parade will start from Pershing Field at 1:30 p.m. and will go on and on for so many hours that the committee will thank its lucky stars for daylight saving time.

An exaggeration? Now here this: In the matter of floats alone, the very meat of any parade, there will be at least 40. These don't step along at a gingerly 120 steps a minute like the military, and not many can fit into a block's space. So you see we are getting along into the afternoon.

The Bayonne Naval Supply Center will have a float with a very realistic mockup of a destroyer which is bound to be of interest to both dad and junior. It will have a complement of smartly dressed gobs on duty to add to the thrill and realism.

The 102d Artillery Regiment of the 50th Armored Division, National Guard, from East Orange will be in line with halftracks and howitzers as well as combat wreckers which will lend plenty to the military aspect

of the parade. On the picturesque side will be a dozen uniformed Cossack riders, the contribution

of the Ukrainian Center.

All departments of the city will have rolling stock in the parade. Equipment of the police and fire departments that can be spared also will be in line.

Industry will vie with labor in the originality of their floats. Business houses will "spick" up their best rolling stock to show

off. The USO will have a float with an accordion band. And speaking of bands, they will be from all over and in numbers so great they'll likely be interfering with each

other's efforts. Organizations large and small with any claim to neighborhood, ward or city fame will have a contingent of marchers.

In short, it's going to be a big parade, and those who don't postpone that ballgame or trip to the shore to see it will be kicking themselves for the remainder of their lives.

The parade will march west on Manhattan Avenue to the Boulevard, then south on the Boulevard through Journal Square and into Bergen Avenue and through Bergen Square, where all this started 300 years ago. There the reviewing stand will be located.

The parade will then go down Bergen Avenue to Montgomery Street and thence to the Boulevard again by way of Mont-gomery Street, then south on the Boulevard to Lincoln Park.

[From the New York Times, May 8, 1960]

JERSEY CITY SET FOR ANNIVERSARY-PARADE TODAY STARTS FETES FOR 300TH YEAR-EARLIER CELEBRATION EXPLAINED

(By Joseph O. Haff)

JERSEY CITY, May 7 .- This city's official celebration of its 300th anniversary will get started to the sound of martial music tomorrow as an expected line of 50,000 persons takes part in a six-division parade.

The 6-month celebration of the birthday is being financed by a \$50,000 contribution by the city administration and the proceeds of a number of major projects planned by the tercentenary celebration committee.

These include a trade fair at the National Guard Armory from May 15 to May 20; an anniversary ball at the armory on June 18 at which Guy Lombardo will direct the music and a sports program throughout the summer. This will include track meets and swimming and diving championship exhibitions.

Lest there be confusion in the minds of students of New Jersey history who recall another Jersey City tercentenary celebration in 1930, Bertrum R. Hulmes, the curator of the Jersey City Museum and executive director of the tercentenary celebration committee, has explained that this year's celebration marks the 300th anniversary of the founding of the town of Bergen.

The earlier celebration, Mr. Hulmes said, was based on the historical fact that a deed was granted in 1630 to a group of New Amsterdam burghers for a piece of land on the Jersey City shore, opposite what is now Liberty Street, Manhattan, for a place called Paulus Hook.

HISTORY OF CITY RECALLED

"History tells us," Mr. Hulmes said, "that the first house was not built on Paulus Hook until 1635 and later was wiped out by marauding Indians. The town of Bergen, located several blocks from what is now Bergen Square in present-day Jersey City, was the first community in New Jersey to have an administration, a magistrate, a school, and a church. In celebrating the 300th anniversary of the founding of Bergen, Jersey Cityites are indeed marking the tercentenary of our city."

The reviewing stand for tomorrow's parade will be at Bergen Square, not far from the site of the original Dutch settlement. Mr. Hulmes has arranged a historical exhibit at Bergen Square, showing relics of the early Dutch homes here and a selection of paint ings showing scenes of Jersey City as it appeared nearly a century ago.

The celebration will close with an exhibi-tion of paintings at the Jersey City Public Library on October 17. The paintings will Library on October 17. The paintings will be the product of a "paint-the-town" contest open to all artists whose canvases

show Jersey City scenes.

Mayor Charles S. Witkowski, as general chairman of the tercentenary committee, will lead tomorrow's parade.

Formal Presentation of Official Flags of the U.S. Navy and Marine Corps to the Committee on Science and Astronautics

> EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. OVERTON BROOKS

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 10, 1960

Mr. BROOKS of Louisiana. Mr. Speaker, on April 29 it was my great pleasure and honor as chairman of the Committee on Science and Astronautics to accept on its behalf the formal presentation of the official flags of the U.S. Navy and the Marine Corps.

These flags have now taken their place on the rostrum of the committee, alongside the American flag and the official emblems of the Army and the Air Force, which were previously presented to the committee.

The flags of the Navy and Marine Corps were presented to the committee by the Honorable William B. Franke, Secretary of the Navy.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to place in the RECORD the statements made on this occasion by the Secretary and myself.

Secretary Franke. Mr. Chairman, bers of the committee, on April 24, 1959, the President signed an Executive order which gave the Navy its first official flag in its 184year history. Prior to that time the U.S. Navy infantry flag was the one used during ceremonial parade and display occasions. In contrast, the Marine Corps has for many years had its own distinctive banner, its familiar red and gold flag, which has inspired men and thrilled the hearts of onlookers on many occasions.

It is an honor and a privilege for me to present to this committee these flags. One very new, one hallowed by years of tradition; flags that are truly representative of the

Navy and the Marine Corps.

When we re flags such as these, not only the bunting, and the distinctive insignia, but we also see and are reminded of the organizations they represent, the U.S. Navy and the U.S. Marine Corps.

I see in these flags almost two centuries of sacrifice made by men and women in the naval service in defense of this great Nation of ours.

I am reminded of the sincere dedication of spirit and effort of these people, not only for our own freedom, but for the entire free world.

These flags remind me of naval and marine units deployed to the far corners of the earth at this very moment. The men of these farflung units are going about the world taking care of the day-to-day tasks of our country in readiness for defense, and in the serious business of being good will ambassadors.

I think it is fitting therefore that these flags be placed in this committee room, beside our national flag and the flags of our sister services.

It is a fitting place for our Navy and Ma-rine flags because this committee and this room are symbolic of man's desire for knowledge and freedom.

It is fitting because this committee has such an important part and responsibility in

reviewing and passing upon the scientific programs of our country.

I ask you to accept these flags as a token of the Department of the Navy's solemn pledge to continue to extend the maximum effort in concert with our sister services and all of the agencies of our Government in the extension of knowledge and in the defense of our country and the free world.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you, Mr. Secretary. This is indeed a beautiful and a historic moment, when you formally, accompanied by representatives from the services of the Navy and Marine Corps, appear before this committee to present us two flags, one from the Navy and one from the Marine Corps. It is true, as you say, that one flag is entirely new and one is hallowed by years of tradition and service.

On the other hand, to my mind, and I am sure to the minds of the members of this committee, both flags are hallowed by the service, traditions, personnel, and the exploits of the men of the Navy and the Marine Corps. This committee itself, it is true, Mr. Secretary, has an obligation to advance new ideas, new inventions, new developments, new devices that will assist this Nation in its defense. In performing these duties we work with pleasure with men of the Navy and of the Marine Corps to the unified effort that we give proper defense to the United States of America.

Your service, Mr. Secretary, as represented by the Navy and the Marine Corps, has al-ready done a magnificent job in research and development.

You, for instance, represent that Naval Research Laboratory that had the responsibility during the first International Geophysical Year over the Nation's first satellite program, the Vanguard. You placed into

orbit Vanguard No. I, which will circle the

earth for hundreds of years.

At this very moment Navy Vanguard I is sending back to earth its signals that already have changed fundamental scientific concepts regarding the nature of the earth. It is also the Navy that has developed in research and development the Polaris, which is not only a missile, but is a new concept of warfare. Your service has pioneered and developed a new means of defense for our country.

The Marine Corps, through its precept and example, has given all America a firmer feeling of devotion for the principles of freedom which we share with the Western World.

So, on behalf of the committee, I take

So, on behalf of the committee, I take much pleasure in accepting these flags, the one from the Navy and the one from the Marine Corps. They will join the flags of their sister services on the rostrum of this committee.

This is merely a temporary committee room, Mr. Secretary, but as time moves on we will have a new building across the way. We have splendid quarters set aside for this committee in the new building to the west of us. We already have selected a place in the permanent rooms of the committee for these flags which are symbolic of the cherished devotions to freedom which guide the United States.

Thank you very much.

Supremacy of the Nuclear Submarine

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. CLARENCE CANNON

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 10, 1960

Mr. CANNON. Mr. Speaker, tomorrow the Navy's largest nuclear-powered submarine, the U.S.S. Triton returns to her home port at New London, Conn., having completed history's first submerged circumnavigation of the world. Retracing the route of Magellan, the Triton made a nonstop submerged voyage that covered a distance of 41,517 miles in 84 days at an average speed of about 18 knots. The purpose of this voyage was to gather geophysical and other scientific information regarding the subsurface regions of the oceans. On behalf of the House Appropriations Committee I wish to extend congratulations to Captain Beach and the fine crew of Triton for their historic accomplishment.

The magnificent performance of the Triton's nuclear propulsion plant is a great tribute to the significant technical accomplishments of Admiral Rickover and his staff. The voyage of the Triton is indicative of the lead which we now have in the field of nuclear-powered submarines. It further emphasizes the vital importance that the executive branch of the Government must give to steps which will free our technical leaders of the administrative harassments which prevent these leaders from attaining even greater technical accomplishments-accomplishments which are necessary if this country is to achieve better than second place in competition with the Soviets. This committee has, and will, continue to give its full support to Admiral Rickover and the expansion of our nuclear-powered Navy.

The Way of the Self-Righteous

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. AL ULLMAN

OF OREGON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, May 6, 1960

Mr. ULLMAN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I take this opportunity to call to the attention of those who may not have seen it, an editorial which appeared in this morning's Wall Street Journal. This respected periodical points up one of the most important of the after-effects of the recent plane incident which has been and is a matter of such concern to all of us.

[From the Wall Street Journal, May 10, 1960]

THE WAY OF THE SELF-RIGHTEOUS

Up until now it has been possible to say to the world that what came out of the Kremlin was deceifful and untrustworthy but that people could depend on what they were told by the Government of the United States.

Now the world may not be so sure that this country is any different from any other in righteousness. And that, we fear may turn out to be the saddest injury we have suffered from the incident of the American reconnaissance plane brought down over Russian territory. Like the clergyman caught in nocturnal activities, we will no longer be able to be so self-righteous.

It is true enough that intelligence work—or spying, if you prefer that word—is an accepted business among nations. And we doubt if the world will be shocked, or even surprised, to find that the United States tries to find out as much as it can about the capabilities and intentions of Soviet Russia. Indeed, if the circumstances of our intelligence probing were somewhat different, both the American people and our friends abroad might be reassured to know that intelligence work is no monopoly of the Russians.

But this particular incident is doubly unfortunate. In the first place it is going to be very hard to persuade people that sending a Government plane deep into the territory of another country to photograph its terrain is not what the diplomats would call "provocative." We need only imagine what the reaction of Americans would be if we caught a Russian airplane over Chicago or a Russian submarine in New York harbor.

In the second place it is going to be hard to convince people hereafter that explanations from Washington can be taken at their face value.

For the first reaction of Washington to Mr. Khrushchev's announcement about the U-2 was to dismiss it as presummit ranting. Then we were told that there was after all a "weather plane" that had been missing for several days near the Turkish border, and that maybe the trigger-happy Russians had shot down this innocent pilot. Only when it became impossible to maintain this cockand-bull story was it admitted that "someone" had deliberately sent a plane into Russia on an intelligence mission.

So we have been caught not only in a rather provocative act but also in dissembling. The one can be explained as a piece of bad judgment. The explanation for the other will come harder.

No one will argue, we suppose, that this country has done anything different from what the Russians do all the time. Bring provocative is habitual with them; decelt is part of their normal way. Therefore the argument that we have done no more than what others do all the time is quite accurate.

The difficulty is that we have told others and ourselves we are different. The image we have created before the world is that "we don't do what the Russians do." We don't engage in international provocation. We do tell honestly what is going on.

And now the sad part is that this image, which has been one of the strengths of America, is now sullied by our own self-righteous zeal that led us to believe that, because we are opposed to wrong, anything we choose to do is right.

The Federal Debt

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. WILLIAM B. WIDNALL

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 10, 1960

Mr. WIDNALL. Mr. Speaker, financing of the Federal debt is one of the major problems to which Congress this session must face up. I refer specifically to President Eisenhower's appeal to Congress to lift the interest-rate ceiling on new Government bonds.

In a thoughtful presentation, Harold B. Dorsey, a recognized authority in this field, says of arguments opposing the President's stand that they are "of such a nature that suggests that they—legislators advancing these opposing views—do not have time enough to analyze the facts of the matter, or to appreciate the significance in respect to the Nation's economic welfare."

Mr. Dorsey's timely observations are contained in an article entitled "Economic View—Legislators Misunderstand the Money Market," which appeared in the May 9 Washington Post. In the hope that it will help to clarify the issue for those of my colleagues in the House and Senate who favor maintaining the 4½-percent ceiling, I insert Mr. Dorsey's message in the Record:

[From the Washington Post, May 9, 1960]
ECONOMIC VIEW—LEGISLATORS MISUNDERSTAND
THE MONEY MARKET

(By Harold B. Dorsey)

It is seldom that business analysts feel that it is necessary to have a practical interest in the welfare of Congressmen, but evidence is accumulating to indicate quite strongly that such is the case at this juncture.

Naturally, the business analyst must take into his calculations the outlook for credit availability and interest rates, because the condition of credit markets does tend to have an influence on business activity and employment. These particular conditions in the second half of the current year are very likely to be adversely affected if the financing of Federal debt continues to be restricted to short-term and intermediate-term credit markets by the 4½-percent ceiling on new Government bond issues.

The arguments presented by those who are opposed to lifting the interest rate celling on new Government bonds are of a nature that suggests that they do not have time enough to analyze the facts of the matter, or to appreciate the significance in respect to the

Nation's economic welfare.

Their lack of understanding of financing problems has been proven in recent months by events that followed the publicly expressed convictions of numerous Congressmen who are opposing the legislation on the interest rate ceiling. They stated with the greatest emphasis in March that the fact that the interest yields on outstanding Government bonds was below the 41%-percent ceiling demonstrated that the Treasury Department could offer a long-term bond issue at or below the ceiling interest rate.

Practically everybody familiar with investment markets knows that such is not the case. A new security offering must necessarily be priced so that it is more attractive than outstanding issues, or buyers will not

bid for the new issue.

Of major importance in judging the re-liability of these personal opinions is the actual experience of the Treasury's recent effort to test out the market with a 41/4 percent bond issue. In the terminology of

the financial markets, it was a flop.

But then there were some rather ugly protestations that the Treasury and financial leaders conspired to prevent the recent bond issue from being a success. Subsequent events have proven that those accusations also were born of an ignorance of financial markets. It was contended that insufficient time was allowed to permit trustees of pen-sion funds and other institutional savers to make up their minds to subscribe to the new issue. Since the offering date of the 414-percent issue, there has been plenty of time for these funds to make up their minds, but they have not seen fit to do so to a degree that would prevent the price from falling below the offering price.

If space would permit it, it could be demonstrated that this particular group of Congressmen and their supporters have at one time stated with characteristic emphasis that the Treasury should only undertake its long-term financing during periods when interest rates are low. At other times, they have contended that the long-term financing should not be undertaken during periods of recession, because that would stifle recovery forces. But interest rates are characteristically low during periods of recession When the overall demand for credit is low. Consequently, one might conclude that they are advocating that the Government should never finance with long-term bonds. But other things they have said indicate that this is not their desire either.

The business analyst finds all of this a matter of serious concern. Congressmen whose sincere interest in the broad economic welfare cannot be questioned evidently do not have time enough to gain an understanding of these matters pertaining to financing and credit policies.

Mr. Speaker, I recommend to my colleagues also that they read a letter by Charles T. Stewart, Jr., which appeared in the Washington Post of May 4 and which accurately redefines the periods and effects of "tight" and "loose" money. [From the Washington Post, May 4, 1960]

ERROR ON GROWTH

Seymour Harris' letter of April 21 contains a simple error which completely changes the conclusions which he and the reader, may reach. He contrasts the effects of "tight" money and "loose" money on the rate of economic growth, concluding that tight money has slowed down the economy.

Unfortunately his tight money period is 1953-59, and his loose money period is 1947-52. This is a mistake. The accord between the Treasury and the Federal Reserve which initiated a tight money policy was reached in early 1951. I know this is awkward, because President Truman still had nearly 2 years to go in the White House, and because Senator Douglas was instrumental in bringing about the accord. But facts are facts.

The tight money period, therefore, should be 1951-59. The economic growth rate for this period was 2.8 percent. The loose money period should be 1945-50. The growth rate during this period was 0.3 percent. But what are the results of this correction? Practically no growth during the loose money period (and actual decline in income per capita); substantial growth thereafter.

Why does Professor Harris pick on 1947 as the initial year? It is not the first year of the Truman administration, nor of a loose money policy, nor of peace. In all these regards 1945 is a better choice.

This abuse of innocents at home wins no laurels for the economics profession.

CHARLES T. STEWART, Jr.

Hospital-Medical Aid for the Aged Is a Growing Local and National Problem

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. ROBERT W. KASTENMEIER

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, May 10, 1960

Mr. KASTENMEIER. Mr. Speaker. under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD. I would like to place before you a feature article prepared by Ivan Kaste, a reporter for the Waukesha (Wis.) Daily Freeman on May 5, in which he has interviewed a number of local residents concerning their views toward hospital and medical insurance for the aged. The Daily Freeman has taken a firm editorial position in opposition to the Forand bill, and the objective reporting job which Reporter Kaste has done in preparing this job reflects much credit the editorial integrity of the Waukesha Daily Freeman. The article follows:

[From the Waukesha (Wis.) Daily Freeman, May 5, 1960]

Proposals to provide hospital and medical insurance for the aged are certain to become major political issues during the 1960 presi-

dential campaign.

The lines have been drawn. Joining the Eisenhower administration in opposing any program of compulsory health insurance are the American Medical Association, the American Hospital Association, and the U.S. Chamber of Commerce.

The current ruckus started a year ago when Representative AIME FORAND, Democrat, of Rhode Island, brought the Forand bill before the House of Representatives.

The measure would provide insurance covering hospital, nursing home and surgical care for persons on social security. It would pay the full cost of 60-day hospital care per year or for care in a nursing home up to 120 days annually.

Cost of the additional social security coverage would be financed by an additional quarter percent on employes' wages and em-ployers' contributions. The worker would pay a maximum of \$12 per year. has been estimated at anywhere from \$1 billion to \$4 billion annually.

But the squabble in Washington does not stand apart as an abstract battle over the theories of how far Government should go in caring for its citizens. It has its roots in Waukesha and thousands of similar communities throughout the Nation.

The Waukesha County Medical Association has followed the AMA in objecting to Federal intervention. A spokesman has maintained that private insurance plans could

care for the elderly..

Taking the opposite viewpoint is the Waukesha Labor Council which has adopted a resolution favoring Federal aid for persons over 65 receiving social security.
Waukesha County has its share of persons

over 65 and the number is increasing each

An informal poll, taken among members of the Waukesha Golden Age Club, indicated overwhelming support for legislation which would provide financial aid in times of illness or hospitalization. Here are typical comments from the golden agers: Chris Anderson, 73, of 930 Perkins Avenue:

"I would like to see the Forand bill go through. We got so many people that need it. I have Blue Cross-Blue Shield insurance. It costs me \$54.40 every 3 months. I am able to take care of myself but I am concerned about the other people who can't take care of their needs."

Mrs. Ollie White, 70, of 230 South Hart-well Avenue, domestic housekeeper: "My social security, \$33 a month, wouldn't cover hospital bills. I'd hate to depend on it—it doesn't go far. It (the Forand bill) would be a big boost to the majority of us old neighbors because there are very few of us who can stand a good hospital bill."

Achilles Calabrese, 64, of 152 Tenny Avenue: "I would be in favor of it. The people who reach 65, most of them don't have enough to live on, say nothing about paying

medical bills."

Emery O. Snyder, 79, of 704 American Avenue: "I think it would be wonderful. I get only \$38 a month. I pay \$7.25 three times a year on a \$2,000 health policy. Lots of ladies here (at the golden age club) can't even afford the 25-cent luncheon charge or to go on trips'

Mrs. Anna Wolfgram, 76, of 117 Cook Street: "I get \$58 a month; I have life insurance but no hospital insurance. I had a fall recently and had to pay the medical ex-penses out of my savings. I'm trying to take care of myself as long as I can. Thank goodness I have a roof over my head and \$58 social security."

Figures supplied by James J. Roepke, Wau-kesha County public welfare director, con-firms the trend of rising costs for medical

and hospital care.

His department administers the old age assistance program which takes care of indigent persons 65 years or over. The OASI program is not to be confused with the So-The OASI cial security program, administered by a Federal agency only.

In 1951, Waukesha County had 749 old age assistance cases. That year the department spent \$383,468 for cash awards to recipients and \$71,494 for medical expenses.

Last year the county's caseload was down to 420 old age assistance cases. But the department spent \$219,364 for medical bills compared to \$165,627 for monetary awards to recipients.

In other words, roughly 60 percent of the old age assistance dollar now goes for medical care.

Covered by the term "medical" care are payments for care in hospital, nursing payments for care in nospital, nursing homes, physicians' services, prescribed medications, specialized services like physical therapy and X-ray therapy, eyeglass prescriptions and dental care.

"The main reason for the higher costs." Roepke explained, "is the larger number of hospital and nursing home cases. With advances in medical care techniques and with a higher percentage of aged persons in the total population, these two factors have combined to increase the medical care caseload."

Two cases illustrate the high cost of hospitalization. Roepke's department recently paid \$1,302 to a hospital for providing 53 days care to a woman made helpless by a stroke.

The bill for another patient, representing 70 days hospital care, came to \$1,835. That figure didn't include physicians' fees.

The high percentage that medical costs contribute to the general relief bill is further indicated in figures supplied by Mrs. Rose Birch, director of the Waukesha County Group Welfare Department.

Thirteen cases involving persons between 60 and 65 years accounted for \$1,960 in medical expenses last February. The medical bills for all 63 relief cases handled by the agency totaled \$2,365, while the overall relief bill was \$8,412.

According to Robert M. Jones, Waukesha Memorial Hospital administrator, the biggest thing affecting hospital costs has been the tremendous advances in medicine and increased hospital employee salaries.

Last year the cost per patient day at the Waukesha Hospital rose to \$29.19, of which \$18.20 went for the professional care of patients.

Let Us Remember Our Unknown Soldiers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JAMES C. DAVIS

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 9, 1960

Mr. DAVIS of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, on May 30, many of our citizens will pay homage to their war dead in Memorial Day services.

Originally conceived soon after the Civil War as an occasion on which graves of the fallen would be visited and decorated with flowers by citizens of a grateful nation, Memorial Day takes on a special significance here in the Nation's Capital because of the special tribute paid to America's three unknown soldiers in the simple but impressively beautiful Amphitheater of Arlington National Cemetery.

Although Memorial Day is not universally celebrated on May 30, mostly for historical reasons, these small differences detract nothing from the great fact that we as a nation have a single purpose as we recall the supreme sacrifices of all American wars. This purpose is symbolized by the several patriotic private organizations which have undertaken to insure that our honored dead in 96 cemeteries in the United States and 14 oversea memorials receive at least a token of remembrance on this special day.

But I sometimes wonder if we do not have far more unknown soldiers than we would care to admit. We sometimes seem to forget how much we owe to our soldiers—many of them literally unknown—who lie silently in our national shrings.

In Arlington National Cemetery, by far the best known of our national cemeteries, more than 103,000 of the Nation's honored dead lie buried. Yet I am informed that on Memorial Day last year, no more than one-third, or about 35,000 of these soldiers of democracy and their immediate family members, were fittingly remembered with floral tributes.

I hope that this fact is not typical of our national, and even more international, observance of Memorial Day. I do not know, Arlington is one of our oldest national cemeteries, having been established in 1864. In some cases, family lines may have died out. But I find it hard to believe that sufficient reason exists for our failure to remember more than 65,000 of our dead. With our modern means of communication, which has made possible the sending of flowers by telegraph and other convenient means, it would seem that a great gap exists between what we intend and what we do.

To me it is more important than ever before that we keep fresh in our minds why these men and women died. Events since 1945 have demonstrated how perilcusly close we are to still another great war, one in which all of us would stand in the front lines so gallantly filled in the past by those at Arlington and elsewhere who sacrificed everything for us.

It may be that we have not done enough to enshrine in the hearts and minds of our people what our brave sons did for us. Yet renewed remembrance must spring from the people themselves if it is to have lasting value, particularly the strengthening of America for whatever uncertain future lies ahead.

With this thought in mind, I urge all citizens of this Nation, wherever they may be, to mark Memorial Day 1960 as a day or reaffirmation; a day on which to renew our pledge to Americans who have gone before, and who have made it possible for us to hand to the world a torch blazing with the fire of freedom.

At Arlington on May 30, we can speak with a single national voice to the world, in terms which will be an unmistakable sign that the spirit of our gallant dead lives on.

Area Redevelopment-Proper and Timely

SPEECH

OF

HON. LOUIS C. RABAUT

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 4, 1960

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (8, 722) to establish an effective program to alleviate conditions of substantial and persistent unemployment and underemployment in certain economically depressed areas.

Mr. RABAUT. Mr. Chairman, the passage of the Area Redevelopment Act by this House and the subsequent endorsement, without change, of that legislation by the other body has gratified me immensely. The struggle to pass this bill—even to get action on it—has been a long and continuing one. Many, many Members of this House, myself among them, were engaged in this struggle for a number of years. It is always gratify-

ing to have one's efforts on behalf of needed legislation culminate in successful passage. But this type of gratification goes far, far beyond mere personal satisfaction. For it reaches to the fundamental realization that in passing this bill we have extended the hand of assistance to millions of our fellow citizens so direly in need of help. This is the American way. We have always helped the fellow who is down. And at a time when we are doing so much to help such people in all parts of the world, there is certainly no reason why we should not help our own fellow citizens in this their time of great need. This is the gratification of which I speak: the gratification that the American way has prevailed: that we have refused to turn our backs on the plight of our own countrymen: that we have decided to continue our great tradition of helping the "down guy," instead of putting dollars above human values.

Mr. Chairman, there are aspects of the passage of the Area Redevelopment Act that are worthy of note. Not the least of these, Mr. Chairman, is that the Congress has spoken once again and has once again made clear its feeling and intent on this question. You will recall that an area redevelopment bill was passed by Congress in 1958 only to be thwarted by Presidential veto. If I may inject a personal note, this veto came at a time when the unemployment in my home city of Detroit had reached 18 percent of the work force. Think of it-18 per cent. Again last year-1959-the will of Congress was voiced when the Senate passed S. 722 in its original form. Now this year, the House was finally given the opportunity to consider the bill, the favorable House action has reechoed the sentiments of Congress on this matter for all the Nation or, for that matter, the whole world to hear. The speedy Senate endorsement of this House action is a further reiteration of these sentiments that makes them all the more resounding. Considering that Congress expresses the will of the pcople of these United States, I ask you how, in good conscience, can the leaders of this Nation ignore or reject this will when it has been so clearly expressed and so consistently rejected?

We did, of course, hear various arguments raised against the bill during the debate on S. 722. However, I believe each and every one of these was quite effectively dispelled and cast by the wayside. The assertion that the bill is expensive or a giveaway did not hold water in the face of the facts that of the total \$251 million provided, \$200 million is to take the form of loans to be repaid to the Treasury with interest. This interest will be equal to the average rate the Treasury itself pays on what it borrows plus one-half of 1 percent. We heard the charge that the bill infringes on States rights. This point could not be reconciled with the provision in the bill that only applicants approved by a State agency or political subdivision in which the project is to be located may receive aid. These and many equally unrealistic and invalid arguments were raised against the bill. All were discarded

when confronted with the true facts, With logic and with just plain commonsense. The only conclusion to be drawn from this is the old adage: "The truth

will out." And it has.

The Area Redevelopment Act is good legislation that answers a crying need in a sensible and realistic fashion. The Congress, in its time-tested wisdom, has recognized this fact. It is only to be hoped-and ardently-that those now responsible for the enactment into law of this measure can come to this same realistic realization.

Medical Aid for Elderly?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. THOMAS B. CURTIS

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, May 10, 1960

Mr. CURTIS of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to bring to the attention of my colleagues an editorial Which appeared in the St. Louis Globe-Democrat of May 4, 1960, on the subject of medical aid for the elderly, as follows:

WE ALREADY HAVE IT-MEDICAL AID FOR ELDERITY?

Congressman Thomas B. Curtis, Jr., Re-Publican, from the Second Missouri District, has made the most devastating attack launched yet on the scheme for compulsory Federal health insurance.

Congress never dreamed, when it went to Work this January, that a plan for compulsory health insurance would be seriously considered. But a highly organized lobby has whipped up strong pressure for compulsory Pederal health insurance for oldsters over-

The biggest, most expensive—and thus most sought after—scheme is the Forand bill. This would provide up to 120 days full care a year in hospitals and nursing homes to everyone who draws old-age or survivors

social security benefits.

It would also pay drug and surgery bills for all elderly people, rich or poor, who get social security checks. The Forand scheme would cost the taxpayers at least \$1 billion a year to start it off. Some insurance actuaries say \$2 billion.

Congressman Curus points out that this program has some bad flaws in it. It does

not, for example, apply to all old people.
"Millions of persons over 65 who never were covered by OASI (old-age and survivors insurance) because of the program's limited coverage in its beginning will not receive

It does not provide medical or hospital benefits that the indigent can't get now.

Local, State, and Federal Governments, plus churches, health agencies, fraternal and benevolent organizations and private groups all help take care of those—young and old—who need medical or hospital care, but can't afford to pay.

"The statement has been made publicly many times that today there are no indigent persons in the United States who do not re-Ceive health care upon application. These statements remain unchallenged," Mr. Curris told the House.

What Congress is proposing is a mass Federal health insurance program, to which all Working Americans must belong and pay their premiums by taxes withheld from their paychecks.

This is a big leap into the dark. If it is taken, it will be only because of a barrage of mail, not because careful study shows this new \$2 billion scheme is needed.

Next year, a national conference will be held in Washington on problems of the elderly citizen. It could well consider health needs of the aged and how to solve them. Congress has already appropriated \$2 million to finance this conference.

But Capitol Hill, in this election year, is not interested in awaiting the outcome of objective studies. It's interested in schemes

that will bring in votes.

Nor is the administration completely blameless, Congressman Curtis charges. He says the volume of mail for the Forand bill dropped off sharply after the House Ways and Means Committee rejected it, 2 to 1, on March 31. Tom Curtis is the senior GOP member of the committee.

However, the bill's chances of passage were revived by the congressional testimony of Health, Education, and Welfare Secretary Flemming, Cuarus said. Flemming's remarks aroused the Democrats' suspicion.

They got the impression from Flemming that the administration might sponsor a takeoff on the Forand bill, "so the Republicans could claim to be the friends of the old people instead of the Democrats."

After much backstage maneuvering, Flemming is expected to give the White House's thinking on this subject, in detail, this week.

The Globe-Democrat hopes that a majority of Congressmen will display the courage that Curris has shown in resisting this highpressure lobby. Only in that way can the true medical needs of elderly Americans be determined above the shameful hurly-burly of irresponsible politics.

Slack Water Navigation on the Missouri River

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. GEORGE S. McGOVERN

OF SOUTH DAKOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, May 5, 1960

Mr. McGOVERN. Mr. Speaker, one of the best qualified authorities on the subject of river development and electric power, is Mr. Virgil Hanlon, manager of the East River Electric Power Cooperative, Madison, S. Dak. Mr. Hanlon has written an interesting article on the proposed slack water navigation development on the Missouri River which I include at this point in the RECORD;

WATT'S WHAT ON EAST RIVER

(By V. T. Hanlon)

Slack water navigation hearings have made a great deal of news in South Dakota the past few weeks; South Dakotans by the score have been testifying before Gen. Keith Barney of the Corps of Army Engineers that they want a slack water navigation study completed as soon as possible.

At the hearings downstream we found the people had a different story. Here is approximately the statement of a good share of the witnesses, "I don't understand slack water navigation and I don't know what it means, but I am against the spending of money for such a study." This might sound ridiculous, but the testimony of many of the witnesses was practically carrying that same theme. It would seem to me this would be

a reason why the study should be made. Before we can complain that land is to be flooded and bridges to be inundated, let's find out what a study would prove.

Actually the story of slack water naviga-tion is very simple. Either we are going to have slack water navigation on the Missouri River or we will have no navigation whatsoever. There is no question that there is not enough water for all of the multipurposes to be satisfied and according to the O'Mahoney-Millikin amendment of the Flood Control Act of 1944, navigation is at the bottom of the list of priorities in uses of

The people interested in navigation should hope that a study for slack water navigation be completed as soon as possible and that it shows that such is feasible if they want water transportation.

National Science Foundation Rededicates Itself to Basic Scientific Research

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. JAMES C. OLIVER

OF MAINE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, May 10, 1960

Mr. OLIVER. Mr. Speaker, in these days of fast-moving events and ever-increasing national and international demands of every description, it is most refreshing, encouraging and inspiring to know that we have at the helm of one of America's most important institutions for the development of basic scientific research, the National Science Foundation, a skipper of the caliber and personality of Dr. Alan T. Waterman.

In this connection, the news article written by William Hines, science director for the Washington Star, has been of special interest to me. If our people, Mr. Speaker, had more bureaucrats of the stature of Dr. Waterman leading our Nation in these days of critical crises. I am certain that we would be more confident of our future.

The article is as follows:

FOUNDATION REDEDICATES ITSELF TO BASIC SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH

(By William Hines)

Alan Tower Waterman, Ph.D., the first (and to date only) Director of the National Science Foundation, sees his principal task as that of hampering the operation of a sort

of scientific Gresham's law.

The original Gresham's law, applicable to economics, held that "bad money drives out good."

Dr. Waterman observes that the scientific version—originally propounded by Vannevar Bush—holds that "applied re-search drives out basic." It is Dr. Water-man's view of his own, and his Foundation's, job to protect the interests of basic research.

Basic research goes to the heart of na-ture's mysteries, while applied research seeks methods for making nature work for mankind. Examples would be the asking of two questions: First, why does the uranium atom act as it does? Second, what can we do with this peculiar atom? The first question is typical of the basic researcher; the second, of the seeker after applications.

The Foundation celebrates the 10th anni-

versary of its founding Tuesday. President Truman signed its enabling act on May 10, 1950, some 6 years after the proposal for a National Research Foundation was put before President Roosevelt during World War II. NSF today is the nearest thing to a successor to Dr. Bush's Office of Scientific Research and Development.

But it is much more than just a latterday OSRD. Operating with amazingly little overhead and red tape, NSF has disbursed almost half a billion dollars in aid of science and scientists.

REQUEST FOR \$191 MILLION

NSF has come a long way since fiscal 1952, when the White House asked for \$14 million. The House cut the request to \$300,000, the Senate boosted it to \$6 million and a conference agreed on \$3.5 million. The difference today is in degree rather than in kind: The figures are bigger but the fight still goes on. This year's request was a record \$191.6 million, slashed at this point to \$160 million.

What does the Foundation do with its money? Principally, two things: (1) Grants in support of basic research and (2) grants designed to improve the qualifications of science teachers. A third major project is about to get under way, if the money is forthcoming—grants to enable worthy colleges to refurbish their obsolete research laboratories.

Dr. Waterman has resisted quite effectively the tendency of another law—Parkinson's—to operate in his section of the Government. This law holds that bureaus expand at a constant rate regardless of the work to be done. NSF manages to handle its work with a payroll of only about 480 persons at an administrative overhead cost of approximately 4 percent of the budget. Many agencies with less impact on the economy have larger and costiler mimeograph battalions.

NO EMPIRE BUILDER

For a bureaucrat—as Dr. Waterman must be classified by virtue of his years at the heim of a major Government office—the NSF director is singularly unbureaucratic in his outlook. He shuns the idea of empire building and rejects the idea that NSF might become the nucleus of a "Department of Science." Such a department is a pet project of Dr. Wallace Brode, science adviser to the Secretary of State. (By coincidence, Dr. Brode's identical twin brother, Robert, is associate director of NSF.)

Explaining his opposition to an all-embracing science department, Dr. Waterman says development work must be the responsibility of the agency that is going to use the end product. "You can't have some overall department telling them what to do." he adds.

Dr. Waterman points out that one major research agency—the National Bureau of Standards—is under the Department of Commerce because 75 percent of the Bureau's work is a service function to industry and the rest is research and development to go with the main work. If the Standards Bureau were to become a part of a science department, the service side of its work would suffer, Dr. Waterman asserts. Hardly a branch of science has been un-

Hardly a branch of science has been untouched by the influence of NSF in its brief decade of existence. An outstanding contribution of the foundation was in connection with the International Geophysical Year; another in the space-satellite instrumentation field; still another in Antarctic exploration.

MEETING COMPETITION

Dr. Waterman sees the Foundation—and the country—faced with the big future scientific challenge of meeting the competition of other nations. "I'm not just talking about Russia in science," Dr. Waterman elaborates. "I'm thinking of China, too—the threat there is much worse; China is bigger, its scientists are very good, and its science is coming along."

Not only the eastern Big Two are rising to challenge the United States, the NSF director

points out. "Look at the Germans and Japanese: Great organizers, very industrious, love to work.

"Work—we don't seem to love it the way they do. And somehow we don't believe very strongly in pure science."

Another challenge lies in improving the quality of secondary schoolteaching in the sciences, Dr. Waterman believes. Through summer institutes at colleges—supported but not dictated to by NSF—about 25,000 teachers a year are brushing up on this vital group of subjects.

"This is essential," Dr. Waterman says.
"Bring a bright boy or girl up against a science teacher without an aptitude for teaching, and you've lost a student. He or she goes somewhere else."

THE FOUNDATION SETUP

Dr. Waterman's Foundation is supervised by a 24-member national science board to which he belongs ex officio and whose chairman is National Academy of Sciences President Detiev W. Bronk. The Academy and the Foundation are close physically as well as intellectually. The Foundation is in the 1900 bock of Constitution Avenue NW. (in the old Atomic Energy Commission) building) and the Academy is in the 2100 block.

Dr. Waterman is a gentle, white-haired man of slightly less than average height. At 67 he has the air and quiet wit of a college teacher, as he was for many years.

A native of Cornwall on Hudson, N.Y., Dr. Waterman took his Ph. D. in physics at Princeton and taught that subject at Yale. In point of his divided Ivy League loyalties, Dr. Waterman once told the story of a classified ad in a newspaper offering a job opportunity and specifying that the applicant must be "Yale graduate or equivalent."

One applicant, according to Dr. Waterman, wrote in to ask what "equivalent" meant—"two Harvard men, or a Princeton man part-time?"

"The Federal Government and Higher Education"—Address by Senator Joseph S. Clark, of Pennsylvania, at the 17th American Assembly, May 7, 1960

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JOHN BRADEMAS

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, May 5, 1960

Mr. BRADEMAS. Mr. Speaker, it was my great privilege last week to take part in the 17th American Assembly which was held at Arden House, Harriman, N.Y., to discuss the subject of "The Federal Government and Higher Education."

A cross section of educators, businessmen, labor leaders and public officials listened to an excellent address on the subject of the conference delivered by the distinguished senior Senator from Pennsylvania, the Honorable JOSEPH S. CLARK

Senator Clark's keen analytical mind and his appreciation of the profound importance to American society of higher education makes his address one of the most valuable discussions of this problem I have ever heard. As Senator Clark said at Arden House, "The purpose of higher education is the staffing of freedom."

I commend to Members of Congress the reading of Senator Clark's remarks:

THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT AND HIGHER EDUCATION

Reasonable men cannot study American higher education in any depth without concluding that drastic steps must immediately be taken to equip our colleges and universities to turn out more and better educated students in the years ahead.

Reasonable men who study higher education must also agree that such steps must

facilitate:

1. A much larger, much better trained and much better paid corps of university and college professors and instructors.

 A very large expansion of academic facilities—libraries, laboratories, and classrooms.

3. The admission into college, and the maintenance through graduate school, of all high school graduates who have the capacity and character necessary to assimilate college and graduate work.

Since you are all reasonable men and since you have been considering American higher education for the last 2 days at Arden House, I will assume that you have reached these conclusions. I shall accordingly not reiterate the obvious but devote the time we have together to discussing how we can do what needs to be done about higher education in America.

WHERE ARE WE GOING TO GET THE MONEY?

It is obvious that while money alone will not solve the problems of our colleges and universities, these problems are not going to be solved without a lot more money than is now available. Some years ago there was a Congressman from the central part of Pennsylvania who used to enter every debate on the floor of the House which involved the expenditure of Federal funds with the inquiry: "Where are you going to get the money?" So perhaps we should start our discussion with the same question: Where are we going to get the money?-you and I and the millions of other Americans who understand that in the immortal if tautological words of one of my congressional colleagues: "This is no ordinary crisis which confronts us."

I would answer that we are going to have to get the money we need from wherever we can lay our hands on it. For, in all likelihood, the total amount we can raise from all sources, at least in the next decade, is not going to be enough.

In our democracy there is always in peacetime, and sometimes even in war, an inordinate lag between challenge and responsebetween the acknowledgment of a need in the minds of the well-informed and a meeting of that need by the considered action of our free society.

WE CANNOT AFFORD TO WAIT A GENERATION

As I had occasion to remark some years ago: "The philosophy of the reformers in the universities becomes the action platform of the liberal politicians of the next generation." The trouble is, we cannot afford to wait a generation to do what so many of you know must be done in the field of higher education.

The need in dollars has been well established, nowhere more clearly than by Messrs. John A. Perkins and Daniel W. Wood in their penetrating study "Issues in Federal Aid to Higher Education" which all of us have recently read. Let us accept their figures and assume we will need to triple the annual level of expenditures for operations during the next decade—rising to a level \$6 to \$9 billion higher than the present \$3.5 billionadd another \$15 to \$33 billion for capital growth over that period to provide America with a first-class system of higher education by 1970. I repeat the question: Where are we going to get the money?

I reply: Some of it will come from the annual gifts of the graduates and friends of our colleges and universities. But most of this kind of money will help the richer institutions to do better the good job they are already doing. It is not a source which will spread the wealth where it is most needed.

Some of it will come from bequests from the wealthy. This will be largely, though not entirely, for facilities rather than operations. And, again, it will tend to go to richer institutions which are already doing a first-class job in terms of quality, and whose capacity and desire to handle increased enrollment are limited.

Some of it will come from tuition and other payments by more students. Some may come from increases in these charges, but there is not much liquid in the bottom of this barrel and there are strong reasons of sound national policy for making higher education cheaper, rather than more expensive, as Messrs. Perkins and Wood have well pointed out.

CORPORATE GIVING FOR EDUCATION A LIMITED SOURCE

Some of it will come from corporate giving-in fact, quite a lot of it. I would hope that educational administrators and fund raisers would intensify their efforts to obtain money from this source-thereby, because of our Federal tax exemptions, making Uncle Sam a silent partner to the extent of more than one-half of each gift. Again, we must note the limitations of this source of funds: the gifts will tend to fluctuate substantially in amount with the ebb and flow of our economy. And they will tend to enrich schools of business and the natural sciences at the expense of the humanities and the social sciences. Thus it will cover only a part of a part of the need.

Some of it will come from private founda-tions and, on balance, this kind of money comes closest to being spent where the need is greatest. But no one will contend that the private foundations can do the whole

Some of it will come from State taxation. The States are not presently doing enough. They will have to do more. But most of them are incapable, as a practical matter of doing much more quickly. The reasons are obvious—regressive tax systems frozen by outmoded constitutions which are well nigh impossible to change; domination of State legislatures by conservative elements who have little understanding of the need; a heavy demand for other State services which are not being adequately provided, among them the requirements for aid to local school districts; and, finally, the ordinary selfish motivation of ordinary decent citizens who hate taxes and don't understand the problem.

Not much of it will come from local taxation, although here and there a community college will be helped. The resources of many a school district are already spent or pledged, or both, to the limit. The others will have a hard enough time keeping up with primary and secondary education requirements. And, by and large, their tax systems are even more regressive than those of the States.

THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT USED BY A FREE PEOPLE TO SOLVE NATIONAL PROBLEMS

So what have we left? Only the Federal Government. Government is the agency Which, you will recall, Lincoln referred to as existing to do for people that which they cannot do or do as well for themselves. The National Government is the usual means by which a free people tackles a problem public in its character and national in its scope.

We use our Federal Government to wage war, to conduct diplomacy, to guide the national economy in a score of areas. We use It to operate a nationwide system of social

security, to construct great public works, and to support our industry and commerce in many different fields. It operates our post offices and our national parks. It helps build houses and clear slums. It helps build hospitals and engages in extensive welfare operations. Without it, most of the progress we have made in this country during the 20th century would have been quite impossible.

Yet, whenever the suggestion arises that we use our Federal Government to tackle a new problem-any new problem-a cry of horror arises. When Federal action is proposed to help solve the crisis in higher education, the outcry comes from many sides, including such strange allies as the United State Chamber of Commerce and certain of the more lush groves of academe.

This stereotyped reaction deserves some basic attention. Why are we Americans, perhaps alone among the civilized peoples of the earth, so reluctant to use this great instrumentality which we control and which lies

at our disposal?

Surely democratic government is a tool to be used by the people to solve their collective problems and to improve their collective lot. Yet a multitude of influential Americans regard their National Government with that same measure of suspicion and hostility with which the ancient Aztecs greeted Cortez and his Spanish army in the mountains of Mexico. One would think, to hear the talk, that to turn to Washington in a time of need would be more like surrendering to a foreign power than utilizing one's own resources. The conventional wisdom in America still agrees with Jefferson that "that government is best which governs least." If chaos results and problems are swept under the rug, never mind, we are the same free people who drove the minions of George III into the Atlantic. DISTRUST OF GOVERNMENT CAN BE DANGEROUS IN 20TH CENTURY

This inbred and deep-seated distrust of government may have had sound historical roots in the 18th century, but it is dan-gerous indeed in the 20th. For it is only our National Government that can mobilize and direct the resources of our society when they must be mobilized. And we should all ponder whether the United States as an unmobilized society can long compete with the determined, mobilized, aggressive society that confronts us today from the other side of the Iron Curtain.

This district of government has always been present in American thought, going back, as noted, to our unfortunate experiences with King George III, heightened by the excesses of the French Revolution and of Bonaparte, and strengthened by the physical distance between the frontier and Washington, D.C. But the distrust did not break out into open warfare until the days of Franklin Roosevelt, when—from the stand-point of many powerful persons in our sothe worst suspicions anyone had held about the evil nature of the National Government were confirmed. Mr. Roosevelt set out, through the Government, to regulate the stock exchange, to impose a death sentence on utility holding companies, to use the taxing power as a means of coercion and regulation, to engage in direct competition with the electric power and the lending industries, and, most important, to proclaim what called a Magna Carta for labor's right to organize. Being unable to prevent or repeal these specific invasions of government into the domain of the plutocracy, powerful opponents of the New Deal set out to discredit government itself.

Thus, in the publications which they controlled—and these were legion—the fine old term "public servant" disappeared from the lexicon and the derogatory word "bureau-crat" took its place, "Citizens" became "taxpayers"—usually depicted by cartoon-ists as clad only in a barrel. The word "taxes" was rarely seen without the prefixed adjective "confiscatory" or "crippling" or the synonym "burden." Public spending was referred to always as a "cost," never as a benefit, and normally with the prefix "wasteful." Government activities of all kinds were freely termed "socialism," with dark allu-sions that beyond the so-called "socialism" of the New Deal lay communism. Ulti-mately, you will recall, the groundwork was so well laid that when the McCarthy witch hunt was on and public servants were burned alive at the stake of publicity, a large portion of the American public celebrated as though we had just defeated the Communists on the battlefield.

LIPPMANN, STEVENSON, FULBRIGHT CRITICAL OF STARVATION OF PUBLIC SERVICES

We have recovered a bit from the worst of the anti-Government crusade. There are now thoughtful and sensitive men, like Waiter Lippman, and Adlai Stevenson, and Senator FULBRIGHT, suggesting that the fiscal starvation of public services like education is a matter for national shame rather than national pride. Yet the conventional wisdom has not been greatly modified. I speak with assurance, because the conventional propaganda output flows across a Senator's desk by the ream.

To support the conventional thesis that the Federal Government is essentially evil and should be dismantled, a whole school of

economics has grown up.

We are told that the oppressive weight of Federal taxation is destroying enterprise and stifling investment-even though the Federal Reserve Board believes it necessary to pursue a stringent tight money policy to curtail investment and restrain enterprise.

THE ANTI-GOVERNMENT CRUSADE

We are told that Federal debt is climbing out of control and threatening the soundness of the dollar—even though our debt burden, in relation to our income, has steadily declined and is now but half the percentage of our gross national product that it was a little more than a decade ago.

We are told that Federal spending is dangerously inflationary, even when the budget is balanced. And this comes from the same people who are constantly encouraging private citizens through every medium of communication to go into debt spending money they don't have for things they don't need and didn't know they wanted until the "hidden persuaders" went to work on them.

We are told that the Federal Government is costly and inefficient and therefore the States should do the job-when every objective test shows that Federal employees are better selected, better trained, and better supervised on the average than State employees, and that the Federal tax system is more equitable and more efficient than State tax systems.

Thus the case is put together against action by the Federal Government at any time for any purpose.

THE NEW ANARCHY

I have called this anti-Government fixation "the new anarchy." And if anyone present doesn't believe these neoanarchists exist, just let this assembly go on record tomorrow in favor of comprehensive Federal aid for higher education. Then you will hear from them. I can tell you in advance that nearly every major business organiza-tion in the country will oppose you. So will the journals of plutocratic opinion which guide and reflect the conventional wisdom of the business community.

I assume that in this conference we are prepared to brave the wrath of the neoanarchists. I assume also that we are prepared to follow where the facts of the crisis, rather than our prejudices, lead us. If the projections of needs and resources told us that Federal aid is not required, no one

would have been happier than I. But despite the labored statistics of the Council for Financial Aid to Education, Inc, and the wishful thinking of the Committee for Economic Development, they don't. Since the facts lead us toward the Federal Government, let us be calm. Let us keep our heads and repeat together:

"The Federal Government is not our enemy, it is our friend. It is not an allen power, it is the creature of the American people. It will do what they want it to. It is not a monster which can ignore their

I will not dwell at length with the objection that Federal aid will lead to Federal control, as so often asserted by those who lear change. I am sure you have analyzed this argument fully in the last 2 days. I will only say that, in my opinion, it is a myth that Federal aid means Federal control. Truly we are wise enough to legislate and to administer so as to prevent an end result we don't desire. I will only say to those who oppose Federal assistance: What is your alternative, and is it not clear that the only real alternative is a second-class educational system?

HOW CAN FEDERAL AID TO EDUCATION BE PROVIDED?

Let us turn, then, to how Federal aid to higher education can best be provided.

You will be disappointed, perhaps, when I start by saying that finding the answer to this question is more your job than mine. Government programs do not ordinarily spring full-grown to life from the brows of Senators. A public need must be established. So must public awareness of that need and public support for its satisfactiom.

Leadership must come from people who

are determined and informed.

We got a Federal aid for public schools bill through the Senate this winter because the National Education Association knew what it wanted and lobbied its program across.

Something like the Forand bill, providing health insurance for the elderly will, in all likelihood, pass the Congress largely because the AFL-CIO knows what it wants

and is working hard to get it.

The Hill-Burton hospital construction plan sails through Congress with new appropriations each year because the organized hospital administrators and their trustees worked out a sound plan and lobbied to get it passed.

get it passed.

We have a college housing program because the colleges and universities are

united in support of it.

CITIZENS INTERESTED IN HIGHER EDUCATION MUST ACT

Unfortunately, citizens interested in higher education do not yet seem to know what else they want. And this includes trustees as well as college presidents and their faculties.

Let me give you an example of what I have in mind. Three years ago the President's Committee on Education Beyond the High School, chaired by my good friend, Devereux Josephs, presented a series of recommendations. Included was a proposal for Federal grants for higher educational facilities on the pattern of the Hill-Burton Act.

Now, Hill-Burton Act grants for hospitals are made pursuant to a carefully worked out plan to meet hospital needs prepared with the cooperation of the American Hospital Association and other hospital groups. It cannot be transposed to the higher educational field without careful rethinking which must be participated in by the universities themselves.

Yet that rethinking has never been done. The idea put forward by the Josephs Committee 3 years ago died as completely as if it had never been born. Why did higher education drop it? Wasn't there anybody in the field with interest or initiative enough to pick up the thought, refine it, agitate for it, and eventually get it seriously considered by both the President and the Congress? Apparently not.

I don't know myself whether the suggestion of the Josephs Commission is feasible, but the higher educational community should know and, if it does not, it ought to

find out.

Politicians should be out in front of the people, I agree. We have a duty of leader-ship. But we cannot afford to get too far ahead of the people we lead. For if we do, there is a great risk we will be shot down from behind on election day.

CAN EXISTING EDUCATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS DO THE JOB?

I wonder whether existing organizations in the field of higher education are set up to do the needed job of working out a proper plan for Federal aid and then lobbying vigorously for it? I suspect that, to some extent, they are immobilized by internal divisions on the basic questions, first, of whether Federal ald in any form is desirable and, second, if so, who should get it? The American Council on Education, the American Association of Land Grant Colleges and State Universities, the Council for Financial Aid to Education, Inc., the Association of American Colleges, the Association of American Universities, the Council for the Advancement of Small Colleges, the Association for Higher Education the National Education Association, and the American Association of Junior Colleges are a rather heterogeneous group to unite on a legislative program. Would it not be desirable to organize an ad hoc committee of leading educators and other citizens who are convinced of the need for Federal aid so that, when they meet, they need not argue whether, but only how?

Let us remember that educators are not monks who take a vow of poverty, both for themselves and for the institutions they serve. They, too, are American citizens with the right, indeed the duty, to petitlon for redress of grievances and to indicate to their elected representatives how they would like those grievances redressed.

SOME TIMID SUGGESTIONS FOR A CITIZENS ORGANIZATION FOR PEDERAL AID TO EDUCATION

Were such a citizens organization for Federal aid to higher education to be organized, I should like to sit down with it and be presumptuous enough to offer a few timid suggestions:

First. The "educational foundation" approach suggested by Messrs. Perkins and Wood deserves careful and detailed exploration. So does their view that allocations by such a foundation should include both operating and facilities moneys paid directly to recipient institutions. Faculty salaries should, in my judgment, have the highest priority; academic facilities the next. When these problems are reasonably well solved, it will be time to turn our attention to further scholarships and loans to students. isn't much to be gained in substituting a slightly brighter boy or girl for one who now wins admission to college if, when our bright student arrives on the campus, there is no place for him to sit or lie down, no books or laboratories available and not enough professors really qualified to teach him what he needs to know.

PENNSYLVANIA SITUATION CITED

Second. The hardest thinking must be done in the field of who gets how much aid. The situation in Pennsylvania is a good illustration of the difficulty.

My State has 109 different institutions of higher education. But those 109 include no public community college, no public liberal arts college, and only one State university. Less than 2 percent of our college students are in junior colleges, none of which is public.

State aid goes principally to four large universities? Penn State (which is also a land-grant college receiving Federal aid); the University of Pennsylvania, a reasonably well-endowed Ivy League institution, with Federal Government research contracts in substantial amount; Temple University, founded since the turn of the century as a community college, which has grown into a full-blown university; and the University of Pittsburgh, with its support from the Mellons and its Cathedral of Learning.

However, 14 teachers' colleges are supported entirely by the State and located principally in rural areas. Tuitions and faculty salaries are low, curriculum necessarily limited. Between these extremes are 91 private institutions which, by and large, defy classification. Some are rich; most poor. Some are widely renowned; others so small that they cannot support a strong faculty or a broad curriculum. They are Baptist, Methodist, Lutheran, Catholic, Quaker, and nonsectarian.

If someone in the audience will tell me how public aid should be distributed among such a complex variety of institutions, I would be happy to report it to Governor Lawrence's committee on education, which is presently wrestling with just this subject. Frankly, I haven't the faintest idea.

All I know is that if Pennsylvania does not substantially increase its State aid to higher education and get substantial additional help from the Federal Government, we are headed straight for trouble. To reiterate, this is no ordinary crisis which confronts us.

Third. Federal aid should not be limited to special projects, or research, or science, or defense-related subjects. It should be across the board. It should go to the heart of the university, not just to its periphery. In the civilization of the future, the natural sciences may well predominate pragmatically, as C. P. Snow has recently suggested in his stimulating Rede lecture on the Two Cultures, but the social sciences and the humanities are of equal importance, remote though the latter are sometimes thought to be from practical application to the modern world. Assuredly, man does not live by bread alone.

THE PURPOSE OF HIGHER EDUCATION IS THE STAFFING OF FREEDOM

I suspect you will agree that in these 3 days at Arden House we will not have solved the problem of the Federal Government and higher education. But I hope we have crossed one bridge over which we will not return. The river of doubt over which that bridge was built asked the question as it flowed under us: Is Federal aid to higher education necessary? I hope that bridge will be burnt here tomorrow so that none of us can return.

There are other rivers of doubt ahead. They ask the questions of how much, how to whom and what for. I am confident that bridges can be built also across these rivers, fabricated from sound answers to these puzzling questions.

In fact, we have to build these bridges and cross them. For the purpose of higher education in America is the staffing of freedom. If we cannot staff freedom adequately, history will again take note before the end of this century, as it has before, that an unmobilized society cannot compete successfully with one that is fully mobilized.

This is a conclusion to which no free American living in the richest country the world has ever known, in a society founded on the Magna Charta, the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States can willingly accept.

Views on the Summit Conference

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. THOMAS B. CURTIS

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, May 10, 1960

Mr. CURTIS of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I wish to bring to the attention of my colleagues two editorials which present divergent views on the impending summit conference. The first is from the St. Louis Post-Dispatch of April 29, 1960. The other appeared in the Valley Times, published in North Hollywood, Calif., on May 3. It is too bad the wells of the House and Senate are not used for debating important divergent views like these.

The editorials referred to follow: [From the St. Louis Post-Dispatch, Apr. 29, 1960]

CLUMSY SUMMIT POLITICS

President Eisenhower used a heavy hand when he announced that Vice President Nixon might become his stand-in at the summit conference if it goes on too long. Almost anybody could see partisan politics sticking out of this gesture at 500 paces. The President will be wise if he quietly shelves the idea.

Ostensibly the announcement was a veiled warning to Premier Khrushchev to be ready for business the first week of the talks, scheduled to open May 16. The President has agreed to visit Portugal May 23 and 24. If the summit talks are still going on then, he said he would either return to Paris or, if "domestic requirements" necessitate a return to Washington, will send Mr. Nixon in his place.

As 55 Democratic Congressmen almost instantly made clear with a loud cry of pain, this did not fool anybody. If the President was warning Khrushchev, he was clearly also revealing an intention to help Mr. Nixon's buildup as his successor by identifying him

with the summit negotiations.

From a political standpoint such tactics are to be expected, and the Democrats might as well get accustomed to them. Every sitting President naturally makes use of the advantages of his position in behalf of himself or his party in the election. But wise Presidents recognize a limit, and Mr. Eisenhower should know that the limit lies somewhere this side of the summit conference. For the national welfare, these talks should be kept well clear of partisan politics.

The Vice President has no constitutional function whatever to perform at a summit conference. He has no authority and no responsibility that would make him anything more than an errand boy. The Secretary of State, as foreign policy adviser to the President, does have constitutional authority. If any stand-in were needed, Secretary Herter, who is intimately familiar with the negotiations, ought to fill the role.

But why a stand-in at all? The summit talks are important enough to warrant Mr. Eisenhower's sustained attention. They are important enough not to be hobbled with arbitrary closing dates. They are even important enough to justify the President in postponing a purely ceremonial Portugal visit if need be. Should the talks be making important progress at the end of a week, the President would be betraying his highest responsibilities if he allowed anything whatever to interfere with continuing them.

[From the Valley Times, May 3, 1960] YALTA RECALLED IN SUMMIT PLAN

(By George Todt)

"I hope you have not been leading a double life, pretending to be wicked and being really good all the time. That would be "hypocrisy."—Wilde, "Importance of Being Earnest."

The present rhubarb being raised by certain members of the Democratic Party and New Dealish elements of the press concerning the attendance of the Vice President at the forthcoming summit meeting is not only in bad taste, but it is illogical.

To make the astonishing claim that the only reason President Eisenhower has invited Mr. Nixon to attend the high altitude session in Parls is because it might aid him later to obtain the Presidency is churlish in the extreme. Worse than that, it is playing politics of the most suspicious kind with our national security.

are the heralds of the Americans for Democratic Action (ADA), the Democratic advisory council headed by Paul Butler and Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, and other New Dealfair Deal enthusiasts so lacking in elementary modern history that they are willing to embrace Scylla in order to avoid Charybdis?

Let these aspiring critics of the President and Mr. Nixon betake themselves back no further than the unhappy days of Yalta, toward the end of World War II. At that unfortunate (for us) summit meeting, former President Franklin Delano Roosevelt forgot to take along a Vice President named Harry S. Truman.

Our later history proved that this was a disastrous oversight. Roosevelt died suddenly, and Truman was not sufficiently oriented concerning the events to tell the difference between Alger Hiss, who was there at Yalta and whom Truman subsequently labeled a "red herring," and "Good old Joe" Stalin.

The plain facts of the matter are that Truman long used the excuse that he had not been present at Yalta as a coverup to save face for what later happened in mainland China—another disaster.

Truman has always complained about the fact that the Chief Executive who preceded him did not permit him, as Vice President, to share in the big decisions which had so much to do with the present sorry state of world affairs. In this, he was undoubtedly right. He was unoriented and ignorant of many facts he needed when he went into office—but it was not his fault. Roosevelt simply did not give Truman the needed information before he died.

It was not that F.D.R. did not have the time to do it—simply that he did not think enough of his Vice President to take him into his confidence. The same went for Henry Wallace and John N. Garner before Truman. In this connection, we must recall that Truman was only a last-minute compromise choice by F.D.R. to avoid the albatross of Wallace in the 1944 general elections.

So I think that before certain Democrats, such as the DAG, ADA, and others, go overboard in their little vendetta against Nixon on the summit score, they ought to do a competent bit of research.

I propose that these august gentlemen and their cronies in the press should presently advance upon Truman, only living Democrat who has been President of the United States, and ask him to put himself now in Mr. Nixon's shoes. Let them ask him whether he thinks it is only "bad politics" to insist that a man who is the Vice President today—who might become President next year—should not attend the Paris meeting?

Those now railing against Eisenhower and Nixon for what appears to this writer to be a logical—even necessary—decision in the light of the uncalled-for embarrassment of Truman 15 years ago, should now assure us that they have first gotten the ex-President's point of view on this important matter.

Actually, I think Ike should make Dick Nixon his stand-in at the summit meeting and orient him on every vital aspect of the conference as it moves along day by day. Security, not politics is the reason.

Friendship With Costa Rica

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JOHN H. DENT

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, April 27, 1960

Mr. DENT. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I have recently had a most interesting and enlightening visit from the very able Ambassador of the Republic of Costa Rica to the United States, Manuel Escalante, upon his return to Washington from San Jose.

He presented to me a copy of their newspaper, La Nacion, that carried on its front page the translation of my remarks about Costa Rica. This survey of Costa Rica has made the people of all Central America feel that the Members of the Congress of the United States are interested in them and their problems. The Ambassador informs me that there has been tremendous interest generated in all Latin America by the trip to Costa Rica by myself and four of our Members which has produced a definite desire on our parts to know them better.

My predictions concerning the necessity to assist this stable and serious democracy with no army, has evidently been shared by three stalwart banks. They have found an economic way to partially accomplish what is needed with loans through the Chase Manhattan Bank, the Export-Import Bank, and the World Bank. The fact of these three institutions, a private bank should make a loan of a substantial amount, shows very clearly that after extensive investigation and detailed economic studies, the potential of Costa Rica has only been sleeping and this initial help will begin the progress of raising their standard of living to keep pace with their educational progress.

This financial help had been applied for many months before our trip, and despite the fact that we are pleased with this step, I have to say that it is not enough and shows only purpose and intention to continue to help this very good friend of ours in a substantial way. The sugar industry of Costa Rica is asking for an official increase of their quota to the United States of 55,000 tons, and they say it is a basic necessity for them, not only for the needed injection of dollars into their economy, but also to allow them to expand and cultivate the agricultural economy of their country.

I have to thank Ambassador Escalante for his detailed explanation of these economic facts and he has convinced me that it is no privilege but the definite program of his country to go ahead and meet their obligations with hard work. He has asked me to express to the other Members of the House and his friends who have visited Costa Rica, the sincere friendship of the Costa Rica, the sincere friendship of the Costa Rican people for the United States. On my behalf, I would like to congratulate the people of Costa Rica in their choice of a hardworking Ambassador who understands both our countries.

I believe the matter of revising our estimate under our sugar program is long overdue and without fail this Congress should do something about it at this time. We can take the easy way out by just extending the present law, however, if we want to really do something that will dispel some of the doubt of our sincerity in this hemisphere by acting now.

Our Latin American neighbors are not all sure that we have a proper evaluation of their friendship and the interdependence of our country with our neighbors to the south. We can do worse than concentrate on building our friendship where they count the most and I can think of no better place to start than in Costa Rica and no better proof of our appreciation than to do the things that count most both for ourselves as well as their peoples.

I believe that the majority of the Congress knows the importance of revaluation and reshuffling of our own sugar program.

This Congress will be remiss in its duties if it fails to act.

Rumanian Independence Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. THOMAS B. CURTIS

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 10, 1960

Mr. CURTIS of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, the 10th of May marks, for free Rumanians all over the world, the date when Rumania finally shook off the shackles of Turkish domination and became a free kingdom in 1877. Its observance provides an occasion for recalling the country's historical steps toward independence, steps which have been nullified by the virtual colonization of the country today by Soviet Russia.

Observance of the 10th of May as Rumanian Independence Day gives us an opportunity to draw world attention to the present enslavement of the Rumanians, and to note that its people continue to struggle for the restoration of true freedom. The Soviets who now dominate Rumania hope to dim the significance of this day by substituting another day as the important national holiday and thereby erase this symbol of freedom.

The Rumanians, however, join other captive peoples in refusing to accept communism and in clinging to their hope for freedom. In the free world

there are organizations such as the Rumanian National Committee which are dedicated to keeping this hope alive. It is nourished by the knowledge that the American people will never be satisfied with a world order that leaves the peoples of Eastern Europe under the domination of a foreign power and an alien way of life.

Tribute to Poland

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. WILLIAM B. WIDNALL

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, May 10, 1960

Mr. WIDNALL. Mr. Speaker, the world looks upon the United States and others of the free nations as champions of the cause of liberty for peoples everywhere—and rightly so. America has fashioned down through the years a glorious record of both symbolizing freedom and fighting to preserve it.

But it occurs to me that a nation does not necessarily have to enjoy political, social, religious, and economic freedom in order to make a major and continuing contribution to the achievement of this goal

A notable case in point is Poland. The courageous people of that country, despite enslavement behind the Iron Curtain by ruthless communism, never have yielded their hearts and minds to their godless captors. At gunpoint they have existed in unwilling submission to the material might of the materialistic Soviet hierarchy. They never have abandoned their concept of and dedication to liberty, nor accepted as their way of life the Communist ideology. It is this fearless adherence to principle that serves as inspiration to those on both sides of the Iron Curtain in their quest for universal freedom.

For the past 20 years Congress has taken time out annually to recognize the anniversary of the May 3 Polish Constitution of 1791. I heartily join with my colleagues in paying tribute to the people of this great country. The celebration in 1960 of this anniversary is particularly significant. It follows by one day House approval of a concurrent resolution espousing the fundamental freedoms and human rights of the people of the captive nations. This resolution was passed by the House of Representatives without a single dissenting vote, which reflects the profund understanding of the Congress of the tragic situation into which Poland and its sister nations have been forced, and a firm resolve to speed the day when freedom will be restored. Further, the resolu-tion reaffirms the belief of Congress in the inalienable right of the people of the captive nations to live under governments of their own chosing, and urges the President to pursue energetically at the forthcoming summit conference the restoration of the fundamental freedoms and basic human rights of the people of all captive nations.

The 1960 observance is significant also because this year marks the 100th anniversary of the birth of one of the world's greatest musicians, Ignace Jan Paderewski, beloved in America and Poland as a great patriot, statesman, and humanitarian as well as artist. And 150 years ago Frederic Chopin was born in Poland, and the world will never cease to be grateful for the glorious music of that gifted composer.

There is unfinished business in Poland, and it will remain unfinished until liberty returns. In this business, all free peoples are joined with their Polish friends in a partnership that will not

fail.

South Dakota Reporter Reviews Missouri River Slack Water Navigation Proposal

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. GEORGE S. McGOVERN

OF SOUTH DAKOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 5, 1960

Mr. McGOVERN, Mr. Speaker, as the sponsor of a resolution approved by the Public Works Committee which instructs the Army Engineers to carry out a survey of slack water navigation on the Missouri River, I have read with great interest a series of articles on this proposal by James C. Webster, United Press International reporter of Sioux Falls, S. Dak. Mr. Webster is an able newsman whose articles will, I believe, be of interest to the Members of Congress. I include them at this point in the Record:

(By James C. Webster)

(This is the first of three dispatches outlining basic differences between States in the use of Missouri River water. This piece discusses the latest proposal—slack water navigation—while the next two deal with the feelings of upper and lower basin States.)

SIOUX FALLS, S. DAK., April 5.—One of the leaders of the fight by the upstream States to keep Missouri River water was talking turkey with a leader of a wildlife group.

turkey with a leader of a wildlife group. "Yes, sir," he said, "this slack water navigation looks like the answer to our problems. Can we have your support on it?"

"On a cold day in the desert you can," he retorted angrily. "We're not about to support navigation when it's taking away our

This feeling is not rare among residents of upper basin States where the feeling against free flowing navigation is running high. The failure of many is to differentiate between slack water and free flowing navigation.

The basic difference between interests in the upper half of the Missouri Basin and those in the lower States from Nebraska to Missouri is over the use of the river's water. Upper basin States want their water for power and irrigation. Lower States want enough water to provide navigation.

The solution offered by many: slack water

navigation.

Congress has authorized a study by the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers to see whether it would be feasible, and the hearings opening a week from today will stir up some of the blood and thunder that was evident in the earlier days of the Pick-Sloan plan.

"OK, if this slack water thing is so great," says the wildlifer, calmed down a bit,

'let's hear how it works."

Simply stated, it is a series of locks and low-head dams up and down the river causing pools or lakes behind each dam. Navigation would be on the stilled pools rather than on a rapidly flowing river.

It is compared, loosely, with the Panama

As the ship or boat approaches each dam, the lock opens and the ship courses through, Water being released only into the next pool.

When the engineers hear testimony-some of it will stir some shouting, no doubt-in five hearings it will be the start of the first

study since the early 1930's.

Then, the proposal was junked because the "cost-benefit ratio" proved it economi-cally unjustified. The formula is used by many Government agencies who compare the cost of the project with its benefit to determine its worth.

The corps submitted its "308 Report" to Congress in 1932, estimating it would cost \$343 million to build the necessary 112 locks and dams between Yankton, S. Dak., and St. Louis, where the Missouri joins the Mississippi,

But things have changed.

Maj. Gen. Keith R. Barney, boss of the Engineers in the 10-State basin, said that even with a ratio of 31/2 to 1 of today's construction costs over 1932, he would "not Want to hazard a guess as to what the current costs of such a project might be."

Second, add slack water, Sloux Falls

might be.

Barney sald there were other factors, most notable of which will be land condemna-tion because the backup from the dams would cause inundation of some farmland.

The study will, for instance, consider the Possibility of generating power from the slack water dams. This was not considered

in the 308 report.

Barney feels that the tremendous upswing in waterborne commerce in the basin would add considerably to the benefits which could be attributed to such a system, although those from a free-flowing channel would be as high.

Extensive study of the sediment behind the dams will be required, Barney said, because of the cost of removal. Drainage in adjacent lands will be considered because a higher level pool raises the ground water

nearby.

Barney, in a talk at Douglas, Wyo., last Year, said it would have to be determined whether a slack water system would make it possible for more winter power at the South Dakota dams because higher winter releases Would tend to cause ice problems.

The effect on stream sanitation and pub-He health will be considered, Barney said, and the advantages for wildlife and fish in

a system of slack pools.

In other words, the advantages—power, wildlife, and related things—would be Weighed against the disadvantages-cost, drainage and such-to find the answer Which only Congress can determine.

The study is estimated to take 3 years at a cost of some \$300,000 of which \$10,000 has been appropriated. Six basin Congressmen have asked for \$65,000 more this fiscal year.

(By James C. Webster)

(A Congressman has predicted a serious Political struggle unless a system of slack water navigation is set up on the Missouri River. This dispatch, the second of three, discusses the feelings of politicians and others in the upper part of the basin.)

Sloux Falls, S. Dak., April 6 .- The Mis-Souri River flows generally south, with a few sharp turns to the east.

One of those turns, from Fort Randall Dam, S. Dak., east to Sioux City, Iowa, forms a general boundary in a fight between water users in the upper and lower parts of the

South of the line, navigation is seen as a boon to economy, but to the north power and irrigation are paramount. There simply is not enough water in the river to satisfy all demands.

The fight will intensify unless, as Representative George McGovern, Democrat, of South Dakota, proposes, a system for slack

water navigation is built.

Such a system, as explained by Ken Holum of Aberdeen, involves replacing a fast-flow-ing channel with a still river backed up by a series of small dams. It is met with opposition from downriver.

Those in Montana and the Dakotas, and even some Iowa and Nebraska interests, are prepared to fight stubbornly to achieve the use of the water they feel is rightly theirs. rather than see it flow to the ocean for the benefit of downstream navigators.

"We have given up our land; we will not give up our water," as is put by Gov. Ralph

Herseth.

The Governor, in a statement opposing free-flowing navigation, referred to the thousands of acres of land inundated by the Missouri River reservoirs to provide water storage to protect against floods and to-generally regulate the river.

Now the downstream States are reluctant to give up land, which they would if slack water dams were built to back up large pools.

Holum, executive director for the Mid-West Electric Consumers Association, was in Washington last week with McGovern supporting the proposal before Congress. He and others will present vigorous support for it before Corps of Engineer hearings beginning Tuesday at Jefferson City, Mo.

Other testimony will come from farm groups such as the Farmers Union and Farm Bureau: power interests such as the South Dakota Rural Electric Association and East River Electric Power Cooperative; chambers of commerce from Yankton, Vermillion, and Sioux Falls; the Greater South Dakota Association, a State chamber of commerce; and the State Izaak Walton League.

Most of the interests in these parts feel the problem could be solved merely by irrigating in summer and releasing water in winter for needed power generation. But the control of the water is vested in the reservoir control committee, a group of State and Pederal officers.

And the committee, which meets twice yearly behind closed doors, has interpreted the law to mean that navigation shall have preference over power and irrigation and release water from the dams accordingly to maintain a high channel during the spring and summer.

Downstreamers are pressuring harder for a higher channel to allow more shipping while upstreamers point to increasing power needs, and this division is showing itself even in the ranks of South Dakotans.

Chambers of commerce at Yankton and Vermillion, for instance, are eager to learn whether slack water navigation is feasible. They may support it should it be a probable thing but they would surely oppose it if it were found that slack water would hinder the efficiency of shipping on the Missouri.

The southeastern tip would benefit from navigation, which would extend from the mouth either to Sioux City or Yankton,

The Corps of Engineers estimate it will take more than 3 years to wind up the study, for which there is \$10,000 now available. The Missouri River States Committee and several basin Congressmen are pushing for more

Gov. Herschel Loveless, of Iowa, who revived the slack water idea last year after a 25-year dormancy, sees navigation as the key to future economy of western Iowa. "But we must understand the problems upstream and of our neighbors to the south.'

(By James C. Webster)

(Civic boosters and political leaders in the lower Missouri Basin States are waging a battle to get a dependable navigation on the Missouri. This last of three dispatches reviews their feelings and how they clash with those of upper basin States.)

SIOUX FALLS, S. DAK., April 7 .- Many of those in the lower reaches of the Missouri River Basin oppose a system of slack water navigation as violently as they oppose the use of the river's precious water for power and irrigation in other States.

Yet there are those who would be willing to live with the proposal should it be proven

feasible.

Today in the 10-State basin a controversy is raging over the use of the water in the once-muddy, now blue and once-fierce, now tamed river. Upstream States seek it for winter power generation and irrigation in the summer.

Slack water navigation, a system which would halt the flow of the river by a series of dams but permit navigation through locks, is seen by upper basin boosters as a compro-

But there is increasing fear down river that the system might not be efficient and even detrimental to water commerce.

One big bone of contention is the amount of land which would be submerged by the pools backed up by the low-head dams which would be built from Sioux City to St. Louis.

Another is the fact that navigation would be slowed by the use of locks, whereas it could move along at a faster rate on a freeflowing, 9-foot channel. The channel now is about 5 feet deep but more improvements now underway should deepen it.

Rumors were widely published in the navigation areas that the channel stabilization and improvement project would be held up pending the Corps of Engineers study of slack water feasibility, but it was denied categorically by engineers at Omaha. They said it was being carried on as fast as possible.

One segment of the Mississippi Valley Association's Missouri River Division, last month called for an added \$2 million this year to complete the bank and channel fixation project by 1965.

That same group, at a Sioux City meeting. listed four demands which It wanted incorporated in any slackwater system. They were the minimum of locks, minimum flooding of land, no lessening of flood protection, and continued work on channel improvements.

The Council Bluffs Chamber of Commerce, which would benefit from lower rates on grain hauling, listed 10 guideposts for the study and concluded an efficient slack water system could not be established within them.

That led the chamber's waterways committee to direct its chairman, Ed Spetman, Sr., to oppose the study when the engineers hold public hearings next Friday at Sioux Opposition can also be expected from Sioux City Chamber of Commerce and other northwestern Iowa interests.

"It appears funds even for the survey cannot be justified," says the Council Bluffs group. "It would be far better to continue studies of the completion of the entire Pick-Sloan plan."

There is similar opposition from agricultural circles and business interests in and around Falls City and Nebraska City, Nebr.

The chamber of commerce at St. Joseph, Mo., where the corps winds up its hearings April 28, has adopted an agriculture committee policy statement opposing the study, which was authorized by Congress and funded at \$10,000. Efforts are being made to raise the appropriation.

The St. Joseph group said it could see "no benefits and much detriment to agricul-ture in the Missouri Valley from possible installation of a system of slack water navigation." It opposed the plan and "any delay in the levee phase of the present Pick-Sloan plan."

James R. Smith, vice president of the MVA, has urged watchful waiting and a cautious

view of the proposal.

Omahan Smith accused "regional, economic, and public power interests" of "bickering on minor points." He said the best minds in the basin must get together on a program which would benefit the basin as a whole.

Americanism-A Way of Life

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. ARCH A. MOORE, JR.

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 25, 1960

Mr. MOORE. Mr Speaker, as has been my practice in the past, I respectfully insert in the Congressional Record the essay which won first prize in the annual American Legion Auxiliary, Department of West Virginia, contest.

This year, Miss Joan Hammons, a student at Greenbrier High School, Ronceverte, W. Va., authored the paper which was considered best by the judges of this contest. Upon reading Miss Hammons' essay, I marveled at her choice of words describing our way of life which is second to none in our time. I consider this "must" reading in this day of rockets, missiles, and the forbodeing predictions of what we must expect of another world war.

I feel my colleagues will want to share my pleasure in reading this essay which follows:

AMERICANISM-A WAY OF LIFE

From the beginning America was a haven, a refuge, a land of the second chance. All those who were discontented for one reason or another came to it.

We of the free world are so used to our freedoms that we take them for granted. It is a high privilege to be a citizen of the United States. Men and women around the world would gladly give all they possess for the mere chance to come here to live. Men have fought and labored through long and tortuous years that the rights which we enjoy might be ours. The progress was not always peacefully attained. There were wars and revolutions, sufferings and bloodshed. But the goal—human freedom—seemed well worth the price.

The people in America are boasting the best diet in the world. Here we can eat strawberries in January. Our homes are heated automatically; mechanical devices and modern technology let us remain in a warm bed until seven. We are pampered and amused; we are overwhelmed with our gadgets for our convenience. But with all our ease can we match our struggling forefathers in our appreciation of liberty?

Only as we restore the bond with those who formulated the democratic ideals can we find something to contribute to the lives of our fellow men the world over. When we stop prating about our smartness with gadgets and start crusading in principles, then will we be talking a universal language. We must reach back to the freshness of early American thought, borrow on its inspiration, if we would reach out across the oceans with something more than a package of chewing gum and a jukebox to symbolize America.

But no one can disagree that America is not great. America is great because of the ideals which the pioneers established for its homes, for its schools, and for its democratic community life. It has chosen to take the higher path—to reach up and out and forward.

What we mean by Americanism is individual liberty founded on individual responsibility, equality before the law, and a system of private enterprise that aims to reward according to merit.

Ours is a country of free men and women, where personal liberty is cherished as a fundamental right. But the price of its continued possession is untiring alertness. Liberty is easily lost.

Our world leadership rests on the worth of our individual citizens. It rests on how well each of us carries on his job of being an American citizen—the most responsible and rewarding job in the country. To be a good American is the most important job that will ever confront us.

To be a good American—worthy of the heritage that is yours, eager to pass it on enhanced and enriched—is a lifetime career, stimulating, sometimes exhausting, always satisfying to those who do their best.

May 3-Polish Constitution Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. THOMAS B. CURTIS

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 10, 1960

Mr. CURTIS of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, throughout the world people of Polish descent celebrate May 3 with a spirit that shows their true feelings for freedom and democracy, for May 3 is Polish Constitution Day. On that day in 1791 a Polish Constitution was promulgated, enunciating the principles of human liberty as the governing law of the country.

The Constitution of the 3d of May summed up a complete scheme of reformed social, political, and administrative structure for the country. In its political and administrative provisions it accomplished a true, peaceful revolution. The organization of the Polish Government was based on the principle, included in the U.S. Constitution which had been written but 4 years previously, of the separation of the executive, legislative, and judicial powers of the Government.

That old Polish Constitution was a truly heroic effort of national will to reach full political health. But because the Constitution proved Poland's capacity for vitality, it aroused the antagonism of Russia whose interest, then as now, lay in perpetuating Poland's weakness. The Constitution of the 3d of May, expressing Polish dreams of liberty and democracy, fell as Russian troops entered Poland to begin the second partition of Poland.

But the love of the Polish people for democracy did not die with the fall of this Constitution. Such spirit dies hard in these people—people like Pulaski and Kosciusko who fought side by side with our American revolutionaries—and neither the ravages of Nazi occupation nor the oppressive yoke of communism can still it.

This Polish spirit lives in this country among the 9 million persons of Polish descent who live among us. It lives also in the hearts of 20 million Poles left behind under Communist domination in the mother country. It is up to us to do our best to see that this spirit, this drive for democratic self-determination, is eventually realized.

Just How Pious Can the "Feds" Get

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JIM WRIGHT

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 10, 1960

Mr. WRIGHT. Mr. Speaker, last week the Special Select Subcommittee To Investigate the Federal-Aid Highway Program held open hearings from Monday through Friday on the irregularities involved in the construction of a 13-mile stretch of circumferential highway in metropolitan Tulsa known as the Skelly Bypass.

A firm of consulting engineers and an independent testing laboratory employed by Tulsa County to appraise and audit the job, reported to the committee a total deficiency in quantity and quality of materials delivered by the contractor which they estimated at \$524,689.15.

In light of allegations and leads coming to the committee from sources in various parts of the country charging that similar situations exist elsewhere, the question immediately arises as to where and how often and to what extent other costly irregularities may have occurred. The committee intends as best it can to find out.

More to the point, the committee will undertake to determine what improved inspection methods or additional control devices may be needed to prevent such costly errors in the future. It was evident from the hearings that the Bureau of Public Roads has not perfected adequate machinery for detecting such glaring irregularities in the vast Federal aid highway program which has cost American taxpayers more than \$15 billion in the past 4 years.

In developing the investigation of the Skelly Bypass fraud the subcommittee and its investigators had the complete cooperation of the State of Oklahoma and all of its responsible officials including the Governor of that State and the head of the highway department.

Now, however, one minority member of the committee appears intent on demanding immediate financial restitution, not from the firms and individuals guilty of the fraudulent practices, but from the State of Oklahoma. A press release issued yesterday by this member appeared to make such a demand.

Restitution of some sort there should be. Of this there would appear little room for doubt. This sort of thing must not be tolerated. Five hundred twentyfour thousand dollars is a considerable sum, particularly when it represents a purported amount of underperformance by a contractor on one contract amounting to \$3,308,222.

But far more important than how soon We get back this particular \$524,000 is the enormous job of getting to the bottom of all the charges and reports of Waste, inefficiency, extravagance and Outright fraud which have been stacking up in the subcommittee's files.

Far more important than the \$524,000 is the \$15 billion this total program has cost the Federal Government during the past 4 years. Far more important than this particular \$524,000 is the broader Question of why the total program is costing the taxpayers almost twice what it Was originally anticipated to cost only 4 years ago.

Trying to place the entire blame upon the State of Oklahoma and demanding immediate payment to the Federal Treasury of such a sum by the State could have the extremely harmful effect of discouraging the future cooperation of other State highway departments in exposing frauds and weaknesses in our Federal highway program.

Both the committee staff and the able chairman of the committee, Mr. BLAT-NIR, have stated forcefully that it would not have been possible to expose the weak spots and frauds in the highway inspection procedures present in the construction of the Skelly Bypass without the full cooperation and assistance of responsible State officials in Oklahoma, including the highway department.

Now one or two minority members of the committee by their insistence upon the immediate delivery by the State of more than \$500,000 to the Federal Government apparently would have the public believe that all of the fault in the Dicture belongs with the State, and none of it with the Federal Government.

We think the public judgment is more likely that expressed in an editorial in the Tulsa World dated Saturday, May 7. 1960, in which the editor persuasively Points out that the Federal Government must also share some of the blame for what happened. Since the facts were uncovered by State officials, it seems only reasonable that the Federal Government would join the State in a cooperative effort to recoup the public moneys lost rather than dump the full responsibility in this area upon the State.

The key question immediately arises: How many States are going to cooperate in exposing frauds and shortcomings such as these in the future, if the immediate reply of the Federal Government is going to be "All right, this is going to cost you heavily, here and DOM "?

No policy could be better designed to assure silence or even coverup by the State in the future.

I would not charge that this is the conscious objective of those minority members who are now calling much more loudly for a pound of flesh in Oklahoma, than they are calling for improved procedures and safeguards in our Federal road program to prevent future

abuses. But it seems clear that this vided our retired citizens whose income could be the effect of such a policy.

The full text of the Tulsa World editorial follows:

JUST HOW PIOUS CAN THE "FED" GET?

Bertram D. Tallamy, Federal Highway Administrator, has hinted that Oklahoma may owe several millions in funds to the Federal Bureau of Public Roads if it is established that Federal funds were improperly expended on the U.S. 66 bypass project in

Tallamy, in a letter to Highway Director Lee B. Washbourne, advised the State official it already had been determined that some money must be refunded the Federal Government and that the sum may run as high as the \$6 million share of costs the BPR has put into the interstate project.

Certainly it is the responsibility of local. State, and Federal officialdom to get to the bottom of what has been going on in road building in Oklahoma, as well as elsewhere in the Nation. But for Mr. Tallamy to piously seek to acquit the Federal Bureau of Roads by placing blanket responsibility for Federal fund expenditures upon the State of Oklahoma is a horse of another color.

Just when, we might ask Mr. Tallamy, has it been established that the Federal Bureau of Roads is without blame or responsibility for the manner in which Federal funds are spent? On portions of the U.S. 66 bypass construction costs were borne 90 percent by the Federal Government. Surely Mr. Tallamy is not attempting to hide behind Oklahoma's skirts or duck the responsibility of his own bureau failing to check on how its funds are being spent?

Testimony has been submitted before the Blatnik committee in Congress that Federal officials in Oklahoma, and out of Fort Worth, had checked the local project but had gone no further than asking State sources how and in what manner the project was proceeding. Isn't it Federal inspectors who have been accused of riding over the project in automobiles without once setting foot on ground to do some inspecting?

We can't escape the impression that if the State of Oklahoma is guilty of negligence or worse in the construction of the Tulsa route, the Federal Bureau of Roads must share that guilt. It is well within the authority of the Federal Bureau of Roads-or Mr. Tallamy's office-to fix the blame on Oklahoma and ask for the refund.

We seriously doubt, however, that Oklahoma really owes the Federal Bureau a red penny. Rather, the Bureau owes itself a search of its own conscience and policies. There should be no plous shunting of the blame to the State when the Federal Bureau fixes the rules on road building and is vested with the responsibility for seeing that they are carried out.

Better Health Care for Aged

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON, HUGH J. ADDONIZIO

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, May 10, 1960

Mr. ADDONIZIO. Mr. Speaker, the major human problem of obtaining better health care for the aged has been allowed to drift along without solution for too long. It is past time that "insurance against misery," as Congressman Forand has so aptly put it, be pro-

generally is lowest when their medical needs are highest. I am pleased to call to the attention of the Congress the following communication with respect to the views of the Municipal Council of the City of Newark, N.J., on this important issue:

NEWARK, N.J., May 6, 1960.

Hon. Hugh J. Addonizio,
Congressman from New Jersey,
House Office Building, Washington, D.C.
DEAR CONGRESSMAN ADDONIZIO: The Mu-

nicipal Council of the City of Newark, at their regular meeting May 4, 1960, adopted a motion "Memorializing the Members of the U.S. House of Representatives from the State of New Jersey to actively support the Forand bill."

The governing body of the city of Newark urge your consideration and full support to the end that favorable consideration be se-

On their behalf I extend sincere thanks. Very truly yours,

HARRY S. REICHENSTEIN, City Clerk.

A Bill of Rights for Children the World Over

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. ROBERT N. GIAIMO

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, May 10, 1960

Mr. GIAIMO. Mr. Speaker, in the mind's eye of every living being there is a view of what life is meant to be. Throughout history, man has striven to identify and defend the basic freedoms which would enable him to secure that life. The founders of our great Republic penned the first 10 amendments to our Constitution so as to define the freedoms our Government guarantees. During a dark period of turmoil and bloodshed, the entire world embraced four fundamental freedoms as defined by one of our greatest Presidents.

These pronouncements, and others, have given clarity to the vision of the heart. They determine goals in terms of high purpose and, as such, serve as guideposts for men who know the nobility of man. But none, gentlemen, can perceive the world of our dreams with a sharper eye than that of a child.

Know you what it is to be a child?--

Asked Francis Thompson, And he gave this answer:

It is to be something very different from the man of today. It is to have a spirit yet streaming from the waters of baptism; it is to believe in love, to believe in loveliness, to believe in belief; it is * * * to turn lowness into loftiness, and nothing into every-

Gentlemen, I call the attention of this House to a manuscript that defines fundamental human rights in a world conceived by children. It is my pleasure to insert into the RECORD a bill of rights for children which was written by children in my district who believe in love, believe in loveliness, and believe in belief.

The reasons for the children's statement and the background of its preparation are best described by the child who sent me their document. Therefore, at this point, I ask that a letter by Robert L. Kaplan, age 11, be printed:

APRIL 20, 1960.

DEAR MR. GIAIMO: Our class, grade 6, room 10, Roger Sherman School, would like to present you with our Bill of Rights for Chil-Until there are dren the World Over. human rights for all children there will not be world peace.

We gathered information from newspapers, books, United Nations publications, and we listened to news programs. This has been a year-long project. We have done this be-

cause we care. Our bill of rights is addressed to lawmakers the world over. We deeply hope you will consider our bill of rights for children. Thank you.

Sincerely yours,

ROBERT L. KAPLAN, Acting Secretary, Age 11.

A BILL OF RIGHTS FOR CHILDREN THE WORLD OVER

I. LOVE

Every child needs love. Without love, children would suffer despair. Their health would also suffer. Love gives children a feel-

ing of wanting to do things better.

1. Therefore, every child should be loved regardless of creed, color, sex, nationality, or

occupation of parents.

- 2. Every responsible adult should be concerned about all children, Every child should have some adult with whom he may discuss his problems.
- Children who are orphaned should be protected and cared for by adults who would treat them kindly.
- 4. Adults should treat children fairly if they want children to respect them.
- 5. Some parents like one child better than the others. If so, they should treat all the other children in the family the same.
- 6. If parents show love for their children. children should return this love with gratitude. Children should help in every possible way voluntarily and when asked.
- 7. Teachers must respect children, understand them, and let the children know that they are loved. Children should respect their teachers. They should feel that teachers are their friends. Children should cooperate so that there will be a happy atmosphere in the classroom. Children and teachers will be able to work together better.
- 8. Every child should be given something to love and care for so that he can assume responsibility.
- 9. Every child should have the joy of planting and watching live things grow.

II. HEALTH

Every child is entitled to the kinds of living conditions that will produce good health. Six hundred million of the world's 900 million children are unhealthy because of lack of proper food, clothing, shelter, and medical help. Asia with more than one-half of the world's population has less than onefifth of the world's food. Western Europe, North America, and the U.S.S.R. compose one-third of the world's population, but they consume three-fourths of the world's food. The "have" nations should share more generously their blessings with the "have not" nations. In the world today there is not enough of tillable land to feed, clothe, and shelter all the people in the world. The U.S. Department of Agriculture says that each person requires 2½ acres of good land to provide for his physical needs. Today there are only 1% acres of tillable land for each person, but this land is not evenly distributed. Almost 1½ billion acres of new

land could be brought into use. Scientists should explore the vegetation and fish of the seas to increase food supplies. In another 25 years the world's population will be almost doubled. Animals for food will be more scarce. We will have to turn to the sea for most of our food.

1. Every child should have enough to eat. 2. He should have proper clothing accord-

ing to climate and weather.

3. Everyone should have adequate shelter. Slums should be redeveloped into properly equipped houses with play areas on green

4. Medicine should be distributed by governments where needed. If governments cannot afford to do this, the United Nations should do so. People who can afford to pay for themselves should do so.

5. Countries who have an excess of doctors should let volunteers go to countries in need of doctors. These doctors should receive an extra degree from the U.N. cation for doctors and nurses should be free in every country so that there will be enough doctors. There are 900,000 doctors in the world, but we need twice as many. We need more nurses and trained helpers.

6. Children and adults should be taught

to practice cleanliness.

7. Children and adults should be taught how to control pollution of water.

8. They should be taught that various insects carry various diseases, and learn how to protect themselves by spraying with proper insecticides. The "have" governments should give insecticides to the "have not" people, because they do not have the factories and the materials to produce these chemicals. The United Nations should send experts who know how to speak the local language out into the villages to instruct the people in the use of these medicines.

9. There should be hospital facilities for all people who need them. Some of these

could be traveling hospitals.

III. EDUCATION

More than one-half of the world's population of 21/2 billion don't know how to read or write. If all people knew how to read and write, they would be more prosperous. They could read and write directions proper tools they would be able to work better and make more products. The would learn how to practice good health habits. They would know about other people. Perhaps people would understand each other better. Other countries could not take advantage of them. They would know how to defend themselves. They would get more enjoyment out of life by knowing how to read and write. People need an education to run their own government well. We are living in an atomic age. People need to know much more about science. As the population of the world multiplies it will be much harder to earn a living. We will have to discover new ways of saving and using our natural resources. For this we will need people who have an education and scientific imagination. To survive, people will have to learn about the well-being of others. That is why we are concerned with children the world over, not just ourselves.

1. Therefore every child should be taught

to read and write.

2. No child should be denied the chance to receive an education.

- 3. Every child should be given the chance to develop all of his abilities.
- 4. Every child should be taught about the world and its peoples, and their problems.
- 5. Every child should be taught how to work with his hands as well as his mind. 6. Every child should be taught not only
- facts, but also how to think for himself and express his opinion.
- 7. Every child should have the right to play for physical development and for pure pleasure.

8. Children should not be overworked to

help support a family.

9. No one should be permitted to take advantage of children.

10. No one should interfere with the child's time for learning.

11. Each country should provide many kinds of education according to its ways of life. Their standards of education should be developed according to the progress of the world.

12. Every child should have the opportunity of a free education through college,

if he qualifies,

13. All people should be permitted to worship as they please without interference. In school every child should be taught to respect each other's beliefs.

14. All people should be taught about other religious beliefs in the world so that people may understand different ways of thinking, different customs, and many kinds of wisdom.

15. Everyone should have equal rights because no one race is superior to any other-Everyone should have equal rights to a full education, according to his abilities. With proper education harmful prejudices could be abolished.

16. No child should be permitted to call any other child insulting names. Ridicule should not be permitted in any classroom. This should be a standard of citizenship for

adults too.

CONCLUSION

In our classroom we are a class family-Three religions and three races are represented. All the children work together, play together and visit each other's homes.

We help each other.

This is the way we would like life to be we In our classroom this is our daily life. wish that the outside world would enjoy

our freedom.

You, the adults of the world and heads of governments, are responsible for our safeour lives. Children never started wars. Adults did, but children suffer the most from them.

If our Declaration is to reach all the children of the world there must be global

Mr. Speaker, this bill of rights is divided into three parts: Love, health, and education. Cognizant of the old and wise saying, "From the mouths of babes often come words of wisdom. ask that the words of these children be carefully considered, and that we of the adult world dedicate ourselves to granting youth its heritage.

Ship Wheat to India in U.S.-Made Cotton Bags

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. THOMAS J. LANE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, May 6, 1960

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following letter and enclosed telegrams from the Association of Cotton Textile Merchants of New York:

THE ASSOCIATION OF COTTON TEXTILE MERCHANTS OF NEW YORK New York, N.Y., May 6, 1960.

Hon. THOMAS LANE,

House Office Building, Washington, D.C. DEAR CONGRESSMAN LANE: Enclosed you will find copies of wires to the Secretaries of Agriculture and Commerce which are self-explanatory.

It seems to us that the United States in the generous terms of its conveyance to India of 17 million tons of wheat should have every right as to its packaging.

It is both logical and practical that packing be in U.S. cotton textile fabrics. A cal-culation is that these shipments if 100pound bags were used would require 340 million bags using 394 million yards of cotton cloth and increasing U.S. mill consumption by 325,000 bales of raw cotton.

Rather than conflicting with foreign-trade programs, it would be consistent with the

desire to increase our exports. If this appeals to your sense of the goals of our national interest, any assistance you might give to the effort would be greatly

admired. Sincerely,

JOHN L. SEVERANCE.

Secretary.

Hon. EZRA TAFT BENSON, Secretary of Agriculture, Washington, D.C.:

Respecting agreement signed yesterday to ship 17 million tons U.S. surplus wheat to India over 4-year period, we respectfully urge wheat be packed and shipped in cotton bags. Cotton as well as wheat is in surplus. Cotton bag fabric industry has suffered depression in recent years. Adoption of our proposal would increase U.S. raw cotton consumption, improve employment in U.S. mills making cotton bag fabrics, and also bag manufacturers, and contribute to Nation's export Here is exceptional opportunity to relieve two surplus situations simultaneously.

THE ASSOCIATION OF COTTON TEXTILE MERCHANTS OF NEW YORK, W. RAY BELL, President.

Hon, Frederick H. Mueller, Secretary of Commerce, Washington, D.C.:

Referring agreement signed yesterday to ship 17 million tons surplus U.S. wheat to India over 4-year period, and in support of Commerce Department's program for in-creasing U.S. exports, we respectfully urge Wheat be shipped in cotton bags. This will be of substantial help to mills and employees of depressed textile area of cotton bag fabrics, also to U.S. bag manufacturing plants. While relieving wheat surplus it will likewise aid U.S. cotton consumption, cotton also being in surplus.

THE ASSOCIATION OF COTTON TEXTILE MERCHANTS OF NEW YORK, W. RAY BELL, President.

The Redefinition of Peace

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON, EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, May 2, 1960

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, the American University, an outstanding American institution, and the American Peace Society, an organization with a long history of devotion to the principles of a world free from strife are cosponsoring a panel discussion tomorrow evening, which I feel would be of intense interest to Members of Congress and all people genuinely interested in the problem to be discussed.

"The Redefinition of Peace" will be the theme of a panel discussion to be held in the School of International Service lounge on the American University campus, Massachusetts and Nebraska Avenues NW., on Wednesday, May 11, at

Sponsored by the American Peace Society and the American University, the forum will cover the nature of peace in the coming years. Dr. Stefan Possony, professor of government at Georgetown University in Washington, D.C., will discuss "The Communist Requirements for Peace." Prof. William Yandell Elliot, a member of the Harvard University faculty since 1925, will cover "Our National Peace Policy," and Dr. Bonaro Overstreet, who has just returned from a trip to Russia, will discuss "New Ways to an American Contribution to Peace." Moderator of the forum will be Judge Homer Ferguson of the U.S. Court of Military Appeals.

Admission to this presummit conference on peace is free and the public is invited.

West Is Fearful Prestige of Ike Fell With Flier

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. JAMES M. QUIGLEY

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, May 10, 1960

Mr. QUIGLEY. Mr. Speaker, like most Members of Congress and most Americans, the U-2 sanfu has left me both confused and concerned.

Under the circumstances I believe prudence dictates that I make no further public comment at this time. However, Mr. Speaker, I would like to share with my colleagues the reaction of one American abroad to the events of the last few

Edwin F. Russell is the publisher of the Harrisburg Patriot-News. He is a prominent Republican and in both 1952 and 1956 served as chairman of the Citizens for Eisenhower Committee in Pennsylvania. However, as the article, from the Harrisburg Evening News of May 9, which follows indicates, Mr. Russell is a newspaperman first, and as a good reporter he calls them as he sees them:

WEST IS FEARFUL PRESTIGE OF IKE FELL WITH FLIER-CONFIDENCE SHAKEN

(Edwin F. Russell, publisher of the Evening News, is in London en route to the summit conference in Paris. Here he tells of the reaction to our agonizing confession that the American plane shot down 1,400 miles inside Russia probably was on a spying mission, and what that admission has done to our prestige.)

(By Edwin F. Russell)

LONDON.—The parachute that carried young Francis G. Powers to the ground carried President Eisenhower's international prestige right along with it.

This, seen from here, is the most serious effect of the incident that has chilled Londoners out of the afterglow of Princess Margaret's wedding.

The President's prestige was at an all-time high after his South American and Far East-

ern tours. The Eisenhower stature was Premier Khrushchev's greatest problem for the summit.

Now, when it is most needed, confidence in American leadership is at a low point. Khrushchev readily acknowledged that the President did not know of the flight and implied that Mr. Eisenhower is a nice guy, a man of peace, but he can't control American militarists and, in fact, doesn't know what's going on.

Some European writers go a step further, implying that Ike is a great has-been.

Here the greatest concern is over the un-

fortunate timing. Europe and Britain want peace at almost any price. They had hoped for great things from the summit. never was much chance for it to produce anything, but now the blame for its failure will be placed on the United States, not only by the Russian politicians but by millions of

the Russian politicians but by minions of bitterly disappointed ordinary people. One conservative British paper editorial-ized: "Thank heaven for one mercy. Mr. K. stuck to diplomacy." It described Americans "writhing in a tangle of evasion and

contradiction.

Generally editorial comment has been calm, but the headlines and special correspondents' articles speak of "Washington stunned," "America dismayed," "Caught with pants down." The Bowles, Symington and Mansfield criticisms have received wide play and, of course, Harold Stassen's headline grabbing has been disastrously successful.

There are other, startling implications in

Sverdlovsk is as deep in the U.S.S.R. as it is possible to get. It is behind the Urals in the remote vastness of Siberia, a vast industrial town, proudly displayed to Nixon. It is 1,300 miles from any frontier and twice as secure as Moscow. If Powers' plane had carried the atom bomb, shooting him down wouldn't matter. If he could parachute safely, the A- or H-bomb could have done its deadly work in spite of Russian rockets.

Doesn't this answer Khrushchev's rocket rattling and, incidentally Senator Symington

and other missile gap specialists?

It's a delicate matter, diplomatically, but we are beyond that. If Eisenhower does not accept responsibility for the United States action and policy, he better not go to the

This is bigtime competition. If we are to play with the pros we had better act like pros ourselves.

Rumanian Independence Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, May 2, 1960

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, Rumania has always been the breadbasket of southeastern Europe, and its rugged peasants among the hardiest and most productive workers in all Europe. It is one of the larger countries in the Balkan peninsula, and some 17 million Rumanians constitute one of the largest of all ethnic groups in that region. Geography has placed them at the crossroads of Europe and Asia, and Asiatic invaders of Europe have found it convenient to enter Europe via Rumania. Thus Rumanians were fated to defend themselves and their freedom against hordes from the East. Since the beginning of modern times they had faced some formidable and fearless adversaries. Centuries ago the country was overrun and conquered by the Ottoman Turks, and Rumanians were subjected to the conqueror's unrelenting harsh rule. They endured the oppressive rule for hundreds of years, but they never lost sight of their goal—national freedom and independence.

In the course of the last century they staged several revolts with that end in view, but each time they fell short of their goal; and they were ruthlessly punished for their daring attempts. But in the middle of the century the Crimean War provided an opportunity. In 1856, at the conclusion of that war, European powers agreed to restrain the rule of the Ottoman Sultan over Rumania, and two autonomous principalities were created. Later these two principalities were united under the rule of a prince. In the Russo-Turkish War of 1877-78, Rumanians had their golden opportunity and they took full advantage of that. On May 10, 1877, when there was little fear of the Turks, they proclaimed their independence, which in a few years, in 1880, led to the founding of the Rumanian Kingdom. Thus the event of 83 years ago today was of such significance to Rumanians that they have always observed its anniversary as their national holiday.

Since those happy days Rumanians have had their ups and downs. Their country grew prosperous at times and they lived in peace and happiness, but at other times it was robbed of its wealth by foreigners and the people were penurious and poverty stricken, as has been their lot particularly since the end of the last war. Unhappy Rumanians endured hardships and suffered during that war, hoping that in the end they would have their reward, but like so many other nations in the region, they were sadly and grievously disappointed. The result has been their enslavement under Communist totalitarianism, which in 1947 forced the abdication of the King and deprived the people of their last traces of free government. Certainly in Rumania we see the stark difference between the soundness of a good constitutional monarchy in comparison with the misrule under the Communist philosophy of government.

Mr. Speaker, it is fitting and proper that we, Members of the Congress of the United States take this opportunity to encourage the brave and rugged Rumanian people to maintain their hope for freedom by clinging to the spirit of May 10, 1877, their true Independence Day.

The Better Approach

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. ROBERT W. LEVERING

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, May 10, 1960

Mr. LEVERING. Mr. Speaker, I must say that I am more and more concerned

as to whether the foreign aid program as currently operated is really achieving the desired objective of mutual security. It is disconcerting indeed to hear members of the Foreign Affairs Committee say that the program is wasteful, badly planned, and plagued by politicians abroad and bureaucrats at home. I am disturbed by that portion of the report made by the study commission com-prised of members of the Foreign Affairs Committee after completing a 40,000mile tour of the world which indicates that in more than one instance, as suggested by the Comptroller General in 1959, the weakness of the program is too much money, not too little.

As the gentleman from Louisiana [Mr. Passman] has pointed out, not all foreign aid money is carried in the mutual security bill; that aid costs, including interest on what we have borrowed, now exceeds \$10 billion a year. Mr. Speaker, I believe we would gain infinitely greater respect from those we try to help by enlarging the technical, self-help projects and by putting the program on a substitute for the giveaway provision. Unfortunately, too much emphasis on money has caused "dollar diplomacy" to interfere with our traditional diplomatic relations with recipient and other countries.

Mr. Speaker, I think the time has come when we must reexamine and overhaul the whole concept of foreign aid. As one who has traveled in the Orient, I am convinced that how much we help is not as important as how we help. Because feeding their people is a major problem in the Far East, money is not as important as knowledge—the key to how they can develop their agricultural economy.

Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I include an appropriate editorial by Bruce Biossat from the May 8 edition of the Coshocton Tribune, a fine daily newspaper in my district

THE BETTER APPROACH (By Bruce Biossat)

The \$4,125,600,000 the Senate authorized for foreign aid does not, of course, tell the full story on the 1960 aid program.

First of all, the Senate version must be reconciled with the House bill which calls for \$87 million less. Much more important, the real chopping is done in the two appropriations committees. They threaten to hack around \$1 billion from the authorized figure.

Anticipating the usual attempt at heavy slashing, President Eisenhower already has gone to the American public with a plea for the full amount requested. His argument, also usual, is that part of the Nation's defense would be jeopardized if the voted sum is too small.

The trouble with this argument is that it has been made too many times. Lawmakers and their constituents are tired of it. On top of this, they have a strong notion that much foreign aid money is wasted.

top of this, they have a strong notion that much foreign aid money is wasted.

Actually, the emphasis today should be not on military assistance so much as upon economic.

In the broad sense, naturally, anything which helps to shore up the economies of free nations adds to our defense. But we hardly need to invoke that magic word to justify such help.

We are interested in the preservation and

reinforcement of freedom anywhere that it exists. The greatest dangers to it are found in the underdeveloped countries, where the race between population and food supply is critical.

If that race goes against the struggling free governments, they could be engulfed by communism. Especially in Asia and Africa, they are ever mindful of the competing example of Red China.

These peoples are not part of any tightly drawn defense arc, though some are members of the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization. We would seem to have most to gain not by assisting them to field armies of some size and quantity, but by aiding them to live better in freedom.

If the Eisenhower administration were to develop a solid understandable economic aid program, with the idea both of buttressing liberty and in time creating good new markets for American goods, Congress and the whole citizenry might adopt a far more responsive attitude toward this effort than it shows now.

Governors Against the Death Penalty

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 10, 1960

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I commend to the attention of our colleagues the following news story by Robert J. Donovan as it appeared in the New York Herald Tribune of April 24, 1960. Mr. Donovan lists the results of a poll of Governors conducted by the Tribune on the subject of abolition of capital punishment.

The article follows:

GOVERNORS AGAINST DEATH PENALTY—OPPOSE IT 17-8 IN POLL; OTHERS ARE NONCOMMIT-TAL

(By Robert J. Donovan)

Washington, April 23.—A New York Herald Tribune poll of the Nation's Governors, completed today, indicates that Governors of States outside the South are personally opposed to capital punishment by a ratio of nearly 6 to 1.

The opinion of Governors on this subject, which is growing more controversial as the time for Caryl Chessman's execution in a California gas chamber on May 2 approaches, is pertinent because they are the officials responsible for the preservation of law and order in their respective States.

NOT A DETERRENT

The viewpoint of the majority of those who were willing to express an opinion in the survey was epitomized by Gov. Herschel C. Loveless, a Democrat, of Iowa, and Robert E. Smylie, a Republican, of Idaho. Both States impose the death penalty.

Governor Loveless said: "I am convinced that capital punishment has failed to provide the deterrent to major crime that is its only possible justification."

Governor Smylle said: "Personally, I do not think the death penalty is a deterrent to crimes of violence."

The minority point of view in the survey was expressed most succinctly by Gov. Orval C. Faubus, of Arkansas. He said: "I wish it were possible to do away with capital punishment, but I doubt that such a move is feasible or would be in the best interests of society at the present time."

While this may be the minority vicw among the 50 Governors, it is the majority view in the South. Of the southern Governors replying in the poll, only Gov. LeRoy Collins, of Florida, opposed capital punishment.

The death penalty is seldom imposed in the United States now except for murder and for rape committed by a Negro in the South. Recent statistics in Time magazine showed that of the 97 men put to death in the United States in 1958-59 under State laws, 81 were executed for murder, 15 for rape (of these 14 were Negroes and one was White man in the South), and one, a Negro, for armed robbery in Texas.

Governor Rockefeller of New York declined to express an opinion in the survey. So did Gov. Robert B. Meyner of New Jersey. Whose official residence has been picketed recently by persons protesting the death sentence imposed on three Negroes convicted of a murder in Camden.

RIBICOFF SILENT

Gov. Abraham A. Ribicoff, of Connecticut,

made no reply of any kind.

Six States have entirely abolished capital Dunishment. They are Wisconsin, Maine, Minnesota, Delaware, Hawaii, and Alaska. Three others-Michigan, Rhode Island and North Dakota-have practically abolished it.

The question which the Herald Tribune asked the Governors was this:

"Entirely apart from any pending case and entirely independent of whatever sworn duties you may have to uphold the law as it how stands in your State, do you personally favor capital punishment?"

Of the 50 Governors 353 replied, personally

or through their staffs.

Seventeen opposed capital punishment

personally.

Eight favored it, but of these five were from the South. Thus outside the South only 3 were in favor of capital punishment as compared with the 17 who were opposed.

Eight refused to express an opinion.

Two said they had no personal opinion on the subject.

The respective position of the Governors is as follows:

OPPOSED TO CAPITAL PUNISHMENT

James T. Blair, Jr., Missouri; J. Caleb Boggs, Delaware; Edmund G. (Pat) Brown, California; LeRoy Collins, Florida; Christopher Del Sesto, Rhode Island; Michael V. Di Salle, Ohio; Orville L. Freeman, Minnesota; Mark O. Hatfield, Oregon; David L. Lawrence, Pennsylvania; Herschel C. Loveless, Iowa; Gaylord A. Nelson, Wisconsin; William F. Quinn, Hawaii; John H. Reed, Maine; Robert E. Smylle, Idaho; Robert T. Stafford, Vermont; Cecil H. Underwood, West Virginia; G. Manuelle, Manuell G. Mennen Williams, Michigan.

IN FAVOR OF CAPITAL PUNISHMENT (AT LEAST AS PROVIDED BY THE LAWS OF THEIR RESPEC-TIVE STATES

Ralph G. Brooks, Nebraska; George D. Clyde, Utah; Price Daniel, Texas; John E. Davis, North Dakota; Buford Ellington, Tennessee; Orval E. Faubus, Arkansas; Luther R. Hodges, North Carolina; Ernest F. Hollings, South Carolina.

WON'T SAY

Bert T. Combs, Kentucky; Foster Furcolo, Bert T. Combs, Kentucky; Foster Furcoio, Massachusetts; Robert B. Meyner, New Jersey, J. J. Hickey, Wyoming; Wesley Powell, New Hampshire; Nelson A. Rockefeller, New York; Albert D. Rosellini, Washington; J. Millard Tawes, Maryland.

NO PERSONAL OPINION

William A. Eagan, Alaska; Harold W. Handley, Indiana.

Replying to the poll on behalf of Governor Rockefeller, Robert L. McManus, his press secret secretary, said: "Because of the Governor's obligation to uphold the statutes of New York State, which provide for capital punishment, he deems it inadvisable to comment.

Although Governor Furcolo did not take a stand in the poll, his research director, Martin Lichterman, replying for him, noted that "as Governor, Foster Furcolo has commuted every sentence of those sentenced to death," In 1959 and again this year the Governor proposed to the Massachusetts Legislature a referendum on abolishing capital punishment.

Here are some of the comments of Governors who opposed capital punishment:

Governor Hatfield: "I personally oppose capital punishment. I base this on apparent inequity of application of the death sentence.'

(Governor Hatfield did not enlarge upon this, but presumably he was referring to the situation, which was described in a Herald Tribune editorial on March 27 as follows: "Those actually put to death are most frequently the poor and friendless. Of the 49 persons executed in the United States year, 33 were Negroes.")

"I do not believe that Governor Nelson: (capital punishment) is an effective deterrent to crime, and I fear the possibility of execution of an innocent man. Capital punishment was abolished in 1853 in Wisconsin. Our major crime rate compares favorably with any State which retains capital punishment.

Among those favoring capital punishment, Governor Daniel said: "I do favor retaining jury right to assess the death penalty for certain major crimes such as sale of heroin to minors, murder, and rape. Even if it is rarely used, it should be in the statutes for its deterrent value."

Governor Davis: "I do not favor capital punishment except under conditions as provided by North Dakota law, which has an exception for treason and anyone convicted of first-degree murder who commits a similar crime while serving a sentence."

Mr. Speaker, on the same subject, the following editorial appeared in the New York Herald Tribune of April 25, 1960.

GOVERNORS AGAINST THE DEATH PENALTY

Caryl Chessman enters his ninth "last eek" today, while the debate on capital punishment, so largely fueled by his case, goes on.

A new light on that debate was shed by the Herald Tribune's poll of State Governors, published yesterday. Each was asked: "Entirely apart from any pending case and entirely independent of whatever sworn duties you may have to uphold the law as it now stands in your State, do you personally favor capital punishment?" Thirty-five replied, of whom 25 were willing to commit themselves. Of these, 17 opposed the death penalty while only 8 favored it; outside the South only Governors supported the penalty, for a ratio of nearly 6 to 1 in favor of abolition.

Advocates of capital punishment, as any one learns who reads through the letters that cross an editor's desk, frequently attack abolitionists as softheaded, as apologists for murderers, as hopeless sentimentalists. State Governors as a group are not notably either softheaded, sentimental or inclined to apologize for criminals. They do have to face the capital punishment question squarely, holding both the power of clemency and the prime responsibility in their States for upholding the laws. Their indictment of the death penalty should carry weight.

The Chessman case has been debated at length, and the questions which still sur-round it—especially the doubtful applicability of the law under which he was sentenced to the crimes of which he was convictedwould alone cause a bad odor about his scheduled execution next Monday. But beyond this he has become a symbol, however unattractive, of the drive to establish the sanctity of life even in courts of law.

Chessman's avenues of appeal have narrowed, and his ninth life may well prove his last. If so, his personal drama will have ended, and the advocates of the death penalty will have claimed another victim. But the fight to put an end to this brutalization of justice will go on, and the poll of Governors indicates that it will go on with substantial support.

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board, or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives or the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS FOR SALE

Additional copies of Government publications are offered for sale to the public by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D.C., at cost thereof as determined by the Public Printer plus 50 percent: Provided, That a discount of not to exceed 25 percent may be allowed to authorized bookdealers and quantity purchasers, but such printing shall not interfere with the prompt execution of work for the Government. The Superintendent of Documents shall prescribe the terms and conditions under which he may authorize the resale of Government publications by bookdealers, and he may designate any Government officer his agent for the sale of Government publications under such regulations as shall be agreed upon by the Superintendent of Documents and the head of the respective department or establishment of the Government (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 72a, Supp. 2).

CHANGE OF RESIDENCE

Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the RECORD.

CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY

The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. No sale shall be made on credit (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p. 1939).

PRINTING OF CONGRESSIONAL RECORD EXTRACTS

It shall be lawful for the Public Printer to print and deliver upon the order of any Senator, Representative, or Delegate, extracts from the Congressional Record, the person ordering the same paying the cost thereof (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 185, p. 1942).

Daily Digest

HIGHLIGHTS

Senate cleared for President AEC authorization bill. House debated Agriculture Department appropriations.

Senate

Chamber Action

Routine Proceedings, pages 9099-9124

Bills Introduced: 11 bills were introduced, as follows: S. 3513-3523.

Poge 9105

Fishing Vessels: House returned to Senate in accordance with motion entered on May 5 by Senator Lausche H.R. 5421, to provide a program of assistance in the construction of fishing vessels (with accompanying papers). Senator Lausche's motion had been that Senate reconsider its action of May 3 in adopting conference report on this bill, and that House return the bill and papers to Senate.

AEC Authorization: Senate took from calendar, passed without amendment, and cleared for President H.R. 11713, fiscal 1961 appropriations authorization for the Atomic Energy Commission, after rejecting Hicken-looper amendment to increase by \$104,200,000 authorized funds for project 61-f-7, linear electron accelerator. Motion to reconsider action in passing of bill was tabled. S. 3387, companion bill, was indefinitely postponed.

Pages 9124, 9129-9140

Legislative Program: Majority leader announced there is a possibility Senate may act Wednesday on conference report on H.R. 11510, Mutual Security Act of 1960, dependent on House approval thereof earlier in the day. In addition, it is expected that Senate will consider S. 910, payments to local governments of sums in lieu of taxes with respect to certain Federal realty. S. 2653, community antenna systems, will be considered early next week. S. 2168, amend Navy ration statute for serving of oleo, will be considered sometime this week or early next week. Majority leader gave notice that H.R. 4601, to limit to national security cases prohibition of payment of annuities to retired Federal personnel, may be considered. He expects H.R. 10777, military construction authorizations, to be considered Friday if reported this week. S. 3044, forest use, may be considered next week. No appropriation bills are expected to be reported this week, but probably the next ones to be reported are H.R. 12117, agriculture appropriations,

H.R. 11390, Labor-HEW appropriations, and H.R. 11389, general government matters appropriations. Conference report on H.R. 10569, Treasury-Post Office appropriations, may be reported this week, and is a privileged matter.

Pages 9142-9143

Naval Vessels: H.R. 10474, authorizing construction of naval vessels, was displaced when Senate proceeded to consideration of other business but later was again laid down, and at adjournment remained Senate's unfinished business.

Pages 9128, 9143

Senator O'Mahoney: Senators spoke in tribute to Senator O'Mahoney who has announced he will not be a candidate for reelection to Senate. Pages 9128, 9143-9144

Nominations: Senate received four nominations to be judges of the Tax Court of the U.S., as follows: Arnold Raum, of Massachusetts; Allin H. Pierce, of Illinois; Graydon G. Withey, of Michigan; and Irene F. Scott, of Alabama.

Page 9144

Program for Wednesday: Senate met at noon and adjourned at 4:38 p.m. until noon Wednesday, May 11, when its unfinished business will be H.R. 10474, construction of naval vessels. Senate will consider conference report on H.R. 11510, Mutual Security Act of 1960, if House adopts it earlier in day. Senate may also consider S. 910, payment to local governments of sums in lieu of taxes, and H.R. 4601, to limit to national security cases the prohibition on payment of annuities to retired Federal personnel.

Pages 9142-9143, 9144

Committee Meetings

(Committees not listed did not meet)

AGRICULTURAL LOANS

Committee on Agriculture and Forestry: Subcommittee on Agricultural Credit and Rural Electrification held and concluded hearings on S. 2144, to improve the authority of the Secretary of Agriculture with respect to loans to farmers and ranchers, and S. 2891, authorizing financial assistance to persons holding leasehold interests in lands in the State of Hawaii. Testimony was re-

Appendix

Address by Mrs. Mary Dublin Keyserling Before Tennessee Federation of Democratic Women

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ESTES KEFAUVER

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Tuesday, May 10, 1960

Mr. KEFAUVER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD the very excellent and informative speech delivered by Mrs. Mary Dublin Keyserling before the Tennessee Federation of Democratic Women in Knoxville, Tenn., on Saturday, April 30, 1960.

I am informed by the Public Printer that the manuscript is estimated to make approximately 2% pages of the Congres-

SIONAL RECORD at a cost of \$216.

I ask unanimous consent that the address be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD notwithstanding this cost.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PEOPLE AND PROGRESS-THE BIG GOALS AHEAD (Address by Mary Dublin Keyserling, to the Tennessee Federation of Democratic Women, Knoxville, Tenn., Saturday, April 30,

Being with you this evening is a very great pleasure to which I have looked forward eagerly. I have not been in Tennessee before, but I have long wanted to come and meet the extraordinary women in this State Who search out and find such remarkable men as you have sent to the Senate-Estes REFAUVER and ALBERT GORE.

We Democrats have so much to take pride in. We have a record, as a party, of extraordinary accomplishment, of unique con-tribution to the progress of people in our Nation and throughout the world. And we can take pride not only in the accomplishments of the past, but in the vigorous response of our party today to the new challenges which now confront us.

Our Democratic Party knows how to meet the problems of our times and shows the kind of leadership and responsibility which Will surely be so convincing to the people of the United States in the months ahead, that there can be no doubt as to the outcome of the election in November. All of our presidential candidates are men of vision, great ability, unquestioned integrity and dedication. With Democrats once again at the helm, our Nation will shake itself free of the inaction, defeatism, and complacency which have characterized the last 7 years; it will once again take its place as the great leader among nations; it will once again move ahead to solve the problems of

There is no need to review before this group the transformation effected in our national life during the years of the New Deal and the Fair Deal. Our economy was made safe against depression, our whole system of private enterprise was strengthened and, under progressive government, humanity was written on the statute books.

Because we were meeting the needs of our people at home, we became a symbol to the whole world. This image was strengthened in the years after World War II when we did so much to help the war ravaged countries of the world reconstruct their economies. It was reinforced when we stood firm against the threat of Communist aggression first in Greece and Turkey and then against

actual aggression in Korea.

And, in these years under the Fair Deal, we continued to forge ahead on the domestic scene. Our economy was dynamic and expanding. It was growing at the average rate of 4.7 percent a year. Rapidly growing and healthy economies don't just happen. They are the product of sound policies. in this connection, I think we should single out for special tribute one particular domestic measure—the Full Employment Actwhich was a declaration of national purpose so to use our skills and resources as to assure maximum production, employment and purchasing power.

Today, as in the past, we Democrats continue to express faith and confidence in the American people and in the American economy. Our leading Democratic presidential candidates and our other leaders speaking today, through our party platform, through the 1960 campaign policy statement of the Democratic Advisory Council, through the majority reports of the Joint Congressional Committee on the Economic Report, all concur: We can afford to meet the essential needs of the American people in the years ahead and still avoid inflation; we can meet our needs and still balance the budget without increasing tax rates; we can, by meeting our needs, strengthen our position at home and abroad.

We are on record for improved social security benefits and more adequate unemployment compensation. We are pledged to legislation to meet our shockingly neglected housing needs. We support Federal aid to the States in order to alleviate the acute classroom shortage which plagues our schools, and to lift the salaries of our badly paid schoolteachers. We advocate important programs for the improvement of the Nation's health. We advocate higher minimum wage levels, both Federal and State, and the extension of this protection to the many millions of wage earners not now covered by it. We have watched American farmers take a terrible beating these past 7 years and we want this situation rectified.

On the international front, there is an ever-growing consensus of experts that we are sadly vulnerable. Our defense needs are not adequately being met. We Democrats are not willing to play ostrich and tailor our outlays for this vital purpose to false concepts of economy. We say we can and must meet our defense requirements.

To speed the economic progress of the less developed countries of the world, our party supports a more substantial foreign ald program. Our stake in this progress is immense.

When we Democrats say we are for these things, we base this on the knowledge and conviction that we can afford them. We say investment in these gains yields a return no less rewarding to America than invest-ment in plants and facilities. We say that if we fail to meet these needs, we undermine our very strength.

What a contrast to this philosophy and approach the Republican record of the past 7 years presents. I ask you to search your minds and name, if you can, a single important domestic accomplishment with respect to any major need of our people, brought into being under Republican sponsorship.

During the past 7 years, progress in lift-ing living standards of those who still know hardship and deprivation has practically come to a halt. One out of four of our families still has less than is required to purchase minimum standards of health and decency.

For the farmer, this period has been virtually devastating. Net farm income has fallen 30 percent and is expected to fall another billion dollars this year.

We have 22 million slum dwellers. quarter of our homes have become substandard. Blight has been spreading in our cities because our Federal housing programs have been drastically curtailed. "Let the States do it," we are told.

Our schools face a major crisis. Tens of thousands of our children are packed into overcrowded classrooms, attend schools in double shifts, lack adequate facilities. This mounting problem has been disregarded by a complacent Republican administration. The responsibility of our Government is denied. All we hear is, "Let the States do it"; or "We can't afford it"; or "Federal expenditure is extravagant."

Last week, representatives of 20 leading social welfare and medical service organiza tions, and I was among them, met to talk with top administration leadership about the need for the protection of the health of our senior citizens. Two-thirds of those over 65 have incomes under \$1,000 a year; four-fifths have less than \$2,000. The cost of purchasing hospital and major medical care has become a problem of the greatest urgency to this large segment of our people. urged that through the social security system, the American people be permitted to save a few pennies a week during their working years in order that they might have hospital and surgical insurance benefits if and when they need them after they reach the age of 65. Such a program is supported by our Democartic leadership. But, "No," says the administration. "Let the States do it." The social welfare representatives at the meeting last week pointed out that a State system would be vastly more expensive and administratively cumbersome; that it would take many, many years before 50 States could pass 50 separate laws. We asked, "How can the States which take in only 15 cents out of every tax dollar, which are already financially hard hit and which have huge debts, continue to meet all their current burdens, cope with the school crisis, meet their hous-ing problems, and respond to this need too?" Of course, we got no explicit answer. But the implicit answer seemed to us to be: "People just don't matter enough to warrant facing up to the big issues."

More adequate social security benefits? Adequate resource development? A program to meet the problems of the depressed areas of the country? All these needs may be very urgent, indeed, but the Republicans insist we can't afford to meet them. We are told we can't afford the defense our best informed experts tell us we must provide for. What strikes us Democrats as so disturbing is that this Republican pennypinching approach is pennywise and pound foolish. What good will the dollars saved through defense cutbacks do, if inadequate national security weakens our position in negotiating with the the Soviets at the summit? Why can't Republicans see that meeting the housing problem pays off in terms of less juvenile delinquency, less ill health, fewer fires? The community saves money when a fair minimum wage keeps a family off the relief roles. Investing in our educational system makes good economic sense. Our people are our biggest asset.

Furthermore, by cutting back on the public programs we so urgently need and, at the same time, by pursuing tight-money policies which curtail private spending as well, the Republicans have repressed our national economic growth. Our economy has grown at the average annual rate of only 2.3 percent a year from 1953 to 1959, or less than half the 4.7 percent rate averaged in the preceding

7 years.

When the administration says, "What's so bad about an overall rate of growth averaging 2.3 percent a year? Doesn't it make us bigger than ever before?" This is like the mother whose baby should have gained 10 pounds in weight and only gained five, saying "Why should I worry? Johnny is bigger than ever before, isn't he?" But, if Johnny doesn't measure up to standard, that is a sign of trouble. Like Johnny, our economy hasn't been measuring up to standard. Our economy should have grown by close to 5 percent a year, and not 2.3 percent.

It's not hard to understand why. This is so important a question we ought to take a few moments to analyze it. First, our population is rising; there are more of us each year; there are more people in the labor force each year. Now, if our economy is healthy and puts these additional people, who need and want jobs, to work, the new workers add about 1 percent to the amount of goods produced. In other words, this factor alone would mean a 1-percent growth in our economy each year.

In addition, there is a second important factor to remember. Each year, each of us on the job becomes about 3 to 4 percent more efficient as machines and technology improve. Due to this technological advance, our economy must expand 3 to 4 percent a year to avoid more and more unemployment.

Put these two factors together and you can see that our economy, if it is at a healthy level of employment, is able to produce 4 to 5 percent more a year than it did the year before. This, then, is the growth we are not only capable of; it is the growth we have to achieve if we are to prevent unemployment from rising. For, if we produce only 3 percent more this year than last, a lot of people will not be on the job. If we produce only 2 percent more, still more people will be out of work.

This is something we Democrats understand. We reject the tight-money policies which repress economic growth. We know that we have been paying a frightful price for the excessively slow rate of growth they have caused. The price is to be measured not only in terms of unnecessarily high levels of unemployment, but also in dollars-and-cents terms.

Suppose that between 1953 and 1959 we had grown not at 2.3 percent a year, but at the same 4.7 percent rate we did between 1947 and 1953. What would the difference have been?

A little arithmetic shows that at the higher rate of growth our total output over the period would have been about \$200 billion more than we actually produced under the lower growth rate. In other words, because we idled along, instead of growing as we should have, we threw away \$200 billion

worth of goods and services we all might have enjoyed.

have enjoyed.

We talk too much about our affluence. Our higher income families do enjoy ample living standards. But there are about 12 millions of our multiple-person families, or more than a quarter of all such families, which have total incomes of under \$4,000. (And this includes a cash allowance for the value of food and fuel produced by farm families.) Nearly 10 percent of our multipleperson families have incomes of less than \$2,000—a very low level indeed. And remember that the studies of the Department of Labor, brought up to date for rises in living costs which have occurred since the studies were made, indicate that a family of four needs at least \$4,700 for a minimum standard of health and decency. And, if we talk about the 10 million individuals who live alone, more than two-fifths have incomes under \$2,000, the least which might be said to be needed for health and decency.

How can we say to these families and individuals who can't make ends meet, that we just tossed out the window \$200 billion in goods and services which could have gone far toward lifting their inadequate levels of living to levels more nearly consistent with our concepts of the American way of life? Complacency is not in good grace when so much still remains to be done on our own doorstep.

Higher family incomes would have meant higher profits to the Nation's businesses. They would also have meant such higher revenues for our Federal, State and local governments. It may seem almost incredible to you, but over the past 7 years alone, had our economy grown at the higher rather than at the lower rate of growth, Government income, at all levels, would have been \$65 billion higher, and without higher tax

Think of what we could have done with this amount of money. Had we spent 20 percent of it for defense, we would all feel considerably more secure today with respect to the arms and space challenge of the Soviets. Suppose we had spent another 20 percent, or \$13 billion, for education, This would have allowed us to remove most of the classroom shortage which has mounted every year, and we could have paid our hard pressed school teachers \$1,000 more a We could, in addition, have replaced year. 11/2 million slum houses with good housing. could have built more than 350,-000 hospital beds, and our experts tell us we have a shortage of over 850,000 beds, so we need them badly. We could have increased substantially our entirely inade-quate social security and public assistance payments. And even after all these outlays had been made, believe it or not, we still would have had sizable amounts of money left. We could have increased what we spent for foreign aid by 50 percent. And we would still, after all these outlays, have been able to balance the budget every year. Think, in contrast of the \$121/2 billion deficit the Republican administration had 2 years ago-the highest deficit in peacetime.

That's the difference between having a low rate of economic growth and achieving the growth which follows when you make use of improving technology and maintain relatively high levels of employment.

Now, how can the Republicans try to justify the low rate of economic growth they have given us? They give as one of their main reasons for repressing growth, and for refusing to accept responsibility for meeting urgent national needs, their desire to avert inflation. Let's examine their claim and see if it is valid or whether this isn't an indefensible excuse for "donothingism" and Government by veto.

Traditionally, inflation has been conceived of, very simply, as a situation where too

much money is chasing too few goods. This is typical of wartime when production facilities are converted to military production and the production of consumer goods is sharply curtailed.

Because people are paid for the work they do, whether it be in the production of military or consumer goods, they have purchasing power, but in wartime there is relatively little available for them to buy. Consumers compete for what is available in the market and prices zoom unless there is rationing and price control, unless the supply of money is curtailed by tight money policies and spendable incomes are reduced by much higher taxes, or unless other means are used to restrict buying.

It is true that if you have an actual inflationary situation, then cutting down the excess money chasing the inadequate supply of goods does reduce the pressure on prices.

Arguing that we have had an inflationary situation in recent years, the Republicans have said that the thing to do is to cut down the amount of money available and thus reduce spending. To do this they have raised interest rates. This makes it harder for people to borrow and this cuts spending. They have adopted what we call tight money policies. And, as we know they have drastically curtailed the Federal budget on the theory that this too slows down the chase of money after goods.

But the first and most obvious question to ask is: "Have we in fact had the traditional kind of inflation? Have goods been scarce?" And the answer is: Quite to the contrary. We have had huge piles of goods We have had huge piles of goods on the shelves-inventories of unsold cars. radios, washing machines, and other prod-We have vast amounts of unused plant capacity and enormous surpluses, particularly of farm commodities. Over these last 7 years, we have had, on the whole, excessive unemployment. In other words, we haven't had scarcities at all. We haven't really had the disease the Republican remedy was used to cure. And what has been the effect of the wrong medicine?

This particular medicine has been just fine for the banks and other financial institutions. But it has been mighty bad for the economy and the people. During the past 7 years, because of Republican tight money policies, the American people have had to pay out well over \$25 billion more than if interest rates had been held at the 1952 level.

Not only has this medicine been incredibly costly; it has actually produced a worse condition than the ailment we didn't have and which it was wrongly aimed to cure. Raising interest rates did cut down on our purchases of homes and other goods, and budget slashing also cut down on consumption. Because sales were reduced, men and women who produced goods lost their jobs. Then they had very little with which to buy goods. This cut down still further on sales and the employment of others. This creates the roller coaster cycle of recurrent recessions. If it hadn't been for the safeguards such as unemployment insurance and old age pensions built into our economic system by our Democratic Party, safeguards which helped to sustain consumer buying. safeguards which the Republicans fought bitterly every step of the way, the two serious economic tallspins the Republicans have given us would have been far worse.

Another consequence of the tight money medicine is that instead of preventing price rises, it has had the very opposite effect. As we all know, the cost of living has gone up more than 10 percent in the past 7 years. But this has not been due to inflation in its traditional sense—too much money chasing too few goods. One of the big factors in the peculiar kind of price rise we have had, has been growing monopolistic practices which Republican policies have fostered. The

prices of more and more products have be-come less and less competitive as industries have increasingly tended to fix their prices by mutual consent. These are the administered prices you have been hearing so much about, You have been reading about the fantastic price of drugs as revealed by Senator Kefauven's Antitrust Subcommittee, as a telling illustration of this type of price trend. Instances are reported of drugs sold at 7,000 and even 10,000 percent markups.

Restricting the money supply doesn't bring down these prices. All it does is to slow down economic growth and this, instead of solving the problem, actually intensifies it because some industries raise their prices even more in order to make up for deficient vol-

ume of activity.

What should our answer be? First, we must repudiate the policies of the Republican administration which has adopted restrictive policies which have repressed growth. We must tell the people what sound economic policies could accomplish—the sound economic policies of the Democratic Party—and we must elect a Democratic President next November.

And what could we do with sound economic policies? The progress that is beg-ging to be achieved is staggering in its

magnitude.

Suppose that for the 5 years 1960-64 in-Clusive, we were to grow at 5 percent a year instead of the 2.3 percent we have averaged during the past 7 years. Where could we be by the end of 1964? It helps if we look at these issues in specific terms.

It's hard to believe that the difference in the two rates of growth could be so enormous in so short a period of time. The fact is that the difference in total national production would be about \$350 billion over

the period.

If we achieve the higher rate of growth and realize this enormous gain, we could cut the number of families living in relative poverty-or under \$4,000 a year-by twothirds and at the same time all other income groups could make important gains. The average family would enjoy more than \$5,000 in added income over the period.

Over the 5-year period, 1960-64, the huge growth rate would provide, in contrast with the lower growth rate, about \$100 billion more in public revenues at the Federal, State, and local levels—without higher tax rates. With these revenues we could balance the budget, make some payments on the national debt and increase our investments in education, national defense, and all the

other essential public programs.

This is the crux of one of our major differences with the Republicans. The Republicans just haven't grasped the significance of economic growth. They claim our for-Ward-looking Democratic programs would rob Peter to pay Paul. They haven't learned that our Democratic approach doesn't rob Peter at all. Our approach would make the pie bigger. Then both Peter and Paul could both both get larger slices. Republican policies shrink the pie or keep it smaller than it should be. Because the ple is small today, we can't do the very things we have to do if we are to survive.

Why can't the Republicans see the terrible Price we are paying for their bad economics? It isn't just what it is costing us at home. This isn't the whole story. While we in the United States have been inching along at an average growth rate of 2.3 percent a year, Soviet industry has been rising at an average 8 to 9 percent a year, according to Allen W. Dulles, Director of the Central Intelligence Agency. This is frightening in the kind of world in which we live today, we not only in terms of the race between our economy and the Soviet's. It has vital significance especially for our relationship with the underdeveloped countries of the world.

A billion people in these less advanced Countries, most of them uncommitted, are Watching this economic race closely. If our

economy falters and puts on a poor economic demonstration, what will these nations do? Follow our pattern? Continue to aline themselves with us? Will the desperate millions among them succumb to the easy promises of the totalitarians, or can we demonstrate that, under democracy, we can make the rapid gains we must make if we are to

We in the United States must answer this question with deeds. We must demonstrate that our system can work well, as we know it can. It is not enough to say. "Look at our living standards. They are the highest in the world. Isn't that proof of our superiority?" Others feel that an economy is tested not only by what it is doing in absolute terms, but relative to what it can do, by where it is going, and how fast it is going relative to others.

This should give us pause. demonstrate the excellence of our system around the world. And we can do this only as we fulfill the promise of America.

This means that we must set goals for full economic growth instead of being satisfied with less. It means repudiating Republican taxation, monetary, credit, and other economic policies, so as to be able to balance consumption and production at advancing

We must have leadership in this country that cares deeply about the needs of our people-cares more about people than about the few who benefit from higher interest rates. We must have leadership that knows that, as our capacity to produce advances, purchasing power must be able to keep pace. This is the key to economic progress. It must be a leadership, therefore, which deeply appreciates the need for adequate wage levels, for minimum wage legislation which covers those who need its protection and sets adequate minimum wage floors. It must be a leadership which doesn't try to meet the farm problem by pulling out farm price props and letting the resulting decline in farm income drive the farmers off the farm and into city joblessness. It must be a leadership concerned with the interests of small businessmen, a leadership which would not see them pushed to the wall as they have been in recent years. It must be a leadership proud to champion the social gains we can and must assure, a leadership not afraid of the future.

We must have a leadership which recognizes that our destiny from now on out is inextricably linked with the destiny of others in the free world, that knows that the people of the free world must go forward together or meet disaster.

The Democratic Party represents just such leadership as this. It is committed to the philosophy of full employment and full production through which we can achieve economic plenty for all and the levels of na-tional security and essential services we can afford and must have. The Democratic Party is deeply aware of the big economic issues of our time, is courageous enough and wise enough and responsible enough to meet them. Aren't these the best of all possible reasons why we must elect a Democratic President next November?

Area Redevelopment-Proper and Timely

SPEECH OF

HON. LOUIS C. RABAUT

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, May 4, 1960

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (S. 722) to establish an

effective program to alleviate conditions of substantial and persistent unemployment and underemployment in certain economically depressed areas.

Mr. RABAUT. Mr. Chairman, the passage of the Area Redevelopment Act by this House and the subsequent endorsement, without change, of that legislation by the other body has gratified me immensely. The struggle to pass this bill-even to get action on it-has been a long and continuing one. Many, many Members of this House, myself among them, were engaged in this struggle for a number of years. It is always gratifying to have one's efforts on behalf of needed legislation culminate in successful passage. But this type of gratification goes far, far beyond mere personal satisfaction. For it reaches to the fundamental realization that in passing this bill we have extended the hand of assistance to millions of our fellow citizens so direly in need of help. This is the American way. We have always helped the fellow who is down. And at a time when we are doing so much to help such people in all parts of the world, there is certainly no reason why we should not help our own fellow citizens in this their time of great need. This is the gratification of which I speak: the gratification that the American way has prevailed; that we have decided to continue our great tradition of helping the "down guy," instead of putting dollars above human values.

Mr. Chairman, there are aspects of the passage of the Area Redevelopment Act that are worthy of note. Not the least of these, Mr. Chairman, is that the Congress has spoken once again and has once again made clear its feeling and intent on this question. You will recall that an area redevelopment bill was passed by Congress in 1958 only to be thwarted by Presidential veto. If I may inject a personal note, this veto came at a time when the unemployment in my home city of Detroit had reached 18 percent of the work force. Think of it-18 percent. Again last year-1959-the will of Congress was voiced when the Senate passed S. 722 in its original form. Now this year, when the House was finally given the opportunity to consider the bill, the favorable House action has reechoed the sentiments of Congress on this matter for all the Nation or, for that matter, the whole world to hear. The speedy Senate endorsement of this House action is a further reiteration of these sentiments that makes them all the more resounding. Considering that Congress expresses the will of the people of these United States, I ask you how, in good conscience, can the leaders of this Nation ignore or reject this will when it has been so clearly expressed and so consistently repeated?

We did, of course, hear various arguments raised against the bill during the debate on S. 722. However, I believe each and every one of these was quite effectively dispelled and cast by the wayside. The assertion that the bill is expensive or a giveaway did not hold water in the face of the facts that of the total \$251 million provided, \$200 million is to take the form of loans to be repaid to the Treasury with interest. This interest will be equal to the average rate the

Treasury itself pays on what it borrows plus one-half of 1 percent. We heard the charge that the bill infringes on States rights. This point could not be reconciled with the provision in the bill that only applicants approved by a State agency or political subdivision in which the project is to be located may receive aid. These and many equally unrealistic and invalid arguments were raised against the bill. All were discarded when confronted with the true facts, with logic and with just plain commonsense. The only conclusion to be drawn from this is the old adage: "The truth will out." And it has.

The Area Redevelopment Act is good legislation that answers a crying need in a sensible and realistic fashion. The Congress, in its time-tested wisdom, has recognized this fact. It is only to be hoped-and ardently-that those now responsible for the enactment into law of this measure can come to this same realistic realization.

Mrs. Myrtle Murdock, District of Columbia "Mother of the Year"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. BARRY GOLDWATER

OF ARIZONA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Wednesday, May 11, 1960

Mr. GOLDWATER. Mr. President, recently it was my pleasure to attend a breakfast honoring Mrs. Myrtle Murdock as the District of Columbia "Mother of the Year." I can think of no one who is more deserving of this recognition; and it gave me special pride, for she and her husband, John R. Murdock, who is a former Congressman from Arizona, have been my life long friends. The devotion which these two have shown to their family, their State, and their country is worthy of the highest praise, and the honor bestowed upon Mrs. Murdock reflects the high quality of both herself and her husband.

In order that others may know of this fine lady's accomplishments, I ask unanimous consent, Mr. President, that there be printed in the Appendix of the Record an article about Mrs. Murdock which appeared in the newspaper Roll Call.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD. as follows:

NAME CAPITOL EXPERT MOTHER OF THE YEAR

Dr. Myrtle Cheney Murdock, the noted author on the city of Washington and the U.S. Capitol, has been selected by the District of Columbia Committee of the American Mother's Committee as the District of Columbia "Mother of the Year."

Dr. Murdock will meet in New York City with "Mothers of the Year" from the 50 States May 3-7. One of the group will be chosen "The Mother of the Year.

She is the wife of former Representative, John R. Murdock of Arizona. The Murdocks are well known here, having lived in the Nation's Capitol since 1937, when Mr. Murdock began his 16 years as Arizona's Representative in Congress.

Mrs. Murdock has earned her own place in the Capitol city by her 23 years of service in a wide range of activity. She is a member of many clubs and organizations; an author of distinction on the District of Columbia and the Capitol Building; a much sought-after lecturer on historical topics; and her legion of friends are from every walk of

The Murdocks' daughter, Mrs. Rachael Murdock Ellis, lives in Scottsdale, Ariz., where she teaches school and is the mother of three children.

Their son, John Benjamin Murdock is the father of three children and lives in Lansdowne, Pa., where he operates his own busi-

David Murdock was killed in action in Sicily, August 11, 1943.

On April 28 Mrs. Murdock will receive the citation at a luncheon given at the Cosmos Club by the District of Columbia American Mothers' Committee.

Mrs. Murdock's life in Washington has followed her earlier pattern of service and education. For a period of years she wrote a weekly column for the Arizona papers covering congressional news plus special information on some national shrine of great significance here. Research for these columns sparked Dr. Murdock's great intrest in the historical background of the Nation's Capital and the Capitol Building.

The Italian Republic in 1951 conferred upon Dr. Murdock the Star of Italian Solidarity for her efforts in the cause of cultural relations between the two countries in researching and writing "Constantine Brumidi, Michangelo of the U.S. Capitol" (1950).

Because of her research and her grand biography of Brumidi, a Brumidi memorial program was held by Congress in the rotunda of the Capitol in 1951, Congress officially marked Brumidi's long lost grave in 1952, and Brumidi's unfinished frieze in the Capitol rotunda was completed in 1953, and dedicated by President Eisenhower in 1954.

Five books have been authored by Mrs. Murdock in the last 12 years on the city of Washington and the Capitol Building. The two memorial booklets, "Dear Mom" and "Remembering David Murdock," first printed in 1944, were reproduced as a 1959 pre-Christmas thought. The books besides Brumidi are, "Your Uncle Sam in Washington"; "Your Memorials in Washington" (1952); "National Statuary Hall in the Nation's Capitol" (1955); and "The American's Creed and William Tyler Page" (1958).

As a lecturer Dr. Murdock is well known here. During the last 12 years she has spoken before more than 250 organizations.

When Mr. Murdock retired from Congress in 1953, Mrs. Murdock became an official guide in the Capitol Building, a position she still fills with ability, dignity, and enthuslasm.

Twenty-five Years of Rural Electrification

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. WAYNE N. ASPINALL

OF COLORADO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, May 11, 1960

Mr. ASPINALL. Mr. Speaker, May 11, 1960, marks a quarter century of progress in bringing the benefits of electric power to rural consumers throughout the Nation. Since the signing of the Rural Electrification Administration Act on May 11, 1935, farmers all across the United States have helped to make the rural electrification program an outstanding success.

My own State of Colorado provides an excellent example of the achievements of the REA program, which got underway in Colorado in June of 1936, when the first REA loan was approved. The first REA-financed line was placed in operation on September 17, 1937, by the Grand Valley Power Line of Grand Junction, in my congressional district.

When the REA was created in 1935. only 7,145 farms in Colorado-just 11.2 percent, were receiving central station electric service. Current REA estimates show that 36,550 farms in the State, or 89.7 percent of all farms recorded in the 1954 census, were being served as of June 30, 1959. REA borrowers serve about 60.2 percent of these electrified farms in Colorado.

Up to January 1, 1960, REA had approved a total of \$121,167,157 in loans to 25 electric borrowers in Colorado, all of which are cooperatives. The loans were made to enable the borrowers to construct 34,495 miles of line and other electric facilities to serve 86,677 consumers.

REA electric borrowers in Colorado have repaid \$12,405,643 on the principal of their Government loans. In addition, they have paid \$8,244,778 in interest and \$4,749,698 ahead of schedule. As of January 1, 1960, no borrowers in the State of Colorado were overdue in their loan payments.

Mr. Speaker, it is also significant to note that Colorado's electric co-ops are among the largest property taxpayers in the 61 counties in which they operate in the State of Colorado. In 12 counties, electric cooperatives are the only electric taxpayers. In 1958, more than \$600,000 was paid in property taxes alone by Colorado rural electrics.

Mr. Speaker, I should like to include in my remarks the following statistics relative to the first 25 years of the REA program in Colorado:

DATA OF THE FIRST 25 YEARS OF THE REA RURAL ELECTRIFICATION PROGRAM IN COLORADO

Percent of farms electrified by all suppliers

Jan. 1, 1935	11.2
Jan. 1, 1940	28.8 48.6
Jan. 1, 1950	72.0
Jan. 1, 1955	89.7

Note.—About 60.2 percent served by REA borrowers.

Cumulative REA loans and advances

	Number of bor- rowers who re- celved loans	Net total loans	Not total advances
Dec. 31, 1935. Dec. 31, 1940. Dec. 31, 1945. Dec. 31, 1945. Dec. 31, 1950. Dec. 31, 1955. Dec. 31, 1958. Oct. 1, 1959.	1 17 19 23 24 25 25	\$46, 100 5, 492, 000 13, 329, 551 44, 011, 976 90, 001, 158 119, 534, 157 121, 167, 157	3, 228, 964 9, 157, 296 30, 123, 520 65, 811, 076 90, 249, 434 96, 091, 562

Miles and consumers (REA borrowers)

	Miles energized	Consumers served
Dec. 31, 1935 Dec. 31, 1940 Dec. 31, 1946 Dec. 31, 1956 Dec. 31, 1950 Dec. 31, 1955 Dec. 31, 1958 June 30, 1859	3, 055 7, 571 16, 528 30, 816 32, 517 32, 825	6, 337 21, 736 44, 566 71, 392 78, 109 79, 189

Growth of sales and average annual kilowatthour consumption (REA borrowers)

Calendar year	Total kilo- watt-hours sold ¹	Average annual kilo- watt-hour consumption 1
1941	16, 814, 442	2, 007
1945	37, 919, 730	1, 867
1950	121, 438, 960	2, 820
1965	331, 498, 029	4, 800
1958	426, 542, 600	5, 496

¹ Excludes sales by generation and transmission borrowers.

rowers.

2 All classes of consumers.

Cumulative payments on electric loans in Colorado

	Principal	Interest	Balance	Advance pay- ments, total
At June 30— 1045. 1390. 1051. 1051. 1052. 1063. 1064. 1065. 1056. 1059. 1059. 1059.	\$438, 095, 02	\$615, 947, 20	\$1, 054, 042, 22	\$168, 166, 39
	1, 892, 398, 90	1, 784, 640, 79	3, 627, 038, 70	140, 232, 92
	2, 349, 408, 80	2, 196, 102 80	4, 455, 511, 60	313, 232, 08
	2, 901, 925, 48	2, 488, 894, 87	5, 300, 820, 35	532, 598, 35
	3, 580, 781, 88	2, 885, 511, 90	6, 466, 293, 78	652, 159, 49
	4, 341, 981, 21	3, 351, 581, 10	7, 693, 562, 31	1, 122, 094, 02
	5, 251, 325, 31	3, 871, 681, 92	9, 122, 987, 23	1, 705, 291, 12
	6, 658, 308, 75	4, 549, 926, 18	11, 208, 343, 43	2, 146, 693, 34
	7, 997, 907, 78	5, 361, 332, 62	13, 359, 240, 40	3, 296, 294, 23
	9, 611, 577, 08	6, 411, 246, 48	16, 022, 803, 56	4, 083, 170, 95
	11, 423, 379, 78	7, 591, 471, 03	19, 014, 850, 81	4, 490, 232, 18

Note,—If payments for any one year are desired, subtract the cumulative balance of the prior year from the cumulative balance at the year desired.

Outstanding balances at June 30, 1959:

Principal \$83, 334, 785. 51
Accumulated interest 3, 632, 220. 12

League of Wemen Voters Convention in consists of educational discussions of such topics as "State Financing and the Tax System" "Human Rights" "Public

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. ALEXANDER WILEY

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, May 11, 1960

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, as our Nation undergoes far-reaching social, spiritual, economic, technological, and scientific revolutions, women—once erroneously called the weaker sex—play an increasingly significant role.

Historically confined largely to the fireside or domestic tasks, women today are making a commendable contribution to progress in almost all walks of life.

Significantly, the wife and mother, as well as the career woman, is extending herself more and more beyond the confines of the home, or profession, to perform cutstanding work in community life.

As individuals and members of organizations, they are thus making increasingly outstanding contributions to progress, locally, statewide, and nationally.

The League of Women Voters—a national organization with branches in almost all States, is a splendid example of the kind of organization carrying forward constructive work in the public interest.

The Wisconsin league, for example, is holding its convention on May 17 and 18. The agenda for the conference is most challenging.

Ranging far beyond what was once considered woman's work, the program

consists of educational discussions of such topics as "State Financing and the Tax System," "Human Rights," "Public Welfare," "Elementary and Secondary School Education Problems," "Improvements in Our Judicial System," and a variety of other topics of local, State, and National interest.

Since it was organized in 1920, the Wisconsin League of Women Voters has written a splendid, constructive, creative record in accomplishments.

Recently the Milwaukee Journal published an informative article on the work of the league in Wisconsin, as well as further details of the public-interest programs scheduled for the upcoming conference.

I ask unanimous consent to have the article printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Milwaukee Journal, May 8, 1960] STATE LEAGUE PLANS PARLEY—LAKE DELTON IS SITE OF CONVENTION FOR WOMEN VOTERS ON MAY 17 AND 18

The League of Women Voters of Wisconsin will hold its 32d convention May 17 and 18 at Lake Delton. About 200 delegates, alternates and observers from 33 local leagues are expected to the 2-day event, which will mark the 40th birthday of the State league.

On a business level the 2-day event will include election of officers and directors for 2 years, adoption of a budget, workshops on both the State current agenda items—State finance and county government and a review of items of "continuing responsibilities." Mrs. Ralph Wenberg, North 50th Street, Milwaukee, State president, will preside. Mrs. Alfred Wilds, Madison, is convention chairman.

The convention will open officially at 10 a.m., May 17 and will be devoted to business.

At the dinner-meeting that evening, commemorating the 40th anniversary, the speaker will be Mrs. Walter H. C. Laves, Bioomington, Ind., member of the national league board. The topic will be "World Economic Development: A Problem in Working Together." Mrs. Laves is the wife of the chairman of the department of government at Indiana University and deputy director general of UNESCO from 1946 to 1950 and has a wide background of study and travel.

MRS. HOOPER, ORGANIZER

The State league was organized in 1920 by the late Mrs. Ben Hooper of Oshkosh, suffrage worker and civic leader, who also became its first president. In observance of the 40th anniversary at the dinner May 17, past State presidents have been invited to relate the most interesting event of their respective terms. Those planning to attend are Mrs. Henry G. Meigs, West Allis, 1939-41; Miss Caryl Regan, Madison, 1950-52; Mrs. Alf Gundersen, La Crosse, 1952-54, and Mrs. Marshall Beaugrand, Racine, 1954-58.

Mrs. L. M. Warfield, Milwaukee, daughter of Mrs. Hooper, will relate some of her mother's suffrage experiences in working with Mrs. Catt.

League program items will have attention the afternoon of May 17 and the morning of May 18. Mrs. F. A. Mote, Madison, chairman of "State continuing responsibilities," will preside over the "program panorama," May 17, when items reviewed are: Reapportionment, State financing and tax system, human rights, veterans' bonus, public welfare, elementary and secondary school appropriations, integration of school districts, improvement in judicial system, higher education, and water policy. The current agenda items to receive attention at the workshops May 18 and their leaders will be, State finances, Mrs. C. W. Threinen, Madison, and county government under Wisconsin's constitutional and statutory provisions, Miss Clara Penniman, Madison.

SERVICE AWARDS

The general session speaker the morning of May 18 will be William L. Nelson, Milwaukee, a public management consultant, who will discuss "Community Renaissance—the Nation's New Challenge." Presiding will be Mrs. Willard Hurst, Madison, second vice president.

A feature of the luncheon May 18 will be the presentation of the community service awards to leagues whose local activities the last term best served their communities. Mrs. Smiley Boyd, Two Rivers, first vice president, will preside. Other awards will be given for the best convention display and the highest percentage of membership growth in the year.

Nominees for State board positions are: Mrs. Spencer Munson, Madison, president; Mrs. C. J. Debbink, Oconomowoc, first vice president; Mrs. L. L. Freeman, Racine, second vice president; Mrs. Hugh J. McLane, Fond du Lac, secretary; Mrs. Martha Hollenbeck, Green Bay, treasurer, and six directors, Mrs. Donald Clusen, Green Bay; Mrs. M. F. Crowley, Menasha; Mrs. Grover Grady, Beaver Dam; Mrs. Donald Putz, Middleton; Mrs. Harry J. Rose, West Allis, and Mrs. M. M. Sealts, Jr., Appleton.

Presidents of leagues in the Milwaukee area who will head their delegations are; Mrs. William Granert, Milwaukee; Mrs. Edward Wisnewsky, Wauwatoso; Mrs. Donald Krause, West Allis; Mrs. Emerson J. Van Patten, Whitefish Bay; Mrs. William Broderson, Elm Grove; Mrs. George G. Watts, Ozaukee County, and Mrs. Richard Witte of the provisional league of New Berlin.

Newly organized leagues, during their provisional period, do not send voting delegates but are entitled to participate in other convention activities.

Mail Service

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. MERWIN COAD

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, May 2, 1960

Mr. COAD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I wish to insert a letter from the mayor of one of the more progressive towns in my district.

This letter concerns itself with the current chaotic state of the mail service in this vicinity due to the discontinuance of two mail carrying passenger trains which operated between Chicago, Ill., and Omaha, Nebr. I requested that the Interstate Commerce Commission hold a hearing on the discontinuance of these trains in the town of Carroll. At this hearing the people of the area protested the ending of this train service and expressed fear and concern over the impact this would have on their mail service. The testimony given at that time by representatives of the Railway Express Agency and the Post Office Department, which is referred to in the mayor's letter, led everyone to believe that the mail service would be as good or better than it was in the past.

I want my colleagues to read the examples of the present mail delivery service set out in the following letter and ask themselves if their businessmen and constituents would put up with such delays in the delivery of the business and personal mail? I think they would not.

This is only one of many, many examples of general hardship and inconvenience caused the public which I am sure could be cited as a direct result of the discontinuance of passenger train service throughout this country.

The letter follows:

CITY OF CARROLL, Carroll, Iowa, April 25, 1960.

Hon. MERWIN COAD, Member of Congress, Sixth District, House of Representatives, Washington, D.C.

DEAR REPRESENTATIVE COAD: In December of 1959, prior to Christmas, we had a hearing before the Interstate Commerce Commission relative to the discontinuance of trains Nos. 5 and 6 on the Chicago Northwestern Railroad Co. Mr. Wheeler, attorney for the Interstate Commerce Commission, was in charge of the defense, and the Northwestern Railroad was represented by their Chicago attorney and Mr. Davis, of Des Moines.

We were lead to believe by the testimony of Martin I. Sweeney, Railway Express Agency, superintendent of transportation; and Donald P. Haddock, of St. Louis, Mo., of the Post Office Department, connected with transportation planning and procuring office for the St. Louis region, that the service of both these agencies would be equal or better than had been given us while the trains were in

For your information, the service is not equal or better. It is my understanding that the Sunday papers arrive here about 10 in the morning and come by bus from Omaha. We have a great many complaints relative

to the Wall Street Journal in getting it a day late. The Chicago Tribune comes through and on an average of from one to two times a week it is somewhere from 1 to 2 days We are enclosing a copy from the transcript of the testimony of Mr. Sweeney and Mr. Haddock for your information, and after studying this copy it is my impression that you will know why we are complaining. At the present time, I presume that we are getting mail from Fort Dodge, from Perty, and by the postal road service. There is no mail being received by Carroll on Sunday from the east.

Many businessmen and professional men in Carroll have boxes at the post office in order to secure their mail. Consequently, we are at a disadvantage in the type of service we are receiving.

The local chamber of commerce has previously objected or raised a question as to the service that we are receiving and naturally in my opinion, the hearing before the Interstate Commerce Commission was more or less a farce and there is a question in my mind as to how much attention was paid to the testimony of witnesses from Boone, Jefferson, and Carroll.

In a hearing of this kind, there should have been at least three or four hearings along the railroad line in order to give the various communities an opportunity tend the meeting. The general attitude of the community that I contacted was in effect that the cards were stacked and it was useless to waste the time and energy of even attending the meeting. Evidence was brought out as to the type of service that had been given to the people of this community, condition of the coaches, the attitude of the employer and employees, the lack of facilities, and in spite of this, the railroad was permitted to discontinue the train. There was also testimony relative to railroad express cars, mail cars, dead storage mail cars, and other items, and in spite of all of this evidence, the representative of the Postal Department and of the Rallway Express seemed to lean toward favoring the attitude of the railroad and gave the indication that the service would be either equal or better.

The passenger service on the Northwestern Railroad was such as to discourage people from using their trains. This type of evidence was brought out in the hearing. It was shown that the general attitude and condition of the coaches was bad, the lack of water, lack of heat in the winter and lack of air conditioning in the summer, and I have never been able to understand how the railroad could state that they were losing money in the operation of a train which according to various checks made by me in the past, would carry from 15 to 22 cars, and of this number there never was more than 2 passenger coaches. The rest was mail, express, and baggage.

My reason for writing you at this time is for the purpose of calling your attention to the fact that the Interstate Commerce Commission should begin to take into consideration the welfare of the public at large, and insist that these railroads give a service to the public because many of these railroads originated by land grants from the Federal Government and the cities and towns along the Northwestern Railroad were mostly built by the same man that built the railroad. I presume that there is not a great deal that we can do but nevertheless, I am making this complaint on behalf of the people of Carroll and I feel that we are entitled to some consideration and action to improve the service which was implied by the Railway Express and Postal Department.

Very truly yours,

A. N. NEU, Mayor.

One-Millionth Migrant From Europe Comes to America

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. ALEXANDER WILEY

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Wednesday, May 11, 1960

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, at 10 o'clock this morning, the 1,000,000th migrant from Europe to a new home overseas was scheduled to arrive at Idlewild International Airport in New York. This is a significant event in our history.

Historically, the search of men and women for a new land, for freedom of speech, religion, press, association, and conscience-in essence, for a new lifebrought the Pilgrims and migrants and many others to the shores of America.

Inscribed upon the Statue of Liberty at New York Harbor are the words of Emma Lazarus which reflect-more, perhaps, than any formal laws-the welcoming spirit of the new land to migrants from the old world:

Give me your tired, your poor, your huddled masses, yearning to breathe free-The wretched refuse of your teeming shore; Send these, the homeless, tempest-tossed, to me.

I lift my lamp beside the golden door.

We recognize, of course, that as our population has increased it has been necessary to redefine immigration policies, not only to serve the original objective of providing new homes for people from other lands seeking a new life, but also to consider the impact which the influx of persons would have upon our own population, employment, our economy, and the Nation generally.

To those who forget that almost all of us are descendents of immigrants from other lands, however, we need to stress that the inflow of persons from abroad represents not merely "another mouth to feed" greater competition for jobs, a new social and economic burden; rather, these people of other lands historically have brought with them a wide variety of ingenious skills, new and old ideas, different cultures, often a greater respect for freedom than can be found here at home, and a wide variety of "positive factors" which have enriched our way of

The event of the arrival of the 1,000,000th migrant-Andrejs Surtis, a 10-year-old Latvian refugee boy-should, I believe, cause America to stop and think, to remember the enrichment which immigration has brought to this country, and to have a new awareness of the need for adopting a realistic immigration policy to meet the needs of mod-

ern times.

Recently, I was pleased to receive from John W. Hanes, Jr., a letter pertaining to the significance of this event. I ask unanimous consent to have it printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
ADMINISTRATOR, BUREAU OF SECURITY
AND CONSULAR AFFAIRS,
Washington, April 29, 1960.

Hon. ALEXANDER WILEY, U.S. Senate.

Dear Senator Whey: I am pleased to inform you that on May 11 of this year—World Refugee Year—the Intergovernmental Committee for European Migration will transport its one-millionth migrant from Europe to a new home overseas. Andrejs Suritis, a 10-year-old Latvian refugee boy, the millionth migrant to be moved by ICEM, will arrive at Idlewild International Airport, New York, at 10 a.m. on May 11, 1980. Andrejs and his father will be en route to Kalamazoo, Mich., to join his mother and two younger brothers, who arrived in this country last year.

The Intergovernmental Committee (also known as ICEM) was founded at the initiative of the United States about 10 years ago. Since that time, the United States has strongly supported and participated in its operation.

ICEM and its 29 member governments can take pride in its accomplishments. It has moved I million migrants and refugees from Europe to find new lives in other parts of the free world. It has materially helped solve the problem of homeless refugees and surplus populations in Europe; and, in doing so, it has strengthened those free countries which have received its migrants.

Sincerely yours,

JOHN W. HANES, Jr.

Address by Hon. Basil L. Whitener Before Gaston County Democratic Convention, Gastonia, N.C., May 7, 1960

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. ALTON LENNON

OF NORTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, May 11, 1960

Mr. LENNON. Mr. Speaker, on Saturday, May 7, 1960, our colleague, Hon. BASIL L. WHITENER, Representative from the 11th Congressional District of North Carolina, delivered the keynote address at the Gaston County Democratic convention held in Gastonia, N.C.

As one who has had the privilege on numerous occasions to visit Gaston County, one of North Carolina's banner Democratic counties, I can say that my only regret is that I was not able to be present with my many friends there at their convention. I know it must have been an outstanding affair, and I compliment our colleague upon the address which he made.

Since I feel that many of the facts contained in Congressman WHITENER'S speech will be of interest to Members of the House, I request unanimous consent that it be printed in the Appendix of today's Congressional Record:

Address by Basil L. Whitener, Member of Congress, 11th Congressional District, North Carolina

Mr. Chairman, fellow Democrats, and ladies and gentlemen, I consider it a high honor and a distinct pleasure to have the privilege to address this convention.

As a Gaston County Democrat, I know of no greater honor that could come to me than to have the opportunity to discuss our great party with you.

My friends, I share your great pride in being a Democrat. For being a Democrat is more than being a member of a political party. We Democrats share a unity of desire, a common purpose, and a zeal for a better America to which no other political party can lay claim.

We are truly the party of the great idealistic and humanitarian Jefferson. We are also of the party of that fighting American who spent his life in the service of the common, everyday American—our own indomitable North Carolinian, the great Andrew Jackson.

As believers in the ideals and principles of the party of Jefferson and Jackson, we have roots in the common heritage of our Nation that stretch back into history much further than any other political party existing today.

It is no accident of history that North Carolina Democrats have, since the very beginning of the United States, adhered to the philosophy and ideals of government exemplified by Jefferson and Jackson. In their desire to be of service to all of the people of our country these two great Americans were immune to the prejudices of sectionalism and the bitterness of class hatred.

Now, my friends, the Republican Party cannot lay claim to the type of heritage enjoyed by us. It came into being as a sectional party, a party born out of the strife and bitterness of a great internal conflict in American history. It has always been a sectional party, and the evidence of the past few years serves only too well to dramatize this fact in our minds.

My Democratic friends, there may be some in this audience who remember all to vividly what Republican sectional rule did to North Carolina and the South during the last century. Republicanism in North Carolina is a legend of misrule and outside intervention that must never again be repeated in the history of our proud State.

Now I want to talk a few minutes about the Republican Party and its lackluster record of service to the American people. History offers very little encouragement for those who search for a dynamic, progressive national administration within the Republican Party. The reason is very simple.

The Republican Party historically has been a party of complacency. The carefree administration of Tatt, the corrupt regime of Harding, the do-as-you-please administration of Coolidge, and the "who cares for the common man" philosophy of Herbert Hoover's ill-fated term as President are historical facts.

Complacency has always been the policy of the Republican Party when it has been in control of the destiny of our Nation. It was true in 1906, 1925, and it is true today.

I was amazed last year when I read in the February 14 edition of the New York Mirror a statement by Republican Senator AKEN of Vermont. He seemed to express the general feeling of disenchantment shared today by many Republicans within their party.

Senator Aiken said: "Unless the Republican Party demonstrates greater faith in the future of America than it has been doing recently, we cannot expect the voters to have faith in the Republican Party, and we cannot expect to win elections."

My friends, I think Senator Alken very ably summed up the basic weakness of the Republican Party in his statement. We don't have to be a U.S. Senator to know that the Republican Party has no faith in the future of America. This wait and see—this policy of drift and wish for a miracle in Government—of the present administration, has cost the American people billions of dollars during the past 8 years and has

seriously impaired the security of our country. The Republican Party has consistently said that we are the party of the do-gooders, the party of the spenders, and the party of fiscal irresponsibility. On the other hand, the Republicans have never lost an opportunity to proclaim that they are the businessman's party and the party of financial integrity and economy in Government operations.

Well, as Al Smith used to say, "Let's look at the record." Let us take a look at what our Republican financial wizards have done to our country.

From 1789 through 1952—a period of 163 years—the cost of operating our Government, including all of our great wars and our bitter depression, amounted to \$808,517,385,381. From 1953 through 1959, however, the present administration spent the staggering sum of \$495,222,848,970. Thus, the last 6 years of national Republican rule has cost this Nation more than half the amount of money it took to operate our Government for the first 163 years of our history.

Can you call that fiscal responsibility? Is that an example of a businessman's government?

Let us examine the record again. The cost of carrying the national debt is the second highest expenditure of the Federal Government, exceeded only by our expenditures for national defense. You will be amazed to know that the interest charges on the national debt have increased from \$6,240 million under Mr. Truman in 1952 to \$8,456 million under the present Republican administration in 1959. This is an increase of 36 percent in 7 years.

At the same time, there has been a steady increase in our national debt. In 1952 our national debt was \$267,400 million. In December 1959 the gross public debt of the United States stood at \$290,900 million.

We hear our Republican friends talk about a balanced budget, and well they might talk about such a budget. The fact is that a balanced budget is something unknown to the present Republican administration. It has set an alltime high of budget deficits in peacetime. In 1959 the deficit was \$12,500 million. By contrast, President Truman achieved a net surplus of over \$4 billion during 4 peacetime years of his administration.

The truth about the matter is that although the Republican Party has proclaimed to the world that it is the party of fiscal stability, it is actually the party of bankruptcies and business failures.

Let us look at the record again. The 70,049 bankruptcies under Mr. Hoover in 1932 made a 56-year record. This record was not broken until 1957 when 73,761 bankruptcies occurred. Bankruptcies in the fiscal year which ended June 30, 1959, totaled 100,672. This is the record for all time. The previous alltime high came in 1958 when there were 91,663 bankruptcies.

Our Nation has been allowed to drift dangerously near the brink of economic disaster under the present national administration. With business failures and Federal taxes at an alltime high, we are witnessing a steady increase in inflationary pressures. As the value of the dollar decreases, the cost of living continues to rise.

Since 1952 the cost of living has increased 10 percent. Consumer debt in our Nation is up 83 percent. Installment debt is up 100 percent, and personal loans have increased by an alarming 136 percent.

To the American farmer, Republican control of the National Government has meant economic hardship. Farm income is down 25 percent since 1952. The purchasing power of the farmer is at its lowest point since the 1930's.

The rural depression of the 1950's has spread to many small businessmen, professional people, and workers in service trades and industries whose economic base is agricultural income. Six Republican vetoes of Democratic farm bills have thrown the American farmer and his family into deep eco-

nomic distress.

In just 6 years Agriculture Secretary Benson has spent more than \$31 billion. You will be astounded to learn that in this short period of time he has spent more than all of his predecessors in that office have spent since the Department of Agriculture was created 97 years ago. The size of surplus commodities in Government hands has been multiplied over seven times to almost \$8 billion. And, in passing, I might add that the payroll of his Department has been increased from 65,000 employees in 1952 to over 85,000

The American farmer deserves a better deal than that which he has secured under the present national administration. Unless there is a radical change in our farm policles the future is indeed gloomy for this great segment of our population.

The domestic economic picture is certainly not a pleasant one under this Republican

administration.

There is another area wherein this administration has failed to keep faith with the American people. I refer to our foreign policy and our efforts to have a strong national defense against foreign aggression.

When Mr. Truman left the White House, the United States was the strongest nation in the world. Our military power was not questioned. During the past 8 years, however, we have drifted dangerously close to the point where our national security is

threatened. Gen. Thomas D. White, Chief of Staff of the U.S. Air Force, says: "The United States is behind the Russians in developing intercontinental missiles." And Dr. Von Braun, Chief of the Army Ballistic Missile Agency's Development Operations, has stated, in speaking of the Russians: "The frightening thing is their rate of progress. It will take 5 years to catch the Russians." I give you these statements, not to alarm you, but because I feel you should know what these great leaders have said about the state of our national defense.

Mr. T. G. Lanphier, Jr., who was Special Assistant to the Secretary of the Air Force from 1949 to 1950 and Special Assistant the Chairman of the National Security Resources Board from 1950 to 1951, made a speech on March 29, 1960, to the National Press Club in Washington, D.C., in which he

made this significant statement:

"We are not sufficiently armed in any one of these categories: an invulnerable deterrent; a limited war deterrent; or a Home Guard-let alone all three. The fault for this lies basically with all of us. Yet the person who represents us, and who is responsible to us for our defense, is the President. Over the past years, with the best intentions in the world, he has led us to a point where we are in jeopardy of our national life."

Mr. Lanphier's statement takes on added significance when we consider a recent statement by Khrushchev. The Soviet leader said: "The people of the United States have The Soviet leader never fought in their own territory. must understand that the next war will not be fought in Africa, or Europe, or Asia, but from the very outset it will be fought on United States soil."

This statement by Khrushchev carries a threat that can only be met by a strong and well-armed America. If for no other reason than to protect our very security, the American people should overwhelmingly support a change in our present national administration.

The foreign policy of the United States has also followed a complacent "wait and see" course. We have attempted to buy friends overseas through billions of dollars in foreign aid. During the present administration over \$41 billion of the American taxpayers' money has been spent overseas in connection with various foreign aid programs.

This has proven to be an unwise and un-realistic policy. We have only to look at what has happened recently in Korea and Turkey to realize the truth of this statement.

We need a strong firm hand at the helm of our State Department. Unless the American people bring about a change at the next general election in the national administration, I can only see a continuation of our present rapidly deteriorating influence in world affairs.

Vice President Nixon indicated recently that he differs with the administration's policies on some national issues, but he says that he will not spell out the differences until he has been named the Republican candidate for President. "Only when I become the nominee can I appropriately express individual views that I might have," said Mr. NIXON.

I might add that Mr. Nixon's position is shared by many prominent officials in the national Republican administration. know that the course of their administration is not in keeping with the best interest of the American people. Through lack of leadership at the highest level, however, these Republicans are powerless to reverse the trend of events.

We Democrats, however, have it within our power to reverse the present unhappy course of events in our Nation's history. a party we can go to the polls this November and elect a national administration that will express the will of all of our people. We can, by our efforts, place in power an administration that will again make the United States the strongest and richest Nation on earth.

The time is growing short. Unless the present course of events is altered I fear that in the near future we will find ourselves in the position of a second-rate power among the nations of the world. If that unhappy event should ever occur, our security and our liberty will be at an end.

We can secure a great victory this fall. We must secure a great victory for the preservation of our American way of life. Let us all exert our maximum effort toward success in November.

I thank you.

Milk and Honey-Mud and Mire

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. ESTES KEFAUVER

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Wednesday, May 11, 1960

Mr. KEFAUVER. Mr. President, the Elizabethton Star, a daily newspaper in my State of Tennessee, in its May 3, 1960, issue, commented editorially on an attack against the Tennessee Valley Authority delivered recently by a Member of the other body. I think this edi-torial cuts through a lot of deliberate fables about what TVA was aimed at doing, and what it did. It also hints at the reason behind much TVA criticism. I ask unanimous consent that the editorial be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

COME ON DOWN

That Ohio Congressman-what's his name?—doesn't know much about Tennessee or about the Tennessee Valley Authority. But he certainly is acquainted with industrial economics.

He knows full well that many industries in the North, which includes Ohio, we believe, have looked and are looking to the South as they contemplate new plants-or outright moves.

He knows, too, that we in the South have much to offer-good climate, good industrial land, good labor. Industry wants to take advantage of these benefits, and industry is coming South to do just that.

This, of course, is what rankles that Congressman from Ohio. So, since he can't admit this, he takes a different approach. He attacks TVA on grounds that the agency has failed to create a "land of milk and honey" in the region it serves and that this failure has resulted in the need for Federal assistance in bring new industry into the area to reduce unemployment.

For the Congressman's information, TVA was not designed to create a "land of milk It was designed to prevent the and honey." region from becoming a "land of mud and mire," wasting away under the rolling waters

of recurrent floods.

TVA has accomplished this task admirably. At the same time, we have enjoyed benefits from the power-producing facilities of TVAand we are perfectly happy to have others enjoy them, too. All that's necessary is to come to Tennessee and, in the case of the Ohio Congressman, at least, bring your industries with you.

Col. Albert E. Herrmann

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. PAUL B. DAGUE

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, May 11, 1960

Mr. DAGUE. Mr. Speaker, it is an honor and a privilege for me to take this occasion to pay tribute to an outstanding citizen and veteran leader of my home State of Pennsylvania—a stanch American who has given much of his energies and devoted service to the betterment of our Nation and its veterans.

This distinguished citizen is Col. Albert E. Herrmann of Philadelphia, Pa., and it seems particularly appropriate to recognize his outstanding contributions to the general welfare on this occasion since tomorrow is his natal day when he will celebrate the 61st anniversary of his birth.

Pennsylvanians are indeed proud of Al Herrmann's record of service in veteran circles. Starting with yeoman service as post commander of the George H. Imhof Post No. 153, the American Legion, of Philadelphia, in 1921 and again in 1926, he has steadily broadened his sphere to include service in Philadelphia County Committee of the Legion—on which he has served as a delegate for 40 years-in the capacity of county adjutant, county treasurer, and culminating in county commander in 1945-46. For the past several years he has been chairman of the county committee's rehabilitation and hospital visitation committees and in addition has

found time to serve as executive secretary of the Post County Commanders Association of the Legion in Philadel-

In 1930–31 Colonel Herrmann served as national commander of the U.S. Army Ambulance Service Association and at present is serving as national service and hospital welfare officer of the U.S.A.A.C.'s. In World War I he served with section 567 and Headquarters Company 650 of the U.S. Army Ambulance Service with the Medical Corps, in which he was wounded, and because of those wounds is today listed as a totally disabled veteran. During World War II he served with Draft Board No. 27 in Philadelphia. He has been active in the DAV of World War I, the Military Order of the Purple Heart, and the Philadelphia Municipal Employees War Veterans Association.

In the Historical Old Guard, city of Philadelphia, he served as colonel commanding from 1938 to March 1955, and since then he has served as executive officer of that organization. As a member of the Centennial Legion of Historic Military Commands of the Thirteen Original States, he has served as the delegate to this historic military organization, and in 1956 was elected national director of the C.L.H.M.C. and has been reelected each year by the centennial legion.

Colonel Herrmann has been an active member of the West Philadelphia Republican Club of the 27th ward of Philadelphia, and served the city of Philadelphia as its deputy city controller. Under Mayor S. Davis Wilson, he served a term as assistant director of supplies and Durchases, and while serving in that office, Colonel Herrmann was honored by many civic organizations of Philadelphia for his work in charge of the upper Pennsylvania flood relief work, and his management of the Philadelphia flood relief force in Louisville, Ky.

In his community of the 27th ward of Philadelphia, he has served on many community welfare service agencies as ward chairman of the Red Cross, Salvation Army, and Community Chest drives.

On Colonel Herrmann's birthday in 1935, Hon. Marcel De Verneuil presented to Colonel Herrmann the decoration of Officer d'Academie by the French Government at the Penn Athletic Club.

Throughout his very active life, Colonel Herrmann's accomplishments have been many, but I would like to call particular attention to one endeavor that might well be emulated in other areas of our Nation.

During World War II and the conflict in Korea, right down to the present, he has been mailing magazine subscriptions to our Armed Forces hospitals overseas, as well as to U.S. Veterans' Administration and Armed Forces hospitals in this country, thereby bringing sunshine and get well greetings throughout the year to our disabled and hospitalized service people. This work of bringing sunshine to our disabled veterans is a service embracing all Government hospitals, and includes stamps so that the hospitalized veteran can keep in touch with his loved

On behalf, therefore, of his many friends and admirers I would like to extend to him, his lovely wife, and his charming daughter our best wishes for an abundance of good health and continued opportunities for fruitful service in the years ahead.

Pioneering by United States in World Accomplishments

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. ALEXANDER WILEY

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Wednesday, May 11, 1960

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, the Nation. I believe, can be deeply gratified by the succession of successes we have had in space pioneering, and other fields.

Unfortunately, the upcoming summit-as well as the hullabaloo over the plane incident over the Soviet Unionhave resulted in obscuring major accomplishments by this country.

However, I do not believe we can afford to let these go by unnoticed. Specifically, I refer first, to the almost miraculous success by the Space Agency in reaching out 8 million miles into space to turn on the radio transmitter of Pioneer V to radio messages back to earth.

In itself, this feat is unparalleled in history.

Second, the U.S. atomic submarine, Triton, has just completed a complete encirclement of the globe, submerged in the ocean.

Covering 36,000 miles in 84 days, the A-sub and its gallant, heoric crew, succeeded in providing our country with another "first" in such accomplishments.

The Space Agency, as well as the armed services-more particularly, the crew of the Triton-deserve the national gratitude for these splendid feats.

At this time, I ask unanimous consent to have two articles printed in the Appendix of the RECORD: First, a statement by the National Space Agency delineating the "long reach" out into space to provide us with radio signals back to earth; and second, an article from to-day's Washington Post containing a brief review of the round-the-world trip by the atomic submarine, Triton.

There being no objection, the statement and article were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PIONEER V 150-WATT TRANSMITTER TURNED ON AT 8 MILLION MILES

The powerful 150-watt transmitter aboard the U.S. interplanetary spacecraft Pioneer V was commanded on for the first time at 5:04 a.m., eastern daylight time, today and worked satisfactorily.

It was a good clear transmission, lasting about a minute and a half.

The command signal was sent from the 250-foot radio telescope at Manchester, England, when the spacecraft was some 8,001,000 miles from earth. About one and a half minutes later—the time it took the signal to travel to the spacecraft and the probe's response to return to earth-Manchester received the first 150-watt transmission.

'This is truly a historic event and yet quite in character with the other accomplishments of this amazing spacecraft," said NASA Administrator T. Keith Glennan. "We are certain that the world's scientific community shares our elation over this new success of Pioneer V.

"To our British colleagues at Manchester, directed by Professor Lovell, we extend our hearty congratulations on their magnificent tracking-communications achievement.

"Our congratulations also go to the many, many contractors involved in this interplanetary experiment. A special pat on the back is due the Space Technology Laboratories, Inc., for an outstanding job of payload

packaging and tracking."

Since launch at Cape Canaveral, Fla., March 11, the 94.8-pound probe has been telemetering to earth scientific information daily via a 5-watt transmitter. Early Saturday when it was apparent that the 5-watt unit had nearly reached its transmission limit, it was decided to attempt to energize the 150-watt transmitter, believed to be the largest ever operated in space.

This called for a three-step sequence. First a signal was sent to the spacecraft from Manchester at 5 a.m. yesterday which put power into tube filaments through a current-limiting resistor, thereby warming the filaments for about a minute.

At 11 a.m., eastern daylight time yesterday, the first step was repeated and a second command was sent which removed the current-limiting resistor and supplied full filament heating for several minutes. The circuit passed both tests successfully.

Finally, at 5:03 a.m., eastern daylight time, this morning, Manchester sent the final command in the three-part sequence. This energized the 150-watt transmitter as well as an electric converter serving it, both of which had remained idle in the "hard" vacuum of space since launch, undergoing constant radiation.

The 150-watt unit measures about 7 by 5 inches and consists of two amplifier tubesabout the size of those found in most household radios-along with capacitors, coils, and resistors. The entire package weighs 5 pounds.

Because of the enormous power drain imosed on the system by the 150-watt unit, the big transmitter is being operated only about 2 to 3 minutes every 6 to 8 hours.

Manchester can now receive data at the rate of either 8 or 64 bits per second. For the past few weeks, Manchester and the 60foot South Point, Hawaii, tracking dish have been operating at only one bit per second owing to multimillion-mile distances and the weakening signal strength. Hawaii will continue to command the spacecraft at a rate of one bit per second.

Power for the probe comes from 4,800 solar cells in four arms jutting from the 26-inch spherical package.

The solar cell output constantly charges 28 chemical batteries, the size and shape of standard flashlight batteries only a great deal more powerful. These in turn power more than 40 pounds of experiments, electronics, a receiver, transmitters and assoclated logic units.

At this time it is impossible to predict how long the spacecraft will continue to relay information. In recent weeks, a minor component failure has been noted and compensated for. Also some slight deterioration in the batteries has been observed, possibly the result of leakage in the vacuum of space.

By any measure, however, the probe has stamped itself a true pioneer of interplanetary space.

To date the probe has returned more than 109 hours of data on cosmic radiation, charged particle energies and magnetic field phenomena. In 2 short months, the probe has overturned well entrenched theories about solar flare effects and the extent of the earth's magnetic field.

The probe was launched under the direction of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration with executive management supplied by the Air Force Ballistic Missile Division (ARDC).

THIRTY-SIX THOUSAND MILES IN 84 DAYS-U.S. SUB CIRCLES GLOBE SUBMERGED

(By Edward T. Folliard)

A nuclear-powered submarine, the U.S.S. Triton, has traveled round the world under water.

The announcement was made yesterday at the White House, where President Eisenhower awarded the Legion of Merit to Capt. Edward L. Beach, the Triton's skipper.

A Pentagon official said the Triton's circumnavigation of the world, following approximately the voyage charted by Ferdinand Magellan in 1519-21, was intended to give a boost to America's prestige in advance of next week's summit conference in Paris.

The Triton's journey ended, however, at a time when most of the world was looking toward Moscow, where Soviet Premier Nikita S. Khrushchev was raising a storm about an American spy plane and saying its invasion of Soviet airspace was "aimed at wrecking the summit conference."

President Eisenhower did not seem upset by the thunder from Moscow as he congratulated Captain Beach, a former White House naval aide, pale after his journey of about 36,000 miles in 84 days under the sea. (The Magellan expedition took about 3 years.)
The citation that went along with the

Legion of Merit awarded Captain Beach said the Triton's voyage had proved "man's ability under trying conditions to accomplish prolonged submerged missions" and had made possible the testing of new and com-plex equipment in the world's largest submarine.

'This historic voyage," the citation continued, "took his ship into strange waters under difficult and frequently unknown conditions. As a result, the Triton collected much valuable oceanographic information."

The Triton, largest and most powerful submarine ever built, was commissioned on November 10, 1959. She began her trip around the world as a shakedown cruise, starting out with a dive off Montauk Point Long Island, on February 16. She surfaced yesterday morning off Rehoboth, Del., where Captain Beach was picked up by a heli-copter and flown to Washington.

The 7.750-ton submarine broached-partially surfaced-twice during the cruise. The first time was on March 5, off Montevideo, Uruguay, when it became necessary to transfer a critically ill chief petty officer to the cruiser U.S.S. Macon. The second time was off Cadiz, Spain, on May 2.

The Triton already had circled the globe, and Captain Beach wanted to pay homage to Magellan, who sailed from Cadiz flying the flag of Charles V of Spain.

For the remainder of the voyage, the Triton was submerged, mostly

periscope depth.
Said the Navy Department:
"The submarine salled from Montauk
Point directly to St. Paul Rocks, a group of small, rocky islands about 55 miles north of the Equator and northeast of the eastern tip of Brazil. This was the reference point for the actual circumnavigation, the point to which Triton was to return before proceeding to Cadiz.

left St. Paul Rocks on February 24, intending to round Cape Horn in about 9 days. Off the Falkland Islands, she changed course to rendezvous with the Macon and transfer the crewman who was suffering from kidney stones. This put her several days behind schedule and added some 2,000 miles to her voyage.

"Rounding Cape Horn on March 7, she set a course for Easter Island, passed about 1,200 miles south of Hawaii, and arrived off Guam on March 28. The previous day she had paused to hold memorial services as her track passed about 100 miles from the spot where the first U.S.S. Triton is presumed to have been lost on March 15, 1943, as a result of a Japanese depth-charge attack.

"Leaving Guam, Captain Beach sailed the submarine to the Philippine Islands, passing near Magellan Bay on Macton Island, where the 16th century navigator was killed.
"The submerged circumnavigation com-

pleted, Triton sailed to a point off Cadiz, broached the surface briefly, and then returned submerged to the United States.'

In the course of the 84-day voyage, 42 members of the crew received word of advancement in rank or rating, 8 became fathers, 1 reenlisted and 1 extended his present enlistment.

Amendments to the National Housing Act

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. GORDON L. McDONOUGH

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, May 5, 1960

Mr. McDONOUGH. Mr. Speaker, I have today introduced three amendments to the National Housing Act which will improve the administration of this act and also add some fiscal responsibility to the operation of the act. I submit herewith an explanation of these amendments.

A BILL TO AMEND TITLE I OF THE NATIONAL HOUSING ACT

This bill would make permanent the Federal Housing Administration's title I property repair and improvement program and would remove the dollar limit on its loan insurance authorization. Under present law the program will expire on October 1, 1960, and the amount of insured loans which may be outstanding is limited to \$1.750 million. The bill would make no changes in the operations of the program itself.

Under this program the FHA insures qualified lending institutions against loss, within prescribed limits, on loans made to finance repairs, alterations, and improvements in connection with existing structures and the building of new nonresidential structures. The maximum maturity of these loans is either 3, 5, or 7 years, depending on the size and purpose of the loan. FHA's liability to an institution is limited to 10 percent of the total amount of all title I loans made by that institution. Also, under coinsurance provisions enacted in 1954, FHA's liability on each individual loan is limited to 90 percent of the loss.

Prior to the enactment of title I in 1934, improvements to existing homes had, as a rule, proved difficult to finance except at very high interest rates. Real estate mortgage financing, on the one hand, is too cumbersome, slow and expensive for the relatively small sums involved. Personal installment credit, on the other hand, does not adequately meet the credit needs in this field for a number of reasons. The items involved in a modernization job, such as a new roof or a new bathroom, cannot be covered by a chattel mortgage. Also, manufacturers of the products used are generally not in a position to help provide the credit involved, partly because the many materials used generally come from from a number of different sources, and partly because, in property repair and improvement work, the cost of labor at the site of the property being improved makes up a very large part of the total cost of the job. Finally, the people who do the repair work are very frequently self-employed artisans or small firms who are unable to extend much These inherent and continuing credit. difficulties, which are not present in the financing of such products as automobiles and television sets, have been largely overcome by the FHA property repair and improvement program.

Title I has now been in operation for 25 years and during that time has demonstrated its basic soundness. Over 23 million loans amounting to about \$12.5 billion have been insured. About 2.6 million of these loans are now outstanding. Over 1 million loans were insured in 1959 in a total amount of about \$1 billion. Insurance losses during the entire life of the program have amounted to well under 1 percent of the aggregate loan amounts, and premium income has been sufficient to cover both these losses and FHA's operating expenses and to provide adequate insurance reserves as well.

The program has also been especially helpful in urban renewal and rehabilitation, as it encourages the repair and conservation of existing properties and the prevention of blight. This will be of increasing importance as more of our cities emphasize urban rehabilitation and code enforcement.

In the past a great deal of unnecessary uncertainty and confusion has resulted among lenders and dealers when faced with frequently recurring expiration dates of the program. Lenders cannot successfully participate in the program unless they establish specialized facilities for making the loans, for investigating dealers from whom they intend to purchase notes, and for making collections. When faced with frequently recurring expiration dates, it is difficult for lenders to make long-range plans for carrying on these operations. Similarly. many home-repair firms finance major portions of their business through the FHA program so that a disruption, or even a threatened disruption, in this program results in substantial hardship for them. On several occasions the enactment of continuing legislation has been delayed until the expiration date was either very close at hand or until the program had actually expired.

Making the program permanent by removing the date and dollar limitations would avoid these unnecessary hardships. The Congress can, of course, still terminate or modify the program whenever it believes that changed conditions warrant such action.

The extension of the program during this session of the Congress is necessary because of the October 1 expiration date. An increase in the authorization is also needed, since it is estimated that the present authorization will be exhausted before September of this year.

BILL TO AUTHORIZE INCREASE IN TREASURY BORROWING FOR MORTGAGE PURCHASES IN FNMA SPECIAL ASSISTANCE FUNCTIONS

Under existing law, the FNMA borrows funds from the Treasury to purchase mortgages under its special assistance functions. These functions include the purchase of special classes of mortgages designated by the President.

This bill would provide authorization for increases, to be made from time to time in appropriation acts, in the maximum amount of these mortgage purchases. Future borrowings from the Treasury to obtain funds for these purchases would be added to the now existing revolving fund and would remain available and be used in the same manner as funds borrowed in the past, and interest would be paid thereon in ac-cordance with present law. Current estimates of activity in the program indicate that \$150 million will be required for commitments and purchases in fiscal Year 1961, principally in support of the urban renewal and relocation housing programs under sections 220 and 221 of the National Housing Act.

BILL TO AUTHORIZE INCREASE IN TREASURY BOR-ROWING FOR PUBLIC FACILITY LOANS

Under existing law, the funds used by the Housing Administrator to make loans to communities for public facilities are borrowed by him from the Secretary of the Treasury. This bill would provide authorization for increases, to be made from time to time in appropriation acts, in the amount which the Housing Administrator may borrow for this purpose. Such future borrowings would be added to the now existing revolving fund and would remain available and be used in the same manner as funds borrowed in the past, and interest would be paid thereon in accordance with present law. Currest estimates of activity under the public facility loan program show that the present maximum amount of borrowings-\$100 million-will be entirely obligated early in fiscal year 1961. The proposed legislation would permit borrowing of an additional \$100 millionwhen authorized in appropriation actsestimated to be required to finance the Public facility loan program through fiscal year 1963.

What Kind of President Do You Want?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. OLIN D. JOHNSTON

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Wednesday, May 11, 1960

Mr. JOHNSTON of South Carolina. Mr. President, I hold in my hand a clipping from the New York Times of Wednesday, May 11, entitled "What Kind of President Do You Want?" writ-ten by Mr. James Reston. The first two paragraphs read as follows:

The tragedy of President Eisenhower in the spy-plane case is that he and his colleagues have created almost all the things he feared the most.

He wanted to reduce international tension and he has increased it. He wanted to strengthen the alliance and he has weakened it. He glorified teamwork and morality, and got lies and administrative chaos.

I ask unanimous consent that the entire article be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD. as follows:

> WHAT KIND OF PRESIDENT DO YOU WANT?-III

(By James Reston)

WASHINGTON, May 10 .- The tragedy of President Eisenhower in the spy-plane case is that he and his colleagues have created almost all the things he feared the most.

He wanted to reduce international tension and he has increased it. He wanted to strengthen the alliance and he has weakened it. He glorified teamwork and morality, and got lies and administrative chaos.

Everything he was noted for-caution, patience, leadership, military skill, and even good luck-suddenly eluded him precisely at the moment he needed them most.

And the paradox of it all is that, despite the wonder of the world, there is an ele-ment of reason and even of inevitability in

the whole melancholy story.

This is the main point at a time when the Nation is picking a President for the sixties. For the heart of the problem here is that the Presidency has been parceled out, first to Sherman Adams, then to John Foster Dulles, and in this case to somebody else-presumably to Allen Dulles, but we still don't know.

INSTITUTIONALIZED PRESIDENCY

From the "personalized Presidency" of Jackson, Lincoln, Wilson, and the two Roosevelts we have passed to the "institu-tionalized Presidency" under Eisenhower. It has some good points, but it disperses authority, removes the President from many key decisions and leaves the Nation, the world and sometimes even the President himself in a state of uncertainty about who is doing what.

Long before the spy-plane case some of the Nation's most distinguished historians noted this trend.

"To a far greater degree than any of his predecessors," wrote Edward S. Corwin of predecessors," wrote Edward S. Corwin of Princeton in "The President—Office and Powers," "President Eisenhower has employ-Powers, "President Eisenhower has employ-ed the Cabinet as an instrument of collec-tive policymaking. * * * Each member is expected to assume full responsibility for the conduct of the affairs of his depart-

"Each of these gentlemen, according to the to the President, is an independent officeholder with his own views of appropriate policy, with which the President has no warrant to interfere."

It may be going far to say that the President felt no "warrant" to interfere with the established policy of aerial intrusion over the Soviet Union, but there no doubt exists here what Professor Corwin calls an air of presi-dential "detachment," an attitude of "reign-ing rather than ruling" and relying on the staff to carry on established policies even when new conditions, such as an impending summit meeting, intervened.

THE CENTRAL POINT

Prof. Walt W. Rostow, of Massachusetts Institute of Technology spells out the prob-lem in "The United States in the World

"For whatever reasons-diffidence, uncertainty, or inner convictions-" he wrote, "President Eisenhower did not impose his own insights, his own sense of direction on the Nation's policy.

"He remained loyal not to his views of substance but to his principles of administration. He decided, in effect, only when his immediate subordinates could not. He maintained the kind of relationship [with the Cabinet] he had built up during the war with Alexander, Montgomery, and Bradley-a relationship in which, within the agreed strategy, the field operator was given maximum scope."

maximum scope."

Here, perhaps more than anywhere else, lies the explanation of the spy-plane confusion. The field operator was given "maximum scope." There was an "agreed strategy" in Washington, but the specific operation was not authorized by the President, or even on the President's mind until the crash.

The President, in short, was loyal to his subordinates and to his principles of administration, but the tragedy is that he "did not impose his own insights, his own sense of direction in the Nation's policy."

By nature no man could be less inclined

than Eisenhower to risk a provocative adventure into the Soviet Union just before perhaps the last Big Four summit meeting of his career, or to say when it was done that it had not been done, or to insist in the end that he would do it again.

This is why it is a tragedy. For in an instant of savage misfortune he was caught in a system of his own choosing, and the question now is whether this concept of the Presidency is adequate for the sixties.

Blind America

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. H. R. GROSS

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, May 11, 1960

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, there is evidence of a growing awareness throughout the Nation that the foreign trade policies of the U.S. Government are taking us into deep trouble.

An editorial in the Mason City (Iowa) Globe-Gazette of May 6, 1960, points out how and why "America is pricing itself out of not only the world market but altogether too great a proportion of our own market."

The Globe-Gazette might have cited another example—one of many—of how American industry is being penalized; a loan of \$5 million from the redevelopment loan fund to the Government of Yugoslavia for the purchase of 20 diesel railroad locomotives. This is another of those "soft" loans which means that if ever repaid it will be in Yugoslav dinars and these, by agreement, cannot be taken out of the country. The "loan" is at 3½ percent interest. But to cap the sheaf of this deal, the locomotives are being purchased abroad.

There will be a growing number of depressed areas in this country and increasing demands upon Congress to open the Federal Treasury for the spending of hundreds of millions of dollars for the relief of these areas unless prompt action is taken to revise foreign trade and foreign lending policies.

"That is as plain as the nose on your face," says the Globe-Gazette editorial

and I ask that it be reprinted in full at this point in the RECORD:

WHAT'S HAPPENING TO FOREIGN TRADE?

The growing threat to American industry—and American jobs—is forcefully demonstrated by what has happened in the case of four familiar, typically American products: Sewing machine, automobile, bicycle, typewriter.

The sewing machine was an American invention and for many years monopolized the world markets. But last year this country exported 20,000 sewing machines and imported more than 2 million. The old order has completely changed in this field. As recently as 1953 this country imported

As recently as 1953 this country imported only 29,500 automobiles. Last year the figure was 668,070. Ironically, a substantial proportion of the imports were cars made by American firms which have established plants abroad.

Bicycles have been described as an American development in their finest form, but last year we imported nearly 600,000 of them

while exports were practically nil.

As for typewriters, this country exported only 55,000 units but imported 370,000. America's preeminence in that field of trade has declined to the point where foreign interests have ever taken over a big American typewriter plant which apparently couldn't make a go of it.

The corallary of and explanation for all that has been related here is that America is pricing itself out of not only the world market but altogether too great a proportion of our own market. Blind indeed is the person who can't recognize this. It's as

plain as the nose on your face.

Visits to U.S. Parks and Forests Set Record

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. ALEXANDER WILEY

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, May 11, 1960

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, the preservation of our forests as well as park resources is essential for: First, conserving soil, water, forest, fish and wildlife and other resources. Second, retaining outdoor lands as significant features of America's landscape. Third, providing recreational areas for our people.

Today, 181 million acres of national forest lands and 183 areas are administered by the National Park Service.

Last year more than 144 million visitors utilized these outdoor forest and park lands.

As our population increases—and urban, suburban, and industrial areas expand—our parks and forests become increasingly significant, not only economically, but also as vacation lands for the people of the country.

Recently the Milwaukee Journal published an informative article on the tremendous way in which the American people are going out of doors. I ask unanimous consent that the article may be printed in the Appendix of the Reconp.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Milwaukee Journal, May 8, 1960] RECORDS SET FOR U.S. PARK, FOREST VISITORS

Washington, D.C.—The American vacationer set a record for Federal recreation area visits last year and probably will exceed it in 1960. The two principal barometers of visits to Federal recreation areas are the Agriculture Department's Forest Service and the Interior Department's National Park Service.

In 1959, 144,333,000 visits were made to the 181 million acres of national forest lands and to the 183 areas administered by the National Park Service.

The Forest Service said visits to the national forests hit an all-time high of 81,521,000—the biggest gain of any single year since 1946. They rose 19 percent over the 68,400,000 visits in 1958. In comparison, the gain in 1958 over the previous year was 12 percent and in 1957 it was 16 percent.

NATIONAL PARK TOTAL

The National Park Service said travel to the 29 national parks and the 154 other areas administered by the Service rose to 62,812,000 in 1959, an all-time record and an increase of 4,315,000 over the number recorded in 1958.

Forest Service officials said the greatest use increase occurred in undeveloped areas, where 1959 visits were up 33 percent from 1958. The officials were disturbed at their trend because much of this use was caused by lack of space at developed camp and picnic grounds.

Latecomers who could not find a space at established areas set up camp or picknicked where there were no facilities to protect public health or fireplaces for protection against forest fires. The Service said that despite efforts to meet growing recreation demands, the increase in use continues to exceed capacity and serious overcrowding has resulted.

HUNTING AND FISHING

The Forest Service said some of the heavier use of undeveloped areas was due to the increased number of visits by hunters and fishermen. Such visits jumped from 17 million in 1958 to 20 million last year.

The most popular purpose for recreation visits was general enjoyment of the national forests. Picknicking, fishing, hunting, and camping followed in that order of popularity,

Areas Eligible Under the Depressed Areas Bill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. WILLIAM B. WIDNALL

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 11, 1960

Mr. WIDNALL. Mr. Speaker, last Wednesday when the House passed the Depressed Areas bill, an amendment was offered by the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. FLOOD], making it necessary that an area have 6 percent or more unemployment at the time an application for assistance was made. The author of the amendment, as his sole explanation of the amendment. stated, "Mr. Chairman, this is merely a perfecting amendment. I do not want to make a speech about it. I submit it to the Chairman and I hope he will accept it." The amendment was adopted. I endeavored to obtain an explanation of the effect of the amendment, by seeking recognition, but did not receive it until after action was taken. I then stated, "Mr. Chairman, I should like to find out what this amendment does to the bill. I presume from what was said by the majority leader, he fully approved the original Spence bill as it applied to many areas throughout the United States. As I understand this amendment, it would materially curtail the number of eligible areas. I think it ought to be so understood." Mr. Chairman, I asked the Department of Labor to prepare a new list of the areas that would appear to qualify under the bill as it passed the House and the Senate and was sent to the President. In order that Members may have the benefit of this information, I will insert the new list at the conclusion of these remarks. The at the conclusion of these remarks. bill, as it came from the committee, made 192 industrial areas eligible. The bill as it passed the House with the Flood amendment, reduces that number to 143 areas. On that basis, if we had had three or four more "perfecting" amendments, we would have done away with the problem entirely.

I am sure Members will be interested in noting that included among the areas that must be declared to be depressed areas are Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, Detroit, Louisville, Kentucky, and Atlantic City. Inclusion of Philadelphia as a depressed area is of particular importance. That area's unemployed total of 119,300 persons exceeds the unemployed totalapproximately 100,000-in all 12 of the areas in Pennsylvania on which there is general agreement that they are areas suffering from chronic unemployment. In other words, the hard hit areas now must share with Philadelphia dollar for dollar the assistance that was supposed to go to the truly depressed areas. On a straight pro rata basis, Philadelphia would be entitled to slightly more dollars of assistance than all the depressed areas in the whole State of Pennsylvania.

The list follows:

Tentative list of urban areas that may qualify for Federal assistance as areas with substantial and persistent unemployment under various legislative proposals 1

> [Revised May 1960] MAJOR AREAS 2

Administration (Kilburn) bill H.R. 4278	Area redevelopment bill (as passed by Congress)
(16 major areas)	(40 major areas)
Connecticut:	Connecticut: Bridgeport.
Indiana: Kvansville, Terre Haute, Kentucky:	New Britain. Indiana: Evansville. Terre Haute. Kentucky:
Maine:	Louisville. Maine:
Massachusetts:	Portland. Massachusetts:
Fall River. Lawrence, Lowell, New Bedford.	Brockton. Fall River. Lawrence. Lowell. New Bedford. Springfield-Holyoke.
Michigan: Detroit.	Woreester. Michigan: Detroit. Flint.
Minnesotn:	Minnesota: Duluth-Superior.
New Jersey: Atlantic City.	New Jersey: Atlantic City- Newark. Paterson. Trenton.

Footnotes at end of table.

Tentative list of urban areas that may qualify for Federal assistance as areas with substantial and persistent unemployment under various legislative proposals-Con.

[Revised May 1960]		
Administration (Kilburn) bill H.R. 4278	Area redevelopment bill (as passed by Congress)	
(16 major areas)	(40 major areas)	
New York: North Carolina: Pennsylvania: Altoona. Erie. Johnstown. Scranton. Wilkes-Barre-Hazleton. Rhode Island: Providence. Tennessee: Texas: Virginia: West Virginia: Charleston. Huntington-Ashland.	New York: Albany-Schenectady- Troy, Buffalo. Uttea-Rome, North Carolina: Durham, Pennsylvania: Altoona. Erie. Johnstown, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, Seranton, Wilkes-Barre-Hazleton Wilkes-Barre-Hazleton York, Rhode Island: Providence, Tennessee: Cahttanooga. Texas: Beaumont-Port Arthur, Corpus Christi. Virginia: Ronnoke, West Virginia: Charleston, Huntington-Ashland,	
SMALLD	B AREAS 4	
(48 smaller areas) Alabama: Florence-Sheffield.	(103 smaller areas) Alabama: Florence-Sheffield.	

	Wheeling.	
SMALLER AREAS 4		
(48 smaller areas)	(103 smaller areas)	
Alabama:		
Florence of at a	Alabama:	
Florence-Sheffield,	Florence-Sheffield.	
Jasper.	Gadsden.	
	Jasper. Tuliadega,	
Alaska:	Alaska:	
Amaria	Anchorage.	
Connecticut:	Connecticut:	
	Ansonia,	
	Bristol.	
Danielson.	Danielson,	
***************************************	Meriden.	
***************************************	Middletown.	
***************************************	Norwich.	
************************	Thompsonville.	
Dlinois:	Torrington.	
Contact	Illinois:	
Harrish.	Centralia.	
Harrisburg. Herrin-Murphysboro West Frankfort.	Harrisburg.	
West Frankfort.	Herrin-Murphysboro-	
Litchfield.	West Frankfort.	
	Mount Carmel-Olney.	
Indiana Vernon.	Mount Vernon.	
Indiana; Vernon.	Indiana:	
- water and the same of the	Connersvilla.	
Kansag.	Vincennes,	
Kansas:	Kansas:	
***************	Coffeyville-Independ-	
Plus	ence-Parsons.	
Kentucky:	Pittsburg.	
Corbin.	Kentucky: Corbin.	
Hazard.	Corbin.	
Madisonville.	Hazard.	
Morehead-Grayson.	Madisonville.	
Transport.	Morehead-Grayson.	
	Owensboro.	
Paintsville-Prestons-	Paducah.	
burg.		
Pikeville-Williamson.		
Dia.	Malpe	
Biddeford-Sanford.	Biddeford-Sanford.	
Maryland:	Lewiston-Auburn.	
	Maryland:	
Cumberland.	Cambridge.	
Massachusetts:	Cumberland.	
andsorts;	Massachusetts:	
Michigan	Newburyport.	
Michigan:	North Adams.	
Bay City	Michigan:	
Bay City. Iron Mountain.	Bay City.	
Transmit.	Iron Mountain.	
Monroo,	Marquette. Monroe.	
Port Huron.	Port Huron,	
111111111111111111111111111111111111111	Mississippi:	
Missouri:	Biloxi-Gulfport.	
sanitt!	Affenousis	

Flat River. Joplin. Washington.

Pootnotes at end of table.

Tentative list of urban areas that may qualify for Federal assistance as areas with substantial and persistent unemployment under various legislative proposals-Con.

[Revised May 1960]

Administration (Kilburn) bill H.R. 4278	Area redevelopment bill (as passed by Congress)
(48 smaller areas)	(103 smaller areas)
Montana: Butte.	Montana: Butte.
	Kalispell,
New Jersey:	Kalispell, New Jersey: Bridgeton.
Bridgeton.	Long Branch.
New York:	Long Branch. New York: Amsterdam.
Amsterdam, Auburn.	Auburn.
	Elmira.
Gloversville.	Gloversville. Jamestown-Dunkirk.
	Newburgh-Middle
	town-Beacon. Ogdensburg-Massens
	Malone, Plattshurgh
	Plattsburgh, Weilsville. North Carolina:
North Carolina:	North Carolina:
Fayetteville.	Fayetteville. Hendersonville.
	Lumberton.
No.	Mount Airy.
Ohio:	Portsmouth-Chilli-
blohomar	cothe. Oklahoma:
Oklahoma:	Ardmore.
McAlester.	McAlester.
	Muskogee. Okmulgee-Henryetta.
ennsylvania:	Pennsylvania:
Herwick-Bloomsburg.	Herwick-Bloomsburg. Butler.
Clearfield-Du Bois.	Butler, Clearfield-Du Bois,
******************	Indiana. Kittanning-Ford City
***************************************	Lewistown.
	Meadville,
New Castle.	New Castle. Oil City-Franklin-T
	tusville.
Pottsville.	Pottsville. Sayre-Athens-Tow-
*********	anda.
Continue Chemokin	St. Marys. Sunbury-Shamokin-
Sunbury-Shamokin- Mount Carmel.	Mount Carmel,
Mount Carmel. Uniontown-Connells-	Uniontown-Connells-
ville.	ville. Williamsport.
ennessee:	Tennessee:
La Follette-Jellico-	La Follette-Jellico
Tazewell.	Texas:
***************************************	Laredo.
irginia:	Tevarkana. Virginia:
irginia: Big Stone Gap-Ap-	Big Stone Gap-Al
palachia.	palachia. Richlands-Bluefield.
ashington;	Washington:
	Aberdeen.
Anacortes.	Anacortes. Bellingham.
***************************************	Bremerton.
est Virginia;	Port Angeles. West Virginia;
est Virginia; Heckley.	Heckley.
Bluefield.	Bluefield.
Fairmont.	Clarksburg. Fairmont.
Logan	Logan.
******************	Martinsburg. Morgantown.
Morgantown.	Parkersburg.
Point Pleasant-Galli-	Point Pleasant-Gall
polis. Ronceverte-White	polls. Ronceverte-Whit
Sulphur Springs.	Sulphur Springs.
Welch.	Welch, Wisconsin:
isconsin:	La Crosse.

¹ This listing is preliminary and tentative, and is based largely on bimonthly or semiannual data compiled from area labor market reports prepared in connection with the Bureau of Employment Security's program for the classification of areas according to relative adequacy of labor supply. Data used cover a ² to 5-year period, generally extending through March 1960. Later data, now becoming available for some areas, could result in several changes in the above listing. A more comprehensive review of area data on a monthly—rather than bimonthly or semiannual—basis, and in the light of whatever criteria may be included in the bill finally enacted, would be required to determine which areas are eligible for assistance as areas with substantial and persistent unemployment.

* Major areas are areas included in the Bureau of Employment Security's regular area labor market reporting and classification program. This program covers 149 of the country's leading employment centers. Unemployment and labor force data for these areas are generally available on a bimonthly basis.

* Borderline.

* Smaller areas: Areas with a labor force of 15,000 or more which are officially classified as "smaller areas of substantial labor surplus" by the Bureau of Employment Security. Data for such areas are generally available on a semiannual basis. Information for smaller areas which are not classified, or for areas with a labor force of less than 15,000, is not available in Washington on a consistent basis.

ATTACHMENT TO MAY 1960 TENTATIVE LIST OF ELIGIBLE URBAN AREAS UNDER PROPOSED AREA ASSISTANCE LEGISLATION

Summary of eligibility criteria used The administration (Kilburn) bill (H.R. 4278):

1. Unemployment is now 6 percent or more of the labor force discounting seasonal or temporary factors.

2. The annual average unemployment rate in the area has been:

(a) At least 50 percent above the national average for 4 of the preceding 5 calendar years.

(b) At least 75 percent above the national average for 3 of the preceding 4 calendar years.

(c) At least 100 percent above the national average for 2 of the preceding 3 calendar

Area redevelopment bill (as passed by Congress):

1. Unemployment in the area is now 6 percent or more of the labor force.

2. Local unemployment rates have been: (a) At least 6 percent during 18 of the preceding 24 months.

(b) At least 9 percent during 15 of the preceding 18 months.

(c) At least 12 percent during the preceding 12 months.

Ukrainian Rite Church Silent, but Not Dead

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. NORMAN BRUNSDALE

OF NORTH DAKOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Wednesday, May 11, 1960

Mr. BRUNSDALE. Mr. President, one of the saddest tales following World War I was the destruction of the independence of the Ukrainian people of southern Russia. However, because of love for their institutions which they were permitted to retain for some years, they managed to endure the trials imposed upon them by a Communist govevrnment at Moscow.

When these institutions were gradually undermined and eventually destroyed, their suffering was complete. The final destruction so to speak of their church, the persecution of their priests, and finally the practical elimination of their church and its right to exist as such, was completed on April 10, 1945, when the Russian Communist Govern-ment arrested all Ukrainian Catholic bishops and the archbishop and put them in prison.

In the United States the Ukrainian Congress of America is a closely knit organization composed of people who have become citizens of our land, respected

and God-fearing people. In my State there is a branch of this Ukrainian Congress which recently, with other State councils, declared April 10 as the Ukrain-

ian Day of National Solidarity.

I have received a letter from the president of the organization in North Dakota, as well as two editorials concerning the Ukrainian Church, entitled "Ukrainian Rite Church Silent, but Not Dead." and the other "An Appeal to the Conscience of the Free World," taken from a publication of the organization. I ask unanimous consent that they be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the letter and editorials were ordered to be print-

ed in the RECORD, as follows:

UKRAINIAN CONGRESS COMMITTEE

OF AMERICA, INC., Bismarck, N. Dak., April 30, 1960. Hon. NORMAN BRUNSDALE,

U.S. Senator, Senate Office Building, Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR BRUNSDALE: Our organization recalls with sorrow, that 15 years ago in April Russian Communists launched their brutal drive to crush the Ukrainian Catholic Church.

The offensive began in April 1945 with an attack in the press. On April 10, 1945, Russian Communist regime arrested all the Ukrainian Catholic bishops, the archbishop-Metropolitan Joseph Slipy at the head, and

imprisoned them.

Archbishop Metropolitan Joseph Slipy of Lviv was jalled and sentenced, is now seri-riously ill in Siberia. The latter, who alone of other 10 bishops, is still alive after a term of 15 years penal servitude in the concentration camps, was recently again sentenced for 7 more years for writing a pastoral letter to his faithful and he continues to be a prisoner and a martyr of the Soviet Union.

Since that memorable date, at the hands the Russian Communist regime the Ukrainians have lost 3,000 priests, 500 theology students, over a thousand monks and nuns, and over 4,000 churches and chapels, 195 religious premises, 38 Catholic publishing houses, and over 1,000 schools. Millions of the faithful also became victims of the

Communist terror.

On this occasion we would like to recall similar destruction of the Ukrainian autocephalic Orthodox Church in Ukraine where within 10 years from 1921 to 1931 Russian Communist regime unjustly arrested and annihilated 80 bishops with the Metropolitan Vasyl Lypkiwsky at the head, and also thousands of priests and millions of the faithful.

At the same time our organization recalls similar destruction of Christian churches in Lithuania, Estonia, Latvia, Byelorussia, Rumania, Hungary, and in many other countries subjugated by the Russian Communist

regime.

Having removed the shepherds and the clergy the Reds decided to deliver a decisive In March 1946 they declared Ukrainian church be wiped out and they staged an artificial "synod" which proclaimed "union" with the Russian Orthodox Church. This Russian Orthodox Church is now subservient to the Communists, supports Communist regime and helps Russian imperialism by reclassification of other non-Russian nations. Therefore the faithful of the Ukrainian Catholic Church went underground and became a "silent church."

The facts stated in this letter indicate that the Russian Communist regime destroys with premeditation the leaders of the Christian churches of the non-Russian nations, persecutes the church and the faithful, seeing in them the only obstacle against its imperialistic expansion without respecting even the simplest principles of ethics and morals.

The Ukrainians all over the free world and especially in the United States, Canada, Great Britain, and Germany, under the leadership of their hierarchy and their councils have been united on April 10, 1960, in joint prayers for the persecuted church of Christ and her The Ukrainians also declared April leaders. 10 as "Ukrainian Day of National Solidarity" in tribute to the martyred Ukrainian Catholic Church. They prayed that the free world might understand the present tragedy of Christ's church in the Ukraine and in other countries subjugated by Communist Russia, and that the free world might preserve itself from similar tragedy.

Enclosed is a copy of the America, Ukrainian Catholic daily of April 7, 1930, which has an editorial for this event under the title "Destruction of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in Ukraine," by Dr. L. Mydlowsky, and a copy of an editorial of Register of April 10, 1960, by Ray Whitehead under the title, "Ukrainian Rite Church Silent, But Not Dead." All of these editorials illustrate the condition of the persecuted church in Ukraine.

Therefore, I respectfully request to present to the U.S. Senate the dreadful situation of the religious persecution in Ukraine. I also request that the Secretary of State propose to the American delegation in the United Nations the condition of the persecuted church in Ukraine be placed on the agenda of the United Nations Assembly.

Please kindly accept these few facts for your information and our organization and the Americans of the Ukrainian descent would appreciate inserting all of the enclosed editorials, including this letter into the Con-GRESSIONAL RECORD as a matter of public

Respectfully yours,

Dr. ANTHONY ZUKOWSKY, President, UCCA, State Branch of North Dakota.

UKRAINIAN RITE CHURCH SILENT, BUT NOT DEAD

(By Ray Whitehead)

Of the 12 million Eastern Rite Catholics, 5,500,000 are Ukrainian Catholics of the Byzantine Rite, and their large numbers explain why the Communists' post-World War II all-out drive on the church started in the Ukraine.

When the western parts of the Ukraine fell under Red tyranny in World War II, Moscow in the spring of 1945 demanded that metropolitan Archbishop Joseph Slipyj and his bishops give up their allegiance to the Pope and pass under the jurisdiction of the Russian Orthodox patriarch of Moscow.

The demand was rejected, and shortly thereafter the Russian secret police arrested the metropolitan and all the bishops. The metropolitan was tried secretly and sentenced to 8 years at hard labor, and the other bish-

ops received similar terms.

With the removal of the hierarchy, Moscow appointed three renegade priests to work among the clergy for a break with Rome. When several hundred priests met in Lvow to protest these antichurch actions and to appeal to Stalin for protection under the Soviet Constitution, they were arrested.

Following up their sally with a savage attack, the Communists jailed or executed one-third of the 3,000 priests of the country and deported the rest or forced them into

civil occupations. A few were able to fiee.

Having removed the shepherds and the clergy, the Reds decided to deliver a decisive blow. In March 1946, they declared the church wiped out and its members transferred to the jurisdiction of the Russian Orthodox Church. The faithful went underground and became the "Silent Church."

But Russia did not limit its attack on Ukrainian Catholics to the Soviet Union. In Poland it arrested Bishop Kotsylowsky of Sambor and his auxiliary in September 1945. Later the car of Bishop Theodore Romzha of Uzhorod in Carpatho-Ukraine "accidentally" collided with a Red army vehicle and he died. An Orthodox bishop was "appointed" by the Reds to his diocese.

In 1950 the last of the Ukrainian Catholic bishops in Red territory, Bishop Pavlo Goy-dich of Presov in Czechoslovakia, was arrested with his auxiliary and both were sentenced to life imprisonment. The Reds declared the diocese incorporated into the

Russian Orthodox Church.

To the Communists the Ukrainian Rite Church seems liquidated, but they are mis-It has merely been silenced for a

The battle is bloody and the martyrs are numerous, but the church has Christ's word that the gates of hell will not prevail against it. Communism will one day be a putrefying corpse and a sickening memory.

AN APPEAL TO THE CONSCIENCE OF THE FREE WORLD

We follow with great interest the events taking place in South Africa where both Negroes and many whites raised an open rebellion against the racial discriminating policies of their Government. We sympathize deeply on hearing that many suffered bodily injuries and others paid dearly with their lives in defense of their human rights. It was encouraging to hear that the Security Council of the United Nations, on the presentation of the grievances which came from the 29 nations of the Afro-Asian bloc of the U.N., in spite of the protests of the representative of the South African Government, took up the question of the bloody outbursts in South Africa. The settlement of this question in the spirit of divine and natural law will bring peace not only to South Africa, but it will influence the making of true peace throughout the world.

But true peace in the world will not come from high sounding meaningless words, nor from the lying phraseology about brotherhood of nations and world peace carried to the Western World by the wolf in sheep's clothing, the Soviet Premier, the enslaver of human dignity and whole nations-

Nikita Khrushchev.

In 1938 Nikita Khrushchev, through the will of Stalin became the appointed commissar of the Ukraine in the role of a Secretary of the Communist Party in Ukraine. He followed in the footsteps of his predecessors, Postishev and Koslor. In bloody letters the history of the Ukraine recorded Khrushchev as the merciless butcher of thousands of Ukrainian political prisoners at the beginning of the German-Soviet war, formal liquidator of the Ukrainian Catholic Church with the imprisonment of its whole hierarchy and their superior Metropolitan Slipyj, and the murderer of hundreds of priests and thousands of faithful.

On Paim Sunday, which falls on April 10, 1960, the Ukrainians of the free world, under the initiative of the Ukrainian Catholic Metropolitan of Canada, His Grace Maxime Hermaniuk, are preparing an All Ukrain-ian Day of national solidarity. The occasion for such an expression of common solidarity is the 15th anniversary of the bloody purge of the Ukrainian Catholic Church by the Communists. This persecution is only one link in the long chain of bloody persecutions to which for the last 43 years Communist Moscow subjected Christ's Church and her faithful in countries which fell under the Red imperialistic heel.

One of the first countries to fall a victim of the bloody Communist regime was the Ukraine. During the 40 years of domination by the Communists, the Ukrainian history recorded most important events: The millions of victims of the artificially produced famine of 1932-33, the mass imprisonment and shooting of people as happened in Vinnitza, the banishment of thousands of Ukrainian young men and women to work on Asiatic virgin lands, the destruction of the Ukrainian Autocephalic Orthodox Church, and as mentioned previously, the formal destruction of the Ukrainian Catholie Church.

On this All Ukrainian Day of national solidarity, we appeal to the conscience of the free world, which has in the last few days in the spirit of brotherly love, given voice to the bloody events of South Africa. We call upon all who stand together in this drawn out struggle against the present Red barbarism. We raise a brother's voice of warning not to overlook what is taking place on the other side of the Iron Curtain, es-Pecially in the Ukraine, because the indifference of the free world will truly be the cause of the enslavement of many other nations, and the physical destruction of millions of people. Let us therefore, united in brotherly love, be ever watchful and active in battle with evil—if we wish true

The 25th Birthday of REA

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON, ROBERT W. LEVERING

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, May 11, 1960

Mr. LEVERING. Mr. Speaker, since the rural electrification program was launched 25 years ago today, 96 percent of the farms of America have been electrifled, demonstrating how free enter-Drise and a sympathetic Government can work together to solve vexing and difficult problems for human beings. Those who have been active in the rural electrification movement, know from the history of REA that rural electrification has been a real fight all during its history and even before the Rural Electrification Administration was born. Leaders during the formative period of the program as well as those today also know that the REA program and the American farm family have a close relationship.

Mr. Speaker, I will never forget the joy and excitement which came into the farm home in Ohio, where my family and I still live, when the lights were turned on in the 1930's. A large percentage of the families who get their electricty from rural electric systems live and operate family-type farms. Because rural electrification has made possible a level of living comparable to urban living, the farm family has become more content with their environment and I feel electrification has been an important factor deterring the flight of young people from farms to other occupations. Farm boys and girls can now be proud of their homes and their way of life. Of course, many young people have left the farm in recent years, mainly because of relatively low farm incomes; but, I believe that had not electrification come to agriculture the movement would have been much more rapid. If the income

of the family farm can be brought in line with other occupations the family farm will continue one of our proudest and most respected ways of life. Thus, the problems of the family farm and of the rural electric systems are entertwined; their fortunes go up and down together: policies affecting the wellbeing of one cannot help but affect the other

The battles waged by our beloved and distinguished Speaker RAYBURN, the late Senator George W. Norris, the great independent of Nebraska who for 25 years reigned supreme in the Senate as a man who worked for the future of his country and its resources, former Congress-man John Rankin, of Mississippi, and others, were battles of no greater importance than those which have come before the 86th Congress and will come before succeeding Congresses.

Mr. Speaker, the success of the rural electrification program has been so overwhelming that many opponents no longer try to attack it openly, instead they are coming forth with proposals labeled "Improvements" of the program.

Here are a few examples of these

improvements:

The REA has suffered a downgrading of its Administrator. The Secretary of Agriculture in 1957, instituted a pro-cedure of having a political appointee in his office pass on all major loans before the Administrator is given permission to act on them. This action so aroused Congress that we mustered almost a two-thirds vote expressing disapproval of so flagrant an injection of politics into the program.

The rural electric systems suffered an attempted curtailment of the Administrator's loan-making authority by the Comptroller General in 1958; the Comptroller General issued a ruling that would have seriously limited the use of REA loan funds to finance lines to rural consumers which the power companies considered desirable. The Senate, how-ever, by unanimous vote reversed this ruling.

Bills to impose the high-interest policy on REA have been offered and backed by the full force of the White House, the Budget Bureau and the Department of Agriculture. A concerted campaign to build up pressure in Congress for such legislation has been carried out by the Secretary of Agriculture and others. But the REA high-interest push is merely a part of a broader tight-money drive, and it has been a stubborn one.

Tight-money policies have already been successfully put across against the Veterans' programs, housing programs, Farmers Home Administration, Federal Land Banks and the Production Credit Association, to mention a few. So far we have held the line where REA has been concerned.

Another example: The Secretary of Agriculture has argued for, and has drafted and sent to Congress proposed legislation which would abandon the REA program of the past 25 years and substitute in its place a plan for sending the rural electric systems to Wall Street for their long-term financing. This proposal was so drastic, I might say fantastic, that no Member has been willing to fight for it, or for that matter, even to introduce it.

These are the problems rural electrification has been facing in recent days. I am proud to be included among those who have defended the rural electrification program against these damaging attacks; I am proud that I have supported legislation which strengthens the program and keeps REA on the same successful track that it has followed for 25 years. It behooves us, I believe, to remember the stalwarts who made this program possible and who by their staunch support defended it during its early period; we can gain strength from their struggles and their victories for present battles and those that may lie ahead. Today on the occasion of the 25th anniversary, we should here dedicate ourselves to the philosophy that the early legislators on rural electrification incorporated in the program-local leadership, responsibility, and control with Federal administration keyed to human needs of rural America rather than to the financial desires of vested interests.

As we honor rural electrification for the advantages it has brought to rural America, we should never lose sight of the benefits it has brought to the electrical manufacturing industry, to all other industries, in fact, to the country as a whole. An important result of the rural electrification program is the increased business it brings into rural communities; it stimulates private business both locally and nationally. Surveys indicate that for every dollar invested in rural power facilities farmers invest \$3 to \$4 in wiring, plumbing, and electrical appliances. Also when power is available, the establishment of industry in rural areas is encouraged.

Back in 1935, when the REA experiment was just beginning, it was argued that all farmers who wanted electricity had it and that there was no market for power out in the country. Experience in the past 25 years has demonstrated how wrong this contention was. At this point. I want to include a fine article by Virginia Cruikshank, contained in the March 26 edition of the Delaware (Ohio) Gazette in my district, which carries a graphic account of how REA has changed the face of America:

ELECTRICITY IS BOON TO FARMERS (By Virginia Cruikshank)

Some of us may have forgotten just how rugged life was in the rural areas before we had electricity.

Remember the coal stoves, kerosene lamps, washboards, water buckets, hand milking, and all the other hand-powered chores that made the farmer and his wife old before their

No one would want to return to that kind of rural living, although we may sometimes wax sentimental about the old days. We are even digging around in the attic and cellar those items mentioned above for some of because our city neighbors who are moving to the country prize them as antiques.

Eleteric power has changed the face of all rural America. Not only has it brought an end to a lot of the drudgery, but it has changed the entire outlook of rural people. They are no longer country hicks. Their life has become the envy of many city people.

This year the Nation is paying tribute to its rural electric system on the 25th anniversary of REA. President Roosevelt signed the Executive order May 11, 1935, that brought the Rural Electrification Administration into being.

Use of electricity today has passed the wildest dreams of 1935. USDA researchers have found that there are 450 ways to use electricity on the farm and in the farm home.

And just wait until we get all those bulk tanks installed around here in the next year.

Consumption of power will zoom.

Only about 4 percent of the farms in the United States are still without electric power. In the territory of the Delaware Rural Electric Cooperative, there are only two farms and two houses without power, but the company is willing to build the lines to them whenever the owners are ready.

Soil Conservation Service Chalks Up High Score During First 25 Years

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. WAYNE N. ASPINALL

OF COLORADO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 11, 1960

Mr. ASPINALL. Mr. Speaker, Mr. Roscoe Fleming of Denver is a westerner who writes with authority on conservation matters and natural resources. Mr. Fleming recently wrote, for the Christian Science Monitor, a definitive article setting forth the story of the U.S. Soil Conservation Service's first 25 years of operation. Under leave to extend my remarks I should like to include Mr. Fleming's article, from the Christian Science Monitor of May 3:

Soil Conservation Service Chalks Up High Score During First 25 Years

(By Roscoe Fleming)

Denver.—From a simple organization to provide depression-days employment by saving American soil, to well-nigh "everybody's handy man" in the whole national range of conservation: This is the story of the U.S. Soil Conservation Service's first 25 years.

In addition to its major role of administering a national program through local soll conservation districts run under State law by farmer-rancher members, SCS measures snowpack, gages soil fallout contamination, and supplies and receives a vast deal of soiland water information from and to virtually every Government agency in the field, and many State and private ones.

It carries out Department of Agriculture responsibilities in watershed protection and flood control, including direct supervision of large "pilot" projects in 11 major watersheds, and of several hundred "small watershed" projects under a special act of 1954; and it administers the special \$150 million Great Plains conservation program of 1956.

PROJECTS DESIGNED

It helps develop the yearly agricultural conservation program; gives technical aid to participating farmers, and designs permanent-type conservation projects and practices; and gives similar aid in the soil bank conservation reserve farmers' home and rural development programs.

It administers the Federal part of the national cooperative soil survey, which is steadily carrying on the enormous task of classifying the Nation's soils as to capabili-

ties and drawbacks.

Outside of this, and many, many types of informal assistance not specifically called for by law, the service, as the saying goes, has little else to do. One thing its employees can be sure of is that they won't lead a dull life. In the West they may spend a week slogging over "snow courses" a couple of miles above sea level, and the next in any of a dozen other activities.

But the cooperative soil and water conservation program remains as the backbone of the Service's activities, and the statistics are amazing as well as the setup, which is unknown anywhere else on earth and is generally considered one of the most massively successful of all Federal partnerships with people and local governments.

STORMS SWEPT SOIL

It had its inception during the dark days of the 1930's when Hugh H. Bennett, who became the first SCS administrator, estimated that the equivalent of a half-million acres of precious topsoil yearly was clogging the rivers on their way to the sea—beside the billions of tons being picked up and blown as far as England by the "black roller" duststorms,

The need to save the soil was enormous, but even so the Federal Government and Congress wanted to lead rather than to dominate. The result was the form of the SCS Act, which called upon local people and States to do the leading.

As of 1960, there are 2,865 soil conservation districts organized under State laws significantly, some have recently taken to calling themselves soil-and-water districts.

All taken together have nearly 2 million members, and incidentally an effective and aggressive national association.

MANY TREES PLANTED

Land in districts includes 1,662 million acres and covers 90 percent of all soil in farms and ranches. States whose rural and privately owned land is wholly within districts now number 21—this roll includes Alabama, Arkansas, Connecticut, Delaware, Georgia, Iowa, Kansas, Kentucky, Maryland, Massachusetts, Mississippi, Nebraska, New Hampshire, New Jersey, North Carolina, Rhode Island, South Carolina, Tennessee, Vermont, West Virginia, and Wisconsin, plus Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands.

Cooperators have planted 34,000 miles of windbreak trees, in a program that has never stopped since 1934; they have built 32,000 irrigation reservoirs larger than farm ponds, planted 6,500,000 acres to trees, put 43 million acres under improved grazing practices, and so on.

The soil conservation districts governed under State or territorial laws by elected boards of members comprise in effect a sort of one-purpose extra level of Government covering most of the Nation. To a perhaps surprising degree, these boards and districts have stayed clear of factionalism and partisan politics. There's no party where the Nation's tilth is concerned.

ELIGIBLE FOR LOANS

They are being increasingly consulted, although as yet far from enough, by all sorts of local and State zoning and other agencies and districts.

Their members are eligible under strict rules, for various types of Federal loans and grants, all dedicated to building up and conserving the Nation's very foundation of its livelihood, the good land and soil.

The goal here, as elsewhere, is a completely conserved America in which every acre shall find its highest use or a combination of such uses, both in feeding and otherwise sustaining the Nation, and giving beauty and refreshment to its citizens for all time.

Despite the impressive statistics of accomplishment, this goal is far from being accomplished. Some 1,300,000 basic conservation plans have been prepared by would-be

cooperators; but only a fraction of all farm projects have been completed, because of the sheer magnitude of the national task.

Even so the magnitude of a quarter century's accomplishment is impressive. More than 990,000 farm ponds have been built under SCS auspices alone; more than 1,100,000 miles of terracing, to check rapid and destructive runoff. Also some 36 million acres have been contoured and adapted; crop rotations now are standard on some 62 million acres.

Nationwide, is the United States making progress? Would new droughts bring more "black rollers"? Are the offshore Continental Shelves being extended with precious topsoil from Nebraska or Missouri?

According to the SCS Administrator, Donald A. Williams, speaking to Colorado coperators, the answer is yes and no. Like Alice, we are having to run as fast as we can to stay where we are. The gross loss of good soil through erosion has been cut by half. But modern practices and the onrush of population and industry are taking much which remains—perhaps too much.

NEW CROPLAND NEEDED

Superhighways with their cloverleafs devour many thousands of acres of good soil yearly—and quite often slice brutally through hundreds of farms, leaving fragments of inadequate size for a living. The rush to the suburbs by both people and industry has rooted out farms and farm families by the hundreds.

Mr. Williams estimated that the gross loss to such activities runs to a million acres yearly. And he pointed out that the whole problem concerns the 88 percent of nonfarm dwellers, almost as much as the remaining 12 percent of the people who farm.

He said that "Resources for the Future" (the research project financed by the Ford Foundation) estimates there'll he about as much farmland in A.D. 2000 as now; but, Mr. Williams added, much of it will be remoter and less-adequate land, slowly and expensively put into service to replace the good lands now going.

A national soil-and-water policy—in effect national zoning—might avert some of the consequences, he said, but in lieu of that the United States might be able to build a network of cooperation among all agencies and interested people.

The assistant administrator, Gladwin E. Young, speaking in Colorado in April, was even more specific. At present rates of farm production the United States will need a quarter of a billion more acres to feed the people by 1980, and a half billion more by the year 2000—or, in the latter case, as much new cropland as the Nation now has. Yet counting up all sources, the Department of Agriculture is able to see only 63 million new acres in sight.

HUGE QUESTION MARK

All of this is quite without regard to the demands of wildlife groups and other such societies that room be left for wild things for the people to enjoy; and, on the other side of the picture, the increasing problems presented by growing watercourse pollution and the effect of pesticides and other sprays, and contamination by detergents and other chemicals and radioactive fission products.

But it all ties in, and presents one huge question mark: What sort of home are the American people making for their children of AD. 2000? This date is nearer at hand, incidentally, than this Nation is from the beginning of the national conservation movement under Theodore Roosevelt and Gifford Pinchot.

The various aspects of the work of the service are almost as amazing in detail as are the huge statistics. They show, a reassuring thing, that the country folk of Amer-

ica, at least, are awake to both the opportunities and responsibilities of conservation.

Take, for example, the so-called small watersheds projects authorized by the 1954 act. This act bridges over a recognized gap in conservation. Erosion is no respecter of fence lines. The land of a good cooperator may nonetheless be harmed by floods from higher up on the watershed.

Those in the thousands of small water-sheds—some of major size—may now join and ask SCS aid, in working out a plan to heal the watershed as a whole. More than 1,200 applications for such aid now are on file, and more than 200 projects are underway. The applications cover more than 90 million acres.

Then there is the special case of the Great Plains, so wind whipped, and so at the mercy of the changeable climate. In 1956 Congress authorized a 10-year, \$150 million program of grants-in-aid to Great Plains farmers and ranchers who would "droughtproof" their own corners of its enormous expanse of a half-million square miles.

PLANS ACCEPTED

As of March 1960 the plans of more than 4,000 farmers and ranchers had been accepted for aid; these plans mean that some 30 percent of their acreage will be put back in grass, the original condition of the Great Plains.

Soil Conservation Service has not automatically expanded. In fact, it has lost a function or two, such as that of administering the 7 million acres of "limited-use" lands taken over by the Government to prevent their blowing away during the Dust Bowl days, and now administered by the Forest Service largely for strictly controlled grazing.

Nor does SCS have to directly do with the 180 million acres of national forests nor the equivalent amount of rangelands administered by the Bureau of Land Management; nor with State-owned lands, nor the irrigation functions of the Bureau of Reclamation.

ACT AMENDED IN 1936

It originated from the Soil Erosion Service of the Department of Interior under Secretary of Interior Harold L. Ickes, who had recommended it as a means of giving temporary employment during the depression, not primarily as a soil-saving act.

The original act was amended in 1936 to provide for farm relief after the original Agricultural Adjustment Act was declared unconstitutional, thus to place the agricultural program on the firm ground of conservation of natural resources.

Dr. Hugh H. Bennett, long a fighter for soil conservation, was Chief of the Soil Erosion Service and later of the Soil Conservation Service until 1951. Dr. Robert M. Salter was the second Chief, and Dr. Donald Williams, present Chief, has served since 1953.

In chronicling its activities for the present anniversary, SCS points out that 40 Members of Congress who voted for it—the vote was unanimous—are still in the House and Senate,

The Story of the U-2

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. ROBERT H. MICHEL

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, May 11, 1960

Mr. MICHEL. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that an editorial entitled "The Story of the U-2," which appeared in the May 10 edition of the Chicago Daily Tribune, be printed in the Appendix of the Record at this point:

THE STORY OF THE U-2

The shooting down of an American observation plane in Russia is being described as a costly diplomatic defeat and as a blow to the forthcoming summit conference.

What has happened is that the Russians have succeeded at last in knocking down one of the high-altitude planes which they have seen often on their radar screens and which they had good reason to believe were on reconnaissance missions. The Russians were not surprised.

Readers of the Chicago Tribune—at least, those with long memories—also should not be surprised. More than 3 years ago—on April 17, 1957—this newspaper published an exclusive story by its aviation expert, Wayne Thomis, describing the U-2 and telling how it was being called the supersnooper or St. Peter's special because of its very high ceiling. The story mentioned that an extensive camera installation is included in the airplane's nose section. Mr. Thomis also reported that it was believed the U-2 flew nearly 2 miles higher than any jet fighters then in operation.

It is the job of our central intelligence agency to get all the information it can about Russia's military power. In the pursuit of that objective it is probable that many U-2 flights have been made to photograph missile launching sites and other installations. The flight of pilot Francis G. Powers was made on May I, an important holiday in the Soviet world, when there was likelihood that an effort might be made to do something spectacular. While it may be unfortunate that May 1 was shortly before the opening of the summit conference, there was also good reason for keeping Russia under close observation on May Day.

No doubt the Russians have been trying for about 5 years to knock down a U-2, first with jet fighters and then with anti-aircraft missiles. The United States also has an antiaircraft missile, the Nike Hercules, which has hit targets at altitudes up to 100,000 feet. The tardiness of the Soviets in developing antiaircraft missiles against high-altitude airplanes may be judged by the fact that it took about 5 years to get a U-2.

It is possible that a lucky hit brought down pilot Powers, that he was projected from the plane automatically, that he was unconscious as he drifted down in a parachute, and that he had no chance to use any instrument of self-destruction. So until more facts are known it would be unfair to censure him. On the contrary, Americans can take satisfaction in knowing that we have the technological skill to build such a remarkable machine as the U-2 and young men brave enough to fly them on the most dangerous missions.

Premier Khrushchev of course is trying to make propaganda hay out of the incident and he will continue to do so. At the sumit conference, however, he cannot seriously contend that the United States has done anything new or anything that Russia itself hasn't done or tried to do. He also goes to the summit conference with the knowledge that the United States has some good photographs of the Soviet Union taken from high-altitude airplanes.

In the bargaining at the summit the Soviet demands and claims will be deterred only by the knowledge which the Russians have of U.S. power. The incident of the U-2 should not encourage them to believe that the United States is poweriess.

Young Abraham Lincoln

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. WILLARD S. CURTIN

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 11, 1960

Mr. CURTIN. Mr. Speaker, this year the Lehigh County Republican Committee in my district sponsored two essay contests on the subject of "Abraham Lincoln" as a part of the Lincoln Day celebrations, one being for senior high school students and the other for junior high school students. I am very proud of these fine students and the essays they wrote for this contest. This year, the contest for the senior high school students, in which several hundred students competed, was won by Raymond Wolf, a junior, of the Central Catholic High School in Allentown, Pa.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I would like to include the winning essay of this young man, entitled "Young Abraham Lincoln":

YOUNG ABRAHAM LINCOLN

"All that I am, or hope to be, I owe to my angel mother."

These words, spoken by Abraham Lincoln, show the love and admiration he must have had for his mother. Nancy Hanks Lincoln was born in Virginia in 1784 and as she grew up she acquired a reputation for industry, cheerfulness, and intelligence. At the age of 22, she met Thomas Lincoln and on June 12, 1806, they were married in the backwoods of Kentucky. After the birth of their first child, Sarah, they moved to Rock Spring Farm, where Abraham Lincoln was born on Sunday, February 12, 1809.

Character descriptions of Thomas Lincoln, Abraham's father, vary with different authors. He is often accused of being a shiftless vagabond. One writer, in talking about him, says: "He was one of those thriftless men who blame circumstances for their failure and, though he never knew it, he was a problem in the household as long as he lived."

But let's take a look at' the circumstances which influenced Thomas Lincoin's life. At the age of 6 years, he was left an orphan by the death of his father. From that time on he supported himself by farmwork and odd jobs, and learned the trades of carpentry and cabinetmaking. When he became 16 years old, he enlisted to fight against the Indians. He was uneducated and is sometimes accused of hindering Abraham's education. However, Herndon quotes Sarah Bush Lincoln as saying: "Mr. Lincoln never made Abe quit reading to do anything, if he could avoid it. He would do it himself first * * * he himself felt the uses and necessities of education and wanted his boy Abraham to learn and he encouraged him to do it in all ways he could."

Nancy Hanks Lincoln was an unusually intelligent and deeply religious woman. This, no doubt, influenced Abraham a great deal. She is spoken of as being a beautiful woman in her youth. She knew how to use the rifle and farmer's tools, as well as being an excellent seamstress. "She could not only kill the wild game of the woods, but she could also dress it, make of the skins clothes for her family and prepare the flesh for food." Her physique was less hardy than that of those who surrounded her. It is

because of this that she became a victim of the milk-sickness epidemic and died on October 5, 1818.

About a year after the death of Nancy, Thomas Lincoln, realizing the need of a matron in caring for the house and children, married Sarah Bush, widow of Daniel Johnston, a jailer, and mother of three children. Sarah did much to improve the household. When she came, she brought with her a large supply of household goods, which were greatly needed by the Lincolns. She made Tom Lincoln put windows, doors, and a floor in the cabin. Most important of all, however, she made it clear to the children that she would show no partiality in her dealings with them.

It can be seen that Abraham Lincoln inherited some of his father's characteristics. Thomas Lincoln was a man of great strength and a good wrestler. Abe excelled in all kinds of athletics and his strength has become proverbial. At the age of 8 years, Abe is said to have handled an ax almost as well as his father. Another ability inherited by Abe was that of storytelling. This contributed greatly to the wit which made Abraham

so popular.

Much of Abraham's education is the result of the efforts of both his mother and stepmother in fostering his love for reading. Nancy Hanks Lincoln read the Bible to Abe and his sister. After the arrival of his stepmother, however, Abe had more time to read because the railsplitting was now shared with his cousin and his stepbrother. Sarah Bush Lincoln was quick to notice Abe's passion for knowledge and gave him encouragement, as well as the opportunity to study. One biographer says of Lincoln: "The in-One biographer says of Lincoln: fluence upon the growing lad of two such women as Nancy Hanks and Sarah Bush was worth more than that of the best appointed college in all the land."

Altogether, Abe attended four different log cabin schools and was taught by five teachers. His total formal schooling amounted to about 10 months, which was not inferior to the education of most pioneer boys of that day. These schools taught reading, writing, and arithmetic and one even taught a course in etiquette. Abe was the best scholar in school, and was always ready to prompt others.

"Abraham Lincoln was a product of the library rather than a child of the school. Every public library in America should have the likeness of Lincoln * * * as an example of what can be achieved by a boy with borrowed books."

Abe always made friends with every new family that arrived in the neighborhood, and would soon find out if they had brought any books with them. If they had, they could be assured of having a steady helper for odd jobs, at least until Abe had read every book they had. Some books that made an impression on Abe were "Aesop's Fables," "History of the United States," "Weem's Life of George Washington," and "Pilgrim's Progress."

"While it is admitted that Lincoln was born in a one-room log cabin withdrawn from the centers of population, it is equally true that the home was no more humble than the birthplaces of thousands of boys who helped to shape the destinies of the new nation. In fact this Lincoln birthplace cabin might be exhitibted as a typical pioneer residence at the beginning of the 19th century."

Although Lincoln is not known to have held any particular religious preference, as a boy he came in contact with a great number of religions. The Lincolns were a religious family. Abe's father, in his travelings, was a member of various denominations. His mother was a very religious woman, and between the two of them, Abraham was taught to embody the highest ideals of Christianity.

No name has been applied to Abraham Lincoln more often than "Honest Abe." His parents can be credited with establishing and cultivating this virtue in him. The books he read also influenced him greatly in regard to honesty. "Aesop's Fables" contains many lessons in honesty. The story of George Washington and the cherry tree in "Weem's Life of George Washington" no doubt impressed him. It has been said that during his employment as a storekeeper, having discovered that he accidentally measured the wrong amount of merchandise for a customer, he walked a number of miles to correct the error. Surely the name "Honest Abe" will always live down through the years.

"One of the characteristics which Abraham Lincoln revealed in both his writings and behavior was the attribute of thankfulness. His discerning parents must have cultivated this desirable quality when he was but a child. There is evidence that each day Thomas Lincoln, the father, paused before their frugal meals to thank God for such blessings as were provided."

A great and important virtue which Abraham Lincoln practiced was obedience. He appreciated what his parents, especially his mother and stepfather, had done for him, and showed his love for them. The testimony of Sally Bush, his stepmother, concerning him was: "I can say what not one mother in a thousand can say: Abraham never gave me one hard word."

"Lincoln came into the estate of manhood morally clean. He had formed no habits that would cause years of struggle to overcome, he had committed no deed that would bring the blush of shame to his cheek, he was as free from vice as from crime. He was not profane, was no brawler, never gambled, and he was honest and truthful. He had a genius for making friends, and was the center of his social circle."

The greatness of our 16th President of the United States has been heralded to every young schoolchild. However, let us remember that Abraham Lincoln began in his youth to develop simple attributes into outstanding character traits. He matured in strength, virtue, and knowledge. He was a God-fearing and honest man. He always fought for what he believed to be a righteous cause.

Few people will ever develop fame and popularity such as Lincoln's. But we can improve in our own ways. Just as Lincoln had many obstacles to overcome, we all have our own.

By using our talents to the fullest of our extent, and by striving to eliminate our faults, we can form a good, strong character. The longer we wait to develop our talents and traits, the harder it will become to improve ourselves. Remember, it took men such as Lincoln to build up our country and it will take others like him to preserve it.

Eisenhower and Republican Administration Enters Plea of Incompetence

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. MELVIN PRICE

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, May 11, 1960

Mr. PRICE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I include herewith an article written by Walter Lippmann, which appeared in today's Washington Post and Times-

Herald, May 10, 1960. The article entitled "The Spy Plane" in Mr. Lippmann's Today and Tomorrow column follows:

TODAY AND TOMORROW (By Walter Lippmann) THE SPY PLANE

In the middle and mess of the affair of the spy plane there is one critical question of particular urgency and importance which needs to be dealt with. This is the official statement made with the President's approval that "it has been established that insofar as the authorities in Washington are concerned there was no authorization for such flight as described by Mr. Khrushchev." If this is true, then the command of very dangerous military missions is not securely and unquestionably in the hands of the responsible authorities in Washington, in the hands, that is to say, of the President, the Secretary of State, the Chiefs of Staff and the Director of Central Intelligence.

Who, then, has the authority? If the authority to order a deep penetration of Soviet territory with a military reconnaissance plane is in some headquarters command not in Washington, how do we know, how does the world know, that the authority to strike a blow is not also outside of Washington?

In denying that it authorized the flight, the administration has entered a plea of incompetence. For there can be no acceptable excuse for an unauthorized flight of this kind. The President cannot afford to let the question of where the responsibility to authorize such flights resides go by without an unequivocal answer. By word and by deed he must remove all doubt that the authority to command in these dangerous matters is in Washington and nowhere else. The honor, the self-respect, and the self-confidence of the country demand it.

Although it is no doubt true that the President did not himself authorize this particular flight, it is no doubt true also that he knew such flights were being made. The general public was perhaps surprised to hear about them. But for the Russians and for many others among us there was no surprise at all.

Why, then, knowing that such flights were being made, did the President fail to realize the risks of continuing them right up to the meeting at the summit? Is it because he was not paying sufficient attention? Is it because his closest advisers were not paying sufficient attention? It looks like that. It seems as if the country has been humiliated by absent-mindedness in the highest quarters of the Government.

There is nothing shocking or novel, of course, in the disclosure that we have been spying on the Russians. They have been spying on us. Spying is in its very nature a dirty business, outside the law and outside the moral code. The only crime recognized in the spy business is to be caught, although this crime can be compounded by lying about it and then being caught in the lie itself.

In this affair, there is on the record as the known its arrival.

In this affair, there is on the record as we know it serious prima-facie evidence, not of unusual immorality but, of inefficiency. Why did not the President forbid all such flights when the summit meeting was agreed to? It is not enough to say that he did not authorize this flight. Why did he not forbid it?

There is reason to suspect, also, that whoever did authorize the flight and was responsible for preparing it was unaware that the Russians had developed a missile capable of knocking the plane down. The equipment carried by the pilot, the Soviet money, and the poison needle, suggests that he was prepared for a forced landing through engine trouble perhaps, after which he would work his way across country, or falling that and having been caught would commit sui-

What the pilot was not prepared for was to have his plane disabled by a Russian mis-sile. For this meant that the Russians had him spotted. Under these circumstances once his plane had been hit, his money and his poison needle were useless. If he had killed himself, if he had exploded his plane, there would still have been his corpse and the wreckage of the plane 1,200 miles inside the Soviet Union.

It was a failure of intelligence not to realize that the Soviets had a missile capable of knocking down so high flying a plane. It was inefficient not to take this possibility into account as a factor which greatly multiplied the risks of making such a flight on the eve of the summit meeting.

Tribute to the Honorable Arthur E. Summerfield

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, CHARLES E. CHAMBERLAIN

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 11, 1960

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. Mr. Speaker, on Saturday, April 30, 1960, the city of Flint, Mich., dedicated its new main post office. I wish to join in congratulating all those who have had a part in planning and building this fine new edifice. There is no question that the opening of Flint's new post office is part of a beginning of a new era for Flint, Mich. The city has been greatly enhanced by this magnificent new structure which has been described as one of the most modern post office buildings in all the World. One individual who has done so much toward making this new postal facility become a reality and who has, perhaps, contributed as much to the spirit of Flint" as any single individual is the Honorable Arthur E. Summerfield.

I believe it is most appropriate that I place here in the Congressional Record, the excellent tribute paid Postmaster General Summerfield by President Eisenhower which I read at the dedication of Flint's new post office. The President's message follows:

I am delighted to join in this tribute to my friend and coworker in Government for nearly 8 years.

During that period he has been responsible for a great modernization of our postal system, thereby vastly increasing its efficiency.

He has fought to place the Post Office Department on a pay-as-you-go basis, some-thing that should, in justice to all our citizens, be done at once.

He has served the American people with diligence, ability, and dedication, both be-fore and since he entered public life.

Please give him my warm personal re-gards, and my best wishes to those gathered in his honor.

An editorial which appeared in the May 1 issue of the Flint Journal entitled, "New Post Office Dedication Has Special Significance," clearly and adequately sums up what the good people of Flint, Mich., think of their great Postmaster, General, Arthur E. Summerfield.

The editorial follows:

NEW POST OFFICE DEDICATION HAS SPECIAL SIGNIFICANCE

Saturday will be a notable day in this community.

Flint's new main post office will be dedicated.

But while our new facility is only one of almost 3,000 which have been constructed throughout the United States during the Eisenhower administration, Saturday's ceremony will be much more than just another building dedication.

A report on the structure's beautiful exterior and the unbelievable equipment with which it is equipped cannot begin to explain its special significance. Its full meaning cannot be measured in terms of increased operating efficiency or improved postal

It goes much deeper. To understand it is to understand Flint and the type of energy. faith, cooperation, drive, ingenuity and leadership that made possible its fabulous

progress and growth.

The main post office is the core and one of the principal buildings in the multimilliondollar Central River area development which promises to greatly enhance the entire community. Saturday's dedication is expected to furnish added impetus to the 35-acre project designed to link eventually the downtown business district with Flint's college

and cultural development. The development was conceived by communty leaders who were convinced that rehabilitation of the downtown Flint River area was a necessary and vital part of Flint's dynamic future. The progress made toward fulfillment of this imaginative project has been the result of splendid cooperation from the city, the Post Office Department, the Greater Flint Downtown Corp., the Committee of Sponsors of the College and Cultural Development, owners of the land involved, and a great many public spirited business concerns and individual citizens.

The building to be dedicated is the springboard, in the most important single structure in the development's center area. Without it, the dream might never have gone beyond the drawing board stage.

That is one reason why our new postal center represents more to Flint than a more convenient mail distributing point. It is responsible for making a vision become a practical plan by which all of Flint will

But it is even more than that. It stands as a 'symbol for the type of community which it is helping to expand-a community in which it was possible for a boy with little formal education to start to work in its shops and work his way up to one of the most responsible jobs in the Nation.

That boy, of course, was Arthur E. Summerfield, Postmaster General of the United

Undoubtedly when he helps to dedicate his hometown postoffice, his memory will take him back to his boyhood when he paddled canoes down the Flint River past the site of the new building. And he'll prob-ably think back to his days as mailboy at the Weston Mott plant.

Characteristically he can be expected to give credit for the success he has attained, not only in business and politics, but as head of the Government's second largest operation-second only to national defense-to his associates, friends, family, and com-munity. A humble man, Mr. Summerfield is sincere in his belief that only in a community such as Flint would he have had the opportunity to advance as he has. He becomes greatly emotional when he refers to his hometown and the people who live in it.

There is great pride in his voice when he tells his Washington friends of Flint, the city in which people possess the spirit and the knowhow to get things done.

In turn, Flint is proud of its Postmaster

He has a record of accomplishment as a member of President Eisenhower's Cabinet which is unmatched in Post Office Department history. He realized goals which he was told could never be gained. Opposed by both a hostile Congress and determined postal unions when he presented his program more than seven years ago, he has won not only many hard-fought battles but the respect and esteem of his former foes.

When his second nomination went to the Senate for confirmation following Mr. Eisenhower's reelection in 1956, Mr. Summerfield not only was given a unanimous vote of approval but Democratic leaders who formerly had opposed his program took the occasion to go on record in praise of the Postmaster General. In the House of Representatives he was hailed as "the father of the modern post office" and the National Association of Postmasters 2 years ago saw fit to honor him as "the greatest Postmaster General in history."

Certainly Mr. Summerfield has earned the recognition and applause of his Nation. Just as he was a success as a local busines man, he has been an outstanding public

servant.

All of us are extremely proud of him, and the building which he will help dedicate Saturday always will be remembered as the home post office of Flint's Postmaster General-one of our most distinguished citizens.

Mutual Security

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. LAURENCE CURTIS

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, May 11, 1960

Mr. CURTIS of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, mutual security began under a Democratic President. It has continued under a Republican President. The large majority in the Foreign Affairs Committee which supports it comes from both parties.

An excellent editorial in the Boston Herald of May 10, 1960, emphasizes the need for bipartisan support of this program. I include it as part of my

remarks:

CONTINUING AID

The President has won the first round in his foreign-aid fight. The \$4 billion authorization bill agreed to by the House and Senate conferees is only \$88 million short of the White House request, which is a better than average response.

But the big test, as Mr. Eisenhower is well aware, comes on appropriations, not authorizations; and foreign-aid opponents are hoping to knock \$1 billion out of the spending program when it reaches the House Appropriations Committee.

Was the President justified in urging Congressmen to lay aside party interests on this issue and vote the full program? We think so, and we hope the House and Senate leadership will take this view also.

Foreign aid is, of course, not above controversy or criticism. The way it is ad-ministered, what it costs, to whom it goes, the emphasis on military as distinguished from economic aid, these and other questions need to be discussed fully and freely. But the underlying issue—whether to continue foreign aid in an adequate and meaningful way—is no longer debatable.

This is the last year of the Eisenhower aid program. The President in 1961, whether he is Mr. Nixon or one of the Democratic hopefuls, is bound to have different ideas, just as Mr. Eisenhower had different ideas from Mr. Truman. But these differences don't and won't go to basics. The foreign aid program, which was launched by the Democratic postwar administration, has been carried forward in all its essentials by Mr. Eisenhower's Republican administration, and will continue to be carried forward by the next administration, whether Democratic or Republican.

It is this continuity which Congress is being asked to preserve now. The President is pleading, not for the superficials, but for the backbone of foreign aid. A \$1 billion

cut would break that backbone.

"It would be," as the President warned,
"for America and all the free world, a crushing defeat in today's struggle between communistic imperialism and a freedom founded

in faith and justice.

"It would mean, within a matter of months, new international tensions and new national problems of the utmost gravity for every one of our citizens.

"It would mean the virtual abandonment of an effort which has yielded our Nation greater benefits in security, better neighbors, and opportunities for expansion of profitable trade than has been achieved by any comparable expenditures for any other Federal purpose."

This is too much to destroy in the name of partisanship. Congress must face that

Drug Prices

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. ESTES KEFAUVER

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, May 11, 1960

Mr. KEFAUVER. Mr. President, many thoughtful articles have been printed on the problem of drug prices and certain practices with respect to competition between some of the ethical drug manufacturing companies. A very thoughtful and painstaking article was written by Mr. David L. Cowen, which was published in the Nation magazine of April 16, 1960. I ask unanimous consent that it may be printed in the Appendix of the Record.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THOSE PRETTY LITTLE PILLS (By David L. Cowen)

The third round of the Kefauver hearings on the drug industry, temporarily shunted aside by the civil rights squabble, was scheduled to begin this week. The Senate subcommittee conducting the hearings will be able to build on the massive body of statistical data collected during the recent second round, devoted to the tranquilizers.

It is now clear that in the tranquilizer field there exists a tremendous spread between manufacturers' costs and selling prices; that some prices remain constant despite lower costs of production; that comparisons among domestic prices indicate that some are maintained at higher levels than purely competitive conditions would permit; and that comparisons with foreign prices show that American prices are often the highest in the world.

The companies, of course, sought to refute each of these contentions, but one gets the impression of adroit polemics rather than sound argument. To cite but one example, it is difficult to accept the contention that lower prices abroad reflect only lower wage scales, lower living standards, etc., when one discovers that meprobamate, which costs Carter, its American patentee, \$4.99 per pound and is sold to American pharmacists for \$3.25 per 50 tablets, costs the British producer from \$6.38 to \$7.35 per pound and is sold to the British pharmacist—under the same brand name, Miltown—at \$1.48 per 50 tablets.

The profit picture of the drug industry, whether based on net worth, investments, sales, or otherwise, places the industry in the forefront of American manufacturers. For example, estimates for 1959 indicate that the rate of return for 11 drug companies was 21 percent of net worth as compared with 10.7 percent for all manufacturing corporations. The estimates for three large tranquilizer houses—Carter; Smith, Kline & French; and American Home Products Corp.—were 55 percent, 42 percent, and 36.8 percent, respectively

The subcommittee has also concerned itself with the reasons for the high prices and large profits. The discussion that follows will point up some of the factors involved and discuss their implications in terms of broad public policy.

1. Patents: The position of the United States on drug patents and brands is more considerate of the inventor than in other countries. In Germany, for example, a process may be patented, but not a drug product. In the United States, too, patents are possible on compositions of old and known ingredients for which the patentee has discovered a new use.

The impact of the patent and the brand name on price is dramatically illustrated by a comparison of prices paid by the Military Medical Supply Agency with those paid by the druggist. The subcommittee's findings demonstrate perfectly that the greater the number of suppliers (in this case licensees). the lower the price, both absolutely and in proportion to the prices paid by the druggist. When, because of patent rights, there is but one supplier-as with SKF (Smith, Kline & French) and chlorpromazine—the price to the Government is about 70 percent of the price to the druggist. Where there are two suppliers-Wyeth and Carter for meprobamate—the price to the Government is about 60 percent of the price to the druggist. However, where there are several suppliers, as with reserpine, the results of competition are eye opening. Ciba has sold reserpine to the Government for 1.5 percent of its price to the druggist (60 cents as compared with \$39.50 per thousand) and Panray at about 25 percent (70 cents as compared with \$2.65).

The investigations, moreover, brought out another aspect of the patent process that makes it particularly vicious when applied in the drug field. The hearings revealed, for example, that Carter had rather imperiously decided with which drugs of other companies it would permit its meprobamate to be combined. It refused at one time to permit a combination with a drug whose patent had run out; it refused one request apparently because the other patent was held by too small a company. Since in some cases there may be medical advantages to be gained by certain combinations, any legal process which permits the withholding of a drug is contrary to public policy.

2. Research: Figures presented by the companies themselves indicate that on an average (for 20 companies) only 6.4 percent of the sales dollar can be charged to research, Carter, American Home, SKF, and Ciba spent 2.7, 3.2, 8.9, and 13.9 percent of their sales dollars, respectively, on research in 1958. As Senator Kefauver worded it. "Research is important, but [it] has only a limited effect on the high price of drugs and the high profits of the company."

But there were undercurrents in the subcommittee's findings on research that should perhaps be of greater concern than the impact on prices. For example, there is evidence of a great deal of floundering about, a great many dry hole projects, and a great deal that seems to have been left to chance. Some of the floundering is undoubtedly necessary, perhaps even desirable, but there seems something unsound going on when SKF, after 10 years of research, could claim no more in the way of achievement than the recognition that another firm-Rhone-Poulene of France-had produced what SKF's own chemists had been looking for; chlorpromazine

Certainly the role that chance has played in the development of tranquilizers puts industrial research in a dublous light. The drugs' properties were discovered as a byproduct of the search for antihistamines. SKF, for all its alertness in picking up the patent rights on chlorpromazine, investigated it "principally as a surgical premedicant and antiemetic agent." While the drug industry is capable of some highly valuable "pure" research, its laboratories today are mostly busy with the "applied" variety leading to the production of practical medical agents. But even in this field the public health cannot always rely on private enterprise alone, a fact which the Kefauver hearings underscored.

Until recently, for example, the industry was subject to the criticism that it was shying away from cancer research because the successful company would be forced to share its findings with the whole industry. In addition, the Government's "crash" cancerresearch program dragged from 1953 to 1958 because of the industry's desire to protect its patent policies.

It took 24 months of negotiation for the drug companies to go from the Government an understanding acceptable to them on the Government's right to insist upon unlimited licensing if production should prove inadequate. Under this agreement, the companies are well protected: when the Government feels that there is inadequate production, it cannot move in for 90 days; hearings and appeals are possible, and the burden of proof of shortage rests with the Government. (What happens, meanwhile, to pricing policies is anybody's guess.) On this basis, there has recently developed some desirable industrial activity in the field of cancer research financed by Government grants.

There must have been considerable moral pressure on the industry to accept the Government's aid in cancer research, for the industry has virtually refused similar aid for mental health. Although many millions have been available, only \$100,000 in Government grants have been awarded, probably as a consequence of the industry's fear that "It's not too large a step to go from appropriations for medical research to appropriations for medical care payments and for medical care direction and administration."

The hearings also touched on the matter of basic research. The success of new drugs—whether as palliatives or genuine therapeutic agents—has given us a faise sense of security. As Dr. Augustus Gibson, director of Merck's research, has stated, "Perhaps, the time has now come to look for the answer to some of the more basic

problems." We have been treating symptoms, but we know little about causes and prevention: basic research must concern itself with understanding the disease.

In the field of mental illness, as the hearings brought out, the need for basic research The mechanisms of action of is very real. the tranquilizers are still largely unknown. There is uncertainty as to whether they merely suppress symptoms or have real therapeutic value. Most important, of course, is that their number and variety could possibly be multiplied a hundredfold without contributing anything to the understanding of the causes—chemical, psychological or sociological—or prevention of mental illness. In all the hullabaloo about the spectacular reductions in the population of mental hospitals due to the use of tranquilizers, some attention ought to be paid to the statistics on admissions. In New York State hospitals, for example, the current rate is 28,000 as compared with 21,000 in 1955. This is a one-third increase.

The subcommittee also effectively deflated the intimations of the American drug industry that its research activities are alone responsible for discovering the tranquilizers. True, the industry must be given some credit for breaking down the "reluctance of academical psychiatry" and the "reservations of clinical psychiatry" to the use of tranquilizers. (Even this it did not do entirely alone, for by 1957 the National Institute of Mental Health was spending \$39 million anhually in this field.) But Thorazine, Com-pazine and Sparine are all developments by Rhone-Poulenc of France, which holds the basic patents. Ten of, the fourteen new drugs claimed to have been discovered by Ciba from 1948-58, including reserpine, were the work of the parent Swiss company. Meprobamate was developed in the United States by Dr. Frank M. Berger, a Czech physician who had produced and written about mephenesin, the parent compound of meprobamate, in England, 3 years before he joined Carter here.

Another cause for concern-not pursued by the subcommittee-crept into the hearings: the methodological shoddiness of the clinical studies that go into the testing of a drug. Some of this derives from the fact that many, if not most, of the studies are initiated and supported (some would say "insidiously ') by grants from industry, a condition which leads to haste and prejudgment.

Thus on every count-goals, scope, quality, and effectiveness-there are some criticlsms to be voiced of the research activities of the industry. The conclusion is in-escapable (and it is one with which the Refauver subcommittee will perhaps not become involved): that an anarchy exists in industrial medical research. That this anarchy is no longer tenable is emphasized by the virtual absence of any mention of industrial research in a recent survey of the National Institutes of Health by its Chief of Resources Analysis. NIH has great potential for the planning, promotion, coordination, and evaluation of medical research; the continued aloofness-or exclusion-of the industry from participation must in some way limit the effectiveness of the Institutes.

3. Advertising and sales: In Senator KE-PAUVER's preliminary remarks at the opening of the second round of the hearings, he referred to "certain alleged excesses of promotion and advertising which, it has been held, unduly enhance the price of the prodnent. The selling costs of 20 drug com-Danies account for 24 percent of the selling Price; for the 4 big tranquilizer manufacturers, the percent of sales that goes to selling costs varies from 19.5 to 33.9, and on the average, selling costs amount to about twothirds of the cost of goods. For two companies, selling costs exceed production costs.

Obviously, selling cost is high and obviously it affects the selling price to the consumer. The question is, how much of the excessive? One is constrained to say that most of the cost of "dissemination of product information" is excessive, for three reasons: Much of the dissemination is extravagant, too much of it is misleading, and most of it should not be necessary.

The extravagance of medical advertising is proverbial. The detail men, on good salaries and expense accounts; costly brochures and books (some of general value, many of a purely promotional nature); flamboyant advertisements in the professional literature and in the mails; gimmicks, gadgets, mountains of samples, banquets and convention parties-these hardly exhaust the list. The flamboyancy and repetition of the advertising suggests that the drug companies expect the physician to react on the same subconscious, emotional, nonrational level in the ordering of drugs as does the housewife in

choosing detergents.

The sending out of samples has been dubbed a form of payola by the Wall Street Journal. The sample is not sent to the practicing physician for clinical assay—that has already been made. It is sent as a gift (the doctor can give it away or sell it) to impress the product on the doctor's memory. Since even small companies practice quality control of their product and are subject to governmental inspection, one must wonder whether or not the doctor's tendency to prescribe the product of the big company is a consequence of the subtle seduction of the samples, gimmicks, dinners and good fellowship of the detail man, or of the assumption that since the company is big and spends a lot of money on advertising, its products are therefore better. One wonders how these doctors rationalize what the profession euphemistically calls the incidents which have, at various times, involved the quality and utility of products of respected companies.

The medical journals are themselves partly to blame for accepting extravagant drug advertising. The extensive use of art workusually in magnificent color-suggests that the doctor can't, or won't, read. If it is too much to expect these journals to eliminate advertising altogether, perhaps they ought at least to consider the transformation of advertising to paid announcements, uniform for all companies, following a prescribed format, containing complete information (negative and positive) and instructions, and set in uniform and ordinary type.

There is, in addition, a considerable amount of misleading advertising, some of it dangerous. This suggests, of course, the need for policing, but also points up the fact that much of the advertising could be dispensed with altogether. Medical-adver-tising copywriters can teach the rest of their trade something about the language of mis-They have been guilty of understanding. They have been guilty of every possible offense-accenting the positive, willful suppression or underplaying of negative or dangerous results, misleading and questionable data, ghostwriting, inflated and spurious bibliographies, faked endorsements, quotations out of context. While most companies are probably not guilty of these practices, the problem is widespread enough to have given rise to the suggestion that there be created a special commission, composed of industrial, professional, and governmental agencies, to deal with it. But self-policing by the Pharmaceutical Manufacturers Association and the increased activity of the American Medical Association have proved ineffective.

A final word on medical adversing: It is disgraceful that American medicine has not provided itself with satisfactory institutional means of keeping the profession informed of therapeutic developments, and

that the profession must rely on the vagaries

and biases of advertisers.

The second round of the subcommittee hearings was concerned primarily with the the economic aspects of the manufacture and sale of tranquilizing drugs. There are, however, much broader problems of public policy involved.

The tranquilizers are perhaps the secondmost-used class of drugs; about one-third of all prescriptions call for them. In 1958 their wholesale sales totaled about \$160 mil-They are used all over the world. They have had a beneficial effect on the mental health picture from the point of view of both the individual and of society. Their use is expanding in anesthesia, obstetrics, dermatology, dentistry, and geriatrics.

The tranquilizers are drugs, and it must be remembered that any drug is potentially dangerous. There is no need here to run through the whole litany of "side effects," ranging from "unpleasant mouth" to the fatal breakdown of white blood cells. are well known and can usually be controlled by the physician. But it does need to be emphasized that there is ample medical evidence against their indiscriminate use. Psychiatrists contend that even the general practitioner may be unable to manage tranquilizers properly, and lament their too casual use. All agree that they should not be used by the public for the relief of everyday tensions; the American Psychiatric Association has been adamant on this score. In addition, the World Health Office believes "must be classed as potentially habit forming" and that they should be subjected to national control.

For these reasons, many persons believe that tighter controls over their sale are necessary. It is true that they are "pre-scription drugs" (under Federal regulation, they cannot be sold except on prescription). the same loopholes that make barbiturates and amphetamines—which are also "prescription drugs"—so available, exist for tranquilizers. That this is a serious matter is evidenced by the fact that despite the Federal regulations and despite the stringent New York State pharmacy act, the city of New York has made the same prescription requirement a part of its health code.

By the same token, care must be taken to see that these drugs do not attain the status of "over-the-counter drugs"-i.e., become available at drugstores without prescription. The danger exists. Carter first considered meprobamate as an over-thecounter item, then changed its mind. Yet this company-which prides itself for having fought off for 17 years the Gov-ernment's finally successful attempt to force 'Liver' out of the title of Carter's Little Liver Pills-might change its mind again if Miltown suddenly were made obsolete by a new product. Ominously, Printers' Ink asserts that the ethical-drug advertising agen-cies are "looking forward for added growth" to the shift from prescription to over-thecounter drugs.

Over-the-counter drugs are generally subtect to "restrictive sales"-that is, they can be sold only in pharmacies. The Proprietary Association, an organization of manufacturers of publicly advertised drugs, is campaigning to break down this restriction. The campaign has already met with some success: aspirin, Bromo-Seltzer and similar items can, now be picked off the supermarket shelf. If Madison Avenue gets its clutches on overthe-counter items, the jump from prescription to over-the-counter sales will be fol-lowed rapidly by the jump to nonrestrictive The Proprietary Association is thinking this far ahead, and recently stymied a resolution before the National Drug Trade Conference which provided that prescription drugs reclassified as over-the-counter drugs "continue to be dispensed only by or under

the personal supervision of a registered pharmacist." The Proprietary Association demanded that the resolution include the telltale phrase: "* * * subject to such exceptions as may be dictated by the future

status of such drugs."

Both the physician and the pharmacist must come to the aid of the public welfare by standing firmly against the expansion of drugs generally-and of tranquilizers particularly—to over-the-counter and nonre-strictive sales. One shudders at the prospect of seeing the shelves of the supermarket stocked high with more than 57 varieties of tranquilizers.

There are many still broader ramifications involved in the general use of tranquilizers. The tranquilizers can affect the whole society-its cultural dynamics, stasis, decay. What happens to a people accustomed to avoid all anxiety, who know no fear, who need not think, or love or hate? What happens to a people without an urge to create? Or to a people who must take the proper potion before being able to do any of these? And what happens to such people when they meet up with "normal" people. or with "noble savages" who have not had the advantages of the most advanced psychopharmacology?

Beyond Huxley, I have found no study by an anthropologist, sociologist, psycholo-gist, psychiatrist, philosopher, or any com-bination of these, on the impact of the tranquilizers on man and his culture. As we watch over the decline of the West, we see the beams-the bombs and the missiles; but perhaps we miss the motes-the pretty

little pills.

The problem deserves serious study now. Psychopharmacology is in its infancy, but the potentialities for the manipulation of the human mind and personality through drugs are as limitless as the gyri of the human brain.

Flame of Freedom-Powerful in Poland

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. WILLIAM H. BATES

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 5, 1960

Mr. BATES. Mr. Speaker, earlier this month, we marked with appropriate addresses, Poland's Constitution Day, the equivalent of our Fourth of July.

Throughout participation in this important event, we told the Polish people that Americans have not forgotten a pledge to help Poland restore her freedom and independence and to welcome her back to the Western family of nations.

We are proud to give strong support to the hopes and aspirations of our Polish friends who, through no fault of their own, have been forced to endure Soviet oppression and to live in a twilight zone between the darkness of tyranny from the East, and as yet, the unsteadily flickering rays of encouragement and moral and economic aid from the West. One thing we may be certain and that is of Poland's desire to remain free and to fight until this goal is achieved.

Despite Communist pressures and renewed efforts to re-Stalinize the hated system of government, the situation in Poland, due to the unbending will of the Poles, faithful in allegiance to the Western civilization, is and will continue firm. I am sure that the problems of Poland and other nations under the yoke of the Soviets, will be uppermost in the minds of the President when he attends the summit meeting shortly.

Poland has made notable contributions to our own freedom and liberty and her great leaders, Casimir Pulaski, Ignace Jan Paderewski, Frederic Chopin, and others enriched the world by their life and spirit.

I am proud to say that thousands of my constituents in the Sixth Massachusetts District are of Polish extraction and they are justly proud of the Polish record in developing our own country. The freedom and liberty they have here they wish to share with their brothers and sisters in Poland. We must do all we can to achieve this cherished dream of freedom.

Joseph Kennedy-UMWA

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. JOHN H. DENT

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, April 27, 1960

Mr. DENT. Mr. Speaker, it is refreshing to learn that a very capable public servant is coming back to the Washington scene.

I speak of Joseph T. Kennedy who is coming back to the UMWA.

I have had the pleasure of working with Joe Kennedy while I was the floor leader in the Pennsylvania State Senate and he was secretary of mines in our great State of Pennsylvania.

I wish him Godspeed and good health in his new duties:

JOSEPH KENNEDY RETURNS TO UMWA AS AS-SISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT

(By George J. Curilla, Jr.)

Joseph T. Kennedy of Wilkes-Barre, Pa., as of April 1 assumes the post of assistant to UMWA President Thomas Kennedy at International headquarters of the union in Washington, D.C. The Kennedys are not related.

The new appointee, who served as secretary of the Pennsylvania Department of Mines and Mineral Industries for more than 5 years under two Governors, "will have charge of contracts, grievances, and um-pires' decisions across the country," accord-

ing to President Kennedy.

Kennedy, who was the UMWA president's administrative assistant for 7 years when the latter was serving as vice president, was on leave of absence from the union while holding down the cabinet post, first under former Gov. George M. Leader and more recently under incumbent Gov. David L. Lawrence.

Kennedy's new duties will be similar to those handled by Vice President W. A. Boyle when Boyle served as assistant to now President Emeritus John L. Lewis. Lewis' resignation as UMWA president, Thomas Kennedy's elevation, and Boyle's designation as vice president occurred at a special meeting of the UMWA international eexcutive board January 14.

Joseph Kennedy, who submitted his resignation to Governor Lawrence March 15 to become effective April 1, said he did so with regret. He expressed his gratitude for being given the opportunity to serve under the

present Pennsylvania chief executive and also his predecessor.

'Notwithstanding the fact that I've admired these men [Lawrence and Leader] for many years, my first love is the United Mine Workers of America," he said.

A Democrat, Kennedy replaced Republican William J. Clements of Coaldale, as mines

secretary on January 18, 1955.

As secretary of mines, Kennedy was responsible for establishment of a pioneering coal research program which he said gave him his "greatest satisfaction in office because Pennsylvania became the first among the 28 coal-producing States to adopt such a program," adding that "it has also stim-ulated the Federal Government in this field."

The former cabinet officer spearheaded the Commonwealth's efforts in rescue and salvage operations following last year's Knox mine disaster near Pittston, Pa., and also gained recognition at the outset of his administration in helping to uncover a scandal involving the flushing of mine voids along the northeast extension of the Pennsylvania Turnpike.

Kennedy, a member of the UMWA for 44 years, is a former hard coal miner. He started work at the Lance Colliery of the now defunct Lehigh & Wilkes-Barre Coal Co. in 1916 at the age of 12 and subsequently held various jobs at the Loree No. 3 Mine of the Hudson Coal Co. until 1929. He holds membership in Local Union 20, District 1.

He served as secretary in the District 1 President's office from 1920 until 1937 and then was named district statistician. He held the latter post until 1945 when he was appointed secretary to the international secretary-treasurer.

Kennedy, who held many local union offices and membership on mine committees over the years, participated in negotiations for both anthracite and bituminous wage agreements for more than two decades.

He has attended district, tridistrict, and international conventions of the UMWA for more than 30 years and was a delegate to the coal mines committee of the International Labor Organization at Dusseldorf, Germany. in 1953.

Kennedy is a graduate of the University of Scranton where he majored in education, statistics, and business administration.

"Unauthorized" Spy Plane Is Poorest Kind of Alibi

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. J. CARLTON LOSER

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, May 11, 1960

Mr. LOSER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I call to the attention of the House an editorial appearing in the Nashville Tennessean, one of our great newspapers, pointing up a major cold war blunder.

The editorial follows:

"UNAUTHORIZED" SPY PLANE IS POOREST KIND OF ALIBI

Now that the real story of the spy-plane disaster over Soviet Russia is coming to light, the American public is entitled to know who was responsible for this major cold-war blunder.

The fact that we have been trying to find out what was going on behind the Iron Curtain has been well known. And we may be sure that our efforts have been matched by Soviet Russia in seeking out American

But it will be hard to explain why the United States undertook this latest venture in Russian air just before the May 16 summit meeting without properly weighing the chances of detection and exposure.

To say that this was an unauthorized exploit by a civilian flier is just another way of muddling the picture. For it has been made clear that the supersecret U-2 singleengine jet was chartered from the Lockheed Aircraft Co. by the National Aeronautics and Space Administration, which in turn was being serviced by the Air Force.

One point that has been carefully skirted is the part played by Mr. Allen Dulles' Central Intelligence Agency, and this also involves the part played by the National Security Council and President Eisenhower himself.

There was a good deal of cunning in the Way Nikita Khrushchev misled the United States in his first announcement of the plane's destruction over the Ural Mountains, far from the nearest free-world border, for that led the State Department into a trap and brought forth excuses which later proved to be without merit.

The solar plexus blow came when it was revealed that the U-2 pilot has survived and, according to the Soviets, confessed his spy

Never has Mr. Khrushchev had a better chance to denounce the United States as an aggressor, and he is making the most of it. His threat of a public trial for the unfortuhate pilot may never be carried out, but it is something for Washington to worry about. Coming at the same time as the summit session, it could have a devastating effect.

Spying between the United States and Russia is old stuff indeed. For our part, there is a need to guard against surprise attack, but the Russians can say that they have reason to react strongly when shadow planes, traveling at great height, cross into their territory

They are saying this now with a vengeance, and the facts make it almost impossible for our best friends to defend our course. photographing of military installations, which seems to have been substantiated, cannot lightly be brushed aside.

What, it may be asked, was the great emergency that caused this information-gathering flight? We know of none.

But we do know that its embarrassing fallure has damaged the position of the United States and its allies before the summit, and may make any kind of agreement harder to

From Russia's standpoint, the opportunity is given to make further boast of its rocketry, though this is the point on which their story falls down. For if the spy plane had been hit by the first shot from a ground-to-air rocket, it cannot be believed that the pilot Would have had the chance to ball out.

Such an inaccuracy, however, does not carry too much weight in view of the rash of errors attributed to the State Department in trying to confuse the issue.

Information gathering, as it is termed in Washington, is a necessary part of the cold war, and it may last for years to come. it is not something which should be left in the hands of people whose actions, at times, seem to verge on the irresponsible.

Let there be no more talk of unauthorized espionage flights when it is all too plain that such a hazardous venture would never be undertaken by an individual unless someone in the higher echelons had given the word. The Chesapeake and Ohio Canal National Historical Park, H.R. 2331, Six Acts of Congress

> EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. JOHN R. FOLEY

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, May 11, 1960

Mr. FOLEY. Mr. Speaker, the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal has been the subject of specific Federal legislation since 1825. Since most of these acts are not included in the United States Code and thus not readily available to the Members of the House, I have inserted them in the Congressional Record. Moreover, since H.R. 2331 does not repeal these acts and expressly reaffirms the act of September 22, 1950 (64 Stat. 905) and the act of August 1, 1953 (67 Stat. 359), all acts are set out in their entirety:

> T (Mar. 3, 1825, ch. L11, an act)

Confirming the Act of the Legislature of Virginia entitled "An Act incorporating the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal Company, and "An Act of the State of Maryland, confirming the same"

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America, in Congress assembled, That the Act of the Legislature of the State of Virginia, entitled "An Act incorporating the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal Company," and the same is hereby ratified and confirmed, so far as may be necessary for the purpose of enabling any company that may hereafter be formed by the authority of said Act of incorporation, to carry into effect the provisions thereof, in the District of Columbia, within the exclusive jurisdiction of the United States and no further.

SEC. 2. And be it further enacted, That, should the State of Virginia or Maryland desire, at any time, to avail itself of the right secured to it, by the twenty-first section of the Act aforesaid, to take and continue a canal, from any point of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal, to any other point within the territory of the District of Columbia, or through the same, on application to the President of the United States, by the executive of the State, the President is authorized and empowered to depute three skillful Commissioners of the United States Corps of Engineers, to survey and examine so much of the route of such canal, as may effect, in any manner, the navigation of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal. The said Commissioners, or a majority of them, shall ascertain, as far as practicable, whether the canal proposed to be constructed by the State aforesaid, shall injure or impede the navigation of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal, and report to the President of the United States the facts and reasons on which they may ground their judgment thereupon which report shall be submitted to the Congress of the United States at their session next ensuing the date thereof for their decision thereon; and if Congress shall be of opinion that the said canal may be cut in the manner proposed, as aforesaid, without impeding or injuring the navigation of the Chesapeake

and Ohio Canal, the same shall be conclusive thereon.

H. CLAY, Speaker of the House of Representatipes.

JOHN GATLLARD President of the Senate pro tempore. Approved:

JAMES MONROE.

WASHINGTON, March 3, 1825.

TT

(June 16, 1933, ch. 90, 48 Stat. 201, 202 (15 U.S.C. title 1, sec. 702)

Sections 202 and 203a of the National Industrial Recovery Act provide:

For the purchase of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal and appurtenant land in the District of Columbia and Maryland, including, for a considerable portion of the length the canal, the bed of the Potomac River where it adjoins the canal right-of-way, and the construction of a parkway as well as the rehabilitation of the existing canal as an historic site, including incidental expenses.'

III

(August 7, 1946, ch. 788, 60 Stat. 885—(16 U.S.C. § 17j-2), title 16)

Conservation

Sec. 17j-2. Same; road maintenance and repair; administrative expenses; lectures, investigations, telephone service, etc.

Appropriations for the National Park Serv-

ice are authorized for-

(a) Necessary protection of the area of federally owned land in the custody of the National Park Service known as the Ocean Strip and Queets Corridor, adjacent to Olympic National Park, Washington; necessary repairs to the roads from Glacier Park Station through the Blackfeet Indian Reservation to the various points in the boundary line of Glacier National Park, Montana, and the international boundary; repair and maintenance of approximately two and seventy-seven one-hundredths miles of road leading from United States Highway 187 to the north entrance of Grand Teton National Park, Wyoming; maintenance of approach roads through the Lassen National leading to Lassen Volcanic National Park. California; maintenance and repair of the Generals Highway between the boundaries of Sequoia National Park, California, and the Grant Grove section of King Canyon National Park, California; maintenance of approximately two and one-fourth miles of roads comprising those portions of Fresno-Kings Canyon approach road, Park Ridge Lookout Road, and Ash Mountain-Advance truck trail, necessary to the administration and protection of the Sequoia and Kings Canyon National Parks; maintenance of the roads in the national forests leading out of Yellowstone National Park, Wyoming, Idaho, and Montana; maintenance of the road in the Stanislaus National Forest connecting the Tioga Road with the Hetch Hetchy Road near Mather Station, Yosemite National Park, California; and maintenance and repair of the approach road to the Custer Battlefield National Monument and the road connecting the said monument with the Reno Monument site, Montana.

(b) Administration, protection improvement, and maintenance of areas, under the jurisdiction of other agencies of the Government, devoted to recreational use pursuant to cooperative agreements.

(c) Necessary local transportation and subsistance in kind of persons selected for employment or as cooperators, serving without other compensation, while attending fire-protection training camps.

(d) Administration, protection, maintenance, and improvement of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal.

(e) Educational lectures in or in the vicinity of and with respect to the national parks, national monuments, and other reservations under the jurisdiction of the National Park Service; and services of field employees in cooperation with such nonprofit scientific and historical societies engaged in educational work in the various parks and monuments as the Secretary of the Interior may designate.

(f) Travel expenses of employees attending Government camps for training in forest-fire prevention and suppression and the Federal Bureau of Investigation National Police Academy, and attending Federal, State, or municipal schools for training in building fire prevention and suppression.

(g) Investigation and establishment of water rights in accordance with local custom, laws, and decisions of courts, including the acquisition of water rights or of lands or interest in lands or rights-of-way for use and protection of water rights necessary or beneficial in the administration and public use of the national parks and monuemnts.

(h) Acquisition of rights-of-way and construction and maintenance of a water supply line partly outside the boundaries of Mesa Verde National Park.

(i) Official telephone service in the field in the case of official telephones installed in private houses when authorized under regulations established by the Secretary.

IV

(June 10, 1948, Public Law 618, ch. 435)

An act to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to have made by the Public Roads Administration and the National Park Service a joint reconnaissance survey of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal between Great Falls, Maryland, and Cumberland, Maryland, and to report to the Congress upon the advisability and practicability of constructing thereon a parkway, and for other purposes.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled. That there is hereby authorized to be expended from the appropriations made to the National Park Service for parkways the sum of \$40,000 for the purpose of making a joint reconnaissance study by the Public Roads Administration and the National Park Service of the federally owned Chesapeake and Ohio Canal between Great Falls, Maryland, and Cumberland, Maryland, to determine the advisability and practicability of constructing a parkway along the route of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal, including a report of estimated cost.

(Sept. 22, 1950, Public Law 811, ch. 987— (H.R. 8534))

An Act to authorize the acceptance of donations of land to supplement present parkway lands along the line of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal between Great Falls and Cumberland, Maryland.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the Secretary of the Interior is authorized to accept on behalf of the United States donations of land and interests in land in the State of Maryland as additions to present parkway lands along the line of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal, between Great Falls and Cumberland, Maryland. The lands to be acquired shall be sufficient to increase the present parkway width to an average of one hundred acres per mile for the entire length of the parkway. The title to real property acquired pursuant to this Act shall be satisfactory to the Attorney General of the United States.

Sec. 2. The Secretary is also authorized to accept land and interests in land for the parkway and, in his discretion, to convey in exchange therefor former Chesapeake and Ohio Canal property now under his administrative jurisdiction or other property accepted by him for the purposes of this Act. In any land exchanges consummated pursuant to this Act, the value of the federally owned property conveyed shall not exceed the value of the property accepted by the Secretary.

SEC. 3. All property acquired pursuant to this Act shall be administered by the Secretary in accordance with the provisions of the Act of August 25, 1916 (39 Stat. 535, 16 U.S.C. 1946 ed., sec. 1-3), entitled "An Act to establish a National Park Service and for other purposes."

VI

(August 1, 1953, Public Law 184, ch. 310— (H.R. 5804))

An Act to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to grant easements for rights-of-way through, over, and under the parkway land along the line of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal, and to authorize an exchange of lands with other Federal departments and agencies, and for other purposes.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled. That the Secretary of the Interior is hereby authorized and directed to grant perpetual easements, subject to such reasonable conditions as are necessary for the protection of the Federal interests, for rights-of-way through, over, or under the parkway lands along the line of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal, now or hereafter acquired, for the purposes of electric, telephone, and telegraph lines or conduits, gas, oil, and water pipelines, tunnels, and water conduits, or for other utility purposes incident to industrial, commercial or agricultural use, or to the supply of water for domestic, public, or any other beneficial use, where it is intended to use such rights-of-way for any one or more of the purposes herein above named.

SEC. 2. No part of said easements shall be used for any other than the purposes for which they are granted, and in the event of any breach of this restriction, or in the event of any failure to observe the conditions in said easements, either of which shall continue for a period of ninety days after notice thereof, or in the event the said easement is abandoned for the purposes granted, the entire interest herein authorized to be granted shall, upon a declaration to that effect by the Secretary of the Interior, revert to the United States.

SEC. 3. The Secretary of the Interior shall cause an appraisal to be made of the fair market value of the said easements, including the resulting damage, if any, to the residue of the parkway lands, which appraisal, after approval by the Secretary of the Interior, shall be paid in cash by the grantees requesting the easement as the consideration for said easements when granted by the United States.

SEC. 4. The Secretary of the Interior is further authorized, in his discretion, to grant perpetual easements, subject to such conditions as are necessary for the protec-tion of the Federal interest, for rights-ofway through, over, or under the parkway lands along the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal, now or hereafter acquired, for railroad tracks or for other utility purposes: Provided, That such easements may be ganted in exchange for the relinquishment of existing easements across land now or hereafter in Federal ownership within the parkway: Provided further, That the Secretary may cause an appraisal to be made of the value of such easements and may require payment to be made by the grantee as provided in Section 3 of this Act: Provided further, That no part of said easements shall be used for any other than the purposes for which they are granted, and in the event of any breach of this restriction, or in the event of any failure to observe the conditions in said easements, either of which shall continue for a period of ninety days after notice thereof, or in the event the said easement is abandoned for the purposes granted, the entire interest herein authorized to be granted, upon a declaration to that effect by the Secretary, shall revert to the United States.

Szc. 5. The Secretary of the Interior is hereby authorized, in his discretion, when in the best interest of the United States, to convey at the fair market value, to counties and municipalities for roads, streets, highways, or other municipal facilities, by proper deed or instrument, any lands or interests in lands of the United States within the parkway along the line of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal, under the jurisdiction of the Department of the Interior and located within the boundaries of such county or municipality, which are not needed for parkway purposes, but not to the extent of severing in any manner the continuity of the parkway lands from Great Falls to and including the city of Cumberland, Maryland.

Scc. 6. The Secretary of the Interior, and the heads of other departments and agencies of the Federal Government administer ing lands along or adjacent to the line of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal, are hereby authorized, for the purpose of facilitating the development, administration, and maintenance of said parkway, to transfer jurisdiction between their respective departments and agencies over such portions of the lands under their respective jurisdic-tions along or adjacent to the line of said canal as are surplus to their respective needs, without reimbursement, and under such conditions as may be mutually agreed upon by the Secretary of the Interior and the head of the other department or agency concerned; and such transfer of jurisdiction by any department or agency of the Federal Government in possession of such lands is hereby authorized.

Approved August 1, 1953.

Health Aid for the Elderly

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. DONALD J. IRWIN

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 11, 1960

Mr. IRWIN. Mr. Speaker, in recent weeks we have read and heard considerable comment on the various issues involved in the matter of providing health insurance for the aged. In this morning's edition of the New York Times there is an editorial which compiles major points of the proposed legislation and brings into sharp focus the job which lies ahead. Pursuant to permission previously granted, I include this editorial in the Record:

HEALTH AID FOR THE ELDERLY

The administration's program of health insurance for those over 65 has laid the main issues right on the line. They are: First, the use of the Federal social security mechanism versus State administration with Federal subsidies and, second, compulsion versus freedom of choice.

Under the administration plan the various States would be authorized to provide financial aid to elderly people in meeting the costs of hospital and medical care, either directly or through private agencies. The Federal Government would share the costs of the whole operation with the States. Participation by individuals would be voluntary, but limited to those whose incomes were less than \$2,500 in the previous year (couples \$3,800). On the other hand, the widely supported Forand bill provides that the entire operation be carried on by the Federal Government as part of the wellestablished old-age and survivors insurance system, with eligibility for all those eligible for regular OASI benefits.

We believe that the arguments for using social security are overwhelming. Governor Rockefeller has done well to say that the administration plan could result in "a very serious fiscal situation, very high costs and cumbersome administration" and to urge that medical care for the aged be an added health feature of the social security system, with those who benefit contributing

to their own protection.

The relatively high expense, per person covered, of the administration plan has two chief causes. First is the fantastic cost of setting up and operating new machinery of administration in possibly as many as 50 different States, and second, the expense involved in checking on the incomes of millions of beneficiaries to prove eligibilityboth at the start and, as incomes change, in the future too. And the complexity and diffusion of administration and control Would be little short of bewildering.
As for the issue of "compulsion," i

ishes with just a little thought. The only involved in the Forand plan compulsion would be that of paying slightly increased social security taxes. Beneficiaries would have a wide choice of hospitals approved by the Government as part of the program. (Under those circumstances who wouldn't

want to accept the benefits?)

As a matter of fact, the administration bill involves the same, but a less obvious, kind of compulsion. Taxpayers as a whole-including those not given protection-would be compelled to cover the costs of State and Federal subsidies. The bogy of "socialism" in social security health protection is also easy to dispel. Under the Forand bill neither hospitals nor surgeons taking care of beneficiaries would be under Government

There are many positive advantages in using social security. For example, it would avoid what amounts to a "means test" for eligibility-something abhorrent to Americans-and would automatically relate payments to ability to pay without investigation. Also, it would take effect nationally at once, while State cooperation might be far from unanimous and also slow in coming.

The administration bill, however, offers substantially more benefits than does the Forand measure. But, except for persons on relief, they couldn't be had until the subscribers themselves had paid \$250 (couples \$400) for health care, in addition to their 824 enrollment fee. And, after that, they Would have to pay 20 percent of all their subsequent expenses. The alternative of purchasing health insurance from private agencies, even with a 50-50 assist from the governments up to \$60, would also be expensive. It looks as if the voluntary plan would be used most by those who need it least.

A satisfactory measure would have to be less costly than the administration planbut provide more protection than does the Forand bill-if possible financially. And the Forand measure doesn't cover the 4 million or so people over 65 who are not getting social security. It is unfortunate that so little time remains in the present session of Congress to hammer out a plan that will meet the need and the phenomenal public demand. If that can't be done, this matter should surely be made a "must" for the next Congress when it meets.

The National Poultry Stabilization Act

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Wednesday, May 11, 1960

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, S. 2516, the National Poultry Stabilization Act, sponsored by myself, Senator Mc-CARTHY, Senator ENGLE, and Senator WILLIAMS of New Jersey, is pending be-fore a subcommittee of the Senate Committee on Agriculture and Forestry.

Earlier this year hearings were held at which widespread producer approval of the bill was expressed. One of the organizations which strongly supported the measure was the U.S. Poultry and Egg Producers Association, Inc. This organization has now prepared a pamphlet which sets out in question-and-answer form a thorough explanation of S. 2516.

The pamphlet answers many of the questions that are asked concerning the operation of producer-managed farm commodity programs of the kind favored by the Senator from Minnesota.

I ask unanimous consent that this pamphlet be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the pamphlet was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

(This booklet was prepared by the U.S. Poultry & Egg Producers Association in order to explain the purposes of the association and of the National Poultry Stabilization Act. It presents the questions and answers discussed most often at regional meetings. If you have any questions that are unanswered

here, please feel free to contact us.)

1. Who is the U.S. Poultry & Egg Producers Association?

The U.S. Poultry & Egg Producers Association is a national association of producers of poultry and eggs, founded in 1957.

2. What is the purpose of USPEPA? The primary purpose of our association is to establish a national commodity organization composed of producers of poultry meat and eggs on the same level as other modity organizations such as the National Milk Producers, National Wheat Growers, National Swine Producers, etc. There are 32 commodities who have their own national organization of producers. These commodity groups in other industries actually reflect the desires of the producers of that commodity. Up until the founding of USPEPA, there was no such organization for producers in the poultry industry.

3. What are you trying to accomplish? We believe in a program which will bring the supply of poultry products in line with the demand for these products. A plan of this sort will stabilize the poultry industry so that the independent family-size producer of poultry and eggs will be assured of a fair market price for his product; a price that will enable him to remain in business and make a decent living for himself and his fam-We feel that this goal can best be reached through the use of enabling legislation

and a "self-help" program for the poultry

industry. It will result in the consuming public benefiting through an adequate supply of poultry and eggs at reasonable prices, and the entire national economy will benefit through improved purchasing power for poultry farmers nationwide.

Very simply, we are trying to find ways in which we can improve the price and stabilize the market for poultry meat and eggs. This can be accomplished through the enactment of enabling legislation which will give producers the "tools" to work out their own problems. An example of this legislation is the National Poultry Stabilization Act.

4. What is "enabling legislation" and the

National Poultry Stabilization Act?

Enabling legislation is a form of Federal legislation which, when passed by Congress and the President, will give producers the right to choose the type of program they feel will benefit them most. In other words, after the bill has been passed, producers would decide on a certain plan to stabilize poultry and egg prices. This plan might take the form of a national marketing order or agreement to provide for the control of surpluses, control of unfair trade practices, establishment and maintenance of certain quality standards, research projects, or programs of promotion and advertising in order to increase consumer demand, or overcome certain unfair prejudices for a particular commodity.

The National Poultry Stabilization Act is an example of enabling legislation. type of act is advantageous because:
1. It gives producers the "tools" to work

out their own problems. It does not tie them to any specific program which may become outmoded.

2. It sets up a plan whereby growers can work out their program with the Secretary of Agriculture, who must work with them under the terms of the bill in order to bring production into balance with market needs.

3. It allows complete freedom of activity in that there are provisions for changing the type of program and for enlarging production as it is needed.

4. It is a "self-help" program because the industries themselves would finance any promotion or marketing plans they agree upon. There would be no use of tax funds except for incidental Department of Agriculture expenses in assisting industry advisory boards.

5. How will stabilization be accomplished? The first law of economics teaches that an oversupply brings a drop in price. Therefore, if supply is either adjusted or distributed in such a fashion to avoid burdensome surpluses, the law of supply and demand will work in favor of the producer, and yet guarantee the consumer an adequate supply of wholesome poultry and poultry products. The establishment of surplus removal pools and supply control may be used as methods of removing and controlling surplus.

6. Just what are the needs?

With consumption of eggs dropping, for example, there is great need for a real promotion and consumer education program. It is imperative that the industry dispel some of the unfounded truths about the nutritional values of our products. The National Poultry Stabilization Act would provide ample funds for research, promotion and consumer education to help increase consumption and demand. Every producer would participate in supporting these essential activities. Conceivably, existing promotional agencies, with their past experience, could be retained to conduct this activity.

7. Where would money come from for these

programs?

Each commercial producer would be assessed a certain percentage of his farm income from poultry and eggs. The percentage, by law, has a celling of 4 percent. However, it might be any amount, not to exceed 4 percent, depending on how elaborate a program is undertaken.

8. Would expenditures be confined to sur-

plus pools and promotions?

No. Expenditures could include research, surveys and studies as long as they pertain to the production, processing, distribution and promotion of poultry and poultry products affected by this act.

9. Who would administer this entire pro-

gram?

The administration of such a program would be in the hands of a National Advisory Board. Each section of the poultry industry would have its own board, so that the egg producers would have their board, the meat bird producers another board and so on. respective board would be composed of 65 percent primary producers and the remaining seats could be allotted to allied industry such as mills, processors, and others.

10. How would this council come into

existence?

The Secretary of Agriculture would make appointments of both regular members and alternates on the basis of nominations received from producers throughout the coun-Representation on the council would be allocated to various States or regions on the basis of the volume of that given product produced in that particular State or area.

11. Would this advisory council have polic-

ing powers?

The advisory council, if it found a particular violation of the law either in product shipped or in assessment paid, could take the violator into court and attempt to prove their case. The council in itself is not a court or a jury.

12. Who would determine the program for

the industry?

Upon congressional adoption of the National Poultry Stabilization Act, the Secretary of Agriculture would appoint three program formulation committees, one for each of the three major phases of the poultry industry. This committee would be appointed in the same manner as the Advisory Board. This committee would then be charged with the responsibility of formulating a program for its respective commodity.

13. Would this program then become ef-

fective?

No phase of the program could become effective or be enforced until approved by a 65 percent majority of those producers voting in favor of the program in a referendum conducted by the U.S. Department of Agri-culture. In this way, the final word rests with each individual producer. Once the majority accepts a particular program, then, of course, it would become binding on all producers of that commodity.

14. Could this program formulation committee draft a program of greater benefit to any one area or any particular size producer?

While it is not very likely, such a thing could happen. However, the producer in the referendum has the final word to prevent such inequities. Under the act all producers are equal regardless of size or location.

15. Once the producers vote for a program

could the council change it?

No policy changes can be made without submitting the changes to the producers in another referendum. Details can be worked out by the advisory council as long as they conform to the letter of the law and the letter of the program submitted in referendum to all producers. The Secretary of Agriculture has the authority to see that the law is not violated.

16. What price would be guaranteed under

such a program?

The National Poultry Stabilization Act does not contain any provisions for Government support or guaranteed prices for poultry products. Each individual farmer will benefit from the general stability granted the market through adjusting supply to meet demand.

17. Could new producers enter the in-

Yes, they could enter as additional production is needed or as existing production must be replaced. This would allow expansion in an orderly fashion, rather than to the detriment of the entire industry.

18. What is to prevent this type of farm program from becoming a "political foot-

ball"?

The fact that the National Poultry Stabilization Act is enabling legislation is in a large measure an assurance that it will remain what the majority of the industry wants it to be. It enables the industry to solidify behind an objective with a common goal. Any changes to be made either in program or method of achieving the goal are to be made by the industry itself in a referendum. There is no need to go back to Congress to ask for amendments. The industry itself can make its own amendments, subject to producer approval. This is a new concept in farm programs aimed at reducing the tax load for everybody because it is producer financed and administered while stablilzing a major segment of our entire economy-the farmer. This act protects both producer and consumer.

19. What are production controls and how

will they affect me?

Production controls are a means of bringing supply into line with demand so that farmers can receive a fair price for their product. They might work through assigning each farmer a quota stating how much poultry, meat, or eggs he might produce. This can be regulated through the number of chicks started or through the amount of the product that is marketed. (A quota would be completely negotiable. It can be bought or sold so that fredom of entry, or exit, or expansion is retained. If a poultryman wants to go out of business he can sell his quota to someone else who wants to start e new farm or enlarge his old one.) He can be as efficient as possible with his allotment in order to earn the largest amount of money from it.

20. Won't controls cut my farm down to the point where it will be too small?

No. The only thing production controls would try to accomplish would be to control unneeded and unwarranted expansion in the broiler industry and to try to bring about a small cutback in the egg industry. Most agricultural economists estimate that if the broiler industry is held to its present size for a time, consumer demand will catch up with it and good prices will return. Then gradual expansion can be allowed in line with increasing consumer demand. In the egg production industry a slight cutback may be necessary (perhaps a 5 percent cut) for a few years until population catches up with production. In both industries a real consumer promotion program could be started under the Stabilization Act. For instance, if a tax of 1c per chick were levied on each chick sold in this country a sum of \$20 million could be raised. (There are 2 billion chicks hatched per year; 11/2 billion broiler chicks and one-half billion layer chicks.) The money raised could be used for a real consumer promotion program or to fight the cholesterol or other scares that have cut down on consumption of eggs, or to remove surplus from the market when and if that situation develops. However, all these programs are ineffective unless production is controlled, because production of poultry products can always increase faster than consumption of those products.

21. Aren't controls a form of socialism?

Won't I lose all my freedoms?

Certainly not. Almost every industry in this country uses some sort of control of production and they are all prospering. The oil industry has a Federal board which regulates the amount of oil that can be produced by the wells in order to keep supply in line

with demand. And you don't find the automobile industry producing cars just to keep them low in price. One thing farmers must learn from industry is that in industry the price determines the supply, in agriculture the supply determines the price. As far as socialism is concerned, the best way to prevent socialism is to keep small businessmen and farmers numerous, healthy, and pros-As long as there are many small independent farmers there will never be socialism in this country. It is only when the means of production become concentrated in a few hands through the formation of large corporations and cartels that the country will be threatened with socialism, because then there will be excessive prices and profits and there will also be a demand by the people to have the Government take over the means of production. In regard to freedoms, the only freedom that is restricted under production controls is the freedom to produce too much. Farms can grow in size merely by purchasing another farmer's quota. These quotas will become capitalized into farms, which will then become more valuable, instead of being worth very little as they are today. Farmers must decide whether they want the freedom to produce as much as possible, or whether they want good and stable incomes. They cannot have both under today's conditions.

22. Who is supporting this type of legis-

lation besides USPEPA?

The Stabilization Act is being supported by the National Grange, the National Farmers Union, the National Council of Commodity Organizations for whom USPEPA is the recognized spokesman for the poultry industry, and by many other groups and organizations.

23. Who will manage the program?

The act provides that the program shall be managed by producers themselves working with the Secretary of Agriculture through their own producer committees.

The National Poultry Stabilization Act can bring the poultry industry back to more prosperous times. It can return poultrymen to the point where they can make a decent living from their family-sized farms without longer hours and bigger investments. Most major advances that have benefited people have been made through legislation. There are minimum wage and hour laws to protect workers; antitrust laws to protect consumers against excessively high prices in industry; social security laws to protect people from loss of income during old age, and many other programs for the benefit of the people.

Farmers cannot exist in a free market when the price of almost everything they buy is controlled or administered by large corporations. The Stabilization Act accepts the basic concept that producers are responsible for the market surplus and they must devise some means to cope with it, and it gives them those means through programs which can be initiated under the bill.

Production planning would be simplified as year-to-year price variations were leveled out. Farmers could be free of the fear they might lose their farm under a periodic low price. There would be no loss in efficiency since each farmer would try to produce his quota as cheaply as possible in order to increase his individual profits. This approach to agricultural planning can stabilize the market. It can take the feast and famine characteristics out of agriculture and provide a good and stable income to most poul-

24. Will the U.S. Poultry & Egg Producers Association support other legislation?

USPEPA will support any legislation that is beneficial to the poultry industry. wholeheartedly endorse the Family Farm Income Act of 1960. This bill contains a supply control program similar to that in the Stabilization Act, plus provisions for direct compensatory payments to farmers when necessary.

Better Government purchasing methods and more use of poultry products in school lunches are also part of our program.

25. How can I help bring the National

Poultry Stabilization Act to life?

First, by joining the U.S. Poultry & Egg Producers Association as the only national exclusive producer organization dedicated to the stabilization of the industry and to the preservation of the independent family poultry farmer.

Second, support your membership with a contribution either to the legislative fund or to the organizational fund to help carry on the work in Congress and to assist in bringing this information to all poultrymen

in the country.

Next, discuss this measure in your poultry Organization, seeking their support as well.

Then, write a letter to your Congressman and your Senators. This is most important. Keep the USPEPA posted on your efforts, and we will try to assist you in any way at our command.

It is a long up-hill fight-but pulling together we can accomplish this much needed security—this much needed stabilization Which will preserve our free enterprise sys-

tem and our way of life.

It is fitting that the poultry industry standing on its tradition of independence should pioneer a new concept for an effective Program which may well lead to a reevaluation of our entire national farm program.

While we do not suggest that the National Poultry Stabilization Act is perfect, we do feel that it is more than adequate to supply that vehicle so necessary to our survival. As events occur, the industry itself can correct any weaknesses or imperfections.

We need all the help possible in order to realize all our objectives. We invite support from cooperatives, poultry associations

and individuals.

If you are interested in a prosperous poultry industry, please complete the following form and send it to us. [Not printed in RECORD.]

The Public Wife

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. RICHARD BOLLING

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, May 11, 1960

Mr. BOLLING. Mr. Speaker, the following witty and perceptive speech by Doris Fleeson was given at the ladies' luncheon of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States on May 3:

THE PUBLIC WIFE

(By Miss Doris Fleeson, political columnist, United Features Syndicate)

Mrs. Canham, honored guests, and targets, and innocent bystanders, my purpose today is to suggest that a bill of rights for the Public wife is long overdue and to hint to her quite plainly my own conviction that she owes rather more to us in the area of the general welfare than has been the case in the recent past.

In short, I want to help her to release er creative energies so that she can help to release ours.

There is plenty to do for all of us, believe

Let me say first that I am happy to be here. I deeply value the mark of confidence represented in Thelma Canham's invitation to me to speak on an occasion for which

the final responsibility must be hers. It is very little for me to do for a dear friend.

She, of course, has reason to believe I have learned something in a long career. But she knows, too, that I have acquired some rather positive opinions in the process.

My esteemed colleague, Joe Alsop, was once accused of having many prejudices. He re-plied in his best Alsopian manner: "I have no prejudices. I have certain well-reasoned convictions that only a damn fool would dispute." That was before he went to Slab Fork, W. Va., of course. But it remains the perfect slogan for a columnist and I consider that I am being extremely generous in giving him a byline for it.

I noted still another clue to columnists upon reading Thornton Wilder's "The Ides of March." A Wilder character was ex-plaining Caesar's relationship toward women, including Cleopatra, and observed that Caesar was a born teacher, it was "a sort of fury in Thus he could not forbear instructing this young and presumably malleable queen in the art of responsibility.

Now, I am not so intellectual that I accept this as the central truth of that famous relationship, but I could see its validity and its relevance to my own trade. Perhaps Caesar today would be a columnist though I doubt if Mary Haworth or Dear Abby would need to fear him as a rival. He would probably compete with me-so many men do.

I shall try not to be unbearably didactic in my approach. For my abiding conviction about my life's work as a political reporter is that politics is an art to be practiced and nowhere does it show itself in so many individual forms for which no absolutes can be laid down.

Public life is, I think, an accidental business requiring a maximum of flexibility and a minimum of dogma for it is based upon human nature. And human nature is rarely more richly and amply displayed than in the efforts men make to achieve a tolerable form of government.

From the standpoint of my own north of Ireland temperatment and my Covenanter ancestry, the public wife is decidedly underprivileged in the political conflict.

She is discussed by the public ad infinitum and often ad nauseam but she is denied the right to talk back. She must leave it to others to explain the convictions which form the basis of her actions and to suggest why she is what she is and does what she does.

The general theory of her place in the cosmic scheme seems to be that she should be a mirror which reflects her husband only in the most flattering light. And yet she is the person who knows him best. Still, any attempt at detachment on her part is interpreted as a kind of political infidelity by the same people who tear her husband to ribbons on any or no provocation.

Man is, according to Pascal, a reed but a thinking reed. The public man may claim that distinction; his wife must be content to be just a reed-but never a broken one of course. Just let her try dodging the constituents because she has a headache.

Sometimes another curious schizophrenia afflicts political partisans and admirers of a public wife, particularly a Presidential wife. They hold that she is immune from comment unless it is flattering. Thus all critics are driven to that underground where anything goes.

The result is that Presidential wives tend to be singularly unfortunate in their biographers. After they have been safely dead a long time, they may if they are lucky get approximate justice. But usually if there is anything more revolting than the usual campaign biography it is the inanities written about the candidate's wife.

They are unspeakably dull-yet these women sit at the eye of the hurricane, the point of danger where the decisions are being made.

I have a feeling too that the public wife has a very important effect on what the prayer book calls the things left undone which we ought to have done. She is or can be the attention-caller in this area.

The uncrowned queen of public wives is naturally the wife of the President. She has hit the jackpot all right but has found it to be only a bigger goldfish bowl than she

has ever known before.

My own acquaintance with public wives began-oh dear-with Mrs. Calvin Coolidge. A very nice place to begin I may say. Yet my first recollection of her was hearing the tokes made about her husband's jealousy of the secret service men whose job it was to accompany her. This is the same husband who is famous for his trite prose but wrote of her: "For 30 years she has borne with my infirmities and I have rejoiced in her graces," That day he wrote music.

Much of what I know about Mrs. Coolidge's predecessors I owe to the writing and research of Bess Furman of the New York Times. are agreed that this Nation has had all kinds of first ladies, very different from one another, but all have had one thing in common: The great American public thought it had

the right to tear them to bits.

A rare few have managed to treat the White House as a privileged sanctuary. This is the other extreme and a shockingly narrow

view of a tremendous opportunity.

It is a sorry fact that the only President's wife who needed to have it so was the most traduced first lady in our history. Mary Todd Lincoln's critics found publishers for an outpouring of vitriol which marred and maimed an already unstable personality. know how that Mary Lincoln was mentally ill and we also know much more about mental

But it was possible even then to recognize the emotional burdens carried by the wife of a Civil War President and it was known that Mrs. Lincoln, herself a southerner, had two brothers in the Confederate Army.

The roll is a long one. Dolly Madison made the White House a gay and lovely place—and Congress criticized her for her extravagance and refused to pay for her

Mrs. Rutherford B. Hayes took an intelligent interest in the social problem of poverty and backed the cause of temperance when workingmen's wives were victimized by the unregulated saloon. She was ridiculed as Lemonade Lucy.

President Jackson always believed that

his wife died as a result of public unkind-ness over her plight when it was discovered that her divorce from her first husband was

What happened to Mrs. Roosevelt when she decided that the depression was not strictly a man's problem is recent history. To defend her today is superfluous but her courage and humanity were not always so well rewarded.

As even Representative Walter knows. the original Bill of Rights arose out of the keen apprehension of the Founding Fathers that something very specific needed to be said at once regarding human rights in the infant Republic. The phrase applies to the first 10 amendments to the Constitution which were speedily ratified by the various State legislatures.

It lends itself surprisingly well to the situation of the public wife.

Article I protects religious belief, free speech, free press, free assemblage, and the right of petition for the redress of griev-ances. Our article I might say succinctly: The public wife has the right to be herself.

Article II allows the people to bear arms. Simple: The public wife has the right to

talk back.

Article III forbids the quartering of soldiers in our homes in time of peace and only under prescribed rules in time of war. Could we translate this into rules that the public wife need accommodate only so many house guests at any given moment, need tour Mount Vernon, climb the Washington Monument, and inspect the cherry blossoms only a given number of times in any one season?

I am reminded of the Cabinet officer who told a real estate agent here: I want a house with a drawing room for 200 at cocktails, a dining room which will seat 36, and 1 bedroom with bath.

Article IV secures us against unreasonable search and seizure. Easy again. There shall be harsh penalties levied against the snoopers and spies into the private life of the public wife.

Comes now the famous fifth and who really would want to part with it? It insures us against double jeopardy, against testifying against ourselves, and being deprived of life, liberty, and property without due process of law. Let us say that the public wife shall enjoy similar safeguards of her good repute.

Articles VI and VII spell out that right to due process in criminal and common law. It includes jury trial, confrontation of witnesses, and the assistance of counsel. It seems very little to ask for the public wife that criticism of her should be confined to the light of day.

Article VIII forbids excessive bail and fines, cruel and unusual punishment. We might put it that the public wife is excused from trying to please all of the people all of the time.

Article IX says that the enumeration of certain rights in the Constitution shall not be construed to deny or disparage other rights retained by the people. This opens the door to our personal tastes.

Let the public wife wear pink, maybe it isn't becoming but it might be her husband's favorite color. Let her wear sleeveless sheaths—if she has the figure for it—but try not to be jealous if she has and you haven't.

Article X, a favorite in this forum, I suspect, protects States rights. We can say that the public wife of Wisconsin need not be Alabama's notion of a dream princess but I'm afraid we can do little here for wives of the President and Vice President. They will simply have to depend on a certain amount of federalization of taste and custom

of federalization of taste and custom.

I may say that I have cleared my constitutional interpretations with Justice Douglas of the U.S. Supreme Court. He assures me I am on firm ground but adds he cannot commit the U.S. Senate.

I do not intend that all the defensive shall be borne by the public of the public wife. In one very large area she seems to me to be doing much less than her part. I refer to the changing patterns of social and family life which are of such intimate and central interest to women.

It surely needs no exposition before any audience except possibly the DAR that the status of women is changing at breakneck speed in a changing world. Mrs. Canham's husband was chairman of the womanpower commission which found that 9 out of 10 American women would at some period of their lives become a member of the labor force working outside their homes.

The same automation which has freed them from so much drudgery in the home has thus strikingly operated to direct them into outside occupations.

May I suggest in all candor and detachment that we more prosperous members of society are the victims of this change fully as much as our less fortunate sisters. Sometimes I think our problem is the greater because we lack the spur of economic necessity to compel us to seek productive and satisfying new outlets.

Too many times we have therefore not done so but have relaxed into a kind of rootlessness and conspicuous consumption which unfortunately have given much ammunition to critics of our country.

I nominate the public wife to pick up the reins of leadership in the new society. We need her leverage upon the sources of power to help us preserve the enduring values in spite of changes in outward form.

I want her to make and maintain understanding contact with the preachers, the teachers, the civic leaders, the workers in the fine arts too. They are the real VIP's of our society and we should show that we think so.

This country can no longer afford to let our showplaces in the Government, the White House included, become merely showcases for fashion only and the lowest common denominator of the public taste.

I am not proposing an end to the amenities of life. And all of us prize our primary role, so enchantingly described by Stephen Vincent Benét in John Brown's Body:

She was often mistaken, not often blind And she knew the whole duty of womankind To take the burden and have the power And seem like a well protected flower To hate the sin and to love the sinner And see that the gentlemen got their dinner And always always to have the charm That makes the gentleman take your arm.

There is good reason to believe that our times are producing a new kind of public wife, who is aware of some existing vacuums,

Much is made of the expanding role of the Vice President today. He has no new constitutional powers and I personally cannot see the Congress giving him any more. But he has had many ceremonial duties and he has been accompanied every inch of the way by a wife who does her homework—and I do not mean the regrettable effort to include the pressing of his pants. I am sure she uses her valuable energies otherwise and she should.

State Department experts testify that Pat Nixon learns before they embark on their travels what the experts think she should. Republicans know that she carried the load of national party hostess in many ways and many places. She does the little things that count so heavily with the party rank and file. I would not be at all surprised if the loyalty shown Mr. Nixon by the organization is due fully as much to Mrs. Nixon's attitudes as to his.

Among Democrats we see in the current Presidential limelight women very different from one another, but alike in their public understanding, their unstinted gifts of care and attention to their husbands in a time of supreme testing.

Muriel Humphrey perceived quickly that her Hubert needed backstopping and her personal testament of confidence far beyond what she had had to attempt in Minnesota. At the sacrifice of letting her daughter plan her own June wedding she is telling the Humphrey story in supermarket and Slab Fork. She is a great success because she believes in something bigger than their own fortunes.

Jackie Kennedy, drawn to the presidential stage from a sheltered environment at a very early age, turns a brave, bright face on much that must be new to her and on aspects of human nature which all of us require time and maturity to understand and to forgive. I think of her as I did of Margaret Truman in terms of my own daughter and I have cheered them both as they planted their pretty feet on the hard public path and held their heads high.

That sparkling face at Senator Lyndon Johnson's shoulder is his Lady Bird and don't let that soft phrase fool you. Few politicians can rival his management skills but his Bird can. The hand is light but the base it establishes for his expansiveness is firm and sure.

Evie Symington was born into her public role. All Democrats as well as the Senator should be grateful to that long line of distinguished Republican ancestors who imbued her with remarkable understanding of polities and public life. She has an artist's faculty for imparting her treasures of warmth and cultivation.

As an old advocate of equal rights for men, I will even allow candidates for President not to be married—and you all know who. Besides, think how many women voters would be disappointed if he chose only one.

Perhaps it will seem that I am asking too much of presidential wives when I nominate them for leadership in the family sector of our society. I have a carrot for them however as well as a stick.

Why shouldn't the wife of the President have a salary and expense account as he does if she earns it? I don't mean merit badges either. I mean something you can take to the bank. Fully as much as he, she is called upon for extraordinary expenditures in line of duty and I suspect she has to take a lot of guff from him about how much the distaff side of the White House costs. I know Mrs. Roosevelt did.

With her own income she would need no hint of patronage or favor to hold her own high place. Is not the laborer worthy of his hire? A salary and expense account might take the place of some of those widows' pensions Congress rather patronizingly later bestows when and as it gets around to it.

I suggest too that before a politician is criticized for having his wife on the payroll, the facts be ascertained about what she does for it. The extravagant costs of campaigning are surely familiar to the dimmest wits among us and the bills have to be paid somehow.

It seems to me I have talked a great deal about a topic on which I have instructed you to talk less. I am grateful for the chance. The public wife has had to forgive me much for in writing about her husband. I am sure I have often seemed to her obtuse, insensitive and plain wrong. But she has on the whole been generous.

Long may she wave in a free society to which she makes a significant contribution.

The Deadly Spray

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JOHN D. DINGELL

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, May 6, 1960

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, pursuant to permission granted I am inserting into the Appendix of the Congressional Record an article appearing in Sports Illustrated of May 2, 1960, entitled "The Deadly Spray":

THE DEADLY SPRAY

(In the war against his insect enemies, man has reached the point where his poisons not only kill birds and animals but threaten the human population as well.)

(By John O'Reilly)

In the last 3 years the U.S. Department of Agriculture, warring against the fire ant, has sprayed more than 1,750,000 acres in the southeast with chemical pesticides far more poisonous than DDT.

In the last few weeks the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service has reported finding 59 species of animals, including game birds, dead on the ground in sprayed areas. These

animals all contained residues of dieldrin or heptachlor, the two chemicals used.

In the same period the Food and Drug Administration declared a zero tolerance for heptachlor in foodstuffs for human con-

Thus man's chemical warfare against his insect enemies has at last reached the point where it threatens the well-being of himself. The multimillion dollar campaign waged by the Department of Agriculture against the imported fire ant has brought the whole question of the mass use of pesticides into violent focus. Yet the spray several in which scientific investigators have found alarming results. Here are some of the others:

Heavy losses of game and nongame fish were discovered 4 months after DDT was sprayed on a large tract of forest in the watershed of Montana's Yellowstone River. On less than 300 yards of stream 600 dead or dying whitefish, brown trout and suckers were counted, and Prof. Richard J. Graham found fish dying 90 miles below the treated watershed. The fish were found to contain DDT.

On the east coast of Florida 2,000 acres of tidal marsh, traversed by 354,000 linear feet of ditches, were sprayed by airplane with dieldrin to control sand flies. The fish kill was nearly complete, estimates running to between 20 and 30 tons, or about 1,750,000 fish, representing some 30 species.

Robins and other highly desirable birds vere wiped out in a number of communities in the Midwest, where spraying with DDT has been conducted for control of the Dutch elm disease. On the campus of Michigan State University Dr. George J. Wallace found original nesting robins were killed and others moving in to replace them also fell prey to the poison.

Damage to birds and mammals was reported by T. G. Scott, Y. L. Willis and J. A. Ellis from applications of dieldrin for control of Japanese beetles in Illinois.

Research conducted by the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service has shown that as little as 1/200,000 of an ounce of dieldrin per day in the food of pheasants resulted in eggs of low hatchability and chicks subject to abnormally high death rates.

Some streams already have been polluted With pesticides, and DDT has been found at the mouths of even the largest rivers, including the Mississippi and the Columbia.

All the foregoing were the results of a program which, according to the Pesticide Committee of the International Association of Fish, Game and Conservation Commissioners, in 1958 accomplished the following: "Chemical controls were applied to more than 100 million acres of land in the United States, with additional millions more in Canada and Mexico. Mixed with dusts, oils, Water and other solvents, emulsifiers and carriers, the volume totaled between 2 and 3 billion pounds and cost the consumer over \$500 million. Currently, one-sixth to onefifth of our croplands and millions of acres of forest and range lands are treated annually with pesticides in quantities of a few ounces to 25 or more pounds per acre." for the future, the report added: "Ento-mologists expect a fourfold increase in the use of insecticides during the next 10 or 15

On March 28 Justice William O. Douglas in effect proposed that the entire problem of mass spraying of toxic chemicals be reviewed by the Supreme Court of the United States. He stressed the importance of the issue in an indignant protest when the Supreme Court refused to consider the legality of a Department of Agriculture program to spray DDT from airplanes on more than 3 million acres of land in 10 States.

Justice Douglas' action climaxed a 4-year battle by 13 residents of Long Island, N.Y., including Dr. Robert Cushman Murphy, the ornithologist, and Archibald B. Roosevelt, son of President Theodore Roosevelt, to curb pesticide spraying in their area. They had sought an injunction in 1956 against the Department of Agriculture's spraying of DDT to eradicate the gypsy moth, on the grounds that it would poison vegetables, animals and human beings. While the case was moving through the courts the Department moved through the air and the spraying was done. The Government then said it had no intention of repeating the spraying. The second circuit court of appeals held, therefore, that the question was moot, or a dead issue, and the Supreme Court refused to review this decision.

A THREAT TO HUMAN HEALTH

After discussing some of the testimony in the case, Justice Douglas wrote, "The public interest in this controversy is not confined to a community in New York. Respondents' spraying program is aimed at millions of acres of land throughout the eastern United States. Moreover, the use of DDT in residential areas and on dairy farms is thought by many to present a serious threat to human health, as evidenced by the record in this case as well as by alarms sounded by others on the problem. The need for adequate findings on the effect of DDT is of vital concern not only to wildlife conservationists and owners of domestic animals but to all who drink milk or eat food from sprayed gardens.

"I express no views on the merits of this particular controversy. Nor do I now take a position on the issue of mootness. But I do believe that the questions tendered are extremely significant and justify review by this court."

It is not only the scope of the spraying program but the changing nature of compounds used that has led to such mounting concern. Since World War II, when DDT was put on the market, the deadliness of pesticides has increased markedly. Insects were found to develop immunity to DDT, and so the demand arose for stronger compounds with a wider killing effect. A long list of new organic pesticides was therefore developed, including the chlorinated hydrocarbons. Now more than 200 pesticides are sold in various formulas under thousands of trade names.

Dr. Clarence Cottam, director of the Welder Wildlife Foundation, Sinton, Tex. (SI, January 21, 1957), and former Assistant Director of the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service, is one of the leaders in the campaign against the wholesale and indiscriminate spraying of these toxic materials.

"The magnitude of this problem is tremendous," Dr. Cottam says. "It suggests to me that ultimately legislative action by Congress may be necessary to give more effective protection to man and his resources against overzealous operators. Knowledge needs to be available concerning the probable or possible indirect, as well as the direct, effect of the projected operational program."

The new chlorinated hydrocarbons have many curious properties. As a group they are highly toxic, but some are more poisonous than others and their effects are different upon different organisms. Upon being ingested some of them change form. In the body tissues of animals, for example, heptachlor metabolizes to heptachlor epoxide, which has proved to be more poisonous than the original compound. These chlorinated pesticides are also surprisingly stable and remain in the environment long after they have been deposited. Dieldrin and hepta-chlor remain lethal to invading fire ants from 3 to 5 years and possibly longer.
In the case of the imported fire-ant pro-

gram, appropriations for eradication were voted by Congress, and it then became the

obligation of the Department of Agriculture to carry out the program through its Pest Control Division. Officials administering the program have held that if they were permitted to carry on an all-out campaign the ant could be eliminated and any areas suffering damage to wildlife would be repopulated naturally. It is a matter of historic irony, however, that the entire furor over the fire ant has been concerned with an insect which, on further investigation, has turned out to be something less of a menace than it was originally made out to be.

Not so the poisons. One of the warnings sent out to local residents in advance of the spraying, for instance, says: "Cover gardens and wash vegetables before eating them; cover small fish ponds; take fish out of pools and wash pools before replacing the fish; don't put, laundry out; keep milk cows off treated pastures for 30 days, and beef cattle 15 days; cover beehives or move them away; keep children off ground for a few days; don't let pets or poultry drink from puddles."

Gradually the imported fire ant seemed to lose some of its viciousness. There were denials that it ate crops. Health officials said it was not a menace to human beings. Dr. Kirby Hays, an entomologist who was sent to Argentina by the State of Alabama to study the ant on its home grounds, reported that the people of Argentina considered the inspect beneficial because it attacked a number of destructive insects. Last week the National Wildlife Federation asked Congress outright to stop or drastically modify fire-ant control programs, pointing out that "the fire ant is a nulsance, but nothing more." The value of its control, said Louis C. Clapper, acting conservation director, "is more than offset by long-term damage to wildlife, fish, domestic livestock, and poultry and beneficial soil organisms." The department itself cut down the recommended dosage of 2 pounds per acre to a quarter pound per acre, with a second spraying of the same amount 3 to 6 months later. Meanwhile, biologists were following the

trail of the sprayers. At the 25th North American Wildlife and Natural Resources Conference held last month in Dallas, Dr. James B. DeWitt, of the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service, delineated the results of research he and his coworkers had conducted at the Patuxent Wildlife Research Center near Laurel Md

It was Dr. DeWitt who listed the 59 species of poisoned animals that had been obtained from areas sprayed for fire ants. The list included songbirds, quail, rails, ducks, rats, mice, raccoons, foxes, snakes, frogs, and fish. Dr. DeWitt also reported that earthworms, an important food of some birds, taken as much as 12 months after treatment of an area with the pesticide, contained from 1 to 10 parts per million of heptachlor

The cost of the fire-ant program has been great. During 3 years Congress has appropriated \$7,200,000 for the spraying. With additional funds appropriated by State legislatures, the total cost has risen to between \$10 and \$12 million. Meanwhile, both the spraying and the controversy continue, although some States have reduced or withdrawn financial support of the program.

Most of those who are in violent opposition to such massive spray programs agree that pesticides have become an unavoidable part of the economy. However, they do make strong pleas for a revised approach to the problem. Instead of stronger poisons with wide killing ranges, they urge less toxic but more specific chemicals and the use of spot methods of application rather than the wholesale dosing of big areas from airplanes. Above all, they plead for greater coopera-tion between biologists and those exercising control programs.

A bill to that effect, called the Chemical

Pesticides Coordination Act, was introduced

in Congress on March 31 by Representative LEONARD G. WOLF of Iowa. This bill would require advance study of the effects upon fish and wildlife before any Federal program using chemical pesticides could be undertaken. It would require not only preliminary study by the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service but also by the game and fish department of the State affected. The Fish and Wildlife Service would be directed to cooperate in developing methods that would achieve the necessary controls while minimizing damages to wildlife resources.

A VIEW OF BLACKEST PESSIMISM

Many of those taking an active part in the controversy feel that this is a good step, but that a much broader appraisal of the mass use of chemical poisons is needed. Dr. Wallace of Michigan State, viewing the drastic toll of robins and other birds after his investigations, expressed a view of blackest pessimism and indictment: "The current widespread and ever-expanding pesticide program poses the greatest threat that ani-mal life in North America has ever faced worse than deforestation, worse than market hunting and illegal shooting, worse than drainage, drought, or oil pollution and pos-sibly worse than all of these decimating factors combined." Dr. Cottam, more temperature but no less positive, argued for "selective and specific pesticides which we can use to control pests without significant detrimental effects to other public values or to other members of the biota which are of high economic, social, or recreational importance. It has been done before." Dr. Cottam concluded, "The possibilities are there, and the promised rewards are worthy of our best efforts."

A Planned Economy To Match Russia's

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. THOMAS B. CURTIS

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, May 11, 1960

Mr. CURTIS of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include an article by Don Paarlberg entitled "Freedom and Forced Growth" which appeared in the Wall Street Journal of May 3, 1950, and an editorial commenting thereon entitled "Liberty in Escrow" which appeared in the same edition of the Wall Street Journal:

FREEDOM AND FORCED GROWTH

(By Don Paarlberg)

(Mr. Paarlberg is an economist serving as special assistant to President Eisenhower. The speech from which these remarks are excerpted was delivered to the New York City Invest-In-America Committee)

Everyone has heard the frequently stated goal of Chairman Khrushchev-that of first equaling and then exceeding the United States in the output of goods and services.

During the last decade or so the best computations show that our economy has been advancing at a rate somewhat in excess of 3 percent annually. The consensus of in-formed estimates is that the Soviet Union has been growing at something like twice that percentage.

In absolute amounts, say those who have studied the problem closely, the yearly increment of growth in this country is roughly comparable in volume with that of the Soviet Union, though greatly different in composition. Our own economic output is weighted heavily by consumer goods and services; the Societ economy is heavily weighted by capital investment and military outlay. Last year the rate of economic growth in this country, in real terms, was 7 percent, this being larger than usual by virtue of the fact we were emerging from a recession.

If the Soviet Union were to use its increments of economic growth for advances in the well-being of its people, we would, of course, be happy. But if it uses them to threaten us militarily, or to subvert the underdeveloped and uncommitted nations, then the matter is a serious one indeed. The counsel of history is that we consider the Soviet Government as being concerned with matters other than the living level of its citizens. Even if we totally discount the statistical comparisons, the economic advance of the Soviet Union is evident in judgments made by visitors to that land, who compare present conditions with the remembered circumstances of former years.

Those who characterize the economic challenge of the Soviet Union as a serious threat may be classified in two broad groups.

First, there are those whose primary interest is in other matters, but who use the rise of the Soviet economy as a new rationale for the promotion of programs they have long held dear. Chief among these are the proponents of pet spending schemes. Their programs have, during the past 30 years, been successively rationalized on the basis of overcoming the depression, winning the war, and expanding social services. Now they are rationalized on the basis of promoting economic growth so as to match the Soviet standard. These pet schemes are attached to whatever is the prevailing public concern.

Second, there are those who endeavor, from honest motivation, to deal constructively with this problem. These people and their proposals merit our consideration; it is here that I intend to focus my remarks.

POOR STRATEGY

Whereas formerly the tendency was to play down the economic challenge of the Soviet Union, some people now overplay it. counsel us to accept the Soviet challenge on whatever terms it is laid down. If the Soviet Union generates a certain rate of economic growth, we are told that we should strive to equal or approach it. If they set up specific objectives, industry by industry, we are told that we should adopt a similar approach. If they issue an economic challenge in any field, it is said that we should automatically accept it and try to outdo them. "Whatever you can do, I can do better." This may be a good song but it is poor strategy.

This form of strategy would have the leaders of the Soviet Union selecting the area of competition, choosing the issues they wish to raise, and naming the field in which we are to contend. Inevitably they would choose such objectives and name such areas of competition as were advantageous to them.

If we allow the Soviet Union to name the area in which our two nations are to compete, we would in effect make their objectives our own. We would in time take on their image. It would be a foolish man who would accept the Soviet objectives and emulate the Soviet technique of regimentation in an effort to beat them at their own game. Such an effort is not likely to win, and if it were, the fruits of victory would have been foregone before the battle began. Far more is at stake than merely to see which country can post the largest statistic measuring the annual rate of growth.

There are various ways of trying to register the larger percentage increase in the rate of growth. We could lengthen the workweek, recruit millions of women and old people for the labor force, reassign half of our clerks and waltresses to other duties,

squeeze down the level of consumption, dispense with certain of our frills, and forcibly extract savings from the people to spend on capital investment. This is what the Soviet Union does. But if we were to imitate them, we would lose our character as a free and independent people. We cannot succeed with their system.

This kind of argument is being made: By central direction of its economy, the United States vastly increased its output during World War II. Now, it is said, we are faced with a similar challenge. We should, it is maintained, prune away, by Government action, some of the frivolities of our free economy, adopt a program of austerity, and by some form of central direction channel a greater share of our resources to capital investment.

Let us examine this argument carefully:

there is a persuasive sound to it.

The United States temporarily adopted central direction of its economy during the two Great Wars, firm in the belief that freedoms temporarily surrendered would be taken up again at the close of the war. The first war lasted 21/2 years; the second one lasted 41/2. The desire for freedom was kept alive during these relatively short periods; when the wars were over we again took up our freedom, only slightly impaired by its tem-porary and partial eclipse.

What is the probable duration of the economic rivalry between the United States and the Soviet Union? This may be a rivalry whose duration is to be measured in decades or generations rather than in years. No man can say how long it will be; no man would

predict that it will be brief.

FREEDOM IN JEOPARDY

Could we put freedom aside for decades, and then reinstate it? If a whole generation were deprived of freedom or had its freedom substantially impaired, would freedom be sufficiently cherished so that we would re-turn to it? Would the desire for freedom be strong enough to shatter a pattern of regimentation, laid down and congealed over a period of decades? To put these questions to the test would place in jeopardy our most precious heritage. It would demonstrate that we hold in low esteem the capabilities and the merits of our free system.

We need to be reminded that economic freedom, extended to all the people, is a relatively new concept in the world's history. It has emerged only in recent centuries, only in parts of the world, and only at immense cost. It is not the kind of system which can be put in escrow. It must be practiced if it is to be kept alive. This system, which has rewarded us beyond our brightest dreams, deserves better than that we should voluntarily impair it through fear of a still-distant competitor.

The President has expressed utmost confidence in the ultimate victory of representative government and an enterprise economy. The Vice President has said we can win this horse race with the Soviet Union, providedand I emphasize this-provided we don't try to ride their horse.

While we should recognize and respect the economic capabilities of the Soviet Union. we should not underestimate our own capabilities and our own strength. These are immense, presently more than twice those of the Soviet Union.

To promote the right kind of solid growth a shared responsibility, a responsibility which rests upon private persons and local and State governments as well as the Federal Government.

The Federal Government cannot long force a high rate of economic growth upon us unless basically the people want it. And if we want it, which we should, there are many ways to bring it about besides making it the sole responsibility of the Federal Government.

PROVIDE A CLIMATE

The Federal Government can help provide a climate within which enterprise and economic growth can flourish. It can round out and supplement the efforts of State and local governments in the development of human and natural resources, being careful in the process not to preempt, substitute for, or discourage local and State efforts. It can pursue sound fiscal and monetary policles. It can help create a climate favorable to savings and investment. It can develop policies which will put money to work and men to work. It can create a setting which is in harmony with the objectives of you who encourage the people to invest in America. The Federal Government cannot, singlehanded, take responsibility for producing a specific rate of economic growth.

How can we improve the performance of the American economic system? There is no mystery about it. The key is the preservation of the initiative, vitality, energy, and

resourcefulness of our people.

Enhanced economic performance comes from these solid sources, not from politically motivated spending in behalf of evergreater centralization of governmental power and authority, and certainly—most certainly—not from the adoption of techniques alien to our system.

LIBERTY IN ESCROW

In the remarks reprinted elsewhere on this page, Mr. Paariberg discusses the central economic—and highly political—question before the Nation:

Should this country adopt central direction of the economy in order to outpace the

Soviet rate of economic growth?

As Mr. Paarlberg says, there is a "persuasive sound" to the argument that we should. The Soviet economy, we are told, is growing at a rate something like twice ours. Unless the United States does something fairly drastic about this, it would seem inevitable that U.S. economic preeminence will diminish and the U.S.R. will become the strongest economic nation in the world, with all the political power that implies.

Put in such terms, the threat is grave, indeed. It seems to us, however, that the advocates of a Government-directed economy get off the track in several ways.

For one, they tend to regard comparative growth rates too uncritically. You can step up the rate by turning out lots of shoddy merchandise. You can step up the rate by making lots of munitions. Quantity, in other words, is not the only criterion of sound growth.

But the real point here is that the two economies are not properly comparable. The Soviet economy is at a much lower level of development than this one. It is concentrating, as it has almost from the beginning, on heavy capital investment in heavy industry, not only to produce war weapons, but also to get a sufficient economic base from which might—maybe, someday—flow consumer-goods prosperity for the Soviet masses.

The United States, obviously, has long since passed that stage. American businessmen continue to pour tremendous sums every year into expanding the industrial base because of rising demand and anticipations of population growth. But the base itself is there, capable of producing simultaneously the most formidable military power in the world and the highest standard of living for the greatest number in human history.

Instead of comparing apples and oranges, we would do better to phrase the issue this way: If the Soviet economic base were now as large as ours, were now providing both military might and consumer plenty, and if the Soviet economic growth rate were still twice as large as ours—then we would have something to think about. But that is demonstrably not the case today, and there is no evidence that it will ever be the case.

In this light, the question becomes: Is it wise to junk the free economy on account of a threat that shows no sign of materializing?

We are not assuming to read the future; it is the proponents of Government regimentation "to meet the Soviet challenge" who do that. For our part, we are going on facts abundantly plain. The free economy unleashes the greatest possible potential for economic growth. That is a fact. The regimented economy squashes the potentials, as by definition it must. That is a fact.

Another way the advocates of a centrally directed economy miss the boat is in their carelessness about the political implications of their proposals. As Mr. Paarlberg trenchantly observes, economic freedom for all is a relatively new and rare development; so is political liberty. The two are inextricably entangled. If the State decrees the details of your economic existence, what is left worth having of any political liberty? The remainder won't remain long anyway.

Some of these people, to be sure, protest that they are not trying to junk the free economy—entirely. Yet that is where they are aiming, whether they know it or not. They want to meet the Soviet dictatorship in its chosen fields and by its chosen methods. They want specifically to transfer the allocation of the Nation's resources from private hands to the Central Government.

It is bad enough for the United States to forfeit freedom through the machinations of calculating politicians. It is something worse if we let ignorance put our liberty in escrow.

Youth Fitness

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. EDWIN B. DOOLEY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 11, 1960

Mr. DOOLEY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the Record, I include a statement on youth fitness, written by J. Spencer Gray, editor of the Herald of Westchester, Westchester County, N.Y. Mr. Gray, a member of President Eisenhower's Committee on Youth Fitness, is himself a devotee of perfect health and a very vigorous and able newspaperman.

His crusade in behalf of the youth of Westchester to give attention to physical fitness is to be commended.

He points out quite aptly that in the hurried times in which we live it is not unusual for youngsters to overlook one of the most important things in life, namely, their personal health, in the relentless struggle for material things.

Mr. Gray says that it is a solemn obligation of the youngster to his elders, to his community, and to his Nation, to stay well and strong.

The statement follows:

[From the Herald of Westchester, May 5, 1960]

Have Our Children Forgotten or Did They Never Learn?

(By J. Spencer Gray)

The physical well-being of youth is today under the spotlight more than at any time in our history. It is Youth Fitness Week—an observance proclaimed by President Eisenhower and Governor Rockefeller.

As part of New York State Fitness Week, thousands of youngsters in Westchester and the rest of the State are demonstrating their physical and emotional fitness, their prowess and agility. Many schools are holding openhouse programs so that parents and others interested may see demonstrations of the physical training and the gymnastic skill of their offspring.

The observance and the demonstrations it brings are especially heartening to this writer, a long-time believer in organized, rigorous programs aimed at improved physical, mental, emotional, social, and spiritual fitness, and a veteran member of President Eisenhower's Committee on Youth Fitness.

We have come a long way since the writer had the privilege of working with some of the pioneers in this field who urged that our county and our Nation voluntarily undertake to discipline itself physically, to avert the possibility that high living standards, an abundance of material wealth, and our widely prevalent ease and luxury would not lead us down the road to deterioration and collapse.

The campaign for a physically fit youth, better equipped with energy, stamina, and endurance to lead the United States of America of tomorrow, has truly paid rich dividends.

But, what of the intellectual fitness of our youth? Its moral fitness?

What of the values and ideals on which

our Nation has prided itself?

What of the virtues of inner strength, of outer compassion, of human warmth and understanding, of determination to see the right done for the sake of the right and not for any ulterior goal?

How stands the youth of Westchester, New York State, and the Nation on these crucial counts?

Can it be that with our feverish preoccupation with staying ahead of the enemies of our Nation in some technological and economical areas and catching up with them in others we run the risk of spawning a race of human automatons?

Can it be that we as a people have put too much stock in material success for its own sake, and that our offspring today—our physically fit but morally neutralist youth—reflect this worship of success to the exclusion of countless other values many of us of an earlier generation were taught to venerate?

Can it be that in our Nation's relentless emphasis on individualism and individual rights, our youth has never learned—or learned only inadequately—the solemn obligations of the individual to his elders, to his siblings, to his community, to his Nation?

Can it be that our youth has grown up in too much of an atmosphere of ridicule and disdain for, or cynicism about, the simple virtues of home and family; the urgent need for humility of the individual and sublimation in the greater good?

Have our children forgotten how to dream—or did they never learn? Does preoccupation with the present blind their eyes to visions of tomorrow—visions of better things, of a more equitable society, of the elimination of pain and suffering * * * visions worthy of the highest dedication and most determined effort?

Are our children too concerned with the easily attainable, with the glitter of immediate reward?

In the omnipotent dominance of the nuclear age, have our offsprings lost all concern with, or interest in, the values of yesterday—in the eternal truths whose relevance becomes greater, not less, with each scientific advance? In the wisdom and experience passed on by elders who may have been less sophisticated, less knowledgeable in their day, but were nonetheless able to set the stage for the constructive and hope-

ful aspects of modern society as well as its terrifying, fearsome aspects?

What of gratitude for the heritage of the past, for the sacrifices of parents that gave youth its bright hopes and opportunities?

Has gratitude become passé—too "corny"

for youth of the nuclear age?

We have no answers for these questions. They are merely thoughts and observa-

tions, not concrete conclusions.

They came to mind as we thought of youth's physical fitness, and then of its mental and moral fitness.

But we are disturbed.

We are fearful of where the youth of today is heading, what it will do with its great material abundance and unlimited opportunity for good—or evil.

These are some thoughts worth pondering in this critical day and age.

Rocket Power-Key to Space Supremacy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, OVERTON BROOKS

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 10, 1960

Mr. BROOKS. Mr. Speaker, since the launching of Sputnik I, our people have been hearing many arguments concerning the reasons for America's space lag. As we may well know by now, our secondary position can be attributed in large part to Soviet superiority in rocket thrust. In an address delivered on May 10 before the American Rocket Society in Los Angeles, Maj. Gen. Don R. Ostrander, Director, Launch Vehicle Programs, National Aeronautics and Space Administration. gave a splendid comprehensive review of the NASA program planned to overcome our country's deficiency in this field. Because of the vital importance of this program to the security of our country. I believe General Ostrander's address will be read with interest and profit by every American.

The address follows:

ROCKET POWER-KEY TO SPACE SUPREMACY

I chose the title for my talk today very deliberately. I thought it was appropriate because I, as the one who has the responsibility for producing the launch vehicles for our space program, am probably the man who is more interested than anyone else in the country in increasing the thrust and the weight-carrying capability of our vehicles. And I am speaking to the group upon whom we are going to have to rely to achieve this—the American rocket industry.

The question has been repeatedly asked and heatedly argued in recent months as to whether we are in a space race with Russia. Now, whether we are in an overall space race with Russia is, I guess, a matter of semantics. The word "race" normally connotes two or more contestants running on the same track, taking the same hurdles, and trying to reach the same goal. In this case we don't know what the other track is like, we don't know what the specific goal of the other fellow is, and we don't know how hard he is running. In addition, I think it would be a mistake, even if we knew these things, to try to pattern our program on his in a sort of "me too," "anything you can do, I can do better" approach. I think that we should set our own goals, point toward them with a broad, logical, scientifically sound program, and then run just as hard as we can. In the long run I firmly believe that we will be better off than by simply shooting for spectacular propaganda firsts. If in the process we achieve significant firsts, fine, but it should be as an outgrowth of our own sound program, not as our sole and primary goal.

Leaving semantics aside, however, I think that we have to face the fact that we are in a competition—whether or not you want to call it a race—just as we are in financial, economic, psychological, and ideological competition across the board. Certainly there is no question in my mind that in my area of responsibility, the area of greater rocket weight-lifting capability, we are in a race and I plan to conduct my business accordingly.

Recognizing then and admitting that it is a competition or a race, or whatever you want to call it, let's review where we stand

Since the Soviets placed Sputnik I in orbit in October of 1957, the United States has attempted 40 satellite launchings. These efforts succeeded in injecting 18 payloads into earth orbits, 9 of which are still aloft. During this same period we have tried five lunar or deep space probes, of which two can be classed as succeeses.

I think that it is interesting to try to interpret trends from these statistics. The record shows 17 major launchings by the United States in 1958 and 19 in 1959, with a boxscore of 47 percent successes in 1958 rising to 58 percent in 1959. Before we get too exuberant over this achievement, though, I must point out that we are down to 50 percent in 1960 so far.

What do these statistics mean? Well, I think they point up several things that are significant. First of all, 45 major launches in a little over 2 years represent a beginning for our space program of a not inconsiderable magnitude. So far our choice of vehicles has been limited to direct descendants of those with which we began our space effort. All to date are improvisations using components developed either under our vari ous missile programs, or for the Vanguard IGY program. The second point is the importance of repetitious use of a vehicle in increasing its reliability. The marked up-swing in reliability in 1959 can be laid, I think, to improvements in design and to the correction of component deficiencies which were made after diagnosis of our failures.

We have no accurate way to determine the reliability which the Russians have achieved in their space program so far. We know of six Soviet successes but we do not know, of course, how many of their attempts resulted in failure. I am sure, though, that all of you in this audience can conclude from your own experiences that their rate falls something short of 100 percent.

It is no secret that the Soviets outmatch us in the department of rocket thrust, and that as a result they have the capability of placing much heavier payloads in space than have we. You can get any number of very lucid rationalizations of how the United States came to trail the Soviets in the matter of rocket size. One of these explanations points out that both the Soviet and United States boosters are based on ICBM hardware. Each nation sized its rocket engines to place a high yield warhead on an intercontinental target. Our U.S. warhead technology permitted a lighter vehicle requiring lower thrust than that of the Soviets. All of this is true, but regard-less of the reason, the facts of life are that the Soviets did have a large booster vehicle in 1957. With the exception of the Vanguard program, our development of specialized space vehicle hardware did not really get underway until about a year later. When you consider the remorseless facts of rocket development lead times, I think that it is understandable why we have yet to put into

service the new, higher thrust launch vehicle hardware which will enable us to match or surpass Soviet payload achievements.

Although we are behind the Soviets in the weight lifting area, it does not follow that we are far in arrears in overall rocket technology—in our knowledge of how to design, develop, and use advanced rocket systems. In fact, I am confident that we are not significantly behind the U.S.S.R. if you consider this field as a whole, and I think that we may well lead them in many areas.

I have discovered that trying to find out where we stand relative to the Soviets in the field of guidance is a pretty futile exercise. I can get as many opinions as there are experts. Several of our vehicles which are now in or nearing operational status have guidance systems which their salesmen claim have an absolute capability of duplicating the feat of Lunik III in sweeping around the moon's backside. They point out that the test of a guidance system is not whether a particular lunik successfully accomplished this maneuver, but its probability of repeating the performance. may all be well. The fact remains that they did it, and I, for one, am impressed with it. However we stack up with them today in the field of guidance and control, it appears to me that we are certainly going to need some advancements in the state of the art in order to design a system with the precision and dependability required for the manned lunar landing and earth return mission, for example.

From the standpoint of numbers, our 18 satellites placed in orbit compare very favorably with the Soviet 3, or our total of 23 successful major launchings with their 6. for that matter. From the standpoint of total weight of scientific instrumentation launched into earth orbits, the Soviets are ahead of us by several thousand pounds, and we have not even approached their achievement in payload weight on lunar and deep space probes. However, the yardstick by which our space accomplishments should be measured is not solely by payload weight. nor for that matter the total number of successful launchings, but rather the extent and quality of useful scientific information our payloads have returned to us and the distance this new knowledge has carried us toward our goals.

Our program of space exploration really has three elements with related goals. The first of these is the space sciences program, which seeks to learn new facts about the shape of the earth, its upper atmosphere, the ionosphere, the earth's magnetic field, cosmic rays, the radiation belt, the aurora, solar-terrestrial relationships, astronomy, etc.

A great many of the experiments undertaken as part of the space sciences program are inspired by requirements of other elements of our program. For example, determination of the extent, intensity, and time variations of the radiation belts; measurements of temperatures inside and on the outside surfaces of satellites; and measurements of the energy and frequency of micrometeorite impacts, all are of great importance to the Mercury and follow-on man-inspace programs.

This, of course, is the second element of our NASA space program. The goal of Project Mercury is not the propaganda value of a spectacular first. Rather, its goal is to determine the functions that a man can perform in space to pay his way in future space exploration. Man is a complex servo mechanism—a computer endowed with reason—but he is a pretty delicate mechanism compared with electronic devices and imposes environmental demands which compromise design and cost weight. So one of the things we are trying to find out is for which missions he is worth all this complexity and weight. We have made excellent

prograss with Mercury so far. If all goes well, an astronaut should make his first suborbital flight this year, and orbit the earth in 1961

The third element of our program relates to the application of the knowledge which we gain to space systems which can be applied to the good of mankind. For example, as you know, we plan to place in orbit under our Project Echo, large, metallic coated mylar spheres which can be used as passive reflectors to permit microwave communication over vast distances. Also, weather satellites such as Tiros I, which is still returning excellent televised pictures of cloud cover, and its successors, Tiros II and Nimbus, will, we hope, allow major advances in weather forecasting.

Thus we are, I think, embarked on a scientifically sound, balanced and aggressive program of our own design. We are literally building our fund of knowledge of space from the ground up, guided by definite goals—our own goals. To date we have been less handicapped by the lack of greater payload capability than is popularly supposed, because much of this early exploratory Which forms the foundation of our later efforts can, with proper planning, be accomplished with the rather primitive tools that we have available. I don't mean to imply that we wouldn't be delighted to launch heavier payloads, and in the near future we are going to have to have order of magnitude increased in our ability to carry heavier weights into space. We are going to have to fly more complex flight paths, and we are going to need a higher degree of guidance precision than we have needed so far.

Now, let us examine our program to create this new generation of launch vehicles we

need for the task ahead.

The philosophy upon which our launch vehicle program rests is based upon three fundamental precepts:

First, we are creating a standardized fleet of trucks, if you want to call it that, with a minimum number of different types in the fleet.

Second, closely linked to the first, we propose to attain reliability through repetitive use of the vehicles in our fleet.

Third, to avoid early absolescence, we want to insure that each new vehicle we develop incorporates the most advanced technical approaches and growth potential consistent with the reliability we require.

Before discussing the present and planned vehicles in our program, I would like to dwell for a moment on this philosophy and

some of its implications.

Speaking of the first two of these precepts—minimum variety and repetitive use of standardized vehicles—our objectives here are, of course, economy and reliability. The costs of developing launch vehicles are already high and they are going up in a geometrical progression with each new, larger, and more advanced vehicle that we add to our fleet. The Nation cannot, and fortunately need not, afford two major vehicles, one NASA, one military, with approximately the same capability. That is why we are conducting cooperative programs with the military on the Scout, the Agena B, and the Centaur. That is why, too, that we canceled Vega in favor of the Air Force Agena B.

While on the subject of a minimum variety and repetitive use of vehicles, I want to stress that this same philosophy governs the NASA component and technique development program. We explore various technical approaches methodically and, I think, adequately, in our applied research efforts. But we try to settle on one approach which our analysis shows to be best before we go into full scale hardware development. An example is our decision to use liquid hydrogen and liquid oxygen as a propellant-oxidizer combination for chemical upper stages.

I think the contribution to reliability of amassing a large number of flights on a given

vehicle is obvious. I want to add, though, that we do not subscribe to the "develop in haste and fix at leisure" route to reliability. NASA is reliability conscious to the point where I think some of our project people would be glad if they never heard the word We have recently added a staff element, headed by Dr. Landis S. Gephart, to direct the NASA-wide reliability program. Our operating elements, such as the George C. Marshall Space Flight Center in Huntsville, have engineering groups whose sole business is to insure that reliability is considered at every step, from conceptual design, through detail design, selection of materials and components, development test, flight test, production quality control, and launch pro-cedures—the entire spectrum of operations which influences the probability that complex launch vehicles, spacecraft, and all the myriad elements that make up the space mission systems, will function as intended.

On the other hand, we cannot allow our

On the other hand, we cannot allow our desire for reliability to become such an over-riding obsession that we timidly decide on the tried and true—and often obsolescent—approach in planning each new vehicle. That is why we have the third precept I mentioned. The tough job is to have both reliability and long, useful life. NASA is tackling this job by aggressively probing for real breakthroughs which promise quantum gains in mission capability. We bet heavily, to win, only after we have solid evidence that we have a winner.

As I mentioned earlier, we are still limited to the launch vehicles with which the United States began its space program, or their direct descendants. A few have been retired—the Jupiter C which served us so well back in 1958 when we so greatly needed a U.S. satellite in orbit to repair, in some measure, our badly mauled prestige; and the Vanguard which, in spite of its troubles, more than earned its development cost in the information provided by the three scientific payloads it orbited. In addition, it paid dividends by giving us upper stages for the Thor-Able, the Thor-Delta, and the Scout.

Thor-Able, the Thor-Delta, and the Scout, Also due to be retired this year is the Juno II, based on the Jupiter IRBM, and the Thor-Able. The Thor-Delta, which is a Thor-Able improved through the addition of coasting flight attitude control and the accurate and flexible Titan radio guidance system, will be used through 1961 in a 12-vehicle program, but no follow-on procurement is planned.

All of these vehicles are destined to be replaced by two vehicles, the Scout and the Thor-Agena B—the Scout because of its relatively low cost, which is about \$750,000 per copy including all launching costs, and its high reliability potential; and the Thor-Agena B because of its combination of greater payload, flexibility of operation, and potential high reliability.

The Agena B stage will also be used by NASA, as well as the Air Force, on top of the Atlas as a first stage. The Atlas booster will increase the 300 mile orbit payload capability of the Agena B to about 5,300 pounds.

Later in 1961 we are scheduled to launch our first Centaur. The Centaur will be the first vehicle to employ a high energy upper stage, and this liquid hydrogen-liquid oxygen stage is the first to employ a rocket engine developed primarily for space use. The added specific impulse afforded by hydrogen as a fuel gives the Centaur half again the payload of the Atlas-Agena B in a low orbit, and nearly three times as much payload when used as a lunar probe, which is one of its principal missions in the NASA program. For the first time, the Centaur, the United States has a launch vehicle able to duplicate the payload capability of the sputnik vehicle.

The Centaur is of major interest to the Department of Defense as well as the NASA. In fact, the Centaur performance objectives

originally stemmed from the Department of Defense requirements for a 24-hour communications satellite. The importance of the Centaur to NASA, however, is much more far-reaching than the capability of the Centaur vehicle itself because of its relationship to Saturn. The Centaur upper stage will become the top stage for Saturn. In addition, four Centaur engines will power the second Saturn stage. In fact, liquid hydrogen begins to look as though it will dominate the launch vehicle upper stage picture both as a fuel for chemical rockets and as a working fluid for nuclear rockets.

The Saturn vehicle is being developed under the management of Wernher von Braun's Marshall Space Flight Center. As most of you know, the Saturn first stage consists of a cluster of eight uprated Jupiter-Thor-type engines, with a total thrust of 1,500,000 pounds. On top of it we will use the two hydrogen-oxygen stages I just mentioned. When we get this Saturn C-1 vehicle, which is the initial version of Saturn, our payload capability gets a king-sized boost—to 25,000 pounds in a 300 mile orbit.

One, and possibly two later versions of Saturn are planned. The second model, called C-2, will add another stage using four 200,000 pound thrust LO₂-LH, engines. The third model, if we decide to build it, will be called the C-3 and will have still another stage, using two of these 200,000

pound thrust engines.

We have had a great deal of study and analysis in progress for the past year to try to define the vehicle which will follow the Saturn. The principal mission which we have used as an objective in these planning studies has been that of landing a manned spacecraft on the Moon, then returning a 10,000-pound reentry package to the Earth. The study has followed two principal approaches. The first was what you might call the brute force attack, known as Nova.

There have been many references to Nova,

as a vehicle, in the press and elsewhere. Nova is not a vehicle—it is simply one of a number of vehicle concepts which we have considered for the use of the 1,500,000 pound thrust single chamber F-1 engine now under development for NASA at Rocketdyne. Under this brute force approach, six of these large 1½-million-pound-thrust engines would be used in the first stage. Four hydrogen-oxygen stages could be piled on top of this big booster to give us the 10,000-pound lunar return package that we need. This concept is beginning to face increasing competition from vehicle studies with nuclear upper stage rockets.

This planning effort has given our program, I believe, a clear sense of direction

and pace

As to direction, the major long range goal of the NASA program is manned exploration, first to the Moon, then the nearer planets. This goal focuses attention on the vehicle development program, the Mercury program and follow on manned Earth satellite programs, preliminary unmanned explorations of the lunar surface, the variation of the space environment between the Earth and the Moon, and on all the host of basic and applied research which must provide us with the information we need to realize this goal.

To carry out these programs, NASA will launch between 25 and 35 major vehicles and 100 sounding rockets a year over the next 3 years. Actually, in later years the pace of individual launchings may go down somewhat rather than increase, as we place in service the new, large, complex, and exceedingly expensive vehicles such as Saturn and its successors, each of which will have the payload capability of several of its predecessors.

I would like to summarize then by simply saying that I feel we are embarked upon a broad, technically sound and logical pro-

gram with definite goals in mind—our own goals. We are undoubtedly going to have our share of failures in this program—as you in this audience know so well, they have to be expected in this kind of work—and we will undoubtedly have to adjust the detailed timing and content of the program as we move along and learn more. But we do have a plan, we are getting good support from both the administration and Congress, and I feel from my short experience with NASA that we have outstandingly competent people at all levels of the organization to supervise the program.

We were awfully late in getting started, but I feel that we are now off and running. This is not a crash program that I am talk-ink about, but it is a vigorous and an aggressive one. My prediction is that in the long run it is going to prove sounder than a hysterical crash program trying to compete for spectacular propaganda firsts.

Home Rule and the GOP

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 11, 1960

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I commend to the attention of our colleageus the following editorial which appeared in the Washington Post of May 11, 1960:

HOME RULE AND THE GOP

The Republican drive for home rule is long overdue. Even though it is the administration's bill that is being throttled by the House District Committee, most of the support for the discharge petition has come from northern Democrats. Since the Republican voters who went to the primary last week clearly expressed their support for local self-government, Carl L. Shipley of the Republican State Committee has launched a campaign for GOP signatures on the petition. Commissioner McLaughlin is also lending a hand. It would also be a timely moment for the White House to speak out in behalf of the home-rule bill.

In trying to give the bill a boost the local Republicans are also sponsoring six amendments. Some of them seem to us desirable. The many diverse elements in the population of the District would probably be better represented if three members of the legislative assembly were elected from each of the five wards instead of having all 15 assemblymen elected at large, as the bill now provides. A second GOP amendment would require Congress to make a "Federal contribution to the District budget in lieu of taxes." That will meet with plenty of opposition, but it reflects sound policy and ought to be approved.

Useful also would be the item veto which the local Republicans would give to the Governor and the President. The designation of party affiliations on the ballot, however, would lead to emphasis upon partisanship instead of individual qualifications for assemblymen, and should therefore be rejected. The local GOP would also be well advised to drop its proposals to reduce the pay of assemblymen and to modify the investigative powers of the assembly. These issues could be more appropriately raised, if desirable after there is some experience on the part of the proposed local government.

None of the amendments should be permitted to get in the way of the major objective, which is home rule itself. It is quite impossible to satisfy all groups in regard to

details. If Mr. Shipley and his associates are really interested in carrying out the mandate they have had at the polls, let them unloose a whirlwind drive to get the bill to the floor where it can be debated and amended in accord with majority views.

Cradle of American Seapower

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JAMES A. BURKE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 11, 1960

Mr. BURKE of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, on Sunday, May 8, 1960, an article appeared in the rotogravure section of the Boston Sunday Herald. It is a colorful description of New England, "Cradle of American Seapower."

Under unanimous consent I insert part of this article in the Record because of the pride we have in New England of our outstanding leaders of the U.S. Navy and our splendid defense plants.

The South Weymouth Naval Air Station is commanded by Capt. Vincent L. Hathorn, who is doing an excelent job. Captain Hathorn has the respect and admiration of all of the people of the South Shore area of Massachusetts.

The "weekend warriors," a Naval Air Reserve group, is performing a great patriotic service that merits the praise of all Americans,

The Westinghouse Electric Corp., of Hyde Park, has given yeoman service to the Nation.

These leaders, installations, and industrial components are within the borders of my congressional district, I salute them all.

The article follows:

NEW ENGLAND—CRADLE OF AMERICAN SEAPOWER

New England is home port for the U.S. Navy.

It is the birthplace of the mighty deterrent against aggression; ever watchful, everready to defend at all costs the principles on which the Nation was founded.

Today, the Navy in New England is more than a powerful force for peace. It is an integral part of the region's economy.

Historically, our Navy had its beginning here, shortly after the Battle of Lexington in 1775. It was then that Jeremiah O'Brien and his four brothers sailed a lumber sloop into battle against the formidable British sloop-of-war Margaretter.

New England contributed two of the first six ships of the fleet authorized by Congress in 1794. They were the *Independence* and the historic *Constitution*.

In the years since, the Navy and New England have grown and prospered, working as a team for their mutual good.

Old and established industry geared to the needs of the Navy has flourished throughout the six-State area.

And as the ships and weapons of war evolved from the conventional to the nuclear, new industry, particularly that of electronics, mushroomed almost overnight.

During World War II alone, almost \$18 billion was contracted by the Navy to industry throughout New England.

Today, nuclear-powered submarines—the world's first nuclear-powered ship—guided missile destroyers and cruisers are moving in

an almost endless chain from New England shippards.

At the Boston Naval Shipyard alone, the annual payroll totals slightly less than \$56 million.

Everywhere throughout the entire New England area is reflected the Navy's transition from conventional to modern weapons of war.

It is the continuing eternal vigilance in which industry plays a leading role, the story of which is told in the following pages.

We are proud to be part of this New England tradition that has helped maintain the U.S. Navy as the most powerful in the world.

BOSTON-NERVE CENTER OF THE NAVY IN NEW ENGLAND

Boston is the nerve center of the Navy in New England, headquarters of the 1st Naval District.

From Boston, the Navy radiates into the tiniest towns, the biggest cities—and the bleak wilderness—of five New England States, Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, and Rhode Island.

"The Old Man"—Navy parlance for the commandant of the district—is Rear Adm. Carl F. Espe. He's a tall, soft-spoken man, who runs a "tight ship," as his subordinates say admiringly.

His headquarters is located in the massive 9-story Summer Street building known the world over to Regulars and Navy veterans alike as "Fargo" or "SS Concrete."

Old "U.S.S. Concrete" went into "dry-dock" a little less than a year ago, and since has been undergoing complete renovation and modernization.

The task of restoring the block-long headquarters to shipshape condition is being handled by the M. Spinelli & Sons Co., Inc., of Cambridge. Approximately \$1.5 million is required to restore the headquarters, floor by floor.

The Navy itself was born in New England. Beverly and Marblehead have for years laid claim to being the birthplace of the U.S.

Here the first ships of the permanent Navy took to the water, notably the historic Constitution and the Independence.

Our first Naval engagement was fought and won here by the five O'Brien brothers. Today, it is the crucible of the nuclear

In 1902 the district was established solely for coastal defense of the area from Cape Cod to Barnegat, N.J.

Shortly after the turn of the century, it was reformed to take in all the New England coast from Eastport, Maine, to Chatham, Mass., with headquarters at Portsmouth.

In 1912, headquarters moved permanently to Boston.

Every Navy activity in the five-State region comes under the admiral's supervision with the exception of naval air and airship training and supporting establishments directed by the Marine Corps.

One of the major units of his command is the Civil Engineer Corps—public works—a highly skilled organization whose job is to provide the facilities and the industrial products that give the mighty Navy its muscle.

Every branch of the Navy is represented in the district, from air stations to submarine bases; from major fleet headquarters to training schools.

The world's most powerful radio transmitter capable of communicating with surface and submarine forces in the North Atlantic and Arctic Oceans is being constructed at Cutler, Maine:

Fleet Air Wing 3, plus long-range, antisubmarine patrol planes are based at the huge Brunswick, Maine, Naval Air Station.

Further south, is the Portsmouth Naval Base, the bustling shipbuilding station from which were produced submarines which accounted for more than 30 percent of all Japanese shipping destroyed in World War

Largest shipyard within the district is the Charlestown Naval Shipyard with its

annex in South Boston.

Charlestown is the site of the 124-yearold Ropewalk, which for more than a century manufactured all the Navy's hemp and manila rope. The site, too, of the Forge Shop, the most fully equipped in the Navy, and only shop capable of forging the huge chain and 60,000-pound anchors for the Forrestal class carriers.

The Navy's first Officer's School was established there in 1815, the forerunner of the

Naval Academy at Annapolis.

South of Boston is the hub of the Navy's Air Reserve activities at the old blimp station at South Weymouth.

Biggest concentration of Navy in New England is at Narragansett Bay, R.I.

The Quonset Naval Air Station and the home base of the Atlantic Fleet's famed Seabees at Davisville, are on the western shores of the bay.

Thirteen other components of the Newport

Naval Base lie across the bay.

They include the Naval Station, War College, naval hospital, OCS Training Center, Justice School, Supply Depot, Underwater Ordnance Station, and the Naval Magazine and Net Depot at Melville.

The base also is the home port of the Destroyer Force of the Atlantic Fleet.

Scattered throughout the 5-State district are 22 Reserve training centers.

Six New England colleges and universities have Naval Reserve Officer Candidate Corps—Harvard, Holy Cross, Tufts, MIT, Dartmouth, and Brown.

The Navy in New England is far more than a powerful arm of the Nation's defense— it is a vital cog in our economic well-being.

Each month of the year, an estimated \$60 million is expended by the Navy in New England, a figure approximating nearly \$720 million per year.

Of that sum, a little more than \$38 million

is allocated in Greater Boston.

Approximately 25,000 persons working for the Navy in the district are paid wages of about \$12 million a month.

That's the broad picture of the Navy in New England-historic beginnings of both; a saga of friendliness and cooperation.

SOUTH WEYMOUTH-HOME OF THE "WEEKEND WARRIORS'

South Weymouth—stamping grounds of the colorful "weekend warriors"—the Naval Air Reservists who rank among the finest civilian-military pilots in the country.

It's a Navy station that is young in years,

yet steeped in tradition.

The mission of the "warriors" began at the old Squantum Naval Air Station, where Naval Reserve Aviation was born, in 1923. There, a group of World War I aviators, aided by the late Rear Adm. Richard E. Byrd, set up operations in an old hangar housing a battered old seaplane.

A year later, Reserve aviation became of-ficial when two squadrons were authorized

in the 1st Naval District.

When World War II began to rumble across Europe, Squantum underwent drastic modernization and expansion. Through the war Years it served as the Navy's secret primary training base for 2,300 fiedgling aviators from Allied Nations all over the world.

The arrival of the jet age, an expanded Reserve training program and proximity to Logan Airport sounded the death knell for Squantum in 1953, forcing a move to the old lighter-than-air base at South Wey-

The station from which cigar-shaped blimps had patrolled the airlanes searching out lurking submarines in the the seas be-low, during World War II, also had undergone a checkered career.

With the end of World War II, South Weymouth was closed and placed in "caretaker" status.

But when the Korean war triggered re-activation, the Navy gave the old station a drastic facelifting to make ready for the training of Navy and Marine air reservists.

Fighter planes replaced the blimps. New runways, roads, towers, barracks, and other facilities sprang up almost overnight.

Today, 21 squadrons of "weekend warriors" train at South Weymouth, ready at a moment's notice to drop civilian ties and chores "if and when the bell rings."

They are highly trained modern minutemen who form a reserve pool fully capable of integration into fleet air wings during

Each man trains at the station one weekend a month. Once a year they take an intensive 2-week active duty period, usually at a base or bases scattered throughout the continental United States.

Their recall to duty with the Navy air wings in Korea and resultant accomplishments, proved the tremendous value of the

ready, and topnotch reservists.

The huge pool of air talent was provided by the Navy at a cost of 61/2 times less than it would have cost the Government had the men been on full-time, active duty.

To maintain the razor-sharp efficiency of the "weekend warriors" a continual evaluation and modernization of facilities and equipment is directed by the Navy.

Arrival of the superjet age at South Weymouth meant expansion to accommodate the new planes of the "weekend warriors."

Major alterations to the station have been contracted by the Navy to the Gil Wyner Co., of Malden.

The contract calls for construction of a 2,000- by 150-foot runway extension.
It also entails at a total cost of \$1,094,844,

a parallel taxiway, 2,000 by 75 feet, together with a blast erosion protection area and a holding area.

South Weymouth, with its colorful "weekend warriors" is a prime example of the tax-

dollar well spent.

Their weekend training expends less than 1 cent of the defense dollar. Yet, during the Korea war, South Weymouth and 27 other Reserve stations accounted for one-third of all the air strikes against the Communists.

Training of the "warriors" represents one

of the most economical measures in the Na-

tion's air defense program. TIME, THE ATOM, AND THE NAVY

Time, and the atom have combined to revolutionize the ships of the U.S. Navy.

The World War II and Korea diesel powered ships-of-the-line are bowing to the atomic age, as did sails to steam a generation ago.

It was the incredible Nautilus that sounded the advance of atomic energy.

The powerplant within the pioneer Nautilus will, said Adm. Robert B. Carney, former Chief of Naval Operations:

"Sweep our present day fleet-mightlest in the world though it is—off the seas and replace it with task forces of incredible speed, limitless cruising range, and crushing striking power."

First stages of that revolution are present now right within New England.

It was the Nautilus first, built at Groton,

Now, within the First Naval District, at Fore River, it continues:

The U.S.S. Long Beach, nuclear powered cruiser—first of its kind in the world—launched last July 14.

The U.S.S. Bainbridge, nuclear powered destroyer-also the first of its type in the world.

Each, when it joins the fleet, will represent the greatest concentration of military and industrial effort ever to be incorporated into a warship.

An indication of the tremendous evolution within the Long Beach itself is the total absence of conventional weapons.

Gone are the big guns-the huge fire and smoke belching monsters that battered the Nazi and Japanese fleets into helpless hulks in World War II.

The Long Beach instead, is studded with missiles capable of delivering at tremendous speeds nuclear missiles. Push-button controls will send deadly surface-to-air missiles aloft to destroy enemy aircraft.

Amidships, it is equipped with antisub-

marine missile launchers.

The Bainbridge, named for the heroic Commodore William Bainbridge, famed for his exploits at Tripoli and in the War of 1812, similarly will be "loaded" with pro-ducts of the atomic and electronics age.

It will have a far greater cruising range than conventional frigates, and a far greater

sustained rate of speed.

Twin surface-to-air Terrier missile mounts are fore and aft of the 550-foot Bainbridge. She will also carry antisubmarine and some conventional armament.

Development of the two atomic "firsts" here in New England is further testimony of the faith the Navy has in the "know-

how" of local industry.

The Westinghouse Electric Corp., Sturtevant Division, Hyde Park, Mass., is installing air handling equipment on both the Long

Beach and the Bainbridge.

That's the type of work Westinghouse Sturtevent has been doing for exactly 100 years. Its ties with the Navy go back 81 years, to 1879, when it installed its first ventilating fan aboard the old U.S.S. Richmond.

Specially designed ventilating fans by Westinghouse Sturtevent are going into the

Long Beach and Bainbridge.

The fans will ventilate the equivalent of their own weight within a 24-hour period aboard the atomic-powered ships. Approximately 175 will go into the new cruiser, 65 into the Bainbridge.

Largest within the Long Beach will handle 20,000 cubic feet of air per minute; the smallest, 500 cubic feet per minute. Prior and during World War II, the Hyde

Park situated Westinghouse Sturtevant installed more than 30,000 ventillating fans in every type of vessel in the Navy.

The impact of the new fleet growing within New England matches that which stirred the Nation when the first fleet went down the ways here 166 years ago.

An inkling of the significance this new atomic-powered fleet is contained in the fact that a golf-ball size piece of uranium is equal to 465,000 gallons of oil or 6 million pounds of coal.

No longer will the cruising range of our fighting ships be limited to the amount of bulk fuel they can carry.

The range—and subsequently the striking power—of today's Navy has been extended immeasurably.

Birth of the atomic Navy here is a profound tribute to New England industry that has helped maintain the U.S. Navy as the most powerful in the world.

No Deterrent Gap

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. CHARLES E. CHAMBERLAIN

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, May 11, 1960

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include an excellent editorial, which appeared on May 8, 1960, in the Washington Star. There has been much discussion in recent weeks regarding the deterrent capability of the United States, particularly in relation to our missile program. For this reason I believe the editorial is timely and merits the attention of the public. The editorial follows:

NO DETERRENT GAP

The American people can take considerable comfort, we think, from a statement made on the House floor last week by Chairman Mahon, of the Military Appropriations Subcommittee

Mr. Mahon, a Democrat who halls from Texas, is a careful and well-informed student of this Nation's military program. He has been at it for a long time, and his committee has just finished a 4-month study of the defense budget for the coming fiscal year. Thus, Mr. Mahon speaks with authority when he says he does not believe there is a deterrent gap at this time between us and the Russians, and that he sees no reason why there should be any such gap during the next 3 years.

There is a difference between a deterrent gap and a missile gap. A missile gap exists in the sense that the Russians have and will continue for some time to have more ICBM's than we have. This results from a deliberate decision by the President and his defense advisers-a decision based on a number of reasons, including faith in the deterrent quality of our Armed Forces. Whether this decision was wise or not will be tested by whether we have a major war in the early It is interesting, however, to note Mr. Mahon's statement that he does not believe the decision was influenced by any thought of placing budgetary considerations ahead of national security, which refutes an accusation often made by some Democrats.

Our deterrent force is our whole force, as distinguished from the missile component alone. It is composed of all the services in all of their diversifications. And when Mr. Mahon says there is no gap he means that this whole force is strong enough to strike back, after a surprise attack, with such power that no aggressor would be willing to accept the damage to his own country which would result from an attack on us. In this connection, incidentally, Mr. Mahon had a word of warm praise for Defense Secretary Gates, which must have come as music to the ears of that often beleaguered official.

A small item in the news this week also has a bearing on the question of our deterrent capability. This was a dispatch from Hill Air Force Base in Utah, which quoted Maj. Gen. O. J. Ritland, commander of the Air Force Ballistic Missile Division, as saying that the Minuteman will be operational by the summer of 1962 instead of 1963, as had been anticipated.

This is very good news from the deterrent standpoint. For the Minuteman, a solid-fueled ICBM which can be fired from underground silos or mobile launchers, will be our deterrent ace in the hole. It is designed to back up and perhaps to replace the Atlas and the Titan. Once it becomes operational and available in sufficient numbers, the danger of an attack on the United States will be exceedingly remote.

In a word, it looks as though our defense effort is moving along at a better pace than one might think from listening to some of its critics. We hope the Senate will accept the House-approved defense money bill, including the changes in emphasis on certain programs recommended by Mr. Manon's committee and adopted by the lower Chamber.

What's Wrong With Railroads? The Competition Is Tough and the Rules Are Archaic

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JAMES E. VAN ZANDT

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 11, 1960

Mr. VAN ZANDT. Mr. Speaker, recently widespread coverage was given a speech by Secretary of Labor James P. Mitchell in which he advised railway management and its employees to join hands in satisfying the needs of the Nation's railroads for a workable, dynamic competitive position in the American transportation system.

As a result of Secretary Mitchell's speech at the Railway Employees Department Convention, at Chicago, Ill., April 27, 1960, other modes of transportation have declared there are two sides to the coin and have expressed their views on the subject.

The following editorial which takes issue with Secretary Mitchell appeared in the Harrisburg (Pa.) Evening News, May 4.1960:

WHAT'S WRONG WITH RAILROADS? THE COM-PETITION IS TOUGH, AND THE RULES ARE ARCHAIC

What is basically wrong with the railroad industry?

In one word: competition.

Secretary of Labor Mitchell made this diagnosis in a much ballyhooed speech on transportation last week.

Among other troubles plaguing the rail industry, Secretary Mitchell said, is this-

"The present structure of government regulation is based upon a time in economic history when the rails had, in effect, a monopoly in transportation. By protecting the public welfare in the regulation of railroads, the Government protected the public interest in the only mode of transportation that mattered."

It wasn't too many years ago, the Secretary pointed out, that an American traveled from one town to another by rail, or he stayed home. An industry shipped its goods and got its raw materials by rail, or not at all. The railroads tunneled mountains, crossed rivers, spanned plains, and what moved for any distance moved over them.

Yet though railroads now are in fierce competition with trucks and buses on a network of high-speed highways and with faster airlines moving in on passenger traffic and, increasingly, on cargo, the regulations under which the railroads must operate today are substantially the same ones of their long ago monopoly days.

Secretary Mitchell was on high ground with his declaration that the regulations "must be accommodated to the new competition."

But when he calls for the railroad management and the railroad unions to get together in "a joint recommendation" on "the fundamental overhauling of the ICC and the laws that govern transportation," Secretary Mitchell is urging a hazy approach. After all, recommendation has been piled upon recommendation throughout recent years—by railroad management, labor, economists,

congressional committees and the Interstate Commerce Commission which completed a massive 3-year study and made its recommendations only a year ago. Not a week passes that the mail is not loaded up with the plaints and complaints of the railroad industry or railway unions and that the various railroad spokesmen aren't making speeches or issuing statements.

What possibly could be new in the new batch of recommendations that the Secretary proposes railroaders now make? Congress, which alone can do something about the archaic regulations, has all of the data and information it could possibly need to legislate changes. And Congress isn't even seriously considering the many revisions already proposed.

Secretary Mitchell was making an even hazier proposal when he said: "I suggest that we seek the gradual elimination of all Government subsidies in transportation in America and consider the introduction of user charges so that each mode of transportation carries its fair share of the burden of public expenditures from which they now profit unequally."

Yet it well may be argued that the truckers, for all the familiar railroad bleating that the Government subsidizes them with free highways, already are paying heavy "user charges" in gasoline taxes, tire taxes, sales taxes on vehicles and equipment, registration taxes—both State and Federal.

And isn't it some kind of subsidy, when the railroads are exempted from property taxes as they are here in Pennsylvania? The Pennsy, for instance, has multimillion-dollar real estate holdings right here in Harrisburg on which it doesn't pay a cent of tax. But any trucking company pays the full property tax on its terminals and holdings.

Who is being treated unequally on this tax subsidy front?

What is the yardstick upon which the equality urged by Secretary Mitchell is to be determined?

It's true the American merchant marine is heavily subsidized. But this isn't done to give the rallroads unfair competition. It enables American ships to ply the seas in competition with Government-owned and subsidized shipping of other nations. But even more than this, it guarantees that in the event of war our Nation would have a merchant marine available when it desperately needs it.

Charges that airmail is airline subsidy are wide open to the challenge that it is, instead, simply payment for services rendered. Clear-cut subsidy, such as Government-built airports, are defended by proponents with the same national interest argument applied to shipping—the availability of all possible airlift in the event of international emergency.

The same national interest argument can be, and is, raised by some railroad interests, in behalf of subsidies for railroads. This is exactly opposite to the course suggested by Secretary Mitchell.

Although the Secretary's "eliminate all subsidies" proposal is completely unrealistic, Congress well could examine the present subsidy situation. Perhaps ways can be found to work out fairer distribution of what Secretary Mitchell calls "the burden of public expenditures." Revision of archaic regulations, which hark back to the monopoly era of railroading, certainly would go a long way toward equalization for the rail industry in today's wide-open competition for passengers and cargo.

Employment of the Physically Handicapped

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. LAURENCE CURTIS

OF MASSACHTISETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, May 11, 1960

Mr. CURTIS of Massachusetts, Mr. Speaker, the President's Committee on Employment of the Physically Handicapped does splendid work under the chairmanship of our former distinguished member, Maj. Gen. Melvin J. Maas, USMCR, retired.

As was noted in tributes paid to him in the Congressional Record of Friday, May 6, at page 9056, he is particularly well able to engage understandingly and effectively in this field as he himself works courageously under the handicap of blindness.

Mr. Aaron Solomon of 11 Stanley Road, Waban, Mass., president of Ace Electronics Association, Inc. of Somerville, Mass., has set a splendid example of effective help to the physically handicapped by giving employment to large numbers of them in his company.

At the recent annual meeting of the President's Committee, Mr. Solomon made a speech on this subject, and paid tribute to the effectiveness of the ability and value of his physically handicapped employees. It is hoped that his remarks Will stimulate other employers to give employment to the physically handicapped. Statistics prove that they give a good account of themselves in employment. The slogan of the President's Committee is "it's ability that counts, not disability."

I include Mr. Solomon's speech as part of my remarks.

UTILIZING HANDICAPPED WORKERS IN SMALL BUSTNESS

(Remarks by Mr. Aaron Solomon, president, Ace Electronics Association, Inc., Somer-Ville, Mass., before the annual meeting of the President's Committee on Employment of the Physically Handicapped, Washington, D.C., May 5 and 6, 1960)

MANAGEMENT'S RELATIONSHIP WITH AGENCIES SERVING THE HANDICAPPED

Frankly, I feel somewhat like the batter Who has come up to bat after three men each have singled, the bases are now loaded, and I am sent in with instructions to drive the winning run in. Thus, I am pleased that my subject, "Management's Relationship With Agencies Serving the Handicapped" deals with what I think is the most portant phase facing us today in rehabilitation in relation to the proper placement of physically impaired individuals into the American economy.

Initially, let me make the statement that my appearance here today as a speaker is not to make you, my audience, "comfortable" by avoiding controversial aspects of this problem. The program of the President's Committee for the Employment of the Physically Handicapped does not have to have me comment on its usefulness, as your presence here today indicates its value to all of us, but I must pay tribute to General Maas, Admiral McIntire, and many of the people Who did so well in the past in setting up

this humanitarian program. done prior to my entrance into it, has made the job much easier; the road is well paved and the general public has been well indoctrinated on the subject of employment of

physically handicapped people.

To get down to the meat of my discussion, I think we are all aware that presently the increase in physically impaired people on an annual basis is over 300,000 men and women whereas the placements in employment fall far short of this figure. Therefore, a full analysis is necessary as to how we can better bring these figures into balance. Therefore, I am going to reduce my analysis down to a businessman's method of calculation. the proper operation of my small business, I require certain facts and figures from my executive staff, such as: (1) Available funds in the bank; (2) obligations payable; (3) total business volume booked daily; total business volume shipped daily; (5) list of overdue orders: (6) engineering problems requiring immediate solution; (7) long-range engineering problems; and (8) immediate and long-term equipment require-

As you can see, in order to stay in a competitive situation, I must have facts and figures available immediately in order for me to maintain my work force of 170 employees among whom number approximately 120 physically impaired individuals with multiple physical as well as mental disabilities. My comment is that unfortunately to date the professionals in rehabilitations such as clinics, hospitals, vocational training centers, and workshops do not analyze their programs in a like manner. Also, unfortunately, because of their professional status, they look to the individuals with disabilities as their clientele and lose sight that all the work that they do in their clinics, all analyzing, vocational training and such, points only to the one goal—proper placement. Placement in my mind has not had the correct emphasis and I would like to suggest for your thought and consideration that we in business realize the customer is our most valuable asset, so must we now look to the American employer as our most important customer for in truth all of our work is in vain unless it culminates in the proper placement in the working

rolls of the physically impaired client.

I recommend that we go back to rehabilitation clinics such as the public and pri-vately supported vocational rehabilitation workshops and other groups and start to bring in to the program the small businessman. We have done an exceptional job as a committee in bringing in Hughes Aircraft, Raytheon, General Electric, Jones & Laughlin Steel, and many others but I must point out to you that our actual customers making up 97 percent of the working population the country employ less than 50 people. It is to this group our effort must now channel if we are ever to realize the increased placements required throughout the coun-

Yes, it has been good policy to use the names of the presidents of these massive corporations and they, in turn, have given us more than lip service. The organizations they represent have taken in a number of these physically impaired people and added them to their work rolls, but there is a saturation point with companies like Hughes Aircraft, Raytheon, General Electric and others, and only if we can now reach the other 97 percent of employers, can we hope to make any strides toward bringing the annual figures for physically impaired as against placement into a better balance.

My recommendation is that we analyze the various bodies of advisers and board members and add to these the small suc-cessful businessman. He is well disposed to-

ward assisting in this program and frankly, any good business must have multiple customers, the more the better because the falling out of one cutsomer can wreak havoc on his business if he has only one or two customers. I have seen businesses where catastrophe and disaster follow any falling out with a customer of such magnitude.

We have had tremendous amounts of free advertising, radio, television, newspapers, and this job has been done well and adequately by the President's Committee, the State committee as well as local organizations but we must now concentrate on moving into the greater area of placement.

Bear in mind the small businessman does not have a personnel department.. In most instances, he not only has to hire each and every individual employee but also he knows them by name and even knows their personal problems. He normally is a driving type of individual who is seeking success and this in the social sense he can gain in the community as one who is willing to assist in worthwhile projects-and this drive of his will enable us to open many doors by bringing him into our organization. His drive, brought on by one or two placements in his establishment, will enable him to sing praises to other small employers, because, frankly, he does not meet with the presidents of the big corporations. They live in separate worlds but he, if properly cultivated, can become a working salesman for our program.

I speak to you not as one who is talking academically but as one who has started a academically but as one who has scarted a business with three employees 6 years ago, embarked on a program of using the talents of the physically impaired employees, and 99 percent of whose success is the result of their output, their loyaity, and their deter-mination to do a good job and their willingness to accept the responsibility of employment. There are many other "Aaron Solo-mon's" lying dormant throughout the country and if we use these people on our program they, in turn, are what we need and only by bringing them into the program do I see success in the balance of the figures that are disturbing me.

We must change our whole philosophy of the placement of physically impaired people. We no longer are dealing with a personnel department staffed with psychologists, phy-sicians and college-trained placement counselors; we now are dealing with everyday people and therefore our placement agencies, whether they like it or not, must now do considerably more work such as a more complete evaluation of the job opportunity in the small manufacturing plant, retail estab-They must lishment or service company. know the available jobs and accept the responsibility of the placements suggested to small industry.

A greater concentration must be made on working with the job applicant so that he is ready mentally as well as physically to ac-cept employment because, remember, the small businessman is a busy little beaver normally handling multiple facets on his own operation. He does not have the time to be the father confessor to his employees and only by good initial placements can we gain his confidence. This will enable us where we place one, to place a second, third, and fourth, and then after these placements, we can bring him into the fold and ask him to go out to sell others in small businesses like his own to open their doors. He, too, can have the satisfaction that I

enjoy, knowing that over and above our making a living, we are contributing more than we are called on by this useful placement of

handicapped people.

Looking over our hiring the last few years, I am greatly disturbed to find that few if any placements have ever been referred to my company by private placement agencies where the employee pays a fee for the referral. This opens a tremendous area for us in the President's Committee as well as the State committee to find the jobs for the impaired which the private fee-paid employment agencies do not handle.

As I look to the problem of a physically impaired person in the small local community, I realize that it is very difficult for the large industries many miles away to be the salvation for their employment, in view of the difficulties in transportation and other problems brought on by distance, and it is therefore my humble opinion that our only recourse for success is to bring in the small businessman, as I have indicated.

Now, possibly I have stepped on a few toes in my discussion but frankly, it doesn't disturb me because my only interest in the program we are now discussing is that each physically impaired person with ability to perform a job be directed towards full employment, and if that is accomplished, that is all I am interested in.

We must look at another problem—analyzing many of the private charitable agencies—it almost seems to me as though they are busy raising funds to pay fund raisers. Their programs, as a result, give less and less real service to either the handicapped or the community, and I find more and more lipservice being rendered at more and more meetings which ultimately end in sessions of preaching to the converted. These people must open up their advisory councils to businessmen who will work at the project of employment of the physically impaired people and not sit at an annual meeting and hear a report on a number of placements, far too low, for the public and private money spent on programs of rehabilitation.

We are most fortunate that the Office of Vocational Rehabilitation has allocated tremendous amounts of research funds to many of these workshops and placement agencies, but basically we give too much importance to the psychological programs as against a down-to-earth plan for placement in industry at a working wage commensurate with the requirement of the job, which is actually the ultimate in rehabilitation.

I do not anticipate a very pleasant situation when the questions start but I would like to state to you right now, those questions that I know the answer to I will give you all the answers but those I don't, I sure as the devil will find out the answers, as I, too, am open minded on this problem.

In closing, I would be remiss if I didn't give you some of the inner feelings I have about our program. I thank the Good Lord daily for the good fortune He has given me that enables me to make a living and give that little something extra which I am able to do through my company. I must remind you that my appearance here today is only made possible by the productivity of so called "unemployables" who not only make a fair and good living for themselves but also now have a feeling of belonging to the great American people, and enable me to visit with you, talk to you, plead with you, and cooperate with you towards the goal of more jobs for our physically impaired brethren. With the Good Lord's help, I hope to continue to make this phase of my life as worthwhile to me as it has been to date, and offer to you my full and complete dedication as evidenced by the time I spend on speaking to groups on the local level and State level. I plead with you that we do a litle soul searching toward bring-ing in the small businessman. He is our solution and salvation in this most inspiring project.

Presidential Qualifications—Letters From Fifth Grade Students

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. WALTER M. MUMMA

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 11, 1960

Mr. MUMMA. Mr. Speaker, this being a presidential election year, there should be considerable interest among the voting population of our Nation that will be generated more and more shortly. The conventions are not too far away now. However, despite the importance of elections in our country, there still is a certain amount of apathy and reluctance, on the part of those who would otherwise be eligible to vote, to make a decision and cast a ballot.

It has always been my lot to encourage everyone who can vote, to go out on election day and do just that. It is encouraging to me and I note with considerable interest that while the fifth grade students of Derry Township Public School at Hershey, Pa., are too young to vote, they do have their minds made up on the importance of the Presidential Office and the kind of man to elect to that high office.

I supplied to Miss Miriam Snyder, their teacher, copies of House Document No. 386, of the 85th Congress, entitled "Our American Government" which she distributed to her class. My observation is this—that if the publication can convey the importance of selecting a man of presidential timber—I am happy to get as many copies of this publication into the hands of school students as long as my supply holds out.

The letters written by the fifth grade students follow:

DERRY TOWNSHIP PUBLIC SCHOOL,
HERSHEY, PA., May 4, 1960.
The Honorable Walter M. Mumma,
Member of Congress,
Harrisburg, Pa.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN: The pupils of our fifth grade and our teacher, Miss Snyder, wish to thank you for your kind of cooperation in sending us free information concerning our Constitution and the work of the different departments of our Government. We treasure these booklets and will keep them for future reference.

Enclosed are a few of our papers we wrote in English class about the coming presidential candidates.

Respectfully,

KAREN SAVAGE, A Fifth Grade Pupil, 10 Years Old.

A BIG MAN FOR A BIG JOB

(By Anita Meiser (10 years old), English, grade 5, May 4, 1960)

I think that a man who wishes to run for the highest office in the United States, the Presidency, must first think of the problems and responsibility that he will encounter.

Problem No. I will probably be money, which would include trade with other countries, wartime supplies, and education, health, and welfare. Other problems could be the colored people in America, the race with the Russians, and so on.

The President himself should be physically and mentally fit. He then could cope with people or things that rise up against him, such as complaints about taxes. He should be willing to hear suggestions and requests. A President should have knowledge of politics. An office of Governor or Senator would give him a good background of politics.

A President should have confidence in himself. He should be able to make decisions and then carry them out. He should think for himself, and act like and be a leader.

A man that is leader of a country must realize that his job is not to be fooled with. It holds together one of the greatest and strongest nations in the world. He should remember that for all of his terms, and not forget it. He is the big man.

A BIG MAN FOR A BIG JOB

(By Robert Fisher (11 years), English grade 5, May 3, 1960

I think a man big enough to occupy the job of President must be strong both mentally and physically. He should have the courage to face the fact that he is the highest Government man of the United States. He should also have the courage to go on long trips overseas to visit other countries and talk to their leaders. He would have to be strong mentally because he would have many hard decisions to make and laws to pass. He would have to be strong physically so that he could make the long journeys overseas and overland without getting ill and also if he did get ill he could recover easily.

I also think that this man would have to know very much about law in order to make a good President for our country. He should be a very thrifty man and not waste his own or our country's money. He should be very well educated and should be self-reliant.

A Big Man for a Big Job (By Karen Schmehl (10 years), language, grade 5, May 4, 1960)

I think that our next President should be sensible and have stamina. He should know how to handle nationwide problems, such as the Negro-white trouble in the southern part of our country. He should agree to help in foreign problems. The President should have a sense of responsibility for his country. He should think of others in time of need, and try to provide for their needs. He should be liked by the people. The people should be able to trust him, and feel that our United States is safe in his hands. He should do justice to everyone no matter what their color, race, or way of thinking. The President should feel sure of himself because the people of the United States will back him up. He should live up to his title, the President of the United States of America. As Lincoln said, "Of the people, by the people, and for the people."

A BIG MAN FOR A BIG JOB (By Jean E. Vernet, Jr., age 10, English class,

May 4, 1960)

I think that a man who has the job of President of the United States of America should have courage to face difficult problems that might occur in his term. He must have a sense of responsibility for his country and the people in it. He should be trustworthy in every way to his country. He should use all his best ability to preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States of America. He also should have an education and a healthy body. I think he should be kind and sincere at all times. He should have some political experience.

A BIG MAN FOR A BIG JOB (By Michael Mathers, 10 years, language, Grade 5, May 4, 1960)

My idea of a man to occupy the presidential seat must be fully responsible, and in good health, and be able to talk very fluently. He must be patient, careful to hear everyone's side of any crisis that might arise, and have much self-control. He also should have a political background, and be a man of different ideas. He must be born in this country. He should be conservative-minded, and not a spendthrift. He must be very polite to his Cabinet, other countries, and, in general, everyone he should meet or know. Another quality he should have is being able to know what our country should have, in numbers of men, artillery, warships, and airplanes; and what the cost is. He should also have much self-confidence.

A BIG MAN FOR A BIG JOB

(By Harry Urban (10 years), English, grade 5, May 4, 1960)

I think the man that would best suit the Presidential Office would have to be loyal to his country. He would have to be strong in mind as well as in body. By this I mean that he would not panic in time of war and still stand out to the other nations. I think he should also have some political background, such as Senator or even Vice President. He should know what his country wants and how it feels toward other nations.

It is not well to be bad tempered. We should not be impatient about the race for

I think he should be able to handle the

problems at hand. He should also know some of the "high brass" from some of the other countries, but be diplomatic about it, too.

I think he should have been raised in the

right environment.

He should not be entirely guided by his alds.

He should not favor his own State first, but think of the whole country. No State should be first to him, nor should he hold any city first and give them extra privileges.

I think he should not favor people by their race. He should think of all America and the people of whom he is a leader.

Hartford Courant and Waterbury Republican Comment on U-2 Fiasco

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. FRANK KOWALSKI

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, May 11, 1960

Mr. KOWALSKI. Mr. Speaker, the shock and embarrassment felt by the American people in our Government's handling of the U-2 incident are reflected in editorials carried yesterday by two of our leading Connecticut newspapers, the Hartford Courant and the Waterbury Republican.

The Courant editorial is summarized in its title, 'Uncle Sam, Spy—and Stumblebum."

The Waterbury Republican editorial points out that "The spy in the sky flasco has shaken and embarrassed the American public."

Under unanimous consent, I bring the texts of these two editorials to the attention of my colleagues in the House: [From the Hartford Courant, May 10, 1960]

UNCLE SAM, SPY-AND STUMBLEBUM

Apparently the official Soviet line is that the American spy-plane mission was a piece of deliberate provocation designed to prevent agreement at the summit. But surely responsible statesmen on both sides of the iron curtain know that this is nonsense. There may be some doctrinaire Communists who still repeat the Marxian ritual statement that all capitalists are warmakers. But for the most part this unhappy inci-dent shows Uncle Sam up not so much as a warmonger as inept.

Why all the fuss? Every government knows that every other government is en-Every government gaged in spying. Soviet Russia presumably more than most. After all, we have Russian spies sitting in U.S. prisons right now. Probably the incident sent tremors around the world not only because of its unhappy timing just before the summit, but for other reasons too. First, it was a particularly spectacular kind of spying. Second and more important, it caught the U.S. Government in a lie. And third and most important, it has raised still unanswered questions as to whether Uncle Sam's left hand lets his

right hand know what it is doing.

After all, what would we and the world have thought if some Soviet high-altitude plane had flown, say, from Cuba across the continental United States, hoping to land in Kamchatka, only to be shot down in the middle of Kansas, with a pilot who lived to Then again, it has been downright humiliating that the U.S. Government, leader of the free world, made through its State Department an official statement that Mr. K. was able to show up as a lie. Let us hope that all Washington has now learned what it should have learned long ago: First, if you say anything at all, tell the truth. And second, if you can't tell the truth, don't say anything at all.

Even more disturbing is the hint of a lack of discipline and control in our Government. The President and Secretary of State should certainly be aware of any such intelligence activities, though not necessarily of the details. But the CIA and Pentagon should not only know the details, but should be sensitive enough to political and diplomatic overtones never to risk such a mission at

such a delicate time.

It is distressing to hear that an Air Force manual claims the privilege of flying information missions without specific authority from the President or his civilian advisers. This reflects an appalling lack of discipline. The prospect of thermonuclear war is so frightening that no responsible government would allow one to start. But what if the armed services or intelligence services of any nation, let alone the United States, feel free to play with dangerous military hardware over another nation's territory? The risk of an unintended, accidental launching of pushbutton war is already too great without our adding to it.

It might be well if President and Congress were quietly and carefully to study the whole subject afresh. The first necessity is to make certain that nobody goes off half cocked. The second is to make certain that whatever is said on behalf of the U.S. Government is the truth.

[From the Waterbury Republican, May 10, 1960]

The spy in the sky flasco has shaken and embarrassed the American public.

The timing of the reconnaissance episode splashed over the front pages of newspapers throughout the world could hardly be of better advantage to the Soviet Union near the eve of the summit parley in Paris. can understand Russian Premier Mikita Khrushchev's glee in announcing and de-nouncing the American attempt to probe the internal activity of his country.

At first, America was slightly enraged that a U.S. plane, supposedly under the supervision of the National Space and Aeronautics Administration and engaged in weather observation, should be downed for wandering, for whatever reason, across the border into Soviet air space. The State Department and administration officials misinformed the U.S. public inadvertently, for the information given them, and the cause of much of our discomfiture emanates from that hush-hush agency headed by Allen Dulles, Central Intelligence.

It now appears the flight was ordered by that department with an eye for ferreting out just what, if any, stunt the Russians were preparing for a presummit splurge. similar to the Soviet target practice at the moon's expense prior to Khrushchev's U.S. visit. The gamble taken was immense, and as the world now knows, boomeranged.

The Kremlin, as might be expected, handled the incident with the best of its propaganda prowess, sharpening a razor edge to pare Western prestige and purpose at the coming heads of state meeting. The principal hope of the world's peoples, the relaxation of global tensions, has been somewhat dashed.

Khrushchev will doubtless use this windfall to pressure the Western Allies on a stand on Berlin and only a full summoning of Western moral and military authority will deter a session of reckless and relentless bargaining by the Moscow agents.

Americans were not only disturbed at the spy story, they were surprised. They seldom realize that not only do we conduct highly secret intelligence and counterintelligence operations, but we maintain a lethal ring of airbases around the Soviet Union. In times of military or civil chagrin these installations and agencies are given inordinate and ominous publicity without the proper perspective and understanding of their purpose and necessity.

The cold war is brought home in a sudden flash by the faux pas of one of our chief agencies. Americans are taken back. "Spy," by consensus, is a nasty word. Intelligence is preferable. Therefore, we operate an intelligence network the world over, gleaning, as best we can, information and knowledge otherwise unobtainable from behind the Iron Curtain or the Bamboo Curtain or any official opaqueness.

This data is demanded of a government competing for the leadership of the free world and the survival of democratic and capitalist institutions in other areas of the globe. Communist spies in the United States have been caught in number. Their espionage, sabotage, and subversive activities make mandatory counterintelligence. Such systems are realities in international affairs, however unpalatable they may seem.

The unfortunate error of judgment, and the consequences it may have, should in no way impugn the cardinal need of intelligence work in assuring the security of the Nation. But it should prompt an examination of the lines of authority in such matters and guarantee that similar action will not be taken at so crucial a time without the consent of the President and the readiness to answer to the public conscience.

Co-ops Are Good Business

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. T. A. THOMPSON

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 11, 1960

Mr. THOMPSON of Louisiana. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I include the following editorial from the Jennings Daily News of Jennings, La., which gives some interesting facts regarding the financing of electric cooperatives:

[From the Jennings Daily News, May 6, 1960] Co-ops Are Good Business

(EDITORS NOTE.—The following is reprinted from "Rural Louisiana," the newspaper of Louisiana electric cooperatives. The Louisiana cooperatives are celebrating the 25th anniversary of rural electrification in America, with special programs next Wednesday, May 11. This editorial gives the background and details of financing of electric cooperatives.)

MEMBERS CAN HELP

Loyal members of rural electric cooperatives who remember only too well when less than 2 percent of the rural homes and farms had electricity can help refute a lot of the nonsense being fed urban and city people about REA and member-owned co-op systems.

First; members can explain that the electric co-ops are not Government agencies, but are local private enterprises belonging to the people they serve. If borrowing REA money makes the co-ops "government enterprises" what about all the FHA and VA home owners, big industries such as Kaiser Aluminum, etc?

Second. Members can explain that REA is merely a banking agency, that it lends money to both private companies and privately owned electric cooperatives. In fact, there are 21 commercial, privately owned utilities in Louisiana borrowing from REA as compared to only 13 rural electric cooperatives. This is a fact that is seldom publicized or mentioned to city and urban people. Members can explain that REA owns not a single foot of electric lines anywhere, but just loans money and expects it to be repaid on strict schedules—plus interest.

Third. Members can explain that as member-owners, they have stockholder and ownership rights, that they own and operate the cooperatives through an elected board of directors, which in turn hires capable management. They can point with pride that they are the only consumers of electricity who not only get low, competitive rates, but also share in the ownership and control of the business.

Fourth. Members can point with pride that whereas only 2 percent of the rural homes and farms had electricity-essential for decent living and progress of our Statein 1937; today the member-owned rural electric co-ops in Louisiana provide 98 percent area coverage. And, furthermore, this was done at no cost to taxpayers while the Government has been doling out and giving away millions to foreign governments for, of all things, rural electrification. While on the subject, members can also say with pride that rural people and their member-owned electric co-ops have not only kept faith with the Government in repaying loans while building for progress, here in Louisiana, they have repaid millions in advance of schedules.

These four facts repeated by the more than 130,000 owners of rural electric cooperatives and their families in Louisiana would do so

much to blot out the untruths and constant stream of advertisements and propaganda going to unsuspecting city and urban folks.

It is a great story, so why not tell it at every opportunity to urban and city friends?

Should We Recognize Red China?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. THOMAS J. LANE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 11, 1960

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I include an article by Dr. Paul K. T. Sih, director of the Institute of Asian Studies at St. John's University, New York, with a preface by His Eminence Richard Cardinal Cushing, archbishop of Boston:

SHOULD WE RECOGNIZE RED CHINA?

PREFACE

(By His Eminence Richard Cardinal Cushing, archbishop of Boston)

"The recognition of Communist China is an objective of international communism supported by its most powerful propaganda program. In the East and the West, on both sides of the Iron Curtain, the call is echoed by our friends and our foes to be more realistic about China.

"Many reasons are given in the secular press and in the publications of the Reds why we should establish diplomatic relationships with the Chinese mainland where 600 million people are governed by force. Dr. Paul K. T. Sih, Director of the Institute of Asian Studies at St. John's University, New York, answers some of these reasons in this pamphlet. I hope it will be read and reread throughout our country. The pressure for the recognition of China is becoming greater, stronger and more effective. That is especially true since the death of John Foster Dulles, late Secretary of State, who was the most powerful voice in the West against the recognition by the United States of the Chinese Red regime.

"Experiences of the past teach us the duties of the present. Trade, for example, would prepare the way for recognition or it would follow it. The comment of Dr. Sih on this subject hits hard at the communistic line most frequently followed in behalf of the recognition of China. Remember how the scrap metal, which the democracles shipped to Nazi-allied Japan, under the guise of 'free trade' was turned into the bombs which blasted half of Asia and were hurled at our men in the Pacific?

"This pamphlet gives us the facts behind the present policy of our Government. The U.S. policy is that President Chiang Kaishek heads the only legal Government of China.

"His government—officially the Republic of China—is now on the island of Formosa, but it is not there by choice. It was driven out of China by Communist armies. The Communists, under Mao Tse-tung, took over the mainland and set up their own rule. There has never been an election on the China mainland under the Reds. There is no evidence that the Chinese people want the Communists as their masters.

"The Chinese Communists fought the United Nations in Korea. They supported a Communist war in Indochina. They took over Tibet by force. They helped Communist terrorists in Malaya and in the Philippines. They keep saying they will take Formosa by armed force, if necessary. They

have infiltrated into Latin America. They are dedicated, as are the Communists of Russia, to dominate the world.

"Internationally the Chinese Communist regime does not conform to the practices of civilized nations; does not live up to its international obligations; has not been peaceful in the past, and gives no evidence of being peaceful in the future. Its foreign policies are hostile to us and our Asian allies. Under these circumstances, it would be folly for us to establish relations with the Chinese Communists which would enhance their ability to hurt us and our friends."

"These words of John Foster Dulles are as true today as they were when he uttered them a few years ago. This pamphlet by Dr. Sih will help us to understand the sound logic behind them."

(By Paul K. T. Sih)

The controversy over policy towards China, which has now lasted nearly 10 years, has centered mainly about the question: Should Communist China be diplomatically recognized by the United States? If Communist China were recognized by this country, she would be in a good position to occupy the Chinese seat in the United Nations and to adjust her international relations with the free nations. Arguments relating to recognition have, naturally enough, changed somewhat as the years have gone by. However, the main principles remain unchanged. As principles, they cannot change.

Those who advocate closer diplomatic ties between the United States and Communist China base their arguments on five assumptions:

1. To recognize Communist China is to be realistic. The Communists are in firm and permanent control of the mainland of China. Though we do not like the regime, it is in power and will be there for a long time to come. There is little that we, or the free Chinese in Taiwan (Formosa), can do to change the situation. We must be realistic. Since we cannot ignore 600 million people in mainland China, we must deal with the Communist regime.

2. To recognize Communist China is to enable us to expand our trade. Red China is a potential buyer of Western production. It is a great untapped market for trade. As other free nations, notably Britain, are trading with Red China, the American embargo, with its outright ban on United States-Red China trade, has become, more or less, academic. Recognition of the regime would provide means for furthering the interest of our businessmen concerned with Far Eastern trade.

3. To recognize Communist China is to relieve international tension. Crisis and tensions exist everywhere in Asia. This results from our failure to recognize Communist China. By cutting diplomatic relations and forbidding ourselves to communicate with the regime we deprive ourselves of the means whereby we might wage peace without risk of war.

4. To recognize Communist China does not signify our approval. Recognition implies neither approval nor disapproval. It is merely a practical arrangement suitable for maintaining contact with a regime. We recognized Soviet Russia in 1933. Why should we not do the same with Communist China which is, after all, a tyranny no different from that of Communist Russia.

5. To recognize Communist China is to drive a wedge between Communist China and Soviet Russia. Chinese communism is different from Soviet communism. Expanded trade between the free world and Communist China would drive a wedge between Moscow and Peiping and perhaps even make a Tito out of Mao Tse-tung. Through such trade, ties between the Red

and the free world would be strengthened, while corresponding relations between Peiping and the Kremlin would be weakened.

These arguments, at first so appealing, are in fact utterly false. Indeed, the reverse is true.

1. To recognize Communist China is to betray both realistic principle and American practice. Communist China in no way represents the will or aspirations of the Chinese People. It came to power by force and continues to hold power by force. Information reported by Pelping Itself refutes the idea that the Communists are firmly entrenched on the mainland. The regime was imposed by force and deceit. A certain number of people did cooperate with the Communists but this was mainly from fear of reprisals against themselves or their families. day, after 10 years, less than 2 percent belong to the Chinese Communist Party. It has kept itself in power by constant purges and liquidation of at least 18 million of the mainland Chinese in 10 years. It has sublugated 600 million people, but it has not Won their hearts.

Ruthless oppression of Tibetan peoples is one case in point. The International Com-mission of Jurists, a nonpolitical organization representing 30,000 judges, lawyers and professors of law and under the chairmanship of Purshottan Trikamdas, a distinguished Indian lawyer, has urged the United Nations to investigate mass murder and organized suppression of the people of Tibet. It has put the total of slain Tibetans at 65,000 and collected evidence showing least a prima-facie case of genocide against Red China." (The New York Times, June 6 and July 25, 1959.) No regime representative of its people would have to resort to wholesale persecution in order to keep itself in power.

Though the practice of the United States in the matter of recognition necessarily permits some elasticity, yet the fundamental principle of judgment has always been that of Jefferson who said in 1792: "It accords with our principles to acknowledge any government to be rightful which is formed by the will of the nation, substantially declared." (Works, 4th ed., vol. III, p. 489.) Insistence on the substantial nature of the declaration of popular approval remained the guiding principle of the practice of the United States for the next 150 years. Effective control of a land depends on popular consent of the government.

2. To recognize Communist China is to benefit the economic interest of the Red regime itself, not that of the United States. Recognition of Red China would result in trade beneficial to the Red government, not to the free world generally or the United States in particular. Great Britain, one of the first non-Communist countries to recognize the Red regime, found the answer the hard way. After the Communist occupation of the mainland, British investments amounting to hundreds of millions of dollars were promptly confiscated by the Peiping regime.

As for the United States, which used to do a \$1 billion business in China, the prospects of trade are virtually nil. If we have any doubt about this statement, we need only refer to the story told by Charles S. Miner, for many years the representative of Manhattan's C. V. Starr & Co. in China. He was permitted to leave the Chinese mainland in the summer of 1956, after his company had suffered losses totaling nearly \$5 million. Said Miner: "Our companies were wrung dry like dishrags until we had lost everything.

* To all intents and purposes, this was the swan song of American business in China."

Red China is definitely oriented to trading with other members of the Communist bloc

and they only trade with the Western nations when it suits their political purpose and when it is made on their terms. Of Red China's exportable surplus, estimated at \$4 billion, 80 percent, or \$3,200 million, is earmarked for Russia and its satellites. Besides, Red China is required to spend what it gets from its exports to buy goods from Russia and other Communist states.

To trade with Communist China is to set ourselves in a very disadvantageous position. Four things are evident:

(a) Red China can never be expected to purchase from the free world anything other than strategic materials for purpose of war.

(b) To ease our restrictions on trade with Red China would give prestige to the regime and bolster the economy of Red China which is facing serious difficulties.

(c) An expansion of trade with the free world would undoubtedly improve Communist China's terms of trade, especially with the smaller nations in Asia. Red China's cutprice dumping policy in exporting rice and tin has already disturbed the predominant rice economy of Thailand and Burma, and the predominant tin industry of Malaya.

(d) Red China is engaged in narcotics smuggling on a gigantic scale. Drugs are a state monopoly, a foreign exchange earner, and a political and economic weapon for furtherance of Communist expansion. In 1955, it was estimated that the narcotics sold in America were valued at \$350 million. To propose trade with Red China would expose ourselves to much more of this traffic in drugs.

3. To recognize Communist China is to increase, not to decrease international tension. The systematic exploitation of world tension is the very essence of Communist technique. Red China is deliberately seeking to increase tensions of every kind; intellectual, political, economic, social, diplomatic, and military, to a point beyond en-durance by the free world. When relief is sought by concessions, new tensions are created. Communism, both in Russia and in China, operates under this grand strategy. Conflict must be incessant. Neither Soviet Russia nor Red China can in principle accept a true peace. They will stop creating tensions only when their policy of world conquest has been completely carried out or when they are themselves placed under counter pressures, political, economic, and psychological, so great that they themselves must make long overdue concessions to justice and a humanly acceptable world order.

In the second volume of his "Selected Works," Mao Tse-tung himself declares that "political power grows out of the barrel of a gun." Recently this axiom was reaffirmed by the Peiping Defense Minister in this language: "Our policy is a policy of fight-fight, stop-stop—half-fight, half-stop. This is no trick but a normal thing." This expresses the deepest basis of the entire philosophy of communism, as can be seen in the Communist revolt in Laos strongly supported by the belligerent propaganda of Red China.

At times we must negotiate. But this does not mean that we should recognize the regime. We negotiated the Korean Armistice with Chinese Communists. We took part with them in the Geneva Conference of 1954 which ended the hostilities in Indochina. Since August 1955 we have conducted negotiations at the ambassadorial level with them, first at Geneva and later at Warsaw. We sought thereby to bring about the liberation of Americans unlawfully detained in Communist China, and to establish a condition of tranquility in the Formosa area.

We do not advocate the use of force to achieve an unified China. In fact, the contrary was proclaimed in October of 1958 in the joint communique of President Chiang Kai-shek and Secretary Dulles. If Red China were sincere to negotiate with us, she could freely do so through the existing channels without seeking recognition. Experience indicates that Red China seeks recognition in order to gain more strength and prestige for furthering international tensions rather than to relieve them. Even though China has been plagued by widespread flood and drought, the Red government refused assistance offered by the International Red Cross which sought to relieve the miseries of the Chinese people. Clearly the Communists do not even wish to lower the inner tension of their own society. How then can we expect them to lower tension toward other peoples?

4. To recognize Communist China is to enhance the prestige of the regime. To receive recognition from the strongest and most influential country in the world after recognition was first denied would be a triumph for Red China greater than military victory. This would certainly be the general appraisal of our action if we now accorded recognition of the Peiping regime. Recognition in this case would imply something more than approval. It would imply capitulation. It is the most dangerous thing that we could possibly do. Who among those clamoring for recognition of Red China would now clamor for recognition of Hitler Germany simply because it was in effective control of Germany? How much good did recognition do us then?

There are abundant precedents to support nonrecognition. The last Republican Secretary of State before John Foster Dulles—Henry L. Stimson—pronounced in 1932 what became known as the Stimson Doctrine, namely, that recognition should be denied to any government forcibly imposed by a foreign power. The basic elements of the Stimson Doctrine were upheld by Secretary of State Cordell Hull in 1936 during the Roosevelt administration. They were also reaffirmed by President Truman in October 1945, when he declared that "We shall refuse to recognize any government imposed upon any nation by the force of any foreign power."

With regard to Communist China, we realize that as an alien rule, the Red regime cannot remain. Now more than ever it is important that we keep firm with Mao and faithful to the Chinese people. Mao is in very great trouble at this moment. The communes have failed. The people are rest-changes, unless we from without insist on adding to Mao's prestige. Should we recognize Red China, the cause of resistance to communism would suffer everywhere, and both the survival of Chinese communism and its further aggression would be assured.

It is true that we recognized Soviet Russia in 1933 on condition that she would not interfere in U.S. affairs. The Soviet Union has not kept that condition or any other important international commitment. We have a long and well documented history of Communist duplicity. Such cynical betrayal of truth has never been equaled in the history of mankind. Had there been clear warning about Soviet Russia's insincerity it is doubtful if recognition would have been accorded in the first place. In the case of Communist China, we have been unmistakably forewarned.

5. To recognize Communist China is to give strength to Sino-Soviet solidarity. There is definitely some discord between Peiping and Moscow. Yet the area of discord is accepted by both governments and subordinated to the greater mission of the Soviet-Peiping coalition, that of sovietizing the entire world. The unity is further consolidated by the fact that both face a common obstacle, the United States. Economically, politically, and militarily, Peiping depends upon Moscow. From the foundation of the Chinese Communist

Party until now no one has successfully demonstrated any lack of fidelity to Communist principle either in the teaching or in the practice of Mao Tse-tung. There are variations from the thought of Marx himself, but these variations all have their full sanction in the developments of Communist thought and practice under Lenin and Stalin.

Mao today represents the most faithful practitioner of Leninist-Stalinist communism in the entire world. With overwhelming frankness, Mao asserted: "The whole world looks upon communism as its savior. So also does China today. The Chinese Revolution is indeed a glorious and important part of the world revolution." (New Democracy, released in 1940.) Again, he said: "We Communists never conceal or disguise our political planks. Our future and ultimate program are to push China to socialism and communism; this is definite and beyond question" (addressed the Chinese Communist Party Congress, 1945). Yet we persistently refused to believe Mao's blueprint for world domination just as we persistently refused to believe that announced by Hitler long before he came to

Because of this fidelity of Chinese communism to the realization of a universal empire, Russia and Red China can be expected to act as a coordinated team for the indefinite future, a team that would be immensely strengthened in prestige and effectiveness if recognition were accorded by the United States.

Besides the above, there are still two reasons why we should not recognize Red China:
(1) Recognition of Red China would very likely mean the liquidation of free China;
(2) recognition would compel us, before long, to accept Red China into the United Nations. This would be a very great loss. Three things are obvious:

- 1. Taiwan, the site of free China, is a vital link in the Island chain of defense set up by the free world in the Pacific. Military forces on Taiwan (some 600,000) are an important factor in the balance of power in the Pacific and are a constant deterrent to the renewal of Communist aggression in Korea or anywhere else in Asia. Should Taiwan be given over to the Reds, Japan, the Philippines, and all of southeast Asia would be seriously threatened.
- 2. We have concluded bilateral and multi-lateral treaties with other Asian nations, besides free China. If we were to abandon our commitments to free China in order to appease the threatening might of Red China, no country in Asia could feel that it could rely upon our protection against the Communist menace. These comparatively weak nations would be strongly tempted to come to terms—the best they could get—with the Communist giant.
- 3. The anti-Communist Government of the Republic of China in Taiwan is a symbol of Chinese opposition to communism. only rallying point in the world for non-Communist Chinese, the only alternate focus of loyalty for millions of Chinese on the mainland, in Taiwan, and throughout southeast Asia. If the Republic of China were liquidated, it would extinguish a beacon of hope for millions of mainland Chinese. Taiwan's own 10 million population would be delivered to the slavery of the mainland, and the 12 million oversea Chinese would become subject to further pressure as instruments of infiltration and subversion in the countries where they reside.

As regards admission of Communist China to the United Nations, Red China is certainly not qualified for membership. The very simple reason is that the U.N. in its first statement defines itself as an assembly of peaceloving nations. How then can Red China be admitted when the General Assembly on February 1, 1951, condemned her as an aggressor for her aggression in Korea? Red China is still at war with the world or-

ganization. In March 1959, an official broadcast of the Peiping radio declared that because of United States domination of the U.N., Communist China would henceforth consider any U.N. resolution on Korea as unilateral and thus null and void. The immediate case in point is the broadcast from Peiping in August 1959, in which the U.N. was warned that gravest consequences would follow if the U.N. were to send observers to Gravest consequences to whom? the United Nations? To accept Red China, still under condemnation as an unrepentent aggressor and defiant of all the principles on which the U.N. is based, would strike at the very foundation of this international body.

In a word, Communist China is not eligible for seating under the terms of the United Nations Charter. If admitted (Communist China would become a permanent veto-wielding member of the Security Council. This would severely impair the effectiveness of the U.N. It would also be against the welfare of all the non-Communist nations throughout the world. This seemed clear to Congress in 1956 when, in an unprecedented showing of unanimity, a resolution opposing the seating of Communist China in the U.N. passed the House of Representatives by a vote of 391 to 0 and the Senate by a vote of 86 to 0. This position was reaffirmed by the House on August 17, 1959, by a vote of 368 to 2.

Some writers propose that in its refusal to recognize Red China, the United States is setting herself in an isolated situation. Not so. Of the free countries of the world, 44 recognize the Republic of China, 22 recognized Peiping. Many of the 22 recognized Peiping before it had demonstrated its law-lessness. Of the 13 countries of the Far East, only 3 recognize Red China. Instead of being isolated, we stand with the overwhelming majority of the nations of the free world.

In China, as in so many other nations, there is a continuing struggle between two rival forces and ideologies—that of the Western democracies and that of Communist tyranny. The Western democracies are seeking to establish international order through law, justice, and peace. The Communists seek to establish a universal empire through lawlessness, disorder, injustice, and war. The situation is certainly a very difficult one.

The China problem is only part of the universal problem imposed on us by the world-conquest policy of communism. our times we must accept this impasse, and work for its solution with wisdom, courage, and, above all, patience. We cannot accomplish anything good by a hasty, inadequate solution. This only causes further and greater disaster. For the present, we must sustain tension. The signs are that on mainland China growing discontents are evident everywhere. Dissensions between armed forces and civillans are also a matter of serious concern to the regime. Abuses, segregation, overwork, and poor food caused by the inhuman program of the people's communes may well create the conditions in which a reaction toward freedom will take

Profound principles deep in human nature itself are at work in China and throughout the Communist world to bring about a correction of the violent and inhumane distortions of human life imposed upon such large numbers of mankind by communism. These inner natural forces seek justice, order, peace and freedom. The situation is perilous. Yet we should take hope from the situation in Kerala. There the inner revulsion against communism came to expression in resistance that achieved its effect with a minimum of bloodshed and with a maximum of efficacy. We may hope that the patience, firmness and courage of the Chinese people will in time find its means

of expression. Indeed, we can be absolutely certain that this will take place. There is something deep in Chinese society that abhors the present monstrous regime and its attack on all that is sacred in human life.

There are several stages in the evolution of a better situation. But we of the free world can assist only if we are clear in our conception of communism and if we refuse absoluetely to give in to its seductive propaganda, its diplomatic intrigue, or its military pressures. The free world has thus far shamefully submitted to bluff and abuse. A beginning will be made and our aurora of freedom will again be seen in the sky above the captive peoples as soon as we decide quietly but firmly that we will no longer endure bluff or abuse. We need only mention Berlin and Quemoy to show how powerful the free world can be when we act like men, free men, and that we do not quake at the distant growling of irresponsible men in Central Asia.

The nations in Asia and Africa are looking to U.S. leadership with regard to the recognition of Red China. Those which have already recognized the Regime are considering a readjustment of policy in conformity with present realities. The assault on Tibet has shaken their old attitudes. Burma looks with alarm to the 1,000-mile border that she shares with Red China; India wonders about the three small buffer states-Nepal, Bhutan and Sikkin-that Peiping could seize next; Indonesia sees the prized "spirit of Bandung" callously broken. But just at a time when these so-called neutralist countries in Asia tend to revise their unrealistic sympathy for Red China and to become anti-Communist, it would certainly be most foolish for us to make a deal with Communist China.

We know that our cause is just. We also know that our anti-Communist effort must stand fast and firm. No amount of words or promises will fulfill our purpose if there is doubt in this simple test of whether Red China should or should not be recognized. We are in a state of crisis, but all the ultimate realities are on our side. Our policy of nonrecognition is absolutely sound. policy along with our continued political, economic, cultural, and military support of the free democratic forces throughout Asia represents the finest glory of our country in this 20th century. Whatever our failure in the details of application, our policies are fixed on principles that we cannot change without terrible damage to China, the free world and to our own country.

Dr. Frederick M. Binder Is Inaugurated as the New President of Hartwick College, in Oneonta, N.Y.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. SAMUEL S. STRATTON

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 11, 1960

Mr. STRATTON. Mr. Speaker, on Monday, Dr. Frederick M. Binder, a youthful educator who has nevertheless already established an enviable record of accomplishment and service in his chosen profession, was officially and formally inaugurated, amid all the customary academic ceremony appropriate to such an occasion, as the new president of Hartwick College, in Oneonta, N.Y., one of the fine, outstanding institutions of higher learning located in

my congressional district. As an editorial from the Oneonta Star of May 10, points out so aptly, this auspicious occasion marks the beginning of what is likely to be a period of even greater growth and development for this fine college.

Under leave to extend my remarks I include herewith the editorial:

DR. BINDER'S CHALLENGE AS HARTWICK'S PRESIDENT

A great day has passed for Dr. Frederick M. Binder and Hartwick, the college which he now officially leads as its president.

Hartwick is a young college (age 32), which has begun to find its worthy place in higher education. Dr. Binder (age 39) is a young man who has found his place as the vigorous leader of a vigorous school in an age of vigorous education.

The challenges have been many in the last decade at Hartwick. Many of them were solved by Dr. Miller Ritchie, president from 1953 until last year. Money was raised, buildings the second transcendings. ings went up, and enrollment increased.

Many more challenges face Dr. Binder, who alms to work toward constant improvement of faculty and excellence of students.

Potential students will not be scarce in the decade of the sixties. Record numbers of high school graduates will be available each Year. But obtaining the right ones—the ones Hartwick wants as it raises its academic sights on educational targets—is a job for Dr. Binder.

This challenge he accepted Monday with the presidency of Hartwick College. Those Who have come to know him in the 8 months he has been active—so very active—in the Oneonta area, are as confident as he that the goals will be achieved.

Former Congressman Phillips Declared U-2 Case Shows Need for Return of American Ideals

> EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. FRANK KOWALSKI

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 11, 1960 Mr. KOWALSKI. Mr. Speaker, a dis-

tinguished former Member of this body, Hon. Alfred N. Phillips, has sent me a telegram on the U-2 case which I bring to the attention of my colleagues.

Former Congressman Phillips points out how the honor of the United States has been sullied by the mishandling of this situation and pleads eloquently for a return to high ethics and lofty ideals.

Here is the text of Mr. Phillips' telegram to me:

Hon. FRANK KOWALSKI, U.S. House of Representatives,

Washington, D.C. Many people including the writer are utterly shocked at the photograph on the New York Dally News front page of Secretary of State Herter and Director of Intelligence Dulles laughing over the plight they have sotten us into. Was this by the orders of the President of the United States of American How can these men or any American laugh when they have sent possibly to his doom an out-of-uniform American held as apy, who can justly be shot under interna-tional law as a spy? Furthermore it is cer-tainly no laughing matter when the foreign policy of our Government has been proved to be based on falsehood, misstatements, and chicanery. It is hard to believe that anyone directing the destinies of our country could guide it any way except through truthful honesty and integrity and that goes for everyone from the President down. I trust that in the House of Representatives of the United States you will do your part to see that those responsible for the low estate into which our country has fallen will be brought to account for it and relieved of their responsibilities no matter who they are and that the historic high standing and honor and ideals of the United States of America will be put back again as standards by which all of us can live best.

Personal regards,

ALFRED N. PHILLIPS.

Shreveport Shouldn't Be Gouged Again

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. OVERTON BROOKS

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 10, 1960

Mr. BROOKS of Louisiana. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks I wish to submit for the reading of the Members of Congress an editorial, entitled "Shreveport Shouldn't Be Gouged Again," which is taken from the Times-Picayune, New Orleans, La., under date of April 29, 1960. This editorial has reference to the determined effort of the Department of the Interior to drill again and again on the land which the people of Shreveport, La., gave to the United States for military purposes, only.

The editorial follows:

SHREVEPORT SHOULDN'T BE GOUGED AGAIN

An Air Force "inkling" that part of Barksdale Field near Shreveport may be declared surplus to its needs is ominous enough; but to convert 7,400 more acres of the base into a Federal oil field, without recognition of Shreveport as the original donor, would be rank injustice.

It would be the third time Shreveport has been similarly gouged. In 1951 and again in 1953, some 4,000 to 5,000 fringe acres were in effect diverted from dedicated military purposes to "oll field" purposes. passed from the Air Force to the Interior Department and the latter did the leasing. On each occasion "assurance" was given this would be the last such diversion.

If military operations and operating room are to be whittled down, then the excess should be returned by Congress to Shreveport. This would hold good whether there was oil around the property or not.

It is encouraging to see that at least one member of a House Armed Services Committee, Representative STRATTON, of New York, favors turning it back to the city-"some" of it, anyhow; and that John M. Ferry, special assistant secretary of the Air Force, "completely agrees." We hope this subcommittee will sponsor a bill to turn all of it back as the Air Force "turns loose."

As to intimation that through surplus declaration the excess may be returned to private ownership: Private owners, of course, including oil property owners, transferred the whole original 22,000 acres to Shreveport; it cost Shreveport nearly \$2 million some 30 years ago to make the donation; and at last accounts, it still was paying on the bonds.

The only satisfaction derivable is that the oil money has been going to the Government, rather than to surrounding property owners and oil interests who have been draining, the common pool at the expense of the Barksdale pool.

Shreveport has had a lot of good out of Barksdale; but the way it's worked out doesn't support any contention that "Give to the Government and the Government will

do the right thing."

A Tribute to John Taber on the Occasion of His 80th Birthday

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. EMANUEL CELLER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, May 11, 1960

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, John TABER is dear to all of us. His years of service have inspired us with greater affection for him.

Here is a man who, in the words of Grover Cleveland, regards "public office is a public trust"; hence our uttermost confidence in all he says, all he does.

You know, I particularly like John because he is unafraid—unafraid at times even if he is all alone. He knows ofttimes one man with courage is a majority. He does not care, even if it is unorthodox, so long as he feels it is right.

They say John is old. Nonsense, he is voung at 80

What is the secret of John's longevity? Does the clock stop for him? What vitamins does he take? From what fountain of youth does he drink? He has no "tired blood" and no need for Geritol. What is his secret? Did he make a pledge to Mephistopheles as did Goethe's Faust? Of course not. What is the answer? Well, he allows each additional day to help him grow more like himself-John Taber.

When I first knew him 38 years agowhen we were freshman Congressmenhe seemed to me then to be rather hardboiled, as though he could break but not bend, but gradually I recognized that the toughness was but a facade. Underneath he was kind and amiable.

He never seems to suffer from combat fatigue. His unflagging spirit is ever present to conserve our financial strength. He is the Cerberus of the Treasury.

His is the best example of the process of a congressional career. It is an endless process. You continually turn the last page of a chapter of an assignment only to be confronted with another chapter of tasks to be completed. A congressional career is not a mere course to be finished or a prize to be achieved. It is continuous and involves blood, toil,

tears, and sweat.
Viewing John's character, I find it good. Does not the psalmist say: "Better is the fragrance of a good name than the perfume of precious oils." John has a good name. And you know, character is what you are when no one is looking. JOHN is indeed worthy, when unattended. when alone. .

He has wondrous capacity for work—despite the weight of years. I am sure he says, "While the candle burns, there is so much to be done."

And he still cares, still dares. He knows, too, that "even the oldest tree some fruit will bear."

He has drunk fully of the wine of life. He follows what Mark Twain said:

So live your life that when you go, even the undertaker will be sorry.

I have observed his wise practicality. He knows that if you want the rose you must put up with the thorns.

Charles de Gaulle stated:

We may well go to the moon, soon, but that's not very far. The greatest distance we have to cover still lies within us.

In other words, one must know oneself.

John does. He knows the long, arduous, spiritual road to travel within himself.

John just grows, learning something new every day. He knows that to be 80 years young is more cheerful and hopeful than to be 40 years old. John is cautious and wise. He knows that the fool often crosses the stream while the sage ponders.

Growing old is as individual and as personal as the kind of woman you marry or the wine you drink. There are those old at 30 and others young at 90. The old, at whatever age, say, "It's too late"; the young, at whatever age, say, "It's never too late."

Cato learned Greek at 80. Sophocles wrote his immortal "Oedipus" when he had numbered more than his four-score years. Theophrastus began his book, "Characters of Men," at 90. Goethe completed "Faust" when he was 80. Chaucer, that mighty youngster at 60, composed his "Canterbury Tales."

So to you, John, at 80, I say you have the youth, the enthusiasm, the convictions to carry you through in triumph at the very least—another score.

How do I know this? Because we youngsters, members of the same club, have drunk from the same spring—the waters of work, of purpose, and of faith.

Vagrancy and Arrest on Suspicion

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. THOMAS J. LANE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 2, 1960

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include a very interesting, most informative, and educational article written by Justice William O. Douglas, a man well-qualified in law and practice entitled "Vagrancy and Arrest on Suspicion" that appeared in the independent monthly publication The Minority of One in the May 1960 edition:

Vagrancy and Arrest on Suspicion (By Justice William O. Douglas)

In spite of the revulsion which libertyloving people have long had against banishment, it lingers on in many magistrate courts. Who has not heard a judge tell a transient, "Don't come back here again or you go to jail"? Scores of people are thus banished from our cities every day. Those exiled are not traitors, or even thieves. They are wanderers, men of the "open road"; persons whose only crime in many cases is in being jobless and homeless, the same people who have been the heroes of much of our great literature and whose way of life has been glorified and envied by others for generations.

The statistics from Tucson show the intensity of this new campaign. While the year 1956 showed 276 arrests for vagrancy and 260 convictions, the 3 subsequent years show a marked increase. In 1957 there were 644 arrests, with 632 convictions, in 1958, 1,829 arrests with 1,613 convictions and in 1959, 1,226 arrests with 1,192 convictions.

If one does not plead guilty but asks for a trial, he faces a substantial delay during which he must remain in jail, since he is usually unable to post bond. He may thus spend more time in jail awaiting trial than he would have spent had he pleaded guilty. These circumstances combine to induce most to plead guilty, regardless of the facts.

As I reflected upon this crusade and talked to local people in Tucson about the problem, I became disturbed. Well-to-do people are welcomed with open arms to that fine community. But is not a destitute person entitled to look for work in a Sunshine State?

What happens in Tucson and elsewhere is illustrated by a recent case. The defendant was picked up by officers after midnight while walking the city streets. He was not drunk or disorderly. He had no criminal record. "I thought this was free America," the man told the judge. "You are trying to make a criminal out of me and I'm not." He was a casual worker, without a regular residence. That was his crime. Sentence was suspended for a week to enable him to get a residence and a job. "If you don't, I have a place of residence for you for 6 months," said the judge.

How is the vagrancy statute used in relation to other crimes? It is common, I believe, in some cities to make regular roundups of prostitutes, charge them with vagrancy, impose modest fines, and discharge them. Then the vagrancy charge is substituted for prostitution and perhaps even ameliorates the punishment. But is the vagrancy statute sometimes used as a cloak or cover for arresting and convicting people for some other crime that cannot be proved or for conduct that is not a crime?

On a journey to Afghanistan, I learned of a political leader who had campaigned too vigorously against the church and was prosecuted for sacrilege. Though acquitted of that charge, he was convicted of vagrancy and disorderly conduct. We in the United States have known of convictions for lesser crimes when the true offense was a major one which the prosecution had difficulty in establishing. We have also seen that vagrancy statutes are sometimes used to justify arrests which otherwise would not be lawful. One notorious incident of the kind occurred in California in 1935 where waterfront strikers were convicted of vagrancy during a period when there was a police drive against radicals." The Court of Appeals reversed the judgment because it was convinced that the convictions were based not on vagrancy, but on communism at a time when the Communist Party was on the ballot and wholly lawful in California.

The volume of vagrancy cases in the courts each year is large. The FBI Uniform Crime Reports for 1953 on a national basis show 88,351 arrests for vagrancy out of a total number of arrests of 2,340,004. The figure for 1957 was 69,520 arrests for vagrancy out of a total of 2,068,677 arrests. The figure for 1956 was 75,478 arrests for vagrancy out of a total of 2,070,794 arrests.

The speed with which some of these cases are handled is startling. Professor Foote relates that betweer 50 and 60 defendants were processed by one judge in 15 minutes, and one court handled 1,600 cases a month. The defendant was commonly not informed of the charge until he was "tried." No pretense of proving the crime charged was made. And usually these defendants were without the aid of counsel.

Moreover, a good look at the way our magistrates' courts operate may give vagrancy cases a new dimension in our thinking. The Court held in Tumey v. Ohio (273 U.S. 510) that a criminal trial in a State court violates due process when the judge is paid for his service or can recover his costs only when he convicts the defendant. Some magistrates' court still thrive on that practice. A justice of the peace who finds a defendant guilty gets \$5; a justice of the peace who finds a defendant innocent gets nothing. This is not a problem peculiar to vagrancy. But whether it is brigaded with vagrancy or traffic cases, it is a blot on the administration of justice.

Idleness and destitution in the modern setting have haunting aspects of welfare and of the right to work—both of which lack criminal elements as we know them. These three elements, now inseparably combined, should be segregated. The welfare element should be integrated with our vast welfare programs. The right to work should be part of our employment procedures. Criminal activity should be treated for what it is. Can we as a people be proud to say that a destitute person looking for a job—in a sunshine State or elsewhere—is a criminal? How can we hold our heads high and still confuse with crime the need for welfare or the need for work?

To what extent are vagrancy laws used to control suspicious persons and to permit arrests not otherwise legal?

The FBI Uniform Crime Reports, already mentioned, show that arrest on suspicion is common in this country. Those arrested in 1956 on suspicion and released without prosecution ran at the rate of 280.4 people per 100,000 inhabitants; and the total of persons arrested either for a specific offense or for suspicion alone, and released without being held for prosecution, was at the rate of 666.7 per 100,000 inhabitants. And the figure for arrests on suspicion in 1958 was 96,740.

There is no crime known as suspicion. Nor is there any Federal crime known as holding for investigation. Yet it is common in the District of Columbia to make arrests for the latter purpose. There were 7,367 persons so arrested in 1958, all of whom were later released.

A recent report of the Illinois division of the American Civil Liberties Union states, "Almost daily the Chicago newspapers report police investigations in which suspects are taken into custody for questioning."

One purpose of arrests on suspicion is obvious. It is to hold men incommunicado with the hope of getting confessions from them. Yet this practice violates the requirements of Federal law, and of the law in most States, that any person arrested be promptly arraigned so that he can have the advice of counsel and be released upon ball.

Arrests for suspicion are not countenanced by the Bill of Rights. The fourth amendment allows arrests, as well as scarches, only for "probable cause." Police must make out part of their case at least before the citizen is arrested. We do not permit the practice engaged in in some other lands of allowing arrests on suspicion or at the caprice of the police so that long interrogation can follow with the hope it will make out the necessary case that justifies the arrest. Under our system the arrest is warranted not by what the police discover afterwards but by what they knew at the time. Not many of the provisions of the Bill of Rights (I am sorry to

say) have been held to be incorporated in the standard of due process which the 14th amendment demands of the States. Yet the fourth amendment is one of the select few. The result is that arrests on suspicion are unconstitutional at the local as well as at the Federal level.

The persons arrested on suspicion are not the sons of bankers, industrialists, lawyers, or other professional people. They, like the people accused of vagrancy, come from other strata of society or from minority groups who are not sufficiently vocal to protect them-selves and who do not have the prestige to prevent an easy laying on of hands by the

The bar has had increasing responsibilities thrust on it since World War II. We experienced in that decade and a half a rash of measures designed to increase our security in a troubled world. Investigations led the way; loyalty procedures for Federal employees were adopted; the investigation of the attitudes and beliefs of men was extended to employees working for firms doing business With the Federal Government; State loyalty programs were adopted. Thousands upon thousands went through "the security wash." Some bar groups did good work in offering

their services to these suspects. Yet, by and large, we sat by and watched the parade of branded people march to oblivion. It is not to our credit that we did this. We salved our consciences by saying that no one has the right to work for the Government, and from that premise found power in Govern-ment to put the scarlet letter "S" on the foreheads of thousands of our people.

This, we hope, is a transitory, not a recurring problem. The arrests for vagrancy and the arrests for suspicion promise to be more enduring. They, like the poor whose problems gave rise to these remedies, are likely to be with us for a long time.

I hope that bar groups across the country concern themselves with these local problems and try to discover how our system can be designed to dispense justice to vagabonds

as well as to corporate clients.

It is important for a nation with moral authority in a troubled world to reduce its consumers of injustice" to a minimum. The measure of the health of our legal system is the justice dispensed at all levels. that we be rid of the ancient poor laws that oppress our people, better that we outlaw arrests on "suspicion" and without "probable cause," better that we have judges who hold no monetary stake in the outcome of a trial than that we reach the moon. Conquering of space has glamour and glitter; and it will be tremendously important in future centuries. But we live on earth; and here we will remain—at least, most of us. Vagrancy and arrest on suspicion are not distant, remote, speculative; they are just around the corner in many of our communities. It is what takes place in this block and in this neighborhood that gives the true reading on the health of our democratic way of life and on the actual vigor of our Bill of Rights.

The Heinrich Model Airplane Contest

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. FRANK J. BECKER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 11, 1960

Mr. BECKER. Mr. Speaker, the following is a statement by the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, the Honorable Leonard Carmichael, on the occaslon of presentation, May 9, at the Smithsonian Institution, of an award and tribute paid to 17-year-old Peter Shoemaker, who lives in Baldwin, Long Island, N.Y., the district which I repre-

Peter won this contest in which 90 students of the Baldwin High School participated by building a scale model of the Heinrich Airplane of 1910. Mr. Carmichael's remarks follow:

SUGGESTED DRAFT OF REMARKS BY THE SECRE-TARY, WHEN RECEIVING A SCALE MODEL OF THE HEINRICH AIRPLANE OF 1910 FOR THE NATIONAL AIR MUSEUM

Congressman BECKER, Peter Shoemaker, and friends, on behalf of the Smithsonian Institution, National Air Museum, I am pleased to accept this scale model of the

Heinrich airplane of 1910.

It is an honor, Mr. Congressman, to have you with us this afternoon. I join with you in admiration for the enterprise and genius of Arthur and Albert Heinrich who lived in the district on Long Island which you represent in our Congress. I also congratulate you on the ability and airmindedness of your constituents who organized and participated in the contest from which this excellent model resulted.

Arthur and Albert Heinrich who became interested in aviation about the time that the Wright brothers made their first flight, had a similar brotherly ability to work together, constantly striving for improvement, Today, the ninth day of May, marks the Golden Anniversary of the Heinrich brothers first airplane. Fifty years ago, taking turns in piloting this airplane, powered with an Emerson engine of 60 horsepower they first experienced the marvelous thrill of being airborne, teaching themselves to fly and enjoying the added thrill of being airborne in an airplane of their own design and construction.

Those fledgling flights were at slow speeds, low altitudes, and of short duration, but from that first success the brothers pro-gressed to the designing, building, and flying of better and larger and faster airplanes. When they had become proficient as pilots, they opened a school where a number of aeronautical early birds learned the thrill of wearing wings. During World War I, the Heinrich brothers patriotically joined in the war efforts and not only expanded their flight school but also produced one of their best planes, a military scout known as the Victor. Today, Albert Heinrich has retired, and Arthur has recently passed away. The aeronautical world is richer for their accomplishments

That first Heinrich airplane had a short life. After several rough landings and breakages, there came a final fluttering fall from which the pilot was able to extricate himself but which left the wounded bird too weak to rise again, but here, thanks to the skill of Peter Shoemaker, Heinrich No. 1 lives once more in miniature.

We are pleased to add this scale model to the national collections as a gift from you, Peter. I admire your craftsmanship in producing a reproduction which accurately illustrates the specifications of the original airplane. I also express our appreciation to Charles Raven, Corydon Johnson and his associates, the school faculty at Baldwin, the Grumman Aircraft Engineering Corp., and the others who organized and conducted the contest.

I think it particularly significant, Mr. Congressman, that the pioneer flights by the Heinrich brothers in this airplane were made in a field that is now occupied by one of the public schools of Baldwin. This contest, in which the youth of your area participated, and which Peter has won, has, I am sure, increased the interest and pride of the students in the aeronautical history

of their town. Exhibited here, this model will illustrate to our millions of visitors a pioneer accomplishment in flight by the Heinrich brothers of Baldwin, Long Island.

Electronics on the Mountainton

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, May 11, 1960

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, last evening I had the pleasure of attending the annual dinner of the Greater Wilkes-Barre Chamber of Commerce which was held in the Wilkes College Gymnasium, in Wilkes-Barre, with some 1,000 in attendance, and the occasion was the 76th anniversary of the Greater Wilkes-Barre Chamber of Commerce. It was indeed a most impressive affair and made even more so by the inspiring address of the evening delivered by the Honorable Frank M. Folsom, chairman of the executive committee, board of directors, Radio Corporation of America. As a member of the board of directors of the Greater Wilkes-Barre Chamber of Commerce, I wish to take this means and opportunity on behalf of all my fellow members to thank Mr. Folsom for taking the time from his extremely busy schedule to honor us on Tuesday evening with his presence and to further congratulate him on his fine address. We in Luzerne County are looking forward to the fine new facility which is being constructed by RCA for the manufacturing of semiconductors. We are indeed delighted to have RCA as a new addition to the badly depressed economy of my congressional district of Luzerne County. It gives me som and the address delivered by Mr. Folgreat pleasure to have inserted at this point the biographical sketch of Mr. Folsom on Tuesday evening of this week:

SPEAKER OF THE EVENING

Born in Sprague, Wash., May 14, 1894. Frank Marion Folsom became president and director of Radio Corp. of America in 1949. Today, as chairman of the executive committee of RCA's board of directors, he can look back upon a life full of accomplishments and the rich heritage he can pass on to his three daughters and 24 grandchildren.

A direct descendent of John Folsom, who settled in Hingham, Mass., in 1683, Frank Folsom, began his career at the age of 16 as a clerk with the Lippman Wolfe Department Store, Portland, Oreg.

Before joining RCA in 1943 as a director, his accomplishments in the field of merchandising placed him high in the annals of American business. In 1944, he startled the communications world by inviting 100 competitors to a meeting in Philadelphia. There he revealed design plans for television considered top secrets, handed his guests blueprints for RCA's production plants and told them precisely what RCA thought of television's future. He wanted strong competition to inspire aggressive selling. That is what he got.

Another of Mr. Folsom's merchandising triumphs was the now celebrated 45-rpm system of recorded music. It took courage, faith, and top-notch selling techniques to make the system a success.

Mr. Folsom has received a director of laws degree from 7 colleges and universities; he serves on the boards of directors of 22 corporations, in addition to being permanent representative of the State of Vatican City to the International Atomic Energy Agency, he is a member and/or officer in 7 national organizations; is a trustee of 2 colleges; belongs to 8 prominent social clubs, and has received 13 outstanding orders and awards.

ELECTRONICS ON THE MOUNTAINTOP

(Address by Frank M. Folsom, chairman, executive committee of the board, Radio Corp. of America, at Chamber of Commerce, Wilkes-Barre, Pa., May 10, 1960)

I have been in this pleasant valley on numerous occasions and always have been impressed with the fine spirit of friendship and hospitality, which again makes it a real pleasure to be with you today.

On behalf of the Radio Corp. of America,

On behalf of the Radio Corp. of America, I express grateful appreciation for the warmhearted welcome that the people of this fine city have extended to us in locating our new semiconductor plant at Mountaintop. We look forward to many happy and prosperous years of association, and we shall do our very best to be a good neighbor.

My thoughts go back to schooldays when we learned in geography that this area of Pennsylvania was noted for coal. For this reason you may be interested to know that discovery of germanium, a metallic element in ash deposits in chimneys in Wales, played quite a part in opening the new era in electronics, which now brings a new industry to this region. For a while chimney sweeping for germanium showed some promise of becoming a real business.

From now on you will hear more and more about transistors, or semiconductors, as we call these mighty mites of electronics. When they were first demonstrated in 1948, by Bell Laboratories, their magic was performed by specks of germinum. Naturally, demand for that element increased and a hunt for it ensued. In this country only traces of germanium are found in coal, and not enough to make it commercially practical to extract. This meant that other sources had to be found. Germanium is now refined from zinc and lead ores. Silicon is also used and, along with germanium, it is a first cousin of coal.

As a result, the supply of basic materials is more plentiful and transistors are being produced by the millions. They have led to revolutionary developments in electronics, and in many ways supplement electron tubes. By virtue of their size and small current consumption, ruggedness, lightweight, and reliability over wide temperature ranges, the semiconductor devices are ideal for compact portable electronic equipment. And, of course, they are perfect for missiles and satellites in which space is at a premium and weight must be at a minimum.

We at RCA plan to be at the forefront in all phases of semiconductors, the future of which is tremendous. These devices already comprise what is heralded as the world's fastest growing big business. It is predicted that military demands for transistors will exceed 300 million before the end of 1965, and that millions more will be needed for industrial use. Today transistors and related devices are selling at an annual rate of \$500 million. It is estimated that the rate will be \$1 billion by 1963.

So you see, this area has a stake in a great technological innovation—an exciting new industry. We consider Mountaintop a splendid location for our expanding manufacturing facilities for high reliability semiconductor devices for military, industrial, and electronic data processing applications. Production will get underway this summer and by the year end we expect to have about 400 employees with an expanding rate as time goes on.

Now you may wonder why we bring an electronic operation of this kind to Wilkes-Barre. The attractive industrial and community features and progressive spirit of this area were convincingly presented to us by the Greater Wilkes-Barre Chamber of Commerce, the industrial fund, the Committee of One Hundred, Inc., and the Pennsylvania Industrial Development Authority. Under such auspices there was no chance of missing the wonderful opportunity that exists here. Wilkes College has greatly impressed us by its progressive faculty and modern facilities for technical training, and the same holds true of the engineering laboratories of Kings College.

Of paramount importance is the excellent supply of skilled labor in this community. That was a primary factor in our decision to locate here, which, incidentally, is just a 2-hour drive from our semiconductor headquarters at Somerville, N.J. The excellent highway system extending in all directions and the fine Wilkes-Barre-Scranton Airport are added incentives.

We feel at home in Pennsylvania, for RCA is operating at 30 separate locations, employing 4,500 persons in 17 counties of this Commonwealth. Our Pennsylvania payroll is more than \$25 million annually and we pay more than \$1 million in State and local taxes each year. We annually purchase about \$1 million worth of materials, components, and services in this State from about 2,300 suppliers, the majority of which are small business firms. Our manufacturing and engineering activities in Pennsylvania are located in Lancaster, Croyden, Canonsburg, and Sellersville. And the RCA Service Co. has 20 locations.

Today about half of our business is in products and services that did not exist 10 years ago or were just being introduced on the market. Then our annual business was around \$400 million; today it is approximately \$1½ billion.

At the time of our formation, 41 years ago, our business was primarily wireless telegraphy. Then came radio broadcasting and television which naturally led us into the entertainment field, as did our acquisition of the Victrola phonograph. Today 46 percent of our business is nonentertainment and we expect that phase of our operations to greatly expand. I am sure that at the end of the decade of the sixtles we will be in other fields now as remote as was television in 1920.

Today 34 percent of our business is in sales to the Government, largely for defense purposes. Five years ago electronics accounted for about 8 percent of the Government's defense budget; now it is more than 16 percent. And by 1965 it is estimated that it will exceed 20 percent, representing a dollar volume of \$10 billion.

In keeping pace with progress, we expect to find new opportunities for growth in this State, and we look forward happily to our new relationship in your splendid community.

Through experience we know what wonderful resources, facilities, and skills are available through the well trained and loyal people who live in Pennsylvania. Our new plant which, as you know, will be situated on 38 acres in Crestwood Industrial Park, will be completed early in the summer. Some time in the future we hope you will all have an opportunity to visit the plant.

Mountaintop, Pa., is a good address for such a modern plant, the products of which will long continue to play an important role in the conquest of outer space. There is an interesting comparison with the past in which the industrial growth of this region was related to mining activity below the ground. Now comes a new electronic facility that holds promise of expansion through devices that are blazing new trails in communications and industrial operations. As

your coal has heated countless homes and run thousands of factories, so now millions of little semiconductor devices, akin to anthracite, will be manufactured here for use in countless radio and television sets as well as auto radios, clocks, telephones, jukeboxes, and all types of communications equipment including that used in missiles and satellites.

Now, because semiconductors are to be a product of this locality, you might like to know a little more about them and their future as we see it. By virtue of their dimension and performance, they have led us into a microera—an electronic era of miniaturization.

Instruments and components, which only a few years ago were comparatively large and heavy, now are compact and light. Wafer-like components are combined into a single unit smaller than a sugar cube. The engineers call them micromodules.

Automation, computation, switching, and control are some of the important big tasks assigned to semiconductors in this new age of electronic wonders. Now we are dealing with ounces instead of pounds, with cubic inches instead of cubic feet, with millionths of a watt instead of watts of power. Everything seems to be moving in the microminiature direction. Some of the new devices are so small they are made under microscopes.

For use in computers, our laboratories have developed a new electronic "brain" cell that fits in the eye of a needle; 100,000 of these cells can be packed into a square foot.

There seems to be no end of developments. We have crossed the threshold of a great new frontier in communications. We hear predictions that eventually electronic computers may make 80 percent of industry's executive decisions. And scientists smile with confidence when they tell us that these electronic machines some day will converse electronic machines some day will converse with each other and quickly exchange information, regardless of differences in language or distance.

One of the newer members of the semiconductor family is the tunnel diode, so named because electrons tunnel through the diode at the speed of light. It is pinhead in size, and, in many instances it promises to revolutionze electronic circuits, instruments and systems, yet it was introduced only 2 years ago.

The space age, in which electronics plays such a vital role, is only about 3 years old. In that period we have witnessed one of the greatest human accomplishments of all time—the projection of satellites into orbit despite the earth's gravitational field and many other barriers. Man's knowledge is being extended—new scientific information is being collected and recorded by electronic computers.

Scientific instruments are being packed into relatively small spheres. When the capacity of automatic instruments can no longer make measurements, the urge will become greater to send trained scientists and astronauts along with the instruments to operate them more effectively, and to see and hear directly what is going on out among the planets and stars.

Whoever dreamed, even a few years ago, that an American satellite such as Pioneer V would be sending back radio signals and scientific data from a distance of more than 8 million miles, shattering all records for long-distance radio communications. And we may yet hear its signals across 100 million miles. We are told this is only the beginning.

Recently one of our miniature television cameras was launched inside a Redstone missile and it sent back pictures of the missile hitting its target. The television camera and a transmitter were ejected from the missile in a capsule at an altitude of 40 miles and as the capsule fell slowly to

earth, the TV transmitted pictures which were received 75 miles away.

The uses of such a device are obvious, especially in wartime when a commander far distant from the target could know immediately whether the missile hit the target

and the extent of the damage.

For 6 weeks now, the RCA-designed and constructed Tiros satellite has been hurtling around the globe, flashing back by radio and television reports on whether conditions in outer space. It was built by the RCA Astro-Electronic Products Division, under the general systems management of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration and the technical direction of the U.S. Army Signal Research and Development Laboratory at Fort Monmouth, N.J.

Tiros, the Nation's most advanced space-borne TV eye, comprises the most elaborate electronics installation ever sent into orbit. It is equipped with approximately 450 transmitters and semiconductor devices such as will be made in the Mountaintop plant. Tiros carries miniature television cameras, video tape recorders, transmitters, solar cells, and rechargeable battery power suppliers, all of which are expected to function for about 3 months, during which time it is expected to complete about 1,300 orbits. As a result, metcorologists will have pictures galore of cloud formations over an extensive belt.

Since you have read the fascinating story of Thros in the newspapers, I will not dwell upon it further—except to say that it is a forerunner of remarkable achievements which are destined to make news, and each step will put the United States further ahead

in the conquest of space.

These developments which I have endeavored to sketch may help you to visualize that electronics has a future range as unlimited as the expanse of space. It is an inexhaustible laboratory in which pioneering never ends. The problems and challenges multiply with each discovery as we seek clues to new knowledge that will enable man to establish new routes in travel and communications across the boundless ethereal sea of the universe. Fantastic looking machines will sail across the heavens. Scientists of this generation and those to follow are destined to take part in this unprecedented conquest. Brains and billions will comprise the equation of success.

Semiconductors produced here in Mountaintop qualify to operate under your slogan, "Progress Through Action," for these little mites of electronics possess a tremendous potential. Action is their keynote.

Again let me say, all of us in RCA are happy to join with you in helping to fulfill the aims of the chamber of commerce in making the sixtles a golden decade for Greater Wilkes-Barre.

Better for What?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. ELMER J. HOLLAND

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 3, 1960

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. Speaker, I would like to insert into the Record the editorial published by the Pittsburgh Post-Gazette and Sun-Telegraph on May 9, 1960, entitled "Better for What?"

It refers to our President's retort to a question asked him on why he was not reappointing William R. Connole to the Federal Power Commission, especially since he was the sole member of that

Commission who really represented the consumers against the gas-oil lobby and who fought for the consumers' interests.

"With arms folded over his chest and his face flushed," as one reporter wrote, "the President said, in effect, 'it is none of your business. It is my responsibility to appoint people and to get the best people I can. I think I can get a better man, that is all."

I join with the Pittsburgh Post-Gazette and Sun-Telegraph in asking "Better for what?" and "Better for

whom?"

It is no secret that the President has, since taking office in 1953, hoped to have legislation passed that would prohibit the Federal Power Commission from regulating the cost of gas at the source, thereby permitting the gas industry—which is actually owned and controlled by the oil interests—to charge what they wished. Each session, except the present one, legislation has been introduced to permit this.

Thanks to the policy of the present Federal Power Commission, this legislation is no longer required for they have been granting rate raises continually with the only dissenting vote being cast

by Mr. William Connole.

Apparently the President does not even want one vote registered against big interest. It certainly does not count; it has not stopped the increases; it has not influenced any fellow members of the Commission during the years, but it seems that the President does not want any appointment of his to even speak out against big business.

The President has from the start of his administration showed himself distinctly allergic to crusader types in Government—particularly in the agencies which regulate business. Where he is required by law to appoint a minority of members from the opposition party, he has always chosen Eisenhower Democrats or independents. This particular case is where an independent—Mr. Connole—was too independent for he felt the consuming public needed a spokesman.

Although time is running out for Mr. Eisenhower, he intends to see that only those in whom he is interested get proper representation.

It looks as thought the "better for whom" in this case, is "better for those who supported Ike," and the "better for what" is "better profits for big business."

The article referred to follows:

BETTER FOR WHAT?

The public has a right to be as indigent over President Eisenhower's refusal to reappoint William R. Connole to the Federal Power Commission as the President was when asked at his press conference why he is so determined to remove Mr. Connole from the scene.

Showing what the press described as evident irritation, President Eisenhower snapped back at his questioner in these words:

"First, why, this: Because it is my responsibility to appoint people and to get the best people I can. This Mr. Connole came to see one of my staff in December to ask about his reappointment, and they said they'd look into it. I think I can get a better man, that's all."

But that, in fact, is not all, as a growing outburst of support for Mr. Connole and possible congressional intervention may determine. Mr. Connole, a political independent from Connecticut, was appointed to the commission in the first place by this same President who now refers to him as "this Mr. Connole," as though he had never heard of the man.

Mr. Connole has compiled a commendable record on the FPC—one that certainly deserves more of an explanation from President Eisenhower than he has given so far for refusing to reappoint him. He is widely known as the only present FPC member who has fought consistently to hold gas prices down for the consumer, a stand which has alienated the gas industry, needless to say.

And Mr. Connole is the only present commissioner who has steadfastly maintained that the FPC should become a real regulatory agent—one with back bone—over the gas industry under terms of the Natural Gas Act; and in this position, which he alone held on the commission, he was supported by the

Supreme Court in 1954.

Shortly after the President's remarks on the matter the other day, the Great Lakes Conference of Railroad and Utilities Commissioners endorsed Mr. Connole's reappointment. A week earlier, utility commissioners from southeastern States, and before that, New England States, California, and Tennessee had urged his reappointment. And the same day President Eisenhower was dismissing the subject so curtly, a group of professors of administrative law and regulation at Yale, Columbia, Harvard, and Pennsylvania Law Schools came out strongly for his reappointment.

Obviously, with that kind of wide support—not to mention action by mayors of 60 large cities who also have urged the President to reappoint Mr. Connole—he cannot have done too bad a job. Yet, ironically, the one man on the FPC who has had the courage and integrity to fight for the consumer and to insist that the FPC do what it is supposed to do is the one commissioner the President is now trying to get rid of.

Perhaps the President can find a better man than Mr. Connole. But his past record of choosing members of key regulatory bodies has been something less than brilliant, as the growing list of improprieties, lack of judgment, and shenanigans in such agencies comes to light.

In view of Mr. Connole's record of battling for gas consumers against the pressures of the natural gas industry, the President's remark that he can find a better man than Mr. Connole raises pertinent questions: Better for what? And for whom?

H.R. 12117

SPEECH

HON. LESLIE C. ARENDS

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 10, 1960

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H.R. 12117) making appropriations for the Department of Agriculture and Farm Credit Administration for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1961, and for other purposes.

Mr. ARENDS. Mr. Chairman, I would like to say to the committee that at the bottom of page 17, "Benefits to General Public," you begin to get into a question which has interested me very much. I picked up the paper the other day when this appropriations action was an-

nounced, and the headlines said, "\$4 Billion Appropriated for Agriculture."

It seems to me that we too often leave the impression that every dollar spent within the Agriculture Department is spent for the benefit of the farmer. In this section you have begun to get into the question and I was hoping your committee could set forth the total amount of what might be really charged to agriculture and what to the general public, so that there will be a better understanding on the part of our populace that agriculture as such does not reap the benefit of many of the dollars appropriated in the Department of Agriculture bill.

Mr. WHITTEN. I thank the gentleman for his statement. I am afraid much of the press is directed to the 88 percent of the people who are nonfarmers.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Illinois has expired,

Governor Meyner Talks Food for Peace in Iowa Address

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. LEONARD G. WOLF

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, May 11, 1960

Mr. WOLF. Mr. Speaker, last Saturday the distinguished Governor of New Jersey gave a fine talk on the subject of using food to win and hold friends abroad. I take pride in placing in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD this speech, which occurred in Iowa at the State Young Democrats' convention:

ADDRESS OF GOV. ROBERT B. MEYNER, AT THE STATE CONVENTON DINNER OF THE IOWA YOUNG DEMOCRATS

What I say tonight is concerned first of all with the American farmer. Please note that I do not say I will talk about the farm problem. There is no farm problem; there is only an American problem. I object, in fact, to the way it is made to appear that what happens to American agriculture is the farmer's problem. So long as human beings require food for subsistence, anything that concerns the men who grow the food concerns everyone.

Since I plan to talk with you about agriculture, I might say at this point that we in New Jersey are proud of our farm heritage. Our oldest continually worked family farm was originally purchased from the Indians in 1640, and has been handed down from generation to generation ever since. Jersey farmers realize the highest income per acre-\$178.89—of any in the United States. And they have achieved this distinction in the most urban State in the Union. I like to think of this as another example of the efficiency with which farmers have utilized the great advances in farm technology.

In all the talk about the farm situation it seems to me we have a tendency to get lost in the small type. There are some great simplicities that are as true today as they were when man first put seed into the earth. We ought never to lose sight of these great simplicities in all the talk about parities and subsidies, quotas, and allotments. In fact, my principal criticism of Government

farm policy is that it has often wandered away from the fundamentals. Our farm surplus is not quite so awesome and gigantic as we have been led to believe. Actually, it is only 2 percent of the total farm product.

Two percent.

We need not be terrified by the agricultural surplus as long as a substantial percentage of the world we live in is badly underfed. There are large, populated areas where rainfall is slight. The land is unsuit-able for agriculture. The people are inadequately nourished.

Now, let us take these two fundamental facts—the present surplus here and the hunger elsewhere-and then try to fit into the picture the fact that we have not been able to connect these fundamentals in any way that makes sense to the human intelligence or the moral imagination.

What we see between these two great fundamental facts is not a bridge, but large storehouses of grain on which we pay more than a million dollars of rent a day even as

the grain spoils.

Now there are all sorts of explanations why this has to be. I have heard experts talk by the hour about all the difficulties that would be involved in matching surplus to need. I have heard elaborate theories about normal markets and abnormal markets, about structures and supports.

But all this is pinhead type against the life-size facts of the world we live in. Our problem is too much. The problem of others is not enough. And we haven't been ingenious enough to do the connecting moral

Incidentally, I should like to take by the hand the expert who thinks it makes sense to store food we can't use-I should like to take this fellow by the hand and set him down in front of a hungry child in Asia, Africa, or Latin America and let him try to get his point across—if he can.

I should also like to set him down in the path of starving food-rioters storming Government granaries in the face of rifles and bayonets. Let the expert make his point to

these so-called rioters.

I realize that a certain amount of clash and antagonism are a part of our way of life. But should small and large farmers feel they are being pitted against one another? Or the grower against the storer? Should Government support, encourage, and institutionalize those features of an agricultural system which breed waste, discourage initiative, and make the world see us as a glutton or a hoarder?

Yes, I know I have painted an extreme picture. I know that from time to time we have sent large quantities of food to other nations. And I am happy about the new arrangement under which wheat is being sent to India. Two facts should be observed in this connection, however.

The first is that we have been dealing in small fractions when we should have been dealing in whole numbers.

The second fact is that we have tried to justify our generosity to ourselves on the grounds that this was the best way to fight the cold war. I happen to believe that it was the best way to fight the cold war; but that is incidental. Why can't we do big things because they are the right things to do—and not just because we think we can gain a competitive advantage?

The United States became great not because it was shrewd but because it was open and free and because it said something to all men and not just to Americans alone. Nothing in our American history is more specific than that the men who came together at the Philadelphia Convention thought of this country as a human experience rather than as just a national experience. To them America was an idea—an idea that had validity for all men. This idea had to do with the natural rights of man, the relationship of

man to the state, the moral contract that binds each man to the next, and the need to provide the fullest possible growth for the individual.

Only a few years ago, we were reminded of these basic ideas when a conference was held in a little mountain city in Indonesis called Bandung. The nations of Asia and Africa which had finally won their freedom came together in this city to mark their historic emergence as members of the family of The ideas they invoked from history were the ideas that went into the making of the United States. Indeed, the Asian and African leaders acknowledged their great debt to the American Founding Fathers.

My point is that if the nations of Asia and Africa feel these ideas from the American past are relevant in the modern world, it is barely possible that they might still hold

some relevance for us, too.

These ideas, to repeat, are concerned with the need for human connection, with the fact of community, and with the nature of human freedom and human obligation.

We are being tested in the world today not just in terms of our ability to make the big bombs or the big missiles, but in terms of our ability to earn the good will and support of the overwhelming majority of the world's peoples. Our security depends not just on the amount of destructive force we can mount but on the amount of leadership we can exert in making the human community in the world safe for its peoples.

Last summer, my wife and I were part of the Governors' group that visited the Soviet Union. I came away with the realization that the challenge of the Soviet is far greater than I had previously supposed it to be.

I realized that the Soviet, far from sealing itself in from the outside world, was moving mightily to establish itself with other peoples, especially the peoples of Asia and Africa-The idea of the Iron Curtain as a symbol no longer had meaning alongside the massive efforts being made by the Soviet Government to identify itself with the needs and hopes of other peoples.

I saw the beginning of a powerful program of economic aid. It is actually only now get-ting underway. In 5 or 6 years, it may reach dimensions that may go far beyond even the

Marshall plan.

I saw delegations arriving from all over the world—trade delegations, religious delegations, scientific delegations, educational delegations, farm delegations—all taking part in important meetings.

And I realized that a basic shift in Soviet strategy had come about. The Soviet leaders realized that victory in the modern world could not be achieved on a nuclear battlefield but only through their ability to isolate the United States from the overwhelming majority.

When I discuss this challenge with some Americans, they tend to flinch. They be-come overwhelmed with foreboding. They come overwhelmed with foreboding. do not think the United States can hold its

own in that kind of showdown.

And it's interesting to me to see that, generally speaking, these are the same people who think we can find security just by building bigger bombs than the Russians and a better delivery system.

I think these people are wrong on both counts.

I think they are wrong in being First defeatists about our ability to hold our own in any nonmilitary competition with the Soviet

Second, I think they are wrong in thinking that the United States can find security in an atomic armaments race.

I have no fear about the capacity of the United States to give a good account of itself in a nonmilitary competition with the Soviet Union. The thing I fear much more is that we may not have confidence in that capacity-indeed, that we may not know how to put it to work.

I fear a policy of drift. I fear the effects of coasting at a time when we ought to be moving powerfully and with determination in a clearly defined direction.

I fear small minds in big jobs.

I fear men in policymaking positions who are trying to cut major problems down to their own size.

The American people-indeed, the whole of the human race—is now in a period of total danger. We must concentrate on the No. 1 world problem-real peace with jus-

The United States need not be a confused spectator in the making of such a peace.

We can move in two important directions. One concerns the form of the peace. The other concerns the substance of the peace.

So far as the form of the peace is concerned, I believe we should propose an immediate revision conference of the United Nations. I believe we should state our hope that such a conference can create a new and strengthened design for the U.N. One that can put an end to the insane atomic armaments race in the world; a United Nations that is strong enough to underwrite the safety and security of all nations, large and small; a United Nations that can deal adequately with the basic tensions that lead to crisis; a United Nations that can represent not just nations but people.

So far as the substance of peace is con-cerned, I believe we should utilize our full agricultural and industrial capacity in improving the conditions of the human com-

munity.

This calls first of all for a plan to do away with a delusion which seems to have taken root in Washington—the delusion that long-range military planning and long-range foreign-policy planning are a splendid thing—but that the best plan for agricul-ture is a policy of drift, blunder, and neglect.

I have never been quite sure why this delusion has grown up like crabgrass everywhere in our Nation's Capital—unless it is because Washington is a city rich in fertil-

When will our Government grasp the fact that our agricultural policy is our foreign policy?

When will it come to see that food and Politics are intimately bound up with each

When will it realize that a healthy foreign Policy and a sick agricultural program make no sense at all?

I believe that we should stop locking agriculture in the closet till the company goes home.

I submit that in a world bent double with hunger, the problem of surpluses and shortages is a problem worthy of all the intelligence, imagination, and compassion that we can bring to it-in a manner consistent with our national well-being.

Let us, for example, devote some of that intelligence and imagination to the problem of our grain surpluses, which at this moment are moldering away in giant granaries. If our betters are determined not to ship this grain abroad, can we not at least find other uses for it—just as the lowly peanut has been converted chemically into a thousand useful products. Are we sure, in short, that we are making the best use of the agricultural capital stored up in our granaries?

Just as the prudent man puts his savings to use, so that they go to work for him over a period of decades, so we should put our agricultural surpluses to work for us, investing them in a variety of humane enter-

We should propose that as soon as the U.N. is capable of taking over the world security function and relieving the nations of the burden of armaments, we are prepared to put a substantial share of our national wealth into the making of a better world.

The inventory of needs has never been longer. Nor has need for creative planning ever been greater. What we have done so far is only a hint of the things we can do to meet the needs before us.

And they say that if we reduce our war economy we will slide into a depression. What nonsense. Indeed, if Congress is really worried amout un-American ideas, this is where it ought to look.

As for me, I believe that the next few decades will be peaceful decades, and that we shall witness a regular sunburst of creative activity and material prosperity in America.

I think that we shall do so not in spite of peace, and its inhibitory effect on our economy, but because of peace, and its invigorating influence on our productive processes, on our free institutions, and on the major issues of our time.

For it is only when we make sense on this big issue—peace, peace with justice, peace with freedom—that we make sense on any issue. Thank you.

Figures Don't Lie (?)

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. WILLIAM B. WIDNALL

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, May 11, 1960

Mr. WIDNALL. Mr. Speaker, this morning I received the May 9, 1960 political memo from COPE, published by the Committee on Political Education of the

AFL-CIO. In the first paragraph under a title "Living Costs Hit Alltime Record." it is stated that the cost of living in March reached an alltime record "just as it has almost month after month after month since the Eisenhower-Nixon administration has been in office."

It further states that in March "the average family was forced to pay \$12.57 for the same goods and services which cost only \$10 in 1947-49, according to Government figures." Once again we see the deliberate omission of unfavorable figures that would be attributed to a previous administration.

I contacted the Bureau of Labor Statistics and obtained the following unreported figures for the last 3 years of the Truman administration.

In 1950 the same goods and services cost \$10.38.

In 1951 the same goods and services cost \$11.10

In 1952 the same goods and services cost \$11.35.

These figures show that at the time the Eisenhower administration took office the figure of \$11.35 was the figure to be compared with the present cost of \$12.57. The American people are entitled to the whole truth. In 71/2 years of the Eisenhower administration there was a rise from \$11.33 to \$12.57 or \$1.22 for 71/2 years. In comparison, the rise during the last 3 years of the Truman administration was from \$10 to \$11.35 or \$1.35.

The same type of omission of full data took place in the Report of the Majority of the Joint Economic Committee and this was violently objected

to at the time by the republican minority members.

Since the Committee on Political Education of the AFL-CIO appears to be watching economic figures rather closely, we should expect that the next political memo from COPE will include the following important information disclosed by the President today in Washington. In April 1960:

First. Gross national product tops \$500 billion.

This figure is 2 billion larger than the President's economic advisers estimated earlier in the year.

Second. Consumer Price Index varied only one-fourth of 1 percent in 6 months.

Third. Employment reached 66,159,-000, a phenomonal increase of 1,892,000 over March 1960.

MOST IMPORTANT

Fourth. Unemployment lowered to 3,660,000-a decline of 546,000 from March.

The above facts and figures from the record speak for themselves.

An Outrageous Proposal

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. OVERTON BROOKS

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, May 10, 1960

Mr. BROOKS of Louisiana. Mr. Speaker, the people of Shreveport, La., bought and donated to the United States, for military purposes, the land on which Barksdale Air Force Base is situated. Despite the fact that the land was donated for this sole purpose, the Department of the Interior has twice ordered drilling to be done on this reservation. Now, again, the Department of the Interior is insisting that additional drilling be done. The people who donated this land do not feel that the United States has kept faith with them in insisting on turning this field into an oil and gas field. Under leave to extend my remarks. I present to you the feeling of my people as given in the following editorial taken from the Shreveport Times, Shreveport, La., under date of May 1, 1960:

AN OUTRAGEOUS PROPOSAL

Once again the Federal Government is planning to divert a huge chunk of Barksdale Air Force Base land, purchased originally through a Shreveport bond issue and donated to the Federal Government exclusively for military purposes, to private oil and gas exploitation with no return to the original donor-the city of Shreveport.

The Air Force now is considering declaring 7,400 acres of the base to be surplus property and then deeding it to the Department of Interior. The Department of Interior then would lease drilling rights to private interests, with all revenue going to the Federal Government.

This would be the third time that such a procedure has been followed by the Air Force and the Department of Interior with complete disregard to Shreveport. The first chunk of acreage was diverted by the Air Force to the Department of Interior in 1952 and leased to private minerals exploitation by the latter. A second chunk went the same way in 1953. Now a third chunk of 7,400 acres is proposed.

If this new plan is carried through, approximately half of the total Barksdale acreage, brought by the people of Shreveport through a bond issue still being paid off, will have been diverted from the purpose for which it was donated in order to make a special profit of a few million dolars for the Federal Government. It's just the same old story that always is written when the Federal Government starts moving in—a little bite first, then another bite, and then a big bite, and then nobody knows what.

The whole thing is outrageous and preposterous. The issue is not whether the land is essential to military purposes. If the Air Force says it is not, that decision must be accepted as authoritative. Nor is the issue entirely in the wording of the deed made by the city of Shreveport in giving the huge land area to the Government—an area which made Barksdale the largest military airbase in the world so far as land size was concerned. The issue is justice to Shreveport.

There is no question but what the land was given to the Government by the people of Shreveport exclusively for military purposes. There was, of course, no knowledge at that time that it had minerals value to its present extent. The Government seems to get around this clause in the deed by contending that the oil and gas would be lost to national security if drilling is not permitted. At the same time, other Government quarters claim that the oil and gas would not be lost, but simply would be tapped by offset wells outside the base. Their concern is that such tapping does not bring to the Government the comparatively small revenue which it would receive through base drilling. If the oil and gas is to be tapped by anyone, the people of Shreveport should be a beneficiary.

Representative Overton Brooks of Shreveport has been moving rapidly in trying to get justice for Shreveport if the new chunk of acreage is declared surplus. His contention that the surplus property or a part of it should be turned back to the donors instead of leased to private interests for minerals exploitation, has some support.

Representative Samuel S. Stratton of New York said in a House Armed Services Subcommittee hearing that there would be an element of fairness if some of the property was given back to Shreveport. John M. Ferry, Special Assistant Secretary of the Air Force in Charge of Installations, said he agreed but had no authority to take such a step. The New Orleans Times-Picayune took up the cudgels for Shreveport Friday with a lead editorial headed "Shreveport Shouldn't Be Gouged Again." After detailing the gougings of 1952 and 1953, the Picayune continued:

"If military operations and operating room are to be whittled down, then the excess should be returned by Congress to Shreve-port. This would hold good whether there was oil around the property or not.

"Shreveport has had a 'lot of good' out of Barksdale; but the way it's worked out doesn't support any contention that 'give to the Government and the Government will do the right thing.'"

The Federal Government lives and exists and survives off of money supplied by the people. It is not very pleasant to think of the Federal Government as a sharpster trying to gouge the people of one area because it may have found a "legal" way to do so.

"Triton" Voyage a Tribute to Electric Boat Craftsmanship

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. CHESTER BOWLES

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 3, 1960

Mr. BOWLES. Mr. Speaker, this morning the U.S.S. *Triton* returned in triumph to its home port of New London, Conn., after completing its epochmaking undersea voyage which has so electrified the world.

There are many proud people in New London and in Groton this morning, Mr. Speaker, but none prouder than the men and women of the Electric Boat Shipyards in Groton, where not only the Triton, but also the Nautilus, the George Washington, and the Patrick Henry were built.

The official log of the Triton carries, in Capt. Edward Beach's own words, eloquent tributes to the skill and craftsmanship which made the Triton's 41,500-mile voyage under the sea possible. It is no coincidence that this most powerful submarine ever built, as well as the world's first nuclear-powered submarine, the Nautilus, and the first Polaris-firing submarine, the George Washington, were all built at Electric Boat. As the men of our Navy's submarine service can attest, only one quality ever leaves the ways in Groton—the finest.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I include as being of interest to my colleagues the following sections from the log of the *Triton*:

February 19: With speed increased to flank, our submarine cruiser begins to tear through the water at a speed few ships can manage on the surface, and yet there is no sensation of speed at all.

February 20: Slowed to half power, our normal cruising speed, which is still much faster than most ships can go.

March 4: One can become almost lyrical thinking of the tremendous drive of the dual powerplant of this grand ship. Except in clam water, there are probably not more than a few dozen ships in the world which can go as fast as we are right now, and we are doing it deep beneath the surface where they can't go.

March 4: Almost with disbelief, we note what speed we are registering. And looking at the various gauges of the propulsion equipment, we realize we have but scratched the surface or *Triton's* real potential. If we were really to let her out, as we might have to in war, she has even more under her belt.

April 5: (When the ship had been caught in a severe downward current of water while entering the Indian Ocean, and was plunged downward as in an air pocket.) Under the circumstances, Triton's size, tremendously strong hull, and great power pretty well eliminated any danger, especially since we had tight control of the ship at all times.

All Friends

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, FRANK T. BOW

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, April 28, 1960

Mr. BOW. Mr. Speaker, Addis Barthelmeh, one of the most successful public servants I have ever known, is about to retire after 35 years as the home demonstration agent of Stark County, Ohio.

As one who has been a friend of hers for all of these years, and who has enjoyed working with her in behalf of the people of Stark County whom both of us serve, I am pleased to include with my remarks an appropriate editorial from the Canton Repository:

ALL FRIENDS

There is a curious thing about Addis Barthelmeh, who is going to retire as Stark County extension home economics agent. After 35 years on the job of dealing with thousands and tens of thousands of people in this county, most of them women, she seemingly has no enemies.

Anyone with so many friends has done a tremendous job of public relations. Miss Barthelmeh is a genius at getting along with people, and she didn't polish up the knack artificially. She was born with it. She likes people. She likes to help them. She has shown thousands of farm families how to get more efficiency and pleasure out of their lives since she started her good work in 1925.

She could stop in any place, in Stark County, walk up to the nearest house and be received as a friend. As a matter of fact, her friends already are busying themselves with parties in her honor, though she isn't leaving until the end of next month. There are so many of them that they will need plenty of time to show how they feel.

RECORD OFFICE AT THE CAPITOL

An office for the Congressional Record, with Mr. Raymond F. Noyes in charge, is located in Statuary Hall, House wing, where orders will be received for subscriptions to the Record at \$1.50 per month or for single copies at 1 cent for eight pages (minimum charge of 3 cents). Also, orders from Members of Congress to purchase reprints from the Record should be processed through this office.

CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY

The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. No sale shall be made on credit (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p. 1939).

PRINTING OF CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

It shall be lawful for the Public Printer to print and deliver upon the order of any Senator, Representative, or Delegate, extracts from the Congressional Recorp, the person ordering the same paying the cost thereof (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 185, p. 1942).

Appendix

Address by Hon. Barry Goldwater, of Arizona

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. BARRY GOLDWATER

OF ARIZONA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, May 12, 1960

Mr. GOLDWATER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a speech which I made before the U.S. Chamber of Commerce on May 4, 1960.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

SPEECH OF SENATOR BARRY GOLDWATER, U.S. CHAMBER OF COMMERCE, MAY 4, 1960

Disclosures before the McClellan committee which so clearly pointed up the results of the abusive use of power within the labor movement resulted in the passage last year of the Landrum-Griffin bill. While this measure is an infinitely better one than the do-nothing Kennedy bill which passed the Senate, Congress has still to come to grips with the real evil in the labor field. Graft and corruption are symptoms of the illness that besets the labor movement, not the cause of it. This cause is the enormous economic and political power now concentrated in the hands of union leaders.

Such power hurts the Nation's economy by forcing on employers contract terms that encourage inefficiency, lower production and high prices—all of which result in a lower standard of living for the American people.

It corrupts the Nation's political life by exerting undue influence on the selection of Dublic officials.

It gravely compromises the freedom of millions of individual workers who are able to register a dissent against the practice of union leaders only at the risk of losing their lobe.

All of us have heard the charge that to thus criticize the power of big labor is to be antilabor and antiunion. This is an argument that serves the interest of union leaders, but it does not usually fit the facts, and it certainly does not do justice to my views. I believe that unionism, kept within its proper and natural bounds, accomplishes a Positive good for the country. Unions can be an instrument for achieving economic Justice for the workingman. Moreover. they are an alternative to, and thus discourage State socialism. Most important of all, they are an expression of freedom. Trade unions, properly conceived, are an expression of man's inalienable right to associate with Other men for the achievement of legitimate objectives.

The natural function of a trade union and the one for which it was historically conceived is to represent those employees who want collective representation in bargaining with their employers over terms of employment. But note that this function is perverted the moment a union claims the right to represent employees who do not want representation, or conducts activities that have nothing to do with terms of employment (e.g., political activities), or tries to deal

with an industry as a whole instead of with individual employers.

As America turned increasingly, in the latter half of the 19th century, from an agricultural nation into an industrial one, and as the size of business enterprises expanded, individual wage earners found themselves at a distinct disadvantage in dealing with their employers over terms of employment. The economic power of the large enterprises, as compared with that of the individual employee, was such that wages and conditions of employment were pretty much what the employer decided they would be. Under these conditions, as a means of increasing their economic power, many employees chose to band together and create a common agent for negotiating with their employers.

As time went on, we found that the workingman's right to bargain through a collective agent needed legal protection; accordingly Congress enacted laws—notably certain provisions of the Clayton Act, the Norris-LaGuardia Act and the Wagner Act—to make sure that employees would be able to bargain collectively.

This is not the place to examine those laws in detail. It is clear, however, that they have overaccomplished their purpose. Thanks to some unwise provisions and to the absence of others that should have been included, the delicate balance of power we sought to achieve between labor and management has shifted, in avalanche proportions, to labor's advantage. Or, more correctly to the advantage of union leaders. This mammoth concentration of power in the hands of a few men is, I repeat, a grave threat to the Nation's economic stability, and to the Nation's political processes. More important, it has taken from the individual wage earner a large portion of his freedom

The time has come, not to abolish unions or deprive them of deserved gains; but to redress the balance—to restore unions to their proper role in a free society.

We have seen that unions perform their natural function when three conditions are observed: association with the union is voluntary; the union confines its activities to collective bargaining; the bargaining is conducted with the employer of the workers concerned. Let us briefly treat with each of these conditions, noting the extent to which they are violated today, and the remedial action we are called upon to take.

FREEDOM OF ASSOCIATION

Here the argument is so plain that I wonder why elaboration is necessary. What could be more fundamental than the freedom to associate with other men, or not to associate, as each man's conscience and reason dictates? Yet compulsory unionism is the rule rather than the exception today in the ranks of organized labor. Millions of laboring men are required to join the union that is the recognized bargaining agent at the place they work. Union shop agreements deny to these laboring men the right to decide for themselves what union they will join, or indeed, whether they will join all. The exercise of freedom for many of these citizens, means the loss of their jobs.

Here is the kind of thing that can happen as the result of compulsory unionism. X, a family man in Pennsylvania had been a union member in good standing for over 20 years. When the United Electrical Workers became the recognized bargaining agent at his plant, he refused to join on the grounds the UEW was Communist dominated—a judgment that had been made by the CIO itself when it expelled the UEW in 1950. The result, since his employer had a union shop agreement with the UEW, was that X lost his job.

The remedy here is to give freedom of association legal protection. And that is why I strongly favor enactment of State right-to-work laws which forbid contracts that make union membership a condition of employment. These laws are aimed at removing a great blight on the contemporary American scene, and I am at a loss to understand why so many people who so often profess concern for civil rights and civil liberties are vehemently opposed to them. Freedom of association is one of the natural rights of man. Clearly, therefore, it should also be a civil right. Right-to-work laws derive from the natural law; they are simply an attempt to give freedom of association the added protection of civil law.

added protection of civil law.

I am well aware of the "freeloader" argument, so often advanced by union leaders in defense of compulsory unionism. The contention is that a man ought not to enjoy the benefits of an organization's activities unless he contributes his fair share of their cost. I am unaware, however, of any other organization or institution that seeks to enforce this theory by compulsion. The Red Cross benefits all of us, directly or indirectly, but no one suggests that Red Cross donations be compulsory. It is one thing to say that a man should contribute to an association that is purportedly acting in his interest; it is quite another thing to say that he must do so. I believe that a man ought to join a union if it is a good union that is serving the interests of its members. I believe, moreover, that most men will give support to a union provided it is deserving of that support. There will always be some men, of course, who will try to sponge off others; but let us not express our contempt for some men by denying freedom of choice to all men.

The union leaders' argument that right-towork legislation is a "union-busting" device is simply not borne out by the facts. A recent survey disclosed that in all of the 19 States which have enacted right-to-work laws union membership increased after the right-to-work laws were passed. It is also well to remember that the union movement throughout the world has prospered when it has been put on a voluntary basis. trary to popular belief compulsory unionism is not typical of the labor movement in the free world. It prevails in the United States and England, but in the other countries of Western Europe and in Australia, union membership is generally on a voluntary basis. Indeed the greatest percentage of unionized workers are found in countries that prohibit compulsion by law. The unions in those countries operate on the principle that a union is stronger and better if its members give their adherence of their own free will.

Here, it seems to me, is the sensible way to combat graft and corruption in the labor movement. As long as union leaders can force workers to join their organization, they have no incentive to act responsibly. But if workers could choose to belong or not to belong depending on how the union performed, the pressure to stamp out malpractice would become irresistible. If unions

had to earn the adherence of their members the result would be-not only more freedom for the workingman—but much less dishonesty and high handedness in the management of the union affairs.

POLITICAL FREEDOM

One way we exercise political freedom is to vote for the candidate of our choice. Another way is to use our money to try to persuade other voters to make a similar choice—that is, to contribute to our candidate's campaign. If either of these freedoms is violated, the consequences are very grave not only for the individual voter and contributor, but for the society whose free political processes depend on a wide distribu-

tion of political power.

It is in the second of these areas, that of political contributions, that labor unions seriously compromise American freedom. They do this by spending the money of union members without prior consultation for purposes the individual members may or may not approve of, purposes that are de-cided upon by a relatively small number of union leaders. Probably the greatest spender in the labor movement is the powerful AFL-CIO Committee on Political Education (COPE) which is supported in its "educational" work entirely by union general funds.

It is impossible to say just how much unions spend on political campaigns; cer-tainly one can't tell from the amounts officially reported, which invariably present a grossly distorted picture. In 1956, for example, labor officially acknowledged expenditures of \$941,271. According to that official report, \$79,939 of the total was spent in the State of Michigan. However, a Senate investigating committee obtained evidence that in that year each of Michigan's 700,000 union members had been assessed \$1.20 as a contribution to a "citizenship fund," and that this money was made available for political activities. This suggests that labor spent, from that one source alone, almost a million dollars in Michigan, instead of \$79,000. By projecting the difference on a nationwide scale, we get a more realistic idea of the size of labor's political contributions.

Union political activity is not confined, of course, to direct financial contributions. In fact, this is one of its smallest endeavors. Unions provide manpower for election-day chores—for making phone calls, driving cars, manning the polls, and so on. Often the union members who perform these chores are reimbursed for their time off out of union funds. Unions also sponsor radio and television programs and distribute a huge volume of printed material designed to support the candidate of the union's choice. short, they perform all the functions of a

regular party organization.

Now, the evil here is twofold. For one thing, the union's decision whether to support candidate X or candidate Y-whether to help the Republican Party or the Democratic Party-is not reached by a poll of the union membership. It is made by a handful of top union officers. These few men are thus able to wield tremendous political power in virtue of their ability to spend other peo-ple's money. No one else in America is so

The other evil is more serious. Individual union members are denied the right to decide for themselves how to spend their money. Certainly a moral issue is at stake here. Is it morally permissible to take the money of a Republican union member, for example, and spend it on behalf of a Democrat? The travesty is deeper, of course, when the money takes the form of compulsory union dues. Under union-shop conditions, the only way an individual can avoid contributing to the political campaign of a candidate whom he may not approve is to give up his job.

The passage of right-to-work laws will help the situation. But putting unionism on a voluntary basis is only part of the answer. For even though a man can leave or refuse to join a union that spends money for purposes that he does not approve, there may be other factors that would dissuade him from doing so. In many communities strong economic and social pressures are exerted on behalf of joining a union-quite aside from the threat of loss of employment. As a result, a man may decide to join a union notwithstanding his disapproval of its political activities. The question remains, Should that man's union dues be used for political purposes? The answer is clearly "No." Unions exist presumably to confer economic advantages on their members, not to perform political services for them. Unions should, therefore, be forbidden to engage in any kind of political activity. I believe that the Federal Corrupt Practices Act does forbid such activity. That legislation has been circumvented by the "education" approach and other devices; and Congress and the courts, in effect, have looked the other way. only remedy, it appears, is new legislation (Supreme Court, Looper case).

In order to achieve the widest possible distribution of political power, financial contributions to political campaigns should be made by individuals and individuals alone. I see no reason for labor unions-or corporations-to participate in politics. Both were created for economic purposes and their activities should be restricted accordingly.

ECONOMIC FREEDOM

Americans have been much disturbed in recent years by the apparent power of big labor to impose its will on the Nation's economic life whenever the impulse strikes. The recent steel controversy, and the terms of its settlement, are the latest illustration of labor's ability to get its way notwithstanding the cost to the rest of society. When the strike began, neutral observers including Government economists normally friendly to the unions—agreed that the Steel Workers' wage demands were exorbitant and would inevitably cause further inflation; and that the steel companies were quite right in insisting that certain work rules promoted inefficiency and retarded production. Nevertheless, the steel companies were forced to accept a settlement that postponed indefinitely revision of work rules and granted a large portion of the union's wage demands.

The reason the union won is quite simple: It posed to the country the choice of tolerating stoppages in steel production that would imperil national security, or of consenting to an abandonment of the collective bargaining process. Since neither the steel companies nor the country at large wanted to resort to compulsory arbitration, the alternative was to give the unions what they asked. In this situation, the only power superior to union power was Government power, and the Government chose to yield.

One way to check the unions' power is for the Government to dictate through compulsory arbitration, the terms of employment throughout an entire industry. I am op-posed to this course because it simply transfers economic power from the unions to the Government, and encourages State socialism. The other way is to disperse union power and thus extend freedom in labor-management

Eighty years ago the Nation was faced with a comparable concentration of economic power. Large corporations, by gaining mo-nopoly control over entire industries, had nullified the laws of competition that are conducive to freedom. We responded to that challenge by outlawing monopolies through the Sherman Act and other antitrust legislation. These laws, however, have never been applied to labor unions. And I am at a loss to understand why. If it is wrong for a single corporation to dictate prices throughout an entire industry, it is also wrong for a single union—or, as is the actual case, a small number of union leaders—to dictate wages and terms of employment throughout an entire industry.

The evil to be eliminated is the power of

unions to enforce industrywide bargaining. Employees have a right, as we have seen, to select a common agent for bargaining with their employer but they do not have a right to select a national agent to bargain with all employers in the industry. If a union has the power to enforce uniform conditions of employment throughout the Nation its power is comparable to that of a Socialist

government.

Employers are forbidden to act collusively for sound reasons. The same reasons apply to unions. Industrywide price fixing causes economic dislocations. So does industrywide wage fixing. A wage that is appropriate in one part of the country may not be in another area where economic conditions are very different. Corporate monopolies impair the operation of the free market, and thus injure the consuming public. So do union monopolies. When the United Automobile Workers demand a wage increase from the auto industry, a single monolith is pitted against a number of separate, competing companies. The contest is an unequal one, for the union is able to play off one company against another. The result is that individual companies are unable to resist excessive wage demands and must, in turn, raise their prices. The consumer ultimately suffers for he pays prices that are fixed not by free market competition—the law of supply and demand-but by the arbitrary declsion of national union leaders. Far better if the employees of Ford were required to deal with Ford, and those of Chrysler with Chrysler, and so on. The collective bargain-ing process will work for the common good in all industries if it is confined to the employers and employees directly concerned.

Let us henceforth make war on all monopolies-whether corporate or union. The enemy of freedom is unrestrained power, and the champions of freedom will fight against the concentration of power wherever they

find it.

They Invented the Inch

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. EMILIO Q. DADDARIO

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, May 2, 1960

Mr. DADDARIO. Mr. Speaker, a distinguished Connecticut manufacturing concern is celebrating its 100th anniversary this year. The Pratt & Whitney Co. of West Hartford, Conn., is noted for its work in high precision machine tools and gages. Its byword is "accuracy."

Its history is replete with important milestones for industry and science in this country. When it built the Rogers Bond comparator in 1882, the forerunner of many measuring machines, it virtually standardized the inch, some 20 years before the Federal Government created the National Bureau of Standards.

I was interested to note, in an article in the Hartford Courant on Sunday, that we had again adjusted the inch just last summer, in July 1959. Until that date there were three different inches in use in the world. By international agreement, we shortened our inch by two-millionths of a measurement, and the British Commonwealth increased its inch almost by the same amount.

These accuracies are all the more important in an age of scientific accomplishment such as ours. In the handling of atomic energy, in the making of guided missiles, we often demand accuracies to five- or ten-millionths of an inch. Albert M. Dexter of Pratt and Whitney says this requires an accuracy on the part of gages, therefore, to onemillionth of an inch. Not long ago, Pratt and Whitney participated with the National Bureau of Standards in pushing the frontier of precise measurement to one-tenth of a millionth of an inch. From Mr. Dexter's computations, that is the thickness of one sheet of newspaper sliced into 30,000 separate sheets.

I should not pass this by without noting that Pratt and Whitney is familiarly called in the Hartford area by the name and by the suffix—West Hartford—to differentiate it from another firm of the same name—the Pratt & Whitney Aircraft Division of United Aircraft Corp. Each descends from the New England craftsmanship of Francis Pratt and Amos Whitney, the pioneers in metal working, but some time ago went separate business ways to become parts of a different corporate family. Pratt & Whitney Co. of West Hartford is a subsidiary of the Fairbanks Whitney Corp.

To provide further information, I submit an editorial from the Hartford Times of Saturday, May 7, which traces the industrial fame of the organization:

PRATT & WHITNEY, 100 YEARS OF INDUSTRIAL FAME

Many a manufacturing company points with pride to some outstanding contribution it has made to industrial progress or for the advancement of the general economy. At its 100th anniversay, Pratt & Whitney Co., Inc., would find it difficult to choose as its top achievement any one success among its long

list of outstanding industrial triumphs.

Much of the time of generations of Pratt
& Whitney craftsmen has been devoted to
the establishment of uniform standards for
manufacturing precision. Fineness is taken
for granted in an age used to measuring and
working to a millionth of an inch. Before
P. & W. took up the challenge there was no
reliable standard measure of anything.
There was no machine tool that could maintain uniform quality in operation.

Would the leading P. & W. contribution therefore be its devotion to precision and refinement of the international inch? But one must not forget that the company also brought out the means to make possible the introduction of standard threads on nuts and bolts. Much of the modern world is literally held together on the basis of this accomplishment.

Jokingly, ours has been called a tin-can civilization. Yet, except for a P. & W. innovation, a special micrometer to measure and help control the thickness of moving ribbons of strip steel, the making of cans would have been a wasteful and makeshift business.

The establishment of precision aids and the making of measuring devices was inci-

dental to the main work of the shop. That has been the manufacture of machine tools used to produce other manufactured products.

During the great industrial period of creativity 1900-1920, Pratt & Whitney contributed more new machine development than all other machine-tool manufacturers in the world combined. The company was the leader in design of entirely new types of machine tools and gages.

Out of its shops came the jig borer, thread miller, spline miller, vertical shaper, vertical surface grinder and reamers with right-hand cut and left-hand spiral, all of them rep-

resenting major advances.

Pratt & Whitney still is unexcelled in the field of design and innovation. It has automated many of its machines with use of taped controls for their operation. Thursday the company will dedicate its Centennial Hall at the West Hartford plant with a permanent exhibit of the latest P. & W. products as well as of early products and mementos.

It was no easy thing for Francis A. Pratt, the salesman and promoter, and Amos Whitney, the machinist and shop manager, to start this business 100 years ago. They did it in their own spare time after working a full day at other regular jobs.

Their first large order was for production of Spencer's automatic silk winders for use in the Cheney Bros. mills in Manchester, and by the Willimantic Linen Co. Manufacturing had just been stepped up when Pratt & Whitney were burned out. They started again, and soon were producing arms for use in the Civil War. This led to making the machines by which armaments were produced.

Pratt & Whitney made the first silent typewriter model, put together the Paige typesetter in which Mark Twain invested a profitless fortune, and produced tabulating machines and envelope machinery among more than 2,000 items for the worldwide market.

It would be impossible to sum up completely the economic benefits that Pratt & Whitney. Inc., has brought to Hartford and all of this region in its 100-year history. Certainly it has helped to make central Connecticut a famous leader in the machine tool industry.

Gathered here as an experienced labor force in its factory were some of the world's best craftsmen. Of Pratt & Whitney's nearly 3,000 present employes there are 597 who are members of its Quarter Century Club. They grew to proficiency under outstanding conditions of production, excellence, and attention to detail.

And although the company has its vast plant in West Hartford, employees come from 97 Connecticut communities and more than a dozen towns in nearby States, an indication of the widespread economic importance of the enterprise. The company's annual payroll is some \$16 million, its purchase of supplies amounts to about \$12 million, it pays annual town and State taxes of \$558,000, and the company's gifts to charity and education are on the order of \$50,000 annually. Such figures count heavily in the support of Connecticut prosperity.

Governor Ribicoff rightly has called the company one of the foundation stones of this State's industry. Importantly, the Pratt & Whitney story and its success should serve as inspiration to the scores of struggling small new industries in Connecticut. Some of them, too, will become giants in their fields.

To Pratt & Whitney Inc., industrially famous for 100 years, we pay our respects and look for the company to increase its fame in the years to come.

Soviet Deception Demands Drastic Surveillance Steps

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. STROM THURMOND

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, May 12, 1960

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, on May 10, 1960, the State, of Columbia, S.C., published an editorial on the world famous spy plane incident which merits the attention of the Congress and all Americans interested in our national security. It is entitled "Soviet Deception Demands Drastic Surveillance Steps."

I ask unanimous consent that this excellent editorial from this outstanding newspaper be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SOVIET DECEPTION DEMANDS DEASTIC SURVEILLANCE STEPS

Nikita Khrushchev's timely, propagandacharged report to the Supreme Soviet is a reminder that global war has not ended.

He told a shouting, applauding Parliament that a U.S. jet plane had been shot down and that the American pilot had confessed that he was on a spying mission, photographing Soviet military bases and industrial installations.

The Soviets have resisted all efforts to establish effective disarmament controls. Even President Eisenhower's "open skies" proposal has been flatly rejected. It would merely permit international aerial inspection to assure against a buildup for surprise attack

The United States and her allies cannot take a chance on the secret mounting of a Soviet sneak offensive. To avoid this possibility the United States has developed, from a weak beginning early in World War II, what is said to be the world's best intelligence system.

State Department spokesmen admitted that planes have been making reconnaissance flights along the frontiers of the free world for the past 4 years. It is a reasonable guess that these forays might extend into possible Soviet staging areas.

In order to defend ourselves intelligently.

In order to defend ourselves intelligently, we must know what our potential aggressor is doing. That involves certain risks, such as those faced when Francis G. Powers set out from Pakistan on a flight across the breadth of Soviet Russia.

Even the fact that the Soviets had emplacements in the mountainous heart of the U.S.R. equipped to shoot him down from an altitude of 12 miles is valuable military information.

Unless the pattern has changed recently, the Soviets are making almost daily feints by squadrons of planes against our Alaskan defenses. It is likely that they are carrying on similar probing operations all around the free-world perimeter. Soviet warplanes are flagrantly invading the airspace over Japan. Soviet submarines prowl off our Atlantic shores. One of their spy trawlers recently watched our submarine rocket tests 60 miles off the coast of Rhode Island. A pretty good indication of the effectiveness of Soviet spying activities in this country is the fact that the Reds stole most of our hush-hush atomic secrets.

On the other hand, there are strong indications that we know what is going on behind the Iron Curtain. We are aware of many Soviet military strengths and weaknesses. We know that certain of their rocket claims are hoaxes. We have made some mistakes in intelligence that have cost billions of dollars, such as the Arctic dew line that was erected to stop a Soviet bomber armada that did not exist. Proper intelligence avoids such expensive blunders in defense.

The United States has been criticized because the ill-fated Powers expedition came just before the summit meeting, taking an unusually big propaganda risk. But we know from experience that Khrushchev uses his major peace gestures to cover up some big political or military excursions. While waving an olive branch over the upcoming meeting, he has been able to establish an ideologibeachhead in Guinea on the west tip of Africa. He could also use the conference to cover up military preparations inside Russia.

The worst Khrushchev can say about the incident of the unarmed U.S. photographic plane over the Urals is that he caught us trying to find out what mischief his regime might be concocting.

Petition

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. THOMAS J. LANE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, April 21, 1960

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following petition from the Anti-Communist Confederation of Polish Freedom Fighters in U.S.A., Salem, Mass., April 11, 1960:

PETITION TO THE HONORABLE STATESMEN, DIPLOMATS, AND MAKERS OF AMERICAN DOMESTIC AND FOREIGN POLICY, WASHING-

In a few weeks, in Paris, there will be held the so-called summit conference. The leaders of great nations will meet. The leaders of great nations will meet. The reason for the conference is, naturally, to talk over peace terms, especially the elimination of fear for the new methods of warfare which may arise in a modern war situation.

At the conference both sides will speak of peace but words are also a means and an effort of bringing about a realization of the fact. President Eisenhower, for instance, a leader of the Western Nation with true apostolic and missionary zeal will speak in favor of a just peace based upon friendship, justice, freedom and respect of human rights. Khrushchev on the other hand thinks only of peace in the terms of pos-sessing the world, thus making it impossible to hinder any communistic activities.

Khrushchev's peace is the enslavement of millions of people through communistic oppression, it's the desire to possess the entire world.

There is then no reason for useless opti-

Secondly: Not long ago, an average American thought that all American problems may be solved through the help of money and technique, since with money and modern technique we won the war?-That is true. But what is worse, we lost the peace.

Therefore it is evident, that peace cannot be bought! Neither with gold nor the enslavement and captivity of nations. Peace is based on moral laws, justice, trustworthiness and respect. The moral laws are as realistic and unchangeable as the laws of physics and economy and without true moral aspects we can build only moral and political chaos.

Looking at the 40 years of the history of communism, at its conquests and robbery, at its murderous and bloody march, not heeding any laws of God and morality and taking under consideration the false communistic philosophy, we must sound the alarm and call upon the conscience of the leaders of the United States to change their tactics and politics because the false communistic philosophy must be fought with a philosophy based on moral assets. Therefore all agreements made with the Communists must come to an end and their false promises must be ignored. Conferences with Bloody Khrushchev must stop. Murder and communistic tyranny will remain forever a murder and an enslavement, an outrage against moral laws.

Communism based on material and Marxideas for 40 years has not changed or altered its ideas, seldom does it change its strategy but very easily and according to need and necessity, it changes its tactics. This the reason for the latest travels, visits and revisits of Khrushchev. That is the reason for calling of the summit conference, for behind all this undercover is the political policy of Khrushchev; namely, to deaden the opinion of the world in regard to their communistic oppression.

Therefore in writing this petition to the leaders of the United States, guiding myself not only with a feeling of loyalty to my native land, and with a fear of the future of Poland, but also taking under consideration the fate of the entire world, I plead with you leaders of the Nation.

America, in protecting and defending the freedom of the enslaved nations, is protecting and safeguarding at the same time its own freedom and happiness as well as that of the whole world. We call today for an alarm; for tomorrow may be too late. We must put an end to communistic action and to its leader Khrushchev. We must destroy the diabolical plans of this Red Nero and this Bloody Butcher of Budapest.

It must be done today-for tomorrow may be too late.

Besides the danger of communism, there arises in the world today another reviving power, Germany, which destroyed and now again rebuilt by America, begins to voice its opinion and perhaps tomorrow in unity with communism may endanger the peace of the world.

The Germans, with specialized officers, falsify facts and they take every opportunity to portray the American way of thinking and outlook for their own benefit.

The result-that along with the communistic danger there appears another, that of Germany.

Against these two dangers we must arouse public opinion and make realistic plans for a world peace.

The fate of the enslaved nations is a steppingstone and a key to peace in Europe and in the entire world. The matter of freedom for Poland is precisely linked with the problem of peace. If today I permit myself to petition the leaders of the West, I do it out of duty and love for my country and those to whom I am indebted; namely, those who still remain on the fighting front and to those who work in the underground.

I am informed that the most tragic decisions about Poland in the last years were made without the consent of the Polish people and outside of Poland. * * "Therefore, let decisions of hope and peace come and arise today in the West. * * Let the voice of the Polish people reach the conscience of the American leaders through the efforts of our friend, Jozef Mlot-Mroz. * * " This is the plea I receive from my friends: "We know of your protests through hunger strikes and if you are able and strong enough to perform another such a hunger strike to protest against inhuman treatment, Poland once again pleads for it. * * * Poland, with hopeful eyes, looks toward America and pleads for help."

This appeal had been made by the leaders of the Polish fighting nation; therefore, their plea I will certainly realize and as my

strength permits, I will carry out.

This is the reason of my new decision: A protest and hunger march to Washington, which a month before the summit conference in Paris I will put into action. April Easter Sunday, on foot I leave from Boston to Washington which I hope to reach within a span of 2 weeks. Then in Washington for a number of days preceding the summit conference, I will continue my hunger strike, calling forth in this manner for freedom of Poland and the other enslaved nations, protesting against any negotiations with communism and with its bloody leader. Khrushchev.

My decision is the result of my great love for my mother country, Poland, my loyalty to American happiness which my brethren in Poland do not possess. My decision is also a command of underground benefiting from the welfare and happiness of America. I take this step to remind the West of the Polish right to freedom and to arouse Americans to the near and grave danger of communism.

West awaken. Today's S O S of Poland and the enslaved nations is a warning for you today and tomorrow. West, awaken today. Tomorro... With respect, Tomorrow may be too late.

JOZEF MLOT-MROZ, President, Anti-Communist Confederation of Polish Freedom Fighters in U.S.A.

The Problems of Africa

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. EDMUND S. MUSKIE

OF MAINE

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Thursday, May 12, 1960

Mr. MUSKIE. Mr. President, on February 20, 22, and 26, 1960, Mrs. May Craig's column "Inside in Washington," which appears in several newspapers in my State, contained material of general interest to any thoughtful American who has an interest in foreign affairs.

In the column which appeared on February 20, Mrs. Craig explained the importance of the foreign-aid program, as it might apply on the Continent of Africa. At this time, Mrs. Craig was about to embark on an extended visit to that great continent.

On February 22, she shared with her readers the many practical problems which face a reporter about to undertake such a journey, and she was also able to communicate the sense of excitement that one feels in approaching such &

journey. On February 26, she summarized the briefing given by State Department personnel who are experienced in African

I ask unanimous consent that these three articles be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the articles were ordered to be printed in the REC-ORD, as follows:

From Inside in Washington, Feb. 20, 1960]
AFRICAN CONTROL MOVING FROM WHITE TO
BLACK TO RED

(By May Craig)

WASHINGTON.—The President is asking Congress for \$4.175 billion for foreign aid. That is \$240 million more than he asked last year. Congress cut him down last year and the indications are that they will cut him down even more this year. Congressmen are more willing to spend for defense than for foreign aid. They believe, generally speaking, that the strength of the United States is the shield of those whom the President would aid, and that however useful foreign aid might be to them, it wouldn't do much more than build them up for the Communists, if we came to that pass, either by way of subversion or cold conquest. President is keeping the defense budget lower than Congress thinks we should on the grounds that we must remain solvent, that solvency is as necessary as guns.

Then why spend for foreign aid, say the Congressmen. The President says that foreign aid is defense. He says that it is better to keep friends and allies, even neutrals, strong in their own defense, than to center all in the United States. He says this is a battle for the hearts and minds of men as well as a battle for the bodies of men, either dead in war, or as slaves. He says we need bases overseas and we need better standards of living there and we need to build up the small new nations just learning to walk. He says there are immensely valuable resources in foreign countries which we would need even to fight a war ourselves, and vast reserves of manpower, all of which would profit the Communication of the says the says the says the says the says there are immensely valuable resources in foreign countries which we would profit the Communication of the says there are interested as a says that it is better the says that it is better the communication of the says that it is better to be says the says that it is better to be says that it is b

the Communists if they should acquire them. Senator Syminoton, of Missouri, Democrat, an unavowed but known candidate for the presidential nomination, is recently back from a trip to Africa to say we should give Africa a billion dollars a year to build it up against communism. Syminoton is an expert in military defense, so when he says this, it shows that he regards foreign aid in much the same light that the President does, though Syminoton would spend much more for our own military defense, says we are lagging behind the Soviet Union dangerously, in missilery and space. He would keep our strategic Air Force strong and build more Polaris submarines.

Symington would put fewer restrictions on our aid funds, have more exchange students between United States and Africa, train more Americans in African languages, expand our diplomatic and assistance missions to Africa. In Africa, he says, the position of the Communists is as good or better than ours. The Soviet spends more than the \$116 million we are spending in aid in Africa now. The billion dollars he suggests for Africa would be about 1 day's income in the United States. "It would be better to spend less for swimning pools and dog food." he says, and provide for more foreign aid in Africa.

Americans have great investments in Africa, he said, private capital, and even that should make them willing to favor more aid to Africa, because if the Communists get Africa, their investments are down the drain—in Cuba Mikoyan reminded Castro that the Soviet Union in the Communist revolution expropriated without compensation.

The African Continent is four times the size of continental United States, and the beginning of the industrial revolution would have far-reaching consequences, Symington says. It would be well if we helped them in this, instead of letting the Soviet Union do it, putting the Africans under obligation to the Communists, economically and then politically and sentimentally, until the Communists' bill comes in, when they become satellites.

It is not easy for white people, who have for so long regarded dark people as inferior, to recognize them as equals in potential if not in accomplishments yet. For those countries which held vast colonies there, the wrench is anguish. The British have faced it—though late in India and Cyprus. Nobody gives up an empire easily. Suppose we had not killed off most of the American Indians and they were now in the majority and demanded that they get back America?

In Africa there is resentment against the United States for the brutal enslavement of Africans and the slowness of abolition of racial discriminations here, almost a hundred years since emancipation. There is one thing to be said about the situation in the United States—Negro leaders should pay more attention to making Negroes "good neighbors" as they force their battle against segregation of all kinds. Acceptance is the true goal and imposing themselves without responsibility on resentful whites, even though the dark people are entitled to equality, delays the day of friendly acceptance.

These racial antagonisms against those who are different are as old as man. They cannot be solved wholly in the head—the feelings, instincts are involved. The fear and hatred of the stranger is as old as the caveman, as old as the tribe.

In some of the new African countries, where the blacks far outnumber the whites, there is discrimination against whites, and the whites fear this and oppose with all their might the principle of one vote for one man, as proposed by such leaders as Tom Mboya of Kenya, where the unspeakable Mau Mau events occurred. Yet one vote for one man is embedded in the American and European political system. The whites in African countries know that will happenthey will be politically submerged in what is decided by vote. The same fear lies at the root of the rebellion of the French settlers in Algeria against de Gaulle's policy of Al-

Bob Ruark, the Scripps-Howard writer who has lived long in Africa, and wrote the frightful book "Something of Value" about the Mau Mau, is there again and writes pessimistically. He says the Red ribbon has already been tied to Africa—that Africa is passing swiftly to black hands and that it is only a matter of time when it passes into Red hands.

gerian self-determination. The Frenchmen will be outnumbered 8 to 1, at least, if

freedom comes and there is one vote for

one man.

[From Inside in Washington, Feb. 22, 1960] SHOTS AND THOUGHTS THAT PRECEDE A JOURNEY

(By May Craig)

WASHINGTON .- Ah, what a thing it is, to set forth from the accustomed haunts and see the ends of the earth and judge them. There is the forward look, the anticipation. Feelings are akin in touching, almost to the There is the sudden anguish of remembering home when far away-soon gone, but keen while it lasts. There is the burning of the heart, the sudden wetness in the eyes when homeward one returns from wandering in a foreign land. Those who do not so set forth, even in the mind, are poor indeed. These journeys of the mind are wonderful, too-and there are no bugs, no malaria, no dysentery, no running for planes and trains. The journeys of the mind are pure and quiet. But journeys there must be, else one vegetates.

It is a strange thing how one begins to separate from the accustomed haunts, before the actual departure. Everybody feels this. Things that were so vitally important, fade away. A Washington reporter who lives by the ticker, the telephone, the telegraph wire, the last radio news, the last edition of the paper—forgets them as the mind is fixed on what is to come.

The innumerable details of going on a long, fast journey are part of this predeparture absorption. The passport, the visa, the immunizing shots, fix the mind on the beyond. Plane travel makes problems of what to take, every ounce counts. In going to Africa, there is the problem of clothes and gear for heat and cold. Shoes to go to the American Embassy, and shoes to tramp in the Kruger Game Refuge. Much travel has taught me lessons. Take three of everything that is essential—one to wear, one to wash, one to lose.

Nylon and kindred quick-dry fabrics save the life of the traveler. Nobody carries a trunk any more. Two suitcases is all that can go on this trip to Africa. Since the first leg is by jet to Paris, the Air France line sent the ladies a light flat bag. Entirely unsuitable for a reporter—it has only handles, not deep enough to go on the arm, and no strap for the shoulder.

A reporter who must carry a typewriter, even though it be the lightest, takes one hand; the big pocketbook can be slung on the wrist of the same hand; the flight bag with the strap can be slung on the shoulder or on the back—that leaves the free hand to hold on to railings, and so forth. So, the pretty, white Air France bag will stay at home for less arduous traveling and an old Pan-Am bag left over from days when they had straps as well as handles, will go with me. It's a pity the expensive public relations people who think up these bags, do not consider the practical angles.

The new immunizations are like a magic cloak, they wrap you in safety in the midst of infection. The malaria which used to be so deadly, a lifelong curse, can now usually be prevented. The medicines now do not turn you yellow as the atabrine did in the World War II days. There is a brand new pill now, take it twice a week while in malarial areas—take one before you leave, to start off right. It's expensive—treasurer of my company will drop dead at sight of the bill, and I shall tell Senator Kefauver about it—he is having a Senate investigation of the high price of the new miracle drugs.

However, it is what the public health station here says take; it is what the White House requires of reporters who travel with the President. So, that's what I take. Malaria is not something to play with and the magic cloak is worth any amount of money.

There are shots for typhoid and paratyphoid, tetanus, plague, typhus, yellow fever, smallpox. There is antibiotic cream in a tube, in case you skin your knee or get a dirty little cut. Put on the cream, cover with Band-Aid, trust to the shots.

There is the preventive for dysentery, taken all the time; and something new if you unfortunately get it—this also required by the White House—and given at the Capitol to Members who travel. There is paregoric for the pain of dysentery if you get it, before the cure takes hold. There are two kinds of pills for colds and sore throats, the one for the sneezing, the other for the virus and sore throat infection. And the series of antiflu shots including Asian.

In traveling for news it is not just the danger and the discomfort of illness—it is that it upsets the schedule—the plane reservations, the hotel accommodations, the appointments to see important people. Once upset, there is nothing to do but cut out that part of the trip and take it up at the next point—you simply cannot get the reservations and the appointments without another long walt.

other long walt.
On this trip I will be traveling with a group of editors and publishers of small papers, a treat for a reporter—they have such different viewpoints. Many of us have been

together on similar trips, and that will be pleasant—we have learned all their sharp corners and how to avoid them—and vice versa. Paris will be cold; Khartoum has average temperature in the 80's. There will There will be the battle for bottled be rain. water, the change of currency every few days. The horrible decision to give up seeing something, in order to write what you have just seen. It's no good to the paper to have you go places unless you tell about it. There is the wrestling with mailing, journeys to the post offices—with an interpreter

And there is the wonder of new thingsdifferent people, with different ideas—this Africa is on the move, the people are simply swelling with new ideas, new demands, new rainbows of independence and health and education—they long for education. They make letters in the sand when they have no paper. They make you ashamed that we take so lightly all the things we have. They make you a little envious because the world is just opening up to them-a new world, and people on the move.

[From Inside in Washington, Feb. 26, 1960] STATE DEPARTMENT BRIEFING INDICATES IMPORTANCE OF TRIP

(By May Craig)

Flying is a chancy thing-torrential rains made us 2 hours late leaving, but the jet for Paris telephoned it would wait. All day this group of small-paper and radio-TV editors and publishers have been at the State Department being briefed. The attention given to us by the State Department is evidence of the importance they place on Africa, the newest continent to come into the light of the modern world. briefed by officials of African Affairs, Northern, Middle and South; by the Office for Economic Affairs; the State Department's United Nations Adviser for African Affairs; the U.S. Educational Exchange program; the U.S. Information Agency for Africa; the International Cooperation (mutual security) program for Africa. Andrew Berdin, Assistant Secretary of State for Information, who does the briefing (with White House News Secretary Hagerty on the President's trips) talked to us for more than a half hour.

"This group is important," said one. "How you look, how you dress and talk, comport yourselves, will be the image of the United States for the Africans you meet." This was Edward V. Roberts of the USIA for Africa. One of the most invaluable of our informants, he got at the heart of things, not just statistics, important though they be.

He said we must be prepared for suspicion. The Africans fear we may be setting up some new form of colonialism, and they think we neglect them, for the Europeans. They mistrust all whites. "And when you see how poorly they live, remember how far back they had to start. Their two great concerns are for independence and educa-They do not think of the world as divided by religion or ideology, or as East and West—but as the 'have' and 'have not'

They want to raise their standard of living—and they want to be recognized as human beings, as good as anybody else, he said, not as an inherently inferior race. They want the white man to admit it and show it. In all this we must not get sentimental about the Africans; they have their faults which must be balanced with our help in progress.

And progress they must-it is important to us that they do-on the side of freedom. It is an odd thing that in resenting the slavery and subjection imposed upon Afri-

cans by the whites-they do not seem to resent the slavery imposed on them by their own tribal chiefs, who sold them to slaversand that many of the slavers were Arabs.

Perhaps this is because the whites imposed colonialism on them. Nor do they seem to recognize the Soviet colonialism as such. As one official experienced in African affairs told me: The image they have of the United States is of a strong, rich country that has an extreme racist policy. We know that extreme racial prejudice in the United States is the exception, but that is always what the African hears about. Little Rock riots, for instance.

The educated Africans—and many of them were educated in England, France, the United States-know better, and one of the State Department men said that some of the African newspapers when they hear of an incident of trouble when a school opens with token integration, will ask U.S. officials how many schools open integrated without incident; or how many, all over the United States never had segregation. That is great progress.

As to the violent incidents in Africa by blacks against whites, young nations, revolutions, are usually bloody. The French revolution and the guillotine was bloody enough in the Reign of Terror which lasted for years. The African tribe, without the long history of refinement that France had, cannot be expected to have their revolution with frills and ribbon bows. Nor should we expect it.

An African friend of mine quoted: "That tree grows best which is watered by the blood of tyrants." (Thomas Jefferson.) The suspicion of whites by the blacks, is at the base of their neutralism, one of the State Department political analysts told us. And reminded of the years when the United States was neutral too, and George Washington warned against entangling alliances. This present attitude is not necessarily unchangeable; it will adjust as time goes on. depending somewhat on the attitude of the Western free world toward the struggling

Why did the Gannett news papers and broadcasting stations send their corresponddent to Africa? Because the world is small today; there is a battle that may be Armageddon going on. We need friends and allies. Africa is an immense continent, with great resources, human and mineral. It is well that we should have them on our side. And the first requisite between friends is that they should understand each other.

The Need for Effective and Meaningful Leadership in the State of Georgia and Elsewhere

> EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. ROBERT N. C. NIX

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, May 12, 1960

Mr. NIX. Mr. Speaker, by unwavering faith in the inherent greatness of the American character and in the passion for justice possessed by most Americans. has developed in me a reverential regard for those Americans who have come forth from time to time giving direction and leadership to the people of our country in times of tribulation and peril.

Today our Nation has come to its moment of judgment; men of all races and countries know of our might. In every corner of the globe the just, as well as the unjust, are aware of the circumstances of our birth as a Nation and of our heritage of equality, justice, and morality which flows from that event. Many sober-minded men and women of good will in our country know of our imminent peril but have maintained a troubled silence and wishfully hoped that our country would somehow choose to follow the high road to greatness. At the same time a vociferous minority misrepresents the thinking of the majority; distorts the meaning of democracy; creates a U.S. image of intolerance and arrogance; paves the road to our destruction and blithely seeks to lead us.

Mr. Speaker, to those millions of Americans, who in these times of tensions and difficulties have fervently hoped for constructive leadership, I am happy to say that in a prepared speech for delivery before the Seventh District Democratic Executive Committee at Rome, Ga., released Saturday, May 7. 1960, 11 a.m., one of our distinguished colleagues, Representative ERWIN MITCH-ELL, has drawn the blueprint for leadership and has charted the course for progress. It is particularly significant and encouraging to me and millions of other people in our country that the statement referred to above has come from a gentleman who is a citizen of the State of Georgia. It is a matter of the gravest importance to note that the speaker had the courage, the analytical ability, and the vision to call to task the present leadership of his party in his State and southern leadership in the Nation and to emphasize the fact that this type of leadership is not reflective of the true objectives of a democratic government.

Mr. Speaker, I share the hope of the distinguished gentleman from Georgia that the time is upon us when the citizens of that State must rise up and demand that those who are selected to lead and to express the will of the constituency, do so in terms reflective of the Constitution of the United States, decisions of the courts, as well as in terms which give assurance that the United States of America, in truth, believes in the dignity of mankind.

Mr. Speaker, I recommend that the thoughts expressed in Mr. MITCHELL'S speech are worthy of emulation by his colleagues from the State of Georgia and by men of high principle everywhere. Lastly, I suggest that the directors of the Voice of America program make available to the peoples of the uncommitted countries of the world this address delivered by the distinguished gentleman from Georgia:

REMARKS OF REPRESENTATIVE ERWIN MITCHELL PREPARED FOR DELIVERY BEFORE SEVENTH DISTRICT DEMOCRATIC EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE AT ROME, GA.

We are gathered today to set the rules and regulations for the primary in which the next Democratic candidate for the U.S. Congress will be nominated. This is an exclusive meeting, this is a meeting of Democrats. By our very presence at this occasion, we put the world on notice that we are not Republican nor Dixlecrat in our political philosophy. Each of you by virtue of acceptance of appointment to this committee has thereby made himself an official voting representative of the Democratic Party of Georgia and the United States. This being so, I feel it timely that we talk about the importance of Political parties, that we talk about the South's attitude toward the Democratic Party and that we discuss the caliber and attitude of political leadership that we in Georgia and the remainder of the South have today.

In America we have by our own free choice elected to operate under what is known as the two-party system. Every Member of the U.S. Congress is sent to that body under the label of Democrat or Republican. Is party affiliation important? To this I think we all would answer "yes" simply because at the State and national level it is imperative to have party affiliation in order to be elected. But the prime question is this, why is party affiliation important? There are many, many answers to this but most fundamental and most important is the fact that only by men and women of kindred thought joining together in a political organization can there be the unification and strength essential to the presentation and implementation of an effective course of governmental action. This is, of course, the legislative program and the platform which a party adopts and which it believes to be in the best interest of the Nation. Therefore, we who have vol-untarily cast our lot with the Democratic Party have thereby manifested our generalnot specific-but our general approval of the Political philosophy of the Democratic Party of the United States. It is essential that if the course which our party has chartered for Our country is to be effective that it have the support not only of you and me as officials of the party but the rank and file membership as well. Only in this way can the visions which emanate from collective thought become realities through legislative and executive action. The things I have said about the system of party are basic and re-Quire no further amplification, but it does emphasize that when any candidate seeks to run as a nominee of his party he thereby signifies that that particular party's ideas and goals most closely approximate his own. This being so, it is a source of amazement that we constantly return to office as Democrats, elected officials who have established the practice of berating our party, its leadership and its principles. It is absolutely astounding that we permit these men and women to bear the Democratic badge when they at every opportunity, through voice and Vote, join with the opposition party. I can say this because I believe in the Democratic Party. I can say this because I have not and will never be a part of the sham and hypocrisy that permeates the ranks of the Democratic Party in the South. And when I say this I am talking about political leader-ship both State and national throughout the South. May the day be forthcoming, and I say to you with the strongest conviction of which I am capable that this day will be forthcoming, when we Democrats will nominate and elect Democrats and will send scrambling those who use our party only as an expedient avenue to public office.

These wonderful 3 years that I have been permitted to represent you in the national Congress have taught me many things, and among the foremost is that the false, styled Democrats from the Southland do more harm to our region than any group of northern Democrats and Republicans could ever do. This small group of men and women, and thankfully it is small and will continue to grow smaller, is one of the major obstacles in the path toward unprecedented economic growth, development, and prosperity in our region. These are the people Who through their hue and cry have with a great deal of success instilled in the minds of Georgians and other southerners the false belief that the remainder of the Nation literally hates us. These are the ones who constantly cry out that northerners seek to crucify us, to insult us, to make whipping boys, or the crystolic seeks whipping boys, or the crystolic seeks whipping boys, or the crystolic seeks with boys of us. I have traveled throughout our

great Nation and I have never found this to be so. I have many friends in the Congress from all over the United States and I know that not to be their sentiment but that on the contrary the prevailing sentiment is that the South is a part of the United States just as is the West, North, and East, and that our Nation is no stronger than its weakest section. These political leaders who deem themselves the preservers of our way of life might well be called the destroyers of our future. These people through their neg-ative approach and with the help of a substantial portion of the southern press have sought to convey the impression that we in the South are the last bastion of freedom in our great Republic. This we know to be untrue. These same thought molders have developed the negative and defeatist attitude that the remainder of the Nation stands alined against the future growth and progress of the South. This we know to be untrue. Our fellow Americans regardless of where they come from stand ready to join with us for our mutual benefit if we would only let them. But the attitude of many of our political leaders closes the door to this prospect. They say we are suspicious of you, we don't trust you, and we will not cooperate with you. This pessimistic attitude has caused us suffering in many ways. Each year the influence of the South in Washington is being lessened. Southern opposition to the genuine needs of our metropolitan areas has lost support for the farm programs that are so vital to our economy. This same untenable attitude has led all public education in our State to the very brink of destruction. It warns of Federal domination, it shouts Federal encroachment and control, it says on the one hand "stay away Federal Government and let us operate our schools as we see fit" and then on the other hand it says to you and to me in the local school district that you cannot have the freedom of choice to determine locally what you desire done with your schools. This same leadership screams to the heavens shouting "States rights" when the Congress enacts legislation to insure the right of vote to every qualified American regardless of where he may live and at the same time is responsible for legislation that takes away from you the right to vote for the Democratic nominee for President. How many of you realize this? How many of you recognize the fact that when we go to the polls in November of this year to elect the President of the United States that here in the State of Georgia if you desire to vote for the Democratic nominee you will have no opportunity to do so? Our only opportunity will be to vote for a slate of unpledged electors who can cast the electoral vote of our State for whomever they may choose and without your and my concurrence, advice, or instruction. The same leadership that says there is no need for more legislation to insure the privilege of vote in Georgia is the very same leadership that is responsible for taking away from us the cherished right to cast our ballot for the specific Democrat we would like elevated to the presidency.

Tradition is fine. No one is more proud of his heritage than I. No one loves Georgia and the Southland any more than I but I am afraid that by and large our leadership has been guilty of too much tradition and not enough vision. This is the age of rockets and nuclear power. What is our past we will continue to revere and will continue to be enriched by it, but we must come of age politically. We must elect men to office who have a full consciousness of America's great reservoir of progress that is awaiting to be tapped. While we should continue to treasure the past and gain experience from it, we should no longer live in it. We must have leaders who are living in the present and are looking to the tomorrow.

These are my words for today. These are some of the impressions I have gained as your Representative and I pass them on to you with the deep conviction that only through affirmative and realistic leadership will the State that you and I love so dearly ever achieve its full capability. It is my hope and prayer that the Democrat you and I send to Congress shall have these qualities.

Asian Cultural Exchange Foundation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. HUGH SCOTT

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, May 12, 1960

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. President, the Asian Cultural Exchange Foundation, Inc., is bringing to the students of certain colleges and high schools interesting exhibits, featuring varying periods of Asian civilization. Increased understanding of Asian background and culture will become continually more useful to Americans. The foundation is to be commended for its valuable contribution.

I ask unanimous consent that an exchange of correspondence regarding the purposes of the foundation be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the correspondence was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SCHOOL DISTRICT
OF THE CITY OF BERKLEY,
Berkley, Mich., April 20, 1960.
ASIAN CULTURAL EXCHANGE FOUNDATION, INC.,

Asian Cultural Exchange Foundation, Inc., Chevy Chase, Md.
Gentlemen: The Asian cultural exchange

GENTLEMEN: The Asian cultural exchange program was discussed at the last meeting of the Berkley Board of Education.

We are interested in obtaining all the facts pertaining to this program and would appreciate having this information sent to us as soon as it is convenient. I presume that you have printed literature on the objectives of the program, types of membership, fees or costs, etc.

Sincerely yours,

M. P. ANDERSON.

Asian Cultubal Exchange Foundation, Inc., Chevy Chase, Md., April 28, 1960.

Mr. M. P. Anderson, Superintendent of Schools, School District of the City of Berkley, Berkley, Mich.

DEAR MR. ANDERSON: Thank you for your letter of April 20. In this connection I would like to acquaint you with the background of the Asian Cultural Exchange Foundation, Inc.

Returning to the United States in 1938 after spending 20 years in the Far East, I was deeply disturbed to find how little the average American knew about Asia and its people—which was equally true in reverse. I found this situation disturbing because even then it was apparent to me that a dynamic and unbelievably rapid evolution was taking place in Asia which would have most important and far-reaching effects on the world at large and on the United States in particular.

One thing was clear: If we are to avoid disaster on a major scale, some method must be devised to build a bridge of understanding between these 1,300 million Asians and the people of this country. As I considered

this problem and the conduct of people during the last two wars, the conclusion became inescapable that the solution could be found only through the "adults of tomorrow" of both continents.

One approach, therefore, was to start a system in our precollege schools which would effectively acquaint our "adults of tomorrow" with Asia and its peoples and open their eyes, minds, and hearts to the won-derful heritage of this oriental culture, its qualities, both good and bad, and the origins of these qualities. In short, to lay the foundation for a better understanding of each other.

It seemed to me that this could be achieved best by placing at the disposal of the school system examples of Asian artifacts and craftsmanship, reference libraries on Asia, etc., all of which could be used in classrooms in daily studies during the most impressionable years of the students' lives and thereby become integrated into the curriculum.

It is my ultimate goal to see each grade and high school throughout the United States equipped with comprehensive collections of Asian artifacts. In undertaking this objective, I was not unmindful of the magnitude of the project; the number of schools to be equipped; the problem of obtaining the necessary financial support; the difficulties in persuading the educators responsible for curriculums to introduce studies on Asia and the accumulations of the artifacts themselves.

Before approaching others to whom such a project might appeal, I was concerned with the necessity of demonstrating the practicality of the plan itself. Therefore, I decided to take a long-term and cautious approach. Accordingly, in 1939, I established a private organization for the importation arts and crafts from Asia and painstakingly built up what has been widely recognized as, perhaps, one of the most diversified inventories of Asian artifacts in the United States.

Finally, in June 1953, I found that experience had verified the feasibility of my original plan and, with the warm and enthusiastic support of the founders, whose names you will find in the enclosed brochure, the Asian Cultural Exchange Foundation was born. It was decided that with the limited funds available (although working with a rich and diversified inventory of Asian artifacts), the pattern of our future endeavors should first be established here in the Washington area. After conferences with the District of Columbia Board of Education and with their complete support of the project, the first comprehensive collection was presented by our foundation to Eastern Senior High School on December 10, 1953.

The impact on both students and teachers was most impressive. The essays and compositions written by the students and the opinions of the participating teachers were gratifying beyond our most optimistic expectations.

So far we have presented collections to six high schools in this city and one in Baltimore; we have loaned collections to numerous teachers' colleges, universities, etc., as well as a great number of community and church groups, etc.

Our goal is to arrange for individual communities to finance the cost of such collections by the community itself. For example, the Anacostia National Bank presented \$1,500 to our foundation with the request that we assemble a comprehensive Asiatic collection and present same to the Anacostia High School, which we did.

Thus, if a similar plan can be used throughout the Nation, the Asian Cultural Exchange Foundation will be in a position to remain independent and nonpolitical.

In your community there are public organizations, such as banks, insurance companies, department stores, service clubs, or any public-spirited individual or group of individuals who, no doubt, would like to see the children of their community better prepared for meeting the problems of the near future in connection with Asia, which without any doubt is the most important problem of today.

A number of Asian embassies, particularly those of Indonesia, India, Pakistan, and Burma, have given us every encouragement and assistance and have informed their respective governments of the people-to-people program of our group to build better understanding between their countries and the United States.

We are not overlooking the necessity of acquainting our Asian adults of tomorrow with the character and qualities of our own people. Contacts are being made with schools in various parts of Asia and, as soon as we have sufficient funds, this phase of our work will be more active. Numerous letters have been received from various Asian countries urging us to proceed with this desired objective.

We cooperated in the organization of the Oriental Club at Mary Washington College, Fredericksburg, Va., which is very efficiently in acquainting the students of the college with the Orient.

I might add that the Treasury Department has classified our foundation as a nonprofit and educational organization. fore, donations for our work are tax exempt to an amount up to 30 percent of the taxpayer's adjusted gross income and will cost the donor only a proportion of his gift.

I am enclosing a brochure and leaflet that

have distributed recently among thousands of adults.

Trusting that the above will give you a clearer conception of what we have done, what we are doing, and what we hope to accomplish-and what you can do-I remain. Sincerely yours,

S. KRIGER, President.

What is the Asian Cultural Exchange Foundation?

A nonprofit organization established to promote interest in the peoples of Asia through Asian arts and crafts.

How will the Foundation work?

Primarily, it will establish collections of typical Asian arts and crafts in high schools, colleges, libraries etc., these collections to be the property of the recipient.

In selecting the articles making up the collection, the Foundation works with the teachers at the school in order that the collection may be most usefully tied in with classes in art, workshop, geography and historv.

At whose expense?

Firstly, within the limits of the Foundation's resources subscribed by its founders.

Secondly, its services and counsel are available to anyone wishing to contribute to the same purposes as the Foundation's.

Why Asia?

In Asia lives half the world's population, Asia is of the utmost political and economic importance to the United States; yet it is an area little known and poorly understood by Americans.

Who makes up the Asian Cultural Exchange Foundation?

The founders are: Simon Kriger, Herbert J. Miller, Jr., Lawrence W. Wadsworth, Allen Haden, Perry Patterson, Gabriel Penners, Robert H. Reed, Livingston L. Blair and John Paul Collins.

Who can join?

The Foundation hopes that public-minded individuals and organizations will associate themselves with the purposes of the Foundation in Washington, as well as in communities throughout the United States. Correspondence is invited.

After 54 Years of Weeklies Editor Is Still Going Strong

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. ROBERT A. EVERETT

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, May 12, 1960

Mr. EVERETT. Mr. Speaker, there appeared in the Commercial Appeal, one of the Nation's outstanding newspapers, on Monday, May 2, an article written by William A. Klutts, a fine newspaper re-porter of Ripley, Tenn., about Leslie Sims, of Alamo, Tenn., which is in our congressional district.

As you read this article you will notice that Mr. Sims has been in the newspaper business for 54 years. He is very courageous and publishes three fine newspapers in Crockett County.

This article follows:

OUR HOME FOLKS-AFTER 54 YEARS OF WEEK. LIES, EDITOR IS GOING STRONG

(By William A. Klutts)

ALAMO, TENN., May 1.—Leslie Sims, 68-year-old dean of west Tennessee weekly editors and publishers, has put in 54 years at his profession but still finds "something new every day."

"Look at this," he says, pulling an velope from the morning mail stack. a 2-page, anonymous letter, submitted for publication, about family troubles. First letter of that kind I ever got.

"It can't be published, of course, but the rub is that whoever sent it enclosed a dollar. Now how can I return the money?" chews his cigar thoughtfully and decides,

"Better put an item in the column."
The column, "The Editor's Say-So," occupies the left-hand column of the front page in Sims' three weeklies—the Tri-County News, of Friendship; the Crockett Times, of Alamo; and the Crockett County Sentinel,

It has been appearing, under this and other names, for more than 4 decades. Whatever is said there escapes the notice of very few Crockett Countians.

FOUNDED IN 1909

Their problems, small and great, have been Leslie Sims' problems since 1909, when he came back to the county of his birth, after 3 years' experience in printing in Hazel, Ky. With his father, a retired physician, and brother, Paul, he founded the Progress at

Paul joined the Brownsville States-Graphic in 1917 and has been its editor since 1925. yielding only to his brother in years of serv-

Leslie took over the Tri-County News in Friendship in 1912, shortly after it was founded; began publishing the Times at Alamo the day before President Franklin D. Roosevelt was inaugurated in 1933, and added the Crockett County Sentinel, a venerable publication dating from 1873, at Bells, in 1942. All three papers are published from an Alamo plant.

Sims launched his first paper with a cap ital of \$150, buying only a few fonts of type and a Washington hand press. He has seen costs of newspaper operation mount to figures which would have staggered old-time printers, but he keeps pace with the times and has in his shop only a few items of the equipment he had in the early days.

DEPRESSION TOUGH

"The depression era was pretty rough." he recalls, "when we seldom saw money offered for subscriptions. We took in all kinds of Produce. I had a big basement at home, and I had more to eat then than ever before or

"I became a pretty sharp trader. date running for office paid 20 gallons of sorghum to announce his campaign, and I traded the sorghum to my grocer. He took it to Missouri and traded it for flour. Then I sold him an ad to sell the flour.

Mr. Sims, a charter member of Alamo Rotary Club and past president of the West Tennessee Press Association, was Alamo correspondent for the Commercial Appeal for more than 40 years. He is now a correspondent emeritus.

So diligently did he seek out news in the depression days, when every item meant much to the Sims budget, that a protest was heard from the town of Henry. He was told he was reporting so many obituaries from the town of about 300 people it was acquiring an unhealthy reputation.

TAKES LIFE EASY

When two masked men attempted to rob a bank across the street from Sims' office in 1931, he had a tip they were coming and quickly telephoned the Evening Appeal a running description of events while one of the robbers fell before gunfire from officers.

"We were right on top of that story," he recalls. It won him banner headlines.

Nowadays, Sims tries to take life easier than he used to, but he's still the boss of all his newspaper enterprises. He's had help from his children—Rebecca and Bobby—and Rebeca's husband, R. I. Green, now works in the shop. But Leslie Sims supervises every operation.

"And my wife supervises me," he jokes. She's the former Lucille Bell of Friendship.

Bobby, a naval lieutenant, junior grade, Who was graduated from Union University at Jackson before he won a Rotary Foundation fellowship to Australia, has just extended his Navy obligation a year to permit his leaving Washington for duty with the 6th Fleet Overseas, so he won't be home for a while yet.

Sims doesn't know whether Bobby will want to step into his shoes, but he isn't hurlying a decision. He feels that is Bobby's choice to make, alone.

And besides, he's busy. Got three papers to get out, and Thursday coming on like sixty. Be here before you know it.

But he'll be ready—as he has been for 50

The American Foot Health Foundation Sponsors 36th Annual Foot Health Week, May 13-20

> EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. OLIN D. JOHNSTON

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Thursday, May 12, 1960

Mr. JOHNSTON of South Carolina. Mr. President, because of the tremendous interest generated by the focus of attention on the health of the people of this Nation, I call attention to a special event which actually strikes at the very foundations of good health and well being. I refer to Annual Foot Health Week, sponsored by the American Foot Health Foundation.

Foot Health Week will be observed throughout America from May 13 to May 20 to create a greater awareness among adults and children of the importance of early foot care and proper foot health habits.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous con-sent that there be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a statement prepared by the associate directors of the foundation, Dr. H. A. McAninch, of South Carolina, and Dr. Sidney Hirschberg, of New York.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THIRTY-SIXTH ANNUAL FOOT HEALTH WEEK-1960

Annual Foot Health Week will be observed throughout the Nation from May 13 to 20 to create a greater awareness among adults and children of the importance of foot care and proper foot health habits. This event is sponsored by the American Foot Health Foundation-a nationwide nonprofit research organization—the only one of its kind in the United States serving this country in research and in public foot health educa-

The significance of the vital need for more attention to the human foot on the part of everyone is probably best highlighted by a statement of Dr. Sidney Hirschberg, president of the American Foot Health Foundation, in which he said:

Seven out of 10 of all persons in the United States have something the matter with their feet and 75 percent of our school children have correctible foot defects in terms of foot disorders. If I were asked to name one outstanding cause of foot troubles, I'd say it would be a matter of plain neglect. Healthy feet are the foundation of good health-when you have a foot ailment, your entire health and efficiency are impaired. This is why during Annual Foot Health Week, the foot doctors, the chiropodists, podiatrists, M.D.'s urge every man, women, and child in America to give more thought to the foundation upon which they stand, their own two feet. We must all awaken to the inescapable fact that foot ills do not usually correct themselves. A little attention at the beginning of trouble may prevent lifelong suffering and disability."

The theme of Annual Foot Health Week

this year is "Health Check-up Complete?-Don't Forget Your Feet." In every State, this educational program is being joined in a cooperative effort by the medical profession, especially among the doctors of surgical chiropody, podiatry and orthopedies; and educational and community groups concerned with the general health and welfare.

The foundation, primarily concerned with prevention, endorses the following sugges-tions to parents for better foot health for their children-from the American Podiatry Association:

Watch growing feet. Replace shoe with a larger size as soon as indicated. Teach children to toe straight ahead when walking. Toeing out weakens ankles. Discard short stockings that crowd growing feet. Bathe feet daily in warm water, brushing the toe nails. Cut toe nails straight across even with the end of the toes. Never cut corns or calluses.

Keep the heels of shoes straight. Provide a good nutritional diet. Feet need the right food to grow properly. Practice dally hy-giene to guard against athlete's foot. Once the disease is contracted, do not attempt treatment without professional advice; the dangers of infection are too great.

Seek professional care as early as possible for knock-knees, bow legs, or pigeon toes. These defects may be the results of faulty feet. Many such conditions can be corrected readily if proper care is given in the beginning stages. Have children's feet, and your own, examined at regular intervals by a podi-

atrist-chiropodist (your foot doctor).

In contemplating the future of the feet in modern civilization, one might presume that the ease of transportation and the indulgence of today's sedentary living—with man's tendency to walk less and less—is relegating the human foot to comparative oblivion.

However, one fundamental fact in human activity which demands recognition is that even in this day of the space age, when man is standing on tip-toe reaching for the moon and stars with tremendous rockets roaring from their platforms, and the planets being encircled by satellites—nothing can take the place of his one indispensable form of personal locomotion—the human foot.

Twenty-fifth Anniversary of REA

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. J. FLOYD BREEDING

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, May 12, 1960

Mr. BREEDING. Mr. Speaker, this week marks the 25th anniversary of the founding of the Rural Electrification Administration.

The Congress can be proud of the fact that it had the foresight and wisdom to create this agency 25 years ago. I can think of no other single piece of legislation that has meant more to millions of farm families throughout the Nation.

I personally can testify to just what REA has meant to farmers. I still live on a farm in southwest Kansas. We now enjoy electric and telephone service, both of which were made possible by the Rural Electrification Administration and its younger brother, Rural Telephone Administration. These two modern conveniences have made farm life much more pleasant and satisfying. They have, I am convinced, been a major factor in persuading many families to remain on the farm.

It is significant, I think, that very few if any Members of this or the other House would seriously consider a proposal to abandon our great rural electrification program. There may be disputes over the administration of the program or details as to its financing, but as to the program itself and the philosophy behind it, there is almost no dispute.

The program has worked. The fact that 95 percent of the farms are now electrified is proof of this. Farmers have been able to install many laborsaving devices and machines. Electricity has taken a lot of the drudgery out of farming. It has literally and figuratively brightened the lives of farm families.

Also, it is interesting to note that on this 25th anniversary not one loan made by the Government to finance a cooperative electric system is in default. In fact, repayments are ahead of sched-

I am proud of the cooperatives which have been built to operate electrical and telephone systems. These cooperatives are member owned. They are in business to provide a service to farm families.

The success of these institutions is due in a large measure to the dedication of the men who serve on the boards of directors and make the actual decisions as to how they will operate. This is a labor of love on the part of these men and women. They want to provide their members with the best possible service at the lowest cost consistent with good and sound business practices.

Thanks to the REA and to the thousands of dedicated men and women throughout the Nation who devote many hours each year to running the locally owned cooperatives, the lives of our farm families have been greatly improved and enriched. The REA has helped make America a much better place in which to live for millions of our people, by bringing the American standard of living to the American farm.

I am happy to salute REA on its 25th anniversary.

Corpus Christi Caller-Times Says That "Right To Disagree Is Our Greatest Heritage"; "Go Along To Get Along" Is a Cynical Slogan

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. RALPH W. YARBOROUGH

OF TEXAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, May 12, 1960

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, in this day when so much stress in business and political life is placed on the virtues of conformity and compromise, we would I believe do well to consider the invaluable role of the dissenter in a free society.

Our freedom-of-speech guarantees would mean little if men are afraid to speak their convictions because of a fear of the social forces of conformity.

An extremely thought provoking editorial on the subject was recently published in one of Texas' consistently best daily newspapers, the Corpus Christi Caller-Times.

I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the Record the editorial from the Caller-Times of May 8, 1960 entitled "The Dissenters."

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the REC-ORD, as follows:

THE DISSENTERS

The way of the dissenter has never been an easy one in any land or in any time. But in America the role of the dissenter becomes more difficult year by year, as the virtues of conformity are stressed in school and workday life.

To dissent, of course, not only has the meaning of "thinking apart," but also of "being" apart. It involves a deliberate choice of an unconventional, unpopular or novel alternative. At one extreme it takes eloquent form in the dissenting opinion of a U.S. Supreme Court Justice. At the other extreme it represents the rebellion of a child against discipline. It is not absent even today in the Halls of Congress, although too frequently it is the hallmark of an unsuccessful legislator, as far as getting bills passed is concerned.

The arguments for conformity in an increasingly complex and populous society are cogent ones. There could be no effective industrial economy nor democratic government, for instance, for 180 million rugged individualists. On the other hand, the American intellectual tradition must reject the cynical slogan of the professional legislator: "To get along go along."

lator: "To get along, go along."

The call to become a "mass man" is a most seductive one. Only by being "cooperative" and "agreeable" can the average person hope to achieve status and acceptance by the group. If he rebels, he becomes a "square," a radical, perhaps even an enemy of the people, a social outcast, a "Red," or worse. Conversely, by becoming a mass man he experiences, in the words of Carl Gustav Jung, "A gentle and painless slipping back into the kingdom of childhood, into the paradise of parental care. * * * Where the many are, there is security; what the many believe, must of course be true; what the many want, must be worth striving for."

It is a tribute to the toughness of the human spirit that great dissenters have appeared in most countries to shape, in the end, the course of history, although they may have been rejected, like Gailleo, in their time and even tortured or put to death. For the vigorous dissenter in every free society is an invaluable catalyst. On issues of substance, ranging from religion to astronomy, he offers an alternative.

The framers of our Constitution were much more aware than we are of the importance of free speech when they asserted it as an unalienable privilege in the first amendment. They were well aware that free speech is a two-edged sword: It is at once the chief weapon of the revolutionist and the surest protection against tyranny.

The right, even the need for dissent in a free society, was eloquently expressed by Thomas Jefferson in his first inaugural address in these words: "If there be any among us who would wish to dissolve this Union or to change its republican form, let them stand undisturbed as monuments of the safety with which error of opinion may be tolerated where reason is felt free to combat it." This, surely, is our greatest heritage, the right to disagree.

Meriden (Conn.) Record Comments on "Bad Blunder" in U-2 Case

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. FRANK KOWALSKI

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, May 12, 1960

Mr. KOWALSKI. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent I present the text of an editorial carried by the Meriden Record in my home State of Connecticut on the U-2 incident and the handling of it by our Government.

This editorial is another indication of the extent to which the American people are disturbed by the inept way in which this entire matter has been handled.

Following is the text of the Meriden Record editorial of May 11:

EXCUSES, UNLIMITED

The United States has been caught in a bad blunder in the case of the plane and pilot shot down over Russian territory and the Reds are making the most of it. At a time and in a place where the greatest circumspection were indicated, we have been

unbelievably awkward and heavyhanded. Caught in the act, we have handled our responses to the Russian roars with all the finesse of a kid caught with jam on his face.

There is nothing very remarkable about the Russians having caught somebody spying on them; it goes on all the time, on both sides of the fense. There are plenty of Red agents in this country and in Canada, and every so often one of them is uncovered amid a big flurry of publicity, tried, and usually sentenced to prison. We may safely assume that their counterparts exist among our people on assignment in Russia.

But sending somebody in to investigate the weather or anything else over Russian territory in a jet plane, however unarmed, is another and much riskier matter, and one which we would certainly protest if it were to happen against us. Sending a plane across this particular bit of border, about which the Soviets have been notoriously touchy, makes the violation gratuitous. And engaging in this sort of spying in the stratosphere at this particular time, when chances of summit agreement deserve all the odds they can get, is timing so bad as to be unbelievable.

All of which wouldn't matter very much if the Russians were determined, as they seem to have been earlier, that the Big Four meeting be conducted in amity. Premier Khrushchev has his own way of manipulating history and if his calculations had called for warm winds at the summit he would have held off on the cold blast here.

Unhappily, the incident seems to have coincided with Red realization that no real concessions were planned by the West on Berlin and the general German situation, for which Khrushchev was stubbornly hoping. It gives him just the excuse he needs to charge bad faith, stir up public opinion against us, and generally sabotage the summit chances while putting the blame on us. And while he probably could have found his own excuses anyway, there's no need for us to supply them for free.

Government Makes Profit Under Silver Purchase Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. HENRY DWORSHAK

OF IDAHO

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, May 12, 1960

Mr. DWORSHAK. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have inserted in the Appendix of the Record a statement by industries of the Coeur d'Alene, showing that the Government makes a profit under the silver purchase program.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

GOVERNMENT MAKES PROFIT UNDER SILVER PURCHASE PROGRAM—STATEMENT BY INDUSTRIES OF THE COEUR D'ALENES, MAY 5, 1960

That hardy legislative perennial, the bill to repeal the silver purchase laws, has again found its way into the Halls of Congress in Washington.

And, as usual, the principal sponsor is Senate Theodore Green, the 92-year-old Senate veteran from Rhode Island. Joining him in proposing the bill are Senator PASTORE, the junior Senator from Rhode Island, and Senators Bush and Dodo of Connecti-

cut. All of these sponsors, it will be noted, are from that small area in the New England States where the manufacture of silverware and silver plate is concentrated.

On the House side, the man carrying the ball for the repealer bill is Representative EDGAR HIESTAND of California. His stake in this matter is a little more difficult to understand since he has no apparent connection with silver-consuming interests. But, apparently, judging from the speech he made in introducing his bill, his concern stems from a fear that the silver aspects of our monetary system constitute some sort of obstacle to his ambitions to reestablish the gold standard, with currency convertibility, in this country.

What the proposed repealer legislation is intended to accomplish is briefly as follows:

1. Repeal the Silver Purchase Act of 1634, and the subsequent amendments of 1939 and 1946, which require the Treasury Department to provide a market at a specified Price, currently 90 cents an ounce, for hewly mined domestic silver.

 Make silver certificates exchangeable on demand at the U.S. Treasury for any other lawful money coined or issued by the Gov-

ernment

- 3. Authorize the use, sale or lease of any silver held or owned by the United States, and
- 4. Permit the issuance of Federal Reserve hotes in denominations of \$1 and \$2. Under existing law the smallest denomination is \$5.

The effect of such legislation would, of course, be disastrous for silver producers because the smaller Federal Reserve notes would invite the withdrawal of silver certificates as a circulating medium, and this action, in turn, would free the large reserves of silver for sale to silver consumers in the arts and industries at whatever price and on whatever terms the Secretary of the Treasury may deem reasonable and advantageous to the public interest.

Under such circumstances silver producers would find themselves in direct competition with the Federal Government in trying to market their production in a free and open world market and they would find themselves at a distinct disadvantage because every ounce of silver in the Treasury reserve was purchased at less than the present world market price of 91% cents an ounce.

What the enactment of this legislation would amount to is nothing more nor less than a raid on the Nation's monetary reserves at a time when those reserves are already badly depleted due to the loss of gold to foreign countries over the past several years as a result of our unfavorable balance of trade. The replacement of silver certificates with Federal Reserve notes would require the issuance of more than \$2 billion worth of this type of paper currency. Such action would put a further damaging strain on our gold supply because Federal Reserve hotes are, by law, supposed to have a 25 percent reserve of gold behind them.

It is interesting to note that Representative Hiestand does not even take this matter of hard-money backing for Federal Reserve currency into account in arguing for his bill. He expresses grave concern over the remote possibility that the Treasury Department might decide to purchase silver up to the full amount required by the Silver Purchase Act of 1934 and in so doing require payment in gold to foreign countries from which the silver is obtained. Yet he completely ignores the imminent danger that is certain to be faced if his bill is passed—that is, stretching the already insufficient gold reserve to such a point that foreign creditors begin to doubt the liquidity of our monetary system and seek to convert their dollar credits into gold. That could be a serious threat to our monetary stability.

Senator Green's speech of introduction contained most of the usual allegations used by silver consumers in attacking the silver purchase laws—that it is a subsidy to domestic miners, that it is unsound monetary practice, and so forth. In fact, in a special burst of rhetoric he classified the silver buying policy as "The most atrocious example of special privilege furthered by law to be found in American history."

He was careful not to mention, however, that the silverware industry for which he was speaking enjoys the protection of a 68 percent ad valorem import duty—one of the highest duties imposed on any imported item in this era of free trade. If silver producers had equivalent protection from foreign imports of silver, they would without doubt be getting a far better price for their production than they can presently obtain either from the Treasury or in the open market.

It is strange indeed that the silver purchase program is so persistently under attack when it is practically the only program under which the Federal Government has shown a profit over the years.

Ever since the beginning of the program the Treasury has been buying the domestic miners' output at considerably less than the monetary value of \$1.29 cents per ounce. Since 1946 the purchase price has been 70 percent of the monetary value, or 901/2 cents an ounce; before that, for about 7 years, it was 60 percent, or a fraction over 71 cents an ounce, and before that, it was even less. The silver producer, however, was paid off in silver currency backed by silver valued at the monetary price. The difference between that and the purchase price was simply confiscated from the producer as seigniorage and put into a so-called "free silver" fund which has provided the Government with its needs for subsidiary coins—dimes, quarters, and half dollars, and since 1946, has been made available to silver consumers for 91 cents an ounce.

Thus the Government has been profiting for years at the expense of the silver producer. The silver consumer has also benefited by the availability of the Treasury source of supply which has effectively kept a ceiling on the world price over an extended period of years when world consumption of the metal has exceeded world production by a substantial amount.

If there are any special privilege laws on the books today, they are those which provide exceptionally high tariff protection for silverware manufacturers and keep the price of silver for consumers at a fairly constant level when all other prices are mounting steadily.

But the silver users are still not satisfied. Apparently they recognize that the dwindling reserve supply in the free silver fund will not be able to offset the supply shortage much longer and they want to get their hands on the entire Treasury silver reserve to forestall the normal price advance that results when production is insufficient to meet the demand.

It is almost inconceivable that Congress would consider such a raid on Treasury

More on New York Times and Salisbury

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. GEORGE HUDDLESTON, JR.

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 10, 1960

Mr. HUDDLESTON. Mr. Speaker, in past weeks I have brought to the at-

tention of my colleagues in the Congress a series of articles written by Mr. Harrison Salisbury and published by the New York Times which, in effect, constitute a scurrilous attack on the city of Birmingham. In this connection, there appeared in the May 10 edition of the Birmingham Post-Herald a most interesting editorial that I think will be of real interest to the Members of this and the other body and, thus, I insert it in the Record under leave heretofore granted:

OCHS' CREED AND MR. SALISBURY

On January 13, 1925, Adolph Ochs, longtime publisher of the New York Times, made a talk to students of the Joseph Pulitzer School of Journalism at Columbia University.

In his talk he said: "A reporter is assigned to a task; he arrives too late or not at all, accepts from another reporter what occurred and writes it as his own observations. Deserving the same censure is an-other who does not take the trouble to confirm his facts; one who gets his own views tangled with the views of the person interviewed; one who fails to give the person affected by his story the benefit of the doubt: still another who needlessly gives pain and disregards, or is perhaps oblivious to the sensitiveness that persons have about their personal affairs; one who, to appear smart and witty, misrepresents or exaggerates; one who is indifferent to the responsibility of his newspaper, who is careless with its reputation for truth and accuracy; one who plagi-arizes; one who is cynical, offensive, discourteous, vulgar or impertinent; one who regards himself as an editor when he should

be a reporter.

"No one can conscientiously represent a decent newspaper and be guilty of any of these offenses against the ethics of the profession, and what is expected of a gentie-

man,'

These are noble words. We would like to see the present proprietors of the New York Times apply them as a yardstick against the reporting of conditions in Birmingham by Harrison Salisbury in the Times.

American Legion Endorses Fossil Fuels
Study in Interest of National Fuels
Policy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JENNINGS RANDOLPH

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, May 12, 1960

Mr. RANDOLPH. Mr. President, it has been my observation that the American Legion has always anticipated with patriotism and accuracy those areas of our economy which are closely associated with the national defense and the security of our Nation and which need strengthening.

The more than 2,700,000 veterans of World Wars I and II and Korea who are members of the Legion, and the more than 1 million members of the American Legion Auxiliary, have always been aggressive in espousing strength of America's defense and security structure, both in peacetime and in war.

On May 4, 1960, the national executive committee of the American Legion, upon

recommendation of its national security commission, adopted a resolution during its meeting in Indianapolis recommending the support of legislation pending in the Congress which would establish a joint congressional committee to study all of the fuels of the Nation and report as to whether or not a national fuels policy should be established.

This is typical of the Legion's alertness to basic matters of importance to national defense and national security.

The legislation to which the Legion's resolution makes reference is Senate Concurrent Resolution 73, which I introduced for myself and 42 cosponsoring colleagues on both sides of the aisle. It is most gratifying to have the American Legion's support recorded so emphatically on this measure so vital to the key industries and the homes of our country. Because such a study of fossil fuels is so important to both industry and home, it is obvious that the Legion's interest in this legislation is a-valid one which does, indeed, have direct impact on our security and defense posture.

I congratulate the American Legion for its farsightedness and patriotic understanding of the problems of our complex

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD the text of the resolution.

There being no objection, the resolution was ordered printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Whereas the adequate defense and security of this country is dependent upon the amount of available fuels of this Nation in the event of war; and

Whereas the manufacture of steel, the operation of railroads, the making of electricity and the other important industries of our Nation are dependent on the fossil fuels; and

Whereas Canada, England, Russia, and several South American countries have established such a national fuels policy; and Whereas all study groups appointed by the

Whereas all study groups appointed by the President; private research agencies; and industry groups have, without exception, urged such a congressional study of the fuels of this Nation; and

Whereas the Federal Power Commission has repeatedly recommended such a study of the fuels and their availability; and

Whereas without such a study of the fuels by a congressional committee on all fuels, gas, oil, coal, atomic energy, there is no criteria upon which to base a fuels policy; and

Whereas there is now pending before the Senate and the House of Representatives Senate Concurrent Resolution 73, signed by 43 Senators of both parties; and House Concurrent Resolution 661 introduced by Congressman Wayne Aspinall, of Colorado; and House Concurrent Resolution 662, introduced by Congressman John Saylor, of Pennsylvania, and other Members of Congress; that establishes a joint congressional committee to study all of the fuels of this Nation and report to Congress on January 2, 1963, as to whether or not this Nation should establish a national fuels policy: Therefore be it Resolved, That the National Security Com-

Resolved, That the National Security Commission of the American Legion at its meeting in Indianapolis, Ind., on May 2 and 3, 1960, do hereby recommend the support of this legislation in the interest of national defense looking toward the study of the fuels of this Nation and the recommending of a fuels policy for this Nation.

Passed by National Executive Committee, the American Legion, Indianapolis, Ind.

Resolution on the Forand Bill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. ELMER J. HOLLAND

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 3, 1960

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. Speaker, I would like permission to insert into the Record the attached resolution of the board of directors of the Croatian Fraternal Union of America, on the subject of the Forand bill.

As you can see this organization is deeply concerned over the fact that 15,000 members of this group are 65 years of age or older and have reached that period of life where retirement begins and their remaining years should be free from worry over illness and distress from their inability to receive proper care.

These 15,000 individuals have contributed much to our way of life and they gave their productive years to help make our Nation the wealthiest in the world as well as the best educated.

It was through their skill, their inventiveness, their ability, their industriousness, and their ambition—these 15,000 and our other elder citizens—that we are capable of going to even greater heights in the future.

They toiled in our mills, our mines, and our factories during their employable years and made our Nation the great industrial giant it now is.

They raised their families and educated them to the best of their ability—thereby giving us our highly skilled workers which we need in today's economy

In the majority of cases it was their sons who joined our Armed Forces and defended our Nation in times of war.

These 15,000—and their contemporaries—made America what it is.

We all know they were never overpaid. They could never speculate in the stock market, nor could they make long-term investments.

They were lucky to have a small mortgage-free home in which to live and a social security pension, to which they had contributed payments over the years they had worked, for their retirement years.

Now, with the terrific increase in the cost of hospitalization and medical care, their small pension is not adequate to give them the care they need in their declining years. They are fortunate if they can feed and clothe themselves on their depleted income.

I feel certain that the majority of Americans, who are today in the social security program, have no objections to the passage of the Forand bill. True it is that its enactment into law would increase their contribution one-quarter percent a month—and that amount would go to assist our present elder citizens—but today's workers, when they reach 65, would be protected, also.

I am positive that our American workers realize that, were it not for those

elder citizens and the contributions over the years, our working conditions, our salaries, our living conditions and our standards would not be where they now

I am sure that most of us today know that were it not for the blood, sweat, and tears of those elder citizens our way of life would be considerably different.

They are not asking for charity—for a handout—for relief.

They are asking for benefits they earned—and we, of this generation, have a moral obligation to see that they receive them.

There should be no hesitancy on the part of any Congressman to sign the discharge petition and get the Forand bill on the floor for a vote.

The resolution follows:

At the semiannual session of the Supreme Board of Directors of the Croatian Fraternal Union of America, meeting of Saturday. April 9, 1960, the following resolution was duly adopted:

"Whereas nearly 15,000 members of the Croatian Fraternal Union of America are over the age of 65 years and in many cases in need of health and hospital care beyond the limited means of the society; and "Whereas the Forand bill (H.R. 4700) in-

"Whereas the Forand bill (H.R. 4700) introduced in the House would amend the social security laws so as to provide against the high costs of hospitals, nursing homes, medical and surgical care for persons eligible for old-age and survivors' insurance benefits and for other necessary benefits; and

"Whereas U.S. Congressman AIME D. FORAND has filed a petition asking the House to bypass the committee and bring this measure to a vote of the entire House for the good of the senior citizens of the United States. Now therefore he it.

States: Now, therefore, be it

"Resolved, That the Supreme Board of the
Croatian Fraternal Union endorse the humanitarian principles contained in the Forand bill and urge their acceptance for the
future commonweal of the United States
of America; and be it further

"Resolved, That all U.S. lodges and individual members of the Croatian Fraternal Union send a copy of this resolution to the Congressmen representing their districts with an appeal that it be made a matter of public record in the Congressional Record."

This will certify that the foregoing resolution is a part of the minutes of a meeting of the Supreme Board of Directors of the Croatian Fraternal Union of America, as above stated.

JOSEPH BELLA,
Supreme Secretary, Croatian Fraternal
Union of America.
PITTSBURGH, PA., April 26, 1960.

Erie County Young People Write Outstanding Essays on "My Duties and Responsibilities as an American"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. KENNETH B. KEATING

OF NEW YORK

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, May 12, 1960

Mr. KEATING. Mr. President, it was my pleasure recently to welcome to Washington four winners of the 31st Annual Americanism Essay Contest sponsored by the Eric County American Legion, Legion Auxiliary, and the Buffalo Evening News. These outstanding young people were selected after stiff competition for their essays on the subject of "My Duties and Responsibilities as an American."

Anyone who reads these essays cannot help but have confidence in the future of America. The firmness of the convictions stated and the obviously deep faith of these young people in the virtues and future of our Nation is extremely heartening.

I cannot praise too highly the organizations which sponsored this important contest. By stimulating interest in the traditions and obligations which go with being an American, they are contributing substantially to building a bright and secure future for our Nation. I salute the Eric County American Legion and Auxiliary and the Buffalo Evening News for their commendable leadership in this undertaking.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that 12 winning essays in this contest be printed in the Appendix of the Record

There being no objection, the essays were ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

[From the Buffalo Evening News, Apr. 5-11, 1980]

WINNING AMERICANISM ESSAYS

(By Shirley Ann Turner, 17, Grover Cleveland High School, winner of girls' division of the Buffalo public high school classification. (Harriet M. Waters, teacher.))

In such a wonderful country as the United States, we should fulfill our duties and responsibilities as Americans in return for the freedoms and luvusless as a state of the state of the

reedoms and luxuries we enjoy.

As a teenager, it is my responsibility to improve my scholastic ability and my personal thoughts. Then I will be able to make accurate decisions when an important crisis arises. I respect my parents' authority and am loyal to those who govern me. It is es-Sential that I take part in all activities that help make me a well-rounded individual. I participate in the life of my community and am able to put myself in a position of leadership whenever necessary. It is my responsibility to use wisely the talents and op-Portunities given me. I am developing de-sirable attitudes, such as honesty, courage, dependability, and high ideals of service to my school, home, and community. It is also important that I set a good standard of conduct for others to follow.

In a few years it will be my duty to investigate political candidates and situations so I will be able to vote intelligently. I must be able to make the proper provisions for insurance, income tax, savings, retirement, a will, and serving jury duty. I must raise my family into good citizens and provide them with the necessities of family life. I must respect nature's laws and try to correct undesirable conditions around me. I will also volunteer to help the needy.

It would be un-American for me to discriminate against others, for we are all equal. I must have a clear understanding of my rights, duties, citizenship, government, and world affairs. Most important is that I follow my religious beliefs and not allow my-self to be influenced by propaganda against my country or religion.

It is a great privilege to be an American and still a greater honor to participate as one by faithfully carrying out my own duties and responsibilities. Outstanding men like Lin-

coln and Franklin Roosevelt fulfilled their dtuies exceptionally well and have helped make America the leading country of the world today.

(By Valerie Casale, 14, eighth grade pupil of school 3, winner of the girls' division of the Buffalo public elementary school classification. (Richard N. Gilbert, teacher.))

The word "America" is like a shining beacon of light in this partially enslaved, often hungry, and cold world of today.

Our freedom loving forefathers coming from every place on the globe, left us with a wonderful heritage. Under inspired leadership, they worked, fought, struggled, sacrificed and dreamed a nation out of a wilderness in less than 100 years. This has made us the most powerful country in the world. We want to use this might, not to dominate other nations, but to help their people to an independent better way of living.

The home is the core of our existence where all of our ideas and habits are formed. I should obey my parents, attend church regularly, and perform certain household duties willingly.

In school I should cooperate with my teachers and participate in school activities. I should learn how our Government functions, be well informed about world events,

and join civic organizations.

If this Nation is to be the democracy it was intended, we must erase from our minds any taint of religious or racial prejudice. I should respect the ideals of the individual,

should respect the ideals of the individual, even though they don't always agree with ours.

As an adult I should provide for my family's physical needs by becoming a good homemaker and for their mental well-being by setting a good moral example.

In community affairs, I should obey laws, respect public property, defend my country, pay taxes willingly but not blindly, vote intelligently, serve on juries, hold office if qualified, and support civic enterprises.

I must not let my country become a second-rate nation because of greed, hatred, love of prestige, or indifference on the part of its citizens. God has blessed our land and bestowed his abundant riches upon it. May we prove worthy of them.

(By Douglas Bauer, 17, Riverside High School senior, winner of the boys' division of the Buffalo public high school classification. (Veronica McGee, teacher.))

Freedom to worship, to own, to express my opinions, and freedom from fear, from want, and from oppression—for all these freedoms inherited from my ancestors I am thankful. But, just as any legacy carries with it definite obligations of stewardship, this inheritance of privilege is also accompanied by duties and responsibilities. My adequacy as an American (I feel) depends on the way I interpret my mission and on how well I perform it.

As the world grows smaller and we become more aware of other nations, religions, and ways of life, prejudices tend to arise from our ignorance. My duty as an American is not only to respect the different ideas of men but also to remember that, despite their superficial differences, men are brothers. I must also try to understand ideologies other than my own and to be alert to the material and social needs of my neighbors, whether they live across the street or across the ocean. Vigilance is the price of liberty, and understanding, the key necessary to unlock the door of prejudice.

unlock the door of prejudice.

Along with the duties of understanding and vigilance, we must accept certain responsibilities for our less fortunate fellow men. Merely to recognize the poverty of others is not enough—where we find a dearth of the material necessities, we must share;

where we find a lack of the social freedoms, we must fight for them. I believe the greatest of our responsibilities is charity; love for God is best demonstrated in acts of generosity toward men. How wonderful the world would be if all Americans were dedicated to fulfilling this one great responsibility of stewardship.

These inherent moral obligations must be performed with reverence, for they are of a sacred nature. As the freest and most prosperous people in history, Americans (you and I) have the duty of sympathizing with the downtrodden and the responsibility of looking after the liberty and welfare of all. But is it an uniquely American task to strive for peace on earth and good will toward men?

(By Van C. Negris, 13, eighth-grade pupil of School 78, winner of boys' division of the Buffalo public elementary school classification. (Christine Nagel, teacher.))

Foremost in my catalog of duties as an American is this trilogy: Knowledge, loyalty, service.

I need a thorough knowledge of my country's heritage, realizing that the continuation of our ideals and tradition—in fact, the perpetuation of democracy—is guaranteed only to the degree that its rising generation is schooled in its fundamental principles. To keep climbing the educational ladder, to me, constitutes a mandate clear and inescapable, that I may, with others, meet the challenge confronting us today on all fronts—military, scientific, scholastic, industrial, economic.

I stop and think. I recall that first Fourth of July, the battlefields of the Revolution, the Constitutional Convention, and the hallowed ground at Gettysburg. These events and places make me appreciate the hardwon comforts and battles for democracy; and to my flag I pledge allegiance.

I pledge my services to home, school, church, and community. Without service, what value can be placed on knowledge and

loyalty?

On the avenues of progress I see no stop-light. It is my duty, my responsibility, to go on, to tap new resources, to explore and exploit new possibilities of useful service. Yesterday is over. Today, every jet in the sky, every miracle drug, every electronic device testifies to our progress. The harnessing of the atom and the conquest of space can spell universal peace, accomplishment, fulfillment—or annihilation. Is it not my duty to do my best, today, tomorrow, and always, in all ways? Is it not my duty to pray? "Help us, O Lord, in all our needs. Guide our thoughts, our words, our deeds."

(By Mary Margaret Romano, 17, Cleveland Hill High School, Cheektowaga, senior, winner of the girls' division of the Erie County public high school classification. (Albert G. Mirand, teacher.))

Daniel Webster once asserted, "I was born an American; I will live an American; I shall die an American, and I intend to perform all the duties incumbent upon me in that character of my career."

I also am an American, and intend to perform the duties incumbent upon me. Now it is important to realize what the duties and responsibilities of being an American entail. I have a responsibility to my school, to the family unit, to the preservation of democracy, to prepare for a vocation, to make use of cultural facilities, to keep well informed on public affairs, to maintain high standards and values, to obey the law, and to make best use of leisure time.

I must respond to the motivation being given through organizations and activities. There must be a serious attitude toward school. The primary purpose of school is intellectual development to understand and

prepare for vocations and later life. A large part of my adaptability to learning and respecting authority develops from the family unit; therefore, it is my duty to contribute to a harmonious and educational homelife.

This is a challenging age. Our future democracy and freedom depend almost wholly on our knowledge of government and its development; hence it is my duty to be well informed on public affairs and preserve our democracy.

our democracy.

America has become a nation of new leisure. It is my duty not merely to relax in this leisure, but to cultivate the mind, spirit, and body. It is necessary to know and appreciate the cultural facilities which add depth to our rationality.

I must set high standards and values. It is imperative to realize and heed the laws which the country's leaders have developed for safeguarding our Nation from decadence. To quote Robert Browning, "A man's reach

should exceed his grasp."

I must be an alert, tolerant, reflective, and courageous citizen. I must remember that it is always better to light one candle than to curse the darkness.

(By Joan Enser, 13, eighth grade pupil of Cheektowaga Central Junior High School, winner of the giris' division of the Erie County junior high school classification. (Mrs. Euzekia Swist, teacher.))

What is an American? What duties and responsibilities must he fulfill to practice true Americanism? Only if we know these answers can we be true Americans. We can find these answers in the laws of our country and in the ways of our fellow man, but mostly in God and ourselves.

The hope of our country is in its youth. The chalenge to youth is even greater in this revolutionary atomic age. As a future citizen I must work hard and take advantage of every opportunity to develop my abilities and potentialities. I must be well informed on the laws of my country and respect them. I must stand up for what is fair and just.

When I take part in class and student projects and see them through, when my family depends on me, I am becoming a leader and assuming responsibilities which will make me strong in character and a better American.

I have learned many things from my parents and teachers. Now, as a young American, it is my duty to use what I have learned to help myself and others. Good Americanism may not look like a scout badge but neither is it invisible. When I wear it all the time it has a comfortable fit. If I put it on only for special occasions its value becomes tentative.

I believe it is my duty to use the freedom I am offered to the best advantage for myself and my fellow man. It is my responsibility to interpret the real meaning of freedom and use it wisely. I must realize that real freedom is not a question of doing as I like but doing as I ought with regards to the rights of others. As an American citizen I owe my first and highest allegiance to my country.

(By David Leese, 16, Hamburg Central High School junior, winner of the boys' division of the Eric County high school classification. (Alice N. Bergstrom, teacher.))

Yesterday, as I was touring the country-side, I halted upon a protruding bluff from which a scenic panorama of the surrounding area was visible. It encompassed every aspect of life. In the distance loomed the massive steel mills, billowing forth their amoke—so symbolic of growing industry. I next sighted a thriving business section with people hurrying to keep pace with the changing times. The foreground spanned an agricultural region. Produce of every kind

adorned the fields. As I surveyed this landscape, I saw in a glimpse the whole of America.

I then became disturbed. I suddenly came to the realization that all this network was serving me. As an American, I had inherited it. Out of the sweat and toil of strangers, by the grace of God, I had come to be the beneficiary. I became ashamed. What right had I to such an inheritance? What virtues were mine to reap such high reward? How could I ever repay this

greatest of all gifts?

Then, as I gazed upon a single ear of corn, an enlightening analogy emerged. That ear of corn was God's gift to man. Certainly no man could repay this * * * but he could protect, nourish and improve it. Man learned to sacrifice a portion of this year's crop for next year's seed. He learned to fertilize, water, spray, dust and remove fungus and smut to promote growth and abolish pestilence and infection. He learned that filth bred disease; cleanliness, health. He learned the rewards of trade and versatility. He learned that cooperation outproduced isolation and aid reciprocated aid. He learned cross-pollination yielded hybrids greater than either of the parents. He learned to store for the future. Primarily, he learned to improve himself and his methods and to relate this knowledge to

guide his posterity.
Is it not this husbandry of man that determines the destiny of our Nation? Can I not draw a parallel to my own ear of corn?

(By George Unger III, 14, eighth-grade pupil of Orchard Park Central Junior High School, winner of the boys' division of the Erie County junior high school classifica-'tion. (Marion H. McDowell, teacher.)

"We the people of the United States * * *"
have been willed a great legacy of freedom.
As a citizen it is my duty and obligation to
protect this heritage and, as the saying goes,
use it or lose it.

Every American should take part in this great country. If I sit back and let other people do my thinking and plan my future, I may lose this liberty. It is my duty as an American to be something, to have some farreaching goal in life. But it takes work. America doesn't guarantee success to every-

America is a land of freedoms and rights. But democracy will not function properly if each individual does not use his privileges. The church I attend is by choice; I should participate in its activities. The education I am receiving is provided for; I must make the most of it. America insures freedom of the press; it is my obligation to purchase a newspaper and read it. Well-informed citizens protect our democracy. The right to assemble and voice my opinion in the local and Federal Governments is included in the Constitution; I should attend town meetings. After investigating the candidates and issues, I can vote intelligently. Once the candidates have been elected, it is my duty to obey the laws they make.

Maintaining freedom puts upon me an obligation not known to the serf or subject of a dictator. To keep freedom, I must be tolerant and alert. A democracy endures only because its citizens protect human rights and respect the individual. Here in America we possess unlimited wealth of all types, and the liberty to make use of it. What I do with it is up to me. These are my real duties and responsibilities.

(By Eva Fleszar, 17, Immaculate Heart of Mary Academy (Villa Maria), Cheektowaga, junior, winner of girls' division of the private and parochial high school classification. (Sister Mary Felicitas, teacher))

Citizenship is the most perfect form of membership in a political community. Good citizenship, especially in a democracy, implies that for the many wonderful civil and political rights a citizen gains, he owes unqualified allegiance to the state, an allegiance he expresses in faithfully assuming the duties and responsibilities of a citizen.

Since I am not yet an American citizen, I am awaiting eagerly the privileged moment when I shall become an adopted, but a true and proud citizen of this great land. I am preparing seriously to be a good American.

At present, I consider it to be my prime duty to learn well the language, traditions, history, and culture of my new fatherland. I read much about the great national heroes of this land, whose inspiring examples are among America's greatest gifts to new generations. Studying America's past makes me feel honored to become a citizen of so powerful, so just a nation. The trust I place in its policies, the respect I feel for its laws actuate me to obey all rules and laws as a matter of honor rather than duty.

Right now my duties are those of my fellow American students. I am expected to be honest, conscientious, participate in all civic, school, and church activities that train me for my future role in life, know well and keep an open mind on current events and problems, and learn and practice the American way of life. I must develop my abilities and train myself to do the work of my choice to the benefit of society as well as for myself. I must know the great freedoms the Constitution guarantees me and the serious obligation I have never to lose or abuse them.

My gratitude for being accepted as a real member of this great American society, for the equal opportunities I have been given, places upon me the obligation to prepare myself for worthy citizenship. I shall try to repay America by serving with honor this great land of freedom.

(By Elaine Sabuda, 13, eighth-grade pupil of St. Michael School, Lackawanna, winner of the girl's division of the private and parochial elementary school classification. (Sister Mary Redempta, teachef.))

In the United States all Americans enjoy perfect freedom because our Constitution guarantees and safeguards the libertles of the American citizen. We must be aware of our heritage of freedom and keep in mind that we should also assume the duties of citizenship for the rights and privileges we enloy.

Our responsibilities as good Americans are many. First we must love our country and respect its flag. We must support our Constitution and obey its laws. We must respect all those in authority because all authority comes from God. We should select good books, newspapers, and magazines to keep ourselves well informed about current events. We must weigh everything we read and be able to recognize un-American propoganda. A good American should be tolerant and respect other people's rights to worship as they please. Even though someone's oplinions differ from ours we should remember he, too, has the same freedoms.

We must take advantage of our educational opportunities which will prepare us for useful Americans. Also, we should select jobs and vocations we are best suited for, so we can be able to serve our country best and help our fellow Americans. As responsible Americans, we should also guard against any attempt to destroy the American way of life. We must keep ourselves physically mentally, and morally healthy to be able to help our country in case of war.

Americans, who assume their duties and responsibilities, are a great asset to their country. They are the pillars supporting the democratic ideals. They are the nucleus of a live democracy, which is the United States of America. I hope and pray that every American boy and girl will assume

these responsibilities to merit the faith that the United States has in its Americans.

(By G. Donald Frey, 17, Diocesan Preparatory Seminary, Buffalo, senior, winner of the boys' division of the private and parochial high school classification. (Rev. Daniel G. Duggan, teacher.))

The United States is fighting for its life. The sad thing is that many people are forsaking their duties. They say that the country is so big that their activities have no effect upon the Nation; modern government is too corrupt, or too intricate, or too this or too that and they will have no part of it. These people are sadly mistaken. The responsibility for good government rests directly upon their shoulders just as it rests upon yours and mine. The efforts of a few great men will not defeat our enemies, but only when each one of us accepts his responsibilities will they be vanquished.

I am only 17, therefore, I am not able to fulfill many duties of a citizen. I cannot vote nor serve in the Armed Forces. I do not pay taxes. However, I do have responsi-

bilities.

The most important of these is that I must study. I must study the glorious history of our country. I must make our democratic, our social, and our military triumphs part of me. I must learn all this and much more because knowledge is the foundation of all physical activity.

I must take an active part in government. You may think that this is impossible because I cannot vote. This is not so. I can take an active part in government. I can make my opinion known. I can express it at school, at home, and at gatherings of all kinds.

Finally, but by no means the least important, I must love my country. I must show her the same love as the men who fought and died for her. It is hard to show this love. It is manifested by the tingling of my backbone when I hear "The Starspangled Banner," and the anger I feel toward sples and traitors. I experience it in the pounding of my heart when I say, "I am an American." This is the hardest to explain but the most basic of all the responsibilities and duties.

I am an American if I study, become a Part of, and love America.

(By Z. Andrew Furtak, 13, eighth-grade pupil of St. Adalbert School, Buffalo, winner of the boys' division of the private and parochial elementary school classification. (Sister Mary Boguslava, teacher.))

America is my home and I am an heir. Rich in freedom, I contentedly reap the fruits of liberty which my forefathers toiled to sow. Rich in security, I proudly boast of the law they established which guarantees my rights of inheritance. Rich in wisdom, which the Constitution provides, I tenaciously hold to all it prescribes.

Yes, the Constitution is my support. It alone upholds my rights. It demands loyalty, service, taxation, and discipline. Thinking of my welfare, the authors of the Constitution made me responsible and gave me duties. They also gave me shining examples of their own lives to show me that no sacrifice is too great for a cause such as freedom.

As a young American my biggest responsibilities are: To develop myself spiritually, mentally, and physically for the glory of God and the good of my country; to show consideration and respect for all people; to believe in noble ideals and follow them.

My country today is a strong nation because many good citizens contribute to make her so. She will keep on being strong and safe as long as all Americans will share in supporting her welfare. We all know that the strength and security of a nation depends upon individuals who are willing to fight for right, no matter what the cost.

America-may I never fail you!

New Vistas of World Cooperation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JACK WESTLAND

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, May 12, 1960

Mr. WESTLAND. Mr. Speaker, the President of the United States was honored May 2, 1960, in the Hotel Statler by representatives of the 15 countries he had visited last Dccember. Sponsors of the event were the Committee for International and Economic Growth and the Committee to Strengthen the Frontiers of Freedom.

I believe the statement made that night by his Excellency Manlio Brosio, the Ambassador from Italy, about the New Vistas of World Cooperation is of interest to all Members of Congress. Under leave to extend my remarks, I include Mr. Brosio's message in the RECORD:

Mr. President, Mr. Chairman, Your Excellencies, ladies and gentlemen, I am sure it is not only a high honor, it is also a difficult task to recall and to appraise in a very short time and on behalf of 11 important countries, a memorable event. President Eisenhower visited in December 1959 Italy and Turkey, Pakistan, and Afghanistan, India, Iran and Grecce, Tunisia and France, Spain and Morocco. Everywhere he was met with the same warm feelings of friendship and with great enthusiasm. Everybody felt that this outstanding general and statesman embodied in himself some of the best qualities of his people: energy, courage, fairness, understanding, tolerance and a genuine good will to help.

In the same time, leaders and people in each and every country realized that the visit meant the vigilant presence of the United States in all the key areas of the world. A presence not intended to imply interference, but only friendly and unselfish assistance; not to show the flag, but to show the heart of the American Nation.

It was everywhere a tremendous success, which is and will be remembered. A success not only because of the cheers it raised, but above all because of the better and deeper comprehension it produced of the real motives and aims of American policies and actions. It certainly gave new strength and inspiration to those who, in every country, believe in international cooperation.

But we cannot think only of the past, we are bound to care first of all about the present and about the future. In this respect, this very meeting, so impressive and so distinguished, should encourage us. It means that the intent which inspired that journey is well alive among many of the most responsible people in this country. It was an intent of mutual understanding and of disinterested support.

In the meetings and talks which were held during the President's visit, alongside his public appearances, exchange of views about technical assistance and economic aid inevitably took place. Different conditions, needs and opportunities were discussed. In Italy, for instance, a new situation has developed, which has turned my country from a recipient of Marshall aid into a fast progressing industrial community, able to contribute in different ways to the development of other nations. The same happened in other countries where aid has equally released new energies, able to help economic growth abroad. We all realized that aid programs are necessary more than ever, and they may promote great progress, granted

the indispensable initiative, coordination and patience.

May I insist on the concept of international cooperation. Aid does not necessarily imply the idea of a unilateral gift. It implies on the contrary the necessity of a mutual effort by the giving and the receiving country: its aim is to enable the last to become stronger and more economically independent, its condition is a great amount of work and determination on the side of both the more and the less developed countries. Aid means a common venture, in equality of

efforts and of dignity.

On the other hand, cooperation is more and better than mere coexistence. Coexistence itself is not enough. As such, it may mean a mere absence of conflict, accompanied sometimes by separation, indifference, or even hostility. Cooperation means much more, it requires deep mutual understanding, common ideals, and friendly feelings.

To all this the President's visit brought an invaluable contribution, on the solid foundation of peace. Indeed, peace is not so much the ultimate goal, it is rather the desirable starting point for progress toward a better and higher life, worthy to be lived. Nor can the cause of peace be considered the monopoly of any country or group of countries or of any man. But we may well say in candid truth that no man since the Second World War has contributed more to the cause of peace than President Eisenhower has during his terms of office.

Ladies and gentlemen, we are now very near to the summit meetings, where the representatives of the United States, Great Britain, France, and the Soviet Union will face some of the great questions that beset the world. We feel that President Eisenhower will go there with a deeper understanding of our ways of life, needs, and points of view after the great experiences of his recent and strenuous journeys. We are sure he will contribute there, with even greater authority, to express and fulfill the expectations of all peoples, for peace, freedom, and a better future.

Growth of Texas Cities in Past Decade Was Most Rapid in State's History

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. RALPH W. YARBOROUGH

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, May 12, 1960

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, over the past decade the population of Texas cities has grown more rapidly than in any other 10-year span of history.

A number of factors have contributed to help bring about this phenomenal growth and not the least of these is the remarkably able and virtually tireless leadership in many of our cities. These community leaders, through hard work and inspired planning, have encouraged countless new industries to move to Texas.

Three of our cities, Irving, Mesquite, and Farmers Branch, made spectacular population advances in the 1950–59 period of more than 1,000 percent. Irving grew from 2,621 to 45,000 residents, Mesquite from 1,696 to 24,000, and Farmers Branch from 915 to 12,000 residents.

I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the Record portions of a special report on Texas' fastest-growing cities which appeared in the March 1960 issue of Texas Town & City magazine entitled "Population Growth in Texas Cities and Towns—1950–59."

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

SPECIAL REPORT: POPULATION GROWTH IN TEXAS CITIES AND TOWNS, 1950-59

1. FASTEST GROWING CITIES IN TEXAS

The decade 1950-59 has seen Texas municipal population increase more rapidly—and far more dramatically—than any other comparable period in the State's history. Among other units of local government, population losses continued to be the most significant trend during the 1950's, as during the latter half of the 1940's. For municipal government, the trend has been the opposite, and often spectacularly so.

"Spectacular growth"—e.g., a population increase exceeding 150 percent in a decade—has special significance in itself, far beyond serving as a basis of community pride or boasts. Growth at such rates means the virtual overnight formation of mature-size cities. If a State—or an area within a State—has a tendency to form major cities rapidly, chaos can be avoided only by:

(1) State-city, county-city, school- and special-district-city relationships and policies must be sufficiently mature and flexible to permit orderly development of the municipal area and full services within that

area.

(2) Fiscal policies at all levels must be fair in concept so that the impact of sudden growth does not bring hasty, ill-considered recourse to financing practices or other measures which would result long-term in deferring continued growth of the affected area.

(3) Provision should exist for area or regional cooperation, planning, and integration of the vital basics of community services, e.g., highways, streets, water, sewers, parks, etc.

Texas, during the 1950 decade, has shown a pronounced tendency toward a pattern of spectacular growth communities concentrated in several geographic areas: the north Texas Dallas-Fort Worth area, the gulf coast area, the west Texas Permian Basin area, as well as more isolated growth in cities located adjacent to or near major industrial plants and facilities. Thus, cities hardly more than "sleepy villages" at the beginning of the decade have become in 10 years important full-size communities. In the 1960 decade, it may be anticipated that this pattern will continue, diffusing over a wider geographic range of the State. Hence, long-range planning is as vital-if not more so-for today's small cities which may, on the basis of current precedent, be virtually in the metropolitan class when the 1970 decade begins.

The accompanying table tells the impressive story of what spectacular growth has meant to Texas cities during the past decade. Twenty-two Texas cities—most of them under 10,000 population in 1950—have grown by 150 percent or more during the 1950%. Today 10 of these cities have more than 20,000 population, five have more than 40,000

population.

Thirteen of the twenty-two fastest growing cities are on the perimeter of major metropolitan cities: 11 in the Dallas-Fort Worth area, two in the Houston metropolitan area. The four fastest growing cities—Irving (1,617 percent), Mesquite (1,323 percent), Farmers Branch (1,211 percent), and Richardson (864 percent)—are in Dallas County. Four—Benbrook (548 percent), Arlington (524 percent), Richland Hills (227 percent), and Burleson (160 percent)—are in Tarrant County. Two—Deer Park (579 percent) and Pasadena (168 percent)—are in Harris County.

Growth of at least seven of the fastest-growing cities is principally attributable to development of a manufacturing economy base; Grand Prairie, Garland, Deer Park, Rockdale, Pasadena, Lake Jackson, and Ingleside. In addition, Daingerfield in east Texas—at the site of the Lone Star steel plant—the 23d fastest growing city at 149 percent increase falls into this category. Manufacturing economies clearly have been the key to spectacular growth for the largest segment of these cities.

Natural resources—i.e., petroleum—have been responsible, chiefly, for the growth of three cities in this category: Odessa, Mid-

land, and Andrews.

Military activity—a factor of chief significance in the 1940 growth decade—influenced the expansion of only one city in this 21city list: Killeen, site of Fort Hood.

Officials of small cities should note that in at least six instances—Lake Jackson, Ingleside, Rockdale, Grand Prairie, Daingerfield, and Arlington—the establishment of a single major manufacturing plant has proved sufficient impetus to trigger a spectacular growth decade for the benefiting community. This is another forceful reminder that "growth can happen anywhere" and every city, regardless of size, should—as it seeks new industry—engage wisely and prudently in advance planning for the possibility of such unexpected growth during the 1960 decade.

2. GROWTH OF TEXAS CITIES UNDER 10,000

In 1950, approximately 28 percent of the municipal population in Texas resided in cities of less than 10,000 population. Proportionately, this percentage has declined during the 1950 decade because of the concentrated growth in the larger cities—for example, 50 percent of the population of the entire State now lives in the 20 largest cities alone.

Seventeen cities among those sampled have doubled or more than doubled population since 1950. These cities, current population, and the approximate rate of growth percentagewise are listed below:

Richland Hills 9,000 (227 percent), Angleton 8,258 (143 percent), Slisbee 6,500 (104 percent), Rockdale 6,400 (173 percent), Deer Park 5,000 (579 percent), Carrollton 4,700 (192 percent), Plano 4,500 (112 percent), Daingerfield 4,200 (149 percent), Ingleside 4,200 (195 percent), Benbrook 4,000 (548 percent), Lewisville 3,205 (115 percent), Dimmitt 3,100 (121 percent), Friona 2,500 (108 percent), Tomball 2,500 (135 percent), Burleson 2,061 (160 percent), Santa Rosa 1,350 (238 percent), Bovina 1,300 (130 percent).

On the basis of numbers, the typical Texas city is a small town—populationwise—rather than a metropolis. Over 86 percent of the incorporated municipalities in Texas have under 10,000 population. Many of these, of course, are located in counties and areas which have been losing population for the past 20 years. City growth does not always follow the general population growth trend for the area. Texas small towns have shown, generally, a consistently healthy growth trend during the 1950's. In the new decade of the 1960's, the possibilities of continued growth are widespread.

The fastest growing Texas cities, 1950-59

City	Gain	Population		
		1950	1959 1	
1. Irving 2. Mesquite 3. Farmers Branch 4. Richardson 5. Deer Park 6. Benbrook 7. Arlington 8. Killeen 9. Garland	Percent 1, 617 1, 323 1, 211 864 579 548 524 267 254	2, 621 1, 696 915 1, 289 736 617 7, 692 7, 045 10, 571	45, 000 24, 000 12, 000 12, 432 5, 000 4, 000 48, 000 25, 823 37, 500	

Growth of at least seven of the fastest- The fastest growing Texas cities, 1950-59—owing cities is principally attributable to Continued

City	Gain	Population		
		1950	1959 1	
10. Lake Jackson	238 227 219 195 192 184 173 172 168 160	2, 887 400 2, 750 3, 294 1, 424 1, 610 29, 495 2, 341 16, 126 22, 483 791 14, 594 21, 713	10, 000 1, 350 9, 000 10, 500 4, 200 4, 700 83, 500 6, 400 44, 000 2, 061 38, 000 54, 288	

¹ Based on working estimates of current population made by municipal officials in 1959. Cities unincorporated in 1950 are omitted from this list. Groves, now ³ city of 15,500, is the most notable omission.

American Citizenship a Priceless Gift

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. THADDEUS J. DULSKI

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 3, 1960

Mr. DULSKI. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I include an editorial which appeared in a recent issue of the Buffalo (N.Y.) Courier-Express. This editorial will be of great interest to those who have received or will receive their American citizenship papers. The editorial follows:

AMERICAN CITIZENSHIP A PRICELESS GIFT

Most native-born Americans accept citizenship in a matter of fact manner and frequently we appear more concerned with our rights than we are with our responsibilities. This is particularly true at this time of year when we complain about the income taxes we pay without giving serious thought to the fact that the price is small compared to the privileges and freedom we enjoy in this greatest democracy in the history of the world.

Sometimes it takes the observation of those who have not always enjoyed the privileges of freedom to give serious thought to the advantages we enjoy from birth. Such observations were offered recently by a comparatively young Polish refugee who only 7 years ago flew his Russian MIG fighter plane to sanctuary in free Europe and eventually was transferred to the United States. In that short space of time Frank Jarecki, now a resident of Oil City, Pa., obtained a college degree, became a citizen, and worked his way to managership of a machine and tool company.

He recounts that his grandfather had often told him of the wonders of the United States, but that he dismissed such stories as the fanciful tales of an old man. Now he finds that the enthusiasm of his grandfather was far too conservative.

far too conservative.
"You have to get in the country to realize how great it is," the former Polish flier told

reporters.

Such appraisal comes from an intelligent person who has had the opportunity to weigh the true worth of freedom against totalitarianism where the individual is the pawn of the state.

Those of us who are given to chronic complaint might well ponder Jarecki's feelings on the matter of U.S. citizenship. "Freedom," he said, "is something you can't express. You can just feel it deep in your heart."

If all of us shared Jarecki's feeling, citizenship would increase in value with the dawning of each day.

American Firm Demonstrates Virtues of Foreign Investments in Israel

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, KENNETH B. KEATING

OF NEW YORK

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, May 12, 1960

Mr. KEATING. Mr. President, the development of the State of Israel, one of the extratordinary events of our time, is taking another giant stride forward with the helping hand of American enterprise.

A symbol of this important step is the listing on the American Stock Exchange in New York City of American Israeli Paper Mills, Ltd. AIPM is the first Israeli corporation to be listed on any U.S. exchange.

This fact, in itself, may not seem startling. Yet it tells a story. It is an example of how American capital has been successfully invested in Israel to the lasting benefit of this once underdeveloped economy. It shows how farsighted American private investors are paying a substantial role in strengthening our important ally in the Middle East, preserving and strengthening at the same time our own philosophy that the reciprocal advantages of private investment overseas may do more in the long run to chart our future than almost any other single effort we can make.

The story of American Israeli Paper Mills is a fascinating exercise in enlightened corporate enterprise. In existence for less than a decade, and with initial backing from the Joseph M. Mazer family—well known for their connection with the Hudson Pulp & Paper Co. of New York—AIPM is giving renewed impetus to Israel's economy. Already saving Israel about \$1 million annually on trade balances, AIPM expects this figure to rise to \$4 million in the near future.

The obstacles faced by this firm were many for Israel had little water, few skills, no wood for pulp, and a storage of vital chemicals. How the company licked these problems is, I think, one of the most unbelievable of the many unbelievable—but true—sagas of modern Israel. It bodes well for future American investors in the noble State of Israel.

I ask unanimous consent that an article entitled "American Israeli Paper Mills" from the April 1960 issue of the American Investor, official publication of the American Stock Exchange, be printed in the Appendix of the Record.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

AMERICAN ISRAELI PAPER MILLS

Once upon a time, dear investor, there lived an industrial executive who might have knelt fancifully by his corporate bed and prayerfully dreamed of a new industrial development where there was none before, a monopoly position in his industry, enthusiastic government approval, a protective tariff, accelerated depreciation, and tax exempt income. Piously disposed as his reverie appeared, he might have languidly promised to do much for the country and its economy if only this museful prayer came true. This being so, he might have begged to be blessed with harmonious labor relations, skilled, productive workers, informed management, an abundance of raw materials, adequate financing, an effective building program, smooth transition to production, a growing market for his product, the need for almost immediate expansion, the ability to grow and sufficient credits to implement the new program.

A fairy tale? A pious hope? A pure dream? Not in this case. This is the fascinating position in which Israel's first corporation to be listed on a U.S. exchange finds itself. For Joseph M. Mazer, American Israeli Paper Mills, Ltd. chairman, has steered an enlightened corporate course, not without massive roadblocks, in giving Israel its first major producer of paper.

In less than a decade AIP (on the Mediterranean coast between Tel Aviv and Halfa) provides Israel with hundreds of jobs, gives impetus to the nation's rising standard of living and saves the economy about \$1 million annually on trade balances with the soon-to-be-fulfilled promise that the figure will reach an annual rate of \$4 million.

"The idea of a large scale paper mill in Israel was fantastic in the fall of 1949," says Mazer who carefully gaged the paper needs of the growing country and launched an exhaustive engineering survey of the overall problem. The obstacles were many. No water, no skills, no wood, no pulp, a shortage of vital chemicals, the need to import fuel oil, all of which placed together ordinarily adds up to no paper.

ordinarily adds up to no paper.

Mazer rolled up his sleeves. He found the water (two wells supplying 1,500 gallons per minute on the 18-acre property), built the mill (one main and six auxiliary reinforced concrete and steel buildings), developed machine shop facilities, imported the equipment to assemble the paper making machinery, reached around the world to tap technical know-how and brought in wood pulp from Sweden, Finland, and the United States and straw pulp from Italy and Holland. The effort can only be measured in Bunyanesque proportions.

In the assembling and initial production stage, Israeli workers did not share a common tongue with American and other foreign technicians. There was difficulty in absorbing all there was to learn. Plans for progress might be jeopardized. Chairman Mazer dispatched everyone for 16-hour daily English sessions in a local hotel. Communications, and therefore, learning, naturally improved tremendously. Then followed an intensified in-service training program which enabled the Hadera work crews to develop foreign skills. Supervisory personnel was aided by U.S. management consultant direction.

The dynamism of the management team was matched by an enlightened government approach to the problems of industrial birth. Israeli corporations are subject to a company profits tax equal to 28 percent of taxable income and an income tax of 25 percent of taxable income or a total of 53 percent of taxable income. Companies which come under the title of "approved undertakings," however, find that the law for the encouragement of capital investments smiles upon them. Enterprises in this category, while they must pay the 28 percent company

profits tax, are exempt from the 25 percent income tax for a period of 7 years from approval or 5 years from production, whichever is later. American Israeli enjoys this privilege at the moment on its expanded facilities. Its exemption for initial productive facilities expired in November 1958. The same law permits "approved" companies to accelerate depreciation rates. AIP happily avails itself of those legal provisions, and has no cash liability at all. Nevertheless the company places the equivalent in a reserve fund for future purposes.

The fablelike tale might ordinarily end

The fablelike tale might ordinarily end here with the Middle East halling its first major paper mill in 1953 and with the Israeli Nation entering a new and even more impressive era of industrial achievement, nodding happily to the million dollars that would remain at home freed from the international search for paper to serve the economy. Actually it was only the end of phase one and the second of several other phases was just beginning in the mind of Joe Mazer,

The 136-inch Fourdrinier machine ran a trimmed sheet of 126 inches at speeds up to 1,000 feet per minute, serving up new kraft, printing, and writing grades. Paper production reached 17,000 tons annually and the restless company cast about for methods that would eliminate the importation of wood pulp. The question was vital. The absence of local spruce and pine cost the economy dearly in foreign currencies. New raw materials from native sources were necessary and AIP, the Ministry of Agriculture, and the Israel Institute of Technology launched a joint research program.

The problem was as old as papermaking itself. In North and South American mills sugarcane waste (bagasse) produced pulp. Cereal straw was used in India. England based pulp production on the North African esparto grass. Asiatic countries used bamboo. France found sorghum helpful. The United States is now looking into the possibility of pulp from cotton stalks.

In Israel the high yield corn crop provided the answer. A plan was evolved for the collection, transport, and conversion of corn stalks and cereal straws into pulp. Israel's papermaking industry found a new, local pulp source. The industry was to be more fully integrated. Pulp costs would be slashed from a rate of \$150 per ton for the imported variety to a \$120-per-ton rate from local sources and imports would be cut in half. Many more dollars would remain at home. Farmers found a new and ready million-dollar market for former waste. Mazer had a new problem—the need for Israel's first pulp mill.

This was the springboard for a \$12 million expansion program: A pulp and bleach plant; a 10,000-kilowatt turbo electric generating station; a new paper machine; expansion of existing converting facilities; construction of research laboratories to improve product and efficiency. In addition new working capital would be required. Overall object: 40,000 tons annual output and the introduction of newer paper grades such as tissue, citrus wrap, bible grades, and intermediate weight boards.

Fast-moving Joe Mazer moved faster than ever. Originally financed in the main by the Mazer family, major interests in the Hudson Pulp & Paper Co. of the United States, American Israeli looked to other sources for new expansion money.

expansion money.

Five and one-half million series B ordinary shares were sold in the American market and 500,000 more had to be allocated in Israel where the shares were quickly oversubscribed. Supplier credits totaling close to \$1 million were extended and the Export-Import Bank of Washington granted a \$3 million loan. The program was launched and is scheduled for 1960 completion.

AIP's new papermaking machine is already in production. Modifications on the initial

machine are now completed after a 3-month conversion shutdown. The new pulp mill is grinding up cornstalks and other straw residues in high gear and the generating station slated for an August 1960 start, will be in a position to sell excess capacity to the local utility company. Never wasteful, the company utilizes steam produced for the paper machines to spin its generators. Research facilities, slated for completion this year, are expected to increase product acceptance and to stimulate increasing paper usage in cooperation with the newly established packaging institute which seeks to push present per capita paper consumption of about 60 pounds over the 100-pound mark before 1965. While the United States uses 400 pounds per person, the Israeli rate is considerably above Middle East consumption.

Despite the 2-month conversion lull, Ma-

Despite the 2-month conversion lull, Mazer projected sales at between \$6 and \$7 million for the fiscal year just ended last March 31, about even with the previous year. Earnings are expected by him to approximate the 41 cents per ADR reported for the two previous years. ADR's are American depositary receipts which equal 5 ordinary shares of which there are 11 million presently outstanding. The company is on a 25-cent annual dividend basis. Mazer looks for fiscal 1961 sales to approach \$14 million, or double the \$7 million estimates for the current fiscal

Mr. Pinhas Sapir, Israel's Minister of Trade and Industry, who seeks to attract additional industry makes the salient observation when he views the American Israell experience. "Here is additional proof of the possibility of attracting foreign capital to Israel"—with a deep bow to Mazer's planning and the ability of the AIP management team.

At the Drop of a Snowflake

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. GLENN CUNNINGHAM

OF NEBRASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, April 21, 1960

Mr. CUNNINGHAM. Mr. Speaker, a recent editorial in the Wyoming State Tribune, Cheyenne, Wyo., clearly points to the danger of diverting first-class mail on which air mail postage has not been paid from the railroads to the airlines under the airlift of the Post Office Department.

All of us in Congress are concerned about a strong railroad industry, which is so essential for everyday private and Government business, and especially so for defense. The effect of the airlift is discussed in this editorial, and I include it as a part of my remarks. I would call attention to my bill H.R. 9498 which would end the authority of the Post Office Department to airlift this type of mail and stop the damaging inroads into what historically and legally has been the business of the Nation's railroads.

The editorial follows:

AT THE DROP OF A SNOWFLAKE

Some years ago the Post Office Department inaugurated an experimental airlift for some regular first-class mail. The mail is handled on a space-available basis and, so far, the experiment has been of a limited nature. Now, however, it is proposed that the airlift be extended.

That proposal has been the cause of serious concern in Congress and elsewhere—and with good reason. For one thing, it seems only fair that people who want their mail to

carried by air should pay the going rate of air postage.

But there is much more to the matter than this consideration. Increasing diversion of mail from the railroads to other carriers would further undermine the railroads' financial strength, and their ability to perform the kind of transportation service this country must have. The railroads are in a serious position as it is, and we can't afford to further and needlessly compound their problems.

Moreover, from the standpoint of mail users—a category which includes virtually everyone—diverting 4-cent letters to the air carriers would be a mistake. We all know what happens when the weather gets really bad. Air traffic stops or is disrupted and delayed. And when that happens, to what agency do we look to get the mails through? The answer is, the Iron Horse.

So, as one railroad man puts it, "If diversions to other carriers continue, the day may come when railroads will not be able to move all mail at the drop of a snowflake. And if this ever happens, all America will be the loser."

They Work Longer for Less in Russia

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. ALEXANDER WILEY

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, May 12, 1960

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, historically, the rise of communism to a position of power and control of the land and the people in the world, has been due largely to the relentless, dedicated efforts of a hard core of almost fanatic Communists working tirelessly toward the objective of world domination.

Through deft, insidious practices of infiltration, espionage, subversion—and, yes, murder—they have gained control of almost 1 billion people and vast acres of land. From this pinnacle, they are now attempting to persuade the peoples of other lands that communism is the "system of the future"; that it holds a promise of better life, even, than our own free way of life. Traditionally, the promises of Communists have far exceeded their "ability to deliver." Time after time, Communist bragging about great progress has in practice fallen short of its mark.

Despite the history of Communists "stamping out" freedom, subjecting the fundamental rights and privileges of peoples, and, in a large way, failing as yet to even approach standards of living created under a free system, the Communists still are continuing to influence some people—fortunately a minority—in many lands to believe that communism is an acceptable way of life,

For the "gullible," swallowing the promises of a "great and glossy future under communism," it is necessary from time to time, to present the hard facts of realism—to paint a factual picture of life under the Communist system.

We recognize, of course, that, through the powers of dictatorship, the Communists have been able to channel manpower and vast resources into such programs as military weapons and scientific achievements. In providing a better life for the people, however, communism is still a low-rate system. For the people for whom communism may have a faint appeal, it is essential to ask: Just how are the people living under a Communist system? Is it really, for example, a "workers' paradise"? Or, again, "does the Communist bragging and promising far exceed its ability to produce?"

In the May 9 edition of the U.S. News & World Report, an informative article entitled, "They Work Longer for Less In Russia," reviews some of the "facts of life" under communism. According to the article:

After 32 years of 5-year plans most Russians have slightly less buying power than in 1928. It takes the average Russian 28½ hours of labor to buy the same food that an American earns in 7 hours. Under Krushchev, Russians have gained—but not much, by U.S. standards.

Reflecting further upon the fact that the Communist system has a long way to go before it will catch up with the U.S. system—let alone "pass us by," as Khrushchev brags—I ask unanimous consent that the article be printed in the Appendix of the Record.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THEY WORK LONGER FOR LESS IN RUSSIA What it's really like in the "workers' paradise":

After 32 years of 5-year plans most Russians have slightly less buying power than

It takes the average Russian 28½ hours of labor to buy the same food that an American earns in 7 hours.

Under Khrushchev, Russians have gained—but not much, by U.S. standards.

In 1928, the Communist rulers of Soviet Russia promised to improve the lot of the Russian people by launching a series of 5-year plans. But today the Russian worker is getting less food for his labor than he received in 1928 before the first 5-year plan was started.

Official Soviet figures, as they are now analyzed by the U.S. Department of Labor, show that the average worker in Moscow had to work 8 percent longer in 1959 than in 1928 to buy a week's supply of seven essential foods for his family. The same trend is indicated on clothing, the experts say.

Even though the Soviet worker's buying power on food is lower than in 1928, he is able to purchase somewhat more food than he did in 1953 for the same amount of labor. Since 1954, Soviet authorities have allowed wages to rise for many workers, as a means of improving their purchasing power.

of improving their purchasing power.

What worktime buys: Despite higher wages, the average worker in Moscow, the survey reports, has to work about 12 times as long as a New York worker to earn the money to buy a medium-priced suit, as shown on the chart on this page. Or the Russian works 18 times as long to provide the price of his wife's dress, in comparison with the American.

It takes eight times as much working time for the Russian to purchase a dozen eggs, in relation to what the American worker's labor will buy.

For a pack of cigarettes, the worker in Moscow pays the equivalent of 27 minutes of working time, while an American pays 7 minutes of work.

A loaf of rye bread is worth half again as much worktime in Moscow as in New York; 9 minutes against 6.

The comparisons thus show that the Russian worker has to put in far more hours of work per week to provide the essentials for his family than does the American worker. The American has more money left

to spend on foods and other items that the Russian would consider to be luxuries.

Week's food: 281/2 hours. The U.S. survey also makes a comparison of buying power by adding up the hours of work needed in Russia and the United States for purchase of a week's supply of seven essential foods for a family of four. These foods include rye bread, potatoes, beef, butter, sugar, milk and eggs.

To buy this week's supply, the average Russian worker would have to work about 281/2 hours, the survey shows, against about 7 hours needed for an American worker to

buy the same "basket."

When the comparison is made with purchasing power in 1928, it is found that the Russian spent 261/4 hours on the job to earn enough for a week's similar supply of food. In 1928, the American put in 12 hours of work for the same group of items. Since then, the American worker has been able to reduce his working time while purchasing power increased—but the Russian still has not caught up with his own buying power of

In all of the comparisons, the average earnings of a Moscow factory worker have been matched against the average pay of a New York City production worker. The 1959 York City production worker. The 1959 figures, for example, are based on an average Wage of \$2.17 an hour for the New Yorker. For the Russian, the working time is computed on the basis of average earnings of 4 rubles an hour—about 800 rubles a month. That amounts to 40 cents an hour or \$80 a month.

Wide gaps in pay. The U.S. survey, made by the Bureau of Labor Statistics, also reveals the range of earnings for various groups of Russians, indicating large differences in income between professional people and factory hands.

The unskilled worker in a Russian factory, it is explained, now earns from \$27 to \$50 a month in terms of U.S. dollars. However, a Russian opera star receives from \$500 to \$2,000 a month, according to the report.

A scientist in Russia earns from \$800 to \$1,500 monthly, the survey shows. Other estimates: \$700 a month for the head of a Government department; \$600 to \$1,000 for a science professor; \$300 to \$1,000 for a factory manager; \$100 to \$300 for an engineer.

A high-school teacher is shown to receive \$85 to \$150 a month, while a primary-school

teacher gets \$60 to \$90.

In a Russian factory, the semiskilled worker gets \$60 to \$90 a month, with the skilled employee earning \$100 to \$250 a month.

Thus, a Russian scientist's buying power turns out to be about 16 times that of the semiskilled worker in a Soviet factory. a science professor is able to buy 11 times as much as the factory hand in the "workers' paradise."

What a worker's wages will buy in Russia and United States

in A new Department of Labor study of prices and wages

To buy these things—	This much working time is required by an average worker—		
	In Moscow	In New York City	
Man's medium-priced wool suit. Woman's dress. Pair of men's shoes. Pair of women's shoes. Man's cotton shirt Pair of nylon stockings. I pound of butter. A dozen eggs. I pound of roast beef. A quart of milk. A package of cigarettes. Load of rye bread. I pound of potatoes.	275 hours, 30 minutes, 51 hours, 30 minutes, 57 hours, 30 minutes, 15 hours. 184 minutes, 184 minutes, 32 minutes, 27 minutes, 9 minutes, 9 minutes, 7 minutes.	23 hours, 36 minutes, 7 hours, 10 minutes, 56 minutes, 56 minutes, 20.5 minutes, 21 minutes, 7 minutes, 7 minutes, 7 minutes, 2 minutes, 3 minu	

Espionage: Weapon of Survival

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, BOB WILSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 12, 1960

Mr. WILSON. Mr. Speaker, the international incident involving the U-2 airplane has created much flak, with many nonsensical statements by opponents of the administration.

The American people should be reassured that we have knowledge of what goes on behind the Iron Curtain as a result of our surveillance systems.

While Russia understandably doesn't like to be spied on, this country is more secure because of the information obtained by efforts such as the activity in which the U-2 was engaged.

In the future, it may be that some international court of law will determine just how far above the earth's surface the sovereignty of a nation extends. For instance, an enemy submarine or fishing boat can operate outside the 3-mile limit today under international law and can take all the photographs it wants without violating sovereignty or being guilty of esponage activity against any country.

This country is today operating satellites that take pictures of the earth's surface from a distance of some 400 miles

Is a picture taken from 400 miles above a country right, while a picture taken from 12 to 14 miles, as in the U-2's case, wrong? That is one of the questions that may some day be settled. Until some court makes this decision, we can be reassured that this country has adequate and reliable means to keep informed about the enemy's war plans or inten-

An outstanding editorial regarding the need for espionage in the cold war recently appeared in the San Diego Union. I ask unanimous consent to include it as a part of my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD:

[From the San Diego Union, May 10, 1960] ESPIONAGE: WEAPON OF SURVIVAL-WINDOW ON RUSSIA

Espionage is one of the major weapons in the cold war. Its employment by the United States is a matter of survival itself. Premier Khrushchev's condemnation of this country for realistically facing up to the facts of self-preservation has a hollow ring.

The American reconnaissance plane shot down by Russian gunners-on what our Government said frankly was a spying mission-was one of the casualties of a cold war battle for national security. There have been other casualties in this espionage battle, and there will be more-on both sides.

It comes as no surprise to learn that we have an effective and productive espionage system. Indeed, it would have been surprising-and disastrous-if we did not. There is no need to justify our spying. As Senator CLIFFORD CASE, Republican, of New Jersey, put it:

"It really isn't a question of right. It is a question of what has to be done. The thing that would really concern me would be if I didn't think we were making every necessary effort to get all the possible information we could for the safety and security of our country in the cold war that exists

at the same time we are doing our very best to end the conditions that make the cold war exist."

Espionage is one of the distasteful but necessary jobs we must do to find out what a ruthless and diabolical enemy is preparing for our destruction.

The free world's major countries are free societies where Soviet officials can see much of what is going on. A Soviet agent, for example, can play his binoculars on North Island from Cabrillo Monument and count planes by type and number. Information that is suppressed in the Soviet Union is freely disseminated in this country. Some technical publications offer what amount to do-it-yourself kits for weaponry.

We are the most open country in the world.

And we are contending with a tightly sealed Communist fort, behind the walls of which

our extinction is being plotted.

The Soviet Union makes no attempt to hide its hostility for the United States and its allies. Almost daily it threatens free men with annihilation, destruction by nu-clear-packed missiles. It repeatedly sabo-tages honest proposals for open-skies inspection systems, for safeguarded means of controlling disarmament.

On orders from Moscow, Red agents fan out over the globe. They subvert, they spy, they sabotage. Their submarines train periscopes on our shores; their trawlers track our sea perimeters. They have stolen the H-bomb, and they will steal whatever they can.

The fact that the Lockheed U-2 has made successful reconnaissance flights over Soviet territory for more than 4 years testifies to the competence of our intelligence apparatus. Facts obtained explain why the administration is confident in our military strength. The U-2's record of safe flights indicates weaknesses in Red defenses.

Getting caught at spying is embarrassing. But the embarrassment is small compared to Khrushchev's embarrassing realization that his armed camp is not impervious to obser-

Espionage is part and parcel of maintaining an alert security in the cold war. Let us thank our stars for a good system.

Resolutions Memorializing the Congress of the United States To Enact Legislation Increasing the Compensation of Postal Employees

> EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. THOMAS J. LANE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 27, 1960 Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave

to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include resolutions adopted by the General Court of Massachusetts in support of legislation to increase the compensation of postal employees:

RESOLUTIONS MEMORIALIZING THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES TO ENACT LEGISLA-TION INCREASING THE COMPENSATION OF POSTAL EMPLOYEES

Whereas, there is now pending before the Congress of the United States legislation, including H.R. 9883 and H.R. 9977, which would increase the compensation of postal employees; and

Whereas the Post Office Department requires adequate means for attracting and retaining efficient and well-qualified personnel in order to maintain the operations at a high level of service: Now therefore be it

Resolved, That the General Court of Massachusetts respectfully urges the Congress of the United States to enact legislation that will increase the compensation of all postal

employees; and be it further

Resolved, That copies of these resolutions be sent forthwith by the Secretary of the Commonwealth to the President of the United States, to the presiding officer of each branch of the Congress, and to each member thereof from this commonwealth.

Senate, adopted, April 25, 1960. IRVING N. HAYDEN,

Clerk.

House of representatives, adopted in concurrence, April 27, 1960.

LAWRENCE R. GROVE, Clerk.

Attest:

JOSEPH D. WARD, Secretary of the Commonwealth.

Twenty-fifth Anniversary of REA

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. JOHN E. HENDERSON

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, May 12, 1960

Mr. HENDERSON. Mr. Speaker, the rural electric program of the Nation marks its 25th anniversary this week.

This program has developed over the years into a significant service bringing electrification to vast numbers of rural homes and communities. In my own district cooperatives have been formed to serve the needs of the families. I should like to point out the development which has occurred in the operation of one of the cooperatives with which I am familiar. Today the Guernsey-Muskingum Electric Cooperative is extending service not only in Guernsey and Muskingum Counties in Ohio but to members in Morgan, Noble, Coshocton, Licking, and Harrison Counties as well. The cooperatives 6,000 members consumed almost 28 million kilowatt-hours of electric power last year. Their average member during the year used 4.580 kilowatthours, an increase of 258 kilowatt-hours of power over the average utilized in 1958. For this service in 1959, the cooperative received \$717,817.97, an increase in income of \$37,258.51 over the previous year.

The first loan from REA was received by the Guernsey-Muskingum Electric Cooperative in 1938. During the intervening years, the organization has borrowed \$2,909,714.23. Of this sum, it has repaid \$965,054.11. With the funds at its disposal, over 1,800 miles of rural distribution lines have been constructed and 6,800 services have been installed. Last year 184 new services were connected and another 200 new services are expected in 1960. The expansion of new services requires approximately \$200,000 in new

capital each year. The cooperative serving such a large portion of the 15th Congressional District has a staff of 36 regular employees with an annual payroll of more than

\$163,000.

The Frankfort Morning Times Speaks Out Against Proposed Postal Rate Increase

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. J. EDWARD ROUSH

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, May 12, 1960

Mr. ROUSH. Mr. Speaker, the proposed postal rate increases include rate increases on second-class mail which will vitally affect the newspapers that use postal services for rural subscribers. These newspapers are the main artery for the flow of news, information and knowledge to the people who are subscribers. The proposed postal rate increase will cause an unfair financial burden to be imposed upon an already struggling industry. I am inserting in the RECORD an editiorial which appeared in the May 1 issue of the Frankfort (Ind.) Morning Times. I strongly share the views expressed in this forceful editorial and want to share them with my colleagues.

The editorial follows:

Let's keep the facts straight about the proposed rate increase on second-class mailing rates now being studied by the House Post Office Committee.

Two bills are before the Congress. One is H.R. 11140, the other is S. 3192. Both are the same.

As was stated in a page 1 editorial in the Times of Sunday, April 17, this bill, according to those "in the know," has a 50-50 chance of passing. Such a rate increase, if made effective, would be absorbed by small dailies and all weekly newspapers who use the postal service for rural subscribers. It been estimated that such a postage hike would cost the Morning Times approximately \$4,200 annually to absorb the proposed new rate. This, obviously, would soon be passed on to the rural subscriber.

The position of the Times in this matter is not one that reflects on any local situation in the post office. Rather, it concerns the high echelons of the postal service and the proposal of Postmaster General Arthur Summerfield.

The feelings of the Times could not be said better than in a recent statement made by Ralph Nicholson, publisher of the Dotahn (Ala.) Eagle. We quote the words of Mr. Nicholson:

'The daily newspapers of America are concerned over the lack of progress in Washington toward management of the Post Office Department and outraged by the repeated charges that they are being subsidized through second-class mail rates.

"The Congress clearly marked the way to the objective in its Postal Policy Act of 1958 which declares that each class of mail shall bear its own cost and expense of 'public services' rendered by the Post Office be defrayed by specific appropriation.

"Instead of complying, the Department proposes additional increases on some classes of mail, far above the cost of handling same, in order to offset alleged losses in serving other users, and again it fails to compute soundly the cost of its 'public service' activities.

"Why sound management, which includes fairness to the public it services, has not long since replaced confusion and distortion seems almost inconceivable. One of the long existent inequities is the charge of subsidy against newspapers, in spite of the oft repeated declaration from U.S. dailies that they approve the Postal Policy Act of 1958; that they want no subsidy from the Post Office and believe they receive none. The newspapers invite those who reiterate the subsidy diatribe to prove it, but they never do. This is conviction without trial, an irksome occurrence."

Still another publication has spoken out in direct terms. We refer to an editorial from the March 15 edition of the Valparaiso (Ind.) Vidette-Messenger in which Avery B. Weaver, the paper's general manager, wrote: "We [newspapers] believe we are being accused of a subsidy because of the free-incounty privilege-which we do not want, because the Post Office Department will not separate from the costs of handling daily newspapers the costs of handling weekly and monthly magazines, and because we must bear most of the cost of distributing religious and charitable publications. members [Inland Daily Press Association] once again urge the Postmaster General to institute an accounting procedure which will ascertain the true cost of handling daily newspapers and, after that cost has been determined, will pass it along to the daily newspapers using second class mail. want to pay our own way."

The Times, once again, urges those rural subscribers who would absorb any increase in cost passed to the newspapers by the higher second class postal rates should this bill become effective, to write their Congressman and both Senators. The Times does not believe the proposed mailing hike on second class mailing is fair. We don't believe our rural readers want the bill passed either, especially if it means an increase in subscription rates to absorb the higher cost of production. Why not write Congressman J. EDWARD ROUSH OF Senator HOMER CAPEHART and Senator Vance Hartke and express your disapproval to the postal increase proposal before the Congress? Hearings will start in the House Post Office Committee this week. Mention H.R. 11140 when you write to your Congressman, and S. 3192 in writing the U.S. Senators from Indiana.

Voyage of the "Triton"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JOHN W. McCORMACK

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, May 12, 1960

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, the feat of Capt. Edward L. Beach and the officers and men of the Triton reflect great credit upon our country. Special tribute is also due to Admiral Rickover. They have lived up to the highest traditions of the U.S. Navy.

In my remarks, I include a deserving tribute to them-an editorial "Voyage of the Triton," appearing in the Washington Post of May 12, 1960:

VOYAGE OF THE "TRITON"

Capt. Edward L. Beach and the officers and men of the Triton have just completed an adventure that ought to rank with the great naval expeditions of history. To be sure, there is nothing very dramatic about going around the world any more. But circumnavigation under water is quite another matter, involving new challenges to man and machine quite without precedent. That the huge Triton and her 183-man crew completed such a voyage without serious difficulty is a tribute not only to Captain Beach and his men but also to those who designed and built their fabulous ship and to Adm. Hyman Rickover, the prime mover of nuclear submarine development.

The world's largest submersible, the nuclear-powered Triton, also is one of the World's fastest naval vessels even when submerged. The round-the-world voyage, demonstrates the great potential of the country's growing fleet of nuclear submarines and particularly of those which will carry the ballistic missile, Polaris. It is now more apparent than ever that Polaris, in submarines like Triton, offers a way to reduce the vulnerability of the Nation's nuclear deterrent that no fixed or land-based missile system can match. Congress has consistently called for greater empasis on nuclear submarine procurement, and the voyage of the Triton confirms again—as did the noteworthy trips to the North Pole-the wisdom of that action.

"Gimme" Demand Killed Off Rome

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. JOHN J. FLYNT, JR.

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, May 12, 1960

Mr. FLYNT. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include an edi-torial by Hon. Quimby Melton, Jr., which appeared in the Griffin (Ga.) Daily News on Monday, May 9, 1960. Hon. Quimby Melton, Jr., from Griffin, Ga., is the editor of the Griffin Daily News, and this is the lead editorial in this issue of the paper. In addition to being editor of the newspaper, Mr. Melton is a representative of Spalding County in the General Assembly of Georgia and is also a member of the board of regents of the university system of Georgia.

For many years I have felt that Gibbon's "The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire" should be required reading for every Member of Congress and, indeed, all public officials; because after all it is our responsibility to avoid the errors and pitfalls of the past if we are to preserve the strength and integrity of our Government, our Nation, and our Deople. Evidently, the distinguished editor of the Griffin Daily News shares this feeling. The full text of his splendid editorial appears below:

"GIMME" DEMAND KILLED OFF ROME

In this modern age, who is concerned with the Roman Empire?

All of us should be. History has lessons for those who heed.

Edward Gibbon's book "The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire" tells of events hundreds of years ago. What do they have to do with us today? Well, let's skim over

the information which Mr. Gibbon offers: The main thing which contributed to the destruction of the once mightiest of empires was moral decay, lack of strength, disintegration of character. All of this went naturally along with demands of "gimme."

Hordes of unemployed people in Rome demanded that the emperor "gimme." Just like today's politicians, he gave. He kept his job, but after awhile the Roman Empire fell into pieces. The emperor gave food to the masses, but to do this he had to increase

taxes. When he raised taxes, unemployment increased also.

Once fed, the jobless demanded entertainment. The emperor declared a holiday and put on a circus. Soon everybody went to the circus and it was not long before every day was a holiday. The masses of people of Rome did as little as they could get by with. They demanded "gimme, gimme." And the emperor gave and gave and gave.

Then the Germans came. The once strong Romans had no will to resist, no strength of character, no moral fiber. The legions of Rome melted like butter on a hot summer day. The "gimme" boys paid for what they got with their freedom.

Does any of this sound familiar?

Seafarers Union Withdraws Picket Line Following State Department Good Faith Assurance to AFL-CIO Re Arab Blacklisting

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JAMES ROOSEVELT

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 12, 1960

Mr. ROOSEVELT. Mr. Speaker, in recent weeks I have entered into the RECORD information on the protest, through peaceful picketing of the United Arab Republic ship docked in New York Harbor, of the Seafarers International Union and the International Longshoremen's Association against the blacklisting of American-flag ships by the United Arab Republic.

I think it proper that information on the latest developments likewise be made part of the RECORD. This information sets forth the recent sequence of events, culminating in the withdrawal of the picketing of the United Arab Republic ship. The withdrawal action was based on the good faith assurance of the State Department to the AFL-CIO that it will investigate fully the grievances of the Seafarers International Union and through appropriate diplomatic action with the foreign countries involved, to renew its efforts to assure freedom of the seas and to protect the interest of our shipping and seamen now being discriminated against by the Arab boycott and blacklisting policy.
I insert at this point the following com-

munications and statements:

Exhibit I, AFL-CIO President George Meany's letter of May 5, 1960, to Acting Secretary of State Douglas Dillon, accompanied by a statement or resolution adopted by the AFL-CIO executive

Exhibit II, Acting Secretary of State Dillon's May 6 reply to Mr. Meany, accompanied by a statement of policy.

Exhibit III, a May 6 telegram from Mr. Meany to Paul Hall, president of the Seafarers International Union and Mr. Hall's telegraphic reply thereto.

EXHIBIT I

MAY 5, 1960.

Hon, Douglas Dillon, Acting Secretary of State, U.S. Department of State, Washington, D.C.

MY DEAR MR. SECRETARY: I have the honor to transmit to you the resolution adopted by

the executive council of the AFL-CIO on Wednesday, May 4, pledging full support to the maritime affiliates of the AFL-CIO in their protest against the blacklisting of American-flag ships and the boycott policy being pursued by the Arab boycott organization of the Arab League.

You will not that the resolution further expresses the support by the executive council of the AFL-CIO of the direct actions taken by the Seafarers International Union, supported by the International Longshoremen's Association in the New York port.

I have taken the liberty of forwarding the resolution to you for the information of the Department of State and for such action as may be appropriate under the circumstances.

Sincerely,

GEORGE MEANY President.

STATEMENT BY THE AFL-CIO EXECUTIVE COUN-CIL IN SUPPORT OF THE SEAFARERS INTERNA-TIONAL UNION, MAY 4, 1960, WASHINGTON, D.C.

The AFL-CIO, by convention action, is pledged to support the principle of freedom of navigation for all nations through the Suez Canal. The maritime unions affiliated with the AFL-CIO and the maritime department of the AFL-CIO have, on numerous occasions, vigorously protested the blacklisting of American-flag ships by the Arab Boycott Organization of the Arab League.

This blacklisting and boycott policy violates the international law of freedom of the seas, which the AFL–CIO convention resolution pledges the AFL–CIO to support. At the $\,$ same time, this blacklisting and boycott policy, pursued by certain Arab countries, threatens job opportunities for American seamen whose livelihood depends upon the American merchant marine and unrestricted opportunities of peaceful trading and transportation.

The maritime affiliates of the AFL-CIO, in addition to protesting directly against this blacklisting of American-flag ships, have likewise protested to our State Department, urging that the State Department use its good offices through diplomatic channels to remove

this boycott.

These protests have thus far been unavailing and recently the Seafarers International Union, AFL-CIO, supported by the International Longshoremen's Association, AFL-CTO has peacefully picketed an Egyptian ship docked in New York Harbor in protest against the discrimination against American shipping and seamen, being practiced by this and other Arab countries.

The U.S. District Court in New York has denied an injunction against this peaceful picketing on the ground that the unions involved have a legitimate labor interest to protect in their action. This action of the district court was sustained today by the U.S. Court of Appeals.

The executive council pledges full support to the maritime affiliates of the AFL-CIO and to the Maritime Trades Department of the AFL-CIO in their protests against the blacklisting of American-flag ships and the boycott policy being pursued by the Arab Boycott Organization of the Arab League. The executive council specifically supports the direct actions taken by the Seafarers International Union, supported by the International Long-shoremen's Association, in the New York

The executive council rejects the implication unwarrantedly made by Senator Ful-BRIGHT in a speech in the Senate that this action is a political action of an "irresponsible" union group.

The executive council reaffirms the fact that the purpose of the maritime affiliates of the AFL-CIO in their protests is to protect the interests of American shipping and seamen from the Arab boycott which the State Department itself recognizes is "discriminatory" against American shipping and seamen.

The executive council calls upon the administration and the State Department to take all appropriate diplomatic action to protect the interests of our shipping and seamen, now being discriminated against by the Arab boycott and blacklisting policy.

EXHIBIT II

DEPARTMENT OF STATE, Washington, D.C., May 6, 1960.

Mr. George Meany, President, AFL-CIO, Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. MEANY: I have just received your letter of May 5 enclosing the statement recently adopted by the AFL-CIO executive council with respect to boycott measures of

the Arab League.

With reference to the last paragraph of your letter regarding appropriate action which the Department of State might take under the circumstances, I enclose a statement of basic principles which actuate U.S. foreign policy affecting the American merchant marine.

Sincerely.

Dougas Dillon,
Acting Secretary.

STATEMENT OF POLICY, MAY 6, 1960

1. As a matter of settled policy, the United States supports the principle of freedom of the seas and free access to foreign ports and facilities. The Department has constantly sought to facilitate the normal pursuit of international commerce by vessels of U.S. registry.

2. The U.S. Government has long and unequivocally maintained the principle that there should be freedom of transit through the Suez Canel for all nations. This policy has been publicly emphasized on numerous occasions, and was specifically reiterated by the Secretary of State during his address before the United Nations General Assembly

on September 17, 1959.

3. The U.S. Government protests as a matter of policy discriminatory actions or practices with respect to international trade which adversely affect U.S. firms, vessels, and citizens. The Department will continue to pursue, by all appropriate and effective means, every avenue whereby private American interests in international trade may be

fully safeguarded and restored.

With respect to Arab trade restrictions arising out of the Arab-Israel conflict, the Department of State reemphasizes that our Government neither recognizes nor condones the Arab boycott, which includes the blacklisting of U.S.-flag vessels in part because of prior calls at Israell ports. Every appropriate opportunity will be utilized, on continuing basis, to reemphasize this fundamental position to the Governments concerned. At the same time, every suitable occasion will be employed both within and outside the United Nations, to facilitate progress toward a solution of the basic Arab-Israel conflict from which the Arab boycott arises.

5. The U.S. Navy in February 1960 discontinued the use of a clause formerly employed in contracting procedures for the delivery of oil to U.S. naval installations abroad, lest this clause, which was designed to assure the efficient operation of the fleet, be misconstrued as acquiescence in the Arab boycott. Regarding transportation of Public Law 480 cargoes, restrictive clauses have in certain instances been included in ship charters by foreign countries which purchase the surpluses in this country and make their own shipping arrangements directly with private carriers.

No U.S. Government agency is a party to these contracts. Consistent with the policy that no U.S. agency condone the Arab boycott, the Department will continue its efforts to do what it can to end the application of these restrictive clauses with respect to U.S. flag vessels under charter to foreign countries.

6. Regarding treatment of U.S. citizens abroad, including American seamen, it is of course mandatory on this Department to do everything possible to assure equal treatment and freedom from harassment for all our citizens in foreign countries. U.S. diplomatic and consular officers have standing instructions to extend every appropriate assistance to our citizens who may encounter difficulties. In several recent instances American seamen experienced difficulties at ports in the United Arab Republic. Our consular officers made every effort to assist the crews of these vessels, and were in fact able to be of material help. The Department has renewed its standing instructions to its consular officers to be on the alert to assist in settling grievances regarding treatment abroad of American seamen or other American citizens which are brought to their attention.

7. As a matter of basic procedure, the Department gives full consideration to all communications from private American groups with respect to problems affecting the conduct of U.S. foreign relations. In accordance with this procedure, it has been and will continue to be, the intention of the Department of State to give full consideration to all communications from the Seafarers International Union, other affected martitine unions and other interested groups.

The Department will consult with the AFL-CIO and its maritime affiliates on future developments affecting American vessels and

seamen in the areas concerned.

In the light of the foregoing basic principles and in conformity with the fundamental national interest, the Department gives assurances that it will undertake to investigate fully the grievances of the Seafarers International Union and, through appropriate diplomatic action with the foreign countries involved, to renew its efforts to assure freedom of the seas and to protect the interest of our shipping and seamen now being discriminated against by the Arab boycott and blacklisting policy.

EXHIBIT III

MAY 6, 1960.

Mr. Paul Hall, President, Scafarers International Union, Brooklyn, N.Y.:

I have today received from Acting Secretary of State Douglas Dillon the good-faith assurance of the Government of the United States that it will fully investigate grievances of U.S. seamen and renew its diplomatic efforts to protect American seamen and shipping against future indignities and discrimination. I firmly believe that the good trade union purposes for which the Seafarers International Union established the picket line at the Cleopatra has been served and I suggest the picket line be withdrawn.

Please be assured of the continued and complete support of the entire trade union movement for the members of the SIU and all merchant seamen. We intend to protect the interests of American shipping and seamen at all times.

GEORGE MEANY, President AFL-CIO.

MAY 6, 1960.

GEORGE MEANY, President, AFL-CIO, Washington, D.C.:

Re your wire pertaining to the picketing of the SS Cleopatra in protest against the United Arab Republic blacklist of American ships and mistreatment of American seamen you have informed us that the State Department has given good-faith assurances to you that it will take positive action to resolve these problems. Therefore, in deference to your suggestion as president of the AFL-CIO

and in light of our traditional support of AFL-CIO policy we will abide by your request and will remove the picket line as of today at 5 p.m. The officers and members of our union take this opportunity to express to you and to the executive council our deep appreciation for your interest in and support of our fight for the rights of American seamen and for freedom of the seas for American-flag ships.

PAUL HALL, President, Seafarers International Union.

Automobile Design-for-Living Kits Mailed

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JOHN S. MONAGAN

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 12, 1960

Mr. MONAGAN. Mr. Speaker, no problem is more important to the American people today than the program to improve the safety of travel on our highways. In this connection, Ralph Nader, Connecticut State chairman for the automobile design-for-living project of the Connecticut Junior Chamber of Commerce, has announced a program of sending outlines and information kits to all local chambers with the idea of acquainting the people of various Connecticut communities with the importance of safer design of automobiles.

I consider this program a great step in the direction of reducing the frightful highway accident toll, and I am happy to append hereafter an article concerning this project which appeared in the Connecticut Jaycee News for

April 1960:

AUTOMOBILE DESIGN FOR LIVING KITS MALLED PROJECT FOR ALL CHAPTERS

Raiph Nader, State chairman for the automobile-design-for-living project, announced the dispatch of program outlines and information kits to all local chapters. He urges all chapters to conduct the program so as to acquaint the people of their community with the great contribution which safer designed automobiles can make to the reduction of casualties in traffic accidents.

The program outline envisages informing the community of this engineering approach to casualty reduction by various media of communication and public addresses before interested groups in the coming weeks. A film, "Design for Survival," is available on loan from the Hamden office of Liberty Mutual Insurance Co. It illustrates the need and feasibility of safer design components in motor vehicles by describing the Cornell-Liberty experimental safety with over 60 new safety devices.

The basis for the program on the briefly

The basis for the program can be briefly described. For the past several years, automotive crash injury research by university, private and military agencies has piled an impressive amount of evidence that unsafe automotive designs are far more fundamental causes of destroying life and limand far more controllable by public and industry effort than the customary and instead policy of trying to confine the temperament and behavior of 80 million drivers.

Most motor vehicle accidents involve two separate collisions: First, the striking of the vehicle with another object and second, the striking by the occupant against the interior parts of the vehicle or ejection through the door opened by the impact.

is this second impact of the occupant against the inside of his car that does the killing and injuring.

Unsafe designs contribute both to the accident and the injury. Examples of the former include inadequate braking systems, leakage of carbon monoxide and visual obstructions and distortions. A few illustrafatality or injury are doors flying open on impact, inadequately secured seats, the protruding steering wheel mechanism, sharpedged rear-view mirror, pointed knobs and Jutting dashboards, the cardboard-like roof structure and poor force-moderating bump-

Studies indicate that with adequately designed cars and an increased use of attachable safety accessories, a reduction of 75 per-Cent or about 28,500 lives saved annually would be a realistic possibility. This view gains credence from the fact that it is easier to make machines safe than to make humans behave safely, a principal learned in our factories long ago with remarkable casualty reduction.

The overall objective of this Jaycee program is to forge the consumer demand for safer cars that is needed to induce safer production of cars and safety standards, and to promote use of whatever few safety aids now existing on the market, particularly reputable seat belts adequately installed.

Holds FCC Responsible for Abuses of TV

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. HERMAN TOLL

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 4, 1960

Mr. TOLL Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks I include an interesting letter appearing in the Philadelphia Bulletin of October 30, 1959, which was written by a constituent of mine, Max N. Carol. This letter is pertinent to the investigation which is being conducted by the Harris committee in an effort to improve the standards and prestige of TV and the performers who participate. The letter is included to show the hope of a citizen who represents the feeling of all people for proper and beneficial use of this remarkable medium of communication.

The letters follows:

Holds FCC RESPONSIBLE FOR ABUSES OF TV With the advent of television it was the hope of our society that at last a great medium of visual information would be available of visual information would be available. able in the field of clean entertainment, educational enlightenment, and up-to-theminute news medium.

That a mockery has been perpetuated by the television industry upon its audiences is now well known. What with its fabulous large, well known. large and small cash prize programs, why would it not attract and induce contestants to participate in this great farce and de-

This situation becomes more aggravating when the Federal Communications Commission, through its Chairman, Mr. Doerfer, admits its about-face helplessness in controlling television programs, finally using the old subterfuge of freedom of speech to cover up its lack of competence or its indifference in enforcing the Communications Act.

It is the duty of Congress, if need be, to rewrite the law with teeth in it and replace the present Commission with one that will administer and execute the law with proper

MAX N. CAROL.

Capital Punishment Is Not the Answer

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 10, 1950

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, the House Judiciary Committee has set for hearing on May 25, 1960, my bill, H.R. 870, to abolish capital punishment. In that connection, I commend to the attention of our colleagues the following article by Ernest Havemann as it appeared in the May 1960 issue of Reader's Digest:

CAPITAL PUNISHMENT IS NOT THE ANSWER (By Ernest Havemann)

(Nine States and some 40 foreign countries have abolished the death penalty. Here are the reasons why they have concluded that the age-old law is barbaric and use-

Shortly after he was elected Governor of Ohio, Michael DiSalle went before a committee of his legislature and did his best to persuade the lawmakers to abolish capital punishment. As a brash young man in college, DiSalle had argued eloquently on a debating team in favor of the death penalty. Later, as a young legislator, he had sponsored a bill which made kidnapers subject to capital punishment in Ohio.

But Governor DiSalle had become convinced over the years, he said, that the old law of a life for a life was inhumane and unworthy of a civilized society. His feelings were confirmed and intensified when he began to live in Ohio's executive mansion, which has a staff of servants recruited from the State's most trustworthy penitentiary inmates

Nine of these 10 servants, he discovered, were convicted murderers. All nine might very well have died in the electric chair. Yet here they were, years later, apparently completely rehabilitated and so reliable that the Governor felt no hesitancy in leaving his family alone with them.

Having known these faithful servants, the Governor could hardly bear the thought of signing a death warrant. "What would we have gained," he asked his legislators in a voice choked with emotion, "if these men had been electrocuted?"

What does society gain—and what does it lose—from an execution?

Many lawmakers have decided that society loses far more than it gains when it puts a man to death. They have come to agree with California's famous Warden Clinton E. Duffy, who wrote in his book "The San Quentin Story": "Capital punishment is a tragic failure, and my heart fights it even as my mind gives the execution signal." Nine States-and some 40 foreign countries-have now abolished the death penalty. This year, partly as a result of the celebrated Chessman case in California, there are certain to be strong attempts in at least six other States to wipe the law off the books.

One fact that raises strong doubt about the wisdom of capital punishment is that

the law is not infallible. It is always possible that an innocent man may be executed. In the District of Columbia jail, a condemned prisoner named Charles Bernstein was minutes away from the electric chair when a messenger rushed in with the news that his sentence had been commuted to life imprisonment. If the messenger had been caught in traffic, Charles Bernstein would have died. Two years later the police found positive proof that Bernstein was innocent of the murder for which he was convicted. and he was duly released. Eventually he received a full Presidential pardon.

Another strong argument against the death penalty is that justice is notoriously uneven. In California two men named Thomas and McCain were jalled for killing a woman during the holdup of a grocery. Testimony was given before a legislative committee that Thomas was defended by a court-appointed lawyer who let him plead guilty before a notoriously strict judge. Nothing was said in court about his previous good record at both civilian and soldier. McCain's lawyer had him plead not guilty and took the case before a jury. was executed. McCain got off with a life sentence.

In Texas a woman who was said to have killed seven men was finally brought to justice and sentenced to death for killing an eighth. To death row at about the same time went a man who had never been in trouble until he killed his estranged wife in a fit of anger when he saw her with another man. The woman who had killed eight men never doubted she would escape the chair; she was sure that Texas would keep intact its record of never executing a woman. She was right-her sentence was commuted to life imprisonment. The man who had committed a crime of passion went to his death

Despite such miscarriages of justice there are many people who still favor capital punishment. They contend that we need the extreme penalty as a deterrent to crime, This would be a strong argument—if it could be proved that the death penalty discourages potential murderers and kidnapers. there is abundant evidence that the death penalty does not discourage crime at all.

If capital punishment were a real deterrent to crime, then the 41 States which electrocute their murderers-or hang them, or put them to death in the gas chambershould be relatively free from murder; and the 9 States which have abolished capital punishment should be hotbeds of killing. If anything, the opposite is true.

In 1958 the 10 States which had the fewest murders—fewer than 2 a year per 100,000 population—were New Hampshire, Iowa, Minnesota, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Wisconsin, Rhode Island, Utah, North Dakota, and Washington. Four of these 10 States have abolished the death penalty.

The 10 States which had the most murders-from 8 to 14 killings per 100,000 population—were Nevada, Alabama, Georgia, Flor-ida, Tennessee, South Carolina, Texas, North Carolina, Arkansas, and Virginia. All of them enforce the death penalty.

The fact is that fear of the death penalty has never served to reduce the crime rate. Through most of man's history executions have been as public and as brutal as possible, so that the wicked might observe and take heed. Malefactors were once crushed to death slowly under heavy weights. Or they were stretched out along the spokes of a wheel, and their arms and legs clubbed to a pulp before the executioner finally ended their anguish.

Less than 200 years ago the whole country-side in England was dotted with gallows where criminals were hanged; their bodies

were then left on gibbets, to rot in the public view as examples to other potential evildoers. There were no fewer than 200 different offenses which called for capital punishment, including such minor matters as fishing without permission. In the 1800's a British boy of 13 was hanged for stealing a spoon, and a boy of 9 was sentenced to death for reaching into a shop window with a stick and poking out a few pennies' worth of colors for a child's painting kit. (When children were hanged, the executioner often had to jump up and hold onto their legs, since their own weight was not enough to strangle them.)

Yet, despite the omnipresent gallows and gibbets, crime was much more common then than now. Indeed, the hanging of one pick-pocket was always the occasion for great activity by others—who found that the pickings were never so ripe as when a crowd was gathered at an execution and busy looking up to watch the body sway. The chaplain of the British prison at Bristol once reported that, of 167 men then awaiting execution, 164 had witnessed a previous hanging—and had gone right on to commit capital crimes themselves.

The same sort of thing still happens. An Ohio prison inmate named Charles Justice invented the clamps which are used to hold the condemned man tight in the electric chair. He later finished serving his prison term, went out into society, got into trouble again, was convicted of murder, and returned to the prison to be executed in the very electric chair he had helped design.

One of the best studies of the problem has been made by a committee for the Delaware Legislature. The committeemen came up with seven good reasons for abolishing capital punishment. At the top of the list was the question of whether the death penalty discouraged other criminals. The committee's points:

1. The evidence clearly shows that execution does not act as a deterrent to capital crimes. (The committee reached this conclusion after looking at all the facts and arguments, some of them set forth above.)

Except in rare instances, the serious offenses are committed by those suffering from mental illness; or are impulsive in nature, and are not acts of the "criminal class."

For this conclusion the Delaware committee had ample statistical and psychiatric evidence. About one murder out of every seven, some studies show, is committed by a hopeless psychotic—a man or woman so deteriorated mentally as to have no faint conception of the act or its consequences. About one murder in four is a crime of passion. A jealous husband shoots an unfaithful wife, or a girl kills the man who jilted her, usually without premeditation and in the heat of emotion.

Of all the remaining killings, the great majority are more or less accidental—the result of other crime. A burglar is surprised in the act and beats the owner of the house to death with fireplace tongs. A robber meets with unexpected resistance from a shopkeeper and shoots him.

Often it is the bungling amateur—not the hardened professional criminal—who blunders into murder. The Delaware committee found that half the murderers who had been executed in that State had no previous criminal record of any kind.

 When the death sentence is removed as a possible punishmer+, more convictions are possible with fewer delays.

As long as the jury system has existed, there have always been jurymen who will look for any excuse to acquit the defendant rather than send him to his death. Back in the 1830's, a thousand British bankers petitioned for an end to the death penalty for for jery. They were not being kind or humane—they were simply forced to act in

self-defense because juries were letting most forgers go scot-free rather than send them to the gallows.

In New York, where conviction for premeditated first degree murder automatically carries the death penalty, juries have gone out of their way to find defendants not guilty on grounds of insanity or some other excuse. A request for a change in the law was made this year by no less a body than the New York State District Attorneys' Association. The district attorneys were doubtless thinking of what a Massachusetts commission once stated: "It is the swiftness and certainty of punishment and not its severity that deters." They figured it would be better for the cause of law enforcement to have two murderers sent to prison than to have one executed and one set free, as so often happens under the present law.

4. Unequal application of the law takes place because those executed usually are the poor, the ignorant and the unfortunate.

Warden Duffy once said flatly, "Seldom is a person of means executed." Lewis E. Lawes, who supervised the execution of 150 men while he was warden at Sing Sing, was impressed by the fact that the majority of them had been too poor to hire a lawyer and were defended by counsel appointed by the court.

On the other hand, certain famous criminal lawyers have seldom failed to keep their clients out of the chair. A high-priced Texas lawyer has defended 200 murderers, only one of whom was executed. Asked by a newspaperman if this client was any more guilty than the other 199, the lawyer said with great regret, "No, he was no more guilty. I just didn't work his case right."

Some men have been executed because they were too stupid—or could not speak English clearly enough—to tell their lawyers about a perfectly good alibi or extenuating circumstances. Proportionately more Negroes than white persons are executed, and far more men than women. Although about one murder out of every seven is committed by a woman, only about one woman a year is executed in the United States.

5. Conviction of the innocent does occur, and death makes a miscarriage of justice irrevocable.

There are several cases on record, like the one of Charles Bernstein in the District of Columbia, in which innocent men have nearly been executed. In 1956 a Georgia man named James Foster was positively identified as a murderer and sentenced to death. The execution was delayed by all kinds of legal appeals, fortunately—for 2 years later another man confessed to the killing. In 1957 a San Francisco man named John Rexinger was identified by the victim of a particularly brutal rape and was sentenced to the gas chamber. He, too, was saved by the real culprit's confession.

Two of the States which have abolished the death penalty—Maine and Rhode Island—did so during a wave of public shame and remorse resulting from the discovery that they had executed innocent men.

 A trial where a life may be at stake is highly sensationalized, adversely affects the administration of justice and is bad for the community.

The least edifying sights in our Nation are the morbid curiosity seekers crowding into every courtroom where a defendant, in the words of the newspaper headlines, is "fighting for his life." But if we create the spectacle, how can we blame the spectators?

As Supreme Court Justice Felix Frankfurter once put it, "When life is at hazard in a trial, it sensationalizes the whole thing almost unwittingly; the effect on juries, the bar, the public, the judiciary, I regard as very bad." Even if it could be proved that capital punishment deters crime, Justice Frankfurter said, this would not in his opinion "outweigh the social loss due to the inherent sensationalism of a trial for life."

There is strong evidence that the publicity surrounding the death penalty may actually encourage crime instead of preventing it. Some criminologists claim to have statistical proof that a well-publicized execution results in more murders, rather than fewer, in the days and weeks immediately following. After the Lindbergh kidnaping case a number of States adopted the death penalty for this crime—but the figures show that kidnapping increased.

Opponents of the death penalty often cite the words of a minister of justice in Belgium, where the last execution occurred in 1863 and the murder rate is now extremely low. "We have learned," the minister said. "that the best means to teach respect for human life consists in refusing to take life

in the name of the law."

Society is amply protected by a sentence of life imprisonment.

This final conclusion by the Delaware committee is perhaps the most interesting of all, because it answers a question which has bothered a great many people. The question is this: If we do not execute murderers, what is to prevent a politically dominated or soft-headed parole board from releasing even the most callous and unrepentant professional killer after he has served only a few months of his sentence?

No doubt this is the crux of the problem. And the answer to it is to write ample safeguards into the law. If we tightened up the requirements for parole—and made a life sentence really a meaningful term instead of a mockery, as it often is—society would be better served.

After pondering all the arguments in favor of capital punishment and those against it the Delaware State Legislature voted to become the ninth of our States to abolish the death penalty. Another State had decided—as doubtless many more will do in the future—that the age-old law is a traglo failure.

School Safety Patrol

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. LEONARD G. WOLF

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 12, 1960

Mr. WOLF. Mr. Speaker, we have all noticed from time to time on our street corners, in the morning and afternoon hours when children make their way to and from school, a young boy or girl in the uniform, or wearing the shoulder strap, of the School Safety Patrol. Almost everyone, if they were asked what they thought of the Safety Patrol, would say that they think it is a good thins. The hard fact that the Safety Patrol averts many traffic accidents, and even probably saves many little lives, is not brought home to us until we read a newspaper account of some heroic act by a boy or girl in the Safety Patrol.

I was highly honored to have present in the House today Miss Beverly Jean Marsh, a constituent of mine from Cedar Rapids, Iowa, who today received the following citation from the Vice President of the United States:

BEVERLY JEAN MARSH, AGE 12, TAYLOR SCHOOL, CEDAR RAPIDS, IOWA, CERTIFICATE CITATION

Samuel Fountain, age 5, and David Jones, age 10, returning to school after lunch on March 10, 1960, were about to cross Sixth

Street at Fifth Avenue where Beverly was on School Safety Patrol duty. A truck driver, moving north on Sixth Street, kept driving at about 25 miles per hour despite a red traffic signal. The two boys, facing a signal in their favor, were not aware of the approaching truck. Alertly noting their danger, Beverly quickly pulled them back, thus preventing serious consequences.

Beverly is the daughter of Mr. and Mrs.

Robert Marsh, 820 Ninth Street SW., Cedar

Rapids, Iowa.

Mr. Speaker, we believe in the School Safety Patrol for this is the sort of activity which develops good leadership, and we hope that other young people will be encouraged to take seriously their responsibilities.

I have today sent to the Gazette and to radio station WMT, Cedar Rapids, Iowa, the following telegram:

Ceremonies have just been concluded in the office of the Vice President at the Capitol in which the lovely little safety patrol, Beverly Jean Marsh, of Taylor School, Cedar Rapids, was honored by a national citation from the Vice President of the United States for the courage which she showed in rescuing from a traffic accident two little boys on March 10. As the Congressman representing Cedar Rapids in the U.S. House of Representatives I take great pride that one of my constituents has been chosen as one of five people in all the Nation to be so honored this year. I commend Beverly Jean for her alertness, devotion to duty, and her courage. Let us hope that her example can encourage other young people to take seriously their responsibilities.

Water for Southern California

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. GLENARD P. LIPSCOMB

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, May 12, 1960

Mr. LIPSCOMB. Mr. Speaker, the Colorado River Aqueduct is the vital supply line which brings water to southern California from the Colorado River. Recently a \$200 million expansion program was completed bringing the aqueduct up to its full planned delivery ca-Pacity. The Metropolitan Water District aqueduct system is not subsidized in any manner by the Federal Government.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I Submit for inclusion in the RECORD an article reviewing the history of this great project by Mr. Joseph Jensen, chairman, board of directors, Metropolitan Water District of Southern California, which appeared in the May 1960 issue of Western Water News. Mr. Jensen's article. I believe, will be of interest to the membership of the House.

The article follows:

Serving 71/2 Million People With Water (By Joseph Jensen, chairman, board of directors)

The Metropolitan Water District of Southern California was organized on December 29, 1928, when its board of directors held its first meeting in Pasadena. It was organized in accordance with the provisions of the Metropolitan Water District Act adopted by the California State Legislature

in 1927. The District was composed of 11 cities at the time it was organized.

The Metropolitan Water District was organized to plan, finance, build, and operate a water supply system from the Colorado River. The District made water diversion filings on the Colorado River immediately after it was organized and entered into a contract with the Secretary of the Interior for a supply of water from the Colorado

BOND ISSUE AUTHORIZED IN 1931

In September 1931 the citizens of the Metropolitan Water District, which then included 13 incorporated cities, voted by a ratio of more than 4 to 1 to authorize a bond issue of \$220 million to finance the cost of building the Colorado River aqueduct. Aqueduct construction started in December 1932 and the aqueduct system, in its initial development, was completed and placed in operation in June 1941.

The Metropolitan Water District has increased its area from about 600 square miles in 1928 to more than 3,400 square miles. The 13 cities comprising the constituent areas of the district in 1931 were sit-uated in Los Angeles and Orange Counties. District territory now extends into five Cali-fornia counties, Los Angeles, Orange, San Diego, San Bernardino, and Riverside. The population of the district has increased from 1,600,000 in 1928 to about 7,500,000; its assessed valuation has grown from \$2,200 milsessed valuation has grown from \$2,200 lion in 1928 to more than \$12 billion. In Metropolitan Water District of Southern California now represents about one-half the entire State of California.

THUOLVES HIIGE CAPITAL INVESTMENT

The Metropolitan Water District's aqueduct system today represents a capital investment in excess of \$380 million. All construction costs on the aqueduct are met (a) by the sale of Metropolitan Water District bonds, which in turn are amortized with interest by taxes levied on property within the district or by water sales revenues received from its constituent areas, and (b) by direct investment of funds derived from such taxes and water revenues.

The Metropolitan Water District aqueduct system is not subsidized in any manner by the Federal Government.

GOVERNING BODY

The district is administered by a board of directors with its members representing its various constituent entities. There are at present 37 members on the district's board

Serving with me as officers of the district's board of directors are Warren W. Butler, vice chairman, director representing the city of Compton; and Fred a Heilbron, secretary, one of the directors representing the San Diego County Water Authority. General manager and chief engineer of the district is Robert B. Diemer. General counsel is Charles C. Cooper, Jr.; controller is George M. Carroll; and treasurer is Chester G.

A \$200-MILLION EXPANSION PROGRAM

To keep pace with the rapidly growing water requirements of southern California, the Metropolitan Water District in 1952 set underway a major \$200-million adqueduct expansion program.

On June 5, 1956, the voters of the district, by a ratio of 11 to 1, authorized its board of directors to issue short-term notes to be repaid from annexation fees derived from special taxes levied in areas which have been annexed to the district. At that time there was a total of more than \$176 million in such outstanding annexation fees to be paid to the district during the succeeding 30 years. Issuance of short-term notes made it possible to greatly accelerate the aqueduct expansion program.

Funds derived from these short-term notes have been used to help finance a construction program that brings the Colorado River aqueduct to its full planned delivery ca-

NOW 1 BILLION GALLONS DAILY

The Colorado River aqueduct, built and operated by the Metropolitan Water District, now has the capacity to deliver 1,212,000 acre-feet of water annually to the people in the district. This amounts to more than 1 billion gallons of water a day. The main aqueduct early in 1960 was brought to its full ultimate delivery capacity by the en-largement program started in 1952. In 1959, it was operating at about one-half its full In 1960, it is able to deliver sufficapacity. In 1960, it is able to deliver suffi-cient additional water to meet the needs of about 3 million more people in the service

area of the Metropolitan Water District.
In 1952, the board of directors adopted the following "Water Policy Statement" which was reaffirmed as recently as October 1959:

"The Metropolitan Water District of Southern California is prepared, with its existing governmental powers and its present and projected distribution facilities, to provide its service area with adequate supplies of water to meet expanding and in-creasing needs in the years ahead. The district now is providing its service area with a supplemental water supply from the Colorado River. When and as additional water resources are required to meet increasing needs for domestic, industrial, and municipal water. The Metropolitan Water District of Southern California will be prepared to deliver such supplies.

"Taxpayers and water users residing with-in the Metropolitan Water District of Southern California already have obligated themselves for the construction of an aqueduct supply and distribution system. * * * This system has been designed and constructed in a manner that permits orderly and economic extensions and enlargements to deliver the district's full share of Colorado River water as well as water from other sources as required in the years ahead.

"Establishment of overlapping and paralleling governmental authorities and water distribution facilities to service southern California areas would place a wasteful and unnecessary financial burden upon all of the people of California, and particularly the residents of southern California."

Big Business-Its Taxes

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. OVERTON BROOKS

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, May 10, 1960

Mr. BROOKS of Louisiana. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend and revise my remarks, I wish to present an editorial which appeared in the Shreveport (La.) Times on Monday, May 9, 1960, entitled "Big Business Works for Government." We are all interested in taxes and a solution to them, and I feel this will be of interest to the Members of the Congress. It is as follows:

BIG BUSINESS WORKS FOR GOVERNMENT

The real beneficiaries of big business are not the millions of shareholding owners but government—chiefly Federal Government but also lesser government at State and local

This is brought out in the ever-increasing practice of big corporate business to include in annual reports the amount of taxes paid per share along with the earnings per share before taxes, instead of just listing taxes as a lump sum.

Almost invariably, big business pays more per share in taxes than it earned per share after taxes. Exceptions are service companies, such as railroads, where earnings have been shaky for some time and where, also, quite a bit of taxation is of the property type at lower rates than income taxes.

As a whole, from samplings made of taxes paid by big companies, and earnings after taxes, the owners are lucky if they get anywhere near an even break between taxes and

earnings after taxes.

For example, U.S. Rubber, doing nearly a billion dollar business in 1959, reported earnings after taxes of \$5.30 per share, while taxes paid were at the rate of \$21.85 per share.

At the other extreme, Southern Railway, with a \$256 million business in 1959 had net earnings after taxes of \$4.20 a share against \$4.17 per share paid in taxes.

General Motors, with more than \$11 billion in business in 1959, paid \$4.45 per share in taxes which left \$3.06 in earnings per share after taxes.

Many big corporations have been reporting unusually large stockholders meetings this year. Where, in the past, a comparatively small number of stockholders actually attended the meetings, with the big majority represented by proxies, it is not uncommon now to find 1,000 or more stockholders at an annual meeting, many of them owners of only a few shares.

owners of only a few shares.

Some attribute this to greater interest in the companies by those who invest their savings in stocks. Some financial experts believe, however, that the increased attendance at such meetings often is due to a desire among shareholders to find out why profits—in the form of dividends—are so low when yolume of business is so great.

At least one answer may be found in what many companies now are revealing—the fact that the major portion of all earnings before taxes goes into paying taxes, and the owners themselves get only the minority portion that is left.

In other words, big business works more for government than for its millons of

Not only that, but the owners—the share-holders—must pay income tax on their dividends, except for an infinitesimal exemption, although the company itself already has paid income taxes on all earnings, including the sums that go to dividends.

In order to earn a dollar net after taxes, the average big business organization actually has to earn two, three, four, or more dollars before taxes.

The situation is one that discourages incentive and venture and which certainly may contribute to inflation, although the theory of high taxers is that taxation is a means of stopping inflation,

Despite the fact that big business is the goose that lays the golden eggs for Government, there is always agitation within Government to break up big business on the grounds that it is engulfing little business. Here, again, General Motors happens to offer considerable illumination, especially since it has been one of the major targets of those who think that anything big in business automatically is bad.

A financial writer for the Detroit Times notes that General Motors this year is buying parts and other material from 27,500 American business firms. About 12,000 of these firms employ fewer than 25 persons. More than 70 percent employ fewer than 100. The total bill which General Motors will pay to these small businesses for the year will be approximately \$5,500,000.

Thus, gigantic General Motors is spreading \$5½ billion out into the payrolls of 27,500 small businesses. Yet, General Motors almost certainly will be denounced sometime in Congress this year as an outstanding example of the "big business octopus which crowds out the little fellow."

This phase of General Motors operation is duplicated, though perhaps not to quite as large an extent, in other big business. It's a type of "crowding out" which the Nation could stand a lot more of.

To gain a general picture of the ratio of taxes paid per share by big business to net earnings per share after taxes, The Times asked the national brokerage firm of Merrill Lynch, Pierce, Fenner & Smith to check the annual reports of 20 companies in various fields and tabulate the total sales or revenue, the net earnings per share after taxes, and the taxes per share paid by each. The tabulation is presented herewith, the figures being the companies' and Merrill Lynch simply making the tabulators.

There was no effort to especially pick the 20 companies listed; they happened to be companies presenting the information desired in their annual reports and representative of a broad area of American "big business." Here is the data:

Company	1959 sales or revenues	1959 net earn- ings per share after taxes	1959 taxes per share	
Aluminum Co of America. American Can Bristol-Myers Bendix Aviation. General Mills General Motors Goodrich, B F. Goodyear Tire & Rubber. Great Northern Rail-	\$865,000,000 1,107,000,000 132,000,000 690,000,000 546,000,000 11,233,000,000 772,000,000 1,579,000,000	2, 42 1, 70 5, 37 6, 77 3, 06 4, 18	\$2.31 4.29 11.89 9.31 9.75 4.45 10.21 5.84	
way. International Paper National Dairy Prod- ucts. National Steel. Owens Illinois Glass Pennsylvania RR Pittsburgh Plate Glass. Radio Corp of America. Sears, Roebuck. Southern Railway. U.S. Rubber. U.S. Steel	255, 000, 000 1, 033, 000, 000 1, 612, 000, 000 744, 000, 000 553, 000, 000 934, 000, 000 613, 000, 000 3, 721, 000, 000 256, 000, 000 977, 000, 000 3, 643, 000, 000	6. 21 3. 51 7. 28 5. 20 1. 26 4. 36 2. 65 2. 21 4. 20 5. 30	4. 89 5. 82 4. 76 2 10, 07 6. 37 5. 47 5. 30 6. 28 2. 96 4. 17 21. 85 6. 05	

¹ Federal income taxes only. ² Excludes social security taxes.

The Economic Challenge to the United States in the Coming Decade

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. ALVIN M. BENTLEY

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 12, 1960

Mr. BENTLEY. Mr. Speaker, under

Mr. BENTLEY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend and revise my remarks in the Appendix of the Record, I would like to include the following letter, newspaper article, and speech entitled "The Economic Challenge to the United States in the Coming Decade" which was made by Mr. H. H. Whittingham, president and general manager of the Long Manuard acturing Division of the Borg-Warner Corp. I think this is an excellent approach to a problem that is very real

and certainly feel that Mr. Whittingham's remarks should be carefully studied by every Member of Congress:

Long Manufacturing Division, Borg-Warner Corp., Detroit, Mich., May 4, 1960.

Hon. ALVIN BENTLEY, Congress of the United States, Washington, D.C.

DEAR AL: Dick Frenkensteen called me today to ask that I send you a copy of the talk I gave to the Prismatic Club last year. This talk is about a year old now but, of course, contains much that is still very pertinent. I have a great deal of data on this subject collected during the last year which further substantiates many of the things I said a year ago.

You might be interested in a newspaper article that appeared a short time ago regarding the Bronson Reel Co. This article, to me, gives many of the answers to our problem.

There is one other subject that I think should have considerable investigation, and that is the matter of import duty.

I realize that we favored many of the European countries by our duty rates helping them to get reestablished after the war. Now that they have more than fully recovered and have caught up with us in many respects, I cannot see why there should be any differentiation in duty rates. I believe that straight reciprocity should be put into effect on all products where the foreign industry is well established and where they are beginning to have detrimental affect on our own corresponding industry over here.

This applies, of course, very particularly to the automobile industry. I cannot see for the life of me why at this date we should allow British cars to come into our country at 8½ percent duty while cars of our manufacture entering England must pay 30 percent. The same situation, of course, pertains in most of the automobile manufacturing countries. I think that the duty rate should be made reciprocal; either we should raise our duties to equal theirs or induce them to lower their duties to equal ours, which I think personally is the best decision.

I was in Ann Arbor at the Initiation Dinner last Sunday and had hoped to see you there, but we got the message and your wire which was read which told about the problem and, of course, we were all very much disappointed. The charge rates very high up in the first four on the campus and they have a wonderful looking group of young fellows there with high scholarship rating and high rating in activities.

Sincerely yours in the bonds.

HARRY.

[From the Detroit Free Press, Mar. 27, 1980]

JAPANESE OUTFISHED—BERT WARD AND BRONSON REEL BEAT DOWN IMPORTS

(By Ken McCormick)

Bronson.—It's always delightful to watch the home team take on a formidable opponent and knock its socks off.

That's just what the Bronson Reel Co., a division of the Higbie Manufacturing Co. of Rochester, did when Bronson squared off with the Japanese who were flooding the American market with low-price fishing reels.

And the star of the home team was Bert Ward, manager of the Bronson concern and director and vice president of the parent company.

Bert is a fellow who worked his way to the top from a humble job in the shop.

When you see him rise to say grace at the Rotary Club luncheon, you find it difficult to label him as a bare-knuckle battler in the business world.

But the Japanese are stunned and off balance. Even with their low labor costs, they have found themselves up against a Worthy opponent.

Churchgoing Bert Ward saw the fishing reel market being invaded. He was faced with two alternatives. He decided to outwit

the Japanese.

"Our executives had to make one big decision: We had to decide whether we Would send tools to Japan and have our reels manufactured there, or put out a lowprice reel that would compete.

"With 200 or more employees, all of whom have lived near here for some time, we de-

cided to compete.

"To compete, we had to have the cooperation of the employees, their labor unions, and suppliers. New designs were necessary, and automation had to be established." Design Engineer Morris Wood, a 12-year

Bronson employee, got busy and designed an enclosed spinning reel called the Dart, Which was put on the market for \$5.95.

Tool Designer Oscar George, a 30-year employee, made the reel's success possible by making better tools which eliminated costly hand work.

Suppliers were called in and told to sharpen their pencils. Material costs

dropped.

The shop committee of the American Machinist Association, AFL-CIO, agreed to permit gradual introduction of automation devices which cut labor costs 20 percent.

The sales force got into the act and in-creased sales by 12 percent. And thus the employment roll of 200 was upped by 20

"All this was accomplished," Bert says proudly, "without our people being penalized on take-home pay.

"In other words, we are getting twice the Work for half the amount of pay and nobody has suffered."

Bronson Reel means a lot to this little community on U.S. 12, between Sturgis and Coldwater. It's payroll is in excess of \$750,000.

Bert won't talk profits, but he lets you know that several hundred thousand Dart reels were sold and that the clamor for the

Dart reel is still growing.

Bronson builds 20 different models, in-cluding several of the low-price bait-casting Bert says a second way of attack on the Japanese trade will be to bring out new models often enough to keep the Japanese copyers off balance.

"One reason our reels are favored over the Japanese," he says, "is the fact that we stand

behind ours."

Bert Ward promised that Bronson is not going to stand still, even were the Japs to go back in the corner and lie down.

In a way, though, he probably secretly hopes they come up with a new gimmick. Competition hasn't hurt Bronson a bit.

"THE ECONOMIC CHALLENGE TO THE UNITED STATES IN THE COMING DECADE"-PRESENTED TO THE PRISMATIC CLUB OF DETROIT, MAY 9, 1959, BY HARRY H. WHITTINGHAM, REVISED TO JULY 22, 1959

You will forgive me, I am sure, for raising the ugly head of commercialism before this enlightened body. I am convinced that none of us—no matter how sheltered we may be dare any longer bury our heads in the sand while momentous events, which will seriously and critically affect the lives of each of us, are taking place in the world.

The United States, in the span of only 176 years, has developed from a small group of colonies on the edge of a wilderness with about 2 million people into the tremendous Nation it is today. It is one of the most dramatic performances in the social and economic history of mankind. Today we have reached a pinnacle of leadership to be held,

or, from which we may be toppled into oblivion. The most dramatic of changes in world history are happening today at a breathtaking pace.

Gentlemen, the main idea that I want to drive home tonight is that our own overly inflated labor scales in the United States may well spell our undoing unless we bring about a more realistic relation between wage raises and productivity.

We are presently engaged in the most gigantic war of all time. It will go on for years to come. It is called a cold war but a lot of people are getting killed and a lot more are getting hurt. We think of the cold war as the East versus the West. That defines the conflict that exists between the two dominant ideologies; namely, capitalism versus communism. As a critical part of this conflict there is also a devastating commercial struggle taking place between the "haves" and the "have-nots." As the leader of the "haves," the United States is the primary target of all the rest of the world. material wealth we in the United States enjoy practically half of all the world produces. This, I think, is the basic reason why we are not popular anywhere in the world. People are simply jealous and envious of us.

My talk tonight must necessarily be very

restricted and I have chosen the area of the economic threats we are facing in the next 10 years as a result of this vast revolution in which the entire world is seething. Nothing so vast has ever taken place before and the action is at a breathtaking pace. I fear that too few of us here comprehend the mael-

strom in which they are living.

These two exhibits will help to dramatize

my subject.

1. On this table is a teapot or an electric teakettle. In using this, you pour in four cups of water and plug it in. In just 1 minute you have boiling water. I have asked a lot of people what they thought this ar-The answer has ranged from \$2.50 ticle cost. to \$10. Actually it cost \$1 including tax. It was bought at Cut Rate Sam's. I Sam doesn't sell anything for less than a 35-percent markup, so his cost was about \$1, less 3-cent tax, less 35 percent, or 62 cents. Now this teapot was transported 6,500 miles and had to be carefully packed so it would not get broken, and hence it was probably purchased in Japan for about 50 cents. The chap who manufactured it must have made a profit; so it probably cost less than 40 cents to make.

2. Here are two loaves of bread, both bought in Detroit. One, baked in Detroit, cost 24 cents, and the other, baked in Windsor, sold in Detroit for 18 cents. They are the same weight and of equal quality. The difference in cost of these two loaves is represented largely in the difference in labor costs. I read in a Toronto paper the other day that Buffalo bakeries are actually being put out of business by Toronto bakeries because Canadian bread is selling in Buffalo at two loaves for 29 cents against one equivalent American loaf at 23 cents, at the sales volume of about 150,000 loaves a week and increasing weekly. Over 400,000 loaves of Canadian bread are crossing our border at various points from Sault Ste. Marie to Vermont every week. The American housewife knows no national loyalties when she sees a

There are just two simple illustrations that point up what is taking place on a gigantic and rapidly expanding scale, largely unsuspected by the American public.

This threat is a double-edged sword which I would like to discuss in its two phases.

- 1. The foreign invasion of our own domestic market which these exhibits illustrate, and
- 2. Foreign competition in our own export market.

Let us then first consider the foreign invasion of the United States (and Canadian) markets which is close to home and by far the most startling and dramatic. While the percent of invasion, some will argue, is only small, nevertheless the effect is toward a general forced lowering of prices which in many instances can be disasterous. For instance, the Canadian invasion of our bread market may not be over one-tenth of 1 percent nationally but if you happen to be a big baker in Buffalo who is put out of business by that competition you are really hurtnot one-tenth of 1 percent but 100 percent.

Foreign car imports into United States have run about as follows:

1946	1,374
1950	21, 287
1952	33, 312
1954	34, 554
1956	107, 675
1958	378,000

Estimates for 1959 run from 500,000 to 600,000. In the month of February alone over 77,000 foreign cars came into this country. The advent of the new "compact" U.S. cars will have little effect on this flow as the foreign makers are anticipating a volume of 750,000 cars for 1960.

The opening of the Great Lakes to For-eign vessels of 27-foot draft (80 percent of the world shipping) must be taken into account in this picture too. Although we see quite a number of foreign automobiles in Detroit, our automotive capital, the penetration on both our east and west coast areas has been far greater than it has here. The difference is due to the added \$100 to \$150 transportation costs to bring these cars from New York to the Midwest. With the opening of the Great Lakes our ports become ocean ports. It will cost very little if any more to bring an auto from Bremen or Cherbourg or Southampton to Detroit than to New York and the whole Midwest will then feel the impact of this added competition. We have thought of the opening of the Great Lakes as a great boom to the Midwest as an outlet for our ore and grain and manufactured products but there is this reverse effect too.

I don't say it isn't a great thing in the long pull. The Great Lakes Seaway will not only benefit the great heart of America but it will benefit the other areas of the United

States who so strongly fought it.

International trade must be a two-way street and benefits must accrue to both the exporter and importer nation and this will

apply to the Great Lakes country.

My company makes clutches. Practically every one of these foreign cars had a clutch in it. I have figured out that if you include the miner who mined the iron ore, the steelmaker who made the steel, the man who fabricated some of the parts we buy for clutches plus our own labor of fabrication and assembly, that nearly 500 people could have been employed for a year had just the clutches that came into this country in cars in 1958 been built here instead of abroad. And this was a year of depression for our auto industry when we had over 250,000 unemployed in Detroit alone.

This year about 12 percent of the cars sold here will be imported and in Canada it is far more serious because it is nearer 20 percent there.

Last year over 80 percent of the barbed wire used in the United States was imported. Close behind are nails, steel fenceposts and many other items of steel. If we have a steel strike much more steel will be imported.

I once read a theory that the country which achieved the lowest cost of producing steel would become inevitably the indus-trial leader of the world. This distinction was first held in modern industrial history by England whose Sheffield steel was the standard of the world. Then under Andrew Carnegie and the Bessimer process the United States was enabled to take over. At the time of World War I and even World War II.

Germany was fast taking over from the United States. The Germans by their foolish wars lost their advantage. I believe they would have gained all the advantages they sought by war if they had stuck to commercial and economic means. This gave the United States again a temporary advantage.

Actually, we have lost it already, and Germany-and Europe-again is the low-cost steel producer as is evidenced by the amount of steel now being imported into the United States which is currently coming in at the

rate of 400,000 tons a month.

Their tenure, however, is going to be shortlived because Russia, with possibly China and later maybe India, threaten to be the low-cost steel producers, in which event they will be on the way to dominate the world industrially. This year China expects to make 18 million tons of steel, an increase of over 500 percent in 4 years.

One of the top purchasing men in the auto industry the other day told me that he is buying sheet aluminum from Europe at 9 cents per pound, cheaper than the U.S.

price, laid down in Detroit.

You know of the Norelco electric shaver. Three years ago you probably hadn't heard of it. I hadn't. In late 1956 I went to Europe looking for new products for my company. Among other things I found a cleverly designed electric shaver and visited the factory in the Black Forest that made it. They made their own tools in a beautifully equipped toolroom. They built this shaver and also made a line of jewelry and things like this wristband for watches. This razor was similar in principal to the Norelco.

Well, the toolmakers where this shaver was made were paid about 85 cents per hour. The women working in the shop were paid 35 cents per hour. This obviously wasn't a product I could bring back to the United States, and hope to build in competition. I saw the Phillips electric shaver being sold in Europe. This shaver is made by the Phillips Co. of Holland and it was the most popular shaver in Europe. Incidentally, the story of the growth of the Phillips Co. is a most fascinating one. The Phillips shaver of Europe and the Norelco of United States are identical and they are all made in Holland. Three or four years ago it was practically unknown here and today it dominates our market and is the most popular shaver in the United States. How did they do it? It was by utilizing the wide margin of cost differential as promotional money to spend in advertising and promotion to gain a market. The other thing, of course, is that it is an excellent product.

The Japanese have taken a leading position in the camera field along with United States and Germany. Hitler taught the Japanese how to make quality lenses and today their cameras are equal to the finest of the German makes, both of which are generally superior to ours and sell at prices

well under our prices.

The Japanese are today the leading shipbuilding nation, having taken over from England. We would have no shipping or shipbuilding industry in United States were it not for Government subsidies. How long can we keep that up and to how many more industries must we give artificial respiration?

The watch industry is an example where by special duty provisions, the Government by special duty in the industry. Even that doesn't shut out foreign competition. The Cormens are outdoing the Swiss. This Germans are outdoing the Swiss. This watch I have on my wrist was bought in the Black Forest District of Germany for \$12.50 and it is a very good watch—it keeps perfect time and I've worn it for 11/2 years without any attention whatever.

A friend of mine who is chief engineer of one of the principal car manufacturers of England was here in Detroit recently. I suggested that he visit J. L. Hudson's so he could take something nice home to his wife. The next day he told me of his shopping expe-He had selected seven different articles that appeared to be attractive, to have quality, and to be something representative of America that his wife would enjoy. He rejected everyone of them when he found a designation on each indicating either "Made in Germany" or "Made in Japan." Finally he found something his wife would enjoy as being distinctively American made. English apparently are much more conscious of this than we are and even at a price dis-advantage are inclined to "Buy British." The American shopper seemingly has no such perversion.

For a long time we have bought plate glass from Belgium but during the recent disastrous glass strike these imports were greatly increased and will probably stay increased.

There is a more subtle and dangerous form of market invasion that is taking place.

Recently, while in New York, a friend showed me two transistor radios he had purchased there. One was an American make for which he paid \$80. The other was a slightly smaller one for which he paid The latter was equal to the first in volume, better in tone, just as attractive in appearance and being smaller was easier to carry around in his pocket. This one was made in Japan. This condition has brought about a rapid change in the radio industry. The makers of transistor radios in United States faced complete annihilation. they have done is to procure the radio chassis from the Japanese maker, enclose them in an American made case and sell them under their own name as an American product. I understand you can buy an American transistor radio for \$30 now. This transformation has taken place in the past 6 or 8 months.

At latest report the Japanese are exporting 400,000 transistor radios a month.

In the past, foreign branches of U.S. companies were built primarily to take advantage of a foreign market, for example:

Parke Davis in England and other countries.

Hoover vacuum cleaner plant in England is larger than United States.

ATT and in foreign countries.

International Harvester and Massey Fergu-

General Motors and Ford in England,

France and Germany.
Burroughs Adding Machine Co. in England and other countries.

Today there is an added purpose for expansion of such foreign plants; namely, also to manufacture American products in foreign cheap labor markets for sale as American products in this country.

Company after company is either buying components from abroad or establishing branch plants of their own abroad, making components there for the local market and are also bringing them into the United States for assembly into the finished product which you and I buy thinking it is a

product of American labor.

This process will save the U.S. company for a while, but what is it doing to American labor? One authority estimates that already about 1 million jobs have been exported to other countries by this practice which may well become a significant factor in creating unemployment in the midst of our greatest prosperity.

Then, of course, comes the question of how long this practice can preserve the manufacturer himself because, if it goes far enough, it will destroy his own market by creating so many unemployed that nobody in this country will be able to buy the foreign-built product.

To illustrate how devastating some of these practices are becoming, I'll tell you the story of a printer friend of mine. You know that the typographers and other unions affiliated with the printing industry occupy a power position in that industry and have achieved a very high rate of pay along with restrictive rules on productivity.

A practice is now developing in color printing of having the artwork prepared here because of the close supervision necessary to arrive at the final product. But then the artwork is sent to France where the color plates are made which are then sent back by air for printing. Enormous savings are achieved in cost and even they find that the plates are of superlative quality.

Similarly, it is something like the situation of the American coal miners who under John L. Lewis have gotten the cost of coal so far out of line with that of competitive fuels that thousands of coal miners are now permanently out of work. Many furnaces have been changed over from coal to oil or gas to save money and they will not be changed back. The miners are now screaming to the Government for help which, be-cause of the shortsightedness of their union bosses, the poor fellows don't have coming.

I could go on and on with examples of the invasion of foreign products into markets where because of our mass production we thought we were supreme: Antifriction bearings, bicycles, textiles, hand tools, machine tools, generators, typewriters, sewing machines, business machines, cameras, steel, aluminum, movies, furniture,

Within the last few weeks a Kalamazoo firm that makes cigarette lighters announced that it was leaving Michigan. The principal reason given had nothing to do with the "unfavorable climate" in Michigan. They are not moving to Indiana or Kentucky either. They are moving to Japan to obtain the low labor rates that will enable them to compete. There were 66 manufacturers of cigarette lighters in the United States in 1947. Today there are only six and as you see there will soon be only five. This industry in United States has been practically wiped out by foreign competition.

Speaking of textiles, we often do things to defeat our own ends. For example, by our farm policy we have accumulated enormous surpluses of cotton. We sell this cotton to foreign countries far below the domestic prices at which our textile manufacturers must purchase their cotton. Then we give these foreign countries money with which they buy our textile machinery. In other words we give them the machinery. Then with their labor which in Japan is about \$1 a day versus our \$1.75 an hour in this industry, we permit them to come into our market and world markets at prices far under our costs.

Another example that adds to the parade which is sapping our strength and producing more unemployed (in this case tailors). I know of several friends (and my own son) who have been in the Orient-particularly Hong Kong and Tokyo. There they bought suits and overcoats made of the finest English woolens for from \$20 to tops of \$40 They are very well tailored. Having made the connection with a tailor and having their measurements on record, they order new clothing from cloth samples and have them shipped here with a norminal duty to pay.

Recently a boatload of 1,006 Volkswagens was unloaded at Toronto, Canada, and another load of over 600 Renaults was unloaded at Milwaukee. The reduced cost of transportation to Great Lakes ports from Europe will undoubtedly increase the competition of the foreign cars in the Midwest.

On the day the steel strike started there were several ships unloading over 21,000 tons of steel at Port Houston, Tex. About

two-thirds of this steel was from Japan and one-third from Belgium. It was being laid down in Texas at prices ranging between \$35 and \$50 per ton less than U.S. prices. Piguring that the average price of U.S. steel is \$124 per ton you can see what a large percentage margin the foreign steelmakers' prices are under ours. Imports of steel to the United States may easily exceed 5 million tons this year.

From a world-touring friend of mine, I know of a recent case where competitive prices were taken for a large crane to be installed at Manils, P.I. The American bid-der's price was \$83,000, the German's was \$54,000. The successful bidder was Japan-

ese and his price was \$36,000.

I could go on all evening and cite you more firsthand cases but we must move

Now let us consider the other edge of the sword which is cutting us out of our foreign markets. We aren't quite as conscious of this as of our home market but it is

equally important.

In 1958 our exports in one form or another were \$16.3 billion, a decrease of 14.5 Percent from the total of 19.5 billion in 1957. You can get some idea of the magnitude of our exports by comparing them with that of our enormous automobile business which was \$13.3 billion in 1957 and \$9.7 billion in 1958. Think of the effect on our economy and particularly Detroit, produced by this drop of 28 percent in auto sales in 1958. This will give you some idea of how much a comparable drop in our exports can mean. Some economists have ascribed to our export business as the difference between good times and depression. A complete loss of our export market or possibly even 50-percent loss could well wreck our economy. In the face of this, our imports increased 17 percent in 1958.

A while ago I had sa visit from a young German who had married the boss' daughter and was in line to take over some day a family-owned business that employs 7,000 people. He was here to look for new products to make because the Japanese were taking his export market away from him which constitutes more than half of his business. If the Japs can do this to the Germans, where does that put us in the race

for world trade?

In the mid-19th century, Howe invented the sewing machine. Singer sold it to the entire world as you all know, all the way into the jungles of Africa and South America. Up until World War II and even after, Singer held this market and some 70 percent of their business was export. they are fighting for their life. The Germans, Belgians, English, Italians, and lastly even India are making sewing machines for World markets, including United States.

We are as yet a creditor nation. In total goods and raw materials we still sell more than we buy so we currently have a favorable balance of trade. The thing that has kept a monetary balance has been (a) the money spent abroad by American tourists, (b) the "services" we buy abroad such as shipping space in foreign vessels, (c) investment of American money in foreign countries, (d) U.S. military expenditures abroad, and (e) U.S. monetary and material "gifts" to foreign countries.

Since 1950, our gold reserves have diminished by over \$2,300 million. This gold has been flowing back to foreign countries. In this period, foreign claims against U.S. gold reserves have increased \$8 billion. This is the best indicator that the trade balance is turning against us and further confirms the record of a decrease of 14 percent in our exports in the past year accompanied by a 17-percent increase in our imports.

We know that in the long pull imports must balance exports but it is a painful

experience to find that your imports are exceeding your exports because then you have to start tightening your belt and doing without some of the desirable imports while you get back in balance again. This is a position we do not realize but which could easily develop in United States if we do not halt the present trend.

Even in our raw materials such as cotton, wheat, oil, steel, metals, wood pulp, etc., we are fast tending toward a position of "net importer" rather than a "net exporter." This is particularly true in steel within the past 2 years. This year we will be a "net importer" of steel for the first time in our history. In the face of this, the steel workare are asking for wage increases that will price us even further out of the market.

We have, of course, always had world competition but heretofore it has gradually developed into certain accepted channels. For instance, we think nothing of importing most of our perfume and ladies' handbags from France, much of our fine china from England, all of our Scotch from Scotland, etc: We on our part have enjoyed major foreign markets in such fields as sewing machines, cash registers, business machines, drugs, safety razors, canned foods, soap, etc., and at one time in automobiles.

But these accepted situations are being rapidly upset and it is the speed of change wherein I think lies the great danger.

Now for a moment let's take a look at this world competition we are facing. Principally, it can be divided into:

1. The European Economic Community or the Common Market, the United States of Europe and the fringe countries of Europe.

- 2. The British Commonwealth which is nothing but a worldwide free trade union.
 - 3. Japan.
 - 4. Russia.
- 5 Latin America
- 6. Miscellaneous, including Australia, In-

7. In the longer pull we are facing the extremely low labor cost areas of China and Africa

As already indicated, we are feeling the pinch of competition from Europe at home and abroad. The European Economic Community consists of France, West Germany, Hullity consists of France, west Germany, Italy, Belgium, Holland, and Luxembourg (EEC). This common market includes about 168 million people. They are highly intelligent, very well educated and industrious people. They make up a market about as large as the United States but in a much smaller area much more easily integrated. They will have easy communication and low transportation costs. They are somewhat shy on raw materials but ocean freight costs are low to bring them to their shores.

By 1972 all trade barriers between these countries will be completely removed by a gradual process of reduction which began January 1, 1959. This will give this community all the advantages we have enjoyed as a mass market unhampered by trade barriers between the States. This in turn will generate mass production and the consequent high rate of productivity comparable to that of the United States. This process is already well advanced.

Meanwhile the other great advantage we have enjoyed in having so-called unlimited natural resources is disappearing as we are finding our resources dwindling and we become more and more dependent upon im-

portation of our raw materials.

Thus, we are now losing two big factors that have given the United States industrial supremacy of the world. Another, and most important ingredient of our success is, of course, our freedom and we are gradually losing that as socialistic trends are becoming more dominant each year in our governments.

In the face of this, we find ourselves paying wages so much higher than these competing countries that we are about to price ourselves out of all world markets.

Average wage rates paid by a U.S. manufacturer in Europe

	Direct wages	Social charges (cents per hour)	Total	Index, Holland 100	Index, Japan 100
Holland Japan Belgium France Italy West Germany United Kingdom Detroit	\$0.40	11	\$0.51	100	340
	.15	0	-15	30	100
	.51	15	-66	130	440
	.41	17	-58	114	387
	.37	18	-55	108	370
	.50	14	-64	126	407
	.65	7	-72	141	480
	2.83	59	3.42	670	2, 280

A production worker in Germany averages about 70 cents per hour, in Coventry, England, about 85 cents per hour, and the Detroit area \$2.83 per hour. On top of this he receives in my plant 59 cents per hour in fringe benefits, or a total of \$3.42 per hour. The productivity of the American worker has always been higher than the European, but it has been largely because of the tools he has been given to work with, while the European worker has emphasized more the quality of craftsmanship, and hand-work, and artistry. Now, their whole picture is changing to mass production techniques like

How are we going to close the gap between these wage rates? Europe will have to go up at a much more rapid rate than it is and ours must hold the line or go down, because I don't see how we can hold our lead in productivity. We are definitely facing the possibility of a lowering of our standard of living. We are facing the possibility of more and more "permanently unemployed."

Now in Europe there are some other countries not in the EEC. These are mainly Great Britain, the Scandinavian countries, Austria, Switzerland, Portugal, and Spain. Sooner or later they will become, if not an integral part of EEC, at least closely allied with them as an economic unit something like Canada's relation to the United States.

Already the British Commonwealth of Nations is a strong economic bloc, and it was because of this that England could not join the EEC. Strenuous efforts were made, you know, to have them join.

Now, on the other side of the world we are finding an industrial colossus in Japan. Here are 90 million highly intelligent, educated, and very industrious people who are willing to work very hard for long hours at wages which begin at \$1 per day per family.

Before the war, Japanese merchandise was generally known as cheap and shoddy. That is no longer true. They are now making products that compare in quality with that of the United States and Europe. The resuit is that Japan today is enjoying an industrial boom and the greatest prosperity in her history. She is invading all world markets. Then the next threat not only to the United States but to the rest of the world is Russia, and later China. This threat is just beginning, but we have had a startling insight into what it can be like. U.S.S.R. is a great land with 200 million people who have emerged from one form of serfdom to another quite different form of serfdom. Whether we like it or not, Russia is developing industrially, scientifically, and economically at an enormous rate.

I mentioned steel. It is possible that in another 10 years Russla can match the steel production of the United States. She is invading foreign markets with her raw materials, with steel mills, agricultural implements, and already is shipping automobiles to the United States. The Skoda, made in the satellite of Czechoslovakia, is a good little car and very attractive. A Russian-built car has already been anounced in New York.

We are seeing the beginning of an economic attack from Russia that can be more devastating than old-fashioned war. How does it work? Well, a few months ago the aluminum market went to pieces. The Russians had put some aluminum into the market at prices far below the world price. It wasn't much because no doubt they have limited supplies to deliver but it gave a lot of people the shivers. What is going to happen when Russia can deliver unlimited supplies of aluminum at any price she wants to set?

Russia is building a pipeline from her Caspian oilfields to the Baltic. From there she can deliver oil to any northern European port at a very low cost and at any price she chooses to set on it. The selling price is set in the Kremlin and no Russian oil company is going broke by selling below costs because there are no such companies. It's all the Government. Some people say they aren't worried about this because Russian oil is the wrong type of oil. I think we should not let this view lull us to sleep as they will most likely find a way to convert it to the right type if the statement is true.

Similar threats will appear over the next 10 years in all fields of industry, I firmly believe, and what can be done about it?

The danger with Russia, aside from the political aspects, is that Russia is one single great monopoly. We saw what happened with monopolies here in the 19th century and passed laws to break them up.

Who can pass any laws to break up Rus-

sia? Her people are actually serfs or slaves of the government. They work how, where, and when they are told. The Russian Government can do as it pleases with the products of their toil. Therefore, the Kremlin can take these products and dispose of them in any way and at any price it sees fit.

As I have shown you, they can put their oil or their aluminum or anything else on the world market at destructive prices. Like the Standard Oil of old they can enter any market they choose and put all competitors out of business. They will most likely do as Standard Oil did and be selective and spot their activities from place to place knocking off one at a time. That is an old Bolshevik technique. Then after competition is out of the way, up will go the price to be paid and the consumer who has nowhere else to go will pay through the nose. Gentlemen, I believe that within the next 10 years we will have to be prepared to meet this situation on a massive scale.

Then, in addition, we have the awakening nationalism of the backward and colonial countries of the world and the desire of their people for a higher standard of living expressed in all kinds of moves for industrialization and independence. This has led to exclusion of our products from most countries of Latin America, Australia, and others.

Even India is building steel mills and is manufacturing such products as sewing machines which I have already mentioned.

Generally speaking, this is all for the good—to raise the standard of living of all peoples and thus eventually provide larger world markets for ourselves. But in the process of this taking place we could easily find ourselves in a bad pinch.

We must recognize that we are an integral part of the world and can no longer exist alone. Isolationism, I believe, is dead in the United States. We must recognize the vital necessity of foreign trade to our very existence. In such trade there has to be a balance because if we don't buy from others they cannot have the currency to buy from us. It is a two-way street. Therefore, we cannot put too many blockades in the way of the free flow of such trade.

If we find we are getting hurt too much we can of course raise import duties. We have them now but are they keeping out automobiles and a thousand other articles? I don't believe we can put on duties high enough to keep out foreign goods. Duty on autos is now 12 percent. I understand that the U.S. price of the Volkswagen could be reduced \$500 and still show them a profit. The Renault which sells in this country for about \$1,700 can be bought in Paris for \$900 and the price of a small British car that sells for \$1,600 here is only about \$800 in England if you neglect the high 60 percent British excise tax which of course is not applied to their exports. This all means that their basic cost of production leaves a large margin within which they can trade in world markets.

Of course, we could then apply quotas to foreign goods to limit the import as we have recently done with oil or, finally, we could completely ban the importation of certain goods such as Australia and Mexico have done to protect home industry.

done to protect home industry.

I don't believe we can do these things without further injuring ourselves to a greater degree in other areas. In other words we are facing a dilemma for which we must find other answers.

And the flow of world trade is going to change. We are going to find foreign markets for the things we are best fitted to make or grow or mine. Other countries likewise. Eventually, we will benefit from a rise in the standards of living of the rest of the world out I believe we will have a lot of headaches before that happy day arrives.

The airplane and the radio have shrunk the size of the world to perhaps the size of Michigan 100 years ago. We are part of it and can't help ourselves. But, I believe, it is time that the American people and particularly industry and labor wake up to the fact that we have a serious threat at our door to our present standard of living and actually to the very existence of the United States. I believe Eisenhower and Dulles know it. Leaders in industry are only beginning to realize it within the last few years. Labor is only just beginning to realize it. A recent editorial in the Dertoit News highlights this. It is entitled "Look Who's in Bed." It reads as follows:

"We hope that Walter Reuther, proposing import duties on automobiles to protect American wages from cheap foreign competition, will have the grace to nod at least to his strange bedfellows. We refer not only to some sturdy high tariff men in the National Association of Manufacturers but to the dead, the McKinleys and Aldriches, the Hawleys and Smoots, all the late misguided souls who stood against the march of progress and were buried by it. Mr. Reuther, of course, is worried. Recovery has come to the automobile industry without reabsorbing many thousands of unemployed UAW members. Imported cars are making serious inroads on the American market. Worst of all, American in-

dustry, including the automobile manufacturers, is investing ever more heavily in factories abroad. That means both less domestic production for export and increased foreign production for sale here, a double squeeze on American jobs. Mr. Reuther's proposed answer is an international fair labor standard-meaning uniform, or roughly uniform, wage scales in automobile factories everywhere so that no manufacturer would enjoy a material competitive advantage based on labor costs. To enforce such a standard he suggests import duties equivalent to the differential between foreign and domestic wages. Despite the direct tleup proposed between tariff rates and wage scales, Mr. Reuther's idea remains the oldest and most discredited in the book. It assumes that high wages in America cannot be justified by anything more substantial than the desire to have high wages and cannot be maintained except by political power. The assumptions are demonstrably untrue. America has developed its high-wage scales mostly in competition with low-paid foreign industry, by and large without effective tariff protection. High wages have resulted from high labor productivity which in turn has been the product of skill. We could pay more, in short, because we got more for the wage dollar. If that is no longer true, then there is the problem that demands solution. No ingenuity in ducking it will serve. In the long run none can profit from artificially maintained high wages and high prices in a closed market. Mr. Reuther knows that. It is sad to see him abandoning his principles in unseemly haste to find an old refuge from his current troubles."

The No. 1 enemy to our future successful competition with the rest of the world is "inflation." The Eisenhower administration has done a great job in holding inflation in line, but actually it has had only lukewarm help from the public in general and absolute opposition from labor and the labor Democrats who are all out to spend us into disasterous inflation.

The trend is for more inflation. Our dollar is only worth 48 percent of the prewar dollar and its going lower. If the steel-workers win any substantial gains, it will go still lower and apparently no reversal of the trend is in sight. Each time, it becomes more difficult to meet foreign competition. The inevitable result will mean the eventual devaluation of the dollar—a happening that you probably think impossible.

Just look at the strengthening of foreign currencies, Canadian and Venezuelan, Swiss. German, and British. De Gaulle is bringing out a new franc called le franc lourd—(the hard franc) at 4.93 to the dollar. It could well be in a few years that it will take more dollars to buy any of these currencies. The dollar is already discounted in several countries.

Now, of course, it is not all as bad as I have painted it. The United States is not going to fold up tomorrow but these problems are very serious and the public must be awakened to the perils we are facing so that something effective can be done about them. Let us look at our assets.

In the first place, ours is a vast and rich market and we are still the leading industrial unit in the world by a wide margin.

We are a young and virile country, in fact only just beginning to come into maturity.

While many of our resources are being depleted we are still rich in natural assets.

As the great melting pot of America continues to leaven the bloods of many races and peoples, I think we are producing the greatest race of people the world has ever known.

We have a great productive machine, but it must be improved rapidly enough for us to maintain the lead we now hold. There

are some things the Government can do taxwise and otherwise to help improve this situation. You must keep in mind that most of the productive equipment of Europe and Russia was destroyed in the war. been replaced since with almost 100 percent modern equipment which makes a large percentage of ours obsolete by comparison. Can we tolerate this situation with our high labor costs?

Our productivity, at least temporarily, is rising at the most rapid rate in history. Before 1957 it was rising at about 1.75 percent a year. Between mid 1957 and to date it has risen about 8 percent. The reason for this is that before 1957 it was wholly due to improved tools and technology. With the depression of 1957-58, unemployment increased a point where labor's attitude was changed and the threat to their security induced a willingness to give a fairer day's work for a fair day's pay. This is probably a temporary spurt, but it shows what can be done when we are put to the test.

Another thing is American ingenuity and inventiveness. However, we hold no monopoly on this as Europe has been a great source for invention, and the Russians are showing signs of a considerable capacity in

this direction.

We are building our merchandise more and more to higher standards of quality and must strive to maintain the highest quality in whatever we produce. We must remain Preeminent in production of quality goods.

We have provided educational facilities for a greater proportion of our population than any other people. We must see to it that they are expanded and greatly improved in the quality and character of education they provide.

As previously explained, we are still a creditor nation. We presently have a favorable balance of trade. People still buy more from us than we do from them.

Our percentage of imports to total product is small but is changing rapidly. Once our export of automobiles represented from to 15 percent of our production. Only or 6 years ago importation of foreign cars wasn't 1 percent of our production. Today our export of automobiles is almost nothing, and we are importing 12 percent of the cars being sold here this year.

Our population is growing at an unprecedented rate, greatly adding to the strength of

our Nation.

I need not go on to list our assets any further. They are known to us all but the greatest of all is the degree of freedom we still enjoy. It is the most precious thing we have and is something we must preserve with our lives if necessary, as there are forces at work both from within and without that are seeking to destroy our freedoms.

Now let me suggest what, in my opinion, are some of the workable means to guide us down the path and out of this economic dilemma into which we are plunging as a result of the rapid rise in foreign productivity coupled with their minimum wages to labor.

Essentially, labor and management in the United States must find all possible common ground for pulling together better than they are now doing. Better leadership is required on both sides to narrow the areas of difference. Their interests basically are the same. Neither can prosper without the other. As an example of the healthy type of togetherness philosophy I envisage, I would like to recall the results achieved in the two great World Wars by the different groups of Deople finding a common ground on which they could pull together against a common enemy. I believe that labor and management now have their last clear chance to get together to save our economy from destructive foreign compeition. I therefore urge a three-way stretch on the part of management, labor, and our National and State Governments with the united efforts of all directed toward licking the common enemy for the common good.

Specifically, the wage demands of labor must be more truly realistic and commensurate with increased productivity. Labor must purge itself of corruption and racketeering, and the many practices that limit productivity such as featherbedding, work limitations, jurisdictional restrictions, and get back under rational and patriotic leadership to the old idea that built America of a fair day's work for a fair day's pay.

Then management must be realistic in its pricing policies and constantly alert to new and improved processes and machines to improved product designs and inventions, to every move that will improve the efficiency and productivity of our productive facilities. Management must also give every attention to its people. Proper personnel and public relations is a vastly important factor in meeting the foreign challenge. We must create a climate in which there is a real incentive for each to give his best. And this is not limited to monetary incentives.
"Man lives not by bread alone." He must be appreciated and he must be told so. In these areas we in the United States should not fear the competition of the marginal and slave-labor foreign competition. Management must also be alert to learning from people in other lands. Americans are becoming much more world conscious and less provincial. Much of what we have taken advantage of in the past has originated as an idea in foreign areas. We must be especially alert as research and development abroad

is going on at a terrific pace.

Then let our governments and political leaders become more conscious of the common problem and less conscious of class or group pressures. We need real statesman-ship. There are many things our Govern-ment can do to meet these challenges far beyond what they are already doing if partisanship can be forgotten. It behooves us all therefore to take a greater interest in government and see that the best type of broad-minded Americans are put into office. The high efficiency of the activity of labor organizations politically in stimulating real action on the part of business and industry in the same direction. I think this is a good thing as then the public will be presented more fully and accurately with both sides of the problem. I have an abiding faith in the good commonsense of the American public, and I think that if they get a complete and accurate picture of both sides they will make the correct decisions and will provide the leadership we need. And in our combined efforts we must control inflation. Balanced Government budgets is a must.

This, I think, is the most significant development of our time and one to which everyone of us must lend his support, to work from the grassroots up to educate our people in the problems they face and provide the leadership in the great challenge to the progress, and yea, to the very existence of these United States as our forefathers envisaged them and as we know them today.

Thank you.

Questionnaire on Vital Issues

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. HAMER H. BUDGE

OF IDAHO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, April 26, 1960

Mr. BUDGE. Mr. Speaker, recently I mailed at random to telephone subscribers and rural box holders in my district a questionnaire on issues I consider to be vital to them and the Nation at this time. To date I have received and tabulated some 6.500 returns.

Believing the results of this tabulation will be of interest to the Congress, and under leave to extend my remarks. I insert them in the RECORD. With the exception of the optional presidential preference question, the percentages will not add up to 100 percent as many persons did not answer all of the ques-

The tabulation follows:

1. On farm price support programs: Do you believe Government spending is insufficient (8.8), about right (14.6), too much (65.9)?

2. On space exploration programs: Do

you believe Government spending is insufficient (20.9), about right (36.8), too much (29.9)?

3. On national defense: Do you believe Government spending is insufficient (30.1). about right (42.4), too much (23.0)?

4. On foreign aid: Do you believe Government spending is insufficient (3.2), about right (16.4), too much (71.2)?

5. On public welfare programs: Do you believe Government spending is insufficient (23.0), about right (32.4), too much (33.2)?

6. Should the Congress, through its spending, allow the \$280 billion national debt to be reduced (78.0), remain the same (9.4). be increased (2.0)?

7. Do you believe the Landrum-Griffin Labor Reform Act approved last year: Helps (37.6), hurts (7.0) rank-and-file union members? Helps (18.6), hurts (16.8) union leaders? Helps (36.7), hurts (10.3) the general

8. Do you believe labor unions directly, or through organizations such as COPE (AFL-CIO Committee on Political Education), should (9.3) should not (78.2) be allowed to use funds from regular membership dues or compulsory special assessments for political contributions?

9. Do you believe that decisions as to which candidates and parties a union will support should be made at the local (72.3), national (8.8) level?

10. Do you believe our immigration laws should remain as they are (41.9), admit more people (12.0), admit fewer people (35.1)?

11. Under present conditions in Cuba, do you believe Cuba should (13.4), should not (74.0), retain its preferred status in trade with the United States?

12. Do you believe that taxes should be collected at the Federal level for the payment of teachers salaries (16.6) yes, (71.3) no; for the construction of schools (24) yes, (59.3)

13. Do you favor the levying of tariffs on foreign crops when those crops are in com-petition with domestic crops? Yes (78.1), no

14. Do you favor legislation providing that the Federal Government shall sue and be sued in State courts in water rights litiga-Yes (56.3), no (18.8).

15. Do you favor the creation of single-use (recreation) wilderness areas in Idaho? (36), no (51.1).

16. Do you favor diplomatic recognition of Red China? Yes (15.4), no (73).

17. Do you favor a series of summit conferences such as the one scheduled for Paris this spring? Yes (66.7), no (18.9).

18. Do you favor repeal of the 22d amendment which limits the President to two terms? Yes (21.9), no (69.5).

19. Do you favor increasing postal rates to allow the Post Office Department to reduce its yearly deficit? Yes (47.3), no (41.2).

20. Do you favor increasing the limitation of \$1,200 on yearly outside earning for those receiving social security? Yes (67.7), no

(23.9).
21. Do you favor allowing tax credits to parents for college educational expenses paid on behalf of their children? Yes (67.4), no

Optional: If the 1960 presidential election were being held today, for whom would you vote? (Please check one only): Hubert Humphrey (2.5), Lyndon Johnson (3.7), John Kennedy (11.1), Wayne Morse (2), Richard Nixon (48.7), Adlai Stevenson (4.5), Stuart Symington (4). No opinion, or undecided (22.4). Others (1.1).

Medical Care Now: America's Great Need

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. ALFRED E. SANTANGELO

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 12, 1960

Mr. SANTANGELO. Mr. Speaker, a nation's moral fiber is judged by the regard the government has toward its people, especially its senior citizens. The Forand bill, H.R. 4700, is a measure which demonstrates a concern for the health and care of our elders in the twilight period of their lives. I was happy to be a cosponsor of this humane and practical measure and introduced H.R. 7154.

Our problem is the care of over 15 million of our citizens, and I believe the Forand bill provides the best approach to the solution of this problem. The administration proposal is a cruel hoax upon the American people and the proposal by the American Medical Association is based upon the premise that only a small fraction of our senior citizens need health care and most of them can afford the cost of hospitalization and medical care.

The problem of medical and hospital care for our elderly citizens arises from the fact that medical science has made more progress in the last decades than ever before. Today some diseases such as malaria, smallpox and bubonic plague have been almost completely eradicated in America. Other diseases such as polio and osteomyelitis are on the way out, and we may hope that the recent progress in cancer and heart research may someday result in their eradication as well. Because of these strides, people are living longer than ever before. Man's life expectancy is now 70 years of age. There are now over 15 million Americans who have passed their 65th birthday. In 1975 there will be 20 million.

The increase of life span has not been an unmixed blessing. The aged today face a number of problems some of which they find very difficult to meet. One of the most pressing of these needs is adequate medical care. The Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare has stated:

Older persons have larger than average medical care needs. As a group they use about two and a half times as much general hospital care as the average for persons under age 65 and they have special need for long term institutional care.

It should always be kept in mind that the cost of this large amount of medical care must be paid for out of the same resources on which the older person depends for his food, clothing, and shelter. Unfortunately, millions of our senior citizens simply cannot meet all of these expenses out of their present slender means.

In 1958 half of the people over 65 had incomes of \$870 or less. That amounts to 8 million people who must live and pay for their medical care out of \$73 per month. The cost of medical care has risen far more steeply since 1949 than the cost of items like food. In November 1959 food cost 17 percent more than it did in the base period ending in 1949. while medical costs had increased by 53 percent. The cost of hospital care alone has nearly doubled. It is little wonder that older persons are often forced to forgo medical care they really should have, or that proper care is often delayed until the situation is serious.

As the American Hospital Association stated in hearings before the Senate Subcommittee on the Problems of the Aged and Aging:

We are convinced by all the evidence we have seen that the problem of health care and its financing is one of the most serious facing the nonindigent aged, and one of the greatest threats to their economic security.

* * Various indications * * * suggest that a good many of the aged postpone or refrain from seeking hospital or other care which would be desirable.

It is also not surprising that a single illness can wipe out the savings of a lifetime and leave a person dependent on the public dole. These problems not only affect the aged persons themselves, but they can also be a tremendous shock to the children and other relatives who assume responsibility for the expenses.

The American Medical Association, which bitterly opposes the Forand bill seems to believe that there is no need for Federal legislation because of the longstanding policy of many doctors to render their services free of charge to those who are in need. You and I know of many excellent physicians who follow this policy. They deserve our respect, our love, and our affection. I know how much they do and how much they can do. I had a brother who was a medical doctor and surgeon who rendered much free services and practically operated a free clinic for the community during the thirties. These doctors are the men who have earned the great respect of society and undying gratitude of their patients. They contribute to the high regard in which the public holds the medical profession. Nevertheless, it seems to me that the evidence is conclusive that many people do not get the care they need despite the generous assistance and charitable work rendered by the followers of Hippocrates.

Even though physicians do take their patient's financial resources into account in fixing their own fees, a great part of the medical expense problem remains beyond their control. In days gone by a doctor could carry all the equipment he needed in a small bag and depended largely on his unaided senses to make his diagnoses. Modern research has ended

those days forever. A doctor now requires a host of complicated instruments and highly skilled personnel to operate them. These require huge capital investments and someone must pay for all this modern apparatus.

The Forand bill would help meet the medical care needs of the aged in a way no other proposal yet developed can. would make health benefits part of the social security system, and thus provide at least a minimum of protection to the nearly 11,300,000 persons over 65 who are now eligible to receive regular old age and survivors benefits. The health ben efits would include 60 days' hospitalization per year, plus 60 days' nursing home care per year, and all surgery performed in a hospital. These benefits would be paid as a matter of right out of the social security trust fund created by the joint contributions of the workers and their employers. This, I think, is the most important thing about the Forand bill. The Government, Federal or State, makes no contribution. The taxpayer is not saddled with income taxes to finance the program. Older people would not be subjected to a humiliating "needs test" or forced to take a pauper's oath. Benefits would not be charity doles, but the proceeds of insurance for which the worker had made payment during his working life. The fact that protection will be completely paid for by the time the worker reaches age 65 does not make medical care free any more than automobile, fire, or life insurance is free.

Most important of all, the worker would pay his share of the cost when he is most able to afford it—when he is working. When a worker retires he would have permanent insurance which would not require additional premium payments out of his meager retirement income.

From one point of view it is difficult to understand the opposition of some doctors to this proposal. As we have already noted many doctors assume a personal responsibility for providing medical care to those who cannot afford it. Even though physicians may be willing, even eager, to carry so much of the load, it is not fair that they should do so. This is after all a national social problem for which the Nation as a whole should bear responsibility.

One question which always arises and which must be answered is "How much will it cost?" The best estimates now available have been prepared by the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. According to these estimates the cost of the Forand bill could be defrayed by increasing the rate of social security tax by 0.40 percent of payroll each for employers and employees—0.60 percent for the self-employed. The small increase in the contribution rates seems to be more than justified by the great benefits it would provide.

Opponents of the Forand bill have a great many arguments, which I would like to discuss. First, some attack the cost estimates of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare as too low, even though that Department, as part of the administration, is opposed to the bill. Representatives of the insurance industry and the medical profes-

sion have claimed that it will cost almost twice as much as the Department says it will. I am tempted to believe that the zealousness of these opponents has caused them to overestimate the costs. Similar predictions were made when we Passed the disability benefit program in 1956. In fact, the Department's estimates proved entirely reliable, even somewhat conservative.

Part of the argument that the cost of the bill would be excessive rests upon assertions that hospitals and nursing homes would be flooded with malingerers Who were not really ill. There will, of course, be an increase in the number of people going to hospitals. The bill would not serve its purpose if this did not happen and there would be no reason to pass it. The idea is to get people into hospitals who need treatment but are not getting it because they cannot presently afford it. As for the malingerers, no person would receive health benefits unless treatment were found to be medically necessary by a doctor. I cannot believe that the doctors of this country would deliberately abuse the program. I do believe they are too skillful to be misled by any great number of hypochondriacs.

I think a great deal of opposition to the proposal has come from people who do not want socialized medicine and who have been taken in by statements that the Forand bill would mean the socialization of medicine in this country. Of course, the Forand bill would do nothing of the kind. It provides that medical bills will be paid out of a trust fund to Which the patient has contributed. The Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare would have no more authority to control the practice of medicine by fixing fees and prescribing treatment than does the president of the Mutual Insurance Co., of Omaha, probably less. In fact, any such control by the secretary is specifically prohibited by the bill. Every patient would have the right to be treated in the hospital of his choice so long as the hospital were willing to receive payment out of the trust fund. No hospital or doctor would be required to admit or treat a patient unless they thought it medically necessary. It seems to me that every conceivable safeguard has been built into the bill.

It has been said that the Forand bill is unnecessary because of the growth of Private health insurance, and that passage of the bill would destroy the progress made by private insurers. The op-Donents cite figures to show that 40 percent of the aged now have some form of health insurance and they predict that the proportion will increase to 70 percent by 1965. The growth of private insurance is a wonderful thing and our Government has helped them grow. However, figures can be misleading because, even if true, they refer to those who are covered while they are employed and not after they retire.

Since World War II because of the war-time restrictions on wage increases, collective bargaining agreements gave impetus to fringe benefits and hospitalization plans. Private hospitalization plans. Private hospitalization plans developed on a scale so vast that 95 mil-

lion American workers and dependents are presently covered by hospitalization programs while they are still working and have not retired. After retirement, only a small portion of the 19 million workers who have pension plans are covered for medical care and hospitalization. Retirement means the end of hospitalization and medical care for our Nation's workers and their dependents. The Forand bill is designed to take care of this need after retirement when because of age, most people need medical and hospitalization care desperately.

With each passing year, our senior citizens develop inexplicable pains and aches. Our senior citizens have arthritic and old bones. I, for one, know of those pains which come from nowhere and end just beyond where the doctors fingers touch. They frequently defy location. I know of the pains which come with the night and disappear with the dawn. A prescribed pill or an appropriate injection, inexpense but effective, determines whether our elders shall pass many hours of agony or a period of comparable comfort.

Many of the people who are included in the 40 percent have wholly inadequate coverage for which they must pay more than they can really afford. For instance, one insurance company charges \$78 per year for benefits which are less than one quarter of those which would be provided by the Forand bill. If the insured failed to make a single deadline on his premium payments, the policy may lapse and perhaps cannot be reinstated. Many of the aged who have health insurance have this type.

It is not hard to understand why some private insurance companies must charge so much for so little. In some cases almost 60 cents out of every premium dollar is eaten up by overhead expenses, leaving about 40 cents for the actual payment of benefits. Under the Forand bill more than 96 cents out of every dollar collected would be paid out again in the form of benefits. The real problem with most of these private insurance contracts is that they must be paid for after retirement when the ability to pay is lowest and the premiums are highest. As for the predictions of their expansion to coverage of 70 percent of the aged, it seems unlikely to me that the 8 million aged with yearly incomes of \$870 or less are going to buy very much insurance at \$100 per year, or even \$78 per year. The dire prediction that the Forand bill would result in the destruction of private insurance is also fallacious. The same type of argument was used in 1935 when opponents of the social security system claimed it would destroy the great progress which had already been made in private pension plans. Of course, the reverse has been true—private pension plans have burgeoned as they never did before 1935. I believe we could expect the same kind of results after passage of the Forand bill. The Forand bill, like the Social Security Act, is not designed to supplant, but to supplement private initiative.

Within recent days in response to the great demand that some action be taken,

the administration has finally come up with a proposal of its own. The general idea is to put the State governments in the insurance business, with part of their expenditures to be reimbursed by the Federal Government on a matching basis. The States would not, of course, be required to participate in the program. But if they do, they would sell health insurance to people over age 65 for premiums of \$24 per year, provided he meets certain fine print qualifications. Benefits would be payable for almost every conceivable type of medical service. However, as in all something for nothing proposals, there is a catch to it. No beneficiary of the State insurance policies would get a penny in benefits until he had spent \$250 per year on medical expenses out of his own pocket. Even then his policy would cover only 80 percent of the yearly expenses above \$250. Any person who made more than \$2,500 per year would not be eligible to buy a policy. However, once a person owned a policy he would not be deprived of coverage no matter how high his income, provided he were willing to pay an increased premium. This is hailed as a voluntary program. This program, I submit, would be neither voluntary, nor calculated to meet the needs of the aged.

Another point. As we have already noted, half of the people over 65 had incomes of \$870 or less in 1958. Let us see how much protection such people would have under this program. First, a person in this income group must spend \$274-\$24 enrollment fee plus the \$250 deductible amount—in a year before he will get a penny. That amounts to more than 30 percent of an annual income of \$870. Even after he has spent this amount, he will receive benefits only if he is able to put up one more dollar for every \$4 of benefits. This means that a person with a \$700 medical bill would have to pay almost \$360 of it himself. I cannot see how a person who has \$870 to live on for a year can afford to spend 40 percent of his income for medical care. If I have only \$10 to spend, I cannot buy a \$50 suit of clothes even if the merchant offers to cut the price to \$25.

The opponents of the Forand bill have called it socialistic. It is surprising that the administration should offer a proposal which is far more susceptible to such charges. The Forand bill would simply extend the well-established social security system to provide for the payment of medical bills. The administration proposal would actually put the State governments in the business of selling insurance to the public at large. Moreover, the State governments would be given control over such aspects of the practice of medicine as the fixing of doctor's fees.

The eligibility requirements of the administration proposal are arbitrary and would operate capriciously. A man who has an income of \$2,500.01 would be ineligible to buy a policy. However, if he voluntarily brought his earnings below this level in 1 year he could buy a policy, and then boost his earnings to any level without losing his coverage. This would result in a situation where there are

two persons, with exactly equal incomes, one of whom will be covered while the other is not.

It is said that more than 12 million people would be covered by this program. However, this assumes that all 50 States, some of whom are already in financial difficulties, are going to jump into a program which will cost the States \$600 million per year. If a State decides to stay out of the program its citizens will not have an opportunity to receive the benefits of the program, even though they must continue to pay the Federal taxes which will be used to finance the program. No one has yet estimated what the administrative expenses of the proposal would be, but I am inclined to think they would be large.

For all of these reasons, I am, therefore convinced that the administration-in spite of its exhaustive studieshas not come up with an acceptable alternative to the Forand bill. Pain cannot wait until 1970. I, therefore, urge support of the Forand bill now.

Health Care of the Aged

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. ALVIN M. BENTLEY

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, May 12, 1960

Mr. BENTLEY. Mr. Speaker, in view of the controversy over the whole subject of health care of the aged, and particularly the Forand bill. I feel it would be interesting to observe the efforts made by the UAW to support this legislation. Under leave to extend and revise my remarks, I would like to in-clude herewith the following letter dated April 29, 1960, which President Walter Reuther has apparently sent to all retired members of his organization:

INTERNATIONAL UNION, UNITED AUTOMOBILE, AIRCRAFT & AGRICULTURAL IMPLEMENT WORKERS OF AMERICA

Detroit, Mich, April 29, 1960.

To: All retired members.

From: Walter P. Reuther.

DEAR RETIRED MEMBER: This is a progress report on our efforts to get favorable con-gressional action on the Forand bill which would provide hospital, surgical, and nursing home care for all social security bene-

Those of you in the Detroit area know about the rally we held on March 27 at which Senators McNamara, Symington, Kennedy, and HUMPHREY were guest speakers. As a result of this rally, prospects for passage of the Forand bill, or similar legislation, have greatly improved, and the 12,000 retired UAW members and their friends who jammed the State Fair Coliseum contributed greatly to this turn of events.

In keeping with our commitment to do everything possible to get favorable action on this important legislation, I again arranged meetings in Washington with key Members of Congress. On Wednesday, April 13, I had the opportunity to meet with the Speaker of the House, SAM RAYBURN, the majority leader, JOHN McCormack, and the chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee, WILBUR MILLS, to discuss the

need for action on the Forand bill. I also met with a number of members of the Ways and Means Committee and a group of Congressmen who have been cooperating with us in pushing for legislation to take care of the medical needs of our older citiens.

The results of these meetings, during which I assisted two of our retired members in presenting petitions signed by 7,000 people at the Detroit rally, are fairly accurately reported in the enclosed collection of press

clippings. I am now very optimistic about the chances of getting constructive legislation providing some basic hospital and nursing home benefits for all social security beneficiaries in this session of Congress. your help is still needed to encourage Congressmen that interest among our senior citizens in this issue is great and continues to grow day by day. Even if you have already written to your Congressmen, there are still important things you can do to

1. Write a letter to Congressman Wilbur Mills, chairman of the Ways and Means Committee, explaining why you personally need the help which the Forand bill provides. Mention facts and figures concerning health, drug, hospital, and health in-surance costs and the effect of these costs on your retirement income.

2. Get your wife and adult children to

write similar letters.

3. Get at least one friend or neighbor to write a letter to a Congressman and urge them to get relatives and adult children to do the same.

4. Address, sign, and mail the enclosed post card and send it to a member of the House Ways and Means Committee, living in your State or a nearby State. A list of members of the committee opposed to the Forand bill follows:

Democrats: HALE BOGGS, Louisiana; BURR P. Harrison, Virginia; A. Sidney Herlong, Florida; Frank Ikard, Texas; James B. Fra-ZIER, JR., Tennessee; JOHN C. WATTS, Ken-

Republicans: Noah Mason, Illinois; John W. BYRNES, Wisconsin; Howard H. BAKER, Tennessee; Thomas B. Curtis, Missouri; Tennessee; Thomas B. Curtis, Missouri; Victor A. Knox, Michigan; James B. Utt, California; Jackson E. Betts, Ohio; Bruce ALGER, Texas; ALBERT H. BOSCH, New York; JOHN A. LAFORE, Pennsylvania.

I feel certain that if we can get 100,000 post cards and letters in the mail in the next 10 days, we will get favorable action on a health bill for senior citizens. I am counting on you to keep up the good fight for this legislation. By working together I am confident that we can get favorable action on this important legislation and thus lift the heavy burden of hospital-medical care from the backs of our aged citizens.

All good wishes.

Sincerely and fraternally, WALTER P. REUTHER, President, International Union, UAW.

Conference of World Tensions

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. CHESTER BOWLES

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, April 25, 1960

Mr. BOWLES. Mr. Speaker, at the Conference on World Tensions held today in Chicago, Gov. Adlai E. Stevenson has given an important and timely address. In a forthright but nonparti-

san manner, he has addressed himself to the tension-increasing events of the past week, as well as to an incisive survey of our world position. His words, as always, deserve the thoughtful and careful attention of all American citizens:

This is not an easy time to talk about world tensions and peace with the meeting of the Chiefs of State about to convene in Paris. I hope your deliberations on reducing world tensions have been fruitful, because I am sure our Goverment has recently hit upon some good ways to increase them. In view of the strange events of the last few days, about all we can be sure is that the temperature has fallen sharply at the

But what disturbs me even more is the drop in America's reputation around the world, where the democracies are competing with the Soviet Union and its Communist friends for the respect and confidence and leadership of the peoples who will decide the great issue of our century.

In spite of all the rhetoric of the past few days, no one questions the necessity of gathering intelligence for our security. The Russians, of course, do the same, and they have a great advantage because of their addiction to secrecy, while our countries are virtually wide open to all the world spies-

But our timing, our words, our management must, and will be, sharply questioned. Could it serve the purpose of peace and mutual trust to send intelligence missions over the heart of the Soviet Union on the very eve of the long awaited summit conference? Can the President be embarrassed and national policies endangered at such a critical time by an unknown Government official?

Is it possible, indeed, that we, the United States, who want nothing of anyone but peace and security, could do the very thing we dread: carelessly, accidentally, trigger the holocaust?

Doesn't this incident make the reduction of international tensions all the more imperative?

What effect will this untimely drama have on the hospitality and confidence of the host countries adjoining the Soviet Union where our bases are situated?

And what of our international reputation for honesty, even comptence, when we announce that "there was no deliberate attempt to violate Soviet air space and there never has been," and 2 days later admit that the plane was on an intelligence-gathering mission over Russia and such missions are routine? One could say with the cynical diplomat: "Sir, it was worse than a lie, it was a blunder." But I would also congratulate Secretary and the secretary states of the se ulate Secretary Herter and the State Department for their prompt recovery and their candor after the first fumbling contradictions.

In short, our Government has blundered and admitted it. And the blunder has made the President's task at the summit meeting more difficult. Changes must and will be made. But this is no time for partisan censure. The summit meeting is too fateful for any American to risk making the President's teak and the summit meeting is too fateful for any American to risk making the President's teak and the summit teak dent's task even more difficult.

I hope this incident will not cause the Russians to really question our good faith in seeking a way to peace. And I hope that Mr. Khrushchev's intemperate words will not discourage us from the most serious and patient negotiations. It is more apparent than ever that there is no security for either side in this divided and suspicious world. So we must pray more earnestly than ever for the success of the President's mission at the summit.

But there was another development of this weird week that has passed almost unnoticed, which gravely disturbs me. On May

7 the President announced that we were going to resume underground nuclear test explosions in connection with research on detection. Evidently there was no approval or consultation with the British and the Russians. The discovery of the spy plane, coupled with the simultaneous announcement that we were unilaterally resuming these nuclear tests, can hardly enhance our image as the champion of peace in the world.

Well, I hope you will forgive this excursion into a field already badly trampled, but increasing tensions seems relevant at a conference on reducing tensions. I hope and pray that the prospect for a test ban agreement at the summit has not been harmed by this confusing announcement just when everything looked as if there was for the first time a real chance—perhaps a last chance—to bring the development of nuclear weapons under reasonable control before they spread further through the world and before they become still more lethal and versatile.

Only a few points remained to be settled at the summit meeting. The Russians had accepted our position that a permanent treaty could only cover tests that could be monitored. After Mr. Macmillan's visit, we had finally accepted their proposal for a further moratorium on underground tests, and they had accepted our proposal of joint research to improve techniques for detecting underground explosions. Congress seemed ready to ratify. The critics had been pulled into line. The presidential candidates said they would back up the President. A scientific conference was set for yesterday to discuss the joint research program.

And then, a few days before the summit, the President announced our unilateral program without even waiting for the scientific conference which we had proposed and without assurance that the British and the Russians would have full access to our research work and nuclear explosions. Research on any other basis would hardly be possible unless there is mutual trust, and of course that is just what there isn't.

Unhappily, the suspicion is already widespread that powerful influences in this country really don't want to halt the development of nuclear weapons—in spite of the fact that if we go on, by 1980, or earlier, scientific progress (we should invent another name) will have perfected the ultimate explosion, which, with one touch of the button, incinerates the globe—the overkill to end all overkills, which cancels at one stroke all Soviet, or Chinese, military strategies based upon the postatomic survival of a part of their vast countries and vaster manpower.

As we know, the only solid basis for successful negotiation with the Russians is the basis of common specific interests—the basis of mutual advantage. And this certainty—of the perfection of the ultimate explosion—is linked with the most specific common interest of East and West to prevent the spread of atomic power to all the other governments of our troubled world, and possibly to forestall one of the most ominous and immediate possibilities—the extension of atomic weapons to both Germanys, thus creating in a divided continent an atomic armory at the very point of maximum political instability.

The control of atomic testing, which looked so promising, is no more than a first step, but to my mind it is a first step of overwhelming importance, for it would establish international inspection for the first time—the safeguard upon which all future steps toward disarmament and sanity depend. I believe that it is worth a great deal to us in ultimate security to achieve this first step, and this for a reason I do not always see given the emphasis it deserves.

We in the West are an open society. The Russians need no aerial reconnaissance of this country for their security. But Russia since Ivan the Terrible has never been an open society. For them to agree to inspection on their own territory violates an ancient traditional and basic principle of their national life-which is secrecy. we are asking for and they seem willing at last to concede is something with incalculable consequences for the future of man. A formal end to Russian secrecy and the start for the first time of even the proposed limited system of international inspection and control of nuclear testing is worth a good many theoretical improvements in the refinement of these weapons by further tests, which can only complicate the problem of control and put even heavier demands on the world's political maturity.

I don't believe that no treaty is better than an imperfect one; that the choice is a perfect test ban or none at all. I don't believe things have got to get worse before they can get better. They can't get much worse, and to go on with the tensions mounting, the arms race expanding, new weapons multiplying, is not the road to reason; it is the road to ruin.

I deeply regret that on the very eve of the summit the United States has created the impression of another change of policy and cast any doubt on its purposes and total commitment to halting all nuclear arms tests.

But I had planned to talk about Latin America where I have traveled extensively this winter. For Latin America is making no mean contribution to world hopes and also to world tensions, especially in Cuba. But instead, I want to question one or two of our attitudes and beliefs from which all our policies in the international field—all our strategies and plans, all our efforts to mitigate the tensions of our world—are in the last analysis derived.

My first query is this. Do we know, in the broadest sense, what we are trying to do with our foreign policy? And what relation does it bear to what we ought to be doing in the atomic age? We accept the fact that, every day, science is revolutionizing our environment. Space is conquered. Communication is instant. Wordwide political forcesanticolonialism, antiracism, burning nationalism-operate across the old boundaries and often obliterate them. Even in less sensational ways, we are caught in a new web of international influences and commitments. Is not one reason for the new pressure on America's balance of payments the fredom with which producers and consumers alike now shop around the world, turning naturally to foreign suppliers when price and convenience dictate the choice?

In short, we are irreversibly part of a worldwide human community. But it is not a community that enjoys the structure or the safeguards of a civilized society. At home we live under law. We play our part in promoting the general welfare. We share some sense of national purpose. These are surely the minium conditions of a truly civic life, or a life in society that deserves the name of human.

But all are lacking in our international world. Should not, therefore, the introduction of such fundamental institutions be the first aim of our world policy? Should we not at least attempt a political inventiveness which in some way matches the horrific inventiveness of our scientists? Can we tolerate a world in which everything changes—every measurement, every distance, every material prospect—and only civic life remains unchanged to founder in an environment for which it was never designed?

The main aims of our foreign policies bypass this central issue. We do not pursue the general welfare. We pursue our separate national interests and hope that the selfish good of the part will add up—against the witness of all social history—to the wider good of the whole.

We do not urgently seek a world under law. Primarily we seek national security or, in simpler terms, to stop the Russians. As for policies which attempt to articulate some common purpose for a threatened humanity, they occasionally get a brief run in our rhetoric. But they do not occupy much of our planners' time.

So I would suggest that a first need in our international policies is to be clear about our fundamental aims. We are trying to construct a civilized world for the genus man. We are trying to create for the whole human family insitutions, obligations, decencies and traditions which will enable it—with planetary suicide insight—to avoid disaster and build for itself a saner, comelier life on earth. This aim may appear one of high generality. But so are such phrases as "the defense of national interests." or "Lebensraum," or "the white man's burden," or any of the other catch phrases with which men have gone out with good conscience to plunder and maim their neighbors. Behind the generality "national security" lies the concrete misery of a thousand wars. At least the aim of living as neighbors under a common law, with mutual support and respect, is an ideal with less palpably lethal consequences for the human race.

A world under law entails essentially an end to the settlement of disputes by private violence. And this in the context of 1960 means, first of all, a dedicated, unshakable search for disarmament. Here again I won-der whether some of our beliefs and stereotypes are not hampering the energy and purposiveness of our search. We are bargaining with a tough and resourceful adversary. Nothing will be given away. Sentiment will not enter in. The only basis for negotiation is certainly to match strength for strength, concession for concession, and never to suggest for a moment that the Russians can have something for nothing in the field of security. Nobody has improved Churchill's definition of our posture at the bargaining table. "We arm to parley." Heaven help us if we don't.

But equally, we aim to parley; to parley is the objective, for it is the only way to peace open to either side. Times have changed since diplomats could sit around a table and divide up the world for a hundred years to come. But now peace is not the product of a single conference but rather of continuous conversation.

But there are some states of mind that make negotiation enormously difficult. And we have some of them. I believe many of our stereotypes about the Russians are mistaken. We regard them as undilutedly ideological and constantly plotting world revolution. I don't think they are. Whatever their long term objective of a world safe for communism, in all current events there is a highly pragmatic side to their policies. They want good relations with Mr. Nehru; so they do not use the steel mill they are building in India as a base for propaganda. They do not embarrass France in Algeria. And they may even find Chinese aggressions in Asia embarrassing. They propose to sell their gem diamonds on the world market through those "imperialist capitalist exploiters," the inter-national diamond cartel. When Western producers complain, they stop exporting aluminum at cut prices. One could multiply the instances. They add up to a careful Russian assessment of Russia's interests-of which ideology is only one.

Nor are they demons. With Stalin no doubt we were dealing with a madman whose manias took us to the fringes of hell. But

with Mr. Khrushchev we are dealing with a tough and realistic politician and polemicist. But I doubt if apocalyptic visions so darken his sight that we cannot conduct the dialogue of reason with him.

Nor above all are the Russians supermen. Sometimes when I read American accounts of Russian intentions and policies, I feel that I am studying a system of power so ruthlessly efficient and effective that our poor faltering democracies, our ponderous system of persuasion and consensus, had better give up in advance. Then I remember the Kremlin's unholy miscalculations of 1939, the near-collapse of 1941, the postwar seizure of Eastern Europe which turned the world's admiration into cold hostility, Tito's daring rebellion, the infinite difficulty of reversing a brutal dictatorship after Stalin, the uprisings of 1953 in East Germany, the Hungarian horror of 1956, the new uncertainties with China. This system—like ours—stumbles and feels its way. We must not hypnotize ourselves with the myth of its infallibility.

It seems to me both sad and ironic that the Communists have so largely succeeded in preempting and exploiting the cry for peace—which is surely the loudest and dearest sound in this war-weary, frightened world. They have been able to do so because we underestimated mankind's yearning for peace. We have emphasized military containment, and for years it appeared that we didn't want to negotiate with the Russians, either to test their intentions or to call their bluff.

Meanwhile they stopped nuclear testing unilaterally; they reduced their army unilaterally; they proposed summit talks about reducing tensions and the dangers of war; they proposed total disarmament before the world forum of the United Nations. Whatever the motive, cynical or sincere, they have constantly taken the initiative. They have answered the cry for peace, while we have quibbled and hesitated and them finally given in. Too often our approach has been "yes but" instead of "why not." Too often our uncertainty and quibbling has left the impression that the United States is looking for reasons not to reach an agreement.

But security is not the only vital field in which our policies are confused and clouded by false or inadequate preconceptions. If we turn from disarmament as a preliminary to achieving the rule of lawour first international concern-to the other great issue of the world's general welfare, I think we find the same uncertainty of goals betraying itself in hesitations and inadequacies of performance. Since the Korean war the chief aim of our programs was, frankly, to stop the Communists. Recently, however, a new and more hopeful goal has appeared. Many of the West's leaders—the President, Mr. Macmillan, General de Gaulle—have taken notice of the great and growing gap between the rich nations (largely in the Atlantic arena) and the poor who make up at least a billion souls in the lands outside the Communist bloc which are underdeveloped, unmodernized, and almost wholly lacking in the capital they need for growth. Many of us at this conference have long preached that economic development is as important to our security as military defense, and now our leaders have stated that bridging the gap must be a full Western responsibility.

This new emphasis on the positive task of building up the economies of the emergent puoples brings us within measurable distance of a genuine concept of solidarity and welfare. It is in every sense a welcome step forward. What troubles me is the evidence that little serious thought is being given by governments to the concrete strategies needed to turn the new aspiration into concrete policy.

To give two concrete examples—we have in the Indian development plans admirable instruments for transforming 40 percent of the peoples living in the poorer lands into active productive citizens of a modern state. As in all developing economies, India cannot cover the foreign exchange element in its plans out of trade earning alone. And I could say many of the same things about Latin America, where we have no more loyal friends of freedom, and where their needs for foreign development capital are equally large.

But the western nations have made no decision to see these great ventures through to success by a massive and sustained joint effort. Can our talk of our obligations to end the gap between the world's rich and the world's poor be treated seriously when our approach to any specific commitment still rests on a day-to-day basis, with no guarantee that we are ready to look beyond tomorrow's need, or tomorrow's crists?

To my mind, the situation in Africa is quite as critical as Asia. The ending of the old colonial links can mean the end of a large flow of public capital just as private enterprise hesitates to undertake new commitments in the face of political uncertainty. Have we a strategy for this situation? Is the end of western control and the beginning of independence to coincide with massive impoverishments in Africa? If so, what better recipe could there be for Communist infiltration, what greater mockery of the West's claim to a constructive and modernizing role?

The universal complaint in South America and all these raw material exporting countries is the instability of prices for their metals, coffee, cotton, wool, and the other products that often constitute their major source of foreign exchange. Is it beyond the genius of free government and capitalist economy to stabilize some of these prices and give these countries some predictable continuity of income on which they can plan and build?

I could talk of other uncertainties; for instance, government often expecting private business to take political risks which go far beyond the responsibilities it can legitimately undertake; private enterprise in its turn showing an almost ideological distaste for government investment and "socialism" even where there is no capital to support capitalism in these underdeveloped countries.

So, if the balance of the world turned on the recovery of Europe and the success of the Marshall plan 12 years ago, now it turns on North-South relations, to borrow General de Gaulle's phrase. But as some of us here have been saying, our separate economic strength is not great enough for the task of the industrial North in the developing South. We shall have to coordinate cooperate and confederate-or whatever it is-to insure that we have common economic policies on both sides of the Atlantic. We shall have to contrive adequate machinery to answer the many questions of how much investment is needed, where and in what priority it should be invested, how the burdens and benefits should be shared, and all the problems of planning and programing.

But perhaps the chief difficulty is also the most serious—the lack of public understanding of our assistance programs, the failure to give the American people any really constructive idea of what is being done in

"Operation Rat Hole," "Wasting the taxpayers' money," "Paying foreigners to compete with us." "Giving away our jobs"—the chorus of articulate disapproval is constant. Even though many citizens sincerely and consistently support the programs, I wonder if half enough people really know the profound reasons for their continuance? I believe the reasons can be made more than convincing. They can be made exciting. They can accord with our American tradition of an expanding frontier, of work to be done and hurdles to be leaped, of new markets to be opened in a challenging, exhilarating world. To complete the revolution of modernization which began in the West, to spread education to all peoples, to offer hope and health and good food and shelter and elbow room to all the members of our great human family—these are not negligible goals. They complete the vision of a Jefferson or a Lincoln—of burdens lifted from every shoulder and a life of opportunity for all mankind.

In this perspective, we can see the vast joint effort of bringing capital and trained manpower and technical skill to work in the emergent economies, not only as a world-wide extension of our principle of the general welfare, but as a new and exciting extension of our American dream, a new frontier, a new hope, a new achievement, a new pride.

Nor would I wish for a greater vision and a higher aim simply for ourselves. Am I wrong in supposing that in the world at large there is some latent desire to see expressed and practiced the policies which unite us, which express not our differences but our profound human needs, which give us something of our human solidarity, which leave our tribal feuding behind, which remind us of the grandeurs and miseries of our shared human destiny?

Here we are caught up in our horrible war games, in this gang warfare of a delinquent universe. But in our hearts—and perhaps in Communist hearts as well—there are times when we feel to the core war's idiocy and futility. We cannot give up our armaments separately. We are like two men in a dark room, each armed and feeling for the other. Neither dare put his weapon down for fear the other does not. But, as we grope in the dark, could we not reach for some other light to flood our narrow chamber, some fresh illumination of our aims and intentions which might enable us at last with confidence to put the ugly weapon aside?

Light could come, I believe, from working together on projects really relevant to our profoundest human needs. We know what they are. They are not concerned with frontiers or nuclear weapons or matters of prestige. They deal with the fundamentals of our living—with the surge of population, with the expansion of food, the mobilization of resources, the direction of science to creative ends, the opening of the doors of knowledge, the banishment from outer space of the petty rivalries of earthbound man, the expansion of beauty in our lives—through competing in excellence, not in tons of metal or kilowatt hours.

Such aims, more in keeping with the full dimensions of the human spirit, need not remain remote and disembodied. Why not propose to the Russians an international commission to tackle the problem of the world's great deserts? We are on the verge of achieving the desalinization of water on an economic scale. Why not work out the implications of this scientific breakthrough in some great arid area and do it jointly, creating as we go a new patrimony for the human race?

Why not speed our preparations for a worldwide medical year; and after it, set up permanent commissions in vital fields of research to formalize the fact that in this of all fields all knowledge should be available to all men?

There are other areas. I trust no squabbling over chairmanships will long delay an international commission for outer space. I hope the powers will quickly return to the conference table to work out an agreed law of the seas, and perhaps add to it a commission to establish rights and procedures to be followed when nations begin to probe under the oceans for new raw material supplies.

I trust, in short, that every opportunity we in the West can see to dramatize the common interests of humanity will be seized on and developed so that, whate er the obstructions put up by the Communists, the sense will spread through the world that the Western peoples are profoundly and permanently committed to the survival and dignity of man.

For in the last analysis, what else is of value, for ourselves and our children? These are visionary days in every field. We have unlocked the atom. We are laying bare the secrets of man's heredity. New infinite vistas have opened in space, new infinite abysms are opening backward in time. We have seen a rocket hit the moon. We know its dark face. Our astronauts wait to venture on a journey more mysterious than the quest of the Golden Fleece. We are adding a city a day to the world's population. How can we be content in such an age to keep our political thinking within the narrow bonds of class or race or nation? How can we permit outdated ideology to obscure our identity as citizens of a common world?

As you are doing here, our Western peo-ples must speak once again for man and for the human city. In doing so, they can save themselves and their present adversaries. They may do more; they can begin to realize the full promise of this abundant but

distracted world.

Medical Care Problems of the Aged

EXTENSION OF REMARKS S OF

HON. JOHN W. BYRNES

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, May 12, 1960

Mr. BYRNES of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, in connection with the study by the Committee on Ways and Means of proposals dealing with health care problems of the aged, the committee membership has been attempting to defineate the special characteristics of the health needs of older persons. The Acting Surgeon General of the United States, Dr. John D. Porterfield, has presented a memorandum to the committee commenting on these special health problems confronting the aged.

In the interest of furthering general understanding and knowledge on this subject. I will include as a part of my remarks Dr. Porterfield's comments. I believe it is important to the solution of the problem of health care for the aged that we have knowledge of their special requirements:

SPECIAL PROBLEMS IN THE MEDICAL CARE OF THE AGED

(By John D. Porterfield, M.D., Acting Surgeon General, U.S. Public Health Service, partment of Health, Education, and Welfare)

The health condition, both physical and mental, of the approximately 16 million people in this country over 65 years of age covers a wide range.

Over 3 million-or about 22 percent-report to the National Health Survey that they have no chronic conditions.

Over 5 million-or about 35 percent-report that they do have chronic conditions, but they are not limited in their activities.

Four and a half million-or about 29 percent-report that they have chronic conditions which partially limit their activities.

More than 2 million-or about 14 percenthave chronic conditions which prevent their carrying on any major activity. Of this group, almost half are unable to leave their homes.

About 600,000 are in institutions, most of them because of sickness.

A million of the 16 million older people will die this year. Almost half of them will die from heart disease. One in six deaths will be from strokes, and another one-sixth will be from cancer. Many, probably most, of these deaths will have been preceded by long periods of illness. In some cases it will have been years. As this million leaves the ranks, a million and a third people will move into the over-65 age group.

Other diseases, not major causes of death, also cause long Illnesses and severe disability. Arthritis, rheumatism, and mental illness are notable examples. All of these are far more prevalent among those over 65 than they are in the younger age groups.

Older people are, of course, also subject to acute conditions. According to the National Health Survey, acute conditions ac-count for an annual average of about 1,300 days of restricted activity per 100 people over the age of 65. This is 15 percent higher than the rate for people under 65. Most of this restricted activity is due to respiratory diseases. The next most important cause is injury. The rate of accidental in-jury does not differ substantially from that of the lower age groups, but the resulting disability is far more severe and of longer

These are the statistics, but they are not the whole story. They are comparable to laboratory reports as aids to diagnosis and prescription; they are essential, but one needs also to look at the patient.

In general, the recovery time for an older person is longer than it is for younger people. The time needed for the knitting of a broken bone is a familiar example. And there are other differences. Illness in older people is more likely to be accompanied by mental confusion than is the case among the younger. They are more likely to be alone, or else physically dependent upon other old people who themselves are not strong. Their incomes have been reduced and, what perhaps is more important, there is seldom hope that this will change. Their physical strength is reduced. And, they haven't always been old, it is difficult them to become accustomed to these changes and they are frightened. I think it is fair to say that the prospect of becoming sick and dependent on charity is a constant fear, sometimes amounting to terror, of just about all older people of modest means who have in their earlier years not only been self-reliant but have supported others. As most of them have. These are facts that need to be taken into account.

In the population as a whole, most illnesses are short. The cost per day in many cases may be high, but the duration is short. We have gone a long way in developing mechanisms for providing and paying for the necessary medical care to meet these kinds of illnesses.

This is certainly not true in the case of long-term illness. In proportion to all cases of illness, there are relatively few cases of long-term illness. And while the average cost per day is much lower than for an acute illness, because of the duration the total cost is much higher. Yet we have almost no mechanism except public assistance for paying the costs, and few services

and facilities for delivering efficiently and effectively the medical care required.

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There are only a few communities in the country that have available the services needed—and then only on a very limited scale—to serve the dual purpose of providing the kind of out-of-hospital medical care needed during long-term lilness and at the same time doing the things that can be done to prevent or ameliorate the permanent disability that threatens.

When illness strikes suddenly, instance in the case of a stroke, and lifesaving measures are necessary, the physician has no trouble deciding what to do. The patient goes to a hospital, and lifesaving measures are taken. Once the crisis has been passed, services to restore the individual to the best possible health must be instituted promptly and must be maintained if the patient is eventually to be restored to as nearly a normal level of activity as possible.

Most stroke patients need physical therapy soon after the stroke to enable them to re-gain maximum use of their arms and legs. Many need early retraining to recover the power of speech. The sooner such restorative services are provided, the more quickly the individual expects that he will not be a hopeless invalid. Now these services are available primarily in some hospitals. But they can be provided at home-in the setthey can be provided at home—in the set-ting in which most people prefer to con-valesce. From a medical viewpoint, the best thing for the patient is to get him out of the hospital and back to his home or some other more nearly normal environment as soon as his condition permits. This can be done, of course, only if the services the patient needs are available outside of the hospital. This is arely the case.

What is the doctor to do? Maybe it isn't the best medicine, but if the patient has hospitalization insurance, he can stay in the hospital until it expires. Unless, of course, local hospital bed shortages constitute an even greater problem. Perhaps a skilled nursing home could provide the services, but all too frequently no such place is available, and even if it were, there would be no way to pay for it. Eventually the patient goes home. He no longer receives the services he needs, and the likely result is that he becomes seriously and perma-

nently disabled.

In other kinds of illnesses and in some strokes, where lifesaving measures are not needed, it would not be necessary to hospitalize the patient at all if nursing and other services were available to him at home, or if a bed in a skilled nursing home were available to him. Since this is usually not the case, he must go to a hospital.

Some years ago, the Commission on Chronic Illness was established to study the problem of long-term illness in the United States. Among their conclusions and recom-

mendations is this one:

"Most long-term patients can best be cared for at home during much of their illness and prefer care in that setting under supervision of their personal physician. spite of this, community planning continues to underemphasize such care. Comparatively little effort has been made to organize and provide the means whereby physicians can obtain for their patients the variety of services required to meet the diversified and complex needs that arise in long-term ill-

That is, unfortunately, just about as true today as it was 6 years ago when it was written.

We have, in this country, done a good job of making hospitals available to peo-ple and of providing insurance to pay for much of the cost of care in hospitals. it were possible to provide only one of the facilities needed for the care of the sick, there can be no doubt that it would have to be the hospital. And if it were possible to provide insurance against only one segment of the expense of illness, again it would have to be the hospital. But this is not the same as saying that the hospital fulfills all need.

This is especialy relevant to the medical care needs of older people, although it is by no means confined to them. Chronic illness strikes all ages.

Let me quote again from the report of the Commission on Chronic Illness:

"In addition to physician services, long-term care for many patients—though by no means all—requires nursing, dental, social work, nutrition, homemaker, housekeeper, occupational therapy, physical therapy, and other rehabilitative services. In most communities these services except nursing, are not yet available for the patient in his home. Communities are urged to make these services available and to develop methods to acquaint professional groups and the general public with them."

If these services were available to the physician and his patient on an organized basis, if in addition we had a sufficient number of skilled nursing homes, and if we had the mechanism to pay for these services, we would have available better medical care at less cost, and here I mean cost in dollars. We would also have less disability. Disability that could have been prevented is another of the costs we are paying today.

I want to emphasize that these services must be organized and integrated so as to provide for what is usually referred to as continuity of care. They must be known to and centrally available to the whole community. If the physician is not aware of some of the resources of his community, then so far as his patients are concerned those resources might as well not exist. If a person in need of help does not know where to turn, then to him the best of resources are useless so long as they are unknown to him or so long as he does not know that he may avail himself of them.

There is one bright aspect to this problem of medical care for the long-term patient. It isn't often these days that we can have any hope of bringing into happy conjunction better medical care and lower costs, but we do have that opportunity here by providing not more expensive but less expensive services and facilities.

No one can say precisely—by day, month, or year—when public health became truly aware of the modern possibilities and promise of out-of-hospital care for the long-term patient. I do know that 12 or 14 years ago there were few people in the country who understood the implications, or who understood the importance, the poignancy, of the problem. This, of course, was also the time when the shortage of hospital beds was perhaps most acute. Obviously, the right thing to do in that circumstance was to build hospitals. But over the years since then there has been a growing awareness of the need, the silent demand, for skilled nursing homes, homemakers, visiting nurses, physical therapists, home care. We in the Public Health Service have encouraged experimentation with and establishment of these services. I think we have now come to the time when this need is widely recognized and acknowledged, and that increasing effort is being made to find some way, some mechanism, to change silent demand to effective demand, just as was done through hospitalization insurance to meet the need for hospital care. Once we have the mechanism for paying for the services, then establishment of the services will follow.

U-2 Rubbish

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. HOWARD W. ROBISON

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, May 6, 1960

Mr. ROBISON. Mr. Speaker, as the debate over the spy plane incident continues, and many people are gradually readjusting their earlier opinions toward more realistic conclusions, it seems to me that the following column by William S. White as published in the Washington Evening Star, May 11, 1960, is worthy of our consideration:

PUTTING SPY CASE IN PERSPECTIVE—EXAG-GERATORS URGED TO QUIT BUYING KHRU-SHCHEV'S MELODRAMATIC RUBBISH

(By William S. White)

The people who ought to be on the side of the United States are doing more than its enemies to destroy its influence as the irreplaceable leader of the free world.

Of course, the Eisenhower administration itself is partly to blame; but only partly. Hysterical exaggerations of its sins, both here and abroad are far more to blame.

here and abroad, are far more to blame.

The incident of the American "spy plane" over Russia is being inflated to manifest absurdity.

One might think this Government had committed the most sordid crime of the century. The truth, of course, is that a government responsible for the safety of its own people (and of millions of other peoples) has a plain duty to run reconnaissance over a vast, hulking and secret power like the Soviet Union.

The truth, of course, also is that our first explanation for this particular plane was clumsy nonsense. But another truth is that our Government has now surely made enough public confessions to satisfy the most petulant here and among the Allies. What more do these people want our Government to do? Must it wallow in the very streets in self-abasement? Must it publicly promise Nikita Khrushchev that the United States will go to the summit as a humble penitent so as not to annoy Mr. Khrushchev or those who want a settlement at almost any price?

There is great need to see this episode in some perspective. Yes, it was a bad business. But has a Communist dictatorship that has looted and murdered across half of Europe now become a spotless victim of a dreadful scourge to peace, the United States of America? Is the unarmed aircraft the equivalent of the bloody Russian suppression of Hungary? Is it possible that the home of the most massive and malignant esplonage system in all history, the Soviet Union, can put our small efforts into such vast discredit?

True, one unarmed aircraft went across Soviet airspace without the personal command of the President of the United States. (The President did not personally pack the pilot's lunch kit, either.) But does this really suggest that some reckless band of militarists has taken over the foreign policy of the United States?

Is there any rational content whatever in the argument that because this could happen it follows that some intelligence agent or colonel could himself "set off a nuclear war"? Do the people who make such frantic suggestions know anything of the immense precautions that would make any such thing literally and physically impossible?

If a gunshop sells a .22 rifle without proper safeguards, does this prove that anybody can walk in off the street and buy a loaded atomic cannon?

Why don't we—and our friends abroad—quit buying the melodramatic rubbish the Russians are putting out? Why don't we quit reacting in automatic breastbeating? And if the U.S. Government had not undertaken the intelligence activities it has undertaken—and will go on undertaking—would we not now be denouncing that same Government for being asleep against the possibility of another Pearl Harbor?

Significantly, the official opposition to the Eisenhower administration, the leaders of the Democratic Party, are acting responsibly and speaking softly. Those now raising the shrillest clamor about this dreadful, dreadful administration are those who only weeks ago were intoning hymns to the wonderful, wonderful cold war policy of that same administration.

The responsible Allied statesmen have a plain duty—and powerful men here who are their good friends are going privately to remind them of it. They ought to speak out for a Nation which has, after all, poured out billions in their defense. An alliance has a leader who is supported when things are rough—or an alliance has no leader at all.

Along the same line, Mr. Speaker, the following calm analysis of the same incident by William H. Stringer, chief of the Washington News Bureau of the Christian Science Monitor, as published in that paper on May 10, 1960, is also included:

STATE OF THE NATIONS—BREACHING THE CLOSED SOCIETY

(By William H. Stringer)

Washington,—Really the best face to put on the U-2 reconnaissance plane incident is to say—as the State Department suggests—that since the Soviets falled to accept President Eisenhower's open skies proposal for aerial surveillance of each other's territories, the United States inaugurated its own version of this plan.

This is, in effect, what happened when U-2's were sent on a series of flights over the Soviet Union. And since this is a case of the West's open society versus the closed society of the Soviet Union, one must note that Moscow has been equally active in conducting its own surveillance of the United States.

The difference has been that Moscow does not have to fly planes at high altitudes over America to learn the minimum about American defense preparations.

Soviets in the United States can pick up a lot of information just by walking and riding around, and reading the newspapers. The Soviets also send their spies here, as is attested by the presence of Col. Rudolf Ivanovich Abel, Soviet intelligence officer, now serving 30 years in Atlanta Federal Penitentiary. According to evidence at his trial, his studio contained more photographic and short-wave radio equipment than did the U-2 which came down in the U.S.S.R.

Having said this much, one must note also that in the long run, when hysteria and speculation have subsided, the "case of the U-2 flight" likely will have some salutary impact.

The Soviets are discovering that, despite all the tremendous efforts to maintain a concealed military position, the West has been flying over the Soviet Union and taking exceedingly accurate photographs.

The British have made a few flights themselves, it is reported. Pakistan, Turkey. Norway, despite denials, have had some idea that this is going on and—in responsible high quarters if not in the penny press realize the necessity for the surveillance.

And none of these allies has any history of being intimidated by Premier Nikita S. Khrushchev's threats any more than they were intimidated by Stalin's threats before him. The surveillance, in short, is likely to continue.

But the Soviets, if they are at all rational, will discover after a while that this possession of minimum information by the United States has not wrecked their defenses or ruined their economy. They will be realizing that two can play at this game, and that if they need to read the West's defense posture, so the West needs to read theirs.

This is an argument for the "open skies" plan and for other international safeguards against surprise attack. Moreover, the Soviets, again if they are rational, must realize that before many years have passed there will be reconnaissance satellites circling the earth capable of maintaining nearly as effective surveillance as the U-2 has accomplished, even though the Soviet Union is more cloud-covered than is the United States.

In short, whatever Moscow attempts to do about it, gradually, and inexorably the closed society is going to have to open up. The U-2 incident is just the beginning, and if more people would take note of this inevitability instead of merely shouting "stupidity" and "blundering" at the American high command, they would be doing human society a better service.

To be sure, espionage is a dirty business. And there are different types of spying. Some cloak-and-dagger ventures, by isolated individuals, can easily be denied by the perpetrating government. Moscow never admits its spying. But when a NASA-United States Government plane, big as life, files over a foreign country, that cannot easily be denied.

Some people have been making much of the fact that President Eisenhower did not order this specific U-2 flight over Soviet territory. "Suppose this plane had carried a hydrogen bomb; does the United States have no better control over its flights than this incident indicates?" they worriedly ask.

The answer is simple enough, President Eisenhower did approve a "series" of U-2 flights, though not this specific one. Intelligence officials who sent this pilot on his mission were indeed foolhardy to risk a flight so near the summit conference. But no such low-level command could authorize a mission by a B-47 or B-52 plane carrying an H-bomb. In those instances, the command is ironclad and heads up directly in the White House.

The U-2 incident has, of course, damaged American prestige. But the President's determination is to press on to the summit conference, regardless. His chief goal is still to reduce world tensions. If Mr. Khrushchev wants to raise the U-2 case with him, the President undoubtedly will advise him to recognize the surveillance necessities of the cold war, and to be as realistic about it as Soviet policy always purports to be.

Twenty-fifth Birthday of REA

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. LEE METCALF

OF MONTANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 12, 1960

Mr. METCALF. Mr. Speaker, I, too, wish to join in congratulating the Rural

Electrification Administration on its 25th birthday. Its creators and administrators can look back on a brilliant record; they have lighted and powered rural America.

When the REA Act was passed in 1935 only 1 Montana farm in 20 had electricity. At that time, life on the farm meant pumping and carrying water by hand, chopping wood for the cookstove, bending over a washboard, and poor light for reading, and for farm jobs after dark.

Today, almost 9 out of 10 Montana farms have electricity and roughly 2 out of every 3 of them are served by one of Montana's REA-financed power systems. These systems were built by men and women who banded together to provide for themselves the electricity which commercial utilities either could not, or would not, make available. They borrowed money from the Federal Government, loans on which we taxpayers have made millions of dollars.

Their job is still far from being done. Experience shows that electric power consumption doubles every 5 years. So the REA program must continue. That it, it must continue if our co-ops are to "heavy up" their lines to meet the growing needs of their members. I know our colleagues will be interested in the following clippings from the May issue of the Montana Rural Electric News and the Great Falls (Mont.) Tribune. I also wish to call attention to the satement in support of the REA program by President George Meany of the AFL—CIO:

[From the Montana Rural Electric News, May 1960]

EIGHTY-NINE AND ONE-TENTH PERCENT OF MONTANA FARMS HAVE ELECTRICITY

At the time the Rural Electrification Administration was created on May 11, 1935, only 2,768 farms in Montana, or 5.5 percent, were receiving central station electric service. Current REA estimates show that 29,450 farms in the State, or 89.1 percent of all farms recorded in the 1954 census, were being served by June 30, 1959. REA borall farms recorded in the 1954 census, were rowers serve about 64.7 percent of these electrified farms.

The first REA electrification loan in Montana was approved in May of 1936. The first REA-financed line was placed in operation on December 5, 1937 by the Lower Yellowstone Rural Electric Association of Sidney.

Up to January 1, 1960, the beginning of REA's 25th year, the agency had approved a total of \$61,045,733 in loans to 25 electric borrowers in the State, of which all are cooperatives. The loans were made to enable the borrowers to construct 29,910 miles of line and other electric facilities to serve 44.401 consumers.

Loan funds actually advanced to these borrowers amounted to \$53,465,147 by January 1, 1960. With the help of this financing, the locally owned and managed systems had already placed 29,671 miles of line in operation and were serving 44,100 farm and other rural consumer outlets. The average monthly consumption of electricity by these consumers had increased from 283 kilowatthours in 1950, to 547 kilowatthours in 1958.

REA electric borrowers in Montana have repaid \$8,964,709 on the principal of their Government loans. In addition, they have paid \$5,564,906 in interest and \$3,891,578 ahead of schedule. As of January 1, 1960, no borrower in the State was overdue in its loan payments.

[From Montana Rural Electric News, May 1960]

TEN PHONE CO-OPS NOW IN MONTANA

In 1950, the year the first REA telephone loan was approved, 28.5 percent of the farms in Montana had telephones. By the end of June 1958, it was estimated that 21,000 farms or 60 percent of all farms in the State had telephone service.

The first REA telephone loan in this State was approved on March 14, 1952, to the Mid-Rivers Telephone Cooperative,

Circle, Mont.

As of January 1, 1960, REA had approved a total of \$16,256,000 in loans to 10 borrowers in the State (one commercial company and 9 cooperative associations).

These loans will enable the borrowers to serve 13,682 new subscribers, and to provide improved service for 4,427 existing subscribers over 15,036 miles of line. Work is progressing rapidly on the new REA-financed facilities, and 9 borrowers report that a total of 73 exchanges have been cutover to dial.

Loan funds actually advanced to the borrowers on January 1, 1960, amounted to \$11,289,934. On the same date loan applications on hand from telephone organizations in the State amounted to \$1,060,000.

On January 1, 1960, the State's borrowers had paid \$256,327 in interest and repaid \$305,415 of principal on their Government loans. They had also paid an additional \$68,673 ahead of schedule.

[From the Montana Rural Electric News, May 1960]

IN THE BEGINNING

(By Max Mathews, manager, Yellowstone Valley Electric Cooperative)

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—Max Mathews, veteran manager of the Yellowstone Valley Electric Cooperative of Huntley, was the project engineer on the first REA construction project in Montana in 1937. The Montana Rural Electric News is proud to print the following exclusive article about his experiences through the years.)

The 17 years following my discharge from the Army in September 1919, after 2½ years overseas in World War I, found me engaged in the retailing of building materials and then in various construction activities—then in July 1937, quite by accident, I got into the construction of rural electric cooperative powerlines in Montana—a pioneering project that was designed to bring the better things of life to all rural people and was to give me, personally, an opportunity to fulfill a lifelong ambition to superintend in the field of construction.

My first job was with the Manning & Noyes Construction Co., building the original lines for the Lower Yellowstone REA Cooperative at Sidney, Mont. Later building the second section for the Yellowstone Valley Electric Cooperative in Huntley. The first REA loan in Montana was made to the Yellowstone Valley Electric Cooperative in Huntley in May 1936, however the first lines constructed in the State were for the Lower Yellowstone at Sidney. Their first lines being energized just before Christmas in 1937. My job continued with construction of lines for the Park Electric Cooperative at Livingston and for Vigilante Electric at Dillon, finishing there in July of 1940. Many new cooperatives have been formed in Montana since, there being 24 active at this

The actual construction of electric cooperative lines in those early years was quite different than that of today. The poles were shipped unframed and unroofed, the holes had to be bored by hand and the gains and roof cut by hand as there was no power for power drills and electric saws. Most of the holes were dug by hand and in many instances the poles were raised by hand and the use of pikes and main strength. The hole digging machines at that time were not nearly as efficient as they are today and were of little use in most areas of Montana,

Experienced linemen were hard to come by and the general practice was to pick the most promising men from the crews and develop them into linemen. Many of these self-made linemen later became the backbone of the maintenance crews for the various cooperatives—men with a great deal of pride in their work and part they had played in this now most successful enterprise. There were plenty of laborers in those early days and sometimes so many wanted work that they would draw straws to see who would get the job.

The lines were completed and still there was a selling job to be done—farmers were not used to the idea of using electric power in so many ways and the main thought seemed to be that the current would be used just for lights and refrigeration and there were doubts in many minds as to whether they could possibly use 40 kilowatt-hours per month and if they really could afford to pay the \$3 minimum monthly bill. Most of the transformers hung were 1½ kilovolt-amperes, some were 3 kilovolt-amperes, and once in a great while it seemed necessary to hang a 5 kilovolt-amperes for an exceptionally large load.

When I first became manager at Yellowstone Valley Electric Cooperative in 1940, there were 80 idle services where the potential consumers felt financially unable to have their premises wired so that they could use power. Strange as it may seem today, here was a situation that required some real encouragement and it probably fostered the original "power use" department in the State as we felt it necessary to send our employees out into the field to set up meetings to "sell ideas on how the use of power could save labor and time and in addition make more income on the farm."

With the onset of World War II the picture changed—manpower was scarce and electric power meant the difference between staying in business or having to quit in many cases. But here too came the problem of hard-to-get materials, appliances, and the shortage of manpower to construct and maintain lines—but as is always the case—it sharpened the determination and everyone pulled together to see the thing through.

The postwar boom in the use of electric power on the farm swept over the country until today we find the average farm consumption to be 700 kilowatt hours per month and apparently we have only scratched the surface of the many uses for electric power—the most recent upswing being in house heating.

The pledge to see that all rural families have central station power is rapidly being fulfilled and on this 25th anniversary of the Rural Electric Administration we find 24 active electric cooperatives in Montana serving 43,556 consumers with an investment of approximately \$53,208,000 in 29,180 miles of line.

Looking back on a successful program of this magnitude causes one to reflect on the human interest aspect and in so doing I find some of my greatest satisfactions have come from being in on the ground floor and being privileged to see the faces of proud and pleased families who eagerly watched the "lights come on" for the first time and then returning to these same homes a year or so later to see how they had grown up with their new servant and were continuing to enjoy their new standard of living—the look ahead seems of even greater magnitude as there is no end in sight—rural electric cooperatives are here to stay and serve rural families of America.

[From the Great Falls Tribune, May 8, 1960] RURAL ELECTRIFICATION—AN END TO DARKNESS

REA PROGRAM TO BE 25 YEARS OLD MAY 11

It's hard to explain to a child of today that there was no television 25 years ago.

It's even harder to explain that a great many farm homes in Montana were lit by gasoline or kerosene lamps even less than 25 years ago, and that most farm and ranch families had nothing but battery-powered radios because there was no electrical power line near their homes.

All this began to change 25 years ago with the founding of the Rural Electrification Administration on May 11, 1935. It didn't change overnight, however. The first REAfinanced power line didn't go into operation in Montana near Sidney, until 1937.

in Montana, near Sidney, until 1937.

Since then, 29,910 miles of REA line have been erected in Montana to serve 44,401 consumers of 25 electrical cooperatives. The number of farms served by electricity in this State has risen from 2,763 to nearly 30,000, which is almost 90 percent of all farms recorded in the 1954 census. About 65 percent of these electrified farms are served by REA borrowers.

This was still a dark land when REA began in 1935. Only 1 American farm in 10 had electric service. Now nearly 97 percent of all U.S. farms and ranches are electrified, with more than half served by 1,053 rural utilities financed by REA.

rural utilities financed by REA.

REA. an agency of the Department of Agriculture, is one of the most successful cooperative efforts in the history of the Nation. Its loan program builds electric systems, not only for farms and ranches, but for hundreds of thousands of other rural establishments.

REA has only two representatives in Montana. Harry Reising of Livingston is operations field representative and Ben Wallace, Lewistown, is field engineer.

REA has not only made farm and ranch homes more comfortable and convenient, it has provided power to take over hundreds of farm chores, especially in dairying, poultry and egg production and in feeding meat animals.

While it has provided more leisure for farmers and ranchers, it has given them the means of enjoying that leisure. While part of the family watches television, others may be working in the basement with power tools or photographic darkroom equipment, or in the garage with electric welders and metal lathes.

That's why it's hard to explain to a child of today that the dark ages didn't end too long ago.

REA PHONE PROGRAM NOW IN 11TH YEAR

REA's telephone program was established by Congress in October 1949, and the first telephone cooperative loan was approved in 1950.

Two years later Montana's first REA phone loan was approved, to the Mid-Rivers Cooperative at Circle. Since then one commercial company and eight other cooperatives in the State have received loans.

These loans will enable the borrowers to serve 13,682 new subscribers and to provide improved service for 4,427 existing subscribers over 15,036 miles of line. Nine of these borrowers report that 73 exchanges have been cut over to dial service.

To help provide the best possible rural telephone service, REA has a small staff of telephone engineers in Washington, D.C.

Among other things, these engineers developed construction assembly units for all telephone plant items, permitting contractors to bid competitively on construction of borrowers' telephone plants.

The staff also developed standard technical specifications for automatic dial switching equipment. This also enabled equipment makers to bid on central office equipment on a truly competitive basis.

REA has played a key role in developing plastic-insulated cable for rural use and a new plastic cable and wire suitable for burial

in the ground.

Some of the engineers' most successful work has been in the field of subscriber carriers. The typical rural telephone subscriber line will carry only one conversation at a time. Since start of the telephone program, REA engineers have worked closely with makers of electronic equipment to perfect the use of "carrier current techniques" so that as many as 8 or 10 conversations can take place simultaneously over one subscriber line. The voice is transmitted by radio and the signal travels along the same pair of wires used for an ordinary telephone conversation.

R. J. Justice of Lewistown is operational field representative for REA phone service in Montana. Road Peterson, Great Falls, is field engineer and Peter Schwan, Havre, is field accountant.

AFL-CIO President George Meany today (May 11, 1960) issued the following statement hailing the 25th anniversary of the Rural Electric Cooperatives:

"America's workers join with the farmers and the public in general in hailing the Silver Jubilee of our country's rural electric

cooperatives.

"Since May 11, 1935, when President Roosevelt signed the Executive order creating the Government's rural electric program, the benefits to every segment of the population have been obvious. Today, thanks in large part to the rural electric co-op program, more than 95 percent of America's farms are served by electric power lines. That availability of low-cost electric power has meant a lifting of some of the work burdens for farm families, a great increase in the productivity of the farms, and a tremendous rise in the buying power of the people of rural America. Much of that buying power is used to purchase the products which union members manufacture and the services they provide.

"America's prosperity must always be based on the economic well-being of both its industrial workers and its agricultural producers. The rural electric cooperatives have achieved great success in their first 25 years of helping extend the benefits of America's economic growth to all the people of our country. In the years ahead, they carry our best wishes for continued service to the national community."

Invocation Given by Rabbi Harry J. Kaufman

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. LEONARD FARBSTEIN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 12, 1960

Mr. FARBSTEIN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I include the following invocation given by Rabbi Harry J. Kaufman of Beth Sholom Congregation and Talmud Torah of Washington, D.C., at

the annual meeting of the President's Committee for the Employment of the Physically Handicapped on Thursday, May 5, 1960, at the departmental auditorium:

Almighty Father of all men, giver of life and of law. Thy children have been called together by the President of the United States to serve Thee by rendering true and meaningful service to their fellow man. Guide and sustain these hands that seek to fulfill Thy will by bringing dignity and exaulted purpose into the lives of those who have been burdened by physical disability. Grant us of Thy wisdom and Thy strength to overcome the greatest of all our afflictions and handicaps: the deafness of disinterest, the blindness of prejudice, and the lameness of selfish unconcern.

May this meeting and these deliberations bring forth the blessed fruit of understanding and cooperation in the heart of all America, to build a richer and more meaningful life for those whom by our shortsightedness we may have forsaken. Teach us to ever use our genius and intellect, courage and will in the arts of construction and creativeness, to bring forth the good that Thou has implanted in all men, as it is written, "In the image of God was He created." In these fateful and challenging times we pray unto Thee, bless our President, Dwight D. Eisenhower, our Government, and our people. Help us to be what we seek to be; Thy messengers of peace amongst all the nations of the world. Sustain the hands of all who labor on behalf of human dignity, social justice, and freedom. Through our devotion grant the fulfillment of the words of Thy prophet, Isaiah "Strengthen ye weak hands and stumbling knees, make ye firm, say to them that are of fearful heart, be strong fear not; then shall the eyes of the blind be opened, and the ears of the deaf shall be unstopped. Then shall the lame leap as a hart, and the tongue of the dumb shall sing; gladness and joy shall they obtain and sorrow and sighing shall flee away" Isaiah xxxx: 1-9.

Water for Southern California

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. GLENARD P. LIPSCOMB

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, May 12, 1960

Mr. LIPSCOMB. Mr. Speaker, just a little more than 20 years ago, on October 14, 1939, ceremonies were held at the west portal of the San Jacinto Tunnel in Riverside County, Calif., marking the completion of the main Colorado River aqueduct in its initial development.

On May 11, 1980, another celebration was held at the same location, this time dedicating the completion of the vital water supply line to its full planned delivery capacity of 1,212,000 acre-feet annually, or more than 1 billion gallons of water a day.

This celebration was the culmination of a \$200 million aqueduct expansion program started in 1952. The Metropolitan Water District aqueduct system is not subsidized in any manner by the Federal Government.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I submit for inclusion in the RECORD an editorial which appeared in the May 5,

1960, Eagle Rock Sentinel by publisher Harry Lawson, in which Mr. Lawson pays tribute to this outstanding engineering and construction feat, and recounts its great meaning to Los Angeles and other communities of southern California:

When we turn the water on in our homes few of us stop to think where it comes from, how it comes, or its tremendous value. Nor do we realize the vast water delivery system that has been built up around us. instance our own community, Eagle Rock, where, under its two main boulevards virtually a river runs, or, that a reservoir is located on its eastern borders in which this lifegiving fluid is stored-all a part of the huge Metropolitan Water District of Southern California, of which this suburban community of Los Angeles is part. On Wednesday, May 11, ceremonies commemorating the completion of the main Colorado River Aqueduct to its full planned delivery capacity of 1,212,000 acre-feet annually, or 1 billion gallons of water a day will be held at the west portal of the San Jacinto Tunnel where Colorado River water enters near Hemet. This event not only marks the completion of a 7-year, \$200-million construction job, but is also the culmination of the great Colorado River project, first placed underway back in 1931.

Because of the vital importance of this water supply, and because the Colorado River aqueduct is a southern California project, owned, controlled and paid for by the taxpayers in this area, and because it serves the consumers without any Federal subsidy, this commemoration date is important. Growth of the metropolitan water district is phenomenal. Statistics are dull and uninteresting reading, but this can be said without tiring anyone, the district has increased its area from about 600 square miles to more than 3,400 square miles. Its territory now extends into five California counties—Los Angeles, Orange, San Diego, San Bernardino, and Riverside. Its population is over 71/2 million people and its assessed valuation approximately \$12 billion. It represents about one-half the entire State of California. It is self-sustaining. This year it will be able to deliver sufficient additional water to meet the needs of about 3 million more people.

Just a little more than 20 years ago ceremonies were held at the west portal of the San Jacinto tunnel in Riverside County marking the completion of the main Colorado River aqueduct in its initial development. At the same location in May its completion will be dedicated celebrating its delivery capacity of 1 billion gallons of water a day to the district. The event will be the culmination of a \$200 million expansion program started back in 1952. This work has doubled the capacity of the aqueduct compared to a year ago. This means that the areas within the district now have "water to grow on" pending bringing in of water from northern California. Today there are 89 incorporated cities and a number of large unincorporated areas in the district. The construction program has trebled the initial delivery capacity of the aqueduct. Southern California does not get all of its water from the Colorado River. For years it has depended in part on underground water and in some sections is still doing so. But this water basin is steadily being lowered because of the drain on it and the long years of drought when rainfall was light. Creation of the Metropolitan Water District has in a sense been their salvation.

All southern Californians are greatly indebted to the long-range planning of those who direct the affairs of this district. Without the water it is supplying to this area it would be a sorry blighted place indeed, mainly a barren waste. But water has transformed it into the garden spot of America

into which people are pouring in hordes from other States. No section in the United States is growing more rapidly than southern California. The increase in the population has been a strain upon the district they planned, early and wisely translating plans into acts, to meet the growing needs of the people who should give them silent praise the next time they turn on a water tap.

The Presidential Candidates and the People: NBC's Statesmanlike Proposal

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. STEWART L. UDALL

OF ARIZONA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 9, 1960

Mr. UDALL. Mr. Speaker, the President, as a student of our history recently wrote, is the one authentic trumpet in the American system. Out of regard for the importance of the presidency, and concern over the overriding urgency of the presidential election of 1960, earlier this year I sponsored a bill (H.R. 11260) which would have required the networks to provide free radio and television time for the candidates of both major parties during the campaign this fall.

It gives me great satisfaction to report that Mr. Robert W. Sarnoff, chairman of the board of the National Broadcasting Co., has voluntarily put forward a plan which would achieve the main objectives of my bill-and identical legislation sponsored by 21 Members of the other body. I am happy to commend Mr. Sarnoff for this statesmanlike proposal and am reproducing below an address which he delivered before the Academy of Television Arts and Sciences in New York on April 21 in which he outlined his plan, together with a letter which I wrote him a few days ago in response to his proposal.

The speech and letter follow:

When I received my invitation to address the academy, I felt not only honored but heartened to be reminded that those respectable handmaidens of civilization, art and science, may still be mentioned in the same breath as television. I am glad to see that you are still meeting openly in public places.

It is no laughing matter, but this may go down in the more light-hearted histories of broadcasting as the season that a funny thing happened on the way to the studio. And, indeed, it has not been without its lighter side. For example, the popular pastime of deploring television has made some strange bedfellows: David Susskind and Jack O'Brian; Walter Winchell and Walter Lippmann; James Hoffa and the Attorney General of the United States; Henry Luce and Clare.

It is now 6 months since the open season on television began with a vengeance. We are not out of it by any means but we have lived through this critical period long enough to make a sober accounting of just what has been happening, to assess the damage that may have been done—and the good—and while nursing our wounds, to count our blessings and take a clear-eyed view of the hopes and hazards ahead. In the 6 months since the quiz-show disclosures struck the industry with full force, we have witnessed a curious confusion between ethics and taste.

The quiz rigging posed a grave and clearcut ethical issue upon which honest, thoughtful men could not differ. Those cynical malpractices on the part of some producers and contestants not only abused the conflidence of the public but set premium on dishonesty and blurred the difference between right and wrong. striking single evidence of the social damage represented by these malpractices, as well as the thoroughness of their concealment, is the fact that they prompted scores of men and women to commit wholesale perjury before a grand jury. The issue of ethics is clearly involved in any form of deception that goes beyond the limits of traditional artifice in the field of entertainment.

But what began as a sense of indignation over dishonest practices in one corner of television has been rubbed off increasingly on all of television. An ethical judgment on wrongdoing has been distorting an evaluation of the overall quality and character of television programing. It is a classic case of guilt by association.

The charges that have been aired so vigorously against television in recent months are long-familiar charges of mediocrity, imbalance, violence, and overcommercialism. There is no firmer basis for these charges now than there has ever been, but those who press them are now armed with the cudgels represented by the quizshow deceptions, and they are making the most of them.

IRONY OF THE PRESENT CLIMATE

Certainly this medium has its faults and frustrations. We often deserve criticism and we need it. Yet, in my opinion, the great irony of what we have come to call "the present climate" is that it has descended on us at a time when, in most respects, television has gone further than ever in raising This is the season that television its sights. has presented more special news, public affairs and cultural programs during peak evening viewing hours than at any time in its history. These enlarged efforts grow out of the steady progress of the past; they are not a sudden reflex to new pressures. professionals in this medium, you know that such major projects in a season's schedule have to be planned, organized and committed long before the season begins.

Speaking for one network alone, this is the season that has seen the doubling of a pioneering effort to teach college-level courses in science for academic credit; the season that operas in English have returned in force and won sponsorship for the first time in 10 years; the season that has given "The Tempest" the biggest audience Shakespeare has ever had; the season that has offered more specials, more sports, more color than ever before; the season that is lavishing the finest creative resources on provocative live drama as controversial as the story of Ira Hayes and the Sacco-Vanzetti case, This month alone viewers are being offered Mozart's "Don Giovanni," Gilbert & Sullivan's "The Mikado," an adaptation of Joseph Conrad's "Victory," a biographical drama about Andrew Carnegie, an Easter documentary retracing the Way of the Cross, other documentaries ranging from the America of Mark Twain to the one Charles de Gaulle will start visiting tomorrow. And these are only highlights of what one network is of-We hear so much about what's wrong with television; it may not be amiss to remember what's right with television.

RESULTS OF SELF-REGULATION

What are some of the lessons of the climate in which broadcasters have been living? We were caught unprepared by the quiz-show disclosures, but in swift and decisive response to the discovery of deceptions, we faced up to the sins of omission that helped make them possible. We have long since taken vigorous and thorough

measures to clean our house, and to keep it clean. These have been measures of self-regulation so that, in some respects, they have differed from one network to another, but they reflect a solid determination to keep broadcasting ethically above reproach.

And they are working effectively. In the case of quiz and audience participation shows, for example, it was our conviction at NBC that these programs could and should be presented with integrity to the millions of viewers who find them enjoyable and instructive. Such shows are now operating under rigorous safeguards and they have passed the acid test with the public. Today six of the seven programs in this category on the NBC daytime schedule lead their opposition in popularity, and the seventh is a close contender for first place in its time period. On our evening schedule, two shows of this type are among the most popular in all of television.

In a larger sense, there is another significant verdict on television by the viewing public. The major audience measurement services report there have been more sets in use this season than last, and more time spent watching them in the average telesion home. These facts hardly support the notion of some observers that the public is losing interest in television or turning away from it. On the contrary, they make clear that the vitality of the medium is strong, and the public is responding to its powerful attraction.

Still the clamor of criticism goes on. Indeed, we have been entering a new and more dangerous phase in the period that began 6 months ago—a phase that makes this more than ever a time for reason.

LEGISLATIVE PROPOSALS

Seen in proper perspective, the disclosures of wrongdoing developed by Chairman Harais' House subcommittee represent a genuine service to the public and the industry. By the same token, much of the proposed legislation introduced in the wake of these disclosures reflects an earnest and constructive effort to create legal sanctions to deter such wrongdoing in the future. For example, Chairman Harris and his associates are conscientiously seeking to cope with the difficult, complex problems of legislating against payola, and are considering various bills to set up criminal penalties against quiz-show rigging, along lines that we at NBC were the first to urge.

But the emotions generated over the past 6 months have also spilled over into legislative proposals ranging far afield from these ethical issues—proposals that would dictate the scheduling and quantity of certain types of programs, and would drastically alter the structure of broadcasting itself. I am hopeful that, upon sober analysis, responsible legislators will discard the type of bill that threatens to create far more serious problems than it seeks to solve.

Another aspect of proposed legislation demonstrates how ill-conceived regulation can breed problems that beget still more regulation. An example is the recent bill that would make broadcasters give at least 8 hours of free evening time to the presidential nominees of the two major parties during the election campaign. Here is a bill that would unfairly compel broadcasters to do what they have in the past been prevented from doing by the impractical restrictions of section 315 of the Communications Act.

Those restrictions made it impossible for a broadcaster to present the major-party candidates for President without giving equal time to every other candidate for the office. In 1956, that would have meant some 15 other candidates. Devoting hour upon hour to the often quixotic antics of little known minority and splinter-group candidates would have been an unreasonable

price on the public's patience and a disservice to commonsense.

As I wrote Senator Lyndon Johnson in 1956, NBC has always stood ready to offer suitable opportunities for network appearances to the major-party presidential and vice-presidential candidates if we could be relieved of the penalty of having to grant equal time to every minor candidate. I repeated those assurances last year when the broadcasting industry was urging Congress to ease the "equal-time" restrictions imposed by section 315 of the Communications Act.

Unfortunately, Congress failed to remove these practical obstacles to face-to-face debate or campaign appearances by the major candidates as guests of the networks. But it did lift the "equal-time" penalty from candidates' appearances in news broadcasts and on regularly scheduled news interview programs.

A WAY TO PRESENT THE CANDIDATES

On the basis of this recent amendment of section 315, we believe we have found a way to give the public an unprecedented opportunity to hear, observe, and evaluate the major presidential candidates in appearances on network television in prime evening viewing hours. Beginning 8 weeks before election day, NBC will enable the Democratic and Republican nominees for President to appear together side by side before the American television audience in regular weekly sessions to come to grips with the issues confronting the country.

The vehicle for these historic appearances will be "Meet the Press," television's oldest news interview series. We propose to expand it to a full hour—as we have done on occasion in the past—and to reschedule it on Saturday evenings, preempting "Worldwide 60."

On six of the eight weekly programs leading to election day, each major presidential candidate will get an equal chance to reply to well-informed questions by impartial, trained journalists—courteous but skillful questions designed to bring out their ylews clearly and effectively on the matters uppermost in the voter's mind. Each program featuring the two presidential nominees will be devoted to a major national issue or a particular group of issues, designated in advance, and the final one before election day will treat the highlights of the issues as they have developed in the homestretch of the campaign.

In addition to these six programs, there will be one devoted to a session with the two vice-presidential candidates. And another will present the minor candidates for President—not out of any legal requirement but because we believe their appearance within this framework will make an interesting and informative program. It will also give them a national hearing far in excess of any that could be justified by their voting support.

I believe that the course we are taking voluntarily is far preferable to the one that the proposed legislation would impose upon us. It represents the initiative of a broadcaster acting in freedom, not a Government edict that raises grave questions of public policy and constitutionality. Moreover, it represents a broadcaster's exercise of his own judgment as to how the candidates can be presented most effectively rather than Government dictation that they be presented in a prescribed way. There can be no doubt, in my opinion, that the format in which we plan to present the candidates can be more genuinely informative to the American people, and more interesting as well, than the speechifying contemplated by the pending bill.

HUMPHREY-KENNEDY DEBATE

Now I would like to discuss a dramatic and unusual development that arose only yesterday. As you know, Senators Humphrey and Kennedy have agreed to engage in a televised debate during the West Virginia primary campaign. After thorough consideration of the circumstances and implications, we have today offered the NBC television network facilities for this debate.

You might wonder why we decided to follow this course, in view of the equal-time burdens of section 315; and why if we are able to offer time for a Humphrey-Kennedy debate in this instance, we cannot do the same for debates by the Democratic and Republican presidential candidates after they have been nominated. The differences between these two situations themselves illustrate the problems arising under section 315.

After the conventions, there will be a large number of presidential candidates from all the minor and splinter parties. If NBC were to devote as much time to debates between the Democratic and Republican candidates as we will allot to their appearances on Meet the Press under the plan we have developed, we could be under legal obligation to offer over 50 hours of evening time to the minor-party candidates. This would be an intolerable burden on the public and the network.

By contrast, televising a Humphrey-Kennedy debate at this initial stage of the campaign could give rise only to a limited number of claims for equal time. Since this is a Democratic primary contest, our only obligations under section 315 would be to bona fide qualified candidates for the Democratic nomination. Since it is still early in the preconvention period, relatively few contenders have committed themselves and would be eligible for equal time.

This course presents some problems, but we believe they are manageable. We have assessed the burden and decided to accept it, because in our news judgment, the particular issues being raised in the West Virginia primary are of unusual significance to the public and may not be representative of any of the other preconvention contests.

Station WTRF-TV, the NBC affiliate in Wheeling, W. Va., has already undertaken to originate the Humphrey-Kennedy debate and to furnish it to NBC. We expect to present this debate at a time and date to be worked out with our Wheeling affiliate and with the candidates.

In my opinion, this is probably the last time in the campaign that any network will be able to afford the luxury of presenting a debate between candidates. The way to make such televised debates possible as a regular feature of our political life is simply to free such programs from the equal-time penalty of section 315. The way not to do it is to pass another law enabling the Government to expropriate air time for campaign purposes.

THE AIR AS A PUBLIC RESOURCE

It has been argued that broadcasting is fair game for expropriation of air time by the Government on behalf of political candidates, because the airwaves belong to the people. The air does belong to the public, but what is proposed for Government expropriation is a great deal more than air. The public resource represented by the airwaves had no value until scientists and technicians invented ways to use it as a means of communication. In fact, vast unchartered areas still remain in the spectrum which cannot be used until science, technology, and enterprise develop their usefulness for the public. Thus, the present broadcast frequencies had only theoretical value until individuals undertook the heavy investments in facilities and programing to provide a broadcasting service. Works and stations lost millions of dollars for many years in pioneering this service; and today, many stations are operating at a loss in developing their own service.

It is not the airwaves that would be expropriated under the proposed legislation. What would be expropriated is the product of a broadcasting enterprise which, through business risk and development, like any other enterprise, has created a service where none existed before.

Is it fair to single out the broadcasting industry for expropriation of a portion of this service? It makes as much sense to suggest that newspapers and magazines be compelled to donate a prescribed number of pages to the major candidates. After all, most of them get the benefit, not of the public air, but of public money through second-class mailing privileges for which the taxpayers provide scores of millions of dollars a year.

It makes as much sense to suggest that the airlines, the railroads and the telephone company be compelled to donate their facilities to political candidates. Like broadcasting, they all make use of a public resource; and they also operate under a Federal standard of public interest, convenience, and necessity. Indeed, the telephone company uses radio frequencies to provide network interconnections and is licensed by the FCC for that purpose just as broadcasters are licensed.

THE ISSUE OF FREE EXPRESSION

There is another issue at stake here that goes to the heart of the current threat to broadcasting: the issue of free expression. Any scheme that puts the hand of governmen upon broadcast program content is a curb on the freedom of expression that Americans have as much right to expect from their radio and television stations as from their newspapers and magazines. When the Government can tell a broadcaster that he must carry a certain program, or a publisher that he must print a certain story, it is as much a curb on free expression as when the Government tells them what not to print or broadcast.

The danger of governmental tampering with program content hovers like a specter over broadcasting. It is the chief hazard before us. It lurks behind every scheme to license the networks. It looms over the proposals that the Government lay down fixed percentages for program categories and that the FCC impose program rules and regulations on anyone who wishes to receive and hold a broadcasting license.

What makes this problem especially delicate and confusing is that the FCC's duties in resolving public-interest questions sometimes do require it to consider overall programing. For example, this issue can arise when two or more applicants equally qualified on other grounds are seeking a station license; or when an existing licensee is seeking a renewal.

But this delicate problem can and must be solved. The FCC should exercise its role in such cases with the utmost restraint. Instead of laying down fixed and uniform rules to govern programing throughout the counthe Commission should encourage the broadcaster to exercise his own responsibility in judging and meeting the needs of his own area. It should ask him to describe how he has sought to determine the audience interests in his community; to define those interests he seeks to satisfy, whether spe-cialized or diversified; to outline how he proposes to serve those interests and, if he is seeking a license renewal, how he has already served them. Under this procedure, the Commission would be justified in raising questions about programing only if the application reflected a service unreasonable on its face.

Such a standard of reasonableness, properly applied, can effectively reconcile the freedom of the broadcaster to exercise his initiative and the duty of the Commission to grant licenses only to those who will serve the public interest. And by placing proper bounds upon the Commission's role in pro-

graming, it can help hold the line against attempts to set up the Government as the arbiter of taste for American viewers and listeners. That is the ultimate challenge we must meet as the outgrowth of the trying period that began 6 months ago.

THE TASKS AHEAD

To meet that challenge, we have some difficult tasks to master. One of them is to create greater knowledge and understanding of our medium-an awareness of its nature as a mass medium and its obligation to the total public. This also means creating an awareness of all that we do to meet the specialized viewing tastes of those who have been so out of temper with us. It means cultivating the concept and practice of selective viewing as the only intelligent means of enjoying a service that cannot possibly please all its viewers with all its programs all the time. And it means persuading some of our viewers that their enjoyment of television should not be conditional upon depriving others of programs they enjoy.

This is a task that has been assigned to the Television Information Office, and it has made a good start. But it is not a task that can be delegated altogether. It is one in which every one of us with a stake in this medium can and should play a part. Broadcasters have a special role they can play through the use of their own facilities in creating this understanding. They should explore means of doing so not on a hit-ormiss basis but with care and a sense of responsibility.

There are other important tasks to which these difficult months have spurred us and in which we have already made encouraging We must keep at the job of mainprogress. taining the highest standards of ethical conduct in our operations. We must continue to strengthen our supervision of all broadcast material, commercials as well as program content, in the interests of taste, truth, and our special obligation to young viewers. And always we must work with all our creative might to keep expanding the horizons of the most powerful and eloquent medium in the history of communication. On the basis of what we have already accomplished in this medium-even with our mistakes and shortcomings, and in spite of the dangers that now threaten us-there is every good omen that we will prove worthy of all that must be done.

Robert M. Chapman

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. ROBERT W. LEVERING

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 10, 1960

Mr. LEVERING. Mr. Speaker, it was my distinct privilege today to participate in the ceremonies in the Office of the Vice President of the United States at which a fine young man of my congressional district, Robert Merle Chapman, was one of five youngsters throughout the United States to receive the School Safety Patrol Lifesaving Medal Award for 1960.

Bobby Chapman, the son of Mr. and Mrs. Merle Chapman, is a quiet, unassuming young man of 14 years, of the type that reaffirms my conviction that the future of our country will be in good hands. I do not subscribe to the common talk in some circles that another

generation had a monopoly on courage, intelligence, and integrity.

Mr. Speaker, it has come to my attention that Patrolman F. L. White, of the Ohio State Highway Patrol, one of the most efficient highway police systems in the United States, and Mr. Marvin Huffman, of Ashland, are responsible for organizing the countywide school patrol program in Ashland County. I com-mend these gentlemen, the Ashland Junior Chamber of Commerce for furnishing the annual Chapman award medal and the American Automobile Association, affiliated automobile clubs, and my good friend of long standing Blake Darling, for their sponsorship of the school safety patrol movement which has saved the lives of many of our young people.

Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I include the citation relative to my young friend Robert M. Chapman, and a statement concerning the history of the school patrol

Medal Citation-Robert M. Chapman, Age 14, Montgomery School, Ashland, Ohio

Quick thinking and courageous action by Robert, while on school bus patrol duty the afternoon of March 24, 1960, prevented a tragic accident. The schoolbus had stopped east of Ashland on U.S. Route 250. Three children were about to cross the road. A heavily loaded tractor-trailer combination bore down on the bus. Being unable to stop, it swerved to one side but nonetheless struck the bus, driving it forward over 25 feet. Robert shoved the three children, two into the ditch and the other flat onto the pavement. Two of the children were not hit. Robert and the third child, although struck by the bus, fortunately escaped serious injury.

PATROL HISTORY

The school safety patrol movement has grown tremendously since its origin in the early 1920's. Today, it is a national institution—a vital force in the important work of protecting America's children from the hazards of modern traffic. Well over 770,000 boy and girl patrol members in the United States daily help to protect millions of children enrolled in thousands of elementary schools. In cities and towns, in rural areas, and on schoolbuses, the school safety patrol serves to remind schoolchildren of hazards of street and highway crossing on their way to and from school. This "Nation on wheels" can well be proud of the work that these young citizens are doing.

Educators regard the patrol movement as an excellent school activity, as well as a method to help develop a sense of responsibility, character, and positive usefulness for community living. Commendation for patrol work is universal. It comes from par-

ents, educators, police, and other outstanding public officials.

While it is obviously impossible to set any precise figures on the lifesaving results of school safety patrol work, it is certain that this movement has been partly responsible for the improvement of the traffic death rate of children 5 to 14 years of age. Since 1922, the traffic death rate for this group has continued to decrease to nearly one-half, while the death rate of other age groups has practically doubled.

Lifesaver medal and citation certificate

The American Automobile Association and affiliated automobile clubs inaugurated the AAA Gold Lifesaver Medal Award in 1949. Yearly, the president of the AAA appoints a medal award board and authorizes the members to select patrol members whose traffic lifesaving acts have saved the life of persons in imminent vehicular traffic danger. The gold medal is awarded in cases involving extraordinary heroism, while the citation certificate recognizes actions beyond the call of duty.

In the decade of this honor award program, beginning in 1949, the brief summary following explains the considerations given by the board:

Recommendations submitted 172
Medals awarded 83
Citation certificates awarded 22

States represented: Arizona, Arkansas, California, Colorado, Connecticut, District of Columbia, Florida, Georgia, Indiana, Iowa, Maryland, Ohio, Michigan, Minnesota, New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Virginia, Wisconsin, North Carolina.

Presentation of the award is made annually by outstanding national leaders. It has been the good fortune of recipients to have been decorated for their valor by the President of the United States, the Vice President, Cabinet officers, the Director of the FBI, and top military leaders. In 1959, Mrs. Eisenhower graciously presented the awards.

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board, or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives or the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS FOR SALE

Additional copies of Government publications are offered for sale to the public by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D.C., at cost thereof as determined by the Public Printer plus 50 percent: Provided, That a discount of not to exceed 25 percent may be allowed to authorized bookdealers and quantity pur-chasers, but such printing shall not interfere with the prompt execution of work for the Government. The Superintendent of Documents shall prescribe the terms and conditions under which he may authorize the resale of Government publications by bookdealers, and he may designate any Government officer his agent for the sale of Government publications under such regulations as shall be agreed upon by the Superintendent of Documents and the head of the respective department or establishment of the Government (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 72a, Supp. 2).

CHANGE OF RESIDENCE

Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the RECORD.

RECORD OFFICE AT THE CAPITOL

An office for the Congressional Record, with Mr. Raymond F. Noyes in charge, is located in Statuary Hall, House wing, where orders will be received for subscriptions to the Record at \$1.50 per month or for single copies at 1 cent for eight pages (minimum charge of 3 cents). Also, orders from Members of Congress to purchase reprints from the Record should be processed through this office.

CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY

The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. No sale shall be made on credit (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p. 1939).

PRINTING OF CONGRESSIONAL RECORD EXTRACTS

It shall be lawful for the Public Printer to print and deliver upon the order of any Senator, Representative, or Delegate, extracts from the Congressional Record, the person ordering the same paying the cost thereof (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 185, p. 1942).

Appendix

Problems of Domestic Shoe Industry

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. LEVERETT SALTONSTALL

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, May 13, 1960

Mr. SALTONSTALL. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the Record a speech delivered by Harold Putnam, a staff member of the Senate Select Committee on Small Business, to the New England Shoe Superintendents' and Foremen's Association on May 7. Mr. Putnam's remarks contain a helpful summary of the difficult problems facing the domestic shoe industry particularly in the rubber footwear category. Since it is a problem with which the Government is much concerned, I believe Mr. Putnam's remarks to be very pertinent.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD,

as follows:

Speech by Harold Putnam, Counsel. U.S. Senate Select Committee on Small Business, Washington, D.C.

Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen, it must seem a bit presumptuous for me to come all the way from Washington to Taunton to tell you what is right and wrong with the shoe business. Because I am sure you know already.

But it may be good for you to know that we in Washington share your concern. Senator Saltonstall has asked me to convey to you his regrets that he could not accept your kind invitation in person; he is keenly aware of the problems facing your industry,

and is most anxious to help.

He is responsible for shoes being an item on the current agenda of the Senate Select Committee on Small Business, and we have been engaged in a study which we hope will be of benefit to all of you, particularly to the New England shoe industry which seems to be getting a progressively smaller share of the Nation's shoe business.

Both Senator Sparkman and Senator Sal-Tonstall, the ranking members of our committee, know that the glants of this industry are well able to take care of themselves; but they are anxious to preserve the reservoir of skilled manpower and the reputation for fine quality which have made Massachusetts and New England shoes famous around the world.

I hesitate to discuss the details of your business with you, because I feel a little like the brash young college lad who stopped beside a country road to try to sell a set of the Encyclopedia Britannica to a hard-working farmer.

The college lad gave his best spiel, but the farmer was unimpressed:

"What use would I have for 'em?" asked the farmer.

"Why," said the college lad persistently, "this set of books contains the latest, most up-to-date information on all types of farming. If you'll just read these books, and learn the modern ways of farming, you'll do twice as well as you do now."

But the farmer was unimpressed.

"Heck, son," he says, "I ain't farmin' half as well now as I know how."

I am sure that you are not making and marketing shoes now half as well as you know how. But perhaps a pooling of our ideas will do neither of us any harm.

Probably nothing troubles the shoe industry at the moment more than the mounting volume of shoe imports, particularly the

imports of rubber footwear.

The volume of leather footwear imports in the calendar year 1959 was about double what it was in 1957. The volume of special types of footwear, such as slippers, moccasins, and boots, was also nearly double the 1957 volume.

But in the rubber footwear category, the volume has increased nearly eight times over the 1957 volume. Over 46 million pairs of footwear are now imported annually, and 41 million of these are rubber shoes and overshoes or rubber-soled footwear with fabric uppers.

There is no doubt that this flood of cheap rubber footwear is working a hardship upon competing suppliers in this country. The problem has been called to the attention of the U.S. Department of Commerce and the U.S. Tariff Commissioner by Senator Leverett Saltonstall.

The Department of Commerce admits "a substantial increase in the volume of imports of rubber footwear during 1959," and suggests that "if domestic shoe producers believe that imports are causing or threatening serious injury in their industry, they should consider utilizing the opportunity for remedial action which is available in section 7 of the Trade Agreements Extension Act of 1951, as amended," the so-called escape clause procedure.

An injured domestic industry can take its import troubles to the Tariff Commission for an escape clause investigation. If the Commission agrees that the imports are causing serious injury, it recommends appropriate remedial action to the President.

As of the end of 1959, 107 such applications had been made to the Tariff Commission, not including the rubber footwear problem. The Commission decided against escape action in 41 cases, but in favor of escape action in 32 cases.

Of those 32 cases which reached the White House, the President declined to invoke the escape clause in 20 cases, but did invoke it in 12 cases—and these successful cases included watches, bicycles, safety pins, lead and zinc,

and stainless steel table flatware.

Senator Saltonstall has called a meeting of representatives of the Tariff Commission and the State Department for May 17 to work out a course of action to defend this important domestic industry from serious injury. He has cafled for worldwide fair labor standards to outlaw profiteering in world markets at the expense of exploited labor. He is insisting that those countries which seek the privilege of selling to us remove their own trade restrictions so that U.S. business can sell to them. These are the only practical defenses to protect our industry from short-term injuries.

But over the long term, these trade restrictions are falling everywhere. Common markets, jet airplanes, improved communications, the pressure of the United Nations—all are contributing to a freer flow of commerce between the nations of the world. To try to stem the flow indefinitely by high tariffs is no more practical in today's world

than to try to hold back the tide with a spoon.

We have discarded long ago the notion that we can exist peacefully in an ivory tower of plenty in an impoverished world. We are beginning to learn that our economic health is drained by keeping friendly foreign nations on a permanent dole; our prosperity is strengthened when those friends can buy and sell with their own resources, enhanced by their own foreign trade.

Down this two-way street, our State Department, under the enlightened leadership of our own Christian A. Herter, must travel. Our national policy must be concerned as much with our exports, as with our imports, and in this area, we have much room for

improvement.

The average price of our exported footwear is \$3.30 per pair, almost double the price of Japanese footwear exports. And we are exporting only 3½ million pairs a year, a pittance when measured against the world's insatiable need for shoes.

Millions of people in China, India, Africa, and South America have never worn foot-wear of any kind. With their rising standards of living, they are becoming possible buyers, but we are doing little to meet their needs.

All of South America is a hungry market for the high-quality products of our New England factories, yet little is being done to improve the flow of shoe exports to the south.

Much remains to be done in our own country. We haven't yet educated the American male to the facts that foot health and good styling demand as many shoe changes for him as for the American female. We haven't even taught him that his own comfort demands a seasonal change to summer shoes. As Thom McAn puts it, the average American male still thinks summer shoes are "strictly cornball."

For the shoe industry of New England, it is not enough just to make good shoes. You must enlighten the thinking of the American male; you must work through all the agencies of Government to clear the way for profitable exporting; you must put your own house in order for efficient production and exciting products.

Putting one's own house in order is a first order of business for companies being challenged by foreign competition.

The Eigin Watch Co. led its industry in losses in 1958—going into the red by \$8,500,-000. It called in new management, and its

first step was a market survey.

It found that men prefer round watches, and Elgin's were rectangular; that men like functional stainless steel watches, and their's were mostly yellow gold; that men want sweep second hands, and only 15 percent of Elgin's output had them. Elgin changed.

The result: Eigin is now in the black, a pay cut has been restored, and the company is swamped with back orders.

Or take Genesco in your own industry. This company claims that it can meet the competition of Japan and Hong Kong through automation and our advanced technology. Chairman Maxey Jarman has written me: "We began to do some figuring. * * * We came to the realization that even with the extremely low labor costs in Hong Kong that the expense of training labor, of shipping raw materials to Hong Kong and bringing the shoes back, paying the low duty on them, and with the time element involved in such transactions, that we would wind up not being able to compete as well nor be-

ing as flexible as we are with our present manufacturing plants."

Or take sewing machines and typewriters. Self-satisfaction was producing stagnation in those industries in this country; while foreign firms were producing new designs that were engineering marvels and that were soon in worldwide demand. Foreign firms, hungry for a fair share of world trade, were building "better mousetraps," and the consumers of the world beat a path to their

Under the whip of enlightened competition, American industry is fighting back, and the results seem to be good for everyone. American producers of electrical equipment were shocked when the Tennesee Valley Authority accepted a low bid from a British firm. But now the foreign representatives are complaining; their complaint: "American electrical equipment manufacturers are coming in under us every time."

Out in Worcester, the Anderson Corp., makers of wire brushes, was stumbling along near the bottom of its industry, when new management took over. Products were redesigned and standardized. The union cooperated to increase efficiency and lower costs.

Quality control was instituted, and cost accounting. A rundown and obsolete plant was given first-class maintenance and repair. All orders were filled promptly and on time. Data processing machines digested the facts of business life, and came up with useful answers. Good money was spent on research for new products. The result: Anderson is moving up to a position of leadership in its

This success story, chronicled in the April Bulletin of the Smaller Business Association of New England, may be a useful example for the older shoe plants which are still the backbone of the industry in this area.

What about New England's share of Government shoe procurement?

I am able to bring you the latest figures of the Quartermaster General of the Army on shoe procurement during fiscal year 1959.

They show that the services bought 4,705,-149 pairs of shoes, 52 percent from New England manufacturers and 17 percent from factories located in Massachusetts.

They also show that New England manufacturers were able to compete realistically with plants located in the Southern States. The average cost of these service shoes was \$5.76 per pair, and three New England suppliers were able to sell to the Government at a contract price below the national average: J. F. McElwain Co. of Nashua, N.H., at \$5.63 a pair; Sportwelt Shoe Co., Inc., of Nashua, N.H., at \$5.44 a pair; Doyle Shoe Co. of Brockton, Mass., at \$5.65 a pair; and Adams Bros., Inc. of Pittsfield, Mass., was only slightly above the national average at \$5.84 a pair.

The services awarded 94 shoe contracts, with a total value of \$27,139,114.23. Of these, 52 were the result of formal unrestricted advertising, 13 were small business set-asides and 16 labor surplus area set-asides.

Government agencies are sensitive to the trend toward concentration in the shoe industry, and they can be counted upon to use their purchasing power to resist the trend. Smaller plants in New England stand to benefit from this Government position, and they can benefit most from increased use of the small business set-aside and the labor surplus area set-aside.

The fight for a healthy New England shoe economy goes on on many fronts.

We must break the barrier that keeps our shoes out of most of the country's shopping centers, a market monopolized by the chains.

We must improve our depreciation laws, and make better use of the ones we have, to junk our obsolete machinery, and lower our costs with the best machinery available.

All the world is now a hungry market for the products of our shoe factories. By continuing to sell a quality product at a fair price, we can have our fair share of that market. Those who would knock us off our perch as the greatest shoe producing center in the world have yet to reckon with our skilled labor force, our New England ingenuity and our determination to use all the valuable tools of modern business.

This combination can guarantee a healthy shoe economy. The result will be a service to the Nation, and an example to a troubled world.

"Missionaries" for Mississippi

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. FRANK E. SMITH

OF MISSISSIPPI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, April 19, 1960

Mr. SMITH of Mississippi. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent I include the following editorial from the Jackson (Miss.) Clarion Ledger:

"MISSIONARIES" FOR MISSISSIPPI

Mississippians generally, we believe, are proud of their official representatives in Washington. Our Senators and Representatives in Congress have all long carried the torch for the Magnolia State in the Nation's Capital.

Likewise representing Mississippi well over the country are the State's two Miss Americas, the pulchritudinous Mary Ann Mobley of Brandon and Lynda Lee Mead of Natchez. A number of our citizens have distinguished themselves in business and professional circles to add to the cavalcade of missionaries for Mississippi sent abroad over the land. Much credit has reflected upon the State by their representation.

Recently, spending a week in Washington, there were four more emissaries of whom the entire State is proud. Two lovely girls and a pair of handsome young men ably represented another segment of life important to Mississippi-our farms. Selected from the thousands of 4-H Club members of the State, the delegation to Washington and the National 4-H Club conference were Kay Beevers of Cleveland, Rachel Todd of Soso, Teddy Estess of Tylertown, and Thomas Allen Patterson of Senatobia. Their selection was upon merit, and a list of their accomplishments just about covers the index to what farm boys and girls have the opportunity to do in 4-H work.

Kay Beevers, 17, is presently a freshman at Mississippi State College for Women at Columbus and is the daughter of Mr. and Mrs. K. M. Beevers of Cleveland. She has been a 4-H Club member for 10 years and has completed 55 projects. Kay has participated in 153 leadership and citizenship activities, held 74 offices and committee assignments, taken part in 12 demonstration contests and made 152 4-H exhibits. She has attended the State 4-H Junior Leadership Conference and in 1958 was State and National winner in the health contest, receiving a trip to the National 4-H Club Congress and a \$400 scholarship. She has been the State song leading winner, president of her county 4-H Council and local 4-H Club. Kay is now secretary of the State 4-H Council and has been a Northwest District State 4-H Council vice president.

Teddy Estess, 17, is the son of Mr. and Mrs. Ansel Estess of Tylertown. His father is Walthall County agent. He is a senior at the Tylertown High School and has been in 4-H Club work for 8 years. He has completed 65 projects, given 48 demonstrations to various groups and has served on 20 local 4-H committees, 52 county council committees and 17 State committees. He was president of his county 4-H council from 1957 to 1960 and was southwest district vice president of the State 4-H council in 1958. Teddy attended the State 4-H Club Congress, the State 4-H Junior Leadership Conference, and the State 4-H Roundup. He has been a member of the State livestock judging team, presented the State winning livestock conservation demonstration in 1959 and won a blue ribbon and a savings bond in the national contest in Chicago. In 1958 he was State and National forestry winner and received a trip to the National 4-H Club Congress.

Thomas Allen Patterson, 19, is the son of Mr. and Mrs. Allen M. Patterson of Senatobia. He is presently a sophomore at Northwest Mississippi Junior College and has been a 4-H Club member for 6 years. He has completed 66 projects and has participated in over 200 leadership and citizenship activities. Thomas has attended 34 tours, held 37 offices in his county 4-H council and community 4-H Club. He has entered four judging contests, 228 demonstration contests and has made 228 4-H exhibits at various fairs and shows. He has attended the State 4-H roundup, the State 4-H Junior Leadership Conference and the State 4-H Club Congress. He is a member of the 4-H all stars and in 1959 was State winner in the soil and water conservation contest and received a trip to the National 4-H Club Congress.

Rachel Todd, 19, is the daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Travis Todd of Soso. Rachel is a sophomore at Jones County Junior College at Ellisville and has been in 4-H Club work for 10 years. During this time she has completed 128 various projects. She has participated in over 300 leadership and citizenship activities and has had several hundred 4-H exhibits at fairs and shows. Rachel has attended the National 4-H Club Congress as State canning winner, the State 4-H Junior Leadership Conference, the State 4-H Club Congress, and Roundup. She has held all of the offices in he rounty 4-H council and community 4-H Club. She is now serving as vice president of the State 4-H council and was southeast district vice president of the State 4-H council in 1958. She is also a member of the 4-H all stars, and the county honor 4-H Club.

Add the names of Beevers, Estess, Patterson, and Todd to the growing roster of people Mississippians proudly salute. Their mission to Washington was evidence of Mississippi's greatest crop and prime native resource-her youth, citizens of tomorrow.

High-Level Hypocrisy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. STUYVESANT WAINWRIGHT

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, May 12, 1960

Mr. WAINWRIGHT. Mr. Speaker, as you know, I very rarely place anything in the Appendix of the Congressional RECORD because of a desire to save the taxpayers money. However, every once in a while, an extraordinarily poignant editorial should be noted by the Con-The East Hampton Star, a weekgress. ly published in my own village on Long Island, hit the nail on the head. People

tend to confuse espionage and truth. These are the two considerations involved. Espionage, like love, marriage, death, and taxes, is here to stay. All sides recognize this. On the other hand, the truth seems to have been misplaced. This is what did the American posture such a terrible amount of damage in what has become known as the U-2 incident. The editorial follows:

HIGH-LEVEL HYPOCRISY

The world, following the shooting down of an American plane on an intelligence mission over Russia, has been treated to an amazing display of hypocrisy from East and West.

Washington's hypocrisy was best illustrated by the early cooked up stories of a plane on a weather mission straying off course, perhaps because the pilot had difficulty with his oxygen equipment.

Moscow's hypocrisy is shown by Khrushchev's pretended indignation over the flight. Obviously, this sort of thing has been going on for a long time—but the Russians did not want to admit that they were unable to shoot down earlier intruders.

Accurate intelligence is essential in the free world's struggle against communism. But as for getting it by flights over Russia, We can only recall the hubbub a year or so ago, when it was revealed that a flight of geese, picked up by radar as they flew south over the Canadian Arctic, almost set the Wheels in motion for massive retaliation against the Soviets. If a flight of geese can set off the Americans, what does an actual alreraft do to the Russians? The stakes are too high for such risks.

Fiftieth Anniversary of Forest Products Laboratory in Madison, Wis.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. ALEXANDER WILEY

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Friday, May 13, 1960

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, during 1960, the Forest Products Laboratory in Madison, Wis., will celebrate its 50th anniversary.

During its lifetime, the Laboratory has established an outstanding record of accomplishment in the fields of research relating to forest and forest products.

As a nation, we use \$15 to \$20 billion worth of forest products a year.

Although in total, this is big business, most of these goods are produced by small businesses—300 big sawmills produce a third of our lumber, 50,000 the other two-thirds.

In a fast-changing age, we depend more and more upon research to provide us with the goods and products to improve living for our people. In wood products, the Research Laboratory has led the way.

Overall, the record of the Madison Laboratory adds up to a tremendous service

Significantly, the Federal Government gets \$70 back in taxes for every dollar put into forest research. I believe it is also important to point out that private industry is carrying on extensive research—separately and in conjunction

with the Laboratory—to find new and better ways for utilizing wood and wood products.

I was pleased to note an editorial in yesterday's Washington Star recognizing the splendid work of the Laboratory at Madison, Wis.

I ask unanimous consent to have the editorial printed in the Appendix of the

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Washington Star, May 12, 1960] WOOD'S TRANSMUTATION

The booklet commemorating 50 years of wood research by the Department of Agriculture's Forest Products Laboratory lifts wood out of the category of the commonplace into the realm of what may seem like fantasy. For the Federal scientists are transmuting ordinary lumber into plastics, yeast, alcohol and even food. And the research into new uses of wood is going forward relentlessly—with good prospects of even greater achievements in the utilization of America's forest products.

The Laboratory, established in 1910 at Madison, Wis., concentrated at first on ways of making lumber stronger, more weather-proof and generally more durable for construction purposes. Much has been accomplished toward those ends. In recent years the studies have expanded to determine how to salvage waste products, by converting wood fibers into chemical compounds for varied industrial uses. Not only industry but the general public has benefited from the Laboratory's services to the Nation.

The Summit Conference

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. STYLES BRIDGES

OF NEW HAMPSHIRE

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, May 13, 1960

Mr. BRIDGES. Mr. President, in view of the great general interest in the coming summit conference, the Manchester (N.H.) Union Leader, felt it timely to reprint on May 11 a powerful editorial by that eminent political columnist, David Lawrence, which appeared in the U.S. News & World Report of August 1, 1958.

Mr. Lawrence points up the dangers of any agreements, guarantees or promises growing out of such meetings. His editorial once again reminds us, Mr. President, of the flagrant violations of international law committeed by the Communists in Hungary and reiterates the necessity of viewing all actions of the Communists with suspicion.

I believe the underlying soundness of this editorial remains unchanged and I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THERE CAN BE NO DEAL WITH A MURDERER— SUMMIT PACT IS NONSENSE

(By David Lawrence)

Somehow, to carry on conferences at the United Nations with Sobolev or some other ambassador from the Soviet Government seems tolerable to a degree as a formal mech-

anism of diplomacy, but to sit down and fraternize with the archeonspirator—the man who ordered guns and tanks to shoot down and trample upon men, women, and children in Hungary just a few short months ago—this is something else again.

If summit meetings are to be held with rulers whose hands are soaked with the blood of thousands of human beings killed in Eastern Europe, then indeed have we lost sight of fundamentals and succumbed to a passion for appeasement of the present-day Hitler.

Only 2 weeks ago, the United Nations, in a special report, was deploring the fact that the Soviet Union had disregarded the resolutions of the General Assembly which had demanded information about the trial and execution of the patriots in Hungary. Henry Cabot Lodge, Ambassador to the U.N., said on July 16, 1958:

"This new and revealing report shows that the United Nations has good reason to remain deeply concerned over the tragic situation in that country. The murders of Imre Nagy, General Maleter, and other Hungarian patriots will never be forgotten. The perpetrators of these acts have reverted from civilized behavior to the law of the jungle. These frightful acts are obviously not the acts of free Hungarians, but of puppet rulers kept in power by Soviet military forces. In the name of simple humanity, these killings must stop."

And here is what the Government of the United States said about it in a special statement issued by the Department of State on July 17, 1958:

"The U.N. report makes it abundantly clear that the Hungarian regime, which was forcibly imposed by the Soviet Government in November 1956, and has since been supported by the presence of Soviet troops in Hungary, secretly tried and executed Imre Nagy and his associates in flagrant violation of assurances of safe conduct and of recognized conditions of immunity.

conditions of immunity.

"The committee (of the U.N.) also calls attention to the fact that the Soviet and Hungarian Governments have continued to persist in their refusal to comply with resolutions of the United Nations General Assembly and to cooperate in any way with the committee.

"The U.S. Government is convinced that the nations of the world, feeling a deep sense of shock and revulsion at the events in Hungary, will not assume an attitude of indifference permitted the Soviet and Hungarian Governments to escape the full weight of the opprobrium that they must justly bear because of their actions."

The committee reported also that it has evidence that 33 patriots have been sentenced to death and that more may shortly share their fate.

Who gives the command for these murders to be committed? Naturally, it's the man who holds the top post in the Kremlin—none other than Nikita Khrushchev.

This is the man we are asked to "welcome" at a summit conference.

STRANGE DELUSION

What a strange delusion has swept the world, and particularly so many misguided persons in the Parliaments of the free peoples, as they enthusiastically urge summit conferences. Is it that somehow, by sitting down under the glare of the kleig lights and television, with cameras clicking and thousands of newsmen looking on, some sort of deal can be arranged which supposedly will—as Munich falsely promised—give us peace in our time? What nonsense.

Have we lost our perspective? Are we to forgive and forget the murders of innocent persons in Siberia? Are we to deprive the enslaved peoples in Eastern Europe and in the Middle East of their hopes for emancipation?

What of the traditional ideals of the liberty-loving peoples of Britain, France, and America? Do we believe in them still? Or do we rush with open arms to welcome the man who has blasphemed us, the man who stirred up rebellion in the Middle East and sent weapons to Nasser to help him threaten and then annex, one by one, the defenseless states ad acent to Egypt?

What principle of humanity beckons us to do aught but deal sternly with the murderer who is today the foremost enemy of peace in

the world?

What principle of diplomatic courtesy requires us to remain silent when the man who has threatened to bury us comes to our shores supposedly to negotiate some vague agreement that will never be honored by him—if, indeed, one is ever signed?

We should, of course, assure the personal safety of Khrushchev, but we should din in his ears daily the case against murder and

tyranny.

Let the kinsmen of the patriots of the captive states parade flag-draped coffins down the streets of New York City day after day during Khrushchev's visit so he may be reminded that in America, at least, we do not glorify murderers. Let the placards read: "'Welcome,' Murderer."

The Nationalistic Drive in Africa

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDMUND S. MUSKIE

OF MAINE

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Friday, May 13, 1960

Mr. MUSKIE. Mr. President, on February 27, 29 and on March 1 and 2, 1960, Mrs. May Craig published in her daily column, "Inside in Washington," her analysis of the nationalistic drive which is so prominent on the continent of Africa, and indicated the manner in which this "anticolonial" mood is affecting French Morocco.

I ask unanimous consent that these four articles be printed in the Appendix of the Record.

There being no objection, the articles were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From Inside in Washington, Feb. 27, 1960]
"INDEPENDENCE FEVER" RAGES THROUGHOUT
CONTINENT

(By May Craig)

Africa today is highly nationalistic—biased against the United States because we do not always side with them against our European allies. There is pro-American feeling among the people. This is what the State Department told this group of newspaper and radio-TV editors and commentators and publishers before we set off for 5 to 6 weeks in Africa. The Department was glad to see us go, because the group comes from all over the United States, from Alaska to California, from South Carolina to myself, the only one from New England. Big papers and networks and press associations have their representatives stationed round the world, but officials overseas are always glad to see a group like ours.

The State Department is keen on peopleto-people contacts and regards this group as part of that, and better because we are not Government selected or subsidized, and able to spread what we learn through publications and stations. The briefing officials told us that we will find the people of Africa personalize Americans who come. When the President and Vice President came to visit Africa, the people said: "This is the man who gave us the wheat." (Or some less complimentary things about racial discriminations.)

They besought us not to have fixed ideasthings change fast in Africa. And to re-member that the feeling against whites goes back to the fact that we took their land, and land to many Africans is life. They have a saying: "The mosquito is the black's best friend. It kills the whites. Africa is the white man's grave." That is not so true now, since we can drain swamps and have fine new drugs to fight malaria. On the other hand, in the Union of South Africa, where there is the most bitter racial hatred, and the comparatively few whites are holding by force, it has to be remembered that the whites got there to find it uninhabited. They developed it. They feel it is theirs. It is the most highly developed African country. There is more American invest-ment there than in all other African coun-The whites were there as soon as we were in America, in the early 1600's.

There is "independence fever" everywhere in Africa, was the way one State Department man put it. Many of them rush into it ill prepared. They do not have the trained people to administer the new country. It is a problem for us too, for we have to open

embassies, send staff.

The Russians know the value of Africa—they are everywhere, offering their hollow friendship that leads to being satellites. There was one bad moment for the State Department official when we asked if we could see some of the Africans who are fighting apartheid (segregation) in the Union of South Africa. Fact is, most of them are in jail. Official said maybe we could see some out on ball, or not indicted yet. What they do is against the law in the Union.

The native fighters for freedom hold it against us that we, who pose as the champions of freedom, do not help them against the whites whom they regard as oppressors, but who are our allies. Both sides in north and middle Africa are mad at us because we do not take sides against France in firing the atomic test bomb across the Sahara. Algeria is a sample of our dilemma, said one State Department man regretfully. Both sides have some sympathy from us.

The United States has a problem with the new African nations flocking into the United Nations. In the beginning there were 51 nations in U.N., and only 4 were African. Now there are 82. Soon they will control nearly one-third of the votes, and with the orientals, who also have grudges against the West and the whites, we will be outvoted in the Assembly. We have more representation in the Assembly, but because of the inexcusable use of the veto there by the Russians, most of the actions are now in the Assembly.

Mr. Berding is used to questions so we asked him some tough ones. "It is often not the question that is embarrassing—it is the answer," he said, laughing. Then seriously he said: "We must sympathize with, and help the new nations, lest we drive them to the Soviet Union. The American people must be alerted to the situation in Africa. We must get our message over—this group can help. We need patience, and give them time."

One of the economic men spoke of how we need the mineral resources of Africa—98 percent of the world's diamonds come from there—and diamonds are not only engagement rings—they are necessary in fine scientific and technological production. Bauxite we need, for aluminum. We import 25 percent of our iron ore, and Africa has rich iron ore—and 50 percent of the exports of Guinea already go to the Soviet Union.

[From Inside in Washington, Feb. 29, 1930]
Africa on the Move—They'll Risk Hard
Times To Win Their Independence

(By May Craig)

Well, like I said, flying is a chancy thing. Having left Washington in a storm, 2 hours late, we spent another 3 hours getting down at Idlewild, also in a driving storm. The jet for France, which we were to have taken at 7 o'clock, waited for us until 8:30; we arrived at 10. So a bus brought us to this incredible, modern hotel, built for just such emergencies. No wonder Khrushchev's eyes bugged out when he saw it—this is a city built around the various runways. Everything you can imagine, new and shiny and comfortable—and never have to go into the city.

The African psychology, as told to us in Washington by a galaxy of State Department experts, is fascinating and important. Don't be surprised if they seem almost rudely in-dependent, they told us. They are fierce about getting freedom-whether, they understand the drudgery and responsibility and They are willself-discipline of it or not. ing to live harder, for a while even if they have to drive out the foreign capital and lose the imports because they do not have the money to buy. They believe that eventually, after the hard times, they will be able to run their countries themselves and produce and better times will come. One thing about trade there-the Soviet Union will barter, we do not. Also, the British and French and Belgians, by tradition, have the first call on The money and the credit is all the trade. set up for them.

"There is no substitute for two-way contacts," said one official. The educational exchange helps—though some Africans hesitate to come, not knowing how they might be treated here. We began this exchange after the Boxer Rebellion when we took reparations in Chinese coming here. From this has grown educational exchanges, the Fulbright law—but not nearly enough for Africa and southeast Asia. "Mutual understanding" is the watchword they repeat at all times.

One editor said that he had been told we must not use the words "aid to underdeveloped countries," so what do we use? The State Department laughed and said, "Less developed countries." That saves faces.

These State Department people who talked

to us have really been around. One said excuse him, he had a lame back from jeeping around Cambodia lately. He had spent part of the war translating Hitler's speeches in Vienna. He told us about the growing influence of Africa in the U.N. and said the "African personality is thus important to us and the other U.N. members, from non-African and nonoriental countries. Africa started with 8 percent of the Assembly vote, now has 12 percent, will have 19 percent, fairly soon, with more "on the horizon." Samoa, Madagascar-there are 42 countries and separate areas in Africa and they are all on the move, with the idea of freedom. It must be said that some of them are still in the savage, tribal stage, and that while they resent "colonialism," they didn't make any advances into modernity in the centuries before the colonial powers took them.

What is the African personality? One official said: Neutral, independent, anticolonial, not necessarily tending to communism. Their votes in the U.N. are often not on the U.S. side. There is the Moslem influence. But on the censure of Red China on Tibet, only the Soviet opposed. They are all for Algerian independence, against France. Many of them are with Egypt, against Israel; but Israel and Ghana are friends. Israel is giving Ghana agricultural help and technicians, helped Ghana set up the Black Starline. Our abstentions in U.N. do not satisfy the Africans. They think we were against

them on French atomic explosion in the Sahara.

We were warned that Algeria colors all else in north and middle Africa-he who is not for freedom for Algeria, is not a friend of freedom or any other African, they think. They regard the French-British-Israel venture into Egypt at the time of the Suez crisis as grave indication of danger to Arab-Moslem. Not all of them want to go in with the northern Arabs and Egypt overlordship. Leaders like Nkrumah of Ghana and Mboya of Guinea want black Africans to have their own Federation, not be under Nasser and his United Arab Republic. The State Department officials spoke of the great education work done in Africa by the Christian mis-sionaries. There are 438 USIA representatives of the educational exchange-and 3,200 missionaries of all sorts in education and allied medical missions.

Finally, the State Department told us the African leaders are mature—the people, generally speaking are not. But they are as one, "on the move" toward freedom and learning and better living.

[From Inside in Washington, Mar. 1, 1960]
AFRICA ON THE MOVE—JETS ARE SMOOTH BUT
WEATHER STILL RULES

(By May Craig)

Morocco.—The camel stood quiet and haughty in the bare, brown, stone-flecked field on the fine paved road from Casablanca to Marrakech. Men and women in brown robes worked or rode donkeys. Position of animals here appalls Americans (who have their own cruelties). The man on the donkey is bigger than the donkey. Everyone drums heels on the bony ribs of the donkey; everyone carries a stick to beat the animals, from donkey to goat. It's instinctive, it is a hard life for all; life is so cheap, people are callous.

Donkey and camel are harnessed to the primitive plow for the stony ground. Why? "The donkey is lazy, he will not work, the camel makes him." The bite of the poisonous yellow teeth of a camel is warning to the donkey to keep up, once is enough.

The Royal Air Maroc plane which took us from Paris to Morocco in 5 to 6 hours was good. Food was lavish and good, with much serving of liquor and wines. A blond French hostess and two swarthy, handsome Arabs did the serving. We stopped in Rabat, the capital, to report to immigration and admissions. The flight from the United States had been all broken up by weather. Hours to get to New York from Washington meant missing the Air France plane and waiting a day at the International Hotel at Idlewild Airport. Late start at last because pouring rain and blasting winds.

But jets are smooth-30,000 feet up, nearly 600 miles an hour. Don't fly Air France if you want comfort-even first class was economical in space for seating, to crowd in more seats and therefore passengers. Tourist class was packed like Maine sardines. Food was exquisite for first class. None of the trays of stewed-looking things you get on too many U.S. planes. Frou-frou French food, served from little wagons pushed up and down the aisles. Fight courses beginning with caviar and champagne and including everything from fish to cheese, then sweet, ending with coffee and liqueurs. Took 2 hours, leaving us weary from sitting penned in by the little trays. Personally, would rather have done with more leg room, time for sleep, and less food.

Two hours restless sleep in the cramped space, then waked—"Radio says fog at Orly Field in France and we will stop at Shannon, Ireland. Orly is where Charles Lindbergh landed after his historic lonely flight alone across the Atlantic.

Having already missed Paris appointments with French Government, and our own Am-

bassador by the day's layover caused by storm, this meant probably could not make the rearranged appointments, depending on how long at Shannon. Debarking weary and wet, to meet hearty Irish welcome, with piled plates of fried eggs, Irish sausage, terrible coffee. But that heavenly hot coffee in glasses, spiked with Irish whisky and topped with whipped cream. The pounds the weary journey takes off, go on again with this sort of feeding. Everybody happier after some of the hot spiked coffee—must be made in hot, stemmed glass and the cream carefully aerated so it will float, the coffeewhisky must be drunk through the cream.

Three hours lost at Shannon—some of the men in the party thought the hot, spiked coffee made up for the French Government and our Ambassador. Ladies bought French perfume tax free, duty free, much less than in United States.

Paris, cold, gloomy—but still Paris, "la belle." Not much time and lost the French Government entirely, except for kits of propaganda they had prepared for us, most of it justifying Algeria. Back to the airport, so big it takes bus to carry us to the plane. We were lucky to get to Paris at all because our trip was the last for Air France, because of a strike by pilots and hostesses, but they landed us because previously arranged trip. Lucky the Royal Air Maroc was not struck—might be next day they said.

In Paris they take joy in their atomic bomb shot off in the Sahara Desert, puzzled and resentful at hostility aroused by it in the have-not [atomic] countries and the fury of the Arabs and Africans. This will not prevent the French from going on. They resent the United States not taking their side in Algeria.

Casablanca, the big Moroccan city, alight with neon, and fine new modern buildings going up—at the airport shouting, stamping, shouting Moroccans dancing and beating drums of welcome. Inside hot tea (minted) and exotic food. Pretty girls in bright robes dancing—no veils. Casablanca, ancient and modern, independent but losing foreign capital and soon ousting the American bases which bring them millions of dollars a year. They do not know what they will do with the hundreds of acres of ground on which the bases stand. The El Mansour Hotel we stay-so new, there is no water attached to my toilet and half the night gone while workmen leisurely decide about connections. Handsome hotel, and will have every convenience. Get up at 7, we are -it is now 1 a.m. and we are off to Marrakech by bus. Pack, unpack, travel-write when you can-as this.

[From Inside in Washington, Mar. 2, 1960] Africa on the Move—Emerging Morocco Has Need for Foreign Capital

(By May Craig)

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—This dispatch from Morocco by May Craig, Guy Gannett Publishing Co. correspondent, was written before the Moroccan port city of Agadir was wrecked by earthquakes, fire and a tidal wave.)

Hardly anywhere in the world can you see snowcapped mountains rising high just beyond palm trees, but you can in Marrakech. A grove of 250,000 date palms, spreading over acres and acres, with a paved road running through it, still on the flatlands that form the coastal plains of north Africa. And then behind the mighty ranges of the Atlas. This is one reason Winston Churchill came here to paint. There was the tropical riot of color in flowers—and the snowcapped mountains when he glanced up.

Morocco is an old, old land. In the 13th century B.C., the people we now call Berbers in Morocco invaded the Nile Delta and fought the Egyptians who called them Libyans. The Greeks and Romans called them Numidians or Moors. The Phoenicians invaded what is

now Morocco, and the Carthiginians came to trade, then the Romans came. The Green Hills along north Africa, across from Italy was the breadbasket of the Romans, and it was the dream of Mussolini that it should be again. This was the basis for his invasion of northern Africa for agriculture first, and then for empire, and led to our own battles against Italians and then Germans in World War II. This area is watered with the blood of American soldiers as well as myriad other men of the ages past.

The first Arabs came in the latter half of the 7th century and went as far as the Atlantic coast of Morocco. Many dynasties ruled, and the lands became Moslem. Its trade relations go back to Elizabeth I of England, mother of the present Queen. Links with the infant American Republic began almost at once. We do not forget that Morocco was one of the first nations to recognize the United States. And when President Elsenhower came here to visit King Mohammed V last fall he reminded him of our gratitude in those early days of struggle.

In 1912 Morocco became a protectorate of France, and Mohammed, then called Sultan, was later exiled. In 1956 Morocco became independent again and the sultan is now the king, and friendly to the West. All the nations of the world now recognize the sovereignty of Morocco and when we speak of "Africa on the move," we must recognize that Morocco is on the move, too. It is not easy. They want foreign capital; they need it, but they do not make the climate that is attractive in their fierce need to feel free. So much here is ancient. The agriculture, the veiling of the women, the lack of sanitation—the need for industry in a country where 85 percent of the activity is agricultural. There are the very rich and the swarming, breeding millions—go into the Casbah in Casablanca, that honeycomb of unbelievable slums, byways so narrow one must walk sideways to pass, and the quick dagger finds a target in the dark.

In Marrakech go through the medina, the souks, the markets and bazaars, where corners are spittoons and urinals are worse, and every second woman carries a baby on her back.

But it is a lovely land, the climate in Marrakech gives you 365 days of sunshine a year—that is why American pilots were brought here to train. The king is a good king, he devotes himself to the welfare of his people. But some of the fine new buildings, started 2 and 3 years ago, are still unfinished. No capital; it is leaving rather than coming. It is too uncertain whether the capital will pay, or even be redeemable.

The lovely new hotel in which we stayed in Marrakech, El Marana, is modern, but in many respects is not efficient. Only one elevator, and with more than three people in it, it will not go above the second floor. The flush toilets still have tanks on the wall—perfectly adequate, but not modern. But the colors are bright everywhere, the palm fronds wave, the mountains look down so white and cold, the people are friendly-"only remember, they could mob you tomor-' said one American to me. They are heart and soul with freedom for Algeria, as is Libya, on the other side of Algeria and if the tug came, they would be against us if we stayed with France. There is shock and much exaggeration about the atomic test of the French, and they remind us that we test in the Atlantic. Wild tales have been told the illiterate crowds of the danger of fallout, with pictures. Most of the papers are published by political parties who make capital out of national issues.

They hate any idea of foreign rule coming back in any form, and so they join the nationalistic bloc. But they stood with us firmly in World War II, and Mohammed would enact any anti-Jewish laws, even

though many of his people wanted him to. There is no racial discrimination here because people are of all shades, but I noticed that the waiters at the hotel were all light colored Arabs, the busboys were Negroes, or much darker.

Senator Mundt's Role in Wheat Legislation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. FRANCIS CASE

OF SOUTH DAKOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Friday, May 13, 1960

Mr. CASE of South Dakota. Mr. President, South Dakotans are proud of the part played by the distinguished senior Senator from South Dakota [Mr. MUNDT] in bringing to the floor of the Senate soon a bill to deal with the wheat problem.

Senator Mundt's proposal was adopted in the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry as a compromise, in place of several other proposals offered by members of that committee.

I ask unanimous consent that an editorial setting out in detail the part played by Senator Mundr in reporting the wheat bill, and published in the May 5 edition of the Pierre (S. Dak.) Daily Capital Journal, be printed in the Ap-

pendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD. as follows:

[From the Daily Capital Journal, May 5, 1960]

MUNDT'S WHEAT PROPOSAL

If the present Congress adopts any new legislation dealing with the problems of wheat farmers it will be because Senator KARL MUNDT, of South Dakota succeeded in proposing a program which was acceptable to a majority of members of the Senate Committee on Agriculture.

In his current newsletter MUNDT discloses what occurred in an executive session of that committee on April 27. The committee had held hearings in which testimony was received with respect to a number of bills re-

lating to the subject.

The first bill considered, Mundt reports, was one offered by Senator Frank Carlson, of Kansas. It proposed a two-price program, distinguishing between wheat for domestic consumption and wheat exported. MUNDT supported the proposal, but southern Senators objected and the proposal falled by a tie vote.

The committee then considered a program proposed by the Farm Bureau. This also was rejected. The next proposal, submitted by Senator Ellender, of Louisiana, who is the committee chairman. The plan called for price supports at 75 percent of parity, 25 percent cut in acreage, and annual reduction in price supports. Senator HUMPHREY, of Minnesota offered a substitute which MUNDT supported, which would put price supports at 85 percent of parity and acreage cuts at 20 percent. This also failed to get committee approval.

It was at this point that MUNDT came through with a proposal which a majority of the committee did accept. The proposal contemplates a 3-year program of price supports at 80 percent of parity, a cut of 20 percent in wheat acreage, and a payment in wheat amounting to 50 percent of the normal production of the retired acreage. It was this feature, providing for payment in wheat, which provided the new approach to

the problem of reducing the existing stock of wheat now held in Government storage.

Under this scheme a farm which has a wheat allotment of 300 acres would have 240 acres planted to wheat and 60 acres retired. The farmer would have price support for the production from his 240 acres amounting to 80 percent of parity. He would also re-ceive a negotiable certificate entitling him to payments-in-kind amounting to one-half of the normal amount of wheat produce from the retired 60 acres.

This bill has been reported to the Senate. It has not been passed either by the Senate or the House; but it is the only bill that has even reached the floor of Congress for a vote. If it is passed by the Senate it has a reasonable chance of approval by the House, and probably would be accepted by President Eisenhower.

Failure To Hire Workers Over 49 Years of Age Constitutes Waste of Manpower

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. RALPH W. YARBOROUGH

OF TEXAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Friday, May 13, 1960

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, one of the most complex employment problems of our day involves the refusal or reticence of many firms to employ well-qualified workers simply because the workers happens to be over 40 years

Modern society finds itself in position of having reached the place where man lives many years longer yet frequently his services are not wanted when he has reached middle age. This despite the fact that because of experience and other factors, his work may often be far superior to that of younger people. Refusal to hire middle-aged workers constitutes a serious waste of manpower.

As cosponsor of S. 1172, a bill to prohibit discrimination because of age in the hiring and employment of persons by Government contractors, I am especially interested in making available all pertinent information on this subject. ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD the article from the April 26, 1960 issue of the Corpus Christi Times entitled "40-Year Age Limit on Hiring Wastes Productive Manpower."

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

FORTY-YEAR AGE LIMIT ON HIRING WASTES PRODUCTIVE MANPOWER

(By Nicholas Shuman)

CHICAGO .- A man of 40 may thump his chest and proclaim he's a tiger-full of pepper, at the peak of his creative power.

But if he loses his job, for whatever reason, there's a soul-searing discovery ahead: In a startling number of personnel offices around town he'll be considered unemployable-over the hill.

"They come right out with it and tell you in man talk: 'You're too blank-blank old for us."

This statement came from a man of 43husky, handsome, aggressive, the very model of the American man on the way up.

During World War II, he was an Army colonel, and since then has held a variety of top jobs-the last as a \$30,000-a-year national sales manager of a food product company.

He left that job to put to rest a dying family business and now—in 3 years of searching—has not been able to find work

to match his talents.

"I've got the ability to do a job," he said. "I've got the know-how and the stamina-But they won't let me try. At 43 I'm too

This Mr. X was found at the professional, sales, and clerical office of the State employment service. Here, looking for jobs were other "old" men in their forties.

They represented a variety of vocations but had a common denominator-poorly

concealed despair.

Mr. Y, 41 and the father of four, has been hungering for a job for 6 weeks, "but all they want is men under 35," he said. "Why? Experience should count for something, too.

Mr. Y has had 15 years in the food chain business, the last of them as a store manager. He quit, he said because one day his district manager told him:

"You've got 10 more years in the grocery business. We need young men to run these big stores."

Rather than face the risk of being shelved at 50, he went into the garage business with friends. It didn't pan out, and now he

can't get on a payroll again.

Mr. Z was 42, dark and scholarly, a college graduate. He was an executive for a clothing manufacturer, but the company folded.

He has been tromping the payements. "But it's no go—I'm too old," he said with a bitter grin.

"I took extra business studies at night schools and have a background in research and statistics. "I'm not limiting myself to any one field.

I'm wide open. I want a job. I can hustle and produce. "Employers just don't have a concept of

their social responsibilities.

"And they are hurting themselves. A man of 42 is a young man. I've got at least 25 good years ahead of me. The value of ex-perience is tremendous, but they pick a year-a number. They draw a line, and that's that."

Ada Mustcovy, older workers specialist for the State employment service, rifled through a stack of about 100 job orders from employers.

"About half of them show no age limitations," she said. "But that's because we don't raise the question of age in the forms.

"Too often, when it comes to actual re-ferral, they say, 'We want somebody younger.' "

Maximum ages on the orders that specified them ran something like this:

Bookkeepers, 20 to 25, one 25 to 40, one under 45; payroll clerk, 35; accounting clerk. 30; stock clerk, 35; would-be guards and watchmen get a break-55 to 60.

"For factory assemblers they often put on a limit of 35 to 40," she said.

"There's no really good reason. A few well advised employers ask for older workers. They find them more reliable, more experienced.

"One factory that asks for people up to age 60 says that the older ones work more slowly but more surely. They have fewer rejects.

"Dependability is characteristic of the older workers. I don't know if it's because they're depression-oriented or what, but they do take their jobs more seriously."

The U.S. Department of Labor has accumulated volumes of statistics proving that the older workers suffer higher unemployment rates, lose their jobs more often and are out

of work longer when they do lose them.
A study of job openings in seven U.S. metropolitan centers showed that 58 percent of the jobs available had upper age limits on them, 41 percent specifying an age under 45.

Why? One Federal employment specialist said that too often the blame lies on the shoulders of ineffective personnel managers.

'They don't take the trouble to find out from their production chiefs what a job demands," he said. "No job studies are made. They just assume a young man is Wanted.

"Prejudice enters into it. They think a plant has more vitality with younger work-

It's a foolish waste, "one we can't afford if we are going to meet our requirements for an expanding economy and adequate de-fense," said Emmanuel Kohn, regional employment security representative of the Department of Labor.

He noted that the employer who adver-"Wanted, senior analyst, under 40," is "throwing out of consideration about a third of the labor supply, eliminating men of high qualification and increasing his own cost of recruiting manpower."

Kohn knocked down some of the most popular prejudices against hiring older work-

Studies, he said, have proved these facts: Productivity-output per man-hour shows no significant decline until after age 55, and then the drop is only slight. Nearly half of older workers in fact exceed the average output of younger workers.

Stability: Older workers are not job hop-Pers. They stay longer, reduce the cost of job turnover.

Absenteeism and safety: No significant difference between age groups.

Skills: Older jobseekers have longer ex-perience, greater know-how. They make up more than half the reservoir of unemployed skilled workers.

Pension costs: Under most plans, there is no significant increase in hiring older work-

Kohn said, "The boys of World War II now are pushing into their forties and they certainly shouldn't be discriminated against. They lost some of their job experience on the way up; let's not slough off anything on the other side."

Kohn noted some serious implications for the future in the shifting age groups within

the population.

He said that in the next 10 years the work force will show an increase of 51/2 million

in the over-45-age bracket.

But because of the low birth rate of the depression years, the 25-to-44 group most favored by employers will rise by less than a million.

Employment prejudices obviously will have to give way to a statistical imperative.

New Hampshire and the Civil War

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. STYLES BRIDGES

OF NEW HAMPSHIRE

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Friday, May 13, 1960

Mr. BRIDGES. Mr. President, an article recently appeared in the Rochester (N.H.) Courier, which is the first of a series of articles dealing with the beginning of the Civil War in New Hampshire.

This fine account by Mr. Robert S. Ross, who has been recently named to the New Hampshire Civil War Centennial Committee, points up the impact which the Civil War had on the town of Rochester and other small surrounding

It not only, Mr. President, forcibly brings to mind the effect of the Civil War on a town and State, but it also forcibly reminds us of the problems created by war in general.

Its account of patriotism, enthusiasm and excitement exemplify the virtues which this country and the State of New Hampshire display in moments of stress and crisis.

I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD this fine account of the Civil War in Rochester, N.H.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ROCHESTER MEN WENT TO WAR JUST 99 YEARS AGO NEXT WEEK

(By Robert S. Ross)

(EDITOR'S NOTE.-Robert S. Ross, who lives at 29 Broad Street, was named recently by Governor Powell to the New Hampshire State Civil War Centennial Commission. Ross is probably one of the leading students of the Civil War in the entire State of New Hampshire.)

Rochester was a quiet little village 99 years ago this week. We had a school prob-lem then as now. Rochester was growing and needed a high school. They solved this unique problem by building one.

We were becoming quite a business center where the slogan of "a nimble penny is better than a slow shilling" prevailed. Some of our older businesses had already been established and were thriving. We were drawing new workers for our factories from Farmington and Barrington. New streets were being laid out, large homes being built. Things looked good.

The national scene was different. War clouds had been gathering for years, and now they covered the whole country, black and ugly as the crepe that was to be worn and become so familiar in every town and hamlet. Clouds not made of rain and moisture, but clouds of hate, distrust, and ignorance. Mr. Iverson, of Georgia, had summed it up pretty well back in December of 1860 on the Senate floor when he said: "Sir, disguise the fact as you will, there is an enmity between the northern and southern people, which is deep and enduring, and you can never eradicate it—never. We are enemies as much as if we were hostile states. We have not lived in peace. We are not now living in peace. It is not expected that we shall ever live in peace." Mr. Mason, of Virginia said "society against another form of society." We were two distinct societies: Mechanical and agrarian. If war came it was obvious who would be victorious. No agrarian nation has ever waged successful war against a mechanical nation, but sometimes the lessons of history go unheeded.

At 3:30 on the morning of April 12, 1861,

the slow burning fuse ran out and the re-sulting explosion was to change the course, the face, the very destiny of this country

Rochester went wild with excitement and each mail for 2 days told them that Maj. Robert Anderson and his band of 70, an underfed, underarmed, undersupplied garrison, was holding out. Their hopes were blasted by news of his subsequent surrender, but were raised anew by Lincoln's April 15 call for 75,000 men for 3 months' service.

If war had to be, then Rochester would uphold the national honor. Wild rumors were clicking in from the telegraph office at Great Falls (now Somersworth).

But soon these were received with distrust and Rochester settled down in compliance to Lincoln's proclamation for raising a regiment from New Hampshire. A young man from Gonic named Joseph D. Horne, upon learning of the fall of Fort Sumter, started the very same day for Lowell, Mass., and enlisted in the 6th Massachusetts Regiment. While marching through Baltimore en route to Washington this regiment was set upon by a mob of rowdies that stoned and fired into them. Private Needham, one of the three killed, fell by young Horne's side. He himself was to die of disease at New Orleans in 1863 at the age of 22.

On receiving the President's proclamation a public meeting was called at the townhall. The call for this meeting was signed by men with names like Farrington, Wentworth, Sanborn, Corson, Varney, McDuffee, Edgerly, Hussey, Kimball, and Wallace; names that are still among us today. That evening the hall was packed. Te meeting was called to order by Jacob H. Ela and James H. Edgerly was called to preside, with a list of vice president and secretaries chosen alternately from each political party. Three resolutions were passed: Rochester would sustain the administration, appropriate money for the volunteer and his family until otherwise provided for and form a committee of five to receive the names of volunteers who were to take to the field. Also it was agreed the firing of a cannon would be used as a signal to summon the people to the townhall. Many such meetings were held that spring and summer. Processions marched through the streets to the sound of fife and drum, frequently meeting other such processions coming in from other parts of

A committee was made up to furnish each Rochester volunteer with a revolver, heavy shirts, blankets, and other such articles as they thought would be valuable in the field. After the first 30-mile hike these impediments would likely be discarded along some dusty Virginia road. But the spirit was high and exemplified by Mrs. Anna Hanson, who, in her 94th year, made up one-half dozen shirts to be distributed to the boys' leaving on the trains from Dover. The recruiting har far exceeded the expectations and since only one regiment was required from the whole State, the residue was sent not to Concord but to Fort Constitution in Portsmouth for training until another regiment formed. Many of these were to become the 22d New Hampshire Regiment, who fought so gallantly in the first Battle of Bull Run under Col. Ambrose Burnside (who was to become commanding general, Army of the Potomac). Capt. C. W. Edgerly raised 47 recruits, whom the Dover Enquirer described as some of the best in town, some of whom never used intoxicating drink, not even tobacco. These same men were to end up in the 5th New Hampshire Regiment, known as the Fighting Fifth throughout the Army of the Potomac. Third regiment was to participate in the war's most sanguinary battles under the gallant Colonel Cross who died in action at Get-

tysburg. Enlistments were so low that two special town meetings were called to vote a total of \$200 to each volunteer. Samuel Jones, Daniel McDuffee, Daniel Young, Charles Chisholm, and Rufus Clark were appointed as a committee for additional volunteers. They devoted September 9 to drilling the townspeople, all business was suspended, and the evening was dedicated to some rather eloquent and extended speeches. One local gent remarked from the platform that "slavery is the blackest soot that ever befouled any national chimney." Eloquent, indeed. The bounty system was effective, and all recruits received their \$200, which was a sizable sum back then. The quotas filled rapidly under such inducements. Cool. businesslike committees replaced the first flush of patriotic zeal. The Sanitary Commission (the Civil War Red Cross) had now become thoroughly organized and the women of Rochester were sending frequent supplies for the volunteers and necessities for the sick and wounded.

Rochester had proven her devotion to the national freedom and was to continue so unselfishly throughout 4 long, dark years of civil strife. She assumed the direct cost of \$67,281.89. This does not include the sums paid by individuals nor the gifts of patriotic women. She had sent 273 of her sons to the seat of war and saw them return with depleted ranks, stricken with disease, and old before their years. She was to build monuments to these boys and continue to honor them as long as they lived. I am sorry I never had the chance to meet one of these veterans. They were a special lot. They had been part of something of which there had never been anything quite like and never would be again.

No matter what they were to do in life, they were always remembered as the "boys in blue." The remorseless years thinned in blue." The remorseless years thinned their ranks until one Memorial Day there wasn't one left to ride at the head of the

New York State Cooperation With the Federal Government in the Atomic Energy Field

> EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. KENNETH B. KEATING OF NEW YORK

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Friday, May 13, 1960

Mr. KEATING. Mr. President, I wish to invite attention today to the fine spirit of cooperation which exists between New York State and the Federal Government with regard to the framing and establishment of New York's atomic energy

regulation program.

An amendment to the Atomic Energy Act which was enacted last year provides for the assumption of exclusive State regulatory control in the field of atomic energy. New York has been for several months endeavoring to work out a regulatory program which will be acceptable to the Atomic Energy Commission under this authority.

In accordance with a recent bill enacted by the legislature, the State is presently drafting its proposed agreement which will be submitted to the Atomic Energy Commission in the very

near future.

Mr. President, these events represent a significant step. As the President has so clearly stated, it is important that we recognize "the need to increase the functions and responsibilities of the States as a safeguard against excessive centralization of governmental power in this country." I am hopeful that New York's efforts in this field will set an example which other States will follow.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed at this point in my remarks a press release from Governor Rockefeller, which includes an exchange of letters between the President and the Governor on the vitally important subject of atomic energy regulation.

There being no objection, the press release was ordered to be printed in the

RECORD, as follows:

STATE OF NEW YORK. EXECUTIVE CHAMBER

Albany. Governor Rockefeller today made public an exchange of correspondence between the President and the Governor, and between the Atomic Energy Commission and the Gov-ernor, on the subject of atomic energy regu-

The correspondence disclosed that the Atomic Energy Commission has expressed the hope that the State of New York take the lead in reaching an agreement with the Commission on atomic energy regulatory control and thereby "serve as an example for other States to follow."

Authority for such an agreement was contained in an amendment to the Federal Atomic Energy Act, adopted last year, which would provide for the assumption by the State of exclusive regulatory control within the State of radioisotopes, natural uranium and thorium, and fissionable material in quantities of less than a critical mass.

In his response to the President, Governor Rockefeller said that "I am pleased to assure you that we shall make every effort to cooperate with the Commission in arriving at an agreement that will serve as a valuable precedent in safeguarding the public health and safety and in introducing into the regulatory control of atomic activity the competence and high regard for the public interest which exists among State authorities."

Legislation expressly authorizing the Governor to enter into such an agreement with the Commission was adopted by the New York State Legislature in its last session, and the State's office of atomic development was at the same time authorized to enter into related subsidiary agreements with the Com-mission on behalf of the State.

The regulatory authority that would be assumed by the State under the proposed agreement would primarily be administered by the State department of health, the State department of labor, and the New York City Department of Health, with the State office of atomic development functioning in a coordinating role.

The texts of the letters from President Eisenhower and the Atomic Energy Commission to Governor Rockefeller, and his responses, follow:

> THE WHITE HOUSE, Washington, April 11, 1960.

Hon. NELSON A. ROCKEFELLER, Governor of New York,

Albany, N.Y.

DEAR NELSON: I have often stressed the need to increase the functions and responsibility of the States as a safeguard against excessive centralization of governmental power in this country. Public Law 86-373 was enacted in response to a recommendation by the Joint Federal-State Action Committee.

The law authorizes the Atomic Energy Commission to enter into agreements with the Governors of the States under which the States will assume responsibility for specified regulatory functions now per-formed by the Commission for the promotion and regulation of the peaceful uses of atomic energy. Following consultations with representative State groups, the Commission has prepared proposed criteria to guide both parties in reaching agreement on the transfer of these functions.

I have asked the Chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission to send copies of the proposed criteria to you. Your views, and those of the other Governors, will be important in determining the actual criteria to be applied. I request that you give this matter your personal attention and ask that you send your views as soon as possible to Mr. John A. McCone, Chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission. Mr. McCone and his staff will welcome an opportunity to meet with you or your representatives to discuss the proposed criteria and other aspects of the program authorized under Public Law 86-373.

This legislation is a constructive step toward a better distribution of functions between the Federal Government and the States. I know that you share with me the hope that more such steps to expand State responsibility will be taken in the future.

With warm regard.

Sincerely,

DWIGHT EISENHOWER.

U.S. ATOMIC ENERGY COMMISSION, Washington, D.C., April 12, 1960. Hon. NELSON A. ROCKEFELLER, Governor of New York,

Albany, N.Y.

DEAR GOVERNOR ROCKEFELLER: Within the past few days, President Eisenhower wrote to you about the importance be attributes to the reapportionment of responsibilities between the States and the Federal Government and mentioned the authority granted by Public Law 86-373 to take such steps in the atomic energy field. Our first step in implementing this proposal is the develop-ment of criteria for use in the discontinuance of the Atomic Energy Commission's responsibilities over certain radioactive material and the assumption of those responsibilities by the States through agreements with the AEC.

Therefore, I am sending copies of our "Proposed Criteria for Guidance of States and the AEC in the Discontinuance of AEC Regulatory Authority Over Byproduct. Source, and Special Nuclear Materials in Less Than a Critical Mass and the Assumption Thereof by States Through Agreement." Also enclosed are the following background materials: Public Law 86-373; a summary of AEC policies and procedures of the regulation and licensing of source material, special nuclear material, and byproduct materials; and AEC regulations applicable to source, special nuclear materials, and byproduct material.

My fellow commissioners and I are looking forward to receiving your comments on the proposed criteria and to working with you to achieve the objectives of Public Law 86-373.

Because of the great interest of your State in atomic energy and of your many atomic energy activities, we hope that you would be willing to take the lead in this matter of reaching an agreement and to serve as an example for the other States to follow. If we or our staff can facilitate your consideration of this material, please let us know.

Sincerely yours,

JOHN F. FLOBERG, Acting Chairman.

STATE OF NEW YORK. EXECUTIVE CHAMBER, Albany, April 26, 1960.

THE PRESIDENT, The White House, Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: Thank you very much for your letter of the 11th and the related material which was sent to me by the Atomic Energy Commission on April 12th at your request. I share your view that the law authorizing Federal-State agreements in the atomic energy field constitutes a constructive step toward a better distribution of atomic functions between the Federal Government and the States, and wish to advise you that we are proceeding immediately to

with the objective of submitting our views to the Commission within the next few

We are gratified that the Commission, in recognition of our interest and activity in atomic energy, has expressed the hope that New York State would be willing to take the lead in reaching an agreement and to serve as an example for other States to follow. We are mindful of the responsibility that this imposes upon us, and I am pleased to assure you that we shall make every effort to cooperate with the Commission in arriving at an agreement that will serve as a valuable Precedent in safeguarding the public health and safety and in introducing into the regulatory control of atomic activities the com-Petence and high regard for the public interest which exists among State authorities.

We look upon this new step as a milestone in the development and control of atomic energy, and we shall do all that we can to insure its success.

Sincerely,

NELSON A. ROCKEFELLER.

STATE OF NEW YORK. EXECUTIVE CHAMBER, Albany, Apr. 26, 1960.

Hon. JOHN A. McCONE,

Chairman, U.S. Atomic Energy Commission, Washington, D.C.

DEAR JOHN: I am inclosing a copy of a letter I have sent to the President advising that New York State will submit its comments on the Commission's criteria for pro-Posed Federal-State atomic energy agreements to you within the next few

We deeply appreciate the confidence in New York State evidenced by the expression of the Commission's hope, contained in Acting Chairman Floberg's letter to me of April 12, that we take the lead in reaching an agreement with the Commission and thereby serve as an example for other States to follow. We shall make every effort to achieve this desirable objective.

With best wishes. Sincerely,

NELSON A. ROCKEFELLER.

GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS FOR SALE

Additional copies of Government publications are offered for sale to the public by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D.C., at cost thereof as determined by the Public Printer plus 50 percent; Provided, That a discount of not to exceed 25 percent may be allowed to authorized bookdealers and quantity purchasers, but such printing shall not interfere with the prompt execution of work for the Government. The Superintendent of Documents shall prescribe the terms and conditions under which he may authorize the resale of Government publications by bookdealers, and he may designate any Government officer his agent for the sale of Government publications under such regulations as shall be agreed upon by the Superintendent of Documents and the head of the respective department or establishment of the Government (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 72a, Supp. 2).

CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY

The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. No sale shall be made on credit (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p. 1939).

evaluate the Commission's proposed criteria LAWS AND RULES FOR PUBLICATION OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

CODE OF LAWS OF THE UNITED STATES

TITLE 44, SECTION 181. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD; ARRANGEMENT, STYLE, CONTENTS, AND INDEXES .- The Joint Committee on Printing shall have control of the arrangement and style of the Congres-SIONAL RECORD, and while providing that it shall be substantially a verbatim report of proceedings shall take all needed action for the reduction of unnecessary bulk, and shall provide for the publication of an index of the Congressional RECORD semimonthly during the sessions of Congress and at the close thereof. (Jan. 12, 1895, c. 23, § 13, 28 Stat. 603.)

TITLE 44, SECTION 182b. SAME; ILLUS-TRATIONS, MAPS, DIAGRAMS.-No maps, diagrams, or illustrations may be inserted in the RECORD without the approval of the Joint Committee on Printing. (June 20, 1936, c. 630, § 2, 49 Stat. 1546.)

Pursuant to the foregoing statute and in order to provide for the prompt publication and delivery of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the Joint Committee on Printing has adopted the following rules, to which the attention of Senators, Representatives, and Delegates is respectfully invited:

- 1. Arrangement of the daily Record .- The Public Printer will arrange the contents of the daily Record as follows: First, the Senate proceedings; second, the House proceedings; third, the Appendix: Provided, That when the proceedings of the Senate are not received in time to follow this arrangement, the Public Printer may begin the Record with the House proceedings. The proceedings of each House and the Appendix shall each begin a new page, with appropriate headings centered
- 2. Type and style.—The Public Printer shall print the report of the proceedings and debates of the Senate and House of Representatives, as furnished by the Official Reporters of the Congressional Record, in 71/2 -point type; and all matter included in the remarks or speeches of Members of Congress, other than their own words, and all reports, documents, and other matter authorized to be inserted in the RECORD shall be printed in 61/2-point type; and all rollcalls shall be printed in 6-point type. No italic or black type nor words in capitals or small capitals shall be used for emphasis or prominence; nor will unusual indentions be permitted. These restrictions do not apply to the printing of or quotations from historical, official, or legal documents or papers of which a literal reproduction is necessary.
- 3. Return of manuscript.-When manuscript is submitted to Members for revision it should be returned to the Government Printing Office not later than 9 o'clock p.m. in order to insure publication in the RECORD issued on the following morning; and if all of said manuscript is not furnished at the time specified, the Public Printer is authorized to withhold it from the RECORD for 1 day. In no case will a speech be printed in the RECORD of the day of its delivery if the manuscript is furnished later than 12 o'clock midnight.
- 4. Tabular matter.-The manuscript of speeches containing tabular statements to be published in the RECORD shall be in the hands of the Public Printer not later than 7 o'clock p.m., to insure publication the following morning.
- 5. Proof furnished .- Proofs of "leave to print" and advance speeches will not be furnished the day the manuscript is received but will be submitted the following day, whenever possible to do so without causing delay in the publication of the regular proceedings of Congress. Advance speeches shall be set in the RECORD style of type, and not more than

six sets of proofs may be furnished to Members without charge.

6. Notation of withheld remarks.-If manuscript or proofs have not been returned in time for publication in the proceedings, the Public Printer will insert the words "Mr. addressed the Senate (House or Committee). His remarks will appear hereafter in the Appendix," and proceed with the printing of the RECORD.
7. Thirty-day limit.—The Public Printer

shall not publish in the Congressional RECORD any speech or extension of remarks which has been withheld for a period exceeding 30 calendar days from the date when its printing was authorized: Provided, That at the expiration of each session of Congress the time limit herein fixed shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee.

8. Corrections .- The permanent Record is made up for printing and binding 30 days after each daily publication is issued; there-fore all corrections must be sent to the Public Printer within that time: Provided, That upon the final adjournment of each session of Congress the time limit shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee: Provided further, That no Member of Congress shall be entitled to make more than one revision. Any revision shall consist only of corrections of the original copy and shall not include deletions of correct material, substitutions for correct material, or additions of new subject matter.

9. The Public Printer shall not publish in the Congressional Record the full report or print of any committee or subcommittee when said report or print has been previously printed. This rule shall not be construed to

apply to conference reports.

10. Appendix to daily Record.—When either House has granted leave to print (1) a speech not delivered in either House, (2) a news-paper or magazine article, or (3) any other matter not germane to the proceedings, the same shall be published in the Appendix except in cases of duplication. In such cases only the first item received in the Government Printing Office will be printed. This rule shall not apply to quotations which form part of a speech of a Member, or to an authorized extension of his own remarks: Provided, That no address, speech, or article delivered or released subsequently to the final adjournment of a session of Congress may be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

11. Estimate of cost.—No extraneous matter in excess of two pages in any one instance may be printed in the Congressional Record by a Member under leave to print or to extend his remarks unless the manuscript is accompanied by an estimate in writing from the Public Printer of the probable cost of publishing the same, which estimate of cost must be announced by the Member when such leave is requested; but this rule shall not apply to excerpts from letters, telegrams, or articles presented in connection with a speech delivered in the course of debate or to communications from State legislatures, addresses or articles by the President and the members of his Cabinet, the Vice President, or a Member of Congress. For the purposes of this regulation, any one article printed in two or more parts, with or without individual headings, shall be considered as a single extension and the two-page rule shall apply. The Public Printer or the Official Reporters of the House or Senate shall return to the Member of the respective House any matter submitted for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD which is in contravention of this paragraph.

12. Official Reporters.—The Official Reporters of each House shall indicate on the manuscript and prepare headings for all matter to be printed in the Appendix, and shall make suitable reference thereto at the proper place in the proceedings.

Daily Digest

HIGHLIGHTS

Senate passed military construction bill, and received veto of area redevelopment bill.

See Congressional Program Ahead.

Senate

Chamber Action

Routine Proceedings, pages 9496-9529

Bills Introduced: 6 bills and 1 resolution were introduced, as follows: S. 3543-3548; and S.J. Res. 193.

Pages 9498-9499

Bills Reported: Reports were made as follows:

S. 1235, authorizing the Secretary of Commerce to enter into contracts for the conduct of research in the field of meteorology (S. Rept. 1348);

S. 3074, providing for U.S. participation in the International Development Association (S. Rept. 1349); and

H.J. Res. 602, relating to the establishment of a National Transportation Week (S. Rept. 1350). Page 9498

Bills Referred: Three House-passed bills were referred to appropriate committees. Pages 9495-9496

National Transportation Week: Senate passed without amendment and cleared for President H.J. Res. 602, relating to the establishment of a National Transportation Week.

Coast Guard: H.R. 9449, relating to personnel matters in the Coast Guard, was passed without amendment and cleared for President.

Military Construction: Senate passed H.R. 10777, fiscal 1961 authorizations for military construction, with committee amendment (in nature of a substitute), which had been amended as indicated below:

Adopted: Byrd (Virginia) amendment to guard against excessive costs by air freight of military household effects; Byrd (Virginia) amendment providing that additional fees for reimbursement to contractors for certain project costs shall not exceed the interest that Treasury would have to pay on such money, if borrowed for the same period; Holland amendment to add authorization for housing units at Patrick Air Force Base, Fla., and at Clinton-Sherman Air Force Base,

Okla.; Goldwater amendment to add authorization for housing units at Army Electronics Proving Ground, Fort Huachuca, Ariz.; Anderson amendment to add authorization for housing units at White Sands Proving Ground, N. Mex.; Mansfield amendment to add authorization for housing units at Glasgow Airport, Mont.; and Stennis amendment authorizing \$800,000 for operational facilities, McGee-Tyson Airport, Knoxville, Tenn.; and

Rejected: On division vote, Douglas amendment to eliminate provision for transfer of Food and Container Institute from Chicago, Ill., to Natick, Mass.

Senate insisted on its amendments, asked for conference, and appointed as conferees Senators Stennis, Jackson, Cannon, Case (South Dakota), and Saltonstall.

Pages 9529-9557, 9561-9564

Veto Message—Area Redevelopment: President transmitted message vetoing S. 722, to establish an effective program to alleviate conditions of unemployment and underemployment in certain economically depressed areas—ordered to lie on table and be printed.

Pages 9569-9570

D.C. Auto Safety: Senate again made its unfinished business S. 2131, to amend in several respects the D.C. Motor Vehicle Safety Responsibility Act. Page 9565

Saline River, Kans.: Letter from Secretary of Army transmitting report, dated March 10, 1960, from Chief of Engineers, together with accompanying papers and an illustration, demonstrating justification of Wilson Dam and Reservoir, Saline River, Kans., was ordered to be printed as S. Doc. 96.

Nominations: The following nominations were received: 10 Army; 1 Navy; and numerous Coast and Geodetic Survey nominations.

Pages 9574-9575

Program for Monday: Senate met at noon and adjourned at 6:08 p.m. until noon Monday, May 16, when its unfinished business will be S. 2131, D.C. auto safety.

Pages 9565, 9574

Appendix

Senator Randolph, West Virginia's Son of the Year—Address by Senator Mansfield

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. MIKE MANSFIELD

OF MONTANA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, May 16, 1960

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, on Saturday, May 14, I met with members of the State Society of West Virginia for the purpose of designating our distinguished colleague, the Senator from West Virginia [Mr. Randolph], as West Virginia's Son of the Year.

Mr. President, in meeting with these people of West Virginia, I felt both honored and humble. Their State had just been subject to much disgraceful malignment and to many irresponsible charges

of bigotry and backwardness.

West Virginians have now given an answer to those who fostered this malignment, to those who made these charges. They have given an example to the rest of us of a political maturity in which such false issues as religion and sectionalism are put aside and political judgments are made on the basis of records and platforms. I sincerely hope the rest of us, particularly the pollsters and commentators, will take this example to heart.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that my remarks in designating Senator Jennings Randolph as West Virginia's Son of the Year, delivered before the State Society of West Virginia, be printed in the Appendix of the Record.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PRESENTATION TO SENATOR JENNINGS RAN-DOLPH AS WEST VIRGINIA'S SON OF THE YEAR, SHERATON-PARK HOTEL, MAY 14, 1960

(Address by Senator Mansfield)

I hope that West Virginia has room for many sons. In view of the warmth and friendliness of your welcome to me I am going to apply for adoption. I have no sense of being an outsider here tonight and perhaps that is understandable. For my meeting with you, topographically speaking, is a kind of meeting of the mountains. What West Virginia is to the East in that respect, Montana is to the West. Each State gives character and spine to its respective sector of the country.

I've heard somewhere that West Virginia is a wonderful State in which to work because if you get tired all you have to do is stop and lean on it. Montana is something like that except that there we can lean on

it even when we are working.
Even as West Virginia and Montana share
a common heritage of mountains, the two
States also share a common heritage of great

natural resources and for that reason they are sometimes called Treasure States. For those of us of these States, however, the real treasure is not copper or coal but fine, generous and friendly people.

We share another heritage—West Virginia and Montana—a less pleasant heritage—the heritage of grave economic problems which grow out of a heavy dependence on a single industry. This is not the occasion to detail these problems. I mention them only by way of noting that we are close not only in the sense of common joys but also common sorrows.

For, tonight, then I hope you will act favorably on my petition for adoption as a son of West Virginia. I file it because it takes an ordinary son like myself to recognize an outstanding son. And to recognize and to honor an outstanding son of West Virginia is half of the reason why we are gathered here tonight.

The man whom we honor as West Virginia's son of the year began a long time ago the work which was to merit him this great distinction. The work began as soon as he had learned enough at Salem College to teach his younger brothers and sisters. And for 7 years, as a newspaperman and educator he taught and taught well.

But that was only prelude to his coming to the House of Representatives in 1933. From his seat there which he held for a long time-I found him enthroned as a senior when I arrived as a freshman in 1943-from his seat there he carried on his work in education. Only this time he was not educating West Virginia about the rest of the country but rather the rest of the country about West Virginians. He did much, too, I may add, during his service in the House to make the District of Columbia the 56th county of West Virginia. So strenuous was his-if I may coin a word-his Westvirginianism that we in the House of Representatives in 1946 voted him the man who was doing most for his constituents.

There is one achievement to his everlasting credit which dates from his days of service in the House: Few people know of it because it is in keeping with his modest nature not to publicize it. Yet, I believe tonight is the time to bring it to light. Back in 1936, he authored the act which established blind citizens as the operators of newsstands and snack bars in all Federal buildings. Out of his sensitive awareness of the needs of his fellow men this concept has grown until now more than 2,000 blind persons are running these small, successful businesses. Each year they do over \$35 million of business and last year they earned more than \$5 million for themselves. That is the kind of imaginative approach to public welfare in which the entire Nation can share a deep sense of achievement. We, West Virginians, can take special pride in the fact that it was our son of the year who provided the inspiration and the legislative drive in the House of Representatives which made the achievement possible.

Yet his long service in the House was also prelude, prelude to his coming to the Senate. In that body, in his work on the Labor and Public Welfare and Public Works Committees, in his work on the whole range of the questions which come before the Senate, in close partnership with your other dedicated Senator, Bos Byrd, he has pursued a diligent course of service which blends the interests

of West Virginia with those of the Nation in a most responsible and helpful fashion.

West Virginia's son of the year is well chosen. It is a distinction and a privilege to make this year's presentation to Senator Jennings Randolph whose service to the State and to the Nation has extended over many years and yet is just at its beginning.

To a good, decent, honorable and devout man it is a personal privilege to have the honor to present this citation. It is more than deserved.

Sound Leadership Manifested by Secretary of Defense Thomas S. Gates, Jr.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. LESLIE C. ARENDS

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, May 16, 1960

Mr. ARENDS. Mr. Speaker, the re-cent decision on Defense Department communications announced by the Secretary of Defense, Thomas S. Gates, Jr., on May 12, is in the pattern of conduct he has established since he took office some 6 months ago. In this period Mr. Gates has left no doubt that he not only recognizes the responsibilities of the Secretary of Defense in the law and under the Constitution, but he has made it clear beyond doubt that he will meet these responsibilities head on, with timely, honest decisions. There is no question that he has sought out the problem areas, brought their issues to the surface, and moved with forceful purpose to their resolution.

The 1960 defense picture is one which opens a new era of tremendous weapons, fantastic speeds, global ranges, and technological sophistications unbelievable a few years ago. The essence of such military operations is control, and the fundamental tool of control is communications. Without communications the most modern of Armed Forces would be practically useless. The volume and cost of long-range communications within our defense system is, thus, of great magnitude. Efficiency and economy require that we do not support unnecessary duplications in the vast and extremely expensive worldwide military communications networks. Mr. Gates' recent decision has wisely recognized this requirement and has given us a solution. His action will give us one efficiently integrated system. Wisely, it will eliminate any uncoordinated systems which might exist, and head off the future creation of any such unnecessary facilities.

Dollars, resources, and time are all vital to this Nation, and the system cre-

ated by Mr. Gates will insure that we get the most out of each of these. Research and development will be pointed toward the actual requirement of our defense system, without duplication and waste. The system itself will be based only on our total needs, with no other consideration. This is truly a step in the right direction.

This action by Mr. Gates will save money, conserve our resources, and provide us with more efficient communications system—in a word, it will improve the defense and security of this Nation. It will result in dollar and materiel economy and at the same time provide enhanced military efficiency.

It is a constructive step.

It is thoroughly in keeping with the kind of sound, responsible, and exemplarly leadership which has been so consistently manifested by the present Secretary of Defense, Thomas S. Gates, Jr.

End of a Self-Imposed Moratorium

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. WALLACE F. BENNETT

OF UTAH

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, May 16, 1960

Mr. BENNETT. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the Record an editorial entitled "A Self-Imposed Moratorium Ends," published in the Salt Lake Tribune of May 8, 1960.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the

RECORD, as follows:

A SELF-IMPOSED MORATORIUM ENDS

Eighteen months ago the United States and the Soviet Union announced voluntary suspension of nuclear tests. Then just before the self-imposed U.S. moratorium expired on January 1, President Eisenhower announced that this country felt free to resume testing but that advance notice would be given the rest of the world.

He has now done so. The United States will resume underground testing, described as a "nonweapons" nature, possibly before the end of 1960. However, it would not be surprising if some of the knowledge thus gained has military application. Many scientific studies can be put to military use.

The question of resuming tests has provoked heated debate in Government and scientific circles. The general belief had been that all but the smallest underground tests could be detected by earth shocks recorded on seismographs. But later studies brought out a new possibility—a process called "decoupling" can be used to dampen and disguise underground nuclear explosions.

Another factor has also been emphasized—the matter of good faith.

So far as anyone knows, all nuclear testing ceased during the moratorium. But as Chairman McCone of the Atomic Energy Commission emphasizes the United States has to depend on the Russlan's word for this, And if they have not done what they said they were doing, then they could have put the past 18 months to excellent use.

put the past 18 months to excellent use.
In discussing the President's decision with reporters, James C. Hagerty, White House press secretary, said that the resumption

program has a two-fold goal: (1) Further development of peaceful uses of nuclear power; (2) discovery of effective methods of detecting nuclear explosions of all sizes.

The latter point is of particular signifi-

U.S., British, and Soviet experts are to meet in Geneva Wednesday to eychange information on detection problems. Moreover, America and Britain have already invited Russia to join in a research program on the detection of underground explosions.

Thus, the United States, by resuming tests for such a purpose, stresses a problem in which the three major atomic powers are

supposedly concerned.

The effect of the announcement on the summit conference is also cause for speculation since a nuclear test treaty may be considered there. The Russians, of course, can now say that the United States, by resuming tests, has kicked over the apple cart. But if they sincerely desire a treaty, they should realize that the test moratorium was a voluntary one and that, under such circumstances, resumption of the tests by no means ends the possibility of agreement. Indeed, one announced reason for resuming testing fits in very well with development of a treaty.

The most important point, however, is this:

For 18 months the United States has done no testing. That is a long period of time in a fast-moving world. And the United States is not pledged to stand still forever while i's are dotted and t's are crossed.

We believe that President Eisenhower made the proper decision.

Omaha's Archbishop Bergan Receives NCCJ Silver Medallion Citation; New York Mayor Wagner Main Speaker

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. GLENN CUNNINGHAM

OF NEBRASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 16, 1960

Mr. CUNNINGHAM. Mr. Speaker, the mayor of New York City, Robert F. Wagner, was the speaker at a recent banquet in Omaha at which the National Conference of Christians and Jews paid tribute to the work of the Most Reverend Gerald T. Bergan, archbishop of Omaha, in the field of human relationships and understanding.

Archbishop Bergan received the NCCJ Silver Medallion Citation at the banquet for his lifelong work toward better understanding among all people. It was a well-deserved award to a leader in our community.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I include excerpts from the address by Mayor Wagner and also excerpts from the response of Archbishop Bergan:

NCCJ CITES AECHBISHOP

(Excerpts from address of the Honorable Robert F. Wagner, mayor of the city of New York, on the occasion of the NCCJ silver medallion citation banquet honoring the Most Reverend Gerald T. Bergan, Archbishop of Omaha.)

It was with pleasure and pride that I accepted your invitation to be guest speaker at the annual brotherhood dinner of the National Conference of Christians and Jews

here in Omaha. During the 31 years of NCCJ's existence we have seen many changes that could be characterized as revolutionary in nature in every area of this country and, in fact, throughout the world. We have lived through a depression, World War II, the Korean conflict and cold wars. We have experienced many of the effects of the atomic age and the space age. Yet, with all of our knowledge and ingenuity, man has not yet learned to live in peace and harmony with his fellow man.

In our own United States we find that some racial and ethnic groups are denied the right of free choice concerning the neighborhoods in which they would wish to live. We find, also, that these groups are very often excluded from certain types of employment and that their children are denied entrance to some schools. We also see these same struggles in other parts of the world and must be shamed by the specters of prejudice and bigotry wherever they rear their ugly heads.

Much progress has been made in the area of intergroup relations, and in my own city of New York we have been diligent in making firm strides to plug up loopholes which would pedmit discrimination in any form.

pedmit discrimination in any form.

All during my years in public service the National Conference of Christians and Jews has been one of the civic organizations I have relied on for counsel and cooperation. New York City is rich in human resources. We have representatives of every race, creed, color, and national origin among our residents. All have valuable contributions to make to the growth, development, and welfare of our city. To frustrate this talent is a waste that we cannot afford. NCCJ, by bringing together Protestants, Catholics, and Jews in programs of brotherhood, strikes a hard blow at the roots of prejudices.

I cannot speak too highly of NCCJ's work with our young people. Its programs of career clinics, summer camps, human relations institutes and leader conferences help prepare youths for the roles of responsibility they must soon assume. Since prejudices are not inborn it is important that we reach our youngsters before they can acquire them.

Let's not fool ourselves. Today's young people are deeply disturbed by the incidents of racial outbreaks in the country they are being taught to love and believe in as the world's stronghold of democracy. If this were not so, we would not see, among other things, the spreading wave of sympathy action concerning the "sit-in" strikes. Responsible students on campuses, located distances away from the scenes of such strikes, are protesting the indignities to which their contemporaries are being subjected. know that discrimination is morally wrong. It is heartwarming and inspiring to see students in the North and South speak up for what we all should know is right and just. They are also to be commended for their determination to accomplish their ends only by peaceful and rational means.

There is one other subject I would like to touch on briefly, and that is NCCJ's endorsement of the code of candidates set forth by the National Fair Campaign Practices Committee. This year's elections are crucial. Racial or religious identification of candidates should never be used to detract from real and basic issues in this campaign.

In closing, I extend my humble congratulations and best wishes to his excellency Archbishop Bergan as he receives your 1960 silver medallion citation. I would also like to congratulate the National Conference of Christians and Jews upon the designation of his excellency as its honoree. Congratulations are also due the National Conference of Christians and Jews here and in every community where it is organized for all of the work it is doing to make democracy

work. I think NCCJ's statment that "Brotherhood means giving to others the same rights, respect, and dignity one wants for oneself" sums up concisely what we have been talking about this evening. Right will always be on our side as long as our words and our deeds affirm the Judseo-Christian teachings of "the brotherhood of man under the Fatherhood of God."

(Excerpt from response of the Most Reverand Gerald T. Bergan, archbishop of Omaha, following reception of silver medallion citation of the National Conference

of Christians and Jews.)

A can would have to have a heart of stone to remain untouched by this magnificent manifestation of good will extended here tonight.

I am very pleased that the proceeds of this dinner will be used to establish a scholarship in my name for continued study

in the field of human relations.

My thanks are extended to the National Conference of Christians and Jews, Mayor Wagner of New York and to all who helped make this citation banquet a success. My special gratitude is extended to Mr. Morris

Jacobs, the dinner chairman.

We honor a man because he is human and, being human, we realize that we are all children of God and brothers of one another. Events such as this dinner tonight are important occasions in our explosive times. Our first line of defense is right here at occasions such as this. We in our democracy must unite together as never before. Our enemies have conquered one-third of the world without firing a single shot. A dynamic Judaeo-Christian manner of life is a "must" if we are to remain free and strong.

One of the saddest experiences in our conversion of the world to our way of life was the recent tragedy of Little Rock. We will win no friends throughout the world by advertising our modern plumbing and Hollywood scenery if our lives are scarred by events such as Little Rock. Tonight when we go home it might be well for us to look into our mirrors and asked ourselves if we really mean it when we speak of brotherhood. We might check to see if we are following the NCCJ rule of "Love thy brother as thyself."

Thank you once again for this wonderful honor which you have accorded to me. May occasions such as this help us to continue our work for a united Omaha, a united Nebraska, a united America, and a united World.

Wiley Reviews Accomplishments of Congress-Outlines Major Legislative Action Needed

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. ALEXANDER WILEY

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, May 16, 1960

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, as Congress hits the homestretch, we all recognize that there is a lot of work still to be done,

Recently, I was privileged to review over Wiconsin radio stations, some of the legislation not only of interest to the Nation, but of special significance to my home State. Reflecting on a part of the big job ahead, I ask unanimous consent to have excerpts from the address printed in the Appendix of the Record.

There being no objection, the excerpts were ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

WILEY REVIEWS ACCOMPLISHMENTS OF CON-GRESS—SAYS: "HARD WORK AHEAD"—OUT-LINES MAJOR LEGISLATIVE ACTION NEEDED (Excerpts of address prepared for delivery by

Senator ALEXANDER WILEY, Republican, of Wisconsin, over Wisconsin radio stations)

Friends, at this time, I would like to report to you on the progress of legislation in Congress.

According to current plans, this will be a short session. Why? Well, the Democratic and Republican conventions, as you know, are coming up in July. The purpose of early adjournment would be to avoid an entanglement of our legislative work with the politicking of the conventions. Even there are many efforts to play politics with issues of significance to the country.

Despite the fact that this is an election

Despite the fact that this is an election year, however, I believe Congress should stay in session as long as necessary to get its work

done.

As of now, the Senate has been in session 73 days, passed 246 measures and reported about 350 measures from the committees.

OUTLOOK FOR FARM LEGISLATION

Question. Senator Wiley, what is the outlook for farm legislation?

Answer. Frankly, the prospects for any large-scale farm bill are extremely dim.

Question. Why?

Answer, For many reasons. Fundamentally, however, there has been real difficulty in reaching agreement—even among farmers and farm organizations—as to what should be done.

be done.

Over the years, exhaustive efforts have been made to find legislative remedies for the complex problems in agriculture. Unfortunately perhaps, because these are sometimes "politically motivated" these "patent political medicines" have not succeeded in curing the patient—that is the farm economy.

As in the past, I again stress that legislative action can only provide a temporary palliative. The basic problem must be solved in accordance with sound economic principles—that is, adopting a realistic method for creating a relative supply-demand balance for dairy and other farm products.

Question. If the outlook is dim for a socalled omnibus farm bill, what legislation has a realistic chance for enactment?

Answer. First, the conservation reserve of the soil bank will in all likelihood be extended and somewhat expanded. However, the program, I believe, should be aimed—as directly as possible—at curbing production of the major farm products in surplus, that is, wheat and corn.

In addition to attempting to deal with the surplus problem, the conservation reserve, of course, benefits the country in other ways. These include: Creating a soil bank of land of enriched fertility for the future; expanding our forest reserve by tree plantings; attempting to improve the argicultural economy by reducing surpluses at less cost than the price support program has been to the taxpayer; providing an opportunity for expanding not only soil and forest resources but also carrying on watershed projects, improving habitats for wildlife and other such purposes.

Question. What is the outlook for change in price support levels, for example, for dairy products?

Answer. Earlier this session, I joined other Senators in sponsoring legislation which would increase the price support level.

Question. Annually, there is considerable pressure for modifying the tax laws relating to co-ops as well as increasing interest rates for REA and co-op loans. How does it stand at this time?

Answer. The Ways and Means Committee—the taxwriting body of Congress—has held extensive hearings on these controversial issues. As yet, however, the views are so wide apart that such legislation—which constitutionally must originate in the House of Representatives—has not yet been forthcoming; nor does it look like it will.

Question. Are there any other legislative proposals to be considered in the farm

picture?

Answer. Yes. Legislation (along the lines of a bill I introduced earlier) for extending and expanding the school milk program has been approved by Congress and signed by the President.

Currently, also, there is pending before the Senate a bill, S. 690, to expand research for utilization of farm commodities for industrial purposes. I would hope that expeditious approval be given this measure providing new use through industry utilization, which may well be one of the answers to our production-exceeding problem.

Incidentally, I am continuing to urge action on my bill for establishing a much needed dairy research laboratory at Madison, Wis., to find better ways of processing, distributing and utilizing dairy products.

I would hope, also, that the bill I pro-

I would hope, also, that the bill I proposed for establishing a Country Life Commission would be enacted. As you may know, the purpose would be to make a longrange evaluation of the social, economic and technological revolution in agriculture, and propose recommendations to enable the farmer to better adjust to these changes.

Question. What about the recent warnings—almost "public scares"—by the Food and Drug Administration relating to utilizing chemicals, antibiotics and other products for animal health and crop protection?

Answer. Over the years, the American farmer has—in good faith—attempted to provide the consuming public an abundant supply of good, healthful foods. In this effort, chemicals and other products have been utilized.

According to recent investigations, however, it now appears that use of some of these may be questionable. Naturally, our first obligation is to protect the public health. However, I do not believe that the Food and Drug Administration should engage in sensationalism.

Instead, the American farmer deserves a fair break. I have contacted the FDA to stress the need for working out reasonable, effective ways to assure utilization of only safe products that will serve the purposes of our farmers; at the same time, adequately protect the public health.

OTHER ISSUES OF INTEREST TO WISCONSIN

Question. Now, turning to other fronts, what's the outlook for legislation in other fronts of particular interest to Wisconsin?

Answer. Well, that's a big order. Briefly,

Answer. Well, that's a big order. Briefly, however, I'd like to review with you a few of the major issues. These include: First, authorization of a realistic rivers and harbors bill to carry forward work on flood control projects as well as deepening and improving our port and harbor facilities.

As you will recall, President Eisenhower vetoed a measure last year because he considered it too much of a "pork barrel" nature. The task now is to get enactment of a realistic piece of legislation—one that will fulfill our development needs but at the same time can avoid a Presidential veto.

In view of the real need for carrying forward such projects—many of which are now underway in our port cities, I believe that Congress should act expeditiously. Currently, the appropriations bill, H.R. 7634, is pending before the Senate Appropriations Committee. Included in this measure are authorizations of funds for work on the following projects: Menominee Harbor and River; Kewaunee Harbor; Superior-Duluth

Harbor; Ashland Harbor; and Washburn Harbor.

In the 1961 budget, also, maintenance funds would be provided for the following projects: Green Bay; Manitowoc; Milwaukee; Port Washington; Racine; Sheboygan; Sturgeon Bay and Like Michigan; Ship Canal; Two Rivers: and others.

Two Rivers; and others.

Secondly, there is a need to keep close watch on the efforts to enact the so-called water steal bill that would threaten to divert dangerously large volumes of water from Lake Michigan and thus lower the water levels of the lake.

As you may know, I have voted against the enactment of this legislation. Currently, the matter is still pending before the Foreign Relations Committee.

Question. Are there any new develop-

ments?

Answer. Yes, the "pushers" of this water-diversion legislation are now trying an end run, so to speak. Under the guise of proposing a \$12 million antipollution program for the Great Lakes generally, an effort is being made to earmark specific funds for dealing with the pollution at Chicago and in the Illinois Waterway—the same objective as contained in the water-diversion bill itself, H.R. 1.

Now I want to say this: I am fully in favor of carrying out any necessary and effective antipollution study needed in the Great Lakes. However, let's not be fooled by this ruse for attempting to increase diversion of water from the Great Lakes.

Currently, this issue is before the Senate Appropriations Committee. As a result, the pushers of the water diversion bill now have measures before two Senate committees to accomplish their objectives.

Consequently, you can well understand the need for staying "on the alert" to head off such forthright, and round-about, efforts to divert more and more water from the Great Lakes—dangerous to commerce for Wisconsin and the rest of the Lake States.

OTHER PROGRAMS AHEAD

Now, what is some of the other "unfinished business" of Congress?

As President Eisenhower recently urged, we should also: (1) remove—or at least "adjust"—the ceiling on U.S. Treasury bonds to enable the Treasurer to better carry on the financing for meeting the obligations of the Federal Government; and (2) we also need to strengthen our judicial system by creating about 40 new judgeships. Regrettably, Congress, for political reasons, has, for too long, been "sitting on" this proposal. In a splendid bipartisan action, however, President Eisenhower has offered to fill such judgships with an equal number of Democrats and Republicans. Today, our Federal courts are logjammed with thousands of cases requirup to years for consideration. The Congress, I believe, should act immediately.

NEEDED: PUBLIC UNDERSTANDING OF UNCLE SAM'S BUDGET PROBLEMS

In considering legislation—particularly spending programs—we, of course, need to adopt wise, realistic policies. Not only Congress—but each of you, as citizens, need to be aware of Uncle Sam's budgetary problems. Often, in the vast volume of mail flowing

often, in the vast volume of mail nowing into my office—amounting to hundreds of letters daily—I receive strangely contradictory letters: Some say: "I want this program for myself"; others say, "I want that program"; still others say, "I want this, but don't do anything for the other fellow."

However, Uncle Sam is not a fountainhead from which flows an increasing stream of gifts, handouts, and Federal support. To the contrary, every penny spent on grants or assistance programs comes out of the taxpayers' pockets—and that means you and me.

CONCLUSION

This, then, is a brief review of only a small part of the workload ahead of us in Congress.

As these, or other issues, in which you are particularly interested, come up for consideration, I shall, as always, be glad to hear from you to get your suggestions and recommendations on problems of significance to our State and Nation.

Thank you for listening.

In Such an Age—by Dr. Frederick Brown Harris, Chaplain, U.S. Senate

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GORDON H. SCHERER

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, May 16, 1960

Mr. SCHERER. Mr. Speaker, at the recent Continental Congress of the Daughters of the American Revolution, the distinguished and beloved Chaplain of the U.S. Senate, Dr. Frederick Brown Harris, was one of the principal speakers. His magnificent address entitled 'In Such an Age" contains a message that should be read not only by every Member of the Congress but also by every American. I commend it particularly to Dr. Harris' fellow members of the clergy since it comes from one of their number who daily, from his vantage point in the Senate, has the opportunity to get a truer picture of national and international problems than any other member of the clergy:

IN SUCH AN AGE

(Address of Dr. Frederick Brown Harris, Chaplain, U.S. Senate)

Madam President General, dear friends of the continental congress, that was a very much more gracious introduction than I got lately here in Washington when somebody just presented me by saying that someone said he saw my name on a bulletin board outside of a church, I think it was in Arlington, and all it said was, "Rev. F. B. Harris will speak in this church on Sunday night, after which the church will be closed 2 weeks for repairs." Maybe that is why you put me last this morning.

I assure you that as you come to the close of this 69th continental congress of militant Americans, I count it an honor and a privilege to have the opportunity of looking into the faces of those who, with all their hearts, believe that the American Revolution is a hundred times more significant than the Russian revolution, and that the inspiring symbol of the common man is not Lenin or Stalin but Washington and Jefferson and Lincoln.

During these days in your own Capital, these blossoming, beautiful days, you have been facing without fear or favor the problems and challenges of this age.

Some time ago they published a book at the Capitol called "The Congressional Anthology." It is a volume of poems suggested by Members of the Senate and the House, poems which have inspired them during these troubled days, and when they asked me to suggest a poem to represent me in that volume and suggested I could have 2 or 3 days to think it over, I said, "If I am going

to have the privilege of being in the volume, I know now what I want as the poem speaking for me." It was Angela Morgan's lines "To Be Alive in Such an Age." I hope some of you know it. She has gone over now to the other side, and I am sure all the trumpets sounded for her on the other side. Her poem is—

To be alive in such an age!
With every year a lightning page
Turned in the world's great wonder book
Whereon the leaning nations look.
When steel and stone and rail and rod
Become the avenue of God—
A trump to shout His thunder through
To crown the work that man may do,

Then she says, "O age of strife!" but immediately, "O age of life; to be alive in such an age."

Well, as we think of such an age, we know that we have entered on what is being rightly called a decade of destiny, for surely we are gazing at a world of confusion and commotion. The great powers now have in their hands the instrumentalities to destroy each other, perhaps even to write the epitaph of human life on this planet. This might happen in the sixties. It is a terrible thing to contemplate, but it may.

Or we may take the first faltering steps toward a just peace and to an era of plenty for the whole world in the golden age of brotherhood. Angela Morgan, in that same poem, says:

Rise, soul from thy despairing knees.

Give thanks with all thy flaming heart— Crave but to have in it a part. Arise and claim thine heritage. To be alive in such an age.

As we think of such an age, as we try to analyze it, even in a handful of words, apart from the fact that it is the time of the split atom with all the dread implications of that, apart from that, we would have to say, that it is a time of world revolution, which means that under all skies, teeming millions of men and women are reaching out and angrily oftimes demanding more of the good things of life, more abundant life. Of course, we do not regret that. America has nothing good for herself that she does not desire for the entire world, and what we call the world revolution is largely, anyway, the harvest of the seed of Christianity and democracy.

But we would have to say, as we think of our age, that side by side with that there is a helnous system of chains and enslavement which is attempting to pervert that legitimate revolution and use it for its own evil ends. I refer, of course, to atheistic communism, for written across the sky you have faced that very definitely here during these days. There is the menace of communism and it is not a whit less today in the face of all the talk we hear with regard to peace. Secretary of State Herter, with whom I was privileged to have a little conference the other day with regard to Korea, recently said this, and I want to quote him exactly:

"Despite a new atmosphere of hopefulness for the solution of world problems, there has, in fact, been no real change in Communist intentions. Nor have deeds followed upon peaceful words."

I was reading the other day a poem written by Rudyard Kipling, I think about 65 years ago. It was on Russia, on the aggressiveness of the Russian Bear. Of course, that was long before the Russian Revolution. But it might have been written appropriately for today's newspaper. I want to give you the last verse of Kipling's poem on the "Russian Bear" 65 or 70 years ago. Here it is:

When he stands up as pleading
In waving man-brute guise,
When he veils the hate and cunning
Of his little swinish eyes;
When he shows as seeking quarter
With paws like hands in prayer;
That is the time of peril
The time of the truce of the Bear.

That is just about where we are now The other night I attended a political meeting attended by 3,000 women from all parts of this country. This happened to be Republican meeting, but I go to both sides-you know, I have both an elephant and a donkey on my desk at the Senateand at that occasion I sat at the speakers' table netx to a man I greatly admire, Henry Cabot Lodge, a great American. I could watch the expressions on his face at close range and he spoke, of course, out of an experience of 6 years in the U.S. Senate and 7 years now as U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations, and I jotted down on a menu in front of me something he said. Ambassador Lodge said, "We face an extremely dangerous adversary. In their heart they really be-lieve that they are destined to take over the world. It is a religion with them." And then he added, "It is only on the moral and spiritual plane that we can possibly win"; and then this, "No pallid lipservice to our cause will do."

What he said reminded me of a sentence in Woodrow Wilsons' valedictory to his fellow countrymen, printed just before he died: "Our civilization will never be redeemed materially until it is redeemed spiritually"; and then he added, "It must be saturated with the spirit of Jesus Christ."

Certainly, then, that label of atheistic communism would have to be put upon our day and generation, wouldn't it? It is very interesting to see the labels that the leaders of the various centuries put upon the gateposts of the times in which they lived. Did you ever notice that the Hebrew prophets were pastmasters at coining dismal labels for the days in which they lived? Isaiah said his was a time of darkness and sorrow. Strange to say, that is just about the same labels that the leaders of every generation think characterize the times against which they thunder.

When I was in college (that is further

When I was in college (that is further back now than I like to think), Henry Van Dyke wrote a little book which he called, "The Gospel for an Age of Doubt." That, you see, was his label for the time back there.

I remember he said in it that the coat of arms for that day ought to be three bishops dormant and an interrogation point rampant. That might be a good coat of arms for our day.

Talking about bishops, when the Episcopallans held their convention in Honolulu sometime ago, at the close most of the delegates were returning to the U.S. mainland. One plane had a very heavy load of ecclesiastical brass and just about halfway between Honolulu and San Francisco one motor quit. That is not as bad as two, but it is bad enough, and you can imagine the whistling-in-the-dark conversation that was going on. But one delegate, maybe a little more plous than the others, managed to slip up to the pilot, whose face was strained and tense, and this delegate said, "Now, don't worry, nothing is going to happen to us. We will get in safely. I thought I would like to tell you that we have eight bishops on board this plane"

The pilot looked up and said, "I would rather have four motors than eight bishops," [Laughter.] I don't blame him at all.

Anyhow, as we stand at the wailing wall of our troubled times they seem as full of discounting labels as the highway billboards are full of screaming advertisements. Somebody wrote an article in one of our maga-

zines not long ago, speaking of some of the labels that we see tacked to our day, and he said in that article that the symptoms in America today are ominously like those of Rome just before the fall.

Rome just before the fall.

A woman said to me not long ago (and she wasn't a member of the DAR; you wouldn't let her in), "We all ought to be talking just about peace, nothing but peace. Even the Russlans," she said, "talk about peace and we ought constantly to talk peace."

I replied to her, "Unfortunately, peace is one of the words in the inverted and perverted dictionary of the Reds. What in their book is liberation we call regimentation, and what they call election we call coercion, and what they call peace, we call appeasement. And as my dear friend, the late Senator Vandenberg, used to love to say, 'Appeasement is surrender on the installment plan.'"

There came to my desk only yesterday the manuscript for a book that is about to be published on John Foster Dulles, the spiritual heritage of that great man to our country. I am hoping that they will carry out his idea when they go to the summit and let the world know that America is not interested in appeasement. We are tremendously interested in a just peace, and that is something else.

This woman who was talking to me said, "Well, we ought all to be yearning for the time when the prophecy will be fulfilled and the lion and the lamb shall lie down together."

"Yes," I said, "I think we all want that, but we want to make mighty sure that the lamb isn't inside the lion."

I want to say some things with regard to the church situation and communism, and I hope when you go back to your churches you will be on the alert to see what is going on. In the present world situation we need idealists, but we need idealists who are also realists. A surgeon is an idealist who is also a realist. He isn't the sort of idealist who puts a mustard plaster over a malignancy and just hopes for the best! He knows that some things have to be cut out before the recuperative powers of the body have a chance even to be mobilized.

Those who really understand the present peril the world is in because of the malignant growth of atheistic communism are idealists who dream of a healed and happy world but who realize that you cannot compromise with a cancer in the body politic.

Bishop Gerald Kennedy of the Methodist Church is both an idealist and a realist. When, after weeks spent in Soviet Russia last summer, he reached home, he declared this:

"The issue is joined at last. Either God is or He is not. Either a man is of value only as the citizen of the state, or he is of value because God created him. Either Christianity is true or communism is true, but not both. Coexistence is a pleasant term but one of these systems is going down."

I believe that. Now, again and again church leaders have failed their times tragically because they were unreal idealists. Sincere church people were back of a British Prime Minister when he went to Munich with an umbrella, but with no righteous sword; when, for "peace in our time," as they put it, a glorious little democracy in the midst of Europe was thrown to the wolves of appeasement and aggression.

In that same time, a group of influential churchmen led by the beloved Dick Sheppard of London, in whose pulpit I was privileged to preach, ignoring Germany's rearming under the madman, Hitler, and turning a deaf ear to Churchill's warnings, went up and down England exhorting religious people to sign cards declaring against any military preparation to meet the threatened blow. Tens of thousands of people signed, under their leadership. The threatening signs of the time were fearfully evident; but the policy of these churchmen was to refuse

to talk from strength, even to a ruthless dictator.

These preachers and other religious leaders proved to be the blind leading the blind. That so-called peace crusade was a definite factor in England's being caught unprepared when the blow fell. That campaign against arms helped to bomb into bits many of the churches of the preachers who signed those cards, and the streets of Dick Sheppard's London, as we know, were filled with the mangled and the dead.

And now, in this year of our Lord 1960, there are religious leaders, especially ecclesiastical bureaucrats, who are as gullible and blind as were the church leaders to whom Jesus spoke sadly. Jesus said to the leaders of His day. "You can prophesy about the weather, you can read the signs in the sky, but you cannot read the signs of the times."

Now, remember, He was talking to religious leaders. The Master said to them, "If thou hadst known, in this, thy day, the things which belong to thy peace, but now they are hid from thine eyes, for the time shall come upon thee that thine enemies shall lay thee even with the ground and shall not leave one stone upon another, because you cannot read the signs of the times."

That dismal prophecy came to pass, of course, when the armies of Titus pulverized Jerusalem.

Jesus' heart was heavy because those at the head of the church were not reading aright the signs of the times. Certainly that group of churchmen were in that category when last year they met in Cleveland and recommended the admission of Red China to the United Nations. Thank God, they were only speaking for themselves and not for the churches to which they belonged, although, unfortunately, when proclaiming their private opinions they are likely to say they are speaking for so many millions in the churches. They do not. I am proud to belong to the Committee of One Million centered in New York against the admission of Red China.

A survey of church leadership across this country by that committee showed a proportion of 9 to 1 against any such attitude to Red China, a regime of international bandits.

But even though such action is the policy of only a handful of so-called leaders, they are going right ahead now in various parts of the country, by conferences and institutes and panels, endeavoring to brainwash the youth of the church to back their notions. That is why I ask you to be alert when you go back to your churches.

To admit the criminals of Red China as partners in the United Nations is on the same moral and ethical level as to elect a band of bank robbers, who are also murderers, to the board of directors of the very bank they are plotting to rob and to destroy. One feels like paraphrasing Paul's exclamation, "O foolish Galatians, who hath bewitched you?" to "O foolish Americans, who hath bewitched and bewildered you?"

One of the leaders of this minority school of thought, a professor, by the way, in one of our best-known theological schools, sometime ago issued a petulant, scolding message to all the churches. It is the sort of statement that might just as well have been written in the Kremlin. Let me tell you exactly what he said. I quote from this leader of our united denominations.

"We should avoid the position of hostility to them (that is, to the regimes in Russia and China) and cease the practice of moralizing and the practice of continual lectures to them by our leaders."

What he is really saying is: Let the Red secret police arrest innocent peasants by the truckload, and let the interrogators brainwash and torture them; and let the official butchers kill, or perhaps merely send them to

a slave camp where the terrified peasants will be reformed, as they put it, "through labor." But let no gentle Christian in America, whose life is a bed of roses, say a rough or accusing word about the atroctiles. To do that might postpone the time when Red China will be received into the U.N. of peace lovers; and to thus speak out will interfere with Russia's wonderful ideas with regard to coexistence.

I can tell you out of my personal knowledge that, to the enslaved people of the captive countries, for the missionaries of the cross in Korea, in Talwan, and in the Philippines, and for all those across Asia yearning for freedom, that sort of call from church leaders in America advising padiocks on the lips of our churches, is frightening, disturbing and devastating to the morale of Christian churches in those lands. I wish you could see some of the letters I have received.

The final outcome of this attitude of appeasement, of compromise, and of accommodation is seen when recently, in a well-known peace organization, a minister, I am sorry to say, dared to stand before 250 students in one of our great eastern colleges and say that if America were to be attacked by Russia, the only Christian thing would be to surrender at once and to make our Christian witness as slaves of that degrading system. On the other hand, a few days I was in Texas and I heard the president of a great southern university, which has a student body of 10,000 (he wasn't in his own college, he was in another college in another city) speak to an audience of 2,000 students and tell them in no uncertain terms the unvarnished truth regarding the schemes of atheistic communism for the destruction of our liberties. So, it is not all on one side.

I am not charging that any of these mistaken church leaders are Communists. That is a matter which is now being made a political football. I do not go into that controversy at all. I am simply saying that the thinking of some who are as prominent today in church affairs as the Pharisees were in Christ's day, and of whom the Master said they could not discern the signs of the times-is blurred and dangerous and deadly. The thing that alarms me is that so many churchmen seem to be affected by a moral flabbiness, an absence of indignation at appalling crimes, a tendency to forget, not as God forgets when there is genuine repentance but a forgetting which indicates a sort of moral blackout, a williness to grasp unrepentant bloodstained hands in cooperation and partnership. Such a policy makes the church the ally of the most diabolical forces in the world. These are practices which are the utter reverse of any attitude which can be called Christian

To show the attempts of this insidious godless system to infiltrate the Christian homes of America, let me tell you of a recent instance. One of our leading church papers, ministering to millions, recently published a two-page article by J. L. Hromadka, who is a professor in Prague, behind the Iron Curtains. He wears the cloak of ecumenical Christianity, but he wears also (proudly) the Communist Stalin cross. The article is a blatant piece of Red propaganda. In it the author speaks to America of "The inevitable end of what we call Western civilization."

He refers to the Communists as those who "In their own way are trying to establish a new form and structure of human society." That is his appraisal of the murder and misery which characterize this system—including the butchery in Hungary and the betrayal of democracy in Czechoslovakia where he lives.

Speaking of "the blunders, failures, and sins of the Christian era," he has the effrontery to say that the Communists, in what they are doing, are using the motives of genuine Christianity. Then he insists "We have to take the men behind the Communist ideology seriously." He declares "the growing anti-Communist sentiment, and the cooperation of Christian churches in the anti-Communist crusade is shocking."

The article is not labeled "poison"—there is no attempt to refute its sophistries. While Christian leaders here in America have to beg for space to present facts that are pertinent in today's struggle of Christ versus anti-Christ, this Red is given two pages to spread his spurious wares which he then wraps up in pious terms to deceive the very elect.

Does all this mean that the editors of this widely read Christian publication believe that communism is the wave of the future and are deliberately aiding its propaganda? No. It simply means that those who ought to be sentinels guarding their readers against this diabolical doctrine, are either blind to the perilous menace or asleep at their post of duty while the enemy sows tares in the very garden of the churches.

And so I say to you as you come to the close of this inspiring session, that we desperately need new Paul Reveres to ride up and down the lanes of our pleasant prosperity, to remind our people that eternal vigilance is still the price of liberty; and that our heritage, which you cherish so wonderfully, our American heritage, is not like an heirloom that we can hand down to the generations to come after us. It is something that must be relived and reinterpreted and rewon with every new generation. So it is for us to stand, in the place where we are, giving the best that we have:

Against the wrong that needs resistance, For the right that needs assistance, And the future in the distance And the good that we may do.

In reply to a letter that came to him from a distant city, Wendell Phillips said something that inspires me. They asked him in that letter to let them know his lecture topics and his lecture terms. He replied, "I will come and lecture on 'Ancient Civilizations' for \$500 and expenses; and I will come and lecture on 'The abolition of slavery' for nothing and pay my own expenses." You see, slavery was a subject on which he had intolerant convictions. He was against slavery, because he was for freedom.

We are ready, and rightly so, to throw all the scornful, biting adjectives in the book against the conspirators of the Kremlin and all their lying tricks. You see that I do not hesitate to do that.

But, it isn't enough to see red every time the blighting hand of communism is raised in this world. And let me say to you, as an aside, that blighting hand is seen today in Korea. The loud applause because of the rioting in the Republic of Korea that we hear from that Communist concentration camp to the north is very significant. The one man they hate and fear is Syngman Rhec. They have bent all their efforts to get him. He is fighting our fight as well as Korea's. In spite of all you hear—and I know him through and through; I was his pastor for years here and I was sent by President Eisenhower as special Ambassador over there-he is a freedom lover of the highest caliber and character. He is a great democrat. There is not a drop of dictatorial blood in his veins. I believe history will appraise him as one of the great men of these troubled times.

But, I repeat, it isn't enough, when we see the blighting hand of communism, to cry out against it. The system that will prevail at last over regimented tyranny with its ball and chain is a vibrant, positive democracy in which we believe more strongly and love more deeply, even, than we hate totalitarianism. America will help to destroy

the foul cloud of atheistic communism not merely by denunciation of the things she is set to deplore but by the blazing torch in her hands of the things she is for.

And so let us go forward to meet the problems of this age, in such an age, as Angela Morgan called it, terrible as an army with banners, determined that—

We will be true to all truth the world denies, Not tongue-tied by its gilded lies; Not always right in all men's eyes But faithful to the light within. For what avail If freedom fail.

Representative Bizz Johnson and the 1960 Winter Olympics

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. CLAIR ENGLE

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, May 16, 1960

Mr. ENGLE. Mr. President. I was delighted to read an editorial recently in the Sacramento Union commending California's able Representative from the Second District-HAROLD T. "BIZZ" JOHNson. Bizz Johnson played a very significant role in getting the 1960 Winter Olympics held in California, and the editorial commends him for not lagging in his interest in winter sports once the games were over. It makes the important point that BIZZ JOHNSON does not regard the Winter Olympics as a fait accompli, but rather as a logical step toward popularizing the great California winter sports industry.

I take pleasure in bringing the editorial to the attention of my colleagues, and ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the REC-ORD, as follows:

A CONGRESSMAN REPORTS

Congressman HAROLD T. (BIZZ) JOHNSON of the Second District doesn't regard the winter Olympics at Squaw Valley as a fait accompli, but rather as a logical step toward popularizing the great California winter sports industry. In this viewpoint Johnson is to be commended.

"More than a million persons visited Squaw Valley before, during, and after the winter Olympics," declares Johnson, "but more impressive to me is that more than a million persons visited other snow sports areas of the State as well. I took a survey of California's national forests and parks to see what was happening in this recreation field. Everywhere officials reported the business of going down hill on skis and sleds is zooming."

Isn't this what California bargained for in underwriting the rather expensive spectacle of the winter Olympics? But here is a State investment, seemingly, which is paying off. Let Johnson continue:

"Many mountain areas, which once lived on summer economies, are finding the snow enthusiasts bring welcome new business. Millions of dollars have been spent in snow sports and lodge developments. And the potential still is tremendous.

"Tahoe National Forest, with the Olympics of course, led the field and Henry E. Branagh, forest supervisor, advised me that skiing was

itself up 60 percent over last season with 116,500 people on the slopes. Nearly 14,000 people have used the ice rink, not counting the thousands upon thousands of spectators.

"An old standby in the winter sports field is Yosemite's Badger Pass. Superintendent John Preston writes that there have been 126,718 visitors by early April and they still were coming. An average of 500 persons use the facilities on a weekday and 1,800 to 2,600 on a typical Saturday or Sunday. This does not include 6,232 visitors who ice skated on the valley floor. Badger Pass opened in 1933 and the use has been growing constantly.

and the use has been growing constantly. "Stanley R. Zeger, acting supervisor at Eldorado National Forest, says the year there was substandard as far as snow conditions were concerned, but that did not slow down the skiing enthusiasts. About 95 percent of the approximately 106,000 people using the Highway 50 and South Tahoe snowfields are skiers. The use was up about 7 percent. "The last two snow seasons have been poor," says Supervisor Zeger, "but the trend is steadily increasing."

"The people on the east side of the mountains are sharing in this activity and Mammoth Mountain of the Inyo National Forest is one of the fastest growing snow regions in California. Supervisor Joe Radel reports a 32 percent gain with more than 100,000 snow visits to the Inyo.

"Although skiing is a major sport at Lassen National Forest and Volcanic Park, Forest Supervisor V. A. Parker and Park Superintendent Edward Freeland say heavy family fun use attracts groups from all over northern Canifornia, including the San Francisco Bay region.

"About 22,000 traveled to Lassen Forest, half of them going just to romp in the snow with the rest doing the skiing. Another 15,000 toured Lassen Park's snowfields.

"There is a tremendous potential for future development in both the Lassen and Inyo regions as well as some of the lesser used forest lands.

"Plumas National Forest's La Porte was one of the first ski areas to develop in northern California many, many winters ago. With that facility and the new Johnsville State Park coming in, the potential winter sports development is considerable.

"I look for development of the Plumas, Cedar Pass, Nnion Valley, and many other regions similar to Mount Shasta's Ski Bowl in the Shasta-Trinity National Forest. Observing its second year of winter sports, Forest Supervisor Paul Stathem says Shasta Bowl use is up 25 to 50 percent this year over the initial season there and Snowman's Hill continues to provide an excellent community place to play in the snow, which means most of the increase consists of visitors from outside the immediate region.

"The reputation was spread this year to the benefit of all the Sierra Nevada, and everyone concerned must continue to work together to provide the facilities to meet this demand. The investment will be repaid many times."

Medical Care for the Aged

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. RAY J. MADDEN

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, May 16, 1960

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Speaker, one of the major issues which this Congress must act upon before adjournment, is the problem of practical legislation which will provide hospitalization and medical

care for millions of folks in the upper age bracket.

The following letter from Benjamin Saks, president of the Northwest Indiana Jewish Welfare Federation, 708 Broadway, Gary, Ind., reflects practical thoughts concerning this problem which involves so many millions of our elderly citizens throughout the Nation:

NORTHWEST INDIANA JEWISH
WELFARE FEDERATION,
Gary, Ind., May 2, 1960.

Representative RAY MADDEN,
House Ways and Means Committee,
House Office Building, Washington, D.C.
DEAR REPRESENTATIVE MADDEN: At a meeting

DEAR REPRESENTATIVE MADDEN: At a meeting of its board of directors held on the evening of April 27, 1960, the following resolution was passed by this organization, with the instruction that it be submitted for your attention and study:

"Whereas medical care for the part of our population 65 years and over is a major concern of the Nation and of this welfare federation; and

"Whereas the admission rate to hospitals is twice as large as for persons who are younger, and whereas they stay longer after admission; and

"Whereas many of them have incomes of \$3,000 or less; and

"Whereas one-half of the residents of homes for the aged require medical care in residence; and

"Whereas 80 percent of residents of homes for the aged are partially supported by public assistance funds; and

"Whereas less than 40 percent of the persons over 65 are covered by private medical insurance: Now, therefore, be it

"Resolved, That we favor the use of the mechanism of the old-age and survivors program of the Social Security Act to provide an expanded program of health services for persons 65 and over."

We earnestly hope that you will give this resolution and the sentiment that it expresses your very earnest consideration in the debate on this issue in the current Congress.

Sincerely yours,
BENJAMIN SAKS, President.

Reflections on the U-2 Plane Incident

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JOHN J. WILLIAMS

OF DELAWARE

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, May 16, 1960

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the Record a very timely editorial entitled "Reflections on an Incident," which was published today in the Wall Street Journal.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

REFLECTIONS ON AN INCIDENT

The psychologists say that toward the major affairs of life we all have moments of ambivalence, that we can suffer all at once the mixed feelings of joy and anxiety.

If we can judge by the samplings of public opinion, and by our own feelings Americans have had something of this same ambivalence in their reaction to the spyplane incident. Pride, relief, uneasiness of mind, and even dismay, have been inter-

mingled. Each of these emotions is understandable, and it is not easy to strike a balance among them.

The causes of pride are simply stated. Ever since sputnik the American people have had a vague but strong uneasiness that somehow we were falling behind the Russians in the struggle. There was not merely the concern over the scientific competition and basic military capabilities; there was also worry about intangibles, that we were soft, bungling, lacking in initiative, energy and alertness when compared with the ruthless, monolithic Communist empire.

Then suddenly we learned that our defense forces were not so listless after all. Hearts were bound to leap with pride at the knowledge that an American reconnaissance plane had penetrated deep into Russion territory, and that furthermore this was but one of many. Here is tangible evidence that our Government is not "asleep at the switch," that our intelligence forces have diligence and the equipment and skills to apply it.

And not the least of our pleasure at events is the way in which this incident has shaken the Russians. For make no mistake about it, the fact that their vaunted defenses can be so readily penetrated is not something that Mr. Khrushchev and his colleagues can bilthely dismiss.

Reflect for a moment on the dismay, and the fear, we would feel if we discovered that Russian planes had been fiying over the United States for months undetected. This country would suffer a psychological trauma of major proportions; it would be a national scandal and heads would roll all over the place.

Something like this may be happening in Russia now. Because of that, Mr. Khrushchev's anguished outcries are not all tears and flapdoodle. His military men have a lot of explaining to do to him, and he has a lot of explaining to do to the Politburo and to the Russian people. Whatever posture Mr. Khrushchev puts to the world, his arrogance has been humbled.

That, in turn, is bound to have an effect on the affairs of the summit conference which begins this morning. For all that the spy plane incident has given Mr. Khrushchev something to scream about, he cannot now be so cocksure. The repercussions of this affair are by no means all to Mr. Khrushchev's advantage in the realms of diplomacy.

In a world that everyone knows is perilous, there is comfort and reassurance in all this. Not only has our side scored on their side, but when this incident is added to our recent successes in space and under the sea we can feel less intimidated by Russian prowess and more confident in our state of preparedness.

As President Eisenhower put it, "no one wants another Pearl Harbor" and so we rejoice at anything that increases our knowledge of military forces that might launch a massive surprise attack in which survival would be the prize.

This being so, then, why should there be any cause for uneasiness over the events of the past 10 days?

It is not simply stated. For it stems from less readily apparent consequences, and in some cases not so much from immediate consequences as from anxieties about the future which have here been sowed.

Part of it, perhaps, comes from the performance put on by the State Department that famous weekend. Either the State Department was ignorant of what was going on, which is quite possible, or eise it had given no thought to anticipating that a plane might be caught and planning what it should do then. In either case, the Government of the United States was caught not only spying but lying. It did not make a pretty spectacle.

Part comes, perhaps, from the fact that the confusion extended all the way to the White House. It's very clear that although President Eisenhower had authorized the CIA to do "whatever is necessary" to obtain information, he was as surprised by this particular plane incident as everyone else.

But bureaucratic bungling is something to which, sadly, we have grown accustomed. The anxiety strikes much deeper. It comes precisely because we do all know this is a perilous world and that the prize in the next war will not be victory but survival. And for some of the older among us, because we do indeed remember Pearl Harbor.

Whatever mystery lies behind that naval disaster, it was no fault of military intelligence. We had the Japanese code; we knew what they were doing, even unto the hour. Besides, Pearl Harbor was no moment's inspiration of the Japanese; it came as the culmination of events in which our own mistakes played some small part.

The next world war, if it comes, can come as well from bungling as from design. An adventurous American, a trigger-happy Russian, a moment of panic—these can easily be the seeds of holocaust. And just because we can understand the panic that would come from Russian planes over Kansas City, we need have anxiety about American planes over Sverdlovsk.

It is all very true when we say we have no aggressive intent but it wholly misses the mark. For fate depends on some Russian with his hand on a button believing that that plane overhead is not on a warlike mission. It also misses the mark, though true enough, to see the hypocrisy of Mr. Khrushchev crying out against spies. We ourselves would see a difference between a Colonel Abel, spying in Brooklyn, and those planes over Kansas City.

planes over Kansas City.

So the uneasiness of mind has nothing to do with spying; we all accept the necessity for it and desire that it be done diligently.

Mr. Khrushchev's self-righteous screams on that score can be dismissed for what they are. The concern is over an adventure which, by its very nature, risks bringing on the very thing against which it is supposed to be guarding.

to be guarding.

Yet even all this, we think, might be accepted as a hazard under different circumstances, anxiety has become a daily habit which we have learned to wear patiently. But it would be one thing to know that these risks were recognized, measured, and accepted by the highest elective officers of the State into whose judgment we have put ourselves. It is quite another thing to feel that things are done by subordinates left free to do "whatever is necessary."

Here is the Government of the United States engaging in an act that by its very nature must carry always the sparks of an explosion, and yet so far as anyone can see it was an act thought up, initiated, and carried out in secret not only from the enemy but from ourselves

Their zeal is commendable; perhaps even their judgment in this case may be right. But if they have done this, unknown, what else is unknown? And if subordinate officers, not responsible to the people, are to have in the future a blank check to fill in as they please, who can know what demands their zeal may put upon the world tomorrow?

And there is one other matter. The strength of this country in the free world has always been that, unlike the Russians, we could be trusted not to do provocative things and that whatever our Government said was true. We hope that image is too strong to be shattered by any one incident, but we think it too precious to risk having it sullied.

So for our own part, we share the pride in discovering that here, in one more area, we are not being outdone by the Russians, and we do not hide our human satisfaction at the consternation that must now be wide among them.

And yet for all of that, we confess that in this incident we, too, have anxieties that will not down.

Health and Medical Care for the Aged

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JOHN W. McCORMACK

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 16, 1960

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, in my remarks I include an informative letter sent to me by the Honorable Patrick A. Tompkins, Commissioner of Public Welfare of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, in connection with the administration's plan to provide health and medical care for the aged. The letter of Commissioner Tompkins to me points out the weaknesses in the administration's proposal. The views of Commissioner Tompkins are worthy of profound consideration because he is one of the best-qualified persons in the field of public welfare throughout the United States:

THE COMMONWEALTH
OF MASSACHUSETTS,
DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC WELFARE,
Boston, May 11, 1960.
Hon, John W. McCormack,

Hon. John W. McCormacs House Majority Leader, House of Representatives, Washington, D.C.

MY DEAR CONGRESSMAN McCORMACK: Thank you for the copies of the statement by Mr. Arthur S. Flemming. Secretary of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare on presentation of the administration's plan to provide health and medical care for the aged. I have, up to this point, only been able to devote my observations, as to the impact of these proposals upon the aged of the Commonwealth and upon the Commonwealth of Massachusetts and the constituent cities and towns, in a limited manner, as no data seems to be available on the premium costs that would be charged by either commercial or nonprofit insurance carriers for the coverage proposed in Mr. Flemming's statement.

We do, however, have some facts as to potential eligibility that we can draw from Mr. Flemming's statement on page 4, under item 1, "Eligibility for Participation in Program." Apparently, all persons receiving social security benefits over the age of 65 would be eligible, plus others on whom I cannot secure up-to-date data. This would mean at least 350,000 persons over 65 currently receiving old-age insurance benefits, either primary, or dependency, or survivor benefits, would be eligible.

We also know that the standard monthly budget of an aged person living alone is \$127.80 under our old age assistance program. We also know that the means test to be applied for participation in this program is to be rather liberally interpreted and applied. If not so applied, it would mean that these 350,000-plus persons, if given the opportunity by State legislation and if desiring to participate in the administration's insurance health program, would, in fact, have to apply for and be subjected to the indignities of the old-age assistance means test. Moreover, I think that, in view of our old-age assistance standard, all such persons

applying for oid age insurance under the administration's proposal would have to have their personal portion of the premium paid for by the State governmental agency without any matching fund from the Federal Government. As this involves 350,000 persons, it would amount to a new unmatched expenditure of \$8,400,000. For the current 80,000 recipients of old-age assistance, it would amount to an additional cost of \$1,920,000, or a total of \$10,320,000 as the individual's share of the premium at \$24 per person per year.

Since Mr. Flemming suggests on page 2 of his statement under paragraph 4 that less catastrophic policies on major medical ex-penses available to persons over the age of 65 called for annual premium payments ranging from \$60 to \$130 a year, it would appear obvious that, since most major medical expense insurance policies are limited to 60 days of hospital care, the full coverage for nursing home care for the entire year and for one-half year of hospital care plus the other itemized benefits for surgery, drugs, X-rays, home care, etc., would result in a \$250 per year per person upward. If the premium were \$300 a year and under the financial formula that the State government was to pay \$200 or two-thirds in Massa-chusetts—one of the wealthier States according to the Hill-Burton formula employed in this insurance plan—the State's share of the premium matched by the Federal Govern-ment would be \$75 million. This, added to the absorption of the individual's premiums, represents a total of \$85,320,000. I have checked with both the Blue Cross and one commercial carrier, and there are no rates available for year-round nursing home care for persons over 65 or under 65 in operation or even contemplated at this point. There are no policies available for 6 months' care in a hospital for persons over 65.

However, to apply this proposal to the typical expensive hospitalization of a person over 65, as we know it in Massachusetts, the hospital costs for the acute illness or accident will run about \$1,000. To have this bill paid in accordance with the administration's formula, the breakdown would be as follows for the sick patient over 65:

(a) Initial premium, \$24.

(b) Initial payment for sick patient, \$250.(c) Twenty percent of the remaining bal-

ance, \$150.

(d) Paid by the insurance company, \$600.

Therefore, for the privilege of electing to be insured for the usual catastrophic hospital bill under the administration's proposal, the individual over 65 must pay \$424, and the insurance company pays only \$600—pretty expensive insurance.

It should be pointed out that, under the Forand bill, the entire \$1,000 hospital bill would be paid at no premium, deductible payment, or coinsurance obligation on the part of the sick elderly person over the age of 65.

In short, the cost to the individual and the cost to the individual States and their municipalities becomes prohibitive.

(a) No individual, dependent solely upon old-age and survivors insurance, can find in free money the initial \$24 premium and the initial \$250 to be paid against a hospital bill—a total of \$274 plus 20 percent of the cost of the illness.

(b) No State can afford to spend \$85 million to save \$31,600,000, the present old-age assistance expenditure for hospital care and nursing home care on an annual basis; and, also note, that not all of the hospital bills of \$11,250,000 would be paid, as \$2½ million for annual chronic hospital care would not be paid, as only 180 days of hospital care are included in the administration's proposal.

In short, the proposal is not a health insurance plan for the aged as its costs are so prohibitive and so dependent upon State action that it is doubtful if any State could financially, out of general revenue funds, adopt such a proposal. The plan does not meet the fear that most elderly people hold about an immediate, single, catastrophic siliness in one year, as is evident by the case illustration of paying \$424 in costs to secure \$600 in benefits. It is highly questionable whether nursing home care is insurable for a full year by either nonprofit or commercial carriers. It would be far better to have such prolonged and terminal illness costs covered as at present through the old-age assistance program which, in itself, is self-insurance.

Finally, the plan does not, as is emphasized on page 3, satisfy the number one test, "It should provide the individual with the opportunity of deciding for himself whether or not he desires to be a participant in the program," as the economics of the cost of such insurance make that decision for him. He cannot afford to decide that he desires to

be a participant.

The average individual beneficiary of old age and survivors insurance has and will be able to finance the occasional consultation with a doctor for a minor illness and for the occasional medication that may be pre-The concern of America and National Government should be directed to the financial catastrophe occasioned by a sudden, serious illness or accident making hospital care necessary. The National Government should not concern itself with doctors' fees or drug payments in an insurance plan. No one has attempted it on a national basis-why should it be attempted for the high-risk, over 65, age group? The only answer, the only feasible answer, is to confine the principles of social insurance to acute hospital care not exceeding 60 days to be paid for by the payroll tax or employer and employee alike—the principles embodied in the Forand bill.

The proposal imposes such financial hardships on both the individual and the general revenue of each State that it should not be given serious consideration on the basis of the imparative and demanding hospital economics facing the aging population.

Very sincerely,

PATRICK A. TOMPKINS, Commissioner.

A Sounder Wilderness Approach

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON, WALLACE F. BENNETT

OF UTAH

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Monday, May 16, 1960

Mr. BENNETT. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "A Sounder Wilderness Approach," published in the Deseret News of May 2, 1960; and a letter to the editor entitled "Wilderness Detour," written by Mr. William A. Welsh, secretary-manager, National Reclamation Association, and published in the Washington Post and Times Herald of May 9, 1960.

There being no objection, the editorial and letter were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Deseret News, May 2, 1960]

A SOUNDER WILDERNESS APPROACH

Senators Bennerr of Utah, O'MAHONEY of Wyoming, Allorr of Colorado, and others who have thrown their weight behind a substitute for the much-argued wilderness bill

have more than just use of the land-important as that is—at stake.

They also are striking a blow for constitutional government.

Basically, the backers of the substitute are trying to keep policymaking decision in respect to the wilderness lands in the hands of Congress, where the Constitution says it belongs, rather than in the hands of the executive department.

The difference between the orginal bill (S. 1123) and the substitute on this point is basic. S. 1123 provides that if the President proposes creation of a wilderness area, the proposal shall take effect unless both the Senate and the House pass an opposing reso-

Intion.

Obviously, that would give either House power to approve, in effect, the President's proposal. It would, for example, give the House, which is largely controlled by the populous East, power to approve (by not voting to disapprove) disposition of wilderness areas that lie almost exclusively in the

As Senator BENNETT explained to the Senate last week, this provision would constitute "an end run around the Constitution." It would effectively kill, in this area, the principle of legislation by two Houses, one representing population, the other repre-

senting the sovereign States.

The simple, but tremendously important change proposed in the O'Mahoney-Allott substitute would simply reverse the procedure to conform to traditional constitutional procedures. It provides that the executive branch would make its proposals respecting wilderness in the normal and that Congress, after appropriate hearings and recommendations by committees,

would approve or disapprove. Just how important this matter is to the West can be readily seen by examination of the location of the 5,834,491 acres of national forests already designated as wild, wilderness or roadless, and which would be included in the wilderness designation by act of Congress. Of 240 pages of detailed descriptions of these areas included in the bill, a half page deals with lands in New Hampshire and two pages with lands in North Carolina. The rest deal exclusively with lands in Wyoming (63 pages alone), Montana (31), California (30), Colorado (28), New Mexico (26), Oregon (20), Arizona (16), Nevada (14), and Washington (3).

Utah has no lands now designated in the bill, but its High Uinta primitive area is among the 8,629,000 additional primitive acres (again almost entirely in the West) that would be reviewed by the Secretary of Agriculture to determine suitability for wilderness designation.

A number of strong safeguards to protect Western economy are written into the

O'Mahoney-Allott bill.

creating for 1. Recommendation wilderness area would be submitted to the Governor of the State involved before submission to Congress, and the recommendation of the Governor would accompany the recommendation to Congress.

2. Grazing of livestock and other multiple uses already established in the area would be permitted to continue.

- 3. Prospecting, mining, drilling for gas and oil, building of reservoirs, pipelines, powerlines and other such facilities can be authorized by the executive branch if found to be in the Nation's interests.
- 4. State water law would not be overridden by any provision in the act.
- 5. Hunting and fishing allowed prior to designation of an area as wilderness would not be prohibited by the Federal Govern-

In the continuing debate over handling of the Nation's wildlands, the O'Mahoney-Allott substitute is certainly a constructive

step forward. It should be given careful consideration.

[From the Washington Post, May 9, 1960] WILDERNESS DETOUR

In your May 2 editorial "Wilderness De-tour" you referred to the National Book you referred to the National Reclamation Association.

Approximately two-thirds of the members the association are irrigation farmers. These people have as great, if not a greater, reason for being interested in conservation than any other group of citizens. They must have a well-sustained streamflow runoff for the irrigation of crops during the hot summer months in that arid and semiarid region. They cannot survive without irrigation water during that period. Good conservation practices on the watersheds could mean the difference between success and failure for them.

These people live close to the area which would be included in the proposed wilderness systems. They have a thorough understanding of the problem. They believe in conservation as defined by two of the greatest conservationists this Nation has yet known: former President Theodore Roosevelt and our first Chief Forester Gifford Pinchot. These men gave a broad practical meaning to conservation. To them conservation meant the use of the natural resources for the greatest good of the greatest number for the longest time.

Wilderness, as proposed in the legislation before the Congress, would mean the very opposite. In wilderness areas there would be no roads, no campsites, no use of the natural resources. It would mean setting aside vast areas of our public lands for the benefit of only a select few. Its enjoyment would be limited to those with a strong physique and

ample finances.

We believe that the natural resources which are to be found in these great public land areas, most of which are in the West, were placed there by the Divine Creator for the benefit of all mankind. We believe the Forest Service gives us a good illustration of how these areas should be utilized. The protection of the watershed for the production of that most important of all natural resources-water-should be the primary consideration but all other available re sources within a region should be used in such manner as not to do damage to the Yes, there should be use-in watershed. fact, multiple use of all these resources-but there must be use without abuse.

The Forest Service areas, with its good roads, and numerous campsites, are always available for enjoyment by the average American family. They are readily accessible, either by the old jalopy or the modern station wagon.

Another point that is often overlooked is the fact that, because of the rough and rugged terrain of much of the mountainous regions of the West, there will always be vast areas that must forever remain wilderness in spite of all that man can do. Former Senator William E. Borah, when he first viewed from across Red Fish Lake the majestic and incomparable Saw Tooth Mountains, is quoted as saying, "Man need not attempt to create a park here. God has already created a park far beyond the ability of man to either add or detract."

Yes, we believe in true conservation. We believe in conservation as defined by our two greatest conservationists, Theodore Roosevelt and Gifford Pinchot-conservation as it has been practiced by the Forest Sérvice for more than half a century. We believe that true conservation means the use of the natural resources for the greatest good of the greatest number for the longest time.
WILLIAM E. WELSH.

Secretary-Manager, National Reclamation Association.

WASHINGTON.

A Decade of Progress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. ALBERT THOMAS

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 16, 1960

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I include the following address:

A DECADE OF PROGRESS

(Address by Dr. George B. Klostlakowsky, special assistant to the President for science and technology, at the 10th anniversary dinner of the National Science Foundation, held at the Mayflower Hotel, Washington, D.C., May 12, 1960)

Most of us, as we push through the years, tend to feel pleased when our friends forget our birthdays. When we were young, however, and particularly when we reached the exciting milestone of 10th birthday, we quite naturally expected that the occasion would be very specially observed.

My metaphor is really not strained, in the context of the occasion tonight. Certainly the 10-year-old gains eagerly new knowledge that he will apply eventually. In a real sense he is going through his basic-research phase. We, and he, won't know until many tomorrows pass, what will be the rewards of his diligence, how he will apply his knowledge, how he will develop his promise. We do not, however, withhold from youth our encouragement and our support because we have no positive assurance that the man will fulfill the promise of the child. On the contrary, our experience has taught us that encouragement of the pursuit of new knowledge by support of basic research, richly rewards and ennobles men and societies of

Young among agencies of the Federal Government, the National Science Foundation is destined to remain young in purpose so long as our citizens, through the Congress, permit it. Into the act which established the Foundation 10 years ago, the 81st Congress wrote a recipe for youth in these words:

"The Foundation is authorized and directed to develop and encourage the pursuit of a national policy for the promotion of basic research and education in the sciences."

Conceptually, basic research and education in the sciences are young. Both are directed to tomorrow. One to add to knowledge, of man and the world he lives in, knowledge that will, in some as yet unknown way, assist mankind in its march toward a brighter future. The other is to assure that ravages of time do not thin out the ranks of those who add to our store of knowledge. Also that citizens at large better understand the role of science in our dynamic times.

On this felicitous occasion, it is indeed important for each of us to know, and indeed pay homage to, the man who probably more than any other foresaw the need of an agency of the Federal Government dedicated to science and helped materially to persuade the Congress to establish one. wish he might have been with us tonight so that each of us might extend to him personally our feeling of gratitude. More than 15 years ago, Dr. Vannevar Bush, then Director of the Office of Scientific Research and Development, was asked by President Roosevelt how the vast advances of science emerging from the war years might be continued into the promised years of peace, so that our citizens might enjoy "more fruitful employment and a fuller and more fruitful life." Without doubt, his written response, "Science—The Endless Frontier," will one day be accorded by historians the place it

richly deserves as a crucial turning point in the attitude of our Government toward true science. Dr. Alan Waterman tells me that as a feature of its tenth-anniversary observance, the Foundation will within a few days reissue "Science—The Endless Frontier" with a new preface by Dr. Bush and a foreword by the Director of the Foundation. Even though we might have read this report before, this is the opportune time to do so again. It will help us to assess what has been accomplished in the last decade, it will help us look into the future with renewed courage. No other report has been written like it, nor is any likely to be, because Van Bush and his associates wrote the definitive treatise about basic-research support in the United States.

Science is indeed an endless frontier. Reach one of its majestic horizons and there before you looms another, still more alluring to an inquisitive mind. The word itself, science, means to know. Once attacked by the virus of knowledge one is stricken with a pervasive, insidious, and-at times delightful malady. Would that it might become a universal epidemic. It is international; it recognizes no manmade boundaries; it seeks to bring men togetherwhen men let it. But during the years when many of you here tonight-and I am proud to count myself in your company—when many of us worked among the teams of scientists recruited by Dr. Van Bush to help subdue ruthless antagonists, we sought to pre-empt all scientific and technological knowledge for ourselves and our allies. those desperate days few found time or inclination to think about the universal benevolence of science. Customs of the scientific community were forsaken in the relentless effort to make better fire controls, to split the atom, produce penicillin, improve radar-in short, to defend our country.

From this prodigious search for better tools of war emerged the realization of our own potentialities in basic scientific research and, conversely, our own inadequacies. In developing its thesis for increased research support, the Bush report warned that the "intellectual banks of continental Europe, from which we formerly borrowed, have become bankrupt through the ravages of war." And then, these wise and prophetic words:

"In the next generation, technological advance and basic scientific discovery will be inseparable; a nation which borrows its basic knowledge will be hopelessly handicapped in the race for innovation. The other world powers, we know, intend to foster scientific research in the future. Moreover, it is part of our democratic creed to affirm the intrinsic and aesthetic worth of man's attempt to advance the frontiers of knowledge and understanding. By that same creed the prestige of a nation is enhanced by its contributions—made in a spirit of friendly cooperation and competition—to the worldwide battle against ignorance, want, and disease."

Despite the war-torn background against which those words were written, we hear scientists and educators who wrote them—Bowman, Tate, Land, Rabi, Weaver, others—reaffirming the potential for world harmony inherent in the pursuit of true science. Because what I have to say to you tonight is built on such a foundation, I will have occasion to return to these words again later,

The high aspirations of these men were not to be realized completely. The immediate objective toward which they worked—establishment of an agency of Government to be concerned primarily with fundamental research—was attained. Even this took some doing. The Congress and President Truman could not quite agree on details, and 5 years elapsed between the time these men helped Dr. Eush prepare his historic report and the time when the act establishing the National Science Foundation was signed on May 10, 1950. Dr. Alan Waterman was nominated

and quickly confirmed by the Senate as the Foundation's director. Fortunately, Alan Waterman still directs the destinies of the Foundation.

The first chairman of its 24-member governing body, the National Science Board, was Dr. James B. Conant. Its first appropriation for carrying out operational responsibilities was \$3½ million. In the first annual report of the Foundation to the President, Dr. Conant observed:

"As time goes on, Congress will come to have confidence in the widely representative board of citizens and look to this board for the policy decisions affecting research in the natural sciences."

A measure of congressional confidence is reflected in the fact that 10 years later the Foundation's appropriation is \$160 million. No small credit for building into the Foundation the public trust which it enjoys today resides in the qualities of leadership which mark the men who followed Dr. James Conant as chairman of the National Science Board—Dr. Chester I. Earnard, between the years 1952 and 1955, and its present dynamic chairman, Dr. Detlev Bronk, President of the National Academy of Sciences.

The realities of the decade in which the young Foundation began its career were not lost to Dr. Conant. His foreword closes with

this urgent warning:
"Until such time as disarmament becomes
a reality, the free nations must be deeply
concerned with finding and developing
scientific pioneers, for on their efforts we
must rely as much for increasing national
security in a war-torn decade as for industrial progress in periods of peace."

dustrial progress in periods of peace."

Clearly audible today is the echo of Conant's warning—"until such time as disarmament becomes a reality." The reality then—and now—was that temporary comrade in arms became an intransigent foe, reaffirming the subservience of the individual to the state, ruthlessly enguling unwilling neighbors as satellites; threatening the freedom of peace-seeking peoples throughout the world. The science of the United States had no choice but to focus on the needs of national defense, and this it has done well.

History began to record the early years of a quasi-peace we have come to call the cold war. From time to time its temperature climbed to boiling point, and sporadic outbursts of "hot" war flared up in places distant in miles from our shores but, measured in time, now our next-door neighbors—Korea, Suez, Talwan, Victnam. Science found no release from its association with arms and armament, nor did it seek any, so long as its help was needed to safeguard the liberty of the world by insuring the strength of our defenses.

Unprecedented funds were unloosed that we night maintain our leadership in weap-onry. Corporations, big and small, and even universities, entered into contractual relationships with Federal agencies involving very many dollars, to undergird our defenses. Science and its offspring, technology, flourished and prospered as never before in our history. Under the impetus of this massive Federal support, our scientists and engineers contributed vastly to our storehouse of knowledge and its applications.

Working closely with military people on military problems, scientists and engineers supplied the elan for one of the most striking technological developments to emerge from the postwar period—automatic data processing, using the high-speed digital computer. Most of the stimulus behind this development came from the military sources seeking fast methods for processing data on military tactics, logistics, flight simulators for testing and training, or any other end-product which required the speedy reduction of a vast input of data.

Fortunately for our long-term leadership, more basic aspects of science were not for-gotten. High-energy, elementary-particle physics is a field in which vast progress has been made since World War II. Similarly, radio astronomy has pushed rapidly ahead in the last decade, using advances in electronics born out of military-related work. Molecular biology made spectacular advances and brings us near the understanding of the origins of life.

Creativity budded and bloomed in a brilliant burst of innovation. Despite their essential preoccupation with developing the defensive strength of the Nation, science and scientists demonstrated the great rewards of research irrespective of the environment to which it was applied. In retrospect, the decade of the fifties may become known best for its identity with two capital letters, R. & D.

Until the midperiod of the decade, economists had to guess the amount of research and development performed within the United States. At that point, the National Science Foundation, on the basis of a thorough survey of the 1953 period, pegged the dollar figure for R. & D., not at the estimated \$2.5 billion, but at more than double that amount—\$5.4 billion. Today it has more than doubled again, the foundation's estimate being on the order of \$12 billion. The late, great Harvard economist, Sumner Slichter, coined the most connotative phrase I know for research and developmentindustry of discovery." I would also like to call it "the industry for tomorrow." None need be surprised to learn, therefore, that those industries which have invested most in research and development, the electronics and pharmaceutical companies, have shown the most rapid rate of growth in recent years.

The industry of discovery cannot be confined. It is as profitable for mankind as it is for the corporation. Although science, no less than any other human activity, was engulfed by the political strife of the cold war, It showed a way to demolish political barriers during the 18-month period of the International Geophysical Year, even though such was neither its mission nor its design. Scientists suported by their government, sought simply to map man's physical environment, to schieve a scientific understanding of the earth and its cosmic en-virons. They succeeded magnificently in accomplishing their scientific mission. From investigations of the universe made or initiated between mid-1957 and the end of 1958, a micro-second on the cosmic clock, will emerge a volume of geophysical knowledge greater than any theretofore assembled.

Yesterday, as a chemist at Harvard, I should have found such accomplishment all that I could ask for. Today, as a servant of government, I find it even more encouraging as a kind of a breakthrough of its own, to better international understanding. Sixty-six nations, representing the free and Communist world, participated in this exploration of the unknown. They marshalled 30,000 scientists and technicians to work together as a team, although separated across the distance between the poles. With but few exceptions, they share the knowledge they uncovered.

Similarly in the Antarctic, an area for years dominated by rivalries for territorial claims and rights, the cooperative efforts of scientists of many countries served as a pattern of international cooperation accepted as valuable by their political leaders. Work started during the International Geophysical Year, including the exchange of scientific personnel, the sharing of facilities and results, and the efforts to plan cooperative schedules and arrangements, is now more than ever developing a broader spirit of cooperation among the scientists of these countries and, perforce, drawing in the political interests as well. The United States

is deeply engaged with its scientific personnel in cooperative efforts and is receiving the same type of help from other countries.

Attesting to the value and importance of these scientific efforts led by the United States, the interested nations have recently drafted and signed a treaty for Antarctica which opens all areas freely for scientific research to all nations of the world, places claims for individual territory in abeyance for the duration of the treaty, and assures all that Antarctica shall not become a place for military operations or military rivalries. Were it not for the scientific effort in this area during, and following, the International Geophysical Year, the pattern for cooperative arrangements in Antarctica would never have been established, nor would there have been the impetus for drafting a treaty.

However substantial were the cooperative aspects of the International Geophysical Year, the period was characterized as well by a heightening of international competition in sicence and technology. The IGY literally thrust us into the space age. Our country can justly be proud for first announcing space satellite plans to assist the IGY program. However, the sputnik launch provided the thrust, without doubt. I am not so sure but that the emphasis should be on the spectacle of immaturity we made of ourselves over this engineering accomplishment. Today, I believe, most of us feel a bit shamefaced about our sputnik-provoked anxiety, particularly when we realize that not even one Soviet satellite remains in orbit that is transmitting information, while several of our own still riding through the reaches of space continue to send back most of the scientific information they were designed to uncover. Even the humblest of these, Vanguard I, continues to remit valuable scientific data. Tiros I proved to be much less of a tyro with a camera than we had thought. The quality of its photographs permits identification of individual hurricanes and other centers of disturbance as well as study of the gross features of cloud cover. The amount of useful information transmitted will contribute to a deeper understanding of the earth's atmosphere for the benefit of all mankind.

As a scientist and as a servant of Government, I say let no nation count the United States out of competition in any contest for superiority in science and technology. Though the frontiers of sicence are endless, the competitive spirit of frontiersmen is a legacy of the American tradition. We are tough competitors but hardly less persuasive is our instinct for cooperation. By compelling the United States to keep its guard up, our antagonists may yet be hoist on their own petard. The competition in armaments into which we have been unwillingly thrust has served as a driving stimulus to scientific creativity. Because we are fortified with a credo which insists on the primacy of the individual, and are not perverted by the drive for aggrandizement of state, our science seeks to serve, rather than master, mankind.

At times misinformed men raise voices in criticism of science as a major national commitment. They could better spend their energies seeking to improve the education of their sons and daughters that they will be prepared to participate constructively in national and international affairs in this era of scientific revolution. They themselves would have been better prepared for the events of today had they followed the counsel the great British mathematician and philosopher, Alfred North Whitehead, offered for their guidance nearly 50 years ago:

"In the conditions of modern life, the rule is absolute—the race which does not value trained intelligence is doomed. Not all your heroism, not all your social charm, not all your wit, not all your victories on land or at sea, can move back the finger of fate. Today, we maintain ourselves. Tomorrow

science will have moved forward yet one more step, and there will be no appeal from the judgment which will then be pronounced on the uneducated."

Today we have successfully maintained ourselves, but will science be given the chance to move forward yet one more step tomorrow? This is the crux of what I try to say, the question I leave with you to answer. If the walls of misunderstanding among nations can be slowly razed, what stimuli will keep science and technology moving forward at the accelerated pace it has enjoyed with the massive financial resources made available to it through investments in armaments?

I tried to underscore the worldwide achievements of science made during the International Geophysical Year. In other ways also nations less fortunate than our own in keeping pace with advancing science and technology are being helped materially as we share our know-how with them. Initially inept in such relationships, we were quick to learn that often their need is less for esoteric research facilities than for better roads, a nurse or two, an elementary school-teacher.

Nor need we look beyond our own shores to view unreached horizons of science. Our hospitals are overcrowded with men, women, and children emotionally unfit to move among their fellow men. Killers and cripplers of men such as cancer, arthritis, heart disease, muscular dystrophy, all await the day when science will marshal still greater forces against them. Rich depostis of minerals and food await extraction from the sea while the sea awaits desalination in quantities large enough to open new lands to mankind. The atom awaits fusion, photosynthesis to be harnessed, new galaxies to be discovered. Science itself awaits the day when it will be reunited with music, art, and literature into harmonious culture to move together, toward the achievement of excellence in our lives.

Who will assure for science the resources it will need for these conquests? Who will stem the tide of complacency when the elusive day of gradual disarmament dawns? Government alone cannot, nor should it pave the highways for science to travel. Business, professional people, educators, labor, in sum all citizens must find ways to keep science moving forward if we are to break the grip of ignorance, want, and disease. You here tonight have a tremendous stake in such decisions. Our citizens need to be literate enough in science to tackle intelligently the problems that arise during this revolutionary decade of science, and to share the responsibility of decisionmaking. However, when the vast majority of our people even do not distinguish clearly between basic research and science, on the one hand, and the applications of science and technology, on the other, the Nation will benefit if its scientists exercise a kind of scientist-statesman role for which unfortunately too few are trained. Further, the Nation places heavy burdens upon its Representatives in Congress. The Nation can be thankful that some Members of the House and Senate have found time and resolution to keep themselves so well and currently informed about the needs of science that they created an atmosphere and an attitude, in and out of Congress, more favorable to the support of basic research.

Science will need their continued interest if it is to fulfill its many promises. They are rich but attainable. The spread of understanding of science among our people will enrich their intellectual horizons. Through the application of science, sickness will be conquered; labor will become less a burden to eke out a living, more a challenging experience; our Nation will maintain military strength needed in times of international strife; science will find ways to Insure

reliable monitoring of arms limitation agreements. Throughout, science will give to our an essential ingredient leadership. Let us all wish that the National Science Foundation remains a strong national instrument to share in achieving these goals.

Era of Nationalism Brings Twilight of

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDMUND S. MUSKIE

OF MAINE

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Monday, May 16, 1960

Mr. MUSKIE. Mr. President, on March 3, 4, 5, and 6, 1960, Mrs. May Craig published 4 columns which were printed in various Maine newspapers.

In one, she spoke of the Twilight of

Kings in Morocco.

In the second, she discussed the importance of religion in the Moslem countries.

In the third, she took her readers inside Guinea and introduced us to President Toure.

In the fourth, she suggested that while this country ponders a policy toward these new African States, the Soviet world is already taking action.

I ask unanimous consent that these 4 articles be printed in the Appendix

of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the articles were ordered to be printed in the REC-ORD, as follows:

[Inside in Washington, Mar. 3, 1960] ERA OF NATIONALISM BRINGS TWILIGHT OF KINGS

(By May Craig)

RABAT, MOROCCO.-Uneasy lies the head that wears a crown in this day of changing forms of government. This is so for King Mohammed V of Morocco who worked so long and hard for the freedom of his country from French protectorate—was exiled for his efforts, came back and reigns. The idea of freedom, nationalism, rife in the world today, is wrapped up with the twilight of kings.

All across Africa they have gone. Mohammed is popular with his people, we were told by our Ambassador here and by others. But there is unrest, there is rumor of an attempt to assassinate the Crown Prince not so long ago. Back in Washington we heard that the leftists in the country, even some who had helped bring Mohammed back, were not so sure they want him as King, but only as religious head. Here they are Arab and Moslem. It is almost impossible to run down the truth. One hears of jailings, ar-rests of key men in the restive elements. It is all hidden. The newspapers are organs of political parties, the King has all the instruments of power, he can repress open disaffection—but nobody forgets how we were surprised in the Iraq rebellion.

There is not the Communist influence here-Islam is against communism, and this is a devout country. Our Ambassador spoke so carefully, that we would not tell what he really thought about the situation-he said he dld not know more than the story printed in a local paper about the alleged attempt against the Crown Prince.

At nearby Nouaseur, Commanding General Horace Wade, when we asked him if

perhaps the deadline of December 1963, when we must liquidate our bases here, might be extended, said that it might depend on the stability of the Mohammed regime. We might be asked to leave sooner or might stay longer.

Fact is, that these bases, which cost us a half-billion dollars to build, and where we spend \$30 to \$40 million a year, are going out of date. The General said he hopes by 1963 we will have missiles enough so that we need not depend on oversea bases. These bases were built when we had B-26's and B-36's, with net range enough to reach our target in the Soviet Union and return. With the European, English, and Moroccan bases we could refuel to go on, we could fly back to them after delivery. But, with the onset of the long-range missiles, we will not need the bases. Europe and England are already in reach of shorter range missiles from

We should not think that the money was wasted, he said. We had the bases when we needed them, as deterrent. If we do not have enough missiles when we leave here and Tripoil, we have bases in Spain—and an airborne Strategic Air Command alert could protect us for awhile.

Trouble is that we made agreement for the bases with the French; the Moroccans do not recognize the agreement. Under the agreement, we must give the bases back to the French. What happens then? The French at the moment are making propaganda that they will give the bases to the Moroccans. But the Moroccans will not have it that way-they never recognized the French right to the bases or the agreement. This could cause trouble for us and we want friendship with Morocco.

We had an audience with the King in his gorgeous palace. He had a bad cold and had cancelled all his engagements but ours. He came into a throne room, carpeted with glowing fine rugs, stood two steps in front throne chair, and we came by to shake hands and then he made a little speech in Arabic, translated into French by an aid, and into English for us by Marcel Duriuax,

our tour director.

He spoke of the friendship between the two countries, which he hopes will last forever; and he spoke for world peace through negotiation of controversies. Then he said negotiation of controversies. Then he said that as Arabs and Moslems, Morocco would stand by Algeria until she has her freedom. They are brothers of the Algerians. more trouble for us because France is our ally too, and the Algerian war is going on and on, bloodily. De Gaule is trying to set-tle it peacefully, with French settlers in rebellion. The King gave us fair warning he will stand by the Algerians, he remembers his own battle for freedom.

It would be a bad thing for us if the King should lose any of his power because he is our friend, and we do not know what might come after him-even a period of chaos or civil war would be a terrible thing for us. Farewell and best wishes to us, the King said kindly, and messages of friendship and goodwill to President Eisenhower, who was here last fall to visit.

[Inside in Washington, Mar. 4, 1960] DESIRE FOR FREEDOM WARS WITH ANCIENT ISLAM RULES (By May Craig)

EN ROUTE TO GUINEA.-The free should not smugly say that Islam (Mohammedanism) will never go Communist. is not true. It can, because Islam does not put shoes on the feet or food in the belly of the teeming, starving, sick millions in Moslem countries, and they are beginning to find out that there is a good life to be had. The Soviet Union takes Moslem religious leaders to travel in the Union, and shows them open mosques and says religious practices are free

there. This is not true of any religion in the Communist countries. Communism is necessarily atheistic. It cannot allow God above the state; it cannot allow an individual man's conscience to be above the party line. It allows only so much religious activity as is necessary to allure people into Communist orbit.

Islam is essentially an individual religion. But the Islam religious leaders are divided on whether or not Islam can be practiced within the Communist orbit. The illiterate Moslem masses do not know that communism will eventually destroy all religion. They want the better life. They do not know that communism is intrinsically collective.

Within the Moslem countries, Middle East and African, the longing for nationalism, independence, the better life, wars with the shackles of ancient Islam rules. Communism is on the side of the material aspirations. The Koran does not forbid communism as such. So, some Moslem leaders say they can work with the Communists. is the danger to the free world which counts on religion to fight atheistic communism.

In Morocco, though, the leftist movement is not called communism, it would restrict the King to being a religious leader, if it could, preaching that it is compatible. The recognition of the need for the good life in freedom of government, the people, and of religion, is the crusade of President Bourgiba of Tunisia, that the ancient feast of Ramadan be subordinated to the modern economic demands. This feast lasts a month. No one may eat, drink, even swallow his saliva, during the daylight hours-when a white thread can be distinguished from a black thread. You can imagine what this does to the modern world of workday. The Moslems, during this month, stay up all night eating and drinking, dancing, and recreating themselves from the dreary day. This ruins them for the workday to come.

President Bourgiba says Ramadan is restricting the economic growth of Tunisia; the growth that would give them all the betlife that the Communists so falsely promise-that economic growth would allow free religion, nationalism, higher standard of living. The hidebound religious, prelates oppose Bourgiba. The Grand Mufti nisia and the rector of the Koranic Zitouna University oppose Bourgiba. The President says that the struggle for economic liberty. which will bring them out of poverty and ignorance, is as much of a holy war (jihad) as any other "religious" war. This will excuse workers from observing Ramadan, the month-long absence from work in the day. He says that while the fasting may clarify the spirit by enfeebling the body, which it is designed to do, that the new revolution into democracy and industrialization, needs "solid bodies." Only thus in a competitive world, says Bourgiba, can Tunisia and other Moslem countries take their place of equality in the modern world.

Guinea is 80 percent Moslem and 20 percent Christian and of the latter 80 percent are Roman Catholic. The Guineans are that beautiful velvet black. President Sekou Toure is tall and handsome and pure black. This is one of the proudest of the new African countries. They are the only one of the former French colonies that refused to stay in the French community. They demanded freedom of choice and, if they stayed in, to have practical autonomy in foreign affairs. This was refused and the French departed in deep hostility on both sides. This freedom has been costly to this poor country. but they think they did right. One result has been that the Russians have come in with offers of trade, long-term loans, aid with agriculture, water power, anything. Russia takes 50 percent of the Guinea agricultural products, pineapples, bananas, coffee, etc. We do not need these, we get them from Latin American countries. The Russians take them as a matter of political policy whether they need them or not. There is a Russian delegation aboard this plane.

There is no use our complaining. We are in a great duel between the two major political systems, communism and democracy, and each side must do what it can to spread its system. President Eisenhower has asked for money for the countries south of the Sahara, of which Guinea is one, and Congress is hesitating—if they could come here and see what happens when the Russians help and we do not, tney would do what the President asks. "Backward people are always exploited," one knowledgeable American told me. The colonial powers did it. That is over. "Aid" in development is the new way. The Russians are hoping to make more satellites this new way. They have practically got Egypt sewed up. We could do it without imperialism, which Africans fear.

[Inside in Washington, Mar. 5, 1960]
PASSIONATE PATRIOTISM MAY CREATE DESIRED
UNION

(By May Craig)

CONNAKRY, GUINEA.—Anybody who calls this African trip a "junket" will get a box of poisoned chocolates from this traveler. We have had bad luck with weather and long delays in flying which have upset a tight schedule. We were due here at 8 o'clock in the morning, after the long, cramped, horlible night packed into an old-fashioned plane, with a change at Dakar, French West Africa, at dawn.

President Sekou Toure waited for us. We arrived at 11 a.m., to go with him a hundred miles into the country to Kindia where there is a school for teachers and workers in agriculture and industry. They said "propatrie," for our country, it was on the red, yellow and green banners, on signs along the paved road through the thick jungle, winding along the peculiar frowning mountains typical of this part of Africa.

It shames us that we have lost so much of that passionate patriotism of the newly free peoples. They are not ashamed to speak of patriotism; they would not object to a loyalty oath that pledges to protect their new freedom from those who would overthrow it by violence. They are willing to live hard, and be free; that is why they three out the French. All along the 100 miles, the people were out, from almost naked, to the bare-breasted women with babies tied on their backs, the swarming children, the men and women in colorful, voluminous robes with incredible starched headdresses.

They had come from miles away, or from huts along the road, to see their President, who is the symbol of their freedom from the White masters. The President has a shiny new Cadillac, 2 months from the United States. Part of the time I rode in a small Chevrolet with the Guinean Ambassador to the United States and the U.N., Diallo Tell, who has been in the post a year. Guinea get its Independence in October of 1958 and he has learned very good English in that time. He says his wife had more time to spend on English and speaks it well.

The Cadillac is a symbol; before independence a Guinean would not have had a Cadillac to rid in. It is a bubbletop like President Eisenhower has, and Toure stood up most of the time, getting out a hundred times to greet large groups.

There is no veiling of women in this Moslem country; but along the roads, in the crowds, the men and boys usually stood on one side, the women on the other, except when they stood together outside the family huts—thatched roofs on conical round huts.

You could see that Toure's heart was warmed by the outpouring of the people's enthusiasm—the Africans are naturally emotional. There were drums beating rhythmically, I could not read what they said. The people shouted "The Elephant has come over and over. That is the name for They sang and clapped, and sitting Toure. down on the side of the road were other men playing weird sorts of instruments. In front of the rows of people, every now and then, a man or a woman, specially good dancers, would be out with special dancing. It was boiling hot, and the President thought we had had lunch before we left Connakry, and it was nearly 5 in the afternoon before we got to one of the houses at the school where we had food and drink.

When we got to the school, high on a hill, there was a dedication and a formation of soldiers and a band and a little platform where the flag was raised, and, oh horror, the worst happened, the ropes stuck and the flag only went half way up while the band was playing and the President standing at attention. This is always the nightmare of such an occasion.

The parade of the students and the workers, from adults to little children and their version of Scouts, girls and boys, before the little stand, was impressive in their in their intense earnestness and the pride of Toure. At the rest house we found an American colored girl from Columbia University, an exchange student. We had a press conference with Toure, who spoke French through an interpreter. His cabinet of 17 was introduced to us—two women, which is more than we have in the United States—no women in the Cabinet. The signs along said "The United States of Africa," "Union of Guinea and Ghana." Toure spoke passionately for this—these Africans do not mean e under the rule of Egyptian Nasser and his United Arab Republic any more than they meant to stay under the French. They mean to have an African federation.

Someone asked about the position of women. Toure said all the Guinea men were slaves and the Guinea women were slaves of the men. The revolution and independence for Guinea meant freedom for all-including the women-this also is more than women get in the United States. Formerly women were property, now they are free and vote, get equal pay, and all other rights, all public offices open to them. There is no child marriage-not until 17 and no sale of brides, the girls have a say in marriage. As to relations with the United States and Sovietthey want to be friends with all-they must trade where they can-that is where we have fallen down—they are friendly with the U.S.S.R., too. We could not have had a more cordial welcome anywhere. But they are determined to stay with their free African brothers first. Their leaders are educated, determined men-I would bet they make the

[Inside in Washington, Mar. 6, 1960] United States Ponders, Russia Acts— Africa on the Move

CONNAKRY, GUINEA.—"The Communists have established a beachhead here," an informed American said. They can move fast and massively; a democracy cannot. There are laws, made by Congress, that have to be obeyed by the President and the executive branch in relation to foreign countries. The day that Guinea became free, there were Russians, Poles, Czechs, Rumanians, East Germans, others, ready to move in, with money, offers of trade, technicians. The Soviet Union gave them immediate recognition, a matter of much pride to the Guineans. They speak even now of our "tardy recognition." They believe we held back because of French influence.

The French stupidly, in their surprise and anger that Guinea refused to remain in the French community, took out every operational unit they could, "everything not nailed down," from wiring to plumbing. The Guineans believe France meant to beat them to their knees. Liberia and Ghana helped Guinea—and the Communists, Guinea asked us for small arms and uniforms for police and national guard. We do not like to furnish arms to countries where they may be used in revolution—or fall into Communist hands. We hesitated. The Soviets provided them.

France left a vacuum. We did not fill it.

Reason it is important to tell this about Guinea is that it is a lesson to us of the terrific battle we are in, for Africa. We have no "short answer" to the problem. The Communists sold arms to Egypt too; they have offered them to Cuba. Khrushchev is coming here to visit. They sent in 5,000 tons of rice, right away, while we thought about it. The comparison to what we did and what the Soviet did—and does, is not to our credit with Guinea. They do not care about the reasons. They are desperate for help.

This Communist policy could spread through Africa like a cancer, said my friend. The African Federation is nonexistent yet; the Communists are here.

We have a fighting chance, but we must move fast and we are strangled in redtape. The Soviet Union is here offering deals. They can buy rotton bannanas, take them to sea and dump them. Our officials have to account to the American taxpayer for every dollar spent. Does this mean that we will lose Africa because our system cannot compete with communism? Maybe.

President Toure knows that the passion of the other African nations for independence, means they do not want Soviet overlordship either. They are watching him—if his country is taken over by communism his dream of pan-Africanism is gone like a

bubble

Our ambassador here is John H. Morrow, a highly educated man, with feet firmly on the ground. He is a brother of Frederick Morrow, the first Negro to be graduated from Bowdoin College, who is now in the White House on the staff of the President. The fact that we have colleges who have educated men like these, who know languages, who can accept posts like Ambassador Morrow, and do this important service, is to the credit of the colleges which pioneered in the higher education of colored Americans.

A most interesting man I lunched with is Rolf Parelius of Boston, 10 years a Baptist missionary on the Ivory Coast, now in Guinea with his wife, to run a school for the children of Baptist missionaries from all over Africa. The 60 children will live at the school 8 months of the year, in the cool of the hills, the rest of the year with their parents. While Guinea is 80 percent Moslem, the rest Christian, the government is nonreligious, and all religions are permitted, except that they may not denounce Mohammedanism. This is a tightrope for Christian missionaries, who must preach an evangelical religous doctrine, that Christianity is the only true way. They must be discreet. educational and medical service helps acceptance of their religious teaching.

There are American trade missions here but they have no authority to make commitments—Ralph Lovell of Sanford, Maine, is on one of these missions. They will go home and report and recommend. This is slow. We must invite private enterprise to come in here; we cannot get diplomatic immunity for them. We cannot tell them they will not come at a loss. We can suggest that it would be a service to their country to take a loss if necessary to establish "an American

beachhead" here, a beachhead for capitalism, lest it go down all over the world.

One of the best events was that President Toure, and our Ambassador Morrow with him, went to visit the United States last fall, traveled also in the South, was surprised and pleased with what he saw, because the way it had been told to him most of the Negro Americans were hung to cypress trees in southern swamps. He was impressed with the vastness of the United States, its resources, the warmth of his welcome there. It helped to countervail the Communist propaganda lies. The Guineans already have found the poor quality of the goods the Soviet sells them—that will help us in the long run—if we get a long run chance. We can lose the cold war in Africa.

Courage: An American Tradition

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. ROBERT E. COOK

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, May 16, 1960

Mr. COOK. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Congressional Record, I wish to call to the attention of my colleagues a recent editorial published in the Painesville Telegraph of Painesville, Ohio.

The initiative of the 44 people who have formed Glen Area Flood Control, Inc. is to be commended. They have pledged time and money in an attempt to temporarily alleviate a situation that last year alone cost the lives of five of their neighbors and nearly a million dollars property damage.

The U.S. Corps of Engineers is presently conducting a survey, with funds appropriated last year, to make recommendations to solve the annual flood threat to the Chagrin River Basin.

The courage and spirit of these people deserve notice and praise:

DEMONSTRATION OF INITIATIVE AND COURAGE

Good old American inventiveness and initiative were well demonstrated by the 44 Willoughby Hills families which decided to do something about the flooding Chagrin River.

They formed Glen Area Flood Control Inc., and now plans are well underway for dredging a 900-foot channel which would allow rampaging water to bypass the Horeshoe Glen area.

The 44 residents have pledged \$13,100 so far to defray expenses. They are donating labor, and two heavy machine companies will donate machinery.

The project was able to get off the ground mainly because John and Francis Sherwin of Waite Hill kindly donated the 30 acres of land needed for the channel.

Residents decided, with memories of the loss of five lives during the 1959 floods still fresh in their minds, that they shouldn't wait for the Federal Government to act. The U.S. Corps of Engineers presently is conducting a survey as the first step in a Federal flood control program. But it may be years before ald is realized.

With this in mind, the Willoughby Hills group is forging ahead with its courageous plan. It is clearly a demonstration of the fine "get it done" American tradition.

We wish them well.

The Importance of the American High School

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 16, 1960

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I include the following award-winning essay of the Kline essay contest written by Richard T. Swank, a senior student at Hazleton (Pa.) High School, which appeared in the Hazleton Plain Speaker of Thursday, May 12, 1960:

RICHARD SWANK WINS KLINE ESSAY CONTEST

Richard T. Swank, son of Mr. and Mrs. Martin Swank, Drums, one of the top 10 senior students at the Hazleton High School, is the winner of the Kline Essay Contest it was announced by George Shanno, high school principal.

Following is the award winning essay, "The Importance of the American High School":

"'Oh, for those good old high school days,' is the unceasing lament of adults caught in the crush of a cold, care-laden world. The years spent in high school are among the happiest and most critical of any in the lives of the modern American. With the possible exception of the church, no other institution approaches the paramount role played by the liberal public high school in modern society. High school years are the romantic years, the bewildering years, the character molding years, and the fruitful or wasted years. With these facts in mind let us scrutinize more closely our average American alma mater.

"By definition a high school is a public school offering instruction between the elementary, or common schools, and the college or university. Today's public high schools exist in varied forms, especially in the larger cities. There are academies, vocational schools for boys, and business schools. The first free public high schools in America were largely vocational and for boys only, the first coeducational schools not existing until the 19th century. Gradually high schools began to improve in quality until the two-class system, in which the children of rich people attending a private school received a superior education was practically eliminated. majority of modern high schools in America are now well equipped with cafeterias, health centers, libraries, guidance counselors, and varied courses. Studies and extra-curricular activities are combined to entail good mental and physical health. High schools proving so successful and necessary, a movement has been set afoot to increase free public education to the junior college level. In short the high school has become as truly American as the hot dog or baseball. Most other countries differ from our policy of a liberal education for 12 years. In Europe a national examination is given to students at about 12 years of age, and only those that pass certain requirements are allowed to continue their education. The rest are literally thrown by the wayside without so much as a vocational training. In Russia the state pays for the education of its brighter students, but they in turn lose their identity since they study what the state dictates. The great advantage of the American high school system over these other plans is that the masses are educated with the vast majority of our people having a knowledge of great works of the past, their own Government, and their duties as citizens. This fact is one of the main reasons that the United

States has suffered less social discontent than most other nations.

"'The goal of almost all education,' as Thomas Henry Huxley stated, 'is to put man in harmony with nature." To accomplish this, we must dispel ignorance or nature's reprimands may prove fatal. Of course most the fundamentals of such a goal can be realized in elementary school, but it is in high school that the real job is done. Although high school courses are greatly varied, they do have certain similarities. English and social studies, probably the most essential subjects in this highly civilized nation, are required in all courses. Foreign languages help to put our Nation in harmony with other nations while in science and mathematics courses students literally learn how to put nature in harmony with man. In its varied courses the high school prepares its students for life in our country's tradition.

"Why does high school have such a great influence on students and on society in general? Primarily it is because of the fact that young men and women enter high school at what is probably the most critical time in their lives. Being about 15 years old, a sophomore is starting to mature both intellectually and emotionally. He is literally thrown into a melting pot where he meets and evaluates fellow students and, most important of all, learns to live harmoniously with them. Lasting friendships and loves are formed. He encounters new sensations, that of being more independent and also that of having increased responsibility.

"The teachers are different; they demand

more of the pupil, yet do less pushing than those in the grades. Students participate in extracurricular activities of their own choice, undertake individual projects, and take new courses and subjects. Pupils have the choice of taking advantage of these opportunities or wasting 3 years of their lives. Fortunately, because of the fact that they can pick their own course of studies, most students acquire a greater respect for learning. Likewise, if the student really has a goal in mind, such as entering college, becoming a secretary, or learning the ma-chinist's trade, he will need very little prodding from the teacher. High school necessarily has a great influence on society since it is the end of the school road for over half its graduates and is a stepping stone to higher education for the re-mainder. In the first case high school determines to a great extent the economy of a region and the attitude of the citizens. Corrupt government results from and is of necessity a parasite on uneducated minds. As long as there are dictators and would be dictators in the world, the strength of the United States will depend a great deal on the quality of our high schools. Today almost everyone knows the importance of high school to those planning to further their education. A person with 'C' and 'D' grades just doesn't stand too much chance of being admitted to a reputable college. There are a few misguided people who quit high school at the age of 16, scornfully stating that they can be successful without a high school education. However, I believe their arguments were very capably refuted by John Henry Newman who said, 'The educated man has a gift which serves him in public, and supports him in retirement, without which good fortune is but vulgar. and with which failure and disappointment have a charm.'

"Although high school education has advanced greatly in recent years, there remains much to be done. Of prime importance is acquiring more highly trained and competent instructors. To do this, we will have to make teaching a more attractive and honored profession tempting the very best of our young people. Teachers colleges will have to be raised to a par with liberal arts

colleges and engineering schools. It seems that today many students, despite the fact that there are many competent and highly glited teachers, regard a teaching career a a last resort. Making a shortage of teachers even more acutely felt is the fact that our country's birth rate is skyrocketing. Some teachers have as many as 50 pupils in a class, making the teacher little more than a custodian. Some high schools still operate in firetrap buildings while others lack adequate material and are plagued by outmoded courses. Obviously, the only solution to these problems lies in a more vigorous public interest in education. Some progress has already been made in rural areas where jointures are becoming common and in cities where organizations like the PTA take an active interest in their children's welfare. With professional advice the citizens of our country can improve our entire educational system immeasurably."

No Further Duty Concessions on Textiles and Textile Apparel

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JOSEPH W. MARTIN, JR.

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, May 16, 1960

Mr. MARTIN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include a resolution adopted at the 95th annual meeting of the National Association of Wool Manufacturers, urging that the U.S. Government place an immediate moratorium on further duty concessions on textiles and textile apparel.

The resolution follows:

RESOLUTION OF NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF WOOL MANUFACTURERS AT ITS 95TH ANNUAL MEETING IN NEW YORK CITY ON MAY 5, 1960

Whereas existing customs duties of the United States on textiles of wool, cotton, and manmade fibers are not unduly burdening and restricting the foreign trade of the United States but rather are permitting rapid growth in imports which are burdening and threatening the American textile industry, an industry ranked by the Department of Defense as second only to steel in terms of military essentiality; and

Whereas our Government is now in the Process of developing its position for inter-national renegotiation of the customs duties on wool cloths at the request of the United Kingdom under the General Agreement on

Tariffs and Trade; and

Whereas the U.S. Tariff Commission now is developing its recommendations to the President on an appeal, under section 22 of the Agricultural Adjustment Act, from the National Cotton Council, supported by the American Cotton Manufacturers Institute and the Northern Textile Association, for relief from unfair and injurious imports of manufactures of cotton; and

Whereas our Government is about to release the list of products on which it may consider further duty concessions at tariff bargaining sessions early next year under the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade; Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the National Association of Wool Manufacturers at its 95th annual meeting ing in New York City on May 5, 1960, That the Government place an immediate moratorium on further duty concessions on textiles and textile apparel.

An Interview With General Lemnitzer

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. KATHARINE ST. GEORGE

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, May 16, 1960

Mrs. ST. GEORGE. Mr. Speaker, the following interview with General Lemnitzer appeared in the Washington Post Parade of May 15.

This interview answers many questions asked by laymen, and does so in a forthright and straightforward manner that is refreshing indeed. This seems to give the interview a very real place in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. I am especially glad to have the general's statement as to the place of the Reserves in our defense posture.

AN EXCLUSIVE INTERVIEW WITH GENERAL LEMNITZER—WILL GIS FIRE NUCLEAR WEAP-ONS? WILL THE HELICOPTER REPLACE THE JEEP? HOW NECESSARY ARE THE RESERVES?

(Next Saturday is Armed Forces Day, to get us better acquainted with our defenses. In an exclusive interview, Parade's Fred Blumenthal asks Gen. L. L. Lemnitzer, Chief of Staff, U.S. Army, provocative questions on the fate of the foot soldier in an age of rockets and nuclear warfare. Here they are, with the hard-hitting answers:)

Question, General, you have said that the Army will have an increasing role in the nuclear-space age. Do you envisage the frontline infantry man armed with nuclear weap-

ons? If so, what control will be exercised over his use of them?

Answer. We have already developed the "Davy Crockett," a bazookalike weapon capable of firing a small nuclear warhead. But the use of the "Davey Crockett," or other nuclear weapons, great, or small, must first be authorized by the highest authority-the President. The safeguards for small nuclear weapons will not be unlike those already in existence for large weapons.

Question. Might the use of the small tactical nuclear weapon be barred-or if it were used, wouldn't it finally lead to the use of

the big H-bombs?

Answer. I agree that it could-possibly.

You have pointed up the key reason why we must have a dual capability—the ability to fight large or small wars with or without nuclear weapons. What we are really talking about in "tactical" nuclear weapons are those with small enough yield to be limited to military targets in the battle zone-or the war zone-as distinguished from the large bombs or missile warheads which could be employed against strategic targets.

Obviously, we want no war at all. And if there is no war, there is no reason to use any nuclear weapons. However, we must be prepared with all the kinds of weapons that the man in command needs to conduct his battle against any enemy-and, similarly, the weapons to destroy or neutralize any weapons he may choose to employ against us.

Question. Is the Army's role now re-stricted to limited war, which you have said is the more likely threat now that we face a possible nuclear stalemate?

Answer. Definitely not. It is an un-fortunate fact that the Army, in its effort to focus attention on the threat of limited war, has come to be thought of by many people as only a limited war force. As I see it, the role of the Army in all forms of war is as great as ever.

In the cold war today, the Army is playing a major role with substantial forces deployed overseas-in Europe and in Koreaface-to-face with the Communist threat. These are strong deterrent forces for keeping the peace.

And in the general war, where the outcome of the struggle will be determined by the combined land, air, and sea forces, the Army will be essential to victory. In this con-nection, I would like to point out that this is not merely an Army viewpoint, and I have noticed that the Soviet military leaders are thinking along the same lines as we are—that a general, nuclear war would not be over in a few days. They make it clear that they believe the decision would be determined by the outcome of the struggle following the opening thermonuclear exchange.

In limited war, the Army obviously has a major role to play. There is a requirement for the participation of all services—Army, Navy, and Air Force—just as in general war. Army forces—if limited war occurs—will definitely be involved in the performance of their primary role, which is sustained com-

bat on land.

Question. If there is a limited war in the Far East or in the Middle East, would the Army be able to get there fast enough?

Answer. That's exactly why I am so in-terested in the availability of tactical and strategic airlift. We cannot be strong everywhere. We must have forces available to reinforce our deployments overseas, and to go to the assistance of our friends in other parts of the world, where we are committed by treaty and by agreements. It is for these purposes that the Army maintains its Strategic Army Corps (Strac). Our effectiveness in this respect is directly proportional to the speed with which the Military Air Transport Service (MATS) and the Tactical Air Command (TAC) can move these troops in the proper strength to the area where the emergency occurs. Therefore, I strongly support the provision of adequate numbers of modern aircraft-strategic transport aircraft for MATS and tactical transport aircraft for TAC.

Question. Will helicopters be taking the place of trucks and jeeps in the army of to-

Answer. Yes; in many cases. We have made long strides in helicopter development, and I believe there will be many more rotarywing aircraft on the battlefield in the future. We have also certain types of fixed-wing aircraft which offer tremendous possibilities for very short landings and takeoffs-and can carry heavy cargo loads. But we must remember that aerial vehicles cannot do the whole mobility job. We must also continue to modernize all of our surface vehicles.

Question. What about our tanks?

Answer. We are just going into production with a new army tank, the M-60, a medium tank, which is one of the best tanks in its class in the world today. Its new diesel en-gine can use several types of fuel; it has a greatly increased range; and its 105-milli-meter gun is one of the best tank killers in existence.

Question. Can you foresee any military use for space satellites?

Answer. Yes. Satellites can be used for communications, for mapping, for navigation, for providing early warning of possible attack, for weather forecasting-to name only a few.

Question. What about the antimissile missile?

Answer. In my view, a top priority. Since long-range enemy missiles may soon pose the greatest threat, it should be obvious that any weapon capable of destroying that threat is desirable. We in the Army are very en-thusiastic and optimistic about our achievements to date with the Nike-Zeus system.

Again, consider our plight if an enemy should develop an effective antimissile mis-sile and we did not. We would be at a serious military disadvantage in that we would

be wide open to his attack, and he would have a means of defending against our retaliation.

Question. How do you feel about a single armed service replacing those we have to-

day?

Answer. I am against it. In general, I think the present organization of our forces is proper and logical. The technical problems of fighting in three elements—land, air, and sea—are such that no single service could possibly master them all; and the complexity of those problems is increasing. You must also consider morale. If you put everybody into a single service, men would lose their sense of identity, their esprit de corps.

Question. Do you favor the Navy continuing with its aircraft carriers and the Air Force with its supersonic B-58 bombers?

Answer. Yes, in both cases. Both carriers and B-58 bombers present additional and serious problems for any aggressor. The carriers have an important role in ensuring the freedom of the seas. The B-58 is possessed of a high-speed bombing and a superior reconnaissance capability which I regard as highly important.

Question. I see that the Tactical Air Command squadrons are now being equipped with F-105 fighter bombers. Since it will provide air support for the Army, what is your opin-

ion of the F-105?

Answer: I have inspected the F-105 at Langley Field, Va., and have observed its performance. It appears to be an outstanding aircraft and will go a long way toward meeting the Nation's tactical requirements.

Question. What about other requirements the Army has for the Tactical Air Command?

Answer. We have great confidence in the Tactical Air Command, on which we rely for reconnaissance, close-air support and tactical airlift. We work closely with them, and we feel that we have developed a most effective and smooth-functioning team. The Tactical Air Command is doing a great job and is striving constantly to improve its equipment and its capabilities.

Question. General, what value do you set on the role of the Army National Guard and

the Army Reserves?

Answer. A very high value. No nation can maintain in peace all the active forces that would be required in war. Once in the field, the regular forces have to be sustained and constantly reinforced. The Army National Guard and the Army Reserve are the reservoir that adds immeasurably to our strength. In addition to their combat role, there is another important capability: they provide trained, disciplined manpower to cope with any national disaster, and the possibilities in this respect in the thermonuclear age should be obvious to everybody.

Worth Trying Again

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. GEORGE M. WALLHAUSER

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 16, 1960

Mr. WALLHAUSER. Mr. Speaker, the editorial that appeared in the Washington Post on May 14, after President Eisenhower had vetoed the so-called area redevelopment bill, goes to the heart of the problem in the final paragraph, in my opinion.

There is one area of compromise on this important matter, and I respectfully suggest the hope that the opportunity not be lost to seek it:

WORTH TRYING AGAIN-

To no one's astonishment, President Eisenhower has vetoed the so-called area redevelopment bill, charging that it would spread Federal aid too thin, extend some aid that is unnecessary, and inhibit local initiative by excessive Federal intervention. There is some merit in all of these objections, although the complaint that the bill would duplicate assistance now provided under other programs is not valid enough to justify a veto, in our view.

Mr. Elsenhower does not contend that there is no need for various kinds of economic help for chronically depressed areas; indeed, he calls again for enactment of his own somewhat more modest program. If the need is real, as it certainly seems to be in States like Pennsylvania, Kentucky, West Virginia, and Massachusetts, would it not have been better to accept some program with which to make a start on redevelopment in these areas?

By the same reasoning, however, it may now be asked whether Congress ought not to meet the President half way and pass another bill that eliminates the major sources of objection. Mr. Eisenhower has indicated he would accept some broadening of the criteria in his proposal. If legislation, not mere campaign talk, is the objective, a workable and useful program ought still to be within reach.

Syngman Rhee

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. W. J. BRYAN DORN

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 16, 1960

Mr. DORN of South Carolina. Mr. Speaker, the following letter from Syngman Rhee indicates the courage, the faith, the dedication, the Christian spirit and honor of this great patriot:

SEOUL, KOREA, May 4, 1960.

Hon. W. J. BRYAN DORN, House of Representatives,

Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. DORN: I am deeply grateful for your warm words of support before the House of Representatives on April 26 last. My first and last thoughts have always been for the upholding of freedom, peace and justice and were I to relive my 4 score and 5 years, I would not choose to alter one single concept in which I have always believed. In process of time, God sparing me, the righteousness of my intentions will be made known. I shall continue my strong advocacy of democracy and unswerving opposition to communism.

With very best wishes. Sincerely,

SYNGMAN RHEE.

Mr. Speaker, I hope that riots and raving mobs encouraged by our own State Department will not become the order of the day throughout the world. Since our State Department encouraged mob violence in South Korea, there has been a chain reaction—now it is Turkey, South Vietnam, and even San Francisco, Calif., at the hearings of our great Committee on Un-American Activities. I am fearful of the future in South Korea,

but Syngman Rhee's splendid attitude, void of bitterness and vindictiveness, may yet save that great Republic for the cause of freedom.

Failure of Summit Points That Era of Fantasies for United States Ending

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JOE L. EVINS

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 16, 1960

Mr. EVINS. Mr. Speaker, it is always disappointing to have our hopes shattered, but we all know from our own personal experiences that sometimes it is better to face the hard facts rather than to delude ourselves with false hopes. I am sure that the people of the Nation share our disappointment in the fact that the summit conference is not succeeding. In a very perceptive article which appeared in the Sunday Star, David Lillienthal made some remarks which are all the more pointed and cogent in the light of the news we received from Paris today. I, therefore, ask unanimous consent to have Mr. Lillienthal's article inserted in the Appendix of the Record.

The article follows:

THREE DISILLUSIONMENTS IN THE MONTH OF MAY SHOULD END AN ERA OF FANTASIES FOR UNITED STATES

(By David E. Lilienthal)

New York.—May 1960 may be remembered as the month when we Americans returned to the harsh reality of the world as it is. Once again our feet are on the rough and long and painful road to survival. Two years of wistful thinking and fantasy about the approach of an era of peaceful coexistence and nuclear disarmament are about to come to a close.

Three recent events can be thanked for

this awakening:

First, the demonstration of how little substance there is—in terms of survival—to all the fanfare over summit meetings outside the United Nations, and the essential hollowness of ceremonial visits of heads of state and lesser lights.

Second, the collapse of the technical, and therefore the political, basis for an agreed ban on the testing of nuclear weapons.

Third, the furor over an American reconnaissance flight into Russia.

HISTORIC TURNING POINT

The barrenness of trying to slow up or halt the nuclear arms race by an "inspection" agreement on an issue so collateral and essentially remote from disarmament as a "ban" on the testing of nuclear weapons and the impending debacle of the summit conference, are events which the free world may view as a turning point of historic proportions. Something graphic was needed to awaken the people of America and Britain to the facts of life.

The major significance of the crackup of one of our reconnaissance planes within Russia, it seems to me, is that this episode dramatizes for the average citizen what has, quite unwisely I think, been hidden from him by the words of many of the world's political and intellectual leaders, West and East—namely: that the not-so-cold war has not and cannot in fact be abated by wishful

thinking or a verbal escape from the evidence of the Soviet's determination to dominate the world, and the free world's equal resolution to remain free of such domination, come what may.

Once again we may begin to live in the world of reality, which is a world of constant danger. It may continue to be just that for

a generation or more.

To face up, as now I believe even the most optimistic must, to the realities of how wide is the chasm between the Soviet world and our own is, I think, the only hope for the avoidance of war, and for building a solid foundation upon which two basically opposite concepts of life can manage to live side by side.

The sure road to war is to live in a fantasy, in a world that does not exist. Neville Chamberlain at Munich demonstrated how tragic this kind of escape from reality can be. World War II was a direct product of that kind of wishful thinking. The French confidence that the impregnable maginot line made an attack by Germany impossible is the older equivalent of the current doctrine that nuclear weapons possessed by both antagonists have produced a stale-mate that frees the world from the danger of a nuclear war.

COMMUNIST REALISM

It is through such a dream world that the West has been passing. During this incredible period, however, the hard-bitten, realistic, and aggressive Communists were softening up our American resolution—their prime target.

They flooded us with horror stories of mutual suicide by atomic warfare, and alluring but empty offers of peaceful coexistence, total disarmament, and an end to nuclear

weapons.

They realized that if by threats and promises our will to resist was eroded, freedom might perish without a single shot being fired. I think we must admit that their

campaign was partly successful. Now we are ready, I hope, to put aside the superficial hopes engendered by the "spirit of Camp David," or the notion that visits of Russians to this country, and Americans to Russia, highly desirable and beneficial as they are, in themselves, have any basic relation to survival. We are now ready. I hope, to recognize that these are only sideshows that to many have obscured the real and basic obstacles to getting along with the Soviet system.

We are, I hope, ready to put aside, too, the wishful thought that the Russian political leadership desperately wants disarmament because they must keep their people happy with consumer goods, and cannot do so unless their huge costs of armament are diministrative.

diminished.

Perhaps now we can come to grips with the central problem. That is to return to our efforts, exhausting but essential, to learn, step by cautious step, case by case, the process process of negotiation with political leaders whose concept of life is almost as far from ours as if they were beings on another planet.

NEED FOR A JOLT

It is in the American temperament to be sanguine, to believe the best of others. It is also in the American temperament to face up to whatever must be faced, but only when some dramatic fact forces us to. The story of Pearl Harbor is a classic in this category.

There is a wealth of impressive evidence There is a wealth of impressive evident that the American people can face hard, cruel, and disappointing facts, and can act with vigor, toughness, tenacity, and firmness. Here I think is the hopeful side, and the same of the rather sudden disthe saving grace of the rather sudden dis-illusionment of the past weeks.

It was American firmness and readiness to face up to facts that helped get the Red army out of Iran, that rebuilt our Armed Porces and thereby kept the Chinese out of South Korea, that saved Greece and Turkey, that helped produce a peace treaty of Austria, that saved Berlin by the amazing airlift. On almost any of these acts of resolution, the Soviets might have gone to war. They didn't.

We are dealing with a revolutionary and highly successful enemy. We must be at least as realistic as the Russians have shown themselves to be. We do not want to compete with them by imitating their closed society, their lying to their own citizens. We need above all to be ourselves, Americans at our best. And at our best we do not flinch from facts, we do not insist that our public servants feed us only good and pleasant words, but that they tell us the truth, however distasteful.

Let us hope that the debacle of the summit and the maneuvers of the nuclear ban test negotiations will mark the beginning of a period of realism in our dealing with

A peace that is no peace, a "thaw" that is now warming up except in the most superficial ceremonial sense, a consequent lulling and deterioration of American resolve and will to stand firm for what we believe—this is not the road to peace. On the contrary, it is the road to disaster.

A stockpile of atomic and other weapons are inert machines. They have no deterrent value whatever, unless there abides the will to use those weapons rather than surrender

freedom.

There is as yet no evidence that facing up to reality in dealings with the Soviet adds to the risks that already exist. My own opinion is that the greatest risk of all would be to continue to nurse the illusion that international tension is relaxed because we ourselves have been relaxing.

Democrats Draw Blank on Farm Solution

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. CLIFFORD G. McINTIRE

OF MAINE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, May 16, 1960

Mr. McINTIRE. Mr. Speaker, Mademoiselle Bertin once said: "There is nothing new except what is forgotten."

I submit to the RECORD the following article on the farm situation-lest we forget:

DEMS DRAW BLANK ON FARM SOLUTION-END 2-DAY MEETING

(By Dickson Preston)

Democratic farm experts admitted today they haven't a single new idea so far on how to deal with the costly and distressing farm problem. They'll keep trying, though,

After a 2-day meeting here, 23 farm advisers to the Democratic National Committee endorsed a program which in effect would simply take farmers back to where they were in 1953.

It included rigid high price supports at 90 percent of parity and strict production and marketing controls-all of which the Eisenhower Administration and Congress have been moving away from for the past 7 years.

CONCEDE

Gov. Herschel Loveless of Iowa, chairman of the advisory group, conceded that the endorsement merely amounted to saying "what we had before 1954 is better than what we have now." But Governor Loveless asked:

"On the farm problem, what is there that is new under the sun? Until we overcome the inelesticity of food demand I don't know where else we could go."

And he predicted that Vice President Nixon, who is reportedly readying a new farm plan of his own, eventually would come up with nothing more than "the Eisenhower program of 1952."

Governor Loveless said several subcommittees of his group would attempt to work out detailed recommendations to be sented at the next meeting of the full committee in Chicago June 15-16. This meeting will give final approval to farm planks which the advisers hope will be adopted by the Democratic National Convention in Los Angeles in July.

NO DISCUSSION

Although former Agriculture Secretary Charles Brannan attended the sessions here. Governor Loveless said there was no discussion of the so-called Brannan plan which he espoused during the Truman administration.

Some Democrats favor this plan, under which direct payments would be made to farmers to make up the difference between market prices and parity-the amount of income necessary to give farmers the pur-chasing power they had before World War I.

However, Governor Loveless personally favors the idea and thinks it would cost the Government less than the present farm program. A subcommittee will study various payment proposals, he said-and the Brannan plan still could emerge from the June meeting as approved policy.

Twenty-five-Year Social Revolution: REA

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. MELVIN PRICE

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, May 11, 1960

Mr. PRICE. Mr. Speaker, last week, on May 11, 1960, the Rural Electrification Administration observed its 25th anniversary throughout the Nation. Many news publishers have been paying tribute to the effective work of the REA over its quarter century of operation.

It is my pleasure to call to the attention of the House membership a fine editorial, which appeared on Thursday, May 12, 1960, in the Collinsville (Ill.) Herald. The publisher of this newspaper is the Honorable James O. Monroe, who was among the dedicated group of men throughout the Nation who gave life and support to the program of the New Deal back in the days when REA and many other helpful agencies of the Government were created—agencies that rescued the people of the country from the depth of the Nation's most serious depression.

REA is not the only successful Government agency created by the New Deal in the interest of all of the people of the country. We can recall the very successful operations of the Home Owners Loan Corporation, the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation, the Securities and Exchange Commission and many others. These were the days when the Government acted in the interest of the people.

It has been conceded by even the most bitter opponents of this type of social legislation that was enacted 25 years ago that such programs as REA, social security and the others which I have mentioned has formed a cushion to protect our country against repetitions of the crises that existed when the people of the Nation turned to the Democratic Party in November of 1932.

I well remember editor Monroe as being in the forefront of those who assisted in the successful campaign of 1932. He remained a crusader in the interest of the people and vigorously supported the strong legislative program of Franklin D. Roosevelt.

The editorial follows:

TWENTY-FIVE-YEAR SOCIAL REVOLUTION: REA

The Rural Electrification Administration observed its 25th anniversary on May 11, 1960, with nearly 97 percent of all U.S. farms and ranches electrified. A little more than half of these farms, together with hundreds of thousands of other rural establishments, are served by 1,053 rural utilities financed by

This was still a dark land when REA began in 1935, with only one American farm in ten receiving electric service. During the years that followed, the lights were turned on in one farm after another through one of the most successful cooperative efforts in the history of the Nation. REA, an agency of the Department of Agriculture, made loans to bulld electric systems and offered technical advice. In most cases, farmers organized their own cooperatives to construct the systems and distribute the power. Today these rural utilities, financed by the Government and owned and operated by local people, served more than 4.7 million consumers in 46 States, Puerto Rico, and the Virgin Islands.

Southwestern Electric Cooperative, Inc., with headquarters at Greenville, Ill., is one of the borrowers of REA. Southwestern Electric serves approximately 7,500 rural members in Madison, Bond, and Fayette Countles.

As 1960 began REA has approved loans of more than \$4 billion for rural electrification, including all kinds of facilities. their part, the rural utilities which obtained the loans have proved financially responsible and good credit risks. So far, they have made payment to the Government in excess of \$1.1 billion, including a balance of \$154 million pair ahead of schedule. On January 1, 1960, only one borrower was behind in its payments more than 30 days.

As borrowers have gained in strength, the technical and management assistance rendered by REA has gradually diminished. This is in line with REA's guiding policy toward its borrowers, which is to encourage rural utilities to look after their own affairs as soon as they are able.

History has proved that farmers and other rural people use as much or more electricity than their neighbors in the city. more than any other, accounts for the tre-mendous success of the REA program. The first REA-financed lines were built on the assumption that farmers might use as much as 100 kilowatt-hours of electricity a month. Today farm consumers use an average of 350 kilowatt-hours per month, and the monthly average for all consumers on REA financed lines is up to 433 kilowatt-hours per month.

Much of the electricity is used to operate household appliances and equipment, such as washers, ranges, and vacuum cleaners. In recent years, a number of rural people have started heating their homes electrically. But electric power also has been harnessed to perform hundreds of farm chores. The greatest changes have been wrought in dairying. poultry and egg production, and in feeding meat animals. Electricity is revolutionizing these fields, permitting one man to care for

many more birds or animals. By 1975, REA estimates that each consumer on rural lines will be using an average of 14,400 kilowatt-

hours of electricity a year.

Besides altering life on the farm, the availability of electric power in rural areas has brought about profound changes in the character of rural America. New business firms and industries have appeared in the country. Suburbs have been built on the fringes of towns and cities. Retired people and commuters have been moving into rural areas. In some places, resort booms are underway. In 1959, 139,000 consumers were added to REA-financed lines.

These two trends-more consumers and greater average use of power-mean that REA borrowers will have to increase greatly the capacity of their systems in future years. They will need increasing amounts of new capital to do the job. Rural utilities already are making both financial and engineering

plans for the years ahead.

The member-owned systems have proved themselves efficient organizations. have proven themselves capable of distribut ing electric power on an areawide basis to even the most thinly populated parts of our country. They have proven their right to serve. If all REA-financed systems continue to concentrate on service in the future as well as they have in the past, there appears to be no reason why they should not be a permanent part of the utility industry of the United States.

Private, free enterprise power companies have fought REA at times, pointing out with considerable truth that it smacks of socialism and urging that it gives them unfair competition. They may be able to prove their premises, but it would be difficult to convince millions of Americans that REA is

a bad thing.

A rather obvious proof that it is beneficial is that the private power companies have managed to thrive and expand. Competition hasn't hurt them and in fact some of them sell large amounts of power to the REA companies. The socialism argument is countered by the obvious fact that no matter how socialistic the power in their lines may be, our rural population does not feel like the REA is overturning the free enterprise system. Our rural population still feels and votes ruggedly capitalist even though their life is shot through with governmental action.

Keep Cur Powder Dry and Our Feet on the Ground

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. JOHN DOWDY

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, May 16, 1960

Mr. DOWDY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the REC-ORD, I include the following telegram which expresses the sentiments of a large majority of the people of the district I have the honor to represent:

NACODDOCHES, TEX., May 11, 1960. Congressman John Dowdy, House Office Building, Washington, D.C.:

To heck with foreign aid, to heck with the summit conference, to heck with Khrushchev, and to heck with this disarming, I agree with Lyndon Johnson, keep our powder dry and keep our feet on the

E. I. RICE.

NACOGDOCHES, TEX.

Espionage and Spying Are Not New

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. J. EDGAR CHENOWETH

OF COLORADO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 16, 1960

Mr. CHENOWETH. Mr. Speaker, I wish to include in my remarks an editorial from the Pueblo Star-Journal of Pueblo, Colo., on the subject of espionage. I am sure the Members of the House will enjoy reading this most timely editorial, which follows:

ESPIONAGE AND SPYING ARE NOT NEW

When the State Department learned from Premier Khrushchev that he had most of the details about the flight of Francis G. Powers in a Lockheed U-2 jet on a photographic mission over Russia it was readily admitted.

And there is nothing wrong in that.

It would have been ridiculous to try to make out otherwise. The Russians had captured the equipment Powers had on his person which would not have been carried by anyone who had merely veered off course or became unconscious because the oxygen system had failed in his plane and he passed

The point is that most people in this country are glad to know that we are not sitting idly by outside the Iron Curtain without trying to learn what's going on

behind it.

Russia has spies and espionage agents all over the world, particularly in the United States. They have never denied it. possible for espionage agents to operate over the United States and any other free nation in a manner that helps them get all the information they want, except the laboratory and field testing secrets of military equipment.

The unfortunate thing is that Powers was caught. Everyone will feel sympathetic to-ward his family and the fact that he may have to stand trial and suffer the penalty under Russian law. That is the role of a spy who agrees to such procedures volun-tarily and understands all of the risks in-

What we don't know is at what altitude Powers was flying in a plane that is capable of reaching 60,000 feet. Neither do we know whether it was just one Russian rocket which brought the plane down, or disabled it, to such an extent that Powers had to ball out. If he were flying at that altitude and had to ball out because the plane had been hit, there is some consola-tion in knowing that the equipment he was wearing worked perfectly in getting him back to earth.

There is no reason to get excited over the whole thing. There is nothing we can do about it if Khrushchev decides to make more capital out of it in order to try to upset the summit conference. He has been pointing in that discrete ing in that direction for the past 3 months. It was felt when the story was told last week that he had found his excuse for wrecking the conference.

As some English papers stated, it is nothing unusual for British and American aircraft to have flown special reconnaissance missions deep inside of Russian property.

We hope some Congressman doesn't press too far for a public investigation of the circumstances surrounding our counterintelligence system. The more talk there is about it, even if supposedly behind closed doors, the greater the opportunity for Russian agents to learn more about our methods and plans.

The incident is the most dramatic of any involving spying activities by either side, primarily because it involved a high altitude mission and a rocket which brought the plane down. It is probably not the first time that such a mission has been attempted.

If we are going to have a defense system Which will deter attack because of its retaliatory power, we must know where the targets are and aerial photography is one of the best ways to get the information.

American Passport Policies

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. HERMAN TOLL

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, May 16, 1960

Mr. TOLL. Mr. Speaker, on Friday, April 29, 1960, I had the honor of presiding at a luncheon during briefing sessions on immigration and naturalization law, which was sponsored by the Philadelphia chapter of the Federal Bar Association and the Philadelphia chapter of the Association of Immigration and Nationality Lawyers.

It was my privilege to present John W. Sipes, Esq., special assistant to the Administrator, Bureau of Security and Consular Affairs, Department of State. Mr. Sipes spoke on the subject of "American Passport Policies." I believe his remarks may be of particular interest to Members of Congress and I am including them below:

AMERICAN PASSPORT POLICIES

(Aldress by John W. Sipes, Special Assistant to the Administrator, Bureau of Security and Consular Affairs, Department of State, at the American Law Institute, Federal Bar Association, and Immigration and Nationality Lawyers Association luncheon meeting, Philadelphia, Pa., Adelphia Hotel, April 29, 1960)

Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen, I was indeed honored by your invitation to address this luncheon meeting today. As associations composed of practicing attorneys in a city steeped in legal tradition, you afford me an excellent opportunity to discuss a matter which the Department feels is of vital importance to the United States.

There are two important aspects of U.S. passport policy, especially as it affects in-dividual U.S. citizens. First, is the policy of expeditious and efficient processing of the rapidly increasing number of requests for U.S. passports, to keep pace with the requirements of the traveling public. Our outstanding progress in this area, under the Present Director of the Passport Office, Miss Prances G. Knight, is a matter of record. The Department is justly proud of this record.

Second, and perhaps of more interest to you as lawyers, is the substantive passport Policy. Under what circumstances are or should passports be withheld from U.S. citizens? And what are the procedural requirements necessary to properly balance private rights and public interests? This is the aspect of passport policy that I wish to discuss below the control of t cuss briefly today.

American passport policies are not a recent development. The legal implications of the relationship of these policies to the rights of the individual citizen are new. We are presently on one of the frontiers of the law, and the ground rules have not yet been fully considered and developed by the courts.

To speak of passport policies as such may be misleading. Passport policies have long been a primary means of implementing our foreign policy toward a given country, area, or foreign nations generally. These policies may be generalized or specific in application; or certain policies may apply to all citizens

and others to only certain citizens.
On June 16, 1958, it was the policy of the Department of State to deny passports to members of the Communist Party; persons who knowingly engaged in activities under the direction and control of the Communist apparatus; and persons believed to be going abroad for the purpose of advancing the

Communist conspiracy.

On that date the Supreme Court, in a 5-4 decision, held that statutory authority was necessary for a general prohibition of this nature and scope. The Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952, which made a passport necessary for foreign travel and left its issuance in the discretion of the Secretary, did not, said the Court, constitute such authority since the Department's policy of denying passports to Communists had not "jelled" at the time the basic passport statute was enacted on July 3, 1926.

The dissenting Justices found sufficient statutory authority in the pattern of travel control statutes from 1918 to the present 1952 act. In any event, the Court did not reach the basic constitutional question-the authority of Congress, acting through the Secretary of State, to regulate and control generally the travel of Communists abroad. While this remains a matter of vital concern to the executive branch, action is now clearly up to the Congress.

The efforts of the Department and the executive branch since July 7, 1958, when the President requested appropriate authoriza-tion for the Secretary of State, are a matter of record. I will not detail them here. Suffice it to say, that the House passed a bill last September, which together with a num-ber of other bills on the subject, is still pending before the Senate Foreign Relations

It would take much more time than I have today for me to explain in detail the reasons why the Department deems it imperative to reinstitute its policy of denying passports, under appropriate procedural safeguards, to persons knowingly engaged in activities in furtherance of the international Communist

Simply stated, we are seriously concerned about the danger to our national security. and the harm to our foreign relations objectives, involved in the totally unrestricted travel abroad by Communist conspirators, including any American functionary of the party who has a Communist mission abroad.

is an undisputed fact that the Communist apparatus regards the American passport as an invaluable document. On March 28 the Supreme Court upheld the conviction of "Col." Rudolf Abel for conspiracy to commit espionage.

At the time of his arrest Abel had in his possession one birth certificate which was a complete forgery, and another which was issued to a child who died at the age of 2 months in 1903. These are the tools which foreign agents use to obtain U.S. passports and Abel didn't want to be caught short. He had traveled to the United States on an American passport issued to a naturalized citizen who presumably died abroad. Abel claimed he purchased this passport through a contact in Copenhagen and he wanted to be in a position to get additional passports when he needed them.

I do not imply that passport legislation will stop the passport frauds of the Abels. I merely mention this case to illustrate the importance of mobility in the espionage business. Many American Communists would not risk traveling on illegal docu-mentation—those who did would be vulnerable to our laws as well as the laws of friendly foreign governments. Today, however, an American Communist does not have to risk illegal travel. He can and does obtain an American passport which not only legalizes his travel but facilitates it immeasurably. Also, this makes American passports readily available for Soviet espionage operations, passports that are more negotiable than those of their own origin.

While court cases have generally involved passport denials to Communists, we must consider a broader potential application so-called when discussing the 'right to travel" in the constitutional sense-for the Supreme Court has not yet defined this concept or the statutory restraints permissible on individuals whether or not they be Communists.

The Department has acknowledged for some time, and the Solicitor General conceded before the Supreme Court, that a citizen has a natural right to exist and enter the United States; that this right is protected by the U.S. Constitution; and, ac-cordingly, that the denial of such a right must be in accordance with the due process requirements of the fifth amendment. find nothing in the Supreme Court holding in the Kent-Briehl case requiring the recognition of any broader right.

This does not mean that the right to go abroad cannot be reasonably regulated in the public interest. Neither does it mean that there is a "right" which can be guaranteed to our citizens to enter any particular foreign country, which is a matter of the which we have and claim no control. Nor does it mean there is a "constitutional right" to a passport. Passports come into the picture because in the present cold war situation they have, in addition to their other attributes the effect of exit permits. other attributes, the effect of exit permits for travel beyond the Western Hempisphere. Therefore, the denial of a passport, at least for non-Western Hemisphere travel, must be in accord with due process of law.

What are the requirements of due process in the passport field? As Mr. Justice Holmes observed, "what is due process of law depends on circumstances. It varies with the subject matter and the necessities of the situation." It is important therefore that (1) we understand that our passport policies are effectuated by administrative control over passport issuance rather than by enforcement of penal provisions of the criminal law; (2) we recognize that we are today in a period of Presidentially declared national emergency, and that there has been a Presidential proclamation of necessity for travel controls—we are not talking about normal peacetime conditions, but rather the realities of a cold war situation; and (3) we realize that the rights of the individual, to the extent that they conflict with national interests, must be brought into balance with the broadest and most important powers of the political branches of the Government, namely, the foreign affairs power and the

defense or war power.

The national interest which the Department had sought to promote by its pre-Kent-Briehl, anti-Communist passport policy was the protection of the Nation from the internal and external menace of the international Communist movement. The internal security and foreign affairs aspects of this national interest are inseparable.

As Circuit Judge Prettyman observed, "The Communist organization and program have long since passed beyond the area of mere politics and political opinion. All three branches of the Federal Government—the executive, the legislative, and the judiciary have declared unequivocally that the Communist movement today is an international conspiracy aimed at world domination and a

threat to the internal security of this country. The foreign policy and a large part of the fiscal policy of the Government are based upon that proposition. * * * unless all the major foreign and fiscal policies of this Government, under two administrations of opposing political parties, have been a gigantic fraud, it is the unequivocal duty of the Department of State to prevent international incidents which might arouse hostile activities on the part of the Soviet Union or its satellites."

The Department is convinced that authority to proscribe indiscriminate travel abroad by Communist Party functionaries and Communist Party agitators is necessary in present world conditions; and that legislation can be enacted which adequately protects basic individual rights under the Constitution. We believe the international Communist conspiracy constitutes a clear, present and continuing danger to the United

The recent Supreme Court's holding in Barenblatt v. U.S. is encouraging in this regard. The Court there said "That Congress has wide power to legislate in the field of Communist activity * * * is hardly de-batable. * * * In the last analysis this power rests on the right of self-preservation, 'the ultimate value of any society'. * * this Court has upheld Federal legislation aimed at the Communist problem which in a different context would certainly have raised constitutional issues of the gravest character.'

I have been talking about a prior policyone which we have been without authority to follow or enforce since mid-1958-denial of passports to Communist activists. However, there are other policies of passport denial involving individual restraints, most of them of long standing. For example, the Supreme Court in Kent-Briehl specifically recognized statutory authority in the Secretary of State to deny passports where "the applicant is participating in illegal conduct trying to escape the toils of the law.' Passports are also generally denied to persons who have been adjudicated insane by a competent authority, and persons repatriated at Government expense who have not repaid their debt to the Government, and other common sense situations of this kind.

Additionally, we believe as a matter of policy, passports should and may be denied where the applicant or holder is going or staying abroad to participate in specific conduct which would directly interfere with the conduct of foreign relations or harm our friendly relationship with other govern-ments. This situation was not dealt with specifically by the Supreme Court in the Kent-Briehl and Dayton cases, and the regulations outlining this authority were not in issue in those cases. Actually, our Communist travel control regulations were based, in large measure, on this same premise. The Court apparently felt that general travel restraints against Communists as a group involved ideological matters which, at least in the absence of statutory authorization, outweighed any prejudice to the foreign policy interests of the United States. Insofar as individual restraints on general

travel abroad are concerned, the Secretary of States does not claim or seek absolute discretion to determine the grounds for passport denial actions. We find no fault with decisions of the U.S. Court of Appeals in cases such as Shachtman and Kraus holding that the Department is required to grant substantive as well as procedural due process to passport applicants; that the factual bases of passport refusal actions by the Secretary are subject to some judicial scrutiny. We agree with the courts that the Department, as a matter of substantive due process, is required to show that the grounds of denial have some reasonable relationship to the orderly conduct of U.S. foreign relations. We must remember, however, that the courts have also emphasized that freedom to travel abroad like other rights, is subject to reasonable regulation in the public interest.

Until a relatively recent date passport adjudicative procedures in the State Department were quite informal. Prior to August 1952, the practice of the Department in denying passports was merely to advise the applicant that to accord him passport facilities would not be in the best interests of the United States. The contention that procedural due process must be afforded applicants in passport refusal cases was first given judicial recognition in the 1952 case of Bauer v. Acheson. The court interpreted the Passport Act as requiring notice and an opportunity to be heard prior to the revocation of a passport; and shortly thereafter the State Department complied with the decision by promulgating substantive refusal criteria, and establishing a more formalized hearing procedure, including a de novo review of the case by an appeals board staffed by officials from various operating areas of the Department. The applicant's rights be-fore this board, which makes it's recommendation direct to the Secretary, are set forth in departmental regulations

In Boudin v. Dulles another important case involving procedural due process, the U.S. Court of Appeals sitting en banc ordered certain refinements in the Department's adjudicative and hearing procedures but did not reach the question of the propriety of the Secretary's use of confidential information. To facilitate thorough consideration of this issue the Court decreed that an adverse ruling in passport matters be supported by specific findings of the fact bringing the applicant within a designated section of the passport regulations, and that the Secretary state the degree of his reliance upon confidential information and the reasons for nondisclosure. Subsequently, the Court of Appeals upheld the use of confidential information in Dayton v. Dulles where the Department had followed the ruling in the Boudin case. The Supreme Court, however, has not considered the question of reliance on confidential information in this

area of Government operations.

In fairness to the individual and to stand the scrutiny of the Courts, the Department has endeavored for several years to base its decisions upon the open record plus only that classified or confidential information obtained from sources the disclosure of which would substantially prejudice the interests of the United States. The substance of even the classified information, with rare exception, has been disclosed to the appli-

cant.
As a matter of experience, however, under our now defunct Communist travel control regulations, it was quite obvious that the dedicated Communists, were not interested in obtaining information to assist them in preparing their case-but solely in ascertaining the identity of Government sources of information reporting on various aspects of the Communist conspiracy. It was their contention that the Department must produce all such sources in support of a denial action even though they had not disavowed the assertions of Communist Party membership or activities.

While permissive reliance on confidential information in administrative proceedings is a controversial issue, especially among lawyers, any passport control legislation designed to control the travel of Communist activities abroad which prohibits the utilization of any information obtained from confidential sources would be an illusion-a sham. Information concerning current active Communist Party members, information relative to their future plans and purposes

of foreign travel does not come from neighbors, janitors or the corner groceryman. is obtained from sources that in general the Government understandably is not prepared to compromise for use in an individual administrative passport proceeding. To require the source to be produced or disregarded would, in most instances, grant the Communist passport applicant in effect an absolute right to a passport.

With adequate hearing procedures, with the tender of a summary of the derogatory information from valuable confidential sources where appearance would not be in the public interest, with stated grounds for denial, and with specific findings of fact by the Secretary of State, passport legislation would, we think, protect the basic rights of the individual and under present world conditions, conform with due process of law-

There is another area of very important passport policy. That is the placing of certain countries or areas off limits for travel by U.S. citizens, when necessitated by for-eign policy considerations.

Historically, area restriction in passports has been an important method of foreign policy implementation. In some instances it has been for the safety of American citizens, as it was in the case of the Suez crisis when passports were restricted against travel in the Middle East. It may be to insure a position of neutrality in areas of civil strife. as was the case during the Spanish Civil War. In other cases, a travel ban may be imposed as a retaliatory measure, as was the restriction in 1947 against Yugoslav travel, for a series of hostile acts against American citizens; or the 1951 restriction against Czechoslovakian travel for the unwarranted imprisonment of William Oatis; or the 1949 restriction on travel to Hungary because of the Imprisonment of Robert Vogeler, and the reimposition of the restriction in 1951 because of the imprisonment of American flyers, and again in 1956 because of the mistreatment of our legation employees.

Passports are invariably restricted for ordinary travel to areas where armed conflicts are in progress, as was the case in Ethiopia in 1935 and China in 1937.

There may be more pervasive foreign policy reasons for area travel restrictions as was the case of the general limitation on travel to Iron Curtain countries in effect from May 1, 1952, to October 31, 1955.

Passports are customarily not validated for travel to countries with which we do not maintain diplomatic relations, as was for-merly the case with Bulgaria, and as is presently the case with Albania and Com-

munist China.

In this area we have been fully upheld by the courts. The court of appeals in the case of Worthy v. Herter held that the designation of certain areas of the world as forbidden to American travelers falls within the power to conduct foreign affairs, for which the court found both constitutional and statutory authority. Worthy, a newspaperman, traveled to Communist China in knowing disregard of the restrictions in his passport. seeking further passport facilities, Worthy refused to agree to honor existing area restrictions. The Secretary of State denied him a passport in the belief he would, if given a passport, go into those areas where it was determined that the presence of American citizens would impede the execution of A related case, American foreign policy. A related case, Frank v. Herter, sustained the Department's policy of making reasonable exceptions to general area restrictions in the national interest. In the summer of 1957, the Secretary decided on a temporary and experimental basis to allow a limited number of American reporters to go to the China mainland, in the interest of firsthand news coverage, but without permitting a general influx of Americans into that area. This was worked out by a formula whereby American newsgathering organizations which had maintained correspondents abroad, and were willing to maintain a full-time correspondent in Communist China for at least 6 months could designate one representative each for passport validation for travel to mainland China,

Frank, claiming to be a newsman but undesignated by any organization qualifying under the formula devised by the Secretary of State, sued for a passport without restriction in order to travel to Communist China. The court rejected the argument that the Secretary of State's policy was arbitrary and discriminatory.

The Supreme Court denied certiorari in both the Worthy and Frank cases.

Our area restriction policies have come under one other line of attack in the case of Porter v. Herter. Representative Charles O. Porter of Oregon sued the Secretary of State for a passport to permit him to travel to Communist China in the interest of his legislative duties. Congressman Porter had not requested or received congressional authority to travel to Communist China-but urged that our policy impaired his legislative interests and perogatives as an individual Congressman, which he claimed to be superior to the newsman involved in the Worthy and Frank cases, and alleged an unconstitutional breach of the separation of powers. On April 14 the court of appeals held that a Member of Congress, by that status alone, is not exempt from regulations Within the executive's constitutional competence, and he must therefore conform to the passport restrictions which apply to citizens generally.

Let us examine more closely our policy of not permitting American citizens to travel to Communist China. This policy has been more strictly applied and in effect longer than any other area restriction. It is founded on the combination of a number of im-

Portant considerations.

We have followed a calculated policy of non-recognition of the Chinese Communist regime since it seized power. We are still in an unresolved state of conflict with Communist China over their aggression against the United Nations in Korea in which the United States suffered 142,000 casualties. All trade with Communist China is prohibited by law. Talwan remains under threat of at-tack by the Chinese Communists. The Chihese Communists have utilized what they term "people's diplomacy," in promoting visits of private citizens from other countries, especially those with which they maintain no diplomatic relations. This is a propaganda device to advertise the "attainments" of the regime, and to create an impression, which they cannot do by direct negotiations, that their purpose is "peacoful" and their conduct "civilized."

To permit general travel to Communist China, at this time, would make it appear that the United States is yielding to Communist pressure, a circumstance which could Well weaken the determination of other nations, especially in the Far East, to resist Communist aggression. Mutual confidence among the members of the free world is of the utmost importance.

Another factor is the absence of diplomatic relations which does not permit the extension of customary protection services to Americans. There is danger to American citizens traveling to Communist China. Many Americans have been imprisoned and maltreated by the Chinese Communists. American citizens are still being held in hostage despite their pledge to release them. Just recently the Chinese Communists sentenced Bishop James Edward Walsh to 20 years imprisonment for alleged espionage. The spy charges are totally false and a transparent screen for further systematic religious persecution. This is but the latest illustration of the Chinese Communists' complete indifference to humanitarian principles and utter disregard for civilized standards of behavior.

I recognize that you as individual citizens, may not agree with some of the passport policies I have outlined, because you may not fully agree with the aspects of our foreign policy which they are designed to sup-However, I believe that there can be no disagreement with the proposition that the President and the Secretary of State should use all means legally at their disposal to effectively carry out foreign policy objectives once they are determined.

As the Court so aptly stated in the Worthy case, "Judgment on what course of action will best promote our foreign relations has been entrusted to the President, not to the courts, journalists, scholars, or even public opinion. He makes his decision with the aid of the Department of State, a large organization with stations throughout the world, as well as on the basis of information received from all other parts of the executive branch. We, if we had all this information, might reach a different decision. But the Constitution has wisely placed that burden in the hands of one who must justify his decisions before the electorate."

Thank you very much.

Summit Now Worth While? Answer Up to Khrushchev

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. J. CARLTON LOSER

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 16, 1960

Mr. LOSER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Rec-ORD, I include an editorial appearing in the Nashville Tennessean under date of May 10, 1960. This editorial is timely and I hope the Members of the Congress will read it. It follows:

SUMMIT NOW WORTH WHILE? ANSWER UP TO KHRUSHCHEV

Hope for even a modicum of success at next week's summit meeting now depends on how far Nikita Khrushchev intends to go in exploiting the clumsy spy plane incident.

For the current propaganda barrage coming from Russia there is some understanding, but there ought to be a stopping point if there is a sincere hope to end international tension and find a beginning to disarmament.

Clearly enough, the diplomatic position of the Western Powers has been weakened at a crucial time. In awareness of this there are hurried conferences in Washington and in allied lands.

That the United States has blundered is conceded, but that does not mean that Moscow's representatives will be going to Paris with clean hands. They can profess fear and indignation over the U-2 flight far into their land, but they cannot claim moral superiority, for they have been the past masters at spying since the end of World War II, or even before.

If Mr. Khrushchev means the things he said while visiting the United States, he will let the controversy settle down at least long enough to permit the summit meeting to take up the more important questions, such as Germany and arms control, in a reasonable atmosphere.

Falling to do this, he can wreck the sum-

mit before it starts.

In Washington it is said that President

Eisenhower has been urged to write the

Soviet Premier expressing his hope, and it is suggested that an unfavorable reply might effect the President's decision about going to the summit and later on to Moscow

Perhaps no summit at all would be better than use of that forum exclusively for Communist propaganda. But this is not what the world wants. The hope for better understanding in the face of nuclear threats is almost unanimous among the earth's peoples, and this includes the men and women of Russia.

As of now, President Eisenhower seems prepared to leave this weekend for Paris. And it is important that Western unity not be weakened by a prolongation of Khrushchev's blast and his threats to wipe out airfields in Turkey, Pakistan, and Norway, to name just a few of America's allies.

He is flexing his rockets, in which he does not necessarily have an advantage, and that is a far cry from the statesmanship which

will be needed to save the summit.

Fortunately, he has refrained from putting the blame on Mr. Eisenhower for what has happened in the Urals, and that is the only encouraging sign.

Our Changing Philosophy of Government

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. JAMES A. HALEY

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, May 16, 1960

Mr. HALEY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks I wish to place in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD at this time the editorial column, "Over in My Corner," which appeared in the May 12, 1960, edition of the Lake Wales News. I have a high regard for the writer, Mr. O. A. Brice, who in this instance has paused to reflect upon our changing philosophy of Government. Mr. Brice is a man of sound thoughts. I hope my colleagues will take the time to read and then to reflect upon the thoughts he has expressed in this column:

OVER IN MY CORNER (By O. A. Brice)

I guess I am just old fashioned. At any rate the pace we Americans are traveling to-day just doesn't seem to add up right somehow. Two and two doesn't make four any more. Instead of talking in terms of thousands of dollars we refer to billions and think nothing of it. Sometimes I resort to reminiscing in order to get my comparisons straightened out and my thinking kept in

A few moments ago I had one of those pieces of folding money commonly known as a dollar bill. It is figured by the economists that today this dollar is worth only about 44 cents from a purchasing standpoint.

Personally I can't understand where I am any better off financially or otherwise one of these dollars in my pocket which I earn twice as quick, than I was when I was a youngster and it took twice as long to get a dollar, but when it really bought a dollar's worth of merchandise.

No doubt some friend will argue that it only requires half as long now to get a dollar as it did then and that we have more leisure time. But I haven't seen many people who are able to slow up much on that account. It seems to take more dollars and more hours of work to meet the demand of modern living, so we are just moving in a circle which sometimes seems hopeless.

Maybe some of this reminiscing comes from the old hometown paper I received this evening. It told of the death of an old pioneer back in Kansas who passed to his reward at a ripe old age.

His demise recalls my "knee-pants" days when I passed along the store where he held a job candling eggs in the basement. I could always tell whether he was at work in that celler by the light which sifted up through the iron grates in the sidewalk and I never missed an opportunity of stopping for a few minutes.

My spending money wasn't any too liberal those days and I recall many an evening after school when I slipped down the stairway and asked him to let me help him with that seemingly endless job of candling those hundreds of cases of eggs.

He generally had an extra box in which there were holes to push those eggs before an electric light and as we graded-we visited.

The philosophy of that old fellow was of a type which has somehow stuck with me. He had seen the rough times of the Kansas pioneer-days when food was scarce for the family-when money was an unknown quantity-when interest rates run as high as 18 percent and when hundreds of families just lived on the things they grew on the farm.

To him money had very little value if it had to be secured at the cost of a neighbor or a friend. It was a commodity used when it was prevalent, but if it seemingly disappeared for a few months or years, people got along somehow without it. A dollar then could be depended upon to buy 10 dozen eggs or 6 pounds of fine bacon.

The old gentleman knew when he had a dollar in his pocket he could take home 6 pounds of fine steak, with some liver thrown in for the dog or he could have a gallon of milk, a couple of pounds of pork, and 5 pounds of coffee for the same dollar.

His hours of work were unlimited for he remained at the job until it was finished, but he didn't have anything else to do anyhow. No radio, no auto, no movie to interrupt him, and no cocktail party to attend. His dollar bill represented some sweat and labor when he got it.

He was proud of his job too, for he understood if he lost it, his position would be jeopardized until he found another. There wasn't any unemployment check waiting for him on Monday or old-age benefit when he was 65.

But even at that he lived until last week and passed on at the age of 98 years-not a rich man, but an individual with all the self-respect he had when I knew him and one who had contributed heavily to the development of the West where he spent a lifetime. w

His Congressman in Washington was the fellow he believed would best preserve the tradition of true Americanism without becoming involved in all the wars and bickerings of foreigners who have never loved the United States and whose guns will be turned upon our grandsons in the next conflagration.

He believed in those days that initiative was responsible for success-that men should work to pay their share of government and that women should maintain the home where families could be reared with a degree of respect for their parents and the things which God-fearing people believed would steer this Nation on the course chartered by its founders.

If times were tough perhaps the folks in Ohio would help out for a period. He never dreamed of a subsidy. When those silver dollars which circulated sometimes through that section disappeared, people just continued to go along by swapping eggs, chick-ens, and cream for the things they had failed to grow that year.

I don't recall as ever having made more than 15 cents any evening while I candled eggs along side of him in that cellar but the personality I learned to know, the outlook on life he possessed, and the belief he maintained in an America he loved, has some-how stuck with me to a point where as I spend my folding dollar tonight for a piece of beefsteak, I wonder.

Yes. I wonder if a lot of we so-called Americans aren't expecting too much for nothing and if we aren't just edging ourselves closer to that brink over which we will be pushed and we'll have nothing whatever to say about what job we do, where we will work, or how much take-home-pay we

Has a benevolent government caused us to forget that we are the government and those we send to Congress are our servants? be some genuine old egg-candling days would give us time to think our way through the haze most of us are experiencing.

At any rate some of this old philosophy of government and some old-time methods of economy might not be amiss in this age if America can hope to escape the fate of some of those nations of the world which depend upon us so helplessly tonight.

Bridgeport (Conn.) Sunday Herald Calls Announced Spying Policy Provocative and Dangerous

> EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. FRANK KOWALSKI

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, May 16, 1960

Mr. KOWALSKI, Mr. Speaker, I bring to the attention of my colleagues. under unanimous consent, an editorial published yesterday in the Sunday Herald, of Bridgeport, Conn.

The Sunday Herald has one of the largest circulations in New England, and its editorial on this critical subject is worthy of close attention.

Following is the text of the Sunday Herald's editorial:

UNITED STATES PURSUES A DANGEROUS POLICY

President Eisenhower's defensive and/or aggressive explanation of the "whys" and "wherefores" of our spy plane, which was brought down over Russia, makes our announced future policy both provocative and dangerous.

Walter Lippmann, in analyzing "The Spy Business" writes that "our position now seems to be that because it's so difficult to collect information inside the Soviet Union. it will be our avowed policy to fiv over Soviet territory, using the territory of our allies as

"Although the intention here is to be candid and honest and also to make the best of a piece of very bad luck," he continues, "the new policy, which seems to have been improvised between Saturday and Monday is quite unworkable.

"To avow that we intend to violate Soviet sovereignty is to put everybody on the spot. It makes it impossible for the Soviet Government to play down this particular incident because now it is challenged openly in the face of the whole world.

"It is compelled to react because no nation can remain passive when it is the avowed policy of another nation to intrude upon its territory.'

An American broadcaster, repeating what an English commentator said, summed up the lessons which we should have learned long before the American spy plane crashed inside Russia.

The Englishman dwelt on two rules of espionage of which the first is never to be caught, and the second-in an unfortunate eventuality-is never to admit anything.

Because the Eisenhower administration seems to have been amateurish in its approach to the intrigue of espionage, to our national and international embarrassment, we hadn't learned either lesson.

And the unforgivable third mistake was to permit the flight on the eve of the summit meetings.

The summit meetings might as well be cancelled because the only dubious advantage they will give us is to answer Mr. K.'s propa-

And as for President Eisenhower's visit to Russia, he can only invite national humiliation by going after he's been told to stay

Finding ourselves trapped, we are trying to extricate ourselves by improvising a new and unprecedented policy of openly declared secret spying on Russia. Can it work?

Ohio County, W. Va., Shows Need for Federal Assistance for School Construc-

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. CLEVELAND M. BAILEY

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, May 16, 1960

Mr. BAILEY. Mr. Speaker, a news item published in the Wheeling (W. Va.) News-Register, for Sunday, May 8, points up the need for Federal assistance for school construction. This news story, which I include as a part of my remarks, tells of plans in Ohio County to spend about one-half million dollars to eliminate fire hazards in existing school facilities. To raise this money, voters in Ohio County were asked to approve a special levy set at approximately 23 percent of all other rates.

Mr. Speaker, this is a commendable program and a worthwhile expenditure, but I invite the attention of the Members to the fact that this levy will not add a

single new classroom,

I also invite the attention of the Members to the fact that Wheeling, although in an area of diversified industry. is one of the areas of heavy unemployment reported by the Labor Department which would be eligible for assistance under the area redevelopment bill enacted last week.

The news item follows:

SCHOOL FIRE TRAGEDY COULD HAPPEN HERE UNLESS LEVY MONEY ELIMINATES HAZARDS

(By Al Molnar)

School fire, terror, tragedy.

It could happen here.

To safeguard against any disaster of this nature, Ohio County public school officials are proposing a special levy at Tuesday's primary election solely for the purpose of correcting fire hazards in all county schools. The last count shows a total of 217 different last count shows a total of 217 different

ferent hazardous conditions existing in the 29 schools and 34 buildings in Ohio County. Although many are small projects—such as can be undertaken by the maintenance staff—the biggest majority are large projects that will result in costly renovations at many schools.

The levy being put to Ohio County voters on Tuesday is set at approximately 23 percent of all other rates and is designed to raise a total of \$540,000 over a 2-year period that it is proposed to be in effect.

It has been estimated that the cost of eliminating the fire hazards in the county will amount to between \$450,000 and \$500,-000

The most costly project in all of the schools is closing stairwells. Nearly every school in the county has open stairwells which cause fires to spread more rapidly. About one-half of the total estimated cost of all the projects will be needed for the stairwells projects.

In a number of schools there are basement cafeterias, locker rooms, classrooms, and restrooms where the only means of escape in the event of a fire would be through a window. In many instances there are ladders leading to the windows.

All of these must be eliminated and doorways with properly marked exit signs installed. This will mean walls to be knocked out and other construction to comply with the order of the State fire marshal's office and the Wheeling Fire Department.

Installation of wire glass and metal sashes in many places, including windows within 10 feet of fire escapes is another big project among the many called for in the fire reports.

Levering Bonar, newly appointed superintendent of schools, said that if the levy is passed, further corrections will be started as soon as the money is available. Contracts were let recently on the corrections at three schools.

Voyage of the "Triton"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. LEO E. ALLEN

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, May 16, 1960

Mr. ALLEN. Mr. Speaker, the accomplishment of Capt. Edward L. Beach, the officers and men of the *Triton* will always stand out as one of the greatest Naval expeditions in history—in keeping with the highest traditions of the U.S. Navy.

President Eisenhower hailed the unprecedented feat in a special White House ceremony, at which time he conferred the Legion of Merit on Capt. Edward L. Beach.

The White House proudly announced the journey, which began, February 16 and closely followed Magellan's course of 441 years ago.

This achievement gave me great personal satisfaction because it was my privilege and honor to have appointed, Lt. Comdr. Robert W. Bulmer of Sterling, Ill., to the U.S. Naval Academy. Lieutenant Commander Bulmer served as the operations officer on the nuclear submarine *Triton* on this historic voyage.

When I appointed Robert Bulmer to the Academy in 1945, I was convinced that he would not only be a credit to himself, but also a credit to the U.S. Navy. He has always justified the confidence I placed in him.

Spires of the Spirit: Liberty in Law

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. EDITH NOURSE ROGERS

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 16, 1960

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I include the following article by Dr. Frederick Brown Harris, Chaplain of the U.S. Senate:

Spires of the Spirit: Liberty in Law (By Dr. Frederick Brown Harris, Chaplain of the U.S. Senate)

In the midst of his great ministry, one of the most outstanding preachers of the 20th century made a significant discovery and confession. The Nation was then passing through what was being called by responsible citizens an orgy of lawlessness. This nationally known preacher who was listened to eagerly by great crowds, in examining his own message, said: "I could not recall ever having preached a sermon on obedience; I could not recall ever having heard a sermon on obedience. I have searched volume after volume on modern addresses and sermons and I have not run upon any that dealt with respect for and obedience to authority. There were plenty on freedom, on the eman-cipation of the individual, on the outgrowing of old restraints, but few, if any, upon the necessity and glory of being mastered by what rightfully masters us."

Immediately after having been made conscious of that gap in the message to his generation, this prophet of God stood in the pulpit, which was his throne, and preached

a sermon on "Obedience."

Certainly now, years later, the pulpits of the land need to thunder the same message. One does not have to be an alarmist or a pessimist to declare that one of the ominous symptoms, as we enter this decade of destiny, is that authority has broken down in the State, in the family, in the individual.

In the movies and television, upon which the eyes of millions are glued for hours every day, obedience to law is taken lightly. The representatives of the law are habitually at a disadvantage on the silver screen. The judge, the detective, the policeman, usually comes off badly in the plot, and the mere husband is often in ill repute with the audience. Those who are thus entertained are regaled with the story of attractive murderers, high-minded robbers, and noble crooks. Even in cases of heinousness involving law we witness often a veritable debauch of public sentimentality expressing itself in specious explanations of why a criminal does what he does. It is all a silly exaltation of crime.

In May, by Presidential decree, the Nation observes "Law Day." In such an emphasis there is lifted before the gaze of all our people the fundamental conception on which all else in a democracy rests. Law Day floodlights the vital truth engraved on the facade of the noble edifice of the U.S. Supreme Court—"Equal Justice Under Law"—and of that sentence inscribed over the portal of the courthouse in Worcester, Mass.—"Obedience to Law Is Liberty."

Democracy is the faith that laws should

Democracy is the faith that laws should be made and enforced, not by an all-powerful monarch or by a dictator whose rule is tyranny, but by the whole body of "we, the people," and that laws thus made should be gladly obeyed by all the people.

Any willful violation of law thus enacted is a blow at liberty itself. In just laws there is registered the conscience of God-fearing people.

Much is being said and written these perilous days about freedom and emancipation from compulsion. More, much more, needs to be said about discipline and law. The demand "don't fence me in" must be interpreted, if life is to be worthwhile and reach its highest possibilities, in the light of the larger truth mirrored in a great hymn—"Make Me a Captive, Lord, and Then I Shall Be Free." Says a U.S. Senator, as with deep anxiety he sees what so many of his contemporaries are doing with their boasted liberty: "Unless discipline and obedience can be brought back to America we are on our way to the junk heap."

There is no way by which the democratic experiment can be saved if mad insistence on individual freedom to do as one pleases crowds out sober recognition of social obligations.

Often we hear of a "Back to God" movement. It is true that we need to get back to a conception of a God who is not, as some moderns have pictured Him, very amiable, even maternal, but to a God who stands for moral order—God who is all love, but also all law.

Too often we have confined our ideas of the Christ who revealed such a God as the "Gentle Jesus." We think of the Man of Galillee only in terms of pity and compassion and kindness. But in these qualities we do not really touch the fundamental thing in His character. It was the thing that sent Him to the cross—"Thy will be done, as in heaven so on earth"—"Not my will, but Thine be done"—"Whosoever shall do the will of God, the same is my brother, my sister, my mother." To follow that Christ means to heed the injunction—"Confirm thy soul in self-control, thy liberty in law."

South Africa and South Korea

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 16, 1960

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Record order. I include the following statement, in the form of a letter, which I received from the Reverend William B. Payne, president, Hazleton Ministerial Association, Hazleton, Pa., in which he sets forth the comments of the association concerning the action by our Government in the recent outbreaks in South Africa and South Korea:

Hazleton Ministerial Association, Hazleton, Pa., May 13, 1960.

Hon. Daniel Flood, Congress of the United States, House of Representatives, Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: The following statement was adopted by the Hazleton Ministerial Association at the April meeting relative to the action of our State Department with reference to South Africa and South Korea. The association directed that copies of this statement be sent to the State Department, to Senator Scott, and to you.

"We have been enheartened by the action undertaken and the statements made by the State Department regarding the violence inspired by the Governments of South Africa and South Korea.

"As lovers of political freedom, as men trained by the study of Holy Scripture to cherish the sacredness of human life, we stand aghast at the attempts to establish dictatorial rule in a nation established with the loss of so many American lives; we stand aghast at the attempts by governments anywhere to differentiate between the children of God on the basis of skin color.

"We commend the State Department in these two efforts to reassert the dignity of man, and are sure that not only our own congregants, but also all those who believe in the Fatherhood of God will understand these steps as being in the highest tradition of Americanism and western civilization."

Sincerely

Rev. WILLIAM B. PAYNE, President, Hazleton Ministerial Association.

Fairplay in the Milk Market

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. LESTER R. JOHNSON

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, May 16, 1960

Mr. JOHNSON of Wisconsin. Speaker, consumers in Connecticut have formed a unique organization called the Connecticut Milk Consumers' Association, Inc. It is dedicated to fair play in the milk market.

When hearings were held April 26, 27, and 28 by the Health and Safety Subcommittee of the House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee on my national milk sanitation legislation, Mrs. Joan Cunningham, vice president and secretary of that association, testified in support of my bill to eliminate the use of health rules as trade barriers against the free flow of high-quality milk in interstate commerce. Under leave to extend my remarks, I would like to include excerpts from her statement in the RECORD.

The statement of Mrs. Joan Cunningham, vice president and secretary of the Connecticut Milk Consumers' Association, Inc., follows:

TESTIMONY RE: H.R. 3840 BY THE CONNECTI-CUT MILK CONSUMERS ASSOCIATION, INC., EAST HARTFORD, CONN.

I am Mrs. Joan Cunningham of West Hartford, Conn. I am the vice president-secretary of the Connecticut Milk Consumers Association, Inc.

As we have been told rather consistently that ours is a unique organization, we felt it might be of benefit to briefly explain what we are and our purposes in existing at all. In the past, consumers in general have been accused of apathy regarding public hearings. We are consumers of milk who have no financial investment in the dairy industry beyond the payment of our milk bills. Con cern over the size of these bills motivated the formation of the Connecticut Milk Consumers Association in August of 1957.

Perhaps the simplest way of defining the philosophy of our group is to quote the pre-amble of our constitution: "The principles of the Connecticut Milk Consumers Association, Inc., are based on a belief of all members in the American system of free enterprise and the need of an alert citizenship to assure a continuation of such." It is because of this belief in the free enterprise system that we are here today testifying in favor of the national milk sanitation bill, H.R. 3840.

We have fought hard for our beliefs in Connecticut and have succeeded in having archaic restrictions lifted on container sizes by our State legislature, thus enabling milk to be sold in the more economical one-half gallon and gallon jugs. This has partially been responsible for a strongly competitive situation in our State and has brought the price of milk to the consumers more nearly in line with our surrounding areas for the first time in many years. We feel that passage of H.R. 3840 will be but another balancing factor to keep the situation reasonable.

Let me make one point clear, however. We are not trying to drive Connecticut farmers or dealers out of business. lieve that as long as a healthy dairy industry in Connecticut is justified and economically feasible, the consumers can and will support it. However, when premiums are demanded for local milk, the consumer should have the opportunity to choose lower priced, high quality out-of-State milk.

H.R. 3840, known as the Johnson bill, provides that milk which meets the standards set forth in the U.S. Public Health Milk Ordinance and Code as certified by State authorities in cooperation with the U.S. Surgeon General cannot be discriminated against by States or municipalities when such milk is involved in inter-State commerce.

The Connecticut Milk Consumers Association, Inc., favors passage of H.R. 3840 for the following reasons:

1. Competition sets more effective standards of sanitation than health ordinances alone can do. The U.S. Code sets high standards, and the competition of milk which meets these standards will tend to raise sanitary levels everywhere.

2. The U.S. Code sets as high or higher standards than Connecticut State dairy laws

3. We do not anticipate a flood of midwestern milk because under a Federal milk order, dealers would have no incentive to buy milk so far from the market as long as supplies are plentiful in the Northeast. However, prices would have to remain competitive to prevent uneconomic shifts in supplies.

4. Opening the closed New York cream market would benefit 13 million consumers

5. Connecticut, like many other States, has long used health regulations for economic ends. However, justice can best be served through equality of opportunity for pro-ducers and dealers capable of serving the market.

West Berlin Seen From Topside

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. JEFFERY COHELAN

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, May 4, 1960

Mr. COHELAN. Mr. Speaker, in the May 15, 1960, issue of the Washington Post, Mr. Roscoe Drummond raises some pertinent questions about the future of Berlin as we approach the summit conference. West Berliners have some interesting views on how we should approach the summit. What they think is important because, as Mr. Drummond savs:

What we must not lose sight of is that the freedom and the vibrant postwar de-mocracy of 2,225,000 West Berliners have been guaranteed by the Governments and the peoples of America, Britain, and France.

Mr. Drummond's article follows: WEST BERLIN SEEN FROM TOPSIDE

(By Roscoe Drummond)

WEST BERLIN.-The future of West Berlin will almost certainly be the center and substance of the Big Four summit conference in Paris.

To see what is at stake in this matter, as President Eisenhower, Khrushchev, Macmillan, and De Gaulle sit down together, we must, I think, look at the answers to the following questions:

Question. Why is the summit conference, which was to try to relax tension, turning into lacerating debate on the one issue most

likely to increase tension?

Answer. Because for the past 3 weeks Premier Khrushchev has been aiming a crescendo of threats at the United States, Britain, France, and Germany, insisting that we must withdraw from West Berlin and that unless we agree to "freeing" the city from our presence the Soviets will sign a separate treaty with the East Zone and leave access to Berlin in the hands of the East German Communist regime which surrounds

For a time, Washington hoped that the Soviets would not push the summit meeting to the brink over Berlin, but it now seems unavoidable.

Question. What does Khrushchev want in West Berlin?

Answer. He has been both explicit and vague. He has explicitly said that he intends to get the Western Powers out of their part of Berlin. As the first step to that end, he has proposed that West Berlin be designated a "free city" to which all could come and go and which both sides would promise to leave to its own government.

Let's be frank; as every West Berliner knows, this is an invitation to total Communist rule by stages since West Berlin is surrounded by a Communist puppet regime intent upon bringing it within its grip.

Question. Why do the Soviets think the

Allies will buy such a deal?

Answer. Obviously, there is no certain answer, but there is tenable speculation. Khrushchev can well figure that it doesn't hurt to keep on asking, that he can't lose by trying. He can hope for division within the Allies on whether to stand firmly against the Berlin threat and try to exploit such division.

My own conviction, strengthened since Khrushchev's aggressive handling of the spy plane incident, is that the Soviet Premier feels that the balance of military power is now on the Russian side and that his title to get something for it—like one arm around West Berlin-ought to be recognized and accepted.

He can't quite understand why we don't see it that way. That's why he must be so outraged by the united Allied refusal to yleld.

Question. How can we best deal with this issue at the summit?

Answer. Here in West Berlin and earlier in Bonn I found two principal recommendations.

One is that the West should not mount any massive effort to avert what will never be in our power to avert, namely, a separate peace treaty between the Soviet Union and its satellite regime in East Germany.

The thinking behind this view is that a peace treaty between Russia and East Ger-

many-which is like Moscow making an agreement with itself-does not per se affect rights in West Berlin and therefore we should not get trapped into paying a price to avert it. We must make our stand against any diluting of Western rights in West Berlin, which we can resist, not against a separate peace treaty which we cannot avert if Moscow decides to go ahead.

The second German recommendation is that instead of talking about reaffirming the rights of access to West Berlin, we make it clear that we do not intend to yield these rights but are willing to negotiate any new agreement which would define them more clearly and enable them to be exercised more efficiently and more smoothly.

What we must not lose sight of is that the freedom and the vibrant postwar democracy of 2,225,000 West Berliners have been guaranteed by the Governments and the peoples

of America, Britain, and France.

To set in train a chain of events which would erase this freedom, to bargain it away in any degree, would not make for peace; it would make for war. It would mean that the word of the West would be so compromised that it would seem very small and unreliable indeed.

Hon. Paul Brown

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. W. J. BRYAN DORN

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, May 16, 1960

Mr. DORN of South Carolina. Mr. Speaker, the Honorable PAUL BROWN is equally honored, loved, and respected in South Carolina as well as in Georgia. I have long admired and respected Congressman Brown. Coming here as a young man, I endeavored to follow in his footsteps. He is truly one of the greatest Americans of our time-courageous, patriotic, and forthright. All of my people in South Carolina join me in wishing for Congressman and Mrs. Brown a pleasant retirement in their beautiful and lovely Elberton, Ga.

The following editorial is from one of the greatest papers in the South, the

Anderson (S.C.) Independent:

CONGRESSMAN PAUL BROWN, A GREAT GEORGIA STATESMAN, WILL RETIRE

Congressman Paul Brown of Georgia's 10th District has announced he will retire

at the end of his present term. PAUL BROWN was first elected to the U.S.

House of Representatives in 1932 and his every waking hour for almost three decades has been devoted to efforts on behalf of his district, his State, and his Nation.

In 1932 near-starvation was abroad in the land, and rural areas, which made up most of the 10th District in that era, were par-

ticularly hard hit.

Congressman Brown went to Washington with the determination to do all within his power to better the lot of his constituents and to gain for them their rightful return for arduous labor.

As a freshman Congressman, he was a stalwart supporter of Franklin D. Roosevelt and the New Deal measures aimed at improving the lot of the farmer and working-

Others elected about the same time soon began falling away from such programs. They lost touch with their people. They became infected with "Washingtonitis" and mistook the voice of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce for the voice of the people. Most have long since disappeared from the scene.

Representative Brown never made that mistake. He never lost touch with his constituents and in the House he grew in wisdom and stature. On occasion of his 80th birthday, proceedings in the House were halted while fellow Congressmen on both sides of the aisle joined in expressing their respect and affection for this man from Georgia.

His devotion to duty is on record. For decades he maintained a 100 percent attend-ance at all rollcalls in the House.

But the real record of his service is written in the hearts of the people of his district. He answered their calls for assistance and advice with the same 100 percent attendance. No matter was too small for his attention. The man in overalls and the man in tophat were all the same to Paul Brown.

Throughout his career the planned development of the Savannah River's powerful potential has been one of his chief interests. He had to fight every inch of the way for every dollar appropriated to river development, but his faith in the rightness of this

development never flagged.

As a result, the entire region is now be-ginning to realize the benefits of such projects as Clarks Hill and the Hartwell Dam. In announcing plans for a mammoth \$280 million steam powerplant, Duke Power Co. officials have said the Middleton Shoals site would not have been chosen had not a steady flow of water been in prospect from

the Hartwell Reservoir.

Further, the vast H-bomb installation constructed in South Carolina near the Savannah River may have gone elsewhere had not it been for the Clark Hill Reservoir to assure the steady flow of water needed by

the atomic installation.

PAUL BROWN went to Congress in a time when a good many people didn't even know the name of their Congressman, or care. The Federal Government was far away, and the pre-1930 Congressman more often than not spent a good bit of time twiddling his thumbs. Come election year, he'd send out a few free seeds and that would be it.

But 1932 was a turning point. Nation recovered from the Republican depression, the country's economy began rolling in high and the duties of a Congressman multiplied overnight.

Instead of something of a sinecure, a Congressman's job became one of the most demanding and harowing and year by year the complexities multiplied.

Only a man of strong physical and mental constitution could have performed so efficiently and ably as Congressman Brown has done despite the inevitable toll of the in-

creasing years.

His statement as to the reason for his retirement is characteristically concise. "Under recent advice of my physician I have decided not to announce for reelection," he said. "I have not been too well for the past few months and the doctors say I must slow down and take it easy. I will be 81 years old at the expiration of my present term." He added: "I am tired and want to go

Congressman Brown will be missed in the halls of Congress, where in his own quiet and effective way he had become one of the most influential Members. He will be missed by his constituents in the 10th District. And we in South Carolina will miss him because much of his dedicated service vastly benefitted areas on both sides of the river.

Our hope and the hope of his multitude of fellow citizens is that in retirement his health will mend and he will be with us for many years to come-the well-earned autumn years of rest spent where he always preferred to be, that being among his friends and neighbors in Elbert and the other counties in his district in the State he loves and has served so faithfully and well.

Benita Wolf, a Christian Leader

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. JAMES W. TRIMBLE

OF ARKANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, May 16, 1960

Mr. TRIMBLE. Mr. Speaker, during the Washington Conference of the President's Committee on Employment of the Physically Handicapped, Arkansas was represented by Miss Benita Wolf, a student at St. Scholastica's Academy located in Fort Smith, Ark. Benita is a lovely young lady, a fine example of our young Christian leaders of today. She is typical of those young people who helped establish this country and of those who will help keep it strong and great.

We were honored to have her with us, and we wish for her all the happiness in life which she so richly deserves.

Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to insert in the RECORD as part of my remarks the essay which Benita wrote to win the honor of representing Arkansas at the Conference.

JOBS FOR THE HANDICAPPED-PASSPORTS TO DIGNITY

As human beings living in this thriving and prosperous world around us, we must always realize there are limitations to everything, no matter how modern or advanced we seem to think we are. No one and nothing is perfect; therefore; even the failings and imperfections that creation has within it has some special reason. So it is with the handicapped—that special group of people who because of certain obvious disabling abilities cannot perform all the tasks they wish to. But despite their disabilities, many of the handicapped have risen above the average individual and shown to the world that a true dignity is present within them and their labors. Exactly what and who are the handicapped?

According to the New York University School of Education, the handicapped are defined as "those who by reason of a physical, or mental disability are prevented from realizing the fullest physical, mental, social, vocational, or economic usefulness of which they are capable." But this definition would include a great number of human beings; for example, the person slightly deficient in perfect eye-sight or hearing, or one who has not had the necessary training for a specific field of work. However, the university definition adds: "The existence of a handicap is determined by the degree of the disability and the individual's capacity for self-adjustment." Of the estimated 23 million people with physical and mental disabilities in this country, few are handicapped for all vocational or occupational usefulness.

A handicap is a certain degree of limita-tion. But within the limitation of each handicapped person there remains a use-

Pamphlet "The Job for the Handicapped Man," p. 3, a publication of the National Association of Mutual Casualty Companies. 2 Ibid.

fulness and productivity. We must realize that a person is judged by what he can do, not by what he cannot do. It is that one defect of the handicapped person that is unable to be of use, not the whole person. If given a chance, the handicapped person, through sincere appreciation, his ability, and his realization of the dignity of labor, will fulfill his duty and prove to you that you made a wise decision in choosing him or her for his capabilities not his physical disabilities.

Because the handicapped are intent on proving their value and on providing their livelihood in the right job, they often set standards for workmanship and production which ascertain that hiring the handicapped is not charity, it is good business. Gainful employment not only helps them to lead happier lives, but studies have shown that many handicapped persons can actually perform many skilled and delicate jobs as well as, or even better than able-bodied workers.

Through employment the handicapped add to the efficiency of the work force; they are very careful to adapt or adjust themselves to the conditions they work in. Often they observe the company's rules to a better degree, and their attendance is more perfect than the able workers. They are safer and frequently more dependable than the other employees. By being able to have a good, regular job, the handicapped feel like whole, normal people again who have something to look forward to. They are restored to economic independence which is so essential to their feeling of security and usefulness. They also benefit the community as a contribut ing member who takes an active part in civil and social activities. Many times they become good leaders in their churches and local organizations. In general, they can help to make the State and Nation stronger.

Sometimes a handicap may be defined as a disadvantage which makes success more difficult; nevertheless, that success can be attained through hard work and determination. Philip D. Reed, chairman of General Electric Co., once said, "Give me the man with determination, for he is a doer. No physical handicap will deter a man who believes he can learn to do a job safely and well and is determined to prove it." Many handicapped persons have gained self-respect and the admiration and respect of others by means of the quality of determination. Consider, for example, Helen Keller. When only an infant, through severe illness she became a blind deaf-mute; but today she is one of the most admired women in the world. Miss Keller not only learned to read, write, and talk, but became exceptionally proficient in the ordinary educational curriculum; she graduated from Radeliffe College cum laude. She has written several wonderful books which should be an inspiration to all, especially the handicapped.

Then think of all the older people who will simply not give up their little jobs and constructive hobbies. They are determined to prove their usefulness and self-sufficiency. After retirement many live a great number of happy years yet because they have something to keep them and their minds occupied

and happy.

So it is with the majority of the handicapped—even after fallings and difficulties, they simply do not give up, and that is one of the secrets to happiness and success.

It is very edifying to see a handicapped person overcome his disability and make himself a real credit to society. It shows that the person involved is a strong one, in both character and spirit. Work raises man to a higher, spiritual level both in the eyes of God and of other men. If one can be

successful in his job, he can be successful in almost anything in life. The typical handicapped person is one with high ideals and aims who truly believes he can perform his job just as well, or better than the average able-bodied individual, and he usually does. He has overcome a great obstacle in his life and works constantly to prove himself capable of turning out excellent work. The employed handicapped person can be a wonderful example for anyone to follow, because he has fought a great battle and won.

There is a certain dignity present in all the handicapped who have learned to cope with their problem and find a great satisfaction in their work. Every employer should carefully consider hiring the handicapped because they deserve the chance to prove themselves and come out on top. Then everyone will truly realize that jobs for the handicapped are passports to dignity.

Invasion of Rights

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. THOMAS F. JOHNSON

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 16, 1960

Mr. JOHNSON of Maryland. Mr. Speaker, the Cambridge Daily Banner, a daily newspaper in my district, is to be commended for the splendid public service it renders in succinctly reporting news of national importance. Under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I include an article written by the Banner's outstanding editorialist, Mr. Maurice Rimpo. The article entitled "Invasion of Rights" follows:

Give the U.S. Department of Agriculture an inch, and it may demand the right to enter your yard, invade your business office, and snoop through your private records. The inch, in this case, is Federal Milk Order No. 127 covering the Upper Chesapeake Bay marketing area. That heterogeneous area takes in the rural Eastern Shore of Mary-land, Metropolitan Baltimore City, and several countles west of the Chesapeake Bay. Three small Dorchester County dairies have fought a bruising, expensive fight with Department of Agriculture bureaucrats against the order for more than a year. They were temporarily outmaneuvered by the glant Maryland Milk Producers Cooperative, which, under USDA rules, was permitted to cast a single bloc vote for hundreds of members in favor of a milk marketing order.

As evidence of the octopus nature of the Department's milk marketing controls, the Dorchester milk producers offer an April 29 directive from E. Hickman Greene, new marketing administrator for Maryland. Greene advises all milk handlers under his jurisdiction to be ready to open their offices and records to his auditors "for the purpose of examining accounts and records considered necessary to verify or establish the correct data" on such matters as milk and butterfat weights and tests, the uses of milk derivatives, and payments to producers and cooperatives.

The administrator's letter lists 32 kinds of records that may be checked. But, be cautious, the record inspection "will not be limited to" them. The inference seems to be that marketing area auditors have a large loophole to crawl through in any direction they wish. Suppose you were a businessman whose operation had just come under the jurisdiction of an administrative branch of the Federal Government. How would you

like to open up such records as these? Canceled checks, bank deposit slips, petty cash tickets, check registers, accounts receivable ledgers, cash receipts and disbursements journals, general journals, accounts payable journals, private and general ledgers, balance sheets or profit and loss statements. These must be shown in addition to more specific reports on milk receipts and disposition.

Your answer to all this might be: "Thank heaven, I'm not in the milk business." you are in the advertising business, then York Congressman Samuel S. STRAT-TON has a plan that might interest you. He has revealed to a Farm Bureau committee in his home district details of a plan that would put the Department of Agriculture in the milk advertising business. Representa-tive Stratton said he had in mind a plot, experimental, advertising and promotional program designed to raise milk consumption. While he has some reservations about Uncle Sam as a huckster, Representative STRATTON said with illumination: "The fact of the matter is that Government is already in the business to the tune of several billion dollars a year, and yet we still haven't solved the problem of helping the farmer obtain a reasonable income without interfering with his right to run his buisness as he sees fit."

While the Department of Agriculture legally interferes with the farmer's right to run his business as he sees fit in order to raise farm income, does it have the same authority to interfere with the milk handler's identical right to run his business as he sees fit? As they prepare to bar the door to USDA auditors, the Dorchester dairies answer with a courageous "No." Unable to solve the problem of production and consumption, the Department of Agriculture now seems dangerously close to saying that the most undemocratic means are justified when it comes to putting a floor under farm income.

"What Fellowship Hath He That Believeth With an Infidel?"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JOHN DOWDY .

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday May 16, 1960

Mr. DOWDY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I include the following copy of a letter addressed to the President of the United States:

AUSTIN, TEX., May 10, 1960.

Hon. Dwight D. Eisenhower, President of the United States of America,

Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: I begin by raising the Scriptural question "What fellowship hath he that believeth with an infidel?"

Since communism is first and above all militant atheism there can be no fellowship or meeting of minds at any level. Nor can there be coexistence and fraternization with the legions of hell.

Please, in the Holy Name of Christ whom we call Saviour, let there be no more summit meetings, exchange of visits, or any other contacts with those whose sole aim is the destruction of everything for which our Christian forebears fought and died.

Should we not rather be concerned in the matter of our Christian professions and our pledge of allegiance to our beloved flag and Constitution?

^{*}Leaflet, "Hire the Handicapped," the President's Committee on Employment of the Physically Handicapped.

Is not death with honor preferable to ex-

istence in atheistic slavery?

You led us to victory in hot war. Please now turn the tide of defeat in cold war by standing firm against those forces that would forever rob our children of the greatest heritage on earth-the freedom of our original constitutional Republic.

In God's name I write this to you.

In His service.

ROBERT L. KNIGHT.

Two Question Marks on West Berlin

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 16, 1960

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Rec-ord, I include the following column by Mr. Drew Pearson, writing from Berlin, Which appeared in the Washington Post on Saturday, May 14, 1960:

TWO QUESTION MARKS ON WEST BERLIN (By Drew Pearson)

BERLIN.-Most people have forgotten it, but the only reason for calling next week's summit conference in Paris was the allied isolated city of Berlin, still occupied by French, British and American troops 15 years after the war and still sticking like a very irritating free enterprise thumb into the side of European communism. It was only because Comrade Khrushchev threatened to squeeze them out of Berlin by force that President Eisenhower reversed John Foster Dulles a few weeks after he was buried and decided that the United States would agree to a summit conference.

Accordingly I came to this key city in advance of Paris to report on two big question marks-first, whether Berlin can be defended in case Khrushchev gets tough in Paris; second, whether it's worth defending.

It will be remembered after Khrushchev made his series of demands that the Allied troops be removed from Berlin that U.S. military experts met at Quantico and advised that, in case of a showdown, the United States could not break another Berlin blockade; therefore, we should follow a policy of talk and not fight. Exactly 1 year minus 1 month has passed since then and the question now is whether we are still any better off to champion the most important non-Communist city in Europe.

BRANDT PUZZLED

To get the answer I asked West Berlin's dynamic Mayor Willy Brandt what he thought of Mr. Eisenhower's earlier press conference statement that there is unlikely to be any Berlin blockade because "much of the raw materials West Berlin draws come from East Germany. They are a very fine customer of raw materials in that region and they deal also greatly with West Germany in commerce made out of these raw materials," Ike had said.

"We were puzzled when we read that statement," Mayor Brandt replied, "because we get no raw materials from East Germany and Our total trade with East Germany is only 1 percent. However," he added, "there are other reasons why I believe there will not

be a new blockade of Berlin.
"Khrushchev's public relations advisers will tell him that the story of a city beleaguered and starving is one which would arouse great sympathy throughout the world. Khrushchev is peculiarly sensitive to public relations

"However," continued the mayor of Berlin, "we are now in a better position than during the blockade 10 years ago. We have enough coal to last some time, also gasoline. It is now 8 o'clock," he said, looking at his watch. "At 8:30 all gasoline stations in Berlin would stop operating in case of an-other blockade and 2 days later we would be on gas rationing."

Do you have the rationing tickets print-

ed?" I asked.

"Yes," replied the mayor, "so I don't think Khrushchev will undertake a full blockade of Berlin. What he may undertake is some sort of limited blockade in order to force recognition of East Germany."

K.'S HAND STRONGER

Militarily, however, Khrushchev's hand is stronger than 1 year ago when the U.S. milltary experts met at Quantico and recommended we could not break a new Berlin blockade. He's not only stronger than 1 year ago, but is much stronger than during the last summit conference 5 years ago and since the Berlin blockade of 10 years ago.

Here is how strong Khrushchev is: Russia has 23 divisions in East Germany; the United States has 4 divisions in West Germany. The East German army is a crack disciplined force of half a million men; the West German army is in the process of building up to 12 divisions, and no match for it.

Some observers speculate whether the East German army could be relied on to fight, but our experts have noted unhappily that it appears under tight Communist control and that, while the East-German police have sometimes refused to carry out Communist orders against the German people, there is no such record in the East German army. Furthermore, not a single defector from the East German army has ever fied across the border. Aside from ground troops the United States has 1,000 shortrange missiles in Germany, all nuclear-armed. Though their range is only 300 miles they pack enough firepower to turn all Germany into a blackened desert. However, the Russians are believed to have far more atomic missiles on their side of the German border. We have not detected any IRBM sites in East Germany but the Soviets have hundreds of intermediate missiles in their own territory capable of hitting any target in Germany In brief, we are outgunned in missiles and

In airpower Russia now has a superiority of approximately 10 to 1 in Germany. Ten years ago we had air superiority both in Europe and throughout the world.

Upstream Storage and Coordination

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. AL ULLMAN

OF OREGON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, May 16, 1960

Mr. ULLMAN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I want to insert in the RECORD the following resolution on the issue of upstream storage and coordination which was adopted recently by the 17th annual convention of the American Public Power Association.

RESOLUTION 27-UPSTREAM STORAGE AND COORDINATION

Whereas optimum benefits from water resources depend on comprehensive, multiple purpose development of rivers; and

Whereas section 10(a) of the Federal Power Act now requires that a project may

be licensed only if it is best adapted to a comprehensive plan of development; and

Whereas section 10(f) of the Federal Power Act now does not require Federal downstream projects to make headwater benefits payments to non-Federal upstream storage projects; and

Whereas various measures have been introduced such as S. 1782 and H.R. 7201 to repeal section 10(f) and also provide means for coordination of projects, and

Whereas these issues are complex and require careful studies as a basis for new legislation: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the American Public Power Association reaffirms its opposition to S. 1782 and H.R. 7201 in their present form; and be it further

Resolved, That the association urges that the relevant Federal statutes be amended to authorize the appropriate Federal power marketing agency to enter into coordination agreements and contracts for the sale, purchase, and exchange of energy, stored water and use of transmission facilities with the owners of non-Federal hydroelectric generating facilities: Provided, That such arrangements may be entered into for periods not to exceed 50 years and be subject to review every 5 years: Provided further. That such legislation set forth standards to be used in formulating such agreements and include a method of appeal for the enforcment of such agreements: And provided further. That when such agreements require payment for headwater benefits, such payments shall not exceed the annual costs which would have been incurred if the downstream beneficiary owned and operated that portion of the upstream facility allocated to such downstream plant. Payments made under such agreements, may, if the agree-ments so stipulate, constitute complete satisfaction of payments required under section 10(f) of the Federal Power Act. No such agreement shall be contrary to the terms or provisions of any permit or FPC license nor shall any compensation be paid on behalf of any existing upstream storage project for any benefit it is legally obligated to provide as a requirement of its permit, license, or otherwise; and be it further

Resolved, That the association urges the Senate Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce to request the Secretary of the Interior and the Federal Power Commission to conduct a study of upstream benefits and coordinated operation as they may affect present and future hydroelectric power projects, and to report thereon as a basis for proposed legislation prior to January 1, 1961.

Congress Must Reassert Its Right

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. FRANK KOWALSKI

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, May 16, 1960

Mr. KOWALSKI. Mr. Speaker, I know that no Member of Congress wishes to say or do anything that might interfere with the President's freedom of action at the summit meeting.

However, once the summit conclave has been concluded, I believe that the Congress must move quickly and decisively to reassert and reaffirm its right to know what goes on in the executive branch of the Government.

Specifically, the legislative branch must insist that its constitutional powers are not infringed upon by any department or agency including the Central

Intelligence Agency.

The Congress should further insist that foreign policy be conducted by the Department of State, under the supervision of the President, and that extreme care be taken to prevent the making of decisions in this critical field by the military.

The dangers of the present situation are pointed out in an editorial printed Friday, May 13, in the Wall Street Jour-

I commend this editorial to the careful perusal of all Members of the House. The text follows:

A NEED FOR INTELLIGENCE

In all its recent statements, the State Department has been careful to note that President Eisenhower had not "authorized" the particular flight of the U-2 plane that penetrated more than 1,200 miles into Russia before it fell into Russian hands.

At his press conference the other day Mr. Eisenhower made plain that this was a mere quibble; the gathering of any information that will protect the United States was "authorized" by him long ago. Intelligence operatives are to use "whatever means necessary short of the use of force" to learn what Russia may be up to. Implicit in his statement was that while he had not "authorized" the specific flight of May 1, he had "authorized" any and all such steps.

His statement clearly backed up Secretary of State Herter's announcement that the United States would continue to do what it had been doing for some time past about aerial reconnaissance of Russia. But it did nothing to clear up his own statement of just a year and three months ago that "the orders were very strict" about flying near Russia's borders.

In answer to a question in 1959 whether a missing Air Force research plane had been lost testing Russian preparedness procedures, the President then said: "Actually now, have forgotten the limit, but I established it personally some time back a couple of years ago, and I am sure this happening is accidental." It is hard to see how anyone It is hard to see how anyone can infer from that statement anything ex-cept that U.S. planes were under orders not to cross Russian borders.

Perhaps the President means to make a distinction between using Air Force planes, which could be considered as the "use of force" he has said will not be employed, and using National Aeronautics and Space Administration planes engaged only in intelligence. It is a distinction, however, that will escape the Russians.

And it is a distinction that certainly will continue to escape some Members of Con-The other day Speaker RAYBURN demanded that the State Department and the Central Intelligence Agency tell Congress who ordered that pilot into the air over Russia. Senator Willis Romerson said he had attended many meetings of the Appropriations Committee, but nobody had ever said anything about flying planes over Russia; certainly the CIA Chieftain, Mr. Allen Dulles, hadn't. Senator STYLES BRIDGES demanded that the State Department and CIA explain the whole story to Congress. A day or so later Representative CLARENCE CANNON. chairman of the House Appropriations Committee, said right out that the aborted flight over Russia was one of a series planned by the CIA, approved by the White House, and known to a few Members of Congress as well.

So to say that Congress is somewhat confused over the operations, as well as the role, of the CIA is to note the obvious. Even though Mr. Herter now says that our "extensive aerial surveillance by unarmed civilian aircraft" was apparently not a secret to the Soviet leadership, it was obviously a secret to many Members of the House and Senate.

But if the President's orders of 15 months ago never applied to the CIA, if the limits have been lifted, and if flights into Russia are no longer accidental happenings and only a handful of Congressmen knew about the changes, Congress is in poor position to complain about the matter.

For Congress has consistently declined to keep itself—or even its leaders—responsible for knowing what goes on in the CIA. Senators and Representatives have acted as though this Agency, whose farflung operations are answerable only to one man, is somehow not only beyond an accounting but also above the errors that are common to all

What Congress learns of CIA's activities Congress learns only if and when Mr. Dulles is inclined to disclose some information, and then only what he wishes to tell.

The sole mission of the CIA is to gather intelligence and assess it, and it may very well be doing this job in an able manner. The point is that Congress does not know whether CIA is or not.

Therefore Congress should require that Mr. Dulles give an accounting of his stewardship so that it will know whether CIA is soundly manned and directed or whether it is perhaps more adventurous than it ought to be to serve the Nation best. In a word, Congress ought to choose a committee of responsible men to whom CIA is made responsible by statute. And Congress should waste no time doing so.

It is not our purpose here to pillory Mr. Dulles individually, for his responsibilities are very great. But the fact is that in a country where, by the words of the Constitution, only Congress has the power to declare war, Mr. Dulles' responsibilities seem to us to be far greater than they ought to be and his power of decision far broader than it ought to be.

We are not suggesting that Mr. Dulles should be forced to expose his espionage apparatus to the full gaze of the American public and thus to its enemies. But clearly an agency whose enthuisiasm for gathering intelligence and whose lack of judgment in doing so can actually endanger our oversea bases, our alliances and our reputation for candor and truth shall no longer be permitted to remain almost a law unto itself.

Spy Flight on the Eve of the Summit Was a Colossal American Blunder

> EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. BYRON G. ROGERS

OF COLORADO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 16, 1960

Mr. ROGERS of Colorado. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to have inserted in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial "Spy Flight on the Eve of the Summit Was a Colossal American Blunder" that appeared in the Denver Post, Denver, Colo., on Tuesday, May 10, 1960. I know this will be of great interest to all the Members

The editorial is as follows:

The spy plane incident brings home to Americans as never before what the cold war is really like.

It shows how difficult it is for a free and open society to operate openly and honorably against the secretive, monolithic Communist empire.

It shows how badly coordinated our national leadership is, with the peace-seeking right hand knowing little or nothing about what the war-deterring left hand is up to.

It shows how a calculated risk can backfire when the risk is not properly weighed.

For the tragedy of this incident goes beyond the fact that we got caught.

The tragedy is that we lost much more, at this delicate moment in history, than we stood to gain by not canceling the spyplane flights some time ago until the summit meeting and other negotiations were over.

There is a military argument that reconnaissance flights around and over Soviet territory give us data that makes it easier for us to deter or repel aggression. It is a valid argument.

The flights tell us about the buildup of Soviet missile potential, where the pads are,

which are combat-ready, etc.

They also serve as part of the free world's warning line against a surprise missile strike.

This information would help us strike back quickly and accurately at Soviet missile bases, to knock them out before a second strike could be launched.

From a strictly military standpoint, this information, so essential both to defense planning and striking ability, is worth risking the loss of a few planes.

But as a contribution to deterring world war III, this spy-plane technique has grave disadvantages, too.

In this era of pushbutton war, the necessity of split-second decisionmaking to avoid annihilation, a misinterpreted spy-plane invasion of Russian airspace could touch off an ever-widening exchange of missiles.

Even more likely, if the United States continues to probe the Soviet periphery, would be constant clashes of American aircraft and Soviet air defenses, with possible Soviet reprisals against American air bases in nearby nations. This in turn could spread into general war.

WAR BY ACCIDENT?

Finally, the spy-plane flights could lead to ever-increasing tensions, and just when some relaxation seemed possible.

The more tense American-Soviet relations become, the more likely one side or the other might, by design or accident, pass the point of no return.

It is precisely because of this danger that the United States-or at least part of our Government—has been trying to bring about a relaxation of tensions.

It was why the President had Khrushchev visit him, and why he is planning to return

It was the reason for the 1955 summit conference, and for the disarmament conferences now in progress.

It is the reason for this month's summit conference, too.

Though there may be military justification for the spy-plane flights, it would have been merely prudent to suspend them just before the summit meeting, and act as the little boy, who "jes' before Christmas" was as good as he could be.

In short, the military objectives should have been put aside because of the threat they posed to more important political ob-

This lack of commonsense precaution, together with the evidence from Washington that the President had not specifically reviewed such a dangerous technique in this

store needs closer minding.

Our right hand has obviously been working against our left hand, and the result has been confusion over what our strategy priorities really are as we head for the summit.

Nor is this the only recent occurrence that creates this impression.

Two others are the announcement this past weekend that we shall resume underground nuclear testing, despite the Geneva conference now dealing with the problem; and the President's recent announcement that Vice President Nixon might assume his summit seat if the meeting lasts more than 7 days.

Both showed not only a lack of faith in international negotiation, but also a willingness to take action that could make that negotiation even less likely to bear fruit.

The spy-plane incident shows the same

What about the effect of the exposure of these flights on our cold war position?

When the long-range effect is considered, this is clear: In preparing for the war we hope never to fight, we have injured ourselves seriously in the political, economic, and moral war we are already fighting.

SUMMIT POSITION HURT

We have put ourselves on the defensive just as we are about to step into an important cold war encounter-that is, the summit conference.

We have lost the solid ground of fairness and openness from which we could have negotiated.

We have given Khrushchev a solid issue against us, in which international law is all on his side.

We have opened the way for him to reap a propaganda coup bigger than anything he has yet accomplished.

But perhaps even more important is the damage done to the U.S. ultimate cold war

Until this past weekend, we could still say that we operated aboveboard, in contrast to undercover Soviet activities. We could claim that we tell the truth and the Soviets lie.

Now we can no longer assume that pose, and the consequent damage to our moral leadership of the free world has suffered, especially from the point of view of the uncommitted new nations of Asia and Africa.

This shows how shortsighted is the argument that we can justifiably engage in spyplane flights because the Soviets engage in much more farflung spying activities.

UNITED STRATEGY NEEDED

If we, like the Marxists, argue that the end justifies the means, it makes the war of ideas-which the uncommitted nations take very seriously-all the harder to fight.

If we adopt techniques similar to those of our enemies, how are bystanders to appreciate the vast difference between us?

For all these reasons, the game turns out to be not worth the candle.

We must now take all precautions possible to keep from threatening our summit position more than we already have, lest world opinion blame us for the failure of the meeting

We must also insist that our leaders define cold war priorities, and make sure that the pursuit of one does not endanger the pursuit of others.

This incident suggests that the Central Intelligence Agency and the Pentagon, which favor a hard line and a minimum of international negotiation, rule our foreign policy more than does the State Department.

It also suggests that the White House has been unable to reconcile the objectives of these two camps.

If American public opinion can now force a new effort to unify national strategy, then we may have salvaged something out of this colossal blunder.

presummit period, suggests strongly that the With Detroit Bypassed-Missile Policy Answers Wanted

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. JOHN D. DINGELL

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, May 16, 1960

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, pursuant to permission granted I am inserting into the Appendix of the Congressional Rec-ORD a thoughtful editorial appearing in the Detroit (Mich.) Free Press of Monday, May 9, 1960, entitled "With Detroit Bypassed—Missile Policy Answers Wanted."

The editorial sets forth questions on contracts on which the low initial bidder by some \$20 million was the Chrysler missile plant. These contracts were given to another facility in another part of the country which made higher initial bids. The editorial deserves proper consideration and it would appear meticulous congressional scrutiny. Certainly a matter involving the enormous sums of money required by the Saturn program demands an extraordinary degree of care in handling millions of dollars of taxpayers money.

Discrimination for or against industry in one part of the country requires an explanation unless based upon cost or clear requirement of statute.

The editorial follows:

WITH DETROIT BYPASSED-MISSILE POLICY ANSWERS WANTED

The remark of Dr. T. Keith Glennan, Administrator of the National Aeronautics and Space Agency, that most of Chrysler's work on the second stage of the Saturn rocket would have been done in Florida is a bit

Chrysler competed for the Saturn business in order to get work for its missile parts factory in Sterling Township. The assembly plant near Cape Canaveral was conceived as an added facility to solve a transportation problem.

The bulky Saturn rocket parts would be transmitted in subassemblies, and put to-gether close to the launching-pad. Our information is that more than half the total work would have been done in Michigan.

The source of Dr. Glennan's misapprehension might be interesting to discover. There are some other questions which the Space Committee of the House, for example, might lock into.

One question involves Dr. Wernher von Braun, the noted missile designer. Chrysler engineers worked closely for 8 years with Von Braun and the Army's missile engineers at Huntsville, Ala.

They developed the Redstone and Jupiter missiles to high degrees of performance and reliability. Chrysler and the Army did this in the face of hot competition from Air Force engineers who were working with aircraft firms to develop the Thor, Atlas, and other

Today Von Braun and his Huntsville scientists have come under the management of Dr. Glennan in the new civilian space agency, NASA, Many of Von Braun's new associates have been recruited from the Air Force-aircraft industry field.

Question: Have Von Braun's old Air Force rivals acted to break up the Army-Chrysler combination?

Again, does the NASA award of the disputed rocket contract to the Douglas Aircraft Co. represent some kind of subsidy?

Douglas has been losing money, according to recent financial statements. Douglas' Thor missile lost out to the Atlas and Polaris, just as Chrysler's Jupiter missile did.

But Douglas stands on a little different footing in the Pentagon. Douglas is one of the family of aircraft manufacturers built up and nourished by the Air Force to supply its military needs.

Most of Douglas business has been military, although it also is an outstanding builder of civilian planes.

Chrysler is a civilian manufacturer which does military business on the side, so to speak. Chrysler's profits and losses are its own responsibility.

Question: Do NASA officials feel any obli-

gation to keep Douglas in the black?

The loss of the Saturn missile contract

and the breaking up of the Von Braun-Chrysler association may very well drive the only Detroit missile maker out of the field, temporarily.

Ford and General Motors have subsidaries and divisions which contribute importantly to missiles and rockets but they are located elsewhere. The Chrysler plant is right here and employs hometown people.

If the Air Force feels that Douglas must be kept in the black at all costs, why should NASA do it? And why wouldn't it be a good thing to keep some of this new missile and rocket business going in Detroit and the automotive business?

Why wouldn't it be good to have auto workers here familiar with the skills and acquainted with some of the people involved in missiles and rockets?

The Sterling Township plant would seem to be a more promising base for emergency expansion in the event of war than just one more plant in missile-crowded California,

Question: Wouldn't it be better to keep Douglas going without sacrificing the only missile activity rooted in Detroit?

Bomarc B Successful Tests

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. THOMAS M. PELLY

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, May 5, 1960

Mr. PELLY. Mr. Speaker, the Air Force exercising its right of appeal has urged the Senate to restore House cuts in procurement funds for the Super Bomarc B program.

Since technical problems in firing this missile in initial tests were responsible. in part at least, for the cuts, I include a news item from the May 12, 1960, Seattle Daily Times which reports some subsequent successful tests. I hope when the House and Senate representatives go to conference on the military appropriations bill that this latest information will not be ignored:

BOMARC AGAIN SCORES DIRECT HIT ON SUPER-SONIC MISSILE

A Boeing Bomarc supersonic interceptor missile scored a direct hit on a Regulus II missile over the Gulf Test Range this after-

The Air Force shoot marked the second time a Bomarc has scored a direct hit on a target moving faster than the speed of sound.

The liquid-fueled IM-99A Bomarc blasted the Regulus from the sky about 175 miles from the Bomarc-launch site at Eglin Air Force Base, Fla.

The hit was made at an altitude of 43,000 feet

The closing velocity of the Bomarc and the Regulus II was greater than 4 times the speed of sound.

A second Bomarc launched 1 hour 50 minutes later scored a planned near-miss intercept of a QF-80 subsonic jet drone. A proximity fuse triggered the missile's firing mechanism as it streaked by the drone target.

Michigan-Your Opportunity

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. LOUIS C. RABAUT

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, May 4, 1960

Mr. RABAUT. Mr. Speaker, the title I have given my remarks today—"Michigan-Your Opportunity"-is also the slogan for Michigan Week, 1960. seventh annual observation of Michigan Week commenced yesterday, May 15, and will run through the remainder of this week. In general, the purpose of Michigan Week is to promote the great State of Michigan throughout the Nation. More specifically, the purposes of Michigan Week are three: First, to advance the economic and social progress of Michigan; second, to promote among Michigan residents and the people of the United States a better understanding of the advantages Michigan offers as a place for living, working, enjoying recreation and doing business; and, third to get all Michigan residents working together to make the State an even better place in which to live, work, and enjoy life. As a native and life-long resident of Michigan, I am happy to take part in this Michigan Week effort and to assist in advancing these fine purposes which I have just enumerated.

As a matter of fact, Mr. Speaker, it is comparatively easy for me to do this because the State of Michigan is replete with such a wealth of natural resources, commercial opportunities, and other advantages that I could go on virtually ad infinitum in extolling them.

Michigan is the largest State east of the Mississippi. The Upper Peninsula alone is equal in size to Connecticut. Delaware, Rhode Island, and Massachusetts combined. Both the Upper and Lower Peninsulas have been richly endowed by nature. Indeed the State motto: "If you seek a pleasant peninsula. look about you" is well justified. The economy of Michigan rests firmly upon the three main pillars of industry, agriculture, and the tourist trade. During World War II, the magnificent performance of Michigan's automotive industry earned for our State the title "Arsenal of Democracy." Our State continues today to be one of the foremost producers of military vehicular equipment and is also in the forefront of the vast new development and rapid expansion in the

manufacture of ballistic missiles—awesome and terrible weapons of the new space age.

The automotive industry, however, is only one among many in which Michigan is a leader. On the basis of value added by manufacture, Michigan also ranks first in boatbuilding, output of internal combustion engines, mobile homes, steel springs, hardware, industrial patterns, special dies and tools, and conveyors. Michigan is also known far and wide as an outstanding producer of furniture, breakfast foods, drugs and chemicals, sporting and athletic goods, steel, chemicals, salt, and paper products.

Michigan boasts of many new and upand-coming fields. One of these is the production of chemicals. The value added by manufacture in the chemical industry is even now in the neighborhood of \$600 million. The wealth of raw materials available within the State gives every prospect of boosting Michigan to one of the Nation's top producers of chemicals. In general, overall diversification of industry has proceeded at such a rapid pace that of the 453 industries classified by the U.S. Bureau of the Census, Michigan has 369—or 81 percent of the total.

What is more, industry is continuing to flock to Michigan in droves. For the 6-month period ending last month, April 1960, Michigan led all other States in industrial growth. During that time 94 new industrial facilities came to Michigan. This is far more than the second ranked State. Of these 94 new facilities. 74 were in the Detroit metropolitan area, including Ann Arbor. This means that this single metropolitan area acquired more new industrial facilities than any other single State. And it should be duly noted that these figures do not even include companies which leased or expanded into existing industrial facilities. These figures represent new facilities only. In short, during the 6 months ending April 1960, building permits were issued for 94 new industrial projects costing a total of \$111,121,209. Of this total more than \$62 million was in the city of Detroit and eight suburban communities. This Detroit figure does not include some \$20 million for expansion of 214 industrial plants and 87 industrial warehouse facilities during the same 6month period. Nor do any of these figures include any of the approximately \$150 million in new facilities announced or started in the previous 6-month period. It is easily seen, Mr. Speaker, that Michigan's tremendous attractiveness to industry has not diminished at all. To the contrary, it is on the upswing.

One of the main reasons for this attractiveness, of course, is the tremendous treasury of raw materials of which the State of Michigan can so justly boast. It is said that "whatever a manufacturer may need in the way of materials, it is probable that he will find them in Michigan." A study of a resources may of the State readily bears out this great abundance of nature's bounty.

Starting with Upper Peninsula, which is part of the greatest iron ore producing

region of the world—the Lake Superior District, we find very extensive iron ore deposits-Michigan's most valuable mineral resource. These deposits place Michigan second among all iron ore producing States. Since 1854, Michigan mines have shipped a tonnage of ore equal to the total excavation of the Panama Canal. Between 1860 and 1890 Michigan led the Nation in the production of lumber. Michigan lumber helped to build 19th century America. Although the forests have been largely cut over, Michigan is still a major lumbering State. In all, the State of Michigan boasts 19 million acres of forests, yielding about 1 million cords annually. It is expected that Michigan's lumber harvest wil be considerably increased as the second stand of timber grows in, for the lumbermen of the State are applying their knowledge of modern conservation methods to insure a continuing supply of wood. The hardwoods are basic to our furniture industry, while the softwoods underwrite Michigan's well-known paper and pulp industry.

Michigan is well endowed with many other natural resources. She is noted for her limestone. She is first in the production of salt in the Nation, furnishing about 20 percent of the Nation's supply. Of all the States, Michigan has easiest and greatest access to the bountiful supply of fresh water in the Great Lakes, by far the largest reservoir of fresh water in the world. Michigan annually ranks fourth in production of cement. She ranks high in the annual production of oil-over 10 million barrels per year. She is always very high. usually sixth, in the production of copper. Michigan has the world's largest limestone quarries and deposits of gypsum. Nationally Michigan is first in gypsum production and second in all stone production, including limestone. Michigan is second in the production of iron ore, supplying about 13 percent of the Nation's need.

Michigan's Lower Peninsula has extensive quantities of sand and gravel. Michigan's fine highways are built of her own native materials. The mention of highways brings to mind Michigan's wonderful traffic safety record. Although Michigan is high up among the States with the highest traffic volume, yet she has the second lowest number of traffic fatalities per 100 million miles traveled. In addition to industry, Michigan is a top notch agricultural State. The value of her agricultural products exceeds \$730 million each year. For example, Michigan annually produces: 42 million pounds of strawberries with a value of \$6.1 million; 65 thousand gallons of maple syrup worth \$350,000; 6,000 acres of peppermint worth \$800,-000; 3,000 acres of spearmint, a crop worth \$600,000. The Lower Peninsula of Michigan produces some 97 percent of the Nation's crop of navy beans. Beans may be baked in Boston, but they are raised in Michigan. The State also leads in the production of tomatoes, cucumbers, and cultivated blueberries. She is third in the production of apples. fifth in peaches, fourth in pears. In

addition. Michigan is the largest producer of red tart cherries and is third in the production of sweet cherries. Celery and corn are also large crops. In all. 44 different fruit and vegetable crops are grown commercially in Michi-

Recreation is also an important "product" for Michigan. The lakes, streams, and woodlands of the State combine to provide the perfect setting for vacationers. Ten million tourists annually roam the beauty spots in Michigan. The State's tourist and resort industry which caters to these millions accounts for a yearly revenue of some \$700 million. This great influx of visitors makes Michigan the fourth most popular vacation spot in the Nation, accounting for some 6 percent of the domestic tourist trade.

With all of these assets bestowed by nature, with the tremendous diversity of commercial activity and opportunity and with this great magnetism for tourist, it is readily obvious that the great State of Michigan is richly deserving of an eminent place among her sister States. I feel sure that she has been accorded such a position and I am equally sure that she will continue to earn and deserve the pride of the Nation and the respect of her sister States. I ask you. Mr. Speaker, and all other Members of this House to join me in saluting the great State of Michigan during this-Michigan Week, 1960.

Rural Electrification-A Monument to F.D.R.

> EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. MELVIN PRICE

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, May 11, 1960

Mr. PRICE. Mr. Speaker, it is my pleasure to call to the attention of the House membership an editorial which appeared in the Thursday, May 12, 1960, edition of the Belleville (Ill.) News-Democrat. The editorial is entitled "REA—A Monument to F.D.R."

This is true, but the Rural Electrification Administration is also a monument to the enlightened thinking of editors such as the Honorable Robert L. Kern of the Belleville News-Democrat. Mr. Kern gave editorial support to the vigorous and strong legislative program of Frankiln D. Roosevelt during the early days of the New Deal. The distinguished Belleville editor was in the forefront of the Nation's publishers who made the Roosevelt victory in 1932 possible and who gave editorial support to the proposals of the new President and his administration, which brought about permanent reforms that today serve as a protection against the economic evils of the past.

It must be very pleasing to Mr. Kern to look back over the successful record of an organization, the creation of which

he supported through the columns of his newspaper.

The editorial follows:

REA A MONUMENT TO F.D.R.

Twenty-five years ago, wth a characteristic jaunty smile and a typical wisecrack, President Franklin D. Roosevelt signed his famous Executive order that created the Rural Electrification Administration. It turned out being one of the most far reaching of all New Deal reforms, for REA has literally changed the face of America.

As our Representative Melvin Price

pointed out to congressional colleagues yesterday, at the time this governmental lending agency was created, only 11 percent of America's farms had electricity. Today, that figure has soared well over 96 percent.

America leads the world in electrified farms. Over 17 million rural residents now have electricity. This has contributed a large measure to the high output of America's farms, which represents our greatest advantage over Russia in the cold war.

American rockets may sputter while Russian ICBM's roar, but an overlooked but comforting fact is that poor Soviet farm production limits any extended Russian adventures. Soviet farms, lacking labor-saving machinery, and particularly electricity, have lagged far, far behind in production goals.

It takes 50 percent of all Soviet citizensnearly 90 million persons-barely produce enough food to feed the Soviet Empire. And an army, as Napoleon so aptly put it, still "travels on its stomach."

America, on the other hand, has about 15 million persons working in agricultureless than 10 percent of our citizens-and they produce vast food surpluses.

A sizable share of the credit for this amazing achievement rightly belongs to the REA.

A National Fuels Policy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. B. CARROLL REECE

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, May 16, 1960

Mr. REECE of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, on Wednesday, May 4, 1960, the National Executive Committee of the American Legion, meeting in Indianapolis, Ind., passed the following resolution upon recommendation of the National Security Commission of the American Legion.

The American Legion, composed as it is of veterans of World War I, World War II, and Korea, has always been in the forefront in supporting legislation that strengthens and supports the defense and security of our country.

Surely the fuels of this Nation are the basic factor of our economy for without coal, gas, oil, or atomic energy; the electrical industry, the railroads, the steel industry, the heating of our homes, most of the important segments of our economy would be completely stymied and totally ineffective.

America must never forget the basic factors in its long-range planning, and I congratulate the American Legion in its support of the proposed legislation dealing with a congressional study of the vital fossil fuels of this Nation, for in their strength is found the strength of America.

There is before the Rules Committee of the House of Representatives, of which I am a member, House Concurrent Resolution 661, as introduced by Congressman WAYNE ASPINALL, chairman of the Interior and Insular Affairs Committee, and House Concurrent Resolution 662 as introduced by Congressman JOHN SAYLOR, and some 12 other identical bills dealing with the study of the fuels of this Nation by a joint congressional committee.

I am happy to lend my support to this proposed legislation, as I am thoroughly conscious of the importance of this study in support of the defense of our great country.

The resolution follows:

Whereas the adequate defense and security of this country is dependent upon the amount of available fuels of this Nation in the event of war; and

Whereas the manufacture of steel, the operation of railroads, the making of electricity and the other important industries of our Nation are dependent on the fossil fuels: and

Whereas Canada, England, Russia, and several South American countries have established such a national fuels policy; and

Whereas all study groups appointed by the President; private research agencies; and industry groups have, without exception, urged such a Congressional study of the fuels of this Nation; and

Whereas the Federal Power Commission has repeatedly recommended such a study of the fuels and their availability; and

Whereas without such a study of the fuels by a congressional committee on all fuels, gas, oil, coal, atomic energy, there is no criteria upon which to base a fuels policy, and

Whereas there is now pending before the Senate and the House of Representatives Senate Concurrent Resolution No. 73, signed by 43 Senators of both parties; and House Concurrent Resolution 661 introduced by Congressman WAYNE ASPINALL, of Colorado: and House Concurrent Resolution 662, introduced by Congressman John Saylor, of Pennsylvania, and other Members of Congress; that establishes a joint congressional committee to study all of the fuels of this Nation and report to Congress on January 2, 1963, as to whether or not this Nation should establish a national fuels policy: Therefore, be it

Resolved, That the National Security Commission of the American Legion at its meeting in Indianapolis, Ind., on May 2 and 3, 1960, do hereby recommend the support of this legislation in the interest of national defense looking toward the study of the fuels of this Nation and the recommending of a fuels policy for this Nation.

Passed by National Executive Committee,

the American Legion, Indianapolis, Ind.

Address by Herbert Hoover Before 54th Annual Convention of the Boys' Clubs of America

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. CLARENCE J. BROWN

OF CHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, May 16, 1960

Mr. BROWN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Rec-ORD, I include the following address by Herbert Hoover, chairman of the board of directors of the Boys' Clubs of America, at their 54th annual convention, New York City, May 5, 1960:

Address by Herbert Hoover, Chairman of the Board of Directors of the Boys' Clubs of America, 54th Annual Convention of the Boys' Clubs of America, New York City, May 5, 1960

This is the annual meeting of the men and women who have the responsibility of carrying on a great character-building institution. Its organization and methods are familiar to you. But not so well known to the outside world.

This organization now reaches to 600,000 boy members mainly in the congested areas of over 300 great cities. We build character and make good citizens of these boys who otherwise have little chance.

APPROVAL OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE

The Boys' Clubs have received the approval of the American people. This organization has a special charter from the Congress. Adequate clubs cost from \$150,000 to \$500,000 to build. This association is receiving a new club about every 12 days. It costs about \$16 million a year to maintain the present clubs and the national organization. The cost of new clubs and their maintenance is provided by gifts of nickels, dimes, and small sums. The donors come from every group in American life.

Time and again organized labor has given freely of its time and services on weekends and holldays. Recently I dedicated a club building which would have cost \$250,000 to build. But it was built by the joint free service of employers and organized labor. When inspecting the 1,000 boys already at work in this club, I complimented the labor leader who headed their part in its construction. His reply was: "Do not forget that these are our boys."

YOUTH DELINQUENCY

We hear much these days as to the causes and the growth of youthful delinquency. The blame is usually put on the failure of parents; the failure of religious training, and the infections from the TV and radio.

But one cause is too often overlooked. That is that the boys in many of our slum or congested areas have no place to go for air and play except the streets. Being self-starting dynamos of energy and also being gregarious, they join in groups. These groups too often step first into mischief and from there to crime.

The purpose of these clubs is to give them an alternative to the life on the cobblestones and pavements. Under skilled guidance the boys receive two great services: They are organized into sport teams. And the rules of sports are second only to religion as moral training. The second great service is in our shops and reading rooms where the boys are given opportunity to determine their bent in life, whether mechanics, musicians, or the wide spaces of the literary world. We transform destructive glee to constructive joy. The Boys' Clubs are not a cure; they are a preventive of youthful delinquency. Every club has proved to be an oasis of decreased delinquency.

OTHER CHARACTER-BUILDING AGENCIES

The Boys' Clubs are but one of the many character-building institutions for youth. There are the Boy and Girl Scouts, the Campfire Girls, the Girls' Clubs, and many religious groups.

All these character-building institutions are short of adequate funds. The great charitable foundations should be supporting them with millions of dollars.

NATIONAL GOALS

These days we hear much about establishing national goals. The greatest national

goals of all human history were established in the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States. All these character-building institutions give their support to these goals. Millions of these kids only learn of these goals from these institutions.

In the Boys' Clubs the boys of every race and religion take pride in this pledge:

"I believe in God and the right to worship according to my own faith and religion.

according to my own faith and religion.

"I believe in America and the American way of life * * * in the Constitution and the Bill of Rights.

"I believe in fair play, honesty, and sportsmanship."

Is not the upbuilding of these characterbuilding institutions also a national goal?

This Is Our Michigan

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. MARTHA W. GRIFFITHS

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 16, 1960

Mrs. GRIFFITHS. Mr. Speaker, the Michigan congressional delegation wishes to call attention to the book "This Is Our Michigan," copies of which have been mailed to all Members of the Congress in connection with the 1960 observance of Michigan Week, being celebrated this week.

We commend this book for your reading, for it tells the story of our water wonderland State in a way which makes clear why we do have the honor of serving it in this Congress are so tremended the provided of the State.

dously proud of our State.

"This Is Our Michigan," is an easy-to-read narrative of a sturdy people who have pioneered, persevered, and prospered. It is the story of people whose productive genius in World War II made Michigan known and respected as the arsenal of democracy, and in whom the spirit of American democracy burns today with unceasing fervor.

The book is an authoritative recital of the attributes, resources, and achievements of a richly endowed and energetic State which a century ago produced the lumber to build many of America's cities and the iron ore to build its railroads, and whose automobile factories in a later era put the Nation on wheels.

It is also the story of a State whose scientific research and whose inventive and productive talents have helped prepare this Nation of the conquest of space.

The author of "This Is Our Michigan" is Willard Baird, an experienced newspaperman in our State capital at Lansing and chief of the State capital bureau for Federated Publication, Inc., which publishes the State Journal in Lansing and the Enquirer and News in Battle Creek. His years of painstaking research and compilation of data for this project culminated in a series of 59 articles written for those two daily newspapers early this year.

So great was the interest in the articles elsewhere in Michigan that Federated Publications, Inc., made the material available as a public service to all

other Michigan dailies and weeklies. Altogether, it was published by more than 150 Michigan newspapers.

Now, as an additional public service endeavor, Federated Publications, Inc., has published the entire series in an attractive book which will be widely used as a reference work by the schools and libraries of our own State and, we hope, by similar institutions in other States.

In it you will find, briefly yet clearly narrated, the history of Michigan from Indian days through the French and British colonial periods, territorial times, and early statehood to the present day. You will find in it also the story of Michigan's tremendous natural resources, its industrial eminence, its impressive records in agriculture, its fame as a tourist and resort State, and its many cultural achievements.

It is a story we in Michigan are pleased to share with the rest of the Nation, and one we hope you will enjoy reading.

THADDEUS M. MACHROWICZ, First District.

GEORGE MEADER, Second District.
AUGUST E. JOHANSEN, Third District.
CLARE E. HOFFMAN, Fourth District.
GERALD R. FORD, JR., Fifth District.
CHARLES E. CHAMBERLAIN, Sixth District.

James G. O'Hara, Seventh District.
ALVIN M. BENTLEY, Eighth District.
ROPERT P. GRIFFIN, Ninth District.
ELFORD A. CEDERBERG, 10th District.
VICTOR A. KNOX, 11th District.
JOHN B. BENNETT, 12th District.
CHARLES C. DIGGS, JR., 13th District.
LOUIS CHARLES RABAUT, 14th District.
JOHN D. DINGELL, 15th District.
JOHN LESINSKI, 16th District.
MARTHA W. GRIFFITHS, 17th District.
WILLIAM S. BROOMFIELD, 18th District.

Sanitary Rules Should Be Used Only To Protect Public Health

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. LESTER R. JOHNSON

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, May 16, 1960

Mr. JOHNSON of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, when Mrs. Vera Mayer, general secretary of the National Consumers League, testified April 28 at hearings held on my national milk sanitation bill by the Health and Safety Subcommittee of the House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee, she pointed out that consumers should not be made captives of a local milk monopoly. She added that they particularly resent being made captive by the use of alleged health standards as trade barriers. Under leave to extend my remarks, I would like to include her statement in the RECORD: STATEMENT OF MRS. VERA WALTMAN MAYER,

GENERAL SECRETARY OF THE NATIONAL CON-SUMERS LEAGUE

The National Consumers League is grateful for this opportunity to present to the subcommittee its views in support of HR.

3840. For more than 60 years, the League has been an ardent supporter of legislation to improve the standard of living of all the citizens of our Nation. Our stand was, and is, based on the conviction that as consumers, we have an obligation and a responsibility to better the living and working conditions of those who produce the goods we purchase. Of course, as consumers, we share with all members of our society the desire for purity and safety in the products we purchase.

We believe that the enactment of H.R. 3840 will be conducive to more efficient production and marketing of high quality sanitary milk for shipment in interstate commerce. Such a development would be very much in the interest of consumers.

Obviously, we cannot claim to be experts on this technical legislation. But we are impressed by the various reports, including the record of hearings by this subcommittee in 1958, which show that sanitation regulations are used to restrict markets.

As consumers, we do not want sanitation regulations to be toyed with. We want sanitation regulations to be used to protect our health—not used for other purposes. We want sanitation regulations which we can trust as truly health-protective—not ones which are in conflict with each other for the attainment of other objectives.

It is exactly because consumers are not experts in this field that we need some standard, some guidepost. Conflicting standards confuse the consumer. He cannot possibly know which actually protects his health and which is a trade barrier. We need help, and we believe H.R. 3840 will provide that assistance.

Further, we oppose trade barriers which make us the captives of a particular group of dairies. We particularly resent being made captive by duping us concerning sanitation standards, which are so obviously important to us.

We understand that the fluid milk industry represents one of the few areas where the Congress has not exercised its constitutional authority to regulate the sanitation aspects of interstate commerce. Instead, it has allowed such regulation to go by default to local and State sanitation authorities.

Under these circumstances, it is not surprising that there has developed a hodge-podge of regulations, differing from State to State and from market to market, which may frequently permit sanitation regulations to be used to restrict the entry of high quality milk from other than immediate local sources.

We believe that H.R. 3840 and its companion bills are sound and flexible. H.R. 3840 does not force States and municipalities to adopt the milk ordinance and code recommended by the U.S. Public Health Service. It merely provides that when interstate milk plants qualify under this code, milk from such plants cannot be restricted from entering any market on the grounds of sanitation regulations.

We are particularly impressed by the fact that the current bill has been drafted so as to follow closely the recommendations of the Association of State and Territorial Health Officers. We are confident that these experts, together with the U.S. Public Health Service, would urge only legislation which provides full safeguards for consumer health.

In short, we urge the enactment of H.R. 3840. We believe it will help end the confusion which has purposely been created about milk sanitation standards. It will provide consumers with a good standard prepared by the U.S. Public Health Service and approved by the organization of State health officers. And most important of all, it will end the use of alleged health standards as a tool for trade barriers.

The 25th Anniversary of the Rural Electrification Program

SPEECH

OF

HON. JOHN BRADEMAS

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 11, 1960

Mr. BRADEMAS. Mr. Speaker, I am proud to join my colleagues in paying tribute to the 25th anniversary of the rural electrification program, a social and economic achievement which by 1960 has brought electricity and power to more than 16 million Americans.

It was on May 11, 1935 that the President of the United States signed the Executive Order that created the Rural Electrification Administration.

In August 1938 a group of rural Americans heard the warm, familiar voice of their President dedicating the Lamar Electric Membership Corp. at Barnesville, Ga. The President explained the events that led to his signing the Executive Order, the silver anniversary of which we are celebrating this month, and concluded with these words:

So it can be said that a little cottage at Warm Springs, Ga., was the birthplace of the Rural Electrification Administration.

With these simple words President Franklin Delano Roosevelt described what has come to be recognized as one of the principal accomplishments of his administration.

REA ONE OF SAM RAYBURN'S GREAT CONTRIBU-TIONS

The rural electrification program must also be regarded as one of the greatest of the many contributions to the American people of our beloved Speaker, the Honorable Sam Rayburn, of Texas, for the Rural Electrification Act of 1936 was introduced by the then Chairman Rayburn of the House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee, and the late Senator George Norris, of Nebraska.

We in Indiana are particularly proudthat the Honorable Claude Wickard of our State, Secretary of Agriculture under President Roosevelt, was Administrator of the REA program for 8 years. Mr. Wickard was selected as the principal speaker at the Silver Anniversary observances held on May 11 this year at Warm Springs, Ga.

Mr. Speaker, many citizens of the State of Indiana and of the third congressional district, which I have the honor to represent, are today receiving the benefits of REMC-financed electricity.

REMC'S SERVE THE PEOPLE OF LA PORTE AND MARSHALL COUNTIES

For example, there is the REA-financed electric system with headquarters in Plymouth, Ind., the Marshall County Rural Electric Membership Corp. The president of the cooperative is Gordon Smith and the manager is Clayton E. Robinson. The first REA loan to the Marshall County REMC was made on October 12, 1936. Since then REA has approved a total of \$1,195,000 in loans to this borrower of which about \$850,000 has been advanced. The loans were made to finance the construction of 738 miles of distribution line to serve 3,014 rural consumers in Marshall and St. Joseph counties.

Portions of La Porte County, also in my district, are included in areas served by the Kankakee Valley REMC of Wanatah, Ind.

REA'S FINE RECORD IN INDIANA

Mr. Speaker, at the time the Rural Electrification Administration was created on May 11, 1935, only 23,476 farms in Indiana, or 11.7 percent, were receiving central station electric service. Current REA estimates show that 152,850 farms in the State, or 99.5 percent of all farms recorded in the 1954 census, were being served by June 30, 1959. REA-financed rural electric systems serve about 64 percent of these electrified farms.

Through April 1, 1960, REA had approved a cumulative total of \$69,989,393 in loans to 47 electric borrowers in Indiana, of which 46 are cooperatives.

The REA loans were made to enable the borrowers to construct 37,726 miles of line, and other electric facilities, to serve 164,584 consumers. Loan funds actually advanced to the borrowers amounted to \$62,565,284 by April 1, 1960. With the help of this financing, the locally owned and managed systems had already placed 38,151 miles of line in operation and were serving 170,513 farms and other rural consumer outlets. The average monthly consumption of electricity by these consumers had increased from 200 kilowatt-hours in 1950, to 427 kilowatt-hours in 1959.

REA electric borrowers in Indiana have repaid \$26,487,077 on the principal of their Government loans. In addition, they have paid \$10,366,710 in interest and \$3,033,659 ahead of schedule. No borrower in the State is overdue in its loan payments.

In 1950, the year the first REA telephone loan was approved, 61.8 percent of the farms in Indiana had telephones. By the end of 1953, it was estimated that 122,000 farms, or 81 percent of all farms in the State had telephone service.

RURAL ELECTRIFICATION HAS HELPED BOTH RURAL AMERICA AND MAIN STREET

Mr. Speaker, rural electrification has meant greatly improved standards of rural living, health, and sanitation and a new and undreamed of efficiency in farm production. The REA loan program has, moreover, generated billions of dollars of business for people who do not live in rural areas. This includes the billions of dollars invested in electric lines and facilities as well as the lengthy list of appliances and equipment for farms and homes.

These purchases and the labor required to build the lines and do the wiring have made jobs for millions, and profits for merchants up and down every main street in America.

Mr. Speaker, the REA program has helped change the face of rural America, and change it for the better. I am proud to be a supporter of the REMC's of my State and I take this opportunity to salute you, Mr. Speaker, for your historic role in bringing locally owned REA to the American people, and to salute as well the members of the REMC's of Indiana for their fine demonstration of democracy in action at the grassroots level.

The Summit Conference

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. PHILIP J. PHILBIN

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, April 28, 1960

Mr. PHILBIN. Mr. Speaker, the action of the Soviets in scuttling the summit conference and withdrawing the invitation for President Eisenhower to visit the Soviet Union next month, while sensational, is not particularly surprising.

It was also most disappointing to many people who felt the conference might possibly help to ease current tensions and promote peace.

The Marxist formula, being followed by the Soviet, does not desire the easing of tensions or the establishment of peaceful conditions. It is compounded of diplomatic strategy and propaganda tactics designed to encourage and arouse as much agitation, turmoil, and disorder in the world as possible.

We are presently witnessing a large number of incidents, some of them in our own hemisphere and Nation, which indicate the widespread influence of the world Marxist movement.

It is unfortunate that some way cannot be found, through dispassionate discussion and exchange of views, to eliminate some of the basic causes of friction, but so long as the Soviets are intent upon using Marxist tactics and pursuing Marxist goals, we are not likely to develop in diplomatic councils that good faith and that sincerity of purpose which always must be indispensable ingredients of any successful worthwhile diplomatic conference.

Perhaps the breaking up of the conference at this time, if it is broken up as reported, may bring some good results. It would at least avoid a woeful waste of time and energy on the part of our representatives and negotiators and would remove a most important source of communistic propaganda activity leveled against the free world, and particularly against the United States.

It is a real pity that the nations cannot sit down together in an earnest effort to hammer out an agreement for disarmament, control of nuclear energy through inspection safeguards, and the liberation of subject and enslaved peo-

Until these great questions are resolved, there can be no lasting peace in the world. And Mr. Khrushchev will have to take the grave responsibility for this unhappy and dangerous situation.

There are other encouraging aspects, namely, our great military and economic power and our unwillingness to knuckle under Communist threats.

Barring constructive agreements, this power and strength will continue to be the real deterrent to large-scale war and, I hope, to small-scale ones as well.

I hope that the President will speak out strongly for freedom and let Mr. Khrushchev and the world know, by unequivocal language, that we intend to protect our security and our liberties, and we are willing to talk with any nation that honestly and sincerely wants to talk peace and justice.

Federal Aid to Education

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. JOHN P. SAYLOR

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, May 16, 1960

Mr. SAYLOR. Mr. Speaker, Wednesday, the 18th of May, the House of Representatives has scheduled the bill now pending before the Committee on Rules, H.R. 10128, the School Construction Assistance Act of 1960.

I urgently request my fellow colleagues to read the comments appearing in the School Board Journal of May 1960, as made by Mr. Robert E. Wilson, associate professor of educational administration of the Temple University in Philadelphia, Pa., which I wish to include as a part of my remarks:

HOW FEDERAL AID WILL SIMPLIFY ADMINIS-TRATION

(By Robert E. Wilson, associate professor of educational administration, Temple University, Philadelphia)

During the current rage over the advisability of Federal aid to education there has been overlooked its potential for simplifying the problems of administering public schools. Assuming that the Federal Government shares the major burden of financing schools in the future, and also shares the concomitant responsibility for operating the schools, by the year A.D. 2000 a superintendent of schools could handle these common administrative problems in the simplified manner in the following manner:

Parent: I want my child's teacher changed. Superintendent: I only work here; see your

Citizen: My school taxes are too high. Superintendent: See your Congressman; finance bills originate in the lower House.

Teacher: Our arithmetic books are worn out; can we order new ones?

Superintendent: This is election year; no additional expenses this year.

Citizen: Kids are cutting across my lawn on the way home from school and have damaged my petunias.

Superintendent: Don't bother me. File your list of damages with the U.S. regional court of claims.

Parent new to the district: What school will my child attend?

Superintendent: The U.S. Office of Education does not distribute its building and pupil allocation until August.

Teacher: When can we start teaching that new unit which we developed for 8th grade history some time ago?

Superintendent: Let's see, we submitted our recommendations for that unit in 1922. They're working on it last I heard,

Janitor: I want a raise.

Superintendent: See your Congressman; finance bills originate in the lower House.

High school student: But why can't we have a pep rally?

Superintendent: This is an election year; White House directive dated January 4 forbids all rallies that might detract from nominating convention rallies.

Parent: How many days will we get for Christmas vacation this year? Superintendent: Maybe I don't have to

answer that question; did you vote in the last national election?

Parent: That teacher kept my child after

school just for throwing a paper wad.
Superintendent: Detention for paper-wad throwing upheld by U.S. Supreme Court, Althouse v. Union School District, Georgia, (11 T. 381, 1976).

Principal: Why didn't I receive my annual supply of writing paper for the third grade? Superintendent: Congressional committee increased military appropriation this year; education budget reduced.

Parent: You're not teaching phonetics like

they used to?

Superintendent: USGPO Bulletin No. 98472-Y eliminated phonetics, especially when they occur in words.

Parent: How do I get the bus to stop in front of my house?

Superintendent: See Senate subcommittee on intrastate communications and transpor-

Board member: Who got our coal order last year?

Superintendent: I can't react to that question; my secretary-clerk, junior grade, misplaced my 1999 copy of manual of superintendent's stock answers to inquisitive board members.

Citizen: As chairman of the local campaign for foot corn research, may I have permission to solicit funds from pupils?

Superintendent: This is an election year: White House directive of January 4 forbids any solicitation of funds from pupils enrolled in public schools (on school time) for other than party campaign chest.

Parent: My child can't eat that lousy food served in the cafeteria.

Superintendent: Why tell me? Write the secretary of agriculture.

Parent: The discipline in this school is too lax.

Superintendent: This is an election year; White House directive of January 4 forbids school officials from alienating any registered voters.

Parent: My little Everett is so smart for his age; why can't you make an exception for him to start first grade even if he won't be 6 until December?

Superintendent: Is he Republican or Democrat?

Farm Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. W. J. BRYAN DORN

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, May 16, 1960

Mr. DORN of South Carolina. Mr. Speaker, the following is a brief résumé of a talk I made to the Clinton (S.C.) Kiwanis Club's annual farmers night program, April 14, 1960:

FARM PROGRAM

(Address of Congressman William Jennings Bryan Dorn at Kiwanis Club's annual farmers night, April 14, at Clinton, S.C.)

The most serious domestic problem facing the people of the United States is the farm situation. Farm population in the United States has dropped to 11 percent of the total, the lowest percentage in the history of the United States and the lowest of any major world power in the history of the world. This is a dangerously low percentage.

The United States was founded by men with a rural philosophy. The Declaration of Independence, the Constitution, and the Bill of Rights were largely written by rural men. Washington, Jefferson, Madison, and Monroe were all outstanding farmers. The fact that Washington and Jefferson were great farmers made them good Presidents. Nearly all of the Presidents in the history of the United States were born and reared on a farm or associated with a farm. The membership of the Congress for 130 years was overwhelmingly rural. Farmers have initiative. They are independent. They think for themselves. They cannot be herded or coerced to the polls by goons and ward bosses. It is difficult to get up a mob-or overthrow the Government with busy, contented landowning farmers. A man who is busy milking cows and tilling the soil is not going to lead a march on the Nation's Capitol to overthrow representative government.

We do not find Communists and Socialists engaged in the pursuit of agriculture. Our rural areas are no breeding ground for juvenile delinquency. Rural people go to church and support good schools. The rural home is the bedrock of a democratic society.

Under the price-support and acreage-control programs, the American family-size farmer has been reduced to a state of peonage. One-half of the burley-tobacco growers in the United States, under this Government program, are permitted only one-half acre or less-in a nation that originated the culture of tobacco. Under these Government programs, cotton acreage has fallen off in the United States 60 percent since 1930. We have lost cotton markets at home and abroad. One-third of the cotton farmers in the United States grow 5 acres or less. The percentage is even greater in the Southeast. It is impossible for a farmer to clothe, support, and send his children to college with less than 5 acres of cotton or one-half acre of tobacco.

What opportunity is there for a young man with an ambition to be a farmer? He cannot possibly become a farmer unless he inherits a farm or marries into one with allotted acres. Farming is the only business in this so-called free nation that a young man cannot go into—he is not permitted to do so by a government of free people. Under these Government programs, the situation gets worse and worse. Surpluses mount and the rural population decreases, with more and more people on the welfare rolls and more looking to Washington paternalism.

These farm programs could not have served Russia's purpose more if they had been written by the Kremlin's planners of world conquest. America's population is being concentrated in the great cities, easy to annihilate with the atomic bomb, easy to herd into political machines, and easily subjected to propaganda and agitation. In fact, the first farm program inaugurated in the United States was written by questionable characters—one of whom has since served a term in the penitentiary. The farm program was written by Alger Hiss, Nathan Witt, Frank Shea, Rex Tugwell, Lee Pressman, Henry A. Wallace, and Felix Frankfurter, presently a Justice of this notorious U.S. Supreme Court.

These were principally bright young attorneys, most of whom knew nothing whatever about agriculture.

Under the programs these men inaugurated, we grow less and less, our farm population shrinks, while Russia grows more and more and every nation in the world increases her farm acreage. Soviet Russia since 1955 has added over 100 million new acres to agricultural production. Rhodesia exempts her farmers from land taxes to grow more and Turkey exempts her farmers from inmore. come taxes to grow more and more. In this country we passed a soil bank to get our farmers to grow less and less. Incidentally, the average farmer in Rhodesia plants 65 acres of tobacco; in Canada, 30 acres; and in the United States, may I repeat, half of the tobacco farmers are permitted to plant only one-half acre or less. The same is true with cotton and wheat. Foreign nations grow more, with American foreign aid, while we grow less. We send them marketing experts, fertilizer experts, and the net result is to put our own people out of business.

Under the cotton price-support loan program, in the year 1958 358 farmers in the State of California received \$50,000 or more; Arizona, 194; Mississippl, 237; South Carolina, 1; Georgia, none; North Carolina, 2; Alabama, none. Here in the Southeast we are not only being forced and tricked off the land, but we are paying the bill for others to become bigger and bigger. The atmosphere is being carefully created so that someday a campaign of land reform will explode in the United States along the lines of China's and Cuba's agrarian reform. The only segments of our farm economy holding its own, growing; free, and with hope, are those outside of Government control and price supports—for example, livestock, pine trees, citrus fruits, and vegetables.

On my farm I grow beef, pine trees, and grass, because I can do so without Government regulation,

The pressure was put on Congress to put price supports on livestock, but I am so glad today we resisted these pressure groups. The beef surplus simply vanished through increased consumption. Livestock today accounts for 54 percent of the farm income.

Yes, we need a farm program, a new farm program, a positive program, one that looks to the future, one that will offer hope to the youth of this country, one that will becken to the teeming millions in the crowded cities, one that can assure us food and part-time employment for the unemployed during times of depression.

1. The No. 1 plank in this farm program should be gradual elimination of price supports and all acreage controls. Our free Nation cannot long survive as long as its farm population is regimented, controlled, and paid to do less and become weaker.

2. The Government subsidizes certain business operations to stay in business, to expand, grow, and to employ more people. On the other hand, we subsidize the farmer to plant less and less, to employ fewer people and to buy less fertilizer, machinery, and supplies. We are simply paying him directly to go out of business. It would be much better for the Nation if we paid the farmer to grow more, not less, and if we paid him directly to stay on the farm instead of moving toward the overcrowded cities.

 Get rid of the surplus by promoting markets abroad and expanding our markets at home.

4. Develop new crops and new uses through expanded research and advertising. Dr. Herty kept thousands of farmers in business by research on the pine tree.

5. Expand the rural development program.

6. Give the farmer more Federal tax advantages so he can compete with the tax exempt farmers of foreign nations. Give him a break with local taxes by making him pay less for improved rural property. The

policy now is to tax a farmer if he paints his house and improves the appearance of his farm. The local taxes of many farmers have doubled since improving his place by sheer initiative and effort.

7. Imports—the farm problem could be solved in one stroke by prohibiting imports of livestock, cotton goods, and other farm commodities we already have in surplus. Over 100 million new acres could be used in the United States to produce the beef, wool, sugar, cotton, tobacco, grain, and other farm commodities now imported from foreign countries.

South Carolina needs new industry, but more than anything else we need to save our old industry which consumes cotton from our farms. We need new industry, but we also need a South Carolina Planning and Development Board for Agriculture. South Carolina's agriculture development must keep pace with its industrial development. It will be tragic for the future political and social welfare of our State if we become all industrial. We must have a balanced economy. We must preserve our South Carolina rural heritage, traditions, and philosophy.

We have a great agricultural college at Clemson. Clemson's agricultural program needs the full support and backing of all of our citizens, both urban and rural.

Through research and planning, South Carolina was able to switch from indigo to rice, to cotton, and now to livestock and pine trees. South Carolina must and can continue to be largely agricultural.

Congress Should Take a Look at CIA

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JOE L. EVINS

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 16, 1960

Mr. EVINS. Mr. Speaker, the events of the past week on the international scene are highly disturbing. They point out dramatically that in the delicate state of relations between the nations of the world it is necessary to maintain the highest degree of responsibility in all actions we take that might affect our international relations.

Mr. Speaker, in view of these recent developments I want to join with others in expressing the hope that Congress will take a look at the CIA and its operations in the public interest as suggested in the editorial of the Nashville Tennessean of May 11 which I ask unanimous consent to insert in the Appendix of the Record. The editorial follows:

IF CIA CHIEF IS ON HIS OWN CONGRESS SHOULD TAKE A LOOK

Days after the spy plane debacle in Russia, the truth is beginning to come out in Washington, and to that extent the United States position is being improved.

Having been mouse-trapped by Mr. Khrushchev, Secretary Herter has clarified the question of authority for the gathering mission which came to such a calamitous end.

The broad policy of aerial espionage, we are told, came from President Eisenhower, acting in accord with the National Security Act of 1947. Since the beginning of his administration, Mr. Herter said, the President has put into effect directives "to gather by every means possible the information required to protect the United States and the free world against surprise attack and to

enable them to make effective preparations for their defense."

Under the President's directives, therefore, various programs have been carried out, including "extensive aerial surveillance by unarmed aircraft," it is revealed. In a burst of candor, it is emphasized that flights over and near Russia will continue as needed.

The earlier claim that there was no responsibility for the U-2 flight as far as Washington was concerned, thus is revealed as double-talk and subterfuge of a kind that has impaired the administration's claim to open dealing in international matters.

We can believe that the President did not press the buttom, as it were, for this particular flight, and that brings up the question of how uncontrolled the Central Intelligence Agency may be just before the summit.

If Mr. Allen Dulles, head of CIA, has not been called on the carpet for his part in the colossal blunder, it would be surprising. For it is obvious that even if he had not been told to cease his activities lest the summit be wrecked, he should have acted to this end on his own.

Yet there is a good deal of evidence that when Mr. Dulles acts on his own judgment, he is very apt to be wrong. Along with General MacArthur, he is charged with having goofed on the Chinese Communist participation in Korea, and his organization allegedly was taken by surprise when Nasser seized the Suez Canal. Other instances of missed signals could be listed.

Regardless, therefore, of whether Mr. Dulles becomes the goat of this particular blunder, there is ample reason for Congress to revive the proposal that a permanent joint committee be established to make continuing studies of the CIA's secret activities, for which it is not accountable to the body which created it and appropriates operating funds estimated at from \$100 million to \$1 billion annually.

While there is general fear lest mistakes

While there is general fear lest mistakes lead to nuclear war, a free-wheeling intelligence agency calls for some sort of scrutiny and direction.

Confidence in White House direction has been hard hit by the latest turn of events. And for this development Columnist James Reston of the New York Times has a simple explanation:

"He [the President] is not even managing his own departments preliminary to the summit, and this, of course, is precisely the trouble."

Insofar as it can help correct this strange situation, the Congress has every right and reason for investigating to the fullest.

Washington Report

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. BRUCE ALGER

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 2, 1960

Mr. ALGER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following newsletter of May 14, 1960:

WASHINGTON REPORT

(By Bruce Alger, Fifth District, Texas, May 14, 1960)

The Department of Agriculture appropriation bill, just enacted, presented the contradictory though not too unusual spectacle of Congressmen debating and agreeing to the expenditure of public money for a program that practically everyone, for varying reasons, thought wrong, yet the bill passed

handily without a record vote. called for approximately \$4 billion in various agriculture subsidies. The Appropriation Committee's own report on the bill highlights the inconsistencies. Here are some quotes: "The Federal Government is now spending far more in the name of agriculture than ever before in history * * * yet farm income in 1959 was at the lowest level since World War II. * * * Since 1953 the following 'cures' have been offered, tried, and from the record found wanting, so far as solving the problem is concerned. are listed reduced price supports (lower assured prices), soil bank (to pay farmers for acreage left untilled), Public Law 480 (to give surpluses away at home and abroad), Agriculture Department personnel increase 28 percent, appropriations increase of 300 percent, and production controls lowered (reduced acreage control). And still the problem remains unsolved. "The cost to the problem remains unsolved. Federal Treasury since 1952 now totals \$25.8 billion. * * * Farmers tend to increase their production as farm prices are reduced."

The soil bank failed, according to the report, because we paid farmers for land that already lay idle; further; that if 56 percent of all farms were retired at \$10 per acre per year, costing us \$2.75 billion, we would cut production only 9 percent. The problem, as the report states, "will never be solved until Congress attacks the problem at its base, which is overproduction." The report then shows that the \$13.5 billion in food given away at home and abroad under Public Law 480 since 1954 has not eliminated the surpluses, but rather "has contributed to a constantly deteriorating situation for American agriculture by getting these huge surpluses out of sight abroad and thereby postponing action to prevent the increase in the surplus problem." Also, the report states that Public Law 480 "should be considered a foreign aid program and should be paid for in the mutual security bill." Speaking of acreage controls, the report states, "while efforts to control production through acreage controls have not been effective, it appears unwise to eliminate them." Under the heading, "Corrective Action Urgently Needed", we find, "the situation becomes progressively worse. * * It is imperative the present approaches to this problem be reversed if the agricultural industry of this country is to survive and if we are to prevent a bankrupt agriculture from pulling down the rest of our economy." Yet the bill passed perpetuates the present programs.

The forthright report stopped just short of the truth. The truth is that Federal sub-sidy (Federal money and Federal control) will kill private enterprise ultimately. True, to a degree, industry can live on, through accumulated productive strength, against the debilitating Federal regulation, much as a ship moves despite barnacles. True, taxpayers can survive economically despite the weight of taxation much as a strong man can carry a heavy burden and still do other tasks. But in either case or in combination of the two, subsidy and taxation, free enterprise, private initiative, and individual freedom go down the drain. We are now witnessing the struggle of a dying, free industry, originally a free industry-agriculture-because of the Federal Government. The solution? Get the Federal Government out en-Only then can normal market sunply and demand react and result in the right prices, which in turn will result in a good income to the farmer, balanced against the costs of other commodities. So the effort of Congress should be directed toward freeing the farmer, not regulating and subsidizing him deeper into trouble. The bill passed without a record vote. I voted against it and desire to be so recorded. I predict that if Congress will not take the statesmanlike position, then the people will force action,

just as happened in the labor reform bill, passed despite House leadership opposition. It would be better, and hurt the farmers less, it seems to me, if the Congress and the farm industry effected the changes voluntarily than to have it forced on them.

Russia's propagandistic blustering concerning the American "spy" was answered forthrightly by the chairman of the Appropriations Committee in a floor speech. Mr. Cannon pointed out our failure to anticipate the Communists' Korean attack which cost our own unready troops dearly. So it is that for 4 years CIA (Central Intelligence Agency) by design has been sending planes over Russia to observe in order to protect ourselves, so far as possible, against buildups for surprise attacks. He likened the appropriation of funds for this work to the secret atomic work at Oak Ridge which preceded the atom bomb, unknown to all but a few of the Members of Congress. Espionage is a part of modern warfare and survival. Ours is hardly comparable to Russia's infiltration and subversive efforts. It was a refreshing statement. Russia needs to be told once and for all that we are deadly serious in our intention to protect freedom-loving nations, and if they don't like it, that's just too bad. Tough and direct action is all that blusterers understand. Only as we are strong, tough-minded, and tought-talking, will we prevent war and strengthen and attract the only kind of allies we want, specifically those equally dedicated to preserving freedom for mankind against the godless, slave-state alternative of communism.

Pensions for World War I Veterans

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. AL ULLMAN

OF OREGON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 16, 1960 .

Mr. ULLMAN. Mr. Speaker, it seems to me that the time has now come when Congress must take action to fulfill its obligations to the veterans of World War I. A most important step toward obtaining a World War I pension is support from the major veterans' organizations. It will therefore be of great interest to the Members of Congress that Willamette Heights Post No. 102 and Ontario Post 67 of the American Legion and Willard Anderson Post 2471 of the Veterans of Foreign Wars, have endorsed the passage of a separate pension program for World War I veterans. Their resolutions follow:

RESOLUTION ASKING THAT THE AMERICAN LE-GION GO ON RECORD AS SUPPORTING A SEPA-RATE PENSION FOR THE VETERANS OF WORLD WAR I

Whereas veterans of the First World War did not participate in the generous postwar benefits afforded veterans of World War II and Korea, nor comparably in social security or retirement, health and insurance plans which were not generally available prior to World War II; and

Whereas it does not seem fair to such veterans of World War I now of an average age level of 65 years, that they be lumped together with the younger veterans of later wars in a single pension program that does not take into consideration their particular needs as is the case with the War Pension Act of 1959; and

Whereas the veterans of First World War now number only a small segment of the total retired veterans of all wars, approximately 2 million, many of whom are already receiving small and inadequate pensions or compensation allowances: Now, therefore, be It

Resolved, That Ontario Post 67 of the American Legion hereby goes on record as supporting the principle that a Federal pension program should be provided for veterans of World War I, separate and apart from that provided for veterans of the United States' later wars, and with such liberalization of pension benefits as may be justified in relation to the fiscal welfare of our Nation; and be it further

Resolved, That a copy of this resolution be sent to each member of the Oregon delegation in Congress of the United States, and a copy to State headquarters, Department of Oregon, the American Legion for considera-tion at the 1960 State convention of said department.

Approved May 11, 1960, Ontario Post 67, the American Legion.

SAM KENNEY, Commander. S. J. MILLIKIN, Adjutant.

Whereas veterans of the First World War did not participate in the generous postwar benefits afforded veterans of World and Korea, nor comparably in social security or retirement, health and insurance

plans which were not generally available prior to World War II; and Whereas it does not seem fair to such veterans of World War I now of an average age level of 65 years, that they be lumped together with the younger veterans of later wars in a single pension program that does not take into consideration their particular needs as is the case with War Veterans Pension Act of 1959; and

Whereas the veterans of the First World War now number only a small segment of the total retired veterans of all wars, approximately 2 million out of 22 million, many of whom are already receiving small and inadequate pensions or compensation allowance: Therefore be it

Resolved, That Willamette Heights Post, No. 102, the American Legion, hereby goes on record as supporting the principle that a Federal pension program should be provided for veterans of World War I, separate and apart from that provided for veterans of the United States later wars, and with such liberalization of pension benefits as may be justified in relation to the fiscal welfare of our Nation; and be it further

Resolved, That a copy of this resolution be sent to each member of the Oregon delegation in the Congress of the United States. and a copy to State headquarters, Department of Oregon, the American Legion, for consideration at the 1960 State convention of said department.

Adopted unanimously, Portland, Oreg., the 21st day of March 1960.

RESOLUTION FOR PENSION PAYMENTS TO WORLD WAR I VETERANS

Whereas H.R. 9336 to amend title 38, United States (Spanish-American War Veteran) Code, by adding section 513, "to provide for payment of a \$100 per month pension to World War I veterans without any restrictions as to income": Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That we, the members of Willard Anderson Post 2471, Veterans of Foreign Wars, in regular session at The Dalles, Oreg.; do urge our Senators and Congressmen from Oregon, to introduce legislation to amend title 38, United States Code by adding section 513, "To provide for payment of a \$100 per month pension to World War I veterans, without any restrictions as to income"; and be it further

Resolved, That we urge the department of Oregon to concur in this action, and instruct our national convention delegation to support this action; and be it further

Resolved, That a copy of this resolution be sent to the Oregon VFW paper for publication; that our adjutant be instructed to circulate a copy of this resolution to all post members and prospective members, urging them and their families to write to Senator Wayne Morse, Senator Richard Neuberger and to Congressman Al Ullman asking each of them to introduce legislation similar to H.R. 9336, in this session of Congress, on behalf of World War I veterans,

HARRY H. PETERSON. Commander. CLIFFORD L. SMITH. Adjutant.

American Mining Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON, JOHN P. SAYLOR

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, May 16, 1960

Mr. SAYLOR. Mr. Speaker, the American Mining Congress held its convention in Pittsburgh, Pa., at the Pittsburgh-Hilton Hotel during the week of May 9.

One of the outstanding addresses delivered to that convention was made by the Honorable Fred A. Seaton, Secretary of the Interior.

Secretary Seaton's speech points out many of the items which are of grave importance, not only to the coal industry, but to the Nation during the coming years. I wish to include this address, as a part of my remarks, as follows:

Address by Secretary of the Interior Fred A. SEATON, AMERICAN MINING CONGRESS COAL CONVENTION, PITTSBURGH, PA., MAY 9, 1960

The energy market, like our economy as a whole, is a highly dynamic phenomenon. Viewing its development over the last century, two characteristics stand out with particular clarity.

1. There has been a steady and very substantial rate of overall growth.

2. Within the expanding energy market, a complicated interplay of economic forces has produced an unusually high degree of fluctuation in the demand for different fuels.

The high ratio of demand for coal came in 1901, up to 90 percent of the market, before the curve turned downward under the impact of competition from oil and gas.

It is true that today, oil provides twofifths of the energy used; coal and natural gas, about one-fourth each; with hydropower and natural gas liquids providing the remainder.

It is also true that while your industry's production in 1901 was about 293 million tons, today it is over 430 million tons.

The congressional panel on the Impact of the Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy forecasts that overall energy consumption in the United States will reach 75,000 trillion British thermal units by 1975. Other authoritative estimates are in substantial agreement.

Thus, the professional consensus is that the United States in 15 years will be using 85 percent again as much energy as 5 years

For coal this could mean an increase of some 75 percent over 1955, with estimated

production levels ranging up to about 750

million tons annually.

Some believe you will do even better than hold the portion of the market you now sup-This optimism is based on the assumption that increased demand for fuel in the United States will be mainly for electrical energy, a field in which coal is at its best as a competitive fuel.

For the competition which is to come, you of the coal industry have already set powerful forces in motion to work in your behalf.

You have mechanized to an astonishing degree. Preliminary estimates for 1959 put the overall average output at more than 12 tons per man per day. By comparison, very few other countries have been able to reach an output level of 2 tons per man per day. Parenthetically, these few exceptions do not include Russia

It is highly significant that at a time when your industry has progressed to the highest efficiency level in the world, you also enjoy the best record for health and safety.

The high plane of sound labor-management relations in your industry has provided a dependable supply of coal at competitive prices. It has also fostered cooperation in your industrial operations, marketing, and public relations.

Through such cooperation, notwithstanding significant increases in the cost of labor, equipment, supplies, and the general effects of inflation, the average price of coal f.o.b. the mine has been less than \$5 a ton throughout the past decade.

On the industrywide organizational front, you have made it clear that you will continue to attack your problems in an aggressive manner. Indicative of that is the work of such organizations as the American Mining Congress, which is our host today.

Important as these achievements are, the master keys to what you have been able to do, in my opinion, have been the varied and imaginative scientific and technologic research in which you have engaged, and the individual initiative you have displayed. It is obvious that without research, the degree of mechanization you now have would still be a dream, not a reality. Without mechanization it would have been absolutely impossible to hold the cost line. Without initiative and the willingness to accept change, you would now be trying to compete in a 20th century market while using the 19th century mining methods.

For an industry in a field as competitive as yours, a continuation, even an acceleration, of research activity is an absolute necessity. I assure you that the Depart-ment of the Interior wants to be both helpful and effective in your endeavors.

That pledge isn't mere talk. We mean it and our actions prove we do. The Department now has underway comprehensive analyses of coal production, distribution, and marketing methods, as well as projects ranging from geologic mapping to the development of new uses for coal.

At this afternoon's meeting, Bureau of Mines' personnel will present a film, showing preliminary work done last fall on hydraulic mining of coal. It will indicate that given certain conditions, coal can be effectively mined by the use of high-pressure, high-velocity water jets.

Recently, Bituminous Coal Research, Inc., made available to us the coal-fired gas turbine with which it had been conducting studies at Dunkirk, N.Y. The Bureau of Mines is working to adapt this equipment to stationary powerplants. If its performance lives up to our expectations, it will greatly increase powerplant efficiency and should prove to be particularly valuable in those arid regions of the West where water is in short supply.

Much as we are doing in coal research, we want to do much more. That is why I have repeatedly urged enactment of H.R. 3375, a bill now pending in the Congress to provide the Secretary of the Interior with much-needed authority to contract for coal research.

It is my firm belief that research programs of an immediate and applied nature can be carried out most efficiently through contracts with appropriate public and private organizations.

We sincerely hope this legislation is approved in this session. I have already announced that once we have the authority, a special office of coal research will immediately be established to serve as our contracting agent.

Greater activity in the field of applied research would complete the research spectrum from the long-medium range to those of the short range, of immediate benefit to the coal industry. Such a three-pronged approach would make possible a united attack of science and technology on many of the problems of the coal industry. You and I will agree that is exactly what we must have, and the sooner, the better.

In developing this new program, the Office of Coal Research will utilize fully the guidance received from advisory committees which would include representation from all segments of your industry. Our experience in this kind of activity with the Office of Saline Water has been highly successful, and we are sure that a similar operation for coal will produce equally significant results.

As you are all aware, the Department of the Interior and the coal industry share other common interests and problems.

In March of 1959, President Eisenhower ordered the imposition of a system of mandatory controls on imports of crude oil and of its principal products, including residual fuel oil. The President made it clear that the purpose of the oil import program was to insure a healthy domestic oil industry capable of exploring for and developing new oil reserves to replace those being depleted.

Understandably, your testimony has a high degree of interest in the level of residual oil imports. One obvious reason is that many industrial installations, particularly electric utilities on the east coast, are able to switch quickly from coal to residual oil to natural gas, depending upon the price and availability of these competing fuels.

I would prefer to believe that we would all agree that the program, as it applies to residual fuel oil, cannot be administered in a manner so as to cause real shortages or result in real hardships to consumers. That would be morally indefensible, even if legally possible.

In April of this year we necessarily made an upward adjustment in the level of allocations for residual imports for the period ending June 30, in order to avert a serious shortage of residual on the east coast, however, that shortage may have been caused. That adjustment, together with the unim-ported portion of the original allocation for the first half of the year, made the total amount available for import in the second quarter of this year almost identical to actual imports in the second quarter of 1957, the base year for the residual part of the mandatory program.

We are engaged in an import control program, and importers and consumers alike should recognize it as just that. In establishing allocation levels we have no intention of creating a set of conditions under which unlimited quantities of residual fuel oil can be imported and sold at distress prices. Nor do we have any intention of allowing the creation of an artificial set of circumstances to accomplish the same end

To further strengthen the administration of the program we have, as you know, recently announced a revision in the allocation period from a semiannual to a quarterly

Coal has been and is now an essential element in the fuel supply picture in the United tSates, and it will continue to be so in the foreseeable future. No one should forget that your industry provided the principal energy base upon which our Nation's great industrial economy was founded. No one should forget that in the face of many obstacles, you satisfied unprecedented demands for energy during two terrible and prolonged World Wars.

To me, a pound of coal means much more than a mere 16 ounces of a hard and black substance which we remove from the earth. In hundreds and thousands of ways it is important in the lives of human beings.

Coal means for those engaged in the industry, a source of livelihood for themselves and their families.

For the consumer, it means everything from heat for the home to electric power for iron lungs or television.

For those who have a role in developing our industrial might, it means a comparatively inexpensive yet reliable source of fuel for everything from chemical plants to steel

For the Nation as a whole, it is one of the keystones which secures our economic system and our national defense.

No one can believe more fervently than do I that for reasons of future national security, if for no other, it is of vital importance that we work together to maintain a healthy

and thriving coal industry.

There is something else I believe. At the overall rate of development and growth of this Nation, it is clear to me that we are going to need in the future all the fuel energy we can get, from whatever source.

There are obvious and clearly defined limits to the amount of hydroelectricity we can produce. There are also limits on the use of oil and gas for many purposes. And there are limits, economic and otherwise, on production and use of coal.

A thriving industry in each case is certainly desirable from a national standpoint, and I believe it is a proper function of Government to help maintain an economic environment within which efficient business enterprises may prosper and contribute to national economic strength.

But it is not, in my opinion, a proper role of government to restrict unnecessarily the right of free economic choice by American consumers of the fuels, or anything else they want to purchase and use. Any other policy can only tend to throw our private enterprise economic system out of gear, and continued in the long run, destroy it altogether.

Aside from the demands of national defense, the consumption of fuels should properly continue to be determined by such factors as relative costs at specific locations. efficiency of use, dependability of supply-in short, a combination of consumer preference and the cost per British thermal unit, delivered at the burner.

Our governmental system is one which gives equal opportunity to every citizen, according to his ability and effort. If we are to have equal opportunity, with freedom, then we cannot have an enforced or guaranteed equality without regard to ability or effort. The one is unalterably antagonistic to the other.

To me, this principle also applies to our economic system. To bind it into a straitjacket where the strings would be pulled from Washington could at best only serve to stifle initiative and progress. The logical and result would inevitably be to destroy the very flexibility which is so essential if

individual initiative is to be encouraged to

make its impact felt.

Admittedly, your industry has some very real problems. Nevertheless coal, as a fuel and as a source material for many other uses, has a perhaps unlimited horizon of opportunities in the future. In the best tradition of economic competition, I am sure you recognize that fact and will seize those opportunities. And again, I assure you of the Department of Interior's sympathetic and helpful interest in your present and future economic health.

"Politics Is Poppin'"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, May 16, 1960

Mr. PUCINSKI, Mr. Speaker, during the past weekend, many of us had an opportunity to attend the Women's National Press Club Annual Dinner and Stunt Party here in Washington, D.C., at which the ladies of the press as part of the program, presented a satire on the current political scene in America titled "Politics Is Poppin'."

We Americans, quite properly, take our politics very seriously. However, and quite fortunately, one thing which dis-tinguishes us as free people from the rest of the world is that from time to time we permit ourselves the luxury of adding a lighter touch to our political battles. The ladies of the Washington Press Club provided just such an interlude during their banquet over the weekend when they presented this yery excellent satire on America's 1960 campaign year.

I am taking the liberty today to include in the Congressional Record the lyrics from this very amusing presentation, "Politics Is Poppin'." We all know what an excellent job the ladies of the press corps do in their day to day serious coverage of the Nation's Capital. I am sure my colleagues will join me in acknowledging the fact that it is most refreshing to learn that these charming ladies also can indulge in the lighter side of the news.

I believe the authors of the lyrics for this musical deserve particular recognition. The script for this musical was prepared by the Misses Patricia Wiggins. Nancy Hanchman, Evelyn Hayes, Frances Lewine, Alyce Moran, Betty Pryor, and Isabelle Shelton.

I hope that those of my colleagues who were unable, for various reasons, to participate in this annual banquet of the Women's National Press Club will enjoy reading the lyrics as much as those of us who were present at the banquet enjoyed hearing them.

I hope, also, that students of history will be able to gather from these lyrics the fact that we Americans were able to find a little humor in our otherwise serious and determined political process.

I should like to point out that this year's Women's National Press Club dinner honored our illustrious Speaker of the House, Mr. Sam RAYBURN, certainly one of the most serious and responsible leaders in America.

The lyrics from the Women's National Press Club musical, "Politics Is Poppin", follow:

ROCKEFELLER

(Tune: "Some One of These Days")

Some one of these days, you're gonna need me badly Some one of these days, you're gonna call

me madly, You'll need my freshness You'll need my style You'll need my money

I've quite a pile! You'll feel so lonely-with Nixon only-But you know, smarties, that you had your

And when you need me, you'll have to plead

You're gonna need your Red Hot Rocky, your Red Hot Rocky,

Some one of these days. Some one of these days, you'll wish you had

not Squeezed me out-like some old bad lot,

You'll need my newness You'll need my grin You'll need my virtue I'm free from sin You'll feel so shamefaced You left me lamefaced

But you know stinkers, that you had your Way

And when you want me, you'll have to haunt me

You're gonna want your Red Hot Rocky, your Red Hot Rocky

Some one of these days.

TO L.A.

(Tune: "On Wisconsin")

On Wisconsin, West Virginia On to Oregon No one else is in there fighting They're the only ones campaigning Let the others try to block them Let them play it rough HUMPHREY and KENNEDY have got the stuff. KENNEDY, KENNEDY He's true blue He's got Sinatra and Spellman, too! HUBERT HUMPHREY, poor man's friend He'll tell you so for hours on end.

J-A-C-K, he's got lots When he runs out, pop's got pots! Strawberry shortcake, pie in the sky A modern Horatio, he's our guy!

(Tune: "Buttons and Bows")

East is East and West is West And his Dixie hardly shows You'll find his brand past the Rio Grande He's a western man, you understand LBJ on buttons and bows.

Night and day he leads the way makin' fillbuster hay

He don't say much but he keeps in touch He corrals the votes, sits back and gloats In the Senate branch of the Johnson ranch He flies high and handsome He's the space man of the age He's staking out the Moon and Mars as two

more Lyndon stars

LYNDON's best in East or West Holding high the yellow rose He ain't said yes, but everyone knows He's a candidate from head to toes LBJ's on buttons and bows.

(Tune: "You Came a Long Way From St. Louie")

He came a long way from St. Louis To climb the ladder of success. He got a lot of mileage out of attacking the gap in the old missile mess.

He came a long way from St. Louie And left the Ivy League behind.

He picked up country ways and votes and

Clark Clifford with politics in mind. He blew in from the Middle West, certainly impressed, some of the people hereabouts.

This may be news to him, and Harry Truman too, that others seem to have their doubts

He's hoping history will make him Missouri's compromise hero.

He came a long way from St. Louie, but Stu'y has still got a long way to go.

(Tune: "Once in Love With Amy")

Once in love with Adlai, always in love with Adlai.

Out of the running, never, never, never. My candidate forever, he'll be.

Once you're charmed by Adlai, give your right arm for Adlai.

Don't talk of Lyndon, Kennedy, or Stuart, none of them can do it-for me.

I couldn't care who else is in the picture for me, he's a fixture.

Don't go chasing after all those others, Just sit tight.

Once you swoon for Adlai. Always you'll moon for Adlai. No one can match him, ever, ever, ever. No more Eisenhower, he's free. Oh, he can be a winner, let him be.

SENATE LADIES

(Tune: "Keep the Home Fires Burning")

Give a campaign balance With domestic talents

Bake a brownie every day till the votes come in

Keep the silver shining, sweep and do the ironing

Make sure the cameras catch it all For the folks back home.

(Tune: "I'm Goin' to Wash That Man Right Out of My Hair")

I'd like to wash campaigns right out of my hair

I'd like to spend my time just reading Voltaire

I'd like to watch the shows I put on the air And be myself again

I'd like to break out singing like any chanteuse

I'd like to go back home and take off my shoes

I'd like to get myself right out of the news And be myself again.

No need for interviews, smiling through all that goo

No need for recipes, ladies' lunch, ladies' tea Handshaking, at crack of dawn-you take it I'd like to wash campaigns right out of my hair

And say goodbye to all the cameras' glare I'd like to tell the world I simply don't care And be myself again.

NIXON

(Tune: "Boy Scout Marching Song")

Be prepared, that's the Nixon marching song Be prepared as the campaign goes along Be prepared to get a headline every day Stick with Eisenhower, long as it will pay Be prepared, to put your new face to the fore Don't admit you've got the old one anymore Keep the bloopers hidden where you're sure that they cannot be found

And be certain to deny them if the word should get around

Almost any broken fence can be repaired: Be prepared

Be prepared, that's the Nixon solemn creed Be prepared, and be clean in word and deed Don't solicit campaign money that's not nice Murray Chotiner did it and he paid the price Be prepared and be careful not to do

Your good deed when there is no one watching you

We've got lots of dandy slogans, paid up television time

We are sure to win the White House if we lay it on the line

Don't be nervous, don't be flustered, don't be scared

Be prepared.

HAGERTY & KLEIN

(Tune: "Gallagher and Shean")

Oh, Mr. Hagerty, Oh, Mr. Hagerty Hello, what's on your mind this morning, Mr.

Everybody's makin' fun, of the way our country's run

All the papers say that things are far from fine

Why Mr. Klein, why Mr. Klein

With peace and progress you know everything's divine

Just don't listen when they yap 'bout that little missile gap

Do you think so Mr. Hagerty? Absolutely Mr. Klein

Oh, Mr. Hagerty, Oh, Mr. Hagerty All those work and play vacations sound sublime

Ironing out the kinks while cavorting on the

Could you fix a junket up for Dick and Klein? Why Mr. Klein, Why Mr. Klein

Those vacations aren't so easy you will find Gotta keep reporters busy or they'll have you in a tizzy

Keep Dick grounded Mr. Klein, keep him off the Columbine.

Oh, Mr. Hagerty, Oh, Mr. Hagerty

What about it when you're heckled all the time?

When they're hot upon your trail and the boss is shooting quail

What's the secret Mr. Hagerty—to keep them all in line?

Why Mr. Klein, Why Mr. Klein

That's the time you have to really rise and shine

Never let your temper go Why I never let mine show Positively Mr. Hagerty Absolutely Mr. Klein

Oh, Mr. Hagerty, Oh, Mr. Hagerty What to do when you can't lay it on the line

When you can't say yes or no, and they're badgering you so

Even Roscoe Drummond asks you all the time?

Oh, Mr. Klein, Oh, Mr. Klein

Don't you panie, don't go into a decline Just turn up something new, launch an

astronaut or two

Change the subject, Mr. Hagerty? Do a snow job, Mr. Klein Absolutely Mr. Hagerty Positively, Mr. Klein

(Tune: "Politics and Poker")

Politics is poppin' Politics is poppin'

Gotta get fixed up, cuz we'll be hoppin' Candidates are running, all around the place Campaigning, campaigning, now ahead, wanna bet, 5 to 1

Who will win-the race. Take a look, make your book

And come pick your man Who's going to be the candidate—and Who's Also Ran

Delegates lining up, watch out for steals Is California standing Pat or open for deals Why not take a poll—we never even read 'em Truman showed us all that winners don't-

need 'em

Politics is poppin' Politics is poppin'

Gotta get fixed up, cuz we'll be hoppin'

Candidates are running, all around the place Campaigning, campaigning

Now who's ahead, wanna bet 5 to 1 Who will win-the race.

THE AND MAMII

(Tune: "How You Gonna Keep Em Down on the Farm?")

How'm I gonna keep you down on the farm After the Presidency How'm I gonna keep you away from Summits Flying around, leavin' the town

How're we gonna keep you satisfied

That's the mystery

You'll find it dull to use a rake or plow After Geneva you'll be bored with cows How'm I gonna keep you down on the farm

Where all you've got is me? How'm I gonna keep you down on the farm So far from Burning Tree

How'm I gonna get on without the White
House

Chauffeurs and yachts and all those what

How'm I gonna stand that rocking chair

Sounds like misery

I thought it would be kind of good at first But coming closer it looks worse and worse How'm I gonna stand it down on the farm How are you gonna stand me?

How we gonna like it down on the farm No one but you and me

How we gonna like it without the fanfare,

no protocol or crisis at all How we gonna like it—Gettysburg All that privacy

Steak on the hoof and no more bills to sign No more receptions with that long, long line How we gonna like it down on the farm We're going to like it just fine.

Script: Patricia Wiggins, Nancy Hanschman, Evelyn Hayes, Frances Lewine, Alyce Moran, Betty Pryor, Isabelle Shelton.

Oregonians in the Fourth Congressional District Comment on Major Issues Before the Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES O. PORTER

OF OREGON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Friday, May 6, 1960

Mr. PORTER. Mr. Speaker, earlier this year I mailed to 131,000 residents of Oregon's Fourth Congressional District a postcard questionnaire, requesting their opinions on major issues concerning them. The response was excellent. A total of 20,349 returns were tallied and each day a few more arrive.

I believe the opinions of my constituents deserve the widest possible distribution. For this reason, under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I include the following questionnaire results. There were 12 questions. The results by number and by percentage follow each question. My opinion on each question is included.

The results of the poll were sent to members of the press and to each person receiving my newsletter. A copy of the press release appears with the results.

QUESTIONNAIRE RESULTS

I am grateful to the 20,349 constituents who answered my postcard poll. Thank you very much. I'm doing my best to finish answering the many letters sent along with the questionnaires. In case you're interested, my own answer to each question was "yes."

1. Do you favor a national seashore recreation area in the dunes region in the vicinity of Florence and Reedsport? Yes, 10,273 (57 percent); No, 7,909 (43 percent). I think the legislation now being improved will meet most of the objections.

2. Do you favor legislation as proposed in the Forand bill which provides medical care for social security retirees? Yes, 13,410 (73 percent); No. 5,028 (27 percent). My hope and my prediction are that Congress will soon act to meet these urgent needs.

3. Do you believe that the farm price support and crop, control program should be ended? Yes; 14,176 (80 percent); No. 3,455 (20 percent). I am supporting the Poage-Ullman-McGovern farm bill.

4. Do you believe cranberry growers who are suffering as a result of Secretary Flemming's action should receive Federal payment for a portion of their losses? Yes, 10,444 (57 percent); No, 7,885 (43 percent). Almost all the cranberry growers did nothing wrong. Now they will receive some Federal help so they can stay in business.

5. Provided it was concealed by trees and thus entailed no disfigurement of the scenery, and no tax funds were required, would you favor an aerial gondola (i.e., an enclosed chairlift) traveling from the rim to the surface of Crater Lake? Yes, 9,490 (52 percent); No, 8,696 (48 percent). If this device would be a blemish on Crater Lake's incomparable beauty, I would oppose its installation. That is why a model is being built.

6. Do you approve putting labels on shoes listing the materials used? Yes, 16,476 (89 percent); No, 2,033 (11 percent). It is pretty clear that you would like to know what your shoes are.

7. Do you believe Congress should reform the income tax law to equalize the tax burden and eliminate loopholes? Yes, 16.818 (95 percent); No. 981 (5 percent). I told Representative Wilbur Mills (chairman of House Committee on Taxes) that I could show overwhelming sentiment for tax reform.

8. Do you favor Federal financial aid, with no lessening of State and local control, for public schools? Yes, 10,076 (56 percent); No. 8,054 (44 percent). This is no handout, just a recognition that Federal tax collections have to be used along with local taxes to meet this great need.

9. Do you favor Federal assistance for the retraining and relocation of workers thrown out of jobs by automation? Yes, 7,067 (40 percent); No, 10,665 (60 percent). This important subject needs more discussion. How else are we to get displaced workers off welfare rolls and back into productive activity?

10. Do you favor an increase in communication with Red China? Yes, 5,955 (34 percent); No, 11,372 (66 percent). I believe strongly that increased communication with China is essential if we are to have any effective, safeguarded disarmament—and will reduce the chances of world war III breaking out. "Communication" in positive steps, starting with exchange of newsmen and other individuals, in my opinion, is long overdue.

11. Do you favor abolishing the draft? Yes, 4,799 (27 percent); No. 13,088 (73 percent). I disagree with the majority. We should pay our servicemen proper wages and develop more good career men and specialists—they will deter the enemy and win the wars, far better than thousands of boys who ought to be in school or learning jobs.

12. Do you favor an increase in Federal income taxes if it would mean more funds for education and scientific research? Yes, 4,211 (23 percent); no, 13,970 (77 percent). This was a tough one. All these questions tried to put complex issues into a few words. What education? What scientific research? All the questions suffered from this unavoidable defect, but even so I found the re-

sults and accompanying comments and letters useful.

More than 20,000 Oregonians participated in a post card opinion poll sent to 131,000 residents of the Fourth Congressional District by Representative Charles O. Porter, Democrat, of Oregon. They strongly supported legislation providing medical care for social security retirees, ending farm price supports and crop controls, shoe labeling and income tax law revision.

They told Porter they favored the draft, but disapproved any increase in taxes to provide more funds for education and scientific research or for the retraining and relocation of workers displaced by automation. They do not favor an increase in communica-

tion with Red China.

A majority of those responding to the questionnaire approved establishment of the Neuberger National Seashore Park and agreed that cranberry growers should have Federal assistance to help meet their marketing losses. They want Federal financial aid for public schools. By a narrow margin they approved the idea of a chairlift from the rim to the surface of Crater Lake.

Greatest positive response came to the question "Do you believe Congress should reform the income tax law to equalize the tax burden and eliminate loopholes?" The result: Yes, 16,818 (95 percent); no, 981 (5 percent). PORTER said he has informed House Ways and Means Committee Chairman Wilbur Mills of the response to the question.

Southwestern Oregon residents also endorsed Portes's shoe labeling legislation. They were asked, "Do you approve putting labels on shoes listing the materials used?" They replied: Yes, 16,476 (89 percent); no, 2,033 (11 percent). Porter said he felt it was pretty clear that consumers would like to know from what materials their shoes are made. His bill, H.R. 1320, proposes that shoes be labeled as to content. The idea originated with a resident of Porter's district, shoe repairman Wilbur Gardner, of Medford.

PORTER reported that his question "Do you favor an increase in communication with Red China?" drew this response: Yes, 5,955 (34 percent); no, 11,372 (66 percent). He said he believed strongly that increased communication with China "is essential if we are to have any effective, safeguarded disarmament—and that it will reduce the chances of world war III breaking out." He said he felt "communication in positive steps, starting with an exchange of newsmen and other individuals, is long overdue."

Earlier, PORTER released the tabulated results of the 13th question of his poll, which asked his constituents to name their presidential preferences. Vice President RICHARD NIXON and Senator WAYNE MORSE ranked first

and second.

Jobs After 40

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CRAIG HOSMER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, May 12, 1960

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Speaker, the Fraternal Order of Eagles has for some time engaged in a campaign to spur the employment of persons over 40 years old. The order is to be highly commended upon its excellent objective. The following is an explanation by the Eagles of specifically what its campaign involves:

JOBS PAST 40

What is the Eagles' "Jobs After 40" program?

To end job discrimination based on age and to enlarge employment opportunities for workers over 40 years of age.

What is the present situation?

U.S. Department of Labor surveys indicate that "probably more than half" of the jobs open are restricted to younger people. some cities as many as 79 percent of the jobs listed with the U.S. Employment Service carry age limitations.

Where is the age prejudice worst?

Changing Times, the Kiplinger magazine, reports that "age prejudice turns up most often in the manufacturing of durable goods. finance, insurance, real estate, and wholesale and retail trade," and less often "in small firms that employ less than a hundred people than in larger companies."

Why don't employers want older workers? All "myths," syndicated columnist Roscoe Drummond says of the reasons usually given: that hiring older workers unduly increase pension costs; that older workers are unskilled; that older workers are not flexible, won't accept changes; that they are unstable: that older workers are less productive than younger workers; that older workers are absent more often than younger workers.

What are the facts on older persons as workers?

Overall performance: Most older persons do as well as, or better, than younger workers.
(A National Association of Manufacturers survey rated 23 percent of older workers superior, 70 percent equal to, and only 1 percent, not equal to younger workers.)
What is the Eagles "Jobs After 40" pro-

1. To urge President Eisenhower to extend his executive order against discrimination in defense industries to include age.

2. To seek State and National legislation (Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, and Rhode Island, have such laws) outlawing discrimination against job seekers based on age.

3. To insist that Government as an employer lead the way by abandoning age limits for applicants for jobs in public service.

4. To carry on a broad educational cam-paign to enlist the support of management, labor, civic organizations, and the general public for increased job opportunities for older workers.

A further comment on the Eagles campaign at the time it was announced was Written by Ray W. Taylor, editor of the AFL Milwaukee Labor Press, on November 7, 1957, as follows:

WILL YOU BE THROUGH AT 40? (By Ray W. Taylor)

The Fraternal Order of Eagles has started a nationwide campaign to wipe out job discrimination based on age.

With the challenging question "Will You Be Through at 40?" the FOE has prepared a series of posters sent to all its affiliates pointing out that a check by the U.S. Department of Labor reveals that 60 percent of all helpwanted ads offer no opportunities for men Over 45.

A typical ad cited is as follows: "Wanted-Machinists, experience all phases of setup on planers, millers, shapers; must be under

The FOE campaign to end arbitrary job age ceilings merits the support of all labor. Discrimination in any form is ugly and injurious, whether it be against race, color, or creed.

But discrimination because of age is the most dangerous of all-because it affects every American worker at some time in his

Age discrimination is particularly widespread in industrial plants where employers operate on the theory that a speedup can best be accomplished by using young men and then, after exhausting them, toss them on the scrap heap and hire still younger men.

In a period of relatively full employment, such as now, the problem of job discrimination based on age is not particularly evident. But upon the first sign of slackening of the Nation's economy, the "No help over 40" signs will mushroom.

The FOE campaign is aimed at winning Federal and State legislation against such discrimination. Every worker has a vital stake in the success of that campaign.

A Firm Position at the Summit

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, May 16, 1960

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, following is a letter which I sent to the President of the United States regarding the summit meeting. I believe the letter is self-explanatory.

I am happy to include a reply which I received today from the White House regarding my original correspondence. They are as follows:

MAY 12, 1960.

THE PRESIDENT, The White House, Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: Since it is quite apparent to many of us here in Congress that you are going to the summit meeting under most difficult conditions in the light of Soviet Premier Khrushchev's activities during the past few days, I thought you would like to see the results of a survey which I have just concluded in the 11th Congressional District of Illinois.

My congressional district, I believe, reflects to a great extent the thinking of most Americans. It is a representative district of the United States, and I am sending you these results with the hope that you will find comfort and strength in the knowledge that the American people support a firm position by the United States in our dealings with the Soviet Union.

Two of the questions from my survey which deal with the summit meeting, to-

gether with the replies, follow:

1. Should the United States yield to Soviet Russia's demand that we abandon our position in West Berlin? Yes, 6 percent; no, 90 percent; undecided, 4 percent.

2. Do you believe the United States should base its dealings with the Soviet Union on a firm and decisive demand that the captive nations of Europe be given the right to free elections? Yes, 85 percent; no, 9 percent; undecided, 6 percent.

Regarding question No. 2, you will recall that the House of Representatives unanimously adopted a resolution urging that the subject of free elections for the captive nations be raised by you at the summit meet-

I am happy to advise you that out of approximately 60,000 lengthy questionnaires mailed to my constituents, about 14 percent took the trouble to respond. This response includes a much larger cross section of my

constituency than many professional surveys.

May I wish you Godspeed in your difficult
journey? I join with my constituents in

expressing a sincere hope that your mission will be successful.

Respectfully yours, ROMAN C. PUCINSKI, Member of Congress.

THE WHITE HOUSE, Washington, D.C., May 13, 1960. The Honorable ROMAN C. PUCINSKI, House of Representatives, Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. PUCINSKI: The President has asked me to acknowledge with thanks your May 12 letter and to say that he found the responses of your constituency to the questions on your survey relating to the summit meeting very heartening and helpful. Your thought in bringing this information to his attention and your good wishes for the success of his endeavors in Paris are warmly appreciated by the President.

With kind regards. Sincerely yours,

JACK Z. ANDERSON, Administrative Assistant to the President.

Milk Barriers Work a Hardship on Consumers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. LESTER R. JOHNSON

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, May 16, 1960

Mr. JOHNSON of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, on April 28, Miss Sally Butler. director of legislation for the General Federation of Women's Clubs, testified in support of my national milk sanitation legislation at hearings held by the Health and Safety Subcommittee of the House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee. She was speaking for the 5 million consumers who belong to the federation's member clubs when she urged the passage of this bill, which would allow high-quality milk to move freely in interstate trade. Under leave to extend my remarks, I would like to include her testimony in the RECORD:

STATEMENT ON NATIONAL MILK SANITATION BY MISS SALLY BUTLER, DIRECTOR OF LEGIS-LATION, GENERAL FEDERATION OF WOMEN'S CLUBS

I am Sally Butler, director of legislation for the General Federation of Women's Clubs, which was chartered by the U.S. Congress in 1901. Today there are approximately 5 million members in the United States. The purpose of the organization is "to unite the women's clubs and like organizations throughout the world for the purpose of mutual benefit, and for the promotion of their common interest in education, philanthropy, public welfare, moral values, civics and fine arts."

As you will note, among other things, that we work for the public welfare, and we believe the welfare of the consumer is indeed public affairs. Our organization has an American home department with a con-sumer division. States likewise have set up these same committees, as have many of the local clubs. The members concern them-selves with problems that come up in their local communities and also with problems that are interstate and affect local communities. The membership of this organization is made up of homemakers across the country and their interest lies in the ecopeople.

Everyone is aware that milk and milk products are a very vital part of the average We want good milk and milk products as well as pure, wholesome food of all kinds. There should be certain standards for all things intended for human consumption. That is why the General Federation of Women's Clubs began years ago to work for a Pure Food and Drug Administration set up by our Federal Government. The Pure Food and Drug Administration has the wholehearted support of the women who are responsible for the foods they prepare for their families. We are aware that the U.S. Public Health Service does have a standard for milk and milk products established. We are grateful and believe this standard is such that it amply protects the health of the consumer. We are also aware that some States have even a higher standard for the milk and milk products for their individual States. We take no issue with this except when it is done for economic reasons favoring the producers and processors. We believe the consumer must be considered at all times.

It surely is not right for any State to prohibit the sale of milk from any other State providing the milk and milk products meet the required U.S. standards. To do so places a hardship economically on the consumer. This country is great because of our free enterprise system, where the competition is the keystone of our Republic. Why should States pass laws to prevent competition in the milk industry? Such seems to us consumers to be the case. No other commodity, that we know of, is so regulated as are the dairy products in interstate commerce.

We are aware of the fact that to transport milk for long distances creates problems for those who wish to ship milk into other States and cities, but if they can meet all Pederal standards and do so, and then sell their milk and milk products at sufficient profit to stay in business, surely the consumer is entitled to the opportunity to buy what they want at the price they wish to pay.

The membership of the General Federation of Women's Clubs as consumers urge that this Congress pass a law that will put milk and milk products into the same category as other essential foods and commodities.

Give us the right to choose our foods on an equitable market. Give us the right of choice that comes with fair competition. We want sanitary milk and milk products. We are convinced that if these products measure up to U.S. Public Health Service standards all consumers will be protected. We will not be deprived of the opportunity to buy on the local markets good foods be cause some States require standards which are more stringent than the U.S. regulations.

We believe that since milk is so necessary to good diets, the consumer should have every advantage that he gets when buying all other necessary food stuff, and that no consumer should be deprived of the chance to secure milk and milk products on local markets if it can be brought to those markets at an economic advantage to the consumer.

The General Federation of Women's Clubs is working with those Congressmen who are trying to make available to the consumer the milk and milk products at the very best economical rates possible. We believe the consumer is entitled to this consideration. believe it is indeed a very unfair proposition to so regulate the sale of such a vital food that is essential to the good health, and particularly to the diet of children, when the products meet the full requirements of U.S. regulations.

We urge you to pass this fair legislation.

nomic welfare as well as the health of the LAWS AND RULES FOR PUBLICATION OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

CODE OF LAWS OF THE UNITED STATES

TITLE 44. SECTION 181. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD: ARRANGEMENT, STYLE, CONTENTS, AND INDEXES .- The Joint Committee on Printing shall have control of the arrangement and style of the Congres-SIONAL RECORD, and while providing that it shall be substantially a verbatim report of proceedings shall take all needed action for the reduction of unnecessary bulk, and shall provide for the publication of an index of the Concressional RECORD semimonthly during the sessions of Congress and at the close thereof. (Jan. 12, 1895, c. 23, § 13, 28 Stat. 603.)

TITLE 44, SECTION 182b. SAME; ILLUS-TRATIONS, MAPS, DIAGRAMS,-No maps, diagrams, or illustrations may be inserted in the RECORD without the approval of the Joint Committee on Printing. (June 20, 1936, c. 630, § 2, 49 Stat. 1546.)

Pursuant to the foregoing statute and in order to provide for the prompt publication and delivery of the Congressional Record the Joint Committee on Printing has adopted the following rules, to which the attention of Senators, Representatives, and Delegates is respectfully invited:

1. Arrangement of the daily Record .- The Public Printer will arrange the contents of the daily RECORD as follows: First, the Senate proceedings; second, the House proceedings; third, the Appendix: Provided, That when the proceedings of the Senate are not received in time to follow this arrangement, the Public Printer may begin the RECORD with the House proceedings. The proceedings of each House and the Appendix shall each begin a new page, with appropriate headings centered thereon.

2. Type and style .- The Public Printer shall print the report of the proceedings and debates of the Senate and House of Representatives, as furnished by the Official Reporters of the Congressional Record, in 71/2-point type; and all matter included in the remarks or speeches of Members of Congress, other than their own words, and all reports, documents, and other matter authorized to be inserted in the Record shall be printed in 61/2-point type; and all rollcalls shall be printed in 6-point type. No italic or black type nor words in capitals or small capitals shall be used for emphasis or prominence; nor will unusual indentions be permitted. These reunusual indentions be permitted. strictions do not apply to the printing of or quotations from historical, official, or legal documents or papers of which a literal reproduction is necessary.

3. Return of manuscript.-When manuscript is submitted to Members for revision it should be returned to the Government Printing Office not later than 9 o'clock p.m. in order to insure publication in the Recogn issued on the following morning; and if all of said manuscript is not furnished at the time specified, the Public Printer is authorized to withhold it from the RECORD for 1 day. In no case will a speech be printed in the RECORD of the day of its delivery if the manuscript is furnished later than 12 o'clock midnight.

4. Tabular matter.-The manuscript of speeches containing tabular statements to be published in the RECORD shall be in the hands of the Public Printer not later than 7 o'clock p.m., to insure publication the following morning.

5. Proof furnished .- Proofs of "leave to print" and advance speeches will not be furnished the day the manuscript is received but will be submitted the following day, whenever possible to do so without causing delay in the publication of the regular proceedings of Congress. Advance speeches shall be set in the RECORD style of type, and not more than six sets of proofs may be furnished to Mem-

bers without charge.
6. Notation of withheld remarks.—If manuscript or proofs have not been returned in time for publication in the proceedings, the Public Printer will insert the words - addressed the Senate (House or Committee). His remarks will appear hereafter in the Appendix," and proceed with the printing of the RECORD.

7. Thirty-day limit.—The Public Printer shall not publish in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD any speech or extension of remarks which has been withheld for a period exceeding 30 calendar days from the date when its printing was authorized: Provided That at the expiration of each session of Congress the time limit herein fixed shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee.

8. Corrections .- The permanent Record is made up for printing and binding 30 days after each daily publication is issued; therefore all corrections must be sent to the Public Printer within that time: Provided; That upon the final adjournment of each session of Congress the time limit shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee: Provided further, That no Member of Congress shall be entitled to make more than one revision. Any revision shall consist only of corrections of the original copy and shall not include deletions of correct material, substitutions for correct material, or additions of new subject matter.

9. The Public Printer shall not publish in the Congressional Record the full report or print of any committee or subcommittee when said report or print has been previously printed. This rule shall not be construed to

apply to conference reports.

10. Appendix to daily Record .- When either House has granted leave to print (1) a speech not delivered in either House, (2) a newspaper or magazine article, or (3) any other matter not germane to the proceedings, the same shall be published in the Appendix except in cases of duplication. In such cases only the first item received in the Government Printing Office will be printed. This rule shall not apply to quotations which form part of a speech of a Member, or to an authorized extension of his own remarks: Provided, That no address, speech, or article delivered or released subsequently to the final adjournment of a session of Congress may be printed in the Congressional Record.

11. Estimate of cost .- No extranoous matter in excess of two pages in any one instance may be printed in the Congressional Record by a Member under leave to print or to extend his remarks unless the manuscript is accompanied by an estimate in writing from the Public Printer of the probable cost of publishing the same, which estimate of cost must be announced by the Member when such leave is requested; but this rule shall not apply to excerpts from letters, tele-grams, or articles presented in connection with a speech delivered in the course of debate or to communications from State legislatures, addresses or articles by the President and the members of his Cabinet, the Vice President, or a Member of Congress. For the purposes of this regulation, any one article printed in two or more parts, with or with-out individual headings, shall be considered as a single extension and the two-page rule shall apply. The Public Printer or the Official Reporters of the House or Senate shall return to the Member of the respective House any matter submitted for the Congressional RECORD which is in contravention of this paragraph.

12. Official Reporters.-The Official Reporters of each House shall indicate on the manuscript and prepare headings for all matter to be printed in the Appendix, and shall make suitable reference thereto at the proper place

in the proceedings.

Appendix

Policy Statement—Africa and the United States, by Midwest Intercollegiate Assembly

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. ALEXANDER WILEY

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, May 17, 1960

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, on the world scene, there are a great many differing, conflicting and newly emerging forces that will increasingly have an effect upon affairs in the international arens

In the fast evolving events of world affairs, we find that, more and more, an analysis of world conditions, influences and powers must take into account not only the currently powerful East-West nations—at a relative stand-off militarily—but also the newly emerging nations of Asia, Africa, and South America. If war can be averted, these nations may well contribute to determining the "balance of power" in the world in the years ahead.

At this time, I would like particularly to call attention to the once so-called, "Dark Continent,"—that is, Africa. On this continent live over 200 million people. In size, Africa is estimated to be as large as the United States, Western Europe, India, and the Chinese mainland, put together. The land is rich in natural resources. The people—estimated to include virtually all races—are on the march toward self-government and independence. The question now is not, "Will it come?" Rather, the only question is, "How soon?"

In the light of this fast developing events we need a reassessment of our role in relation to newly emerging na-

As they appear on the world scene, how will these nations be allied? Will they be Communist? Will they be free countries? Will they be allied with East or West? Or will they, because of their unique conditions, become an independent force? In addition to our tradition-al concern for human progress everywhere-we have a stake in Africa. In our self-interest it is important for us to know which way it will go; and, if possible, to provide such assistance and guidance as is feasible and desirable from our position of free world leadership, (a) to prevent the 200 million Africans from becoming subjugated to international communism, and (b) to secure for these newly emerging countries, if We can, the right of self-determination.

Overall, I believe that we, the Western nations, can continue to neutralize the Communist forces through our tremen-

Policy Statement—Africa and the United dous arsenals of missile-nuclear weap-

As we attempt to help shape the world of tomorrow in the right way, however, we must go one step beyond what has become known as the "anti-Communist effort."

Today, the relatively primitive societies of Africa are going forward as fast as humanly possible, toward transformation into complex modern social, economic, political systems. In our efforts to help them, we cannot expect that dollar aid will alone do the job. These newly emerging nations, in effect, need everything: dollars, yes-but trained personnel for administration in government, industry, education, and other fields; equipment for technological development, and a wide variety of other useful, practical programs for nations forward at unprecedented moving forward at unprecedented speeds. In this new continent of hope, opportunity, struggle, and challenge, we, the United States can play a significant role. A successful effort will require, however, policies and programs designed and adopted to meet the unique needs in these changing times.

Recently, the Midwest Intercollegiate Assembly met at Green Lake, Wis. The conference was sponsored by the Johnson Foundation of Racine, Wis.; Lawrence College, Appleton, Wis.; and the American Assembly of Columbia University.

I was privileged to have a policy statement on "Africa and the United States," forwarded to me by Thomas E. Wenzlau, assistant director of the conference, and associate professor of economics at Lawrence College.

Reflecting the values of the assembly, I ask unanimous consent to have its policy statement on "Africa and the United States" printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

POLICY STATEMENT—AFRICA AND THE UNITED STATES, BY MIDWEST INTERCOLLEGIATE ASSEMBLY, GREEN LAKE, WIS., APRIL 21-24, 1960

I. THE CENERAL OBJECTIVES OF U.S. POLICY

The United States should support the current African political trends which move toward early emancipation of Africans from allen rule.

This means:

- We support the independence of African territories still subject to colonial rule.
- 2. We oppose the continuation of systems of minority racial domination such as in the present rule of the Union of South Africa and the Central African Federation. We believe the Universal Declaration of Human Rights is especially applicable to current problems of racial conflict in Africa.
- 3. We regret any tendency toward oneparty political systems and the abridgement of minority rights. However, we hope that

whatever forms of government emerge will be democratic in spirit.

These positions should be taken as diplomatically as possible but without oversensitivity about the feelings of metropolitan powers. The United Nations should be utilized as much as possible to facilitate these transformations.

II. AFRICAN ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

It is in the economic development of Africa that the United States can play its most useful and extensive role. The development of Africa should have as its goal the creation of balanced and expanding economies, and the devising of integrated regional economies and common markets is to be favored. The early stage of this growth should comprise simultaneous development of a more advanced agriculture, of industry, and of such social-overhead capital projects as roads and railroads, dams, irrigation, and power. The development of many light industries and of certain heavy industries in particular regions belongs to this early phase; more general development of heavy industries should await the growth of economies fitted to sustain them. The aim is the development of self-supporting rather than self-contained economies.

If this economic growth is to be rapid and adequate, a great part of the capital must come from without Africa with increasing participation of Africans in their own de velopment. The investment of private capital is desirable, but cannot be expected satisfy the need; public authorities outside Africa (both national and international) must supply most of the requisite capital, and it must be expected that much of this capitalization will be subject to centralized planning and socialized control by African governments. The economic aid and investment funds should be tendered in increased part through agencies of the United Nations, but will also be advanced through direct bilateral and through various multilateral arrangements.

III. SOCIAL OBJECTIVES

Political and economic development entails raising levels of education in order to produce a literate populace and to enable Africans to fulfill more efficiently the multitude of functions of a modernized society. in both its political and its economic aspects. The United States can help by alloting funds to provide scholarships for Africans to pursue study at colleges and universities both in the United States and in their own countries (or even elsewhere). In order, however, to enable African nations themselves to produce the increasing number of college graduates necessary, aid for the establishment and expansion of institutions is desirable. This would include establishments for the training of primary and secondary teachers, a shortage of which is in most areas the most serious educational deficiency.

Some of the changes now taking place in Africa are causing serious dislocation as traditional social and economic structures break down. The United States could well foster increased study of these problems by anthropologists and others. Specific help by members of the American labor unions and cooperative movements wherever Africans seek this aid in establishing organizations

should be encouraged.

Although some of the problems raised by social change are serious, it is the problems caused by lack of social change in some areas of Africa that have given the assembly the greatest concern. We have been especially disturbed by the state of race relations and deprivation of human rights in some territories.

In connection with these problems, the question of jurisdiction inevitably arises. We feel strongly, however, that the United States is morally bound to make unceasingly clear its concern over these matters. Such concern is best expressed through the machinery of the United Nations Organization, since the Charter of that Organization provides for the discussion of questions affecting human rights.

The assembly was particularly disturbed by the cases of the Union of South Africa and of the Portuguese territories of Angola and

Mozambique.

We express strong disapproval of the policies of the South African Government toward its nonwhite population. The United States should study the implications of boycotts, governmental or private, against South African exports.

With respect to Angola and Mozambique, we urge the U.S. Government to give strong support for the moves in the United Nations to press the Portuguese Government to submit information to the United Nations about its territories in Africa.

IV. SPECIFIC RECOMMENDATIONS

1. The role of the United Nations: The United Nations should figure significantly in American policy toward Africa. The standards of human rights and self-determination in the Charter must be repeatedly reaffirmed. The General Assembly should remain a channel for action to promote the principles of the Charter within African countries and the Security Council and International Court of Justice are instruments for settling disputes among African nations. Much greater amounts of development assistance should be administered through the United Nations and associated agencies.

2. European-African relations: The United States should continue to support voluntary economic cooperation between Africa and Eu-

rope.

- 3. Neutralism: The United States should actively support self-government to African nations. While recognizing that it is a disadvantage to have strong ties between the Soviet bloc and African nations, the United States must permit the African nations to devise their own foreign policies. U.S. influence can best be exerted through economic assistance, but it should be an explicit principle of U.S. policy that aid to an independent African nation should not be conditional upon nonacceptance of Soviet aid by that nation.
- 4. Economic Integration: The United States should support economic integration in Africa through membership in the United Nations Regional Economic Committee for Africa.
- 5. Tariff: Tariff considerations represent a part of the much larger problem of international market stability. In this regard, the United States should actively support the General Agreement for Tariff and Trade (GATT).
- 6. Economic assistance: In recognition of the need for U.S. economic assistance to aid newly independent African nations to achieve a standard of living which will support democratic and stable governments and in recognition of the fact that the \$20 million currently suggested for the African Development Fund is woefully inadequate, it is suggested that the U.S. Congress appropriate \$1 billion annually in aid for African economic development.
- 7. Economic development: Be it resolved that studies be conducted to find methods for putting to use vast agricultural surpluses of the United States as a means to contribute to Africa's economic development.

8. Segregation: The United States should abolish segregation at the earliest possible date in all the operations of U.S. embassies. The segregation of social functions should be abolished immediately especially in the Union of South Africa.

9. South African mandate: The United States should take the initiative in investigating the revoking of the mandate which the Union of South Africa exercises over South West Africa. The policy of the Union of South Africa should be censured in the United Nations. All appropriate means should be taken to end this violation of international law.

10. Limitation of armaments: The United States and its allies, the Soviet bloc, and the African nations should attempt to reach an agreement as soon as possible about the limitation of armaments in Africa at a level consistent with the interests of internal African security and domestic peace.

At the close of their discussions in panels, the student participants of the Green Lake Assembly on Africa and the United States, held at the American Baptist Assembly Grounds in Green Lake, Wis., April 21–24, 1960, reviewed as a group the above statement. After considerable revision and some addition, there was general agreement on the final report. It is not the practice of the American Assembly for participants to affix their signatures, and it should not be assumed that every participant necessarily subscribes to every conclusion of this report.

Keenotes

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. ELIZABETH KEE

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 17, 1960

Mrs. KEE. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, I include in the Appendix of the Record a copy of my newsletter released May 16, 1960:

KEENOTES

(By Representative ELIZABETH KEE)

Dominating all discussion in Washington is the shooting down of an American plane while on a flight over Russia. This incident has raised serious international questions and its effect could be reflected in the summit conference scheduled for this week, and President Eisenhower's proposed subsequent visit to Russia.

There is no doubt that this country lost considerable prestige abroad over the manner in which the incident was handled. Yet, because Democrats have closed ranks behind the President, the possibility that the incident will be as costly as first feared has been lessened.

Chairman Clarence Cannon of the House Appropriations Committee, a Democrat and one of the three or four most powerful men in the House, took the floor in a dramatic speech to defend this Nation's practice of flying photographic planes over Russia at high altitudes. He was followed by Senator Lyndon Johnson of Texas, the majority leader in the Senate, who called upon the Nation to close ranks at a time of crisis.

Mr. Khrushchev is enjoying a propaganda holiday as a result of the incident. He is going to do all he can to keep the issue alive and at times it seems he is intent upon forcing the President to cancel his planned visit to Russia.

If we had shown a tendency to argue among ourselves at home over this matter,

the damage abroad could have been incalculable. Our allies undoubtedly would have been frightened, possibly to the point of denying to us the further use of bases.

As things worked out, the country is united behind the President, even though no one is particularly happy that we were caught in such embarrassing circumstances. We can at least through a show of unity minimize the damage from the incident.

REA 25 YEARS OLD

Last week marked the 25th anniversary of the Rural Electrification Administration. This is the Federal agency which loans funds to locally owned cooperatives to build and operate electric systems serving rural areas.

The program has been a tremendous success. About 95 percent of all farms are now electrified, enabling farmers to install modern conveniences and laborsaving devices. The life of farm families has been considerably enriched by this program.

REA is universally accepted as a part of the American system. It is an example of what can be accomplished when the Federal Government works with local groups instead of trying to run a program from Washington.

WEST VIRGINIA SPEAKS OUT

The people of West Virginia have demonstrated once more that they make up their own minds about people and issues. The national press devoted several weeks to telling the Nation that our State was composed of people whose judgment would be swayed by blind prejudice. Now the people have spoken. As usual, the people of West Virginia acted in accordance with the dictates of their own conscience. They refused to live up to the picture painted by visiting journalists. They listened to the arguments, they weighed them and then voted as they believed best.

New York State Schedules Cooperstown Conference on Automation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. KENNETH B. KEATING

OF NEW YORK

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, May 17, 1960

Mr. KEATING. Mr. President, probably the most important and fundamental labor-management issue presently confronting our Nation is the matter of dealing with increased automation and mechanization in the United States. The significance of this issue is clearly shown by the fact that recently a sizable number of major labor-management disputes have centered around differences as to work rules and the assignment and supervision of men on the job.

Both labor and management are well aware of this situation and are actively seeking an overall solution. Two weeks ago the President called for a labor-management summit conference. One of the basic issues which he recommended be considered was the adjustment of labor and management to increased automation.

Both the American labor movement and the relevant representatives of management have in a great many instances recognized the importance of this issue and have sought to work out the differences which have arisen in an atmosphere of cooperation and mutual understanding.

I am pleased by these recent developments and am hopeful that major labormanagement "explosions" over increased automation can be avoided through concerted and sincere efforts along these lines.

I want today to call attention to a forthcoming top-level conference on automation to be held in Cooperstown, N.Y., from June 1 through June 3. It is sponsored by the State of New York and actively championed by Governor Rockefeller. The program for this conference is indeed impressive. Those chosen to address the delegates are among the top people in their respective fields. They include educators, labor leaders, and business executives.

I am certain that all who are able to attend will benefit greatly and that those who are in a position to read and study the various conference reports will find them valuable and enlightening. To this end, I hope in the next few weeks to bring to the attention of the Members various papers and addresses printed in conjunction with the New York State Conference on Automation.

Mr. President, I should like today to ask unanimous consent that an announcement containing the schedule of events to take place at the Cooperstown Conference on Automation be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the program was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STATE OF NEW YORK EXECUTIVE CHAMBER, ALBANY, MAY 10, 1960

Details of the conference on automation which Governor Rockefeller has called in Cooperstown June 1-3 were announced today by the Governor's office. More than 50 leaders in business, labor, education, and government will participate in the discussions. The conference will open with a dinner Wednesday evening, which Governor Rockefeller will address. Three sessions will follow, at which four major aspects of automation will be examined iin depth. Paper on each of these aspects will be circulated to the participants in advance of the conference, and will be summarized by the authors at the Thursday and Friday sessions.

The program follows:

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 1

Reception and dinner, address by Governor Rockefeller,

THURSDAY, JUNE 2

Morning session: "Automation, Its Meaning and Dimensions," prepared and summarized by John T. Dunlop, professor of economics, Graduate School of Business Administration, Harvard University. Discussion leader, Dr. Thomas Hale Hamilton, president of the State University of New York.

Afternoon session: "Basic Economics of Automation," prepared and summarized by John Diebold, John Diebold & Associates, Inc., management consultants, New York City. Discussion leader, Charles Stauffacher, executive vice president, Continental Can Co.

"Manpower for Automation," prepared and summarized by Eli Ginzberg, professor of economics, Graduate School of Business, Columbia University. Discussion leader, Arthur J. Goldberg, general counsel, United Steel Workers of America.

Dinner: speaker, Lt. Gov. Malcolm Wilson.

FRIDAY, JUNE 3

Morning session: "The Community and Automation," prepared and summarized by Solomon Barkin, director of research, Textile Workers Union of America. Discussion leader, Prof. Frederick Harbison, director, industrial relations section, Princeton University.

Summation: Dr. William J. Ronan, secretary to the Governor.

The conference will conclude with a luncheon Friday noon.

Arrangements for the conference are being handled by a committee composed of Industrial Commissioner M. P. Catherwood, Commerce Commissioner Keith McHugh, and Dr. Ronan.

Primary Boost for Nixon Election

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. ROBERT H. MICHEL

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 17, 1960

Mr. MICHEL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I include the following article from the Evening Star, May 13, 1960:

PRIMARY BOOST FOR NIXON ELECTION—KEN-NEDY SEEN WINNING NOMINATION AND DE-FEAT BY VICE PRESIDENT

(By David Lawrence)

Analysis of traditional habits in politics and the habits of thought of organization leaders tells far more about who is going to be nominated at a political convention than do polls or primary elections.

Based on just such an analysis this correspondent wrote on March 7, just before the New Hampshire primary, that Senator Kennedy "is likely to win the Democratic nomination" and that, "if he is blocked, the compromise candidate will be Adlai Stevenson."

On April 7, after the Wisconsin primary, this writer said in these dispatches:

"The Wisconsin primary, by all the rules of politics, should mean that Senator Kennery will be regarded as the front-runner from now on. This means that the other candidates will tend to combine against him. There are other primary contests, to be sure, but Senator Kennery will gain ground in all of them, as he has the organization and the finances back of him to win the necessary delegate strength.

What is really meant by "the organization and the finances"? Certainly there is not the slightest basis for any implication that votes are bought. Nor is it to be assumed that the word "organization" means the regular party machinery. In preconvention campaigns, each candidate develops his own organization and, if he has money enough, he will engage precinct workers everywhere to get voters to the polls, transporting them in autos when necessary. More important still, the organization will know where to find the indifferent voters who can be persuaded by friends to vote for the candidate such friends favor.

These "organization" workers carry sample ballots printed in advance, and in a State like West Virginia, where there are few precincts with voting machines, it means that the citizen takes the sample ballot into the voting booth and is not bewildered when confronted with a long list of State and local candidates. He is enabled to go right to the spot on the ballot and put his mark down.

This is an old pattern in American politics, and it takes a lot of money to pay for a big organization that really gets out the vote. The total Kennedy vote in West Virginia was about 220,000, which is less than haif the Democratic vote cast for Adial Stevenson in 1952, when he carried the State against General Eisenhower. It isn't difficult to line up a minority bloc in any State primary if you have the money and the organization. The Kennedy forces can do it hereafter in every primary, and they will confront the Democratic National Convention with the legitimate query: "Since we have won most of the primaries, how can you turn us down?"

This correspondent believes the West Virginia primary result not only has helped Senator Kennedy toward the Democratic nomination but actually has helped toward the election of Vice President Nixon, who is certain to be the Republican nominee.

Once the so-called religious issue is out of the way—and it now will be so viewed by many politicians because West Virginia has a relatively small number of Catholics in its voting population—the tendency will be to appraise the Massachusetts Senator on his merits.

The Republican strategists, for instance, don't want to see the religious issue raised, either. They would rather go before the country with the argument that, in these fateful times, "You don't elect a boy to be President of the United States."

The biggest point the Republicans think they will have in their favor is that Vice President NIXON is trained in and intimately familiar with the tasks of the White House and that Senator Kennedy would have to start from scratch to learn how to function in the Presidency.

But doesn't the voting in the primaries, it will be asked, indicate that Senator Kennedy is popular and a good vote-getter? As against a less colorful and less known candidate, such as Senator Humphrey, it has not been difficult for Senator Kennedy to win the primaries thus far. But the real reason the Massachusetts Senator upset so many observers who were forecasting the outcome of the West Virginia primaries is that they paid more attention to hit-or-miss polls than to two key factors—"the organization and the finances."

In a national election, "the organization and the finances" tend to be balanced as between the parties. As of today, it seems very likely that the Nation's voters will have to choose between Senator Kennedy and Mr. Nixon next November. This writer believes that—on the basis of, first, satisfactory economic condittions in the major part of the country next autumn, and, second, the argument as to the executive experience that the Republican nominee will offer to the public, and, third, the active support of President Eisenhower—the Republicans will win a decisive victory.

Statement of Hon. Robert Lovett to National Policy Machinery Subcommittee

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JACOB K. JAVITS

OF NEW YORK

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, May 17, 1960

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, earlier in this session, Robert A. Lovett testified before the Subcommittee on National Policy Machinery, of which Senator JACKSON is chairman, and of which I have the honor to be a member. This testimony attracted widespread interest and comment when it was subsequently released, but a number of articles published subsequently interpreted certain comments of Mr. Lovett as being critical of President Eisenhower. In order to make clear that Mr. Lovett's testimony was both in word and intent directed at the institution of the Presidency and not at President Eisenhower personally, Senator MUNDT, ranking Republican member of the subcommittee, wrote Mr. Lovett and received a reply making this intent completely clear.

I ask unanimous consent that the exchange of correspondence between Senator Mund and Mr. Lovett, and an article on the subject by Arthur Krock printed in the New York Times of April 14, 1960, may be printed in the Appendix of the Record.

There being no objection, the letters and article were ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

MARCH 30, 1960.

Mr. ROBERT LOVETT, Brown Bros., Harriman & Co., New York, N.Y.

DEAR MR. LOVETT: During March you graciously appeared as the leadoff witness before the Subcommittee on National Policy Machinery, of which I am a member. At the close of your appearance, the subcommittee went into executive session to receive your comments on the operations of the National Security Council.

Throughout your discussion of the NSC you referred to "the President." At the time, it was my impression that you were analyzing the position of president. Subsequent published articles have been based on the assumption that you described the activities of the present incumbent of the Presidency, Dwight D. Eisenhower.

One of these articles was a column by Mr. Walter Lippmann on March 1. Several days later I attempted to clarify the matter through a statement for the RECORD. Attached

tached is a copy.

Unfortunately my clarification statement seems to have clarified nothing. Your testimony still is be interpreted as applying to President Eisenhower. I would appreciate very much having a short note from you as to the meaning you intended to give the phrase "the President" in your executive testimony. I hope to insert it in the committee record.

Again may I say that your basic statement before our subcommittee was most interesting and pertinent. With kindest regards, I am, Cordially yours,

KARL E. MUNDT, U.S. Senator.

ROBERT A. LOVETT,
New York, N.Y., April 4, 1960.
Senator Karl E. Mundt,
U.S. Senate,

Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MUNDT: On my return to the office today from the Pacific coast, I found awaiting me your letter of March 31 requesting clarification of the meaning of certain language in my comments on the National Security Council given in executive session before the Subcommittee on National Policy Machinery.

You are correct in your understanding that my use of the expression "the President" meant "a President," or "any President," and not specifically the present incumbent. I have made this same answer to Gordon Gray, special assistant to the President, who made

the same inquiry of me by telephone while I was in California.

You will recall that, in my opening statement, I said (last sentence, p. 12, of the subcommittee printed record, pt. 1) that "It should be clear, therefore, that none of these observations is intended to be critical of any individuals or of operational decisions." The few paragraphs I had written dealing with NSC were excised from my public statement and were given in executive session in accordance, I am informed, with the terms of an understanding reached at the request of the White House regarding the handling in executive session of questions on NSC matters. The sentence quoted above naturally applies, as you rightly understood, to all my testimony in both open and executive sessions.

In view of the public interest shown in the subcommittee's hearings, it is not surprising to find some agencies or individuals who feel that the shoe might fit. I know of no way to keep them from trying it on for size

With my thanks for your kind letter and cordial personal regards, I am,

Very sincerely yours.

ROBERT A. LOVETT.

How To Make a Shoe Fit Any Foot (By Arthur Krock)

Washington, April 13.—Since Robert A. Lovett testified before Senator Jackson's subcommittee several weeks ago, the impression has been growing that he definitely subscribed to some of the harshest criticisms of President Eisenhower and the National Security Council in their mutual relationship. Some news dispatches and analyses of Lovett's testimony, and a Senate speech by Senator Fulbright, are important sources of this public understanding.

The chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee concluded that the former Secretary of Defense "indicated that the President (meaning Eisenhower) leads a dangerously sheltered life as Chief Executive." Also, that Lovett "said * * * the NSC protects Mr. Eisenhower from the debates that precede policy decisions."

The transcript of Lovett's testimony, both in open and executive session, does not establish either of these conclusions, or the assumptions in the press that when Lovett referred to "the" President, he always meant Eisenhower. What the transcript does establish is this:

1. At the outset of his testimony Lovett stated a caveat. It was that his remarks would be "based for the most part on notes made" during the Truman administration, and that he intended "no direct reference to any individuals or specific decisions."

2. But he did not regularly repeat this caveat. Therefore, when he answered, and agreed with, questions about "NSC procedures" and "the President," so phrased they could have been taken to apply to the Eisenhower tenure, it was possible to assume that the witness replied in kind.

3. But close inspection of the transcript shows that the former Secretary of Defense conceived he was discussing "a" President and the National Security Council as an institution, and he has since said as much. Apparently he relied on his opening caveat to prevent hypothetical exchanges in executive session from being interpreted as applying specifically to Eisenhower and the current procedures of the National Security Council.

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

The following are such exchanges: Mr. Jackson. Do you think the Security Council can operate effectively, as it was designed originally, if you have a large number of participants?

Mr. Lovett. I would have very great doubts about its ability to operate in a mass atmosphere. I think it would inhibit fair discussion * * * [and] be an embarassment as regards the vigor with which a man might want to defend his position. I think it would limit the quality of the debate which the President ought to hear.

Mr. Jackson. You do not necessarily lighten the load of the President by bringing to him agreed-upon papers where no decision is involved, other than to say. "We will go ahead with this." Don't you think there is confusion on the point that there is a tendency to help the President, to lighten his load, by trying to do his constitutional work for him?

Mr. Lovett. I think the President in his own protection must insist on being informed and not merely protected by his aides, [it being] a tendency of younger assistant * * * to try to keep the bothersome problems away from the senior's desk.

Probably it was because the witness did not steadily invoke his caveat, like takers of the fifth amendment before racket inquiries, that many concluded Lovett had conceded the points of criticism involved as currently applicable. But if he fears that President Eisenhower's temperament, his military preference for having issues intensely screened for him, and his awesome renown, inevitably have diluted the essential concept and function of the National Security Council in this administration, Lovett neither "said" nor "indicated" this. And the National Security Council's statistical recordof the President in the chair at 90 percent of the National Security Council meetings, sharp debates in his presence over fundamental differences in policy papers-refutes many assumptions on which major criticisms are founded.

Tribute to the Eagle Rock Sentinel

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. GLENARD P. LIPSCOMB

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 17, 1960

Mr. LIPSCOMB. Mr. Speaker, the 24th Congressional District of California, which it is my privilege to represent in Congress, possesses a number of top quality local newspapers which make an important contribution to the district in reporting news of special interest to the community, expressing area views on matters affecting it, undertaking crusades in behalf of the community where its interest is concerned, and generally performing many other valuable services in behalf of the residents of the community. The 24th district is very fortunate to have these public-spirited institutions.

One of the fine community newspapers serving the 24th District, the Eagle Rock Sentinel, is celebrating its 50th anniversary this year. The Sentinel is a source of pride to the district and I wish to add my heartiest congratulations on this important occasion.

There was no doubt as to what kind of newspaper the Sentinel was to be from the very beginning. When it first appeared, in March 1910, the Sentinel announced that it would defy the then existing trend toward journalistic sen-

sationalism and that it would report community news in a conservative, straightforward manner.

In the intervening 50 years, the Eagle Rock Sentinel has maintained its original position with admirable determination. Throughout a brilliant career the Sentinel has kept to its original purpose and resisted temptations to gain in circulation through sacrifice of its ideals. It has earned a deserved reputation as a leader in its field.

Much credit for the success of the Eagle Rock Sentinel and the position it occupies today is due Mr. Harry Lawson, for many years the owner, and still publisher, of the Sentinel, and Mr. Oran Asa, who purchased the Sentinel several years ago. I am confident that under these extremely capable hands the Sentinel will continue to contribute to the best interests of the community of Eagle Rock for many years to come and I wish it every success in the future.

Need for Extension of Sugar Act

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. HIRAM L. FONG

OF HAWAII

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, May 17, 1960

Mr. FONG. Mr. President, during the past week and a half, three Hawaii daily newspapers have published editorials stressing the tremendous importance of sugar to Hawaii's economy and the need for action on legislation which would extend the Sugar Act.

I ask unanimous consent that the following editorials: "Time Is Running Out" from the Hilo Tribune-Herald of May 6, 1960; "Extend Sugar Act Now" from the Honolulu Advertiser of May 14, and "Of Vital Concern" from the Honolulu Star-Bulletin of May 15, be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorials were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Hilo Tribune-Herald, May 6, 1960]
Time Is Running Out

Representatives of the more than 1,200 independent farmers who grow sugarcane on the Island of Hawaii, along with representatives of 10 sugar plantations here, attended the 1960 fair price hearings conducted by members of the U.S. Department of Agriculture in Hilo yesterday.

This yearly public hearing, held under provisions of the Sugar Act, results in the subsequent Department ruling on the price the plantation companies may charge growers for the processing of their cane.

Yesterday's proceedings were held under a pall of uncertainty inasmuch as the Congress has not yet voted to extend the Sugar Act which is due to expire December 31 of this year. With but 7 short weeks left of this election year session, time is clearly running out on this legislation.

Representative Harold D. Cooley, Democrat, of North Carolina, chairman of the House Committee on Agriculture, and for many years the leader in the sugar legislation which has meant so much to Hawaii, Monday announced his intentions to propose a bill extending the act for 1 year. Other congressional leaders have suggested various

amended forms of the bill, due in large measure to the Cuban situation.

President Eisenhower has repeatedly requested a 4-year extension with further provisions giving the executive department the authority to reduce foreign quotas in the national interest. In a renewed request Wednesday he said, "the interests of America require that legislation be enacted before Congress adjourns."

For 25 years the Sugar Act has provided protection and stabilization to the sugar industry of the United States. It has been the cornerstone in the growing, processing, and distributing of this commodity. We in Hawaii, with sugar the major pillar of our economy, are particularly concerned at the possibility of a stalemate which would permit the Sugar Act to expire this year.

It is hard to imagine any single event which would have as disastrous effect on our economy. Hundreds of farmers, 16,000 wage earners, and untold thousands of service industries are all closely dependent upon the swift enactment of this legislation.

As for the Big Island, any threat to the Sugar Act poses a really frightening prospect.

Time, we feel, is running out.

The raising of the 50-star flag over Iolani Palace on July 4 might well prove a somewhat ironic gesture if the Congress doesn't act before then to insure the preservation of this legislation vital to every man, woman, and child in the State.

[From the Honolulu Advertiser, May 14, 1960]

EXTEND SUGAR ACT NOW

Summer will be here soon, and as the heat of the Presidential campaign increases, legislative matters get sort of sticky in Washington.

It's none too soon, then, for Congress to act on extending the Sugar Act. The act is complex, balancing many different interests. It should be weighed calmly and dispassionately.

Earlier, there was talk of hitting at Fidel Castro through the act by cutting Cuba's quota. This talk has died down and the law now can be considered more on its merits.

The Sugar Act is one of the more successful legislative farm programs; it has worked to the benefit of both producers and consumers.

It has provided a steady supply of sugar at stable prices. Consumers have paid less than world prices for sugar during times of shortage; producers have received more than world prices during times of oversupply. It has balanced the interests of the domestic industry with those of oversea suppliers.

The present amended act expires on December 31. It is inconceivable that Congress would allow it to expire, leaving the public and the industry exposed to gyrating world market prices. Chaos would ensue. Hawaii's economy would be in turmoil.

The administration proposes extending the act for 4 years. The bill has only minor revisions, except for a provision permitting the President in the national interest to alter the quota of any country. This would be a club over Castro.

But there is a strong feeling on Capitol Hill for only a 1-year extension. In this way Congress would be telling Castro that his quota could be cut on short notice.

This not only would create uncertainty in Guba, it also would be unsettling for the domestic industry as well. For example, it takes 2 to 3 years to grow a crop of sugarcane in Hawaii. Under a 1-year extension there always would be the danger the rules might be changed in the middle of the growing cycle.

United States-Cuban relations aside, we hope Congress will enact a 4-year extension and that it will do so soon rather than wait

until the 11th hour when wisdom is less likely to prevail.

[From the Sunday Star-Bulletin, May 15, 1960]

OF VITAL CONCERN TO HAWAII

Hawaii has a natural and indeed a vital concern in legislation now pending in Congress and perhaps in danger of stagnation in these closing hectic weeks of a political year session.

This is the national Sugar Act, rated as one of the most successful farm programs in the history of our country's agricultural development.

The purpose of this act is to assure the American people of adequate supplies of sugar at prices both reasonable to consumers and fair to producers.

In operation it helps to provide for a strong and healthy American sugar producing and refining industry

This is important both for the general welfare and for the national security based on a firm economy.

The Sugar Act has been usefully in operation for more than 25 years.

The present amended act is due to expire December 31, 1960, unless this session of Congress acts to extend it.

The act regulates quotas of domestic and foreign suppliers of the American market, providing both protection of the domestic sugar industry and a fair allocation to friendly foreign producers.

Although the American sugar industry is a major factor in our agricultural economy, the Sugar Act also encourages and protects the small farmer.

In Hawali, with a long, successful history of sugar producing, there are about 1,200 independent and for the most part small growers of sugarcane.

The bill offered by the national administration providing for the extension of the Sugar Act is for a 4-year extension with some minor provisions for change.

There is a provision of special importance that permits the President of the United States to alter the quota of any foreign country sending sugar into the United States when such alteration would be in the national interest.

This proposed 4-year extension would be particularly useful in Hawaii as it takes 2 to 3 years to grow a crop of sugarcane.

Hawaii sugar producers are extremely apprehensive that if the Sugar Act is not appropriately extended, the absence of this regulatory legislation would create a chaotic situation affecting the entire domestic industry and gravely damaging to Hawaii.

In addition to the 1,200 small growers, there are 16,000 wage earners and thousands of related service employees who are dependent upon the continued health of Hawaii's sugar industry.

Any factor which cripples a major industry in Hawaii is injurious to our entire Nation.

Hawaii is not only a large contributor through Federal taxes to the Nation's Treasury, but Hawaii as an offshore area midway between Occident and Orient is a bulwark of national defense.

Pennsylvania Dutch

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. WALTER M. MUMMA

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, May 17, 1960

Mr. MUMMA. Mr. Speaker, just recently I sent to each Member of the House of Representatives, a 76-page

booklet that contained just about that many traditional Pennsylvania Dutch recipes. Along with each copy, I sent a covering letter, written in the Pennsylvania Dutch dialect which is written and spoken in my district. One of the daily papers in my district, the Lebanon Daily News, each day has a column written in that dialect. Not to keep the Members confounded, I also sent along an English translation of my covering letter, mentioning this wonderful area in Pennsylvania, which, from the response I received from the Members, is borne out in their letters to me.

I am grateful to receive the many nice comments from the membership for my effort to impart to them some information about customs of the Pennsylvania Dutch community and particularly their delightful food preparations and combination of Dutch dishes.

I want to include at the end of my remarks typical letters received that reflect the literary effort evoked by the cookbook and its covering letters, and should you be passing through that lovely Pennsylvania country with its well-kept farms, the colorful "hex" signs, and so forth, and overhear expressions like: "Jake is spritzing the grass." "It's just for nice," or "It wonders me," then you will know you are among the nice, hospitable Pennsylvania Dutch.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Washington, D.C., May 5, 1960. Mie Guder Friend: Ich hob kaird es sawa uft muhls-"Fer wos sella mir Deutsch sie, wun du bisht net dumm." Our, Ich bin recht shure wun do glicklich genunk waersht fuh dirich des land, du daetsch ous finna aus sell net war is.

De shanne un gute-kolta boweri mit schier gute in pharab un mit "hexa" tzana-un de ushtso gute-kolta heiser sin arrick gross un so be-kund.

Ains fum de unner digna fah wos si bekund sin is erie kucha. Si sin grosse esser. Dirich des land sin wotsheiser wu si specializea (in des essa wos unser gross- modder gamacht hut).

Ich hob gamaint du daitsch glicha bruvera fum des essa in die hamit. Well, mie guder friend, Jack Wolfe, fum der Meggs Kumpany fum Harrisbaerick, aire is gross in de bizness un macht por sodda fum de Pennsylfania Deutscha noodla, aire hut en resada buch mit feel resada fa gude essa, un du kunsht dale fum de bicher greea.

Ich was os du hummerich washt usht fum de resada laesa. Froke die familia ains bruvera. Mie besht resade is "Schnitz un Knepp" uf page 29.

Der Biles Horst, Secretary Benson's con-gressional liaison mun, aire is awe fum des land un connet usht des schwetza aire con des ouse acta.

Huff du gleischt das buch un awe dale fum des kucha.

Sincerely yours,

WALTER M. MUMMA. Member of Congress.

[Translation]

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, Washington, D.C., May 5, 1960.

My DEAR COLLEAGUE: I have heard the expression many times-"What's the use of being Dutch if you are not dumb." Nevertheless, I am quite sure if you have been fortunate enough to get up through this country, you would realize the untruth of that statement.

The beautiful and well-kept farms with barns well painted and with "hex" signsand the equally well kept houses are really terrific and so characteristic.

One of the other things for which they are famous is their cooking. They are stout eaters. Throughout the territory there are hotels where they specialize in these traditional dishes.

I thought you would like to even try such meals in your home. Well, my good friend, Jack Wolfe of the Meggs Company of Harrisburg, who specializes in manufacturing several varieties of the Pennsylvania Dutch noodles, has a recipe book for many such dishes, and has made some of these available

I know you will get hungry just reading these recipes. Have your folks try one. My favorite is "Schnitz un Gnepp" on page 29.

Miles Horst, Secretary Benson's congressional liaison man, is also from this country and cannot only talk it but act it out.

Hope you will enjoy the book and also some of the cooking.

Sincerely yours,

WALTER M. MUMMA. Member of Congress.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, Washington, D.C.

WALTER: When the flags go by the train is all! Jacob! Get up! Mamas et herself, pa-pas et hisself, and I have et myself!

Thanks for the noodles!

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, Washington, D.C., May 10, 1960. Representative Walter M. MUMMA,

House Office Building,

Washington, D.C.
DEAR WALTER: Mine Gott, if your recipe book I take home an elephant mine wife makes me.

That's goot * * * I take home! Thanks so much,

CHARLES E. CHAMBERLAIN.

MEIN LIEBE HERR MUMMA: Ich been gescribblin deser noten to mein Congressenman to asken vass is loss mitten der mailen und envelopen. Mein yungin Erhardt iss mit der trainen gewoerken mit mailen. He vass commenzin mit der grosse hufen puffer mit coal geskupen und now mit der lowdish getooten and stinken dieseler. Ich been ein aulten mann und been not understandern alles. Auber Erhardt is dinken he vill be das job withouten iffen das mailen and envelopin mit desen grosse zoomer boomers is geflylan. He vants I shuld mine Congressenman gescribblin to tellen vas a goodische mann is Herr Cunningham who kompt fun Omaha,

Also ich been vorryin mit das zoomer boomer vas is gerpeepin mit kameran in das backyarden fun diese Kremlin. Varoom he is gettin gecaughten?

Leben zie so viele yahren as da fuchs um schwantz hadt haaren.

Zinserely,

WALTER WIENERWURST.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, Washington, D.C., May 10, 1960.

Howdy.

I has just contracted yore cook book and Ise powerful greatful.

Some of the vittles talked of shore sound scrumptus but it is quite a contrasatory to the grub fed in our Ozarks. We'uns air attached to the beans, tatters, maters, pork, cornbread, poke greens, and 'lassus we'uns been fetched up on, but bein' of the sportin' kind-I'll have Ma stew up a batch and try it on tha youngens!

His mark (X) A. S. J. CARNAHAN.

P.S.—Translated from Ozark into English: "We wish to acknowledge receipt of your recipe book and sincerely thank you." A. S. J. CARNAHAN.

Observation in America by Mrs. May Craig

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. EDMUND S. MUSKIE

OF MAINE

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Tuesday, May 17, 1960

Mr. MUSKIE. Mr. President, on March 7, 8, and 9, 1960, Mrs. May Craig published three more articles for our Maine newspapers.

In the first Mrs. Craig takes her readers on a tour of the Ivory Coast.

In the second, she introduced us to the new State of Ghana.

In the third, she communicated that the people of Ghana are planning fast and hard for their own future now that they have achieved independence.

I ask unanimous consent that these three articles be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the articles were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[Africa on the Move, Mar. 7, 1960] IVORY COAST STAYS IN FRENCH COMMUNITY (By May Craig)

EN ROUTE TO GOLD COAST.—Guinea, Liberia, Ivory Coast, Ghana, Nigeria, are all on the south side of the bulge of eastern Africa, below the Mediterranean Coast to the north. There is the most extreme political contrast between Ivory Coast and Guinea. Ivory stays with the French community; Guinea is bitterly anti-French and is the only one of the former French colonies in Africa which did not elect to stay in the community after it received independence. Guinea will stay poor, it says, to be entirely free.

The Ivory Coast prime minister was in Paris at the moment, with several other officials of French community areas, acutely embarrassed because Guinea President Sekou Toure is preaching that any ties with France shackle the free Africans. We lunched with acting Prime Minister Auguste Denise and we asked him how come Ivory chose to stay in the community.

He said it is a practical matter. Their economic and financial ties are with France. As a small newly free nation it feels it is better to stay with a strong, friendly nation. Naturally, they are embarrassed when their people hear Toure downgrading the former colonies who keep the tie with France.

This is a rather prosperous country. It is called the Ivory Coast because it has a port much used by Arab traders who brought ivory tusks down from the interior, on the backs of Africans who were sold as slaves, along with the ivory.

In the Ivory Coast we visited the National Assembly, elected 85 Africans and 15 French. Many French remain and participate as usual in the business of the country. Three of the twenty ministers are French. Asked if Ivory did not mean to join the proposed African Federation, His Excellency smiled and said, maybe, when there is a federation; for the time being they stay in the French community.

In a little speech to us, His Excellency spoke frankly of what he called the Red threat to Ivory Coast as to the United States. He approved of De Gaulle's firm resolution to hold to his promise of self-determination for Algeria despite rebellion of the French white settlers in Algeria. He thinks this honorable course of De Gaulle will give

confidence to the newly free Africans who stay in the community.

stay in the community.

He said that there is no malnutrition in the Ivory Coast, they raise enough food for themselves. They need sanitation and that is expensive. They do not even have privies, never saw a flush toilet. There are rich people in Guinea, black and white, but most of the people live in utmost squalor. The city of Abidjan is beautiful and modernizing fast. I saw signs of American oil firms. They ship mahogany and fine woods to the United States for furniture veneers. There are many educated Africans here, ambitious for their country and just as determined to be free.

When we got on the bus to leave Connakry in Guinea there was considerable literature from the Government and one pamphlet, written by Fresident Toure was pure Marxism. I asked a knowledgeable American if this made them Communist in the Soviet sense and he said not necessarily. They use the Communist language sometimes, while not meaning it in the tight Soviet meaning. While these new countries are flerce for independence from the white colonialists, they have to have an authoritarian government, at least to start with.

The Acting Prime Minister, Dr. Denise, said that they are cutting down on the maternal and infant mortality—used to be that 25 percent of the pregnant women miscarried. Of those who bore infants, another 20 percent died. We were surprised when he said that while they are working on pure water supply, they have to be careful because the people have acquired an immunity and a sudden change to pure water would upset them physically. The Americans on this trip live with bottled water, even for the teeth, eat nothing raw, except in the American Embassy, an American home, or a hotel where they enforce strict sanitation for the water, and the cooking. I have not had a saiad since I left home.

There is some slight inconsistency in the Africans denouncing racial distinctions in the United States and other white countries and at the same time demanding pan-Africanism, an African Federation, in some of which the whites will not get equal treatment. In the Ivory Coast I saw few mulattoes. But I was told there is legal racial equality: some black men of the upper classes like to take a white wife as a matter of pride. My informant knew of no white man who had taken a black wife, though they took mistresses and had children which they supported. There is not much general intermarriage and some of the pure blacks do not want mixing of the blood, though they do not want any legal bar. Inbreeding of the tribes has caused some frailty of strain, Dr. Denise said. Entirely different problem from the U.S. melting pot. The babies are fat, happy, beautiful, safe on their mothers' backs, sleeping there, piddling when they want to, hauled to the front to nurse when they want to.

[Africa on the Move, Mar. 8, 1960] .
POLITICAL STABILITY REFLECTS WELL-BEING
OF GHANA

(By May Craig)

Accea, Ghana.—Ah, what a thing it is to see the American flag in a strange country, far from home. It was fluttering in a little wind here in Accra when we came to the American Embassy to see our Ambassador, Wilson Flake, Mrs. Flake, and the staff. And the briefing in the cool garden, bright with gay flowers, quieted by backing of low evergreens, small banana palms, shrubs whose names we did not know. There were gay large umbrellas to keep the tropical sun off us, and afterward we went inside the dim, shuttered living room where we had coffee made in the American way—and much trouble it took, too, with the Ghanian house help,

Mrs. F. told us. And homemade sugared doughnuts, too. She said we might like them after traveling in foreign lands, with their unusual foods. Several of our party already have intestinal troubles—they will not be careful and take experienced advice. Ghana has been really independent for several years, but it stays in the (British) Commonwealth. Queen Elizabeth is the Queen of Ghana. In July of this year they will be entirely free and become a republic. The President is Khwame Nkrumah, a hero to his people and chairman of the central committee of the major party here. After July it will be like India, entirely independent except for the link of the Queen and defense if they wish it.

"This is one of the most stable countries in the world," said the Ambassador, "politically and economically." It depends on cocoa which is much in demand and for which it gets a high price. On our travels in Africa we have had the company of an American Negro representing a California firm, buying cocoa for Hershey Chocolate Co., and coffee. The coffee in this area has a fine flavor and a character that is best for instant coffee, so popular in the world today. "The Central Government is strong, has to be to keep it stable and its strong course has been justified by events," the Ambassador said.

Fortunately for us and the free world, Nkrumah was educated in the United States at a missionary school in Pennsylvania, after his early education by missionaries here. So he knows personally the best and worst of the United States.

The idea that American-type democracy could be gained by Africans originated with the teacher of Nkrumah, Dr. Kwaggier Aggrey, a sort of Mahatma Gandhi, of Ghana. He fired the imagination of Nkrumah, who came to the United States, worked his way through college, waited on tables, learned the nature of racial discriminations there, but also our freedoms.

It is said here: "Ghanian freedom was born in the United States."

The Ambassador praised the early missionaries from the United States. While the European whites were coming to Africa for colonization, exploitation, the missionaries came with the gospel, education, medical help. They divided up Africa, we sent the mission schools and hospitals. Nkrumah is one of the mission children.

The economic well-being here—they have no public debt, though all their money is committed to roads, housings, and other national development—is reflected in political stability, which is much more collective than with us. The cocoa was brought by the missionaries—it is not indigenous. And cocoa is the backbone of the economy, which bothers Nkrumah, who wants more varied industries and agriculture. The great dream here is to develop waterpower on the Volta River and the World Bank, which includes the United States, is working on that.

The Government gets 60 percent of its revenue from cocoa, by a heavy export tax, not from the general run of the people, who have little individually. Other sources are gold, industrial diamonds, manganese, fine woods. But they have no source of energy here, no coal, no oil, only the rivers. Nkruma knows that these other resources could run out on him, the wood is being cut down, the manganese supply is not inexhaustible, nobody knows future need of the diamonds, nor the fate of gold in the world. They have bauxite for aluminum and when the big dam is built he hopes for other industries to come.

They are building one of the largest manmade ports here—they have the world's longest sewer outfall into the ocean, from Accra into the sea. There is some unemployment and Nkruma got us to send him one of the veterans of the CCC in our depression days, who designed a CCC for them to soak up the unemployed for the benefit of the country. Nkruma shares the dream of a "United States of Africa." The white man never came to Ghana and adjacent areas to stay-they made their pile and went home. So they do not have the fearful problem of the Union of South Africa, where the whites settled as their home, which they refuse to give up to the encroaching blacks. Nkruma is famous all over Africa as the first African to show that Africa could be free. English is the common language in a melange of native tribal dialects. Most of the people are pagans, though there are Moslems and Christians. The port is being built by British contractors with American equipment-the Soviet does not have much foothold here, but Israel does, helping with agriculture and shipping.

[Africa on the Move, Mar. 9, 1960] PEOPLE OF GHANA ARE PLANNING FAST AND HARD

(By May Craig)

Accea, Ghana .- On a hill a few miles from Accra, the capital city of Ghana, the Legon University College reminded me of Colby College on Mayflower Hill, though it is designed to suit this country and its people, as does It is a vast area, acres of land, and the bulldings are low and stpread out into gardens where peacocks and bright small lizards parade, with shallow ponds of multicolored goldfish-20,000 goldfish. Every one of the 650 students has his or her own room, with a tiny balcony looking on gardens, small but comfortable. To save expense of plumbing they do not each have facilities, but there is a facility for every three or four, so "no queuing up" said Joe Price, professor of history, who also is doing public relations, a simply stupendous big Britisher, with bright red hair and fierce red moustache, one eye lost in war, and only one leg.

They have professors from everywhere, American, French, Indian, Egyptian. This is a national university, with many endowments, some from the cocca industry. They have a passion for education in this new country—they are short now on educated, trained personnel to run the country, but they are full speed ahead to create them at the university. They even have air-condi-

tioned piggeries.

In the laboratory they had just finished, under contract with the Government, was an examination of the fallout from the recent French atomic explosion in the Sahara, so desperately hated by the African peoples. The results have gone to the Ghana Government, so the technicians in the laboratory would not tell us details except that the explosion fallout was less than expected, and well under the tolerance but still it was more than the normal expected at the distance of 1,400 miles from here to the test site. The winds had brought it more quickly and farther than Ghana had expected.

At the port near Accra we saw why they are building that harbor at Tema. There is not deepwater at the port near Accra. Freighters were moored a mile or more from shore. Plying back and forth, bringing in the freight, were canoe-like wooden boats with turned up ends, powered by 20 oars. bend their backs to the chore. The infinite labor of getting the freight off the ships into the boats, back to shore, is not competitive in the modern world. Once in shallow water, the men get out, take loads on their heads or backs and wade to shore with it. They are magnificent men, great muscles rippling under the shining ebony skin, small waisted, and broad shouldered. The shore is lined with warehouses. At Tema harbor when it is finished, there will be every modern harbor and dock facility; they are building a city for the workers and officials, and for the nearby fishing village; eventually for 80,000 people. They are planning fast and hard for the future here.

The evening before we left we were entertained at the Ghana Press Club, the big trees all around it strung with innumerable small colored lights. There are few mosquitoes here, air-conditioning of sketchy nature in the hotel rooms, the giant, whirling wood-bladed fans from every ceiling. The hotel itself, 100 rooms, where they had the famous all-Africa conference 2 years ago, is spread out, lines of columns in front, terraces, and gardens, great bunches of bright flowers everywhere, a tropical atmosphere. It is hard to remember, seeing the hotel, the new city, the college, that back in the interior are the primitive tribes, still using spears.

At the press party we were served drinks and plates of small food were passed around. Several of the officials were in the splendid robes of the country, but Prime Minister Nkruma was in a business suit. We had a press conference with him which was not very satisfactory because it was outdoors, only a small group could get close to him at a time, and on the edges the typical cocktall party noise of talk was going on.

He wants an African federation, but he will not hurry. Their independence will be declared in July, and there is no telling when the federation will come into being or how many of the new African countries will join. "I will not hurry. It will take a great deal of preparation," he said. There are many British here and no apparent hard feeling. At the college there is a tall rectangular, narrow tower with the Black Star of Ghana high up on it. Seems the college and the government agreed to split the cost of erecting the tower. It cost more than they thought and the government wouldn't pay any more than the agreed share. "But we put vertical files in the tower, served by an elevator, and we put a water tank on the top, though you would never suspect it, and thus it serves a purpose far more than it We had many designers come in to design it," Joe said. It is really a miraculous thing-that tower, so stately, so beautifuland useful. Along the four sides from bottom to the place where the Black Star decoration tops it, there are small squares that look like decorations—they are windows into the files. I tell you, these are a great people.

Steel Mills To Cut Output Again for Ninth Drop in 10 Weeks; 71.7-Percent Operating Rate Slated

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. MICHAEL J. KIRWAN

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 17, 1960

Mr. KIRWAN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to enclose therein a chart from the Wall Street Journal, which shows how the production of steel has dropped in the past 10 weeks, throughout the Nation. In my own hometown of Youngstown, Ohio, it is operating this week at only 45 percent.

Steel is one of our most important basic commodities. The slogan has always been "As Steel goes—so goes the economy of our Nation." We have reason to feel real concern:

STEEL MILLS TO CUT OUTPUT AGAIN FOR NINTH DROP IN 10 WEEKS; 71.7-PERCENT OPERAT-ING RATE SLATED

Steel mills will cut production this week to the slowest pace in a non-strike-affected period since Christmas week of 1958, the American Iron and Steel Institute indicated.

The institute reported mills are slating output of 2,402,000 tons of raw steel in the week that began yesterday, an operating rate of 71.7 percent of capacity. That would be off two points from last week's actual rate of 73.8 percent for the ninth cutback in the last 10 weeks. Excluding periods last year affected by the 116-day strike of the Steelworkers Union, it also would be the lowest production, in terms of both tonnage and operating rate, since the week that began December 22, 1958, when the furnaces ran at 63.2 percent of a smaller capacity to turn out 1,840,000 tons of ingots.

Last week's actual production came to 2,102,000 tons, exactly matching the fore-

DROP BEGAN IN MARCH

This week's scheduled operating rate is 24 points under the 1960 high of 95.7 percent, achieved twice in January. Nearly all the subsequent decline has taken place since the week that began March 7, when the actual operating rate was 93.1 percent. The dropoff has been interrupted only once since then, in the week that began April 18, and the rise of less than half a point that occurred that week was due entirely to an abnormal circumstance—a restarting of operations at one big mill that had been closed by a wildcat strike.

The persistence of the decline appears to reflect a switch among steel users to inventory-cutting from inventory-building. While the rate of incoming orders has steadied at many mills in the last 2 months, it has steadied at a point below the rate at which steel men think their metal actually is being consumed. Mill executives at first thought this would be a temporary situation, but it has lasted so long many steel makers have become convinced users are cutting their steel stockpiles.

Since inventory readjustments, once started, usually take menths to run their course, a number of mill men believe the cutback in production will continue through June and into the third quarter, a traditionally slow period. Despite the sharp cuts in output that already have been made, mills are still melting steel faster than they are booking new orders for it.

The Iron and Steel Institute's individual operating-rate forecasts for 11 major steel centers disclose that production will slip because half of capacity this week in the Youngstown district—the first time that has happened anywhere this year. Youngstown mills will lower output this week to 45 percent of capacity, from 50 percent last week, as orders continue to drop on pipe, one of the district's major steel products.

Seven other districts also will trim produc-

Seven other districts also will trim production this week, with the sharpest cut—seven points—scheduled in the Cincinnati area. Reductions of one to three points are slated in the Northeast coast, Buffalo, Pittsburgh, Chicago and southern regions. Detroit-area mills will go down five points, but their scheduled operating rate of 94 percent is still by far the highest in the Nation.

GAIN IN CLEVELAND

Cleveland and St. Louis area mills will speed up production, by one and five points respectively, while west coast mills will hold their operating rate unchanged at 70 percent.

Youngstown Steel & Tube Co., citing generally reduced steel operations, said it laid off "several hundred" workers in recent weeks at its South Chicago and Indiana Harbor

plants. Union sources at the 2 facilities estimated the number at roughly 1,100. Normal employment is about 12,000.

Republic Steel Corp. also is cutting back operations, reducing payrolls at its South Chicago plant by close to 1,000 men, according to Local 1033 of the United Steelworkers. Company officials declined to confirm or deny the report.

And Pittsburgh Steel Co. announced a cutback at its Monessen, Pa., basic steel mill which apparently will lower its operating rate about nine and a half points to about 56 percent of rated capacity.

The slump in steel demand also is bringing some cutbacks in fabricating operations. Republic Steel Corp. announced that its Trucson Steel Division plant in Youngstown, which fabricates building products, will suspend operations next week for 7 days, reopening May 31. This will be the third 1-week shutdown for the plant in the past 3 months. It employs about 550 workers.

Wheeling Steel Corp. had announced previously that its pipeworks at Benwood, Va., will suspend operations again this week.

The American Iron & Steel Institute estimates steel production for the week starting May 16 as follows:

	Net tons production	Index, 1947–49
Week Actual list week Actual month ago Actual year ago	2, 042, 000 2, 102, 000 2, 238, 000 2, 644, 000	127.1 130.9 139.3 164.6

The index of production is based on the average weekly production for 1947-49, or 1,606,377 tons.

Operating rates by districts, including the estimate for the latest period and the actual rate for the preceding week and the year ago period, follow:

	Estimate, week May 16	Actual, week May 9	Actual, year ago week
Northeast coast	75.0	77.0	92.0
Buffalo	76.0	77.0	101.0
Pittsburgh	72.0	75.0	94.0
Youngstown	45.0	50.0	86.0
Cleveland	79.0	78.0	94.0
Detroit	95.0	99.0	99.0
Chicago	73.0	76.0	93.0
Cincinnati	81.0	88.0	8d, 0
ot. Mouls	85.0	80.0	102.0
Southern	72.0	73.0	93.0
Western	70.0	70.0	98.0
Total, industry	71.7	73.8	93.4

West Virginia Newspaper Publisher Appeals for President's Recognition of State's Problems; Area Redevelopment Bill Veto Termed "Shameful" by Labor Leader

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JENNINGS RANDOLPH

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, May 17, 1960

Mr. RANDOLPH. Mr. President, on May 9, 1960, Robert K. Holliday, editor and publisher of the Fayette Tribune of Oak Hill, W. Va., and the Montgomery Herald, Montgomery, W. Va., wrote a letter to the President of the United States, which he published in the Thursday, May 12, 1960, edition of the Tribune.

Mr. Holliday, whose family and journalistic roots are deep in formerly prosperous Fayette County, is an enterprising young man in our State who has devoted much recent attention to the economic and social problems of his home section—one which is feeling severely the impact of chronic unemployment brought about principally by coal mining economics and technological changes in bituminous coal production methods.

This vigorous spokesman has been appealing for improvements in both quantity and quality of items available to needy persons and families under the surplus commodity distribution program. And he has been stressing the need for area redevelopment legislation—in order to enable communities and individuals to better help themselves to overcome the problems growing out of heavy labor surplus conditions.

Mr. Holliday, in his May 9, 1960 communication to the President, urged the Chief Executive to sign the area redevelopment bill, but his appeal—like those of many of us—received the President's unfavorable consideration, as did the measure he vetoed May 13, 1960.

I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD the column from the Fayette Tribune of Thursday, May 12, 1960.

There being no objection, the column was ordered printed in the RECORD, as follows:

OUR CHAT (By Bob Holliday)

MAY 9, 1960.

The Honorable DWIGHT DAVID EISENHOWER, President of the United States,

Washington, D.C.

DEAR PRESIDENT EISENHOWER: Our Senator,
JENNINGS RANDOLPH, once said, "And when
I told the President of the plight of many
children in West Virginia, I want to say for
the record that I saw a tear in his eye." On

tive to the needs of our people whenever you are informed of their misfortune.

Mr. President, you certainly are the greatest symbol of world peace today. Any thinking person realizes your position of

the basis of such reaction you must be sensi-

World leadership.

But, sir, do you know that 17,000 people in Fayette County (population approximately 82,000) are on Government surplus food commodities?

I have written to Secretary of Agriculture Benson, explaining to him our need for a greater variety of surplus food commodities. The Secretary did not answer my letter, but his Assistant Secretary informed me that congressional statutory limitations prohibited the purchasing of additional surplus food commodities.

Schator Hubert Humphrey is the author of the food stamp plan which would permit any individual to go into a grocery store with food stamps and buy groceries from the shelves. These food stamps would have been like currency. Now there's \$500 million of authorization there untouched. It was also said there are \$424,080,000 of unused funds that have been collected from tariffs on the imports of food stuffs into the United imports of food stuffs into the United States—\$424,080,000 in the Federal Treasury that could be used to balance out this diet for our needy people. The Department of Agriculture uses little of this for the people of West Virginia,

To make my point more vivid, I am including a list of names of local people here in Fayette County who have no income whatsoever. These people, Mr. President, do not think that your policies are adequate.

Now, we in West Virginia feel very strongly about the discrimatory practices which the Federal Government has performed against our people. In West Virginia our State gave first, percentagewise, of men to die in combat in the Korean war and also contributed first, percentagewise, in the number of men that served in the Armed Forces during the Korean war. We rank absolutely on the bottom, 50th, in defense spending in West Virginia. Would it be possible for you to issue an Executive order demanding that defense contracts be let to areas where there is high unemployment? Sir, often the rich under your policies are getting richer and the poor are getting poorer. Believe me, it is true as far as our State is concerned.

I do not believe in a continued system of handouts—our people want jobs—but our Federal Government must help people unable to help themselves. Of course, there is a fallacy that some people never will let go of the crutch. But our Government must do all that it can in a humanitarian spirit of aiding these people until they are able to take care of themselves.

We don't want a crutch. Our unemployed only want a job. Sign the area redevelopment bill and make certain that West Virginia gets its fair share of assistance.

Sincerely,

THE FAYETTE TRIBUNE AND THE MONTGOMERY HERALD, ROBERT K. HOLIDAY,

Publisher.

Mr. RANDOLPH. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent also to have printed in the Appendix of the Record the text of a statement released May 16, 1960, by James B. Carey, secretary-treasurer of the Industrial Union Department, AFL-CIO, in which he termed President Eisenhower's veto of the distressed areas bill shameful and called upon the congressional majority leadership to rally its forces to override the veto.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

The President has called for one-thirdplus-one Government and seems determined to have it. He has again put budget-surplusing ahead of the needs of the American people. It is time for congressional leadership to meet this challenge.

Only a few days ago, Mr. Eisenhower boasted that the economy has passed the \$500 billion mark. Yet in the very next breath the President said that the Nation cannot afford a \$251 million program to aid those of its citizens condemned to unemployment because of advancing technology and economic depression in their areas.

Industrial labor has long supported foreign economic aid because we know that without it freedom may perish. We cannot understand why help of this kind is a necessity abroad, while aid to our own distressed areas on any realistic level would squander the taxpayers' money.

There can be no worse squandering of the Nation's resources than to permit the economic erosion of whole areas of our Nation to continue. The recent West Virginia primary centered attention upon the kind of poverty that exists in this Nation because local economies have been destroyed or permitted to decline.

The problem of depressed areas has been before the Eisenhower administration since it came into office. The administration's answer has been two shameful and cruel vetoes of measures intended to restore local economies and needless suffering in these United States.

The people remembered the veto of the distressed areas bill in the congressional elections of 1958. They will watch any effort to overcome this year's veto and Congressmen on both sides of the aisle are well aware of it. A real fight to overcome the veto is in order. The time has come for the congressional majority leadership to meet the veto challenge and it could not have a more important domestic issue on which to wage the fight.

South's Answer: Get Rich

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. KENNETH A. ROBERTS

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, May 17, 1960

Mr. ROBERTS. Mr. Speaker, the South is coming into her own, once again, in spite of criticism and agitation from outside the South. The reason is that the South has no time or reason for sitting around feeling sorry for herself, but proceeds to prove that the century belongs to the South.

These thoughts are expressed in an excellent editorial from the Alabama Journal which was recently reprinted in the Piedmont Journal in Piedmont, Ala-

Under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include this editorial:

SOUTH WINS BY GETTING RICH

"There is no better way for the South to get revenge than to get rich," said a Texas professor of history to a Princeton faculty. Dr. Arthur Prescott Webb suggested that southerners "forget the misfortunes and injustices of the past and drown their bitterness in success."

"It is probable that the next century belongs to the South," the former president of the American Historical Association told his Princeton friends. Dr. Webb is going even further than the Alabama Power Co. which has been proclaiming for the last 10 years that the "last half of the 20th century belongs to the South."

The economic independence of the South has been increasing enormously in the past 10 years and it is due not only to the South's natural advantages and its resources but to its people and to the farsighted men of other sections who have decided to come down here and advance with the South.

There are those who feel that the South's enormous gains industrially and in every other way have more to do with northern criticism of this region than has the race issue which is agitated as the main point of difference between North and South.

As the North has watched the South grow, as it has noted the hundreds of new industries started in the South, as it has seen many of its own industries move down to sunny climates and happier working conditions it has stirred a feeling of envy that has resulted in all sorts of untrue and unfair reference to the South and our way of life.

Dr. Webb has certainly put his finger on one of the main reasons for Northern hostility to this region. It makes them sad to see the growth, the progress, the happy living conditions, the fast-growing market, and purchasing power of millions of Southern consumers. Certainly Northern industrialists and their newspaper spokesmen have long tried to overcome by unfair means the South's industrial advantages. For many years they imposed an unfair freight rate

burden upon us which prevented profitable shipment of our finished products north of the Ohio River.

But it has all been in vain. The South is coming into her own in spite of criticism. Race agitation is merely a minor feature of the northern attitude of hostility. But so great is the South's surge of growth and prosperity that its momentum has not even been slowed down by continual attacks and misrepresentations.

Education by Radio and Television

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. GALE W. McGEE

OF WYOMING

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Tuesday, May 17, 1960

Mr. McGEE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article entitled, "Institute's Bombarded With Ideas," written by Lawrence Laurent and published in the Washington Post of Saturday, May 7, 1960. This article deals

with the subject of education by radio and television.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the REC-ORD, as follows:

RADIO AND TELEVISION-INSTITUTE'S BOM-BARDED WITH IDEAS

(By Lawrence Laurent)

COLUMBUS, OHIO, May 6 .- This is the traditionally conservative Middle West, but enough new ideas for broadcasting have been advocated at the 30th Annual Ohio State Institute for Education by Radio and Television to revolutionize completely a young industry.

Broadcasters usually claim that educators are idealists, impractical, visionary men who do not understand the terrible pressures on the commercial broadcasting business. Yet, the cries for change come from every segment of the institute-except the educators.

At last night's question of how to regulate broadcasting, whether through "laws, codes, or czars?" the new ideas came from a U.S. Senator and an official of Consumers

The Senator was GALE W. MCGEE, Democrat, of Wyoming, a member of the Communications Subcommittee of the Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee. McGEE said he is convinced that a sweeping overhaul of the entire legal structure of munications business will be needed.

McGre wants a study that will give him the theoretical best of all possible broadcasting to compare with the "patched up. jerry-built, tortured concepts that have

emerged over the years."

Mildred E. Bradey, editorial director of
Consumers Union, put forth a 12-point program that would put the viewer in charge of regulation of stations, able to influence the 3-year renewal of station licenses and to shape a station's advertising policy.

This spirit for change has even affected Federal Communications Commission Chairman Frederick W. Ford. In a speech prepared for delivery today at the national convention of American Women in Radio and Television, Ford has raised some serious questions about violence on TV. Here are Ford's words:

Violence on television is sometimes defended by the high ratings some of these programs receive. It is said that these ratings indicate the public is getting what it

The principle purpose of the huge wants. expenditure by advertisers on programs is to draw a crowd to hear his sales message.

"But the question is raised in my mind" Ford continued, "are broadcasters and television writers using violence excessively to draw a crowd without giving thought to the effect that violence may have on immature minds?

"Are there not other ways to draw a crowd? Can this industry afford to take a chance on excessive violence?"

Ford's concern with violence is somewhat unusual. In recent years, FCC members have run from discussions of TV program

Senator McGee quickly stated his "warrant for wisdom in the TV field." He said: "I am a real live resident of Laramie, home of 98 percent of TV."

The most heated debate of the meeting here was touched off by Harry Skornia, president of the National Association of Educational Broadcasters. He asked if TV and radio "have the freedom to deaden and anesthetize democratic man?"

It is Skornia's contention that viewing of TV tends to dry up citizen participation and activity in civic affairs. He particularly objected to radio-TV campaigns to get out the vote. Skornia charged that uninformed voting may be worse than nonvoting. He "Eany-meeny vote casting even by millions, is a perversion of democracy."

Gilbert Seldes, dean of the Annenberg School of Communication at the University

of Pennsylvania, agreed.

Most of the audience however, thought Skornia, was hiding behind clever phrases.

The Depressed Areas Bill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. WILLIAM B. WIDNALL

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, May 17, 1960

Mr. WIDNALL. Mr. Speaker, Pennsylvania is one of the States suffering most from pockets of chronic industrial unemployment. There is general agreement that five of the major labor market areas are so-called depressed areas. These are the Altoona, Erie, Johnstown. Scranton, and Wilkes-Barre-Hazleton areas. As of March 1960, unemployment in these five major areas totaled 57,500 persons. In addition there are six smaller industrial areas on which there is general agreement that conditions of chronic unemployment exist. These are the Berwick-Bloomsburg, Clearfield-Du Bois, New Castle, Pottsville, Sunbury-Shamokin-Mount Carmel, and Union-town-Connellsville areas. Unemployment in those six smaller areas totaled 40,850 persons on the basis of most recently available surveys. All 11 of these areas would have been recognized as areas of chronic unemployment under both the administration's and the Senate passed depressed areas bills. Aside from the addition of one smaller industrial area, namely Butler with an unemployed total of 3,100 persons, the bill as it passed the Senate and the administration's bill were in complete agreement that these were the areas of chronic unemployment in Pennsylvania. The unemployed total for these 12 areas totals 101,450 persons.

Now let us see what would happen under the House version of the bill, as amended, which was accepted by the Senate, and sent to the President and vetoed. It would have been mandatory that the administrator designate 23 areas in Pennsylvania as eligible for assistance with an unemployed total of 320,850 or over three times that for the commonly recognized chronic areas. In other words, chronic areas would get only one-third of the assistance intended for them. Other areas, including Philadelphia with 119,300 unemployed and Pittsburgh with 75,700 unemployed would get \$2 of every \$3 of assistance intended for the chronic areas in Pennsylvania.

No wonder the President found it necessary to veto the unfair and unsound depressed areas bill which the Congress sent to him. Failure of this Congress to get busy and pass a good bill at this session can mean only one thing, and that is, that the majority party of this Congress is more interested in a potential political issue than it is in enacting constructive legislation to lessen suffering in hard-hit areas of chronic unemployment.

Oklahoma's Doing Fine for Motoring Tourists

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. ROBERT S. KERR

OF OKLAHOMA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Tuesday, May 17, 1960

Mr. KERR. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article entitled "Oklahoma's Doing Fine for Motoring Tourists," written by Grace E. Ray, which was published in the New York Sunday Times of May 15, 1960.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

OKLAHOMA'S DOING FINE FOR MOTORING Tourists

(By Grace E. Ray)

DURANT, OKLA.-Here is a message of reassurance to the great number of motorized eastern families that will be taking the classic routes through the Southwest to the Pacific this summer: They need not worry about crossing Oklahoma. In fact, they may happily pause here.

Instead of "dust bowls" and "Okies," Oklahoma is dotted with many lakes and free State parks for good camping. There are shaded shores and lovely landscapes. Some lie close to the great highways, others need turning off to reach. That, too, can be half the charm for tourists with a little leisure. A splash in the lakes or a fish on the hook for the children is much more fun than grinding along while father sets up his own

personal distance-run record.

When the 89'ers rode into Indian territory, they camped beside their steeds and ate off the land. But 1960 tourists, wheeling into the territory's successor, Oklahoma, may chose from 2,124 free campsites with conveniences. Most of these sites are on shady banks of blue lakes.

With the opening this spring of Black Mesa, Oklahoma has 16 State parks equipped with free conveniences such as picnic tables, cooking grills, modern restrooms, and showers. A \$200,000 program of park im-

provements is being completed.

Oklahoma parks enclose a total of 1,000 square miles of lakes, created by impounding waters on rivers including the Washita, Red. Grand, and Illinois. Oklahoma is no longer a "dry" State, either in reference to refreshments or lake and river water.

Speaking of boats, these parks have 32 free concrete launching ramps for visitors bringing their own craft. For others, there are 1,000 boats for rent at about \$3 a day. Some parks have shelter cabins, all have swimming beaches, and some have pools. All have children's playground equipment.

STREAMS SPRING PED

The parks have clear streams, many being spring fed. In one park, Boiling Springs, near Woodward in northwestern Oklahoma, the springs flow 432,000 gallons of water daily. Lake Texoma State Park on Red River near here offers the biggest expanse of water in the State. It covers 93,085 acres. This park is on U.S. 70.

In some parks and nearby wildlife refuges, the deer and the buffalo roam. Lob cabins, wood-burning fireplaces, and saddle horses are available, and at the proper time and place a man may use his gun and dog. Game birds are plentiful, and for birdwatchers there are bald and golden eagles, water turkeys, great blue herons, pelicans, American and snowy egrets. The egrets are numerous on Lake Texoma, and many nest along Oklahoma City's municipal Lake Overholser.

BISON HERDS HERE

Other wildlife to be seen, but not shot, is found in the Federal Wichita Mountains Game Refuge in the vicinity of several State parks. Here one sees flocks of wild turkeys and greater prairie chickens and also the largest herds of American bison and Texas Longhorn cattle in the world.

Fishing is free except for the license (non-resident 10-day license, \$2.25). In various parks, bass weighing up to 7 pounds have been caught. May and June are among the months when "Sooner"—slang for Oklahoma—fish are gay and carefree, and easily

hooked.

Other recreations are water skiing and jumping, paddle boating, water bleycling, riding, softball, horseshoes, and shuffleboard. Pontoon boats are available.

Larger parks have horseback riding at about \$1.50 an hour, pleasure boat riding at about \$1.50 a trip, marinas for servicing boats and ways for launching them storage stalls for boats, airplane landing strips, youth camps, fishing lodges, square dancing centers, archery ranges, trapshooting, enclosed fishing barges for cool days, orchestral dancing, concerts, television, table tennis, and other games.

One park, Alabaster Caverns near Woodward, has a place for cavemen and women, who can explore a half-mile-long Gypsum Cavern (adult tours, \$1.25; for children, 50 and 75 cents).

All parks have grocery stores, trailer parking space, and modern air-conditioned cabins renting at about \$3 a night per person. Pive parks have luxury lodges, and six have electricity for trailers. Sequoyah State Park on Fort Gibson Lake near Wagoner also has trailer sewer facilities, as does a private resort, Willow Springs on Lake Texoma near Durant.

For facts about the park campsites, address Information Department, Oklahoma Planning and Resources Board, 533 State Capitol, Oklahoma City, Okla. They will shower you with free illustrated brochures listing accommodations, rates, entertainment, and addresses of parks.

MAPS AVAILABLE

This board will also send 1960 road maps, which show not only parks but 142 other publicly owned areas including forests, lakes, fish and game hatcheries, hunting areas, wildlife refuges. The board will send a calendar of 1960 events, listing dates and places of 11 Indian powwows, Indian dances, and Indian expositions, in addition to rodeos, fairs, livestock shows, horse shows, music festivals, and dramatic productions. For \$1 the board will send the "Visit Oklahoma Guidebook," which is an abbreviated history of the State.

Although State parks are scattered throughout Oklahoma, each is on a United States or State route, and within each park there are blacktop or paved driveways. Lake Texoma State Park in south-central Oklahoma, with 198 campsites, is a good headquarters from which to see the State. From here one may drive to interesting points in eastern and western Oklahoma, or simply move bag and baggage from one park to another.

As the eastern half of the State was Indian territory prior to 1907, it has many historical points, including the log cabin home of Sequoyah, inventor of the Cherokee alphabet. It is near Sallisaw. Other points include the restored Murrell House, near Tahlequah, a mansion built in about 1845 for Cherokee chieftains. The Creek chieftains' house is now an Indian museum at Okmulgee. The home of the Choctaw chiefs, built in 1834, near Swink village in Choctaw County, is being restored. Wheelock Mission, oldest church in Oklahoma, built near Millerton for the Choctaws in 1842, is still used weekly for worship.

Other landmarks in eastern Oklahoma include the original capitol building of the Cherokee nation still standing at Tahlequah, serving as the county courthouse; the Indian Museum at Tahlequah, the Cherokee Weavers and Arts and Crafts Building near Tahlequah, the Will Rogers Memorial Shrine and Museum at Claremore, the J. M. Davis collection of 7,000 kinds of guns at Claremore, a totem pole 90 feet high at the town of Foyil, the Cherokees' Old Bitting Water Wheel Mill, still in operation, near Stilwell; Fort Gibson, which was built in 1824; Bacone Indian College, with its Indian artist-professor, Dick West, at Muskogee.

In southeast Oklahoma stands a cypress tree 42 feet in circumference, in the vicinity of lumber mills at Broken Bow and nearby towns. North of Broken Bow is Beavers Bend State Park in a pine forest. Seven miles north is a 16,000-acre State wilderness refuge carpeted by wild flowers, shaded by trees, including holly, and inhabited by wild turkeys, beaver, flying squirrels, wildcats, coyotes, and wolves. North of the wilderness is Quachita National Forest, crossed by scenic U.S. 271.

Other State parks in eastern Oklahoma are Wister, at Poteau; Robbers' Cave, Wilburton, glamorized with stories of bandits; Greenleaf, at Braggs, and Tenkiller, at Gore.

TEEPEES SCARCE

But eastern Oklahoma is scarcely the place to see a teepee—it never was! It was the home of the Five Civilized Tribes, who occupled houses, read Greek and Roman history, and published newspapers (the first being the Cherokee Advocate started in 1844 at Tahlequah).

The tecpees, tomahawks, and similar primitive tools are on exhibit at Indian City near Anadarko in southwestern Oklahoma, where the plains tribes roamed. This was in Oklahoma Territory prior to 1907. There one may see an authentic Indian village constructed by today's house-dwelling bucks, under directions given by University of Oklahoma anthropologists. This village is near Quartz

Mountain State Park, at Lone Wolf, and Red Rock Canyon State Park, near Hinton.

Roman Nose State Park, in northwest Oklahoma, near Watonga, is named for an Indian chief. This park has a swimming pool and lake fed by streams gushing out of cliffs. Great Salt Plains State Park, near Jet, is a paradise for the migrating ocean shore birds, ducks, and geese.

FOR THE ART CONNOISSEUR

North of Lake Texoma State Park is Platt National Park, Sulphur. Near Platt is the Davis Municipal Park, in which Turner Falls is situated.

For those interested in art, there are Woolaroc Museum of Southwestern Art and History, Bartlesville, near Osage State Park; Gilcrease Museum of Indian Art and History and Philbrook Art Center, both in Tulsa, on Will Rogers and Turner Turnpikes; Oklahoma City's new Municipal Art Center, near Turner Turnpike; the University of Oklahoma Oriental Art Collection and Stovall Museum of History and Anthropology at Norman on U.S. 77.

There are still lots of Indians in Oklahoma, but the only detached scalps are in these museums.

In Answer to Soviets: Congressman Curtis of Missouri Urges New Weapons To Fight an Economic War

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BOB WILSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, May 17, 1960

Mr. WILSON. Mr. Speaker, during past weeks, the Nation's press has been subject to considerable criticism and analysis. Many news media are, however, doing a thoughtful, careful and constructive reporting job in the public interest. A good example of this is an interview by Sid Goldberg, news editor, NANA, with my colleague, Tom Curtis. Mr. Goldberg, who is an executive of NANA, seldom personally covers news breaks and does interviews because he is in charge of the gathering and transmission of news. However, as an experienced and skilled reporter, occasionally he does do a story of national significance and importance. His thoughtful analysis of the points raised by Congressman Curris in discussing that peace can be maintained both through a strong military defense but also sound economic policies, both at home and abroad, has been very favorably received by the Nation's press. This interview has already been printed in the editorial sections of the St. Louis Globe-Democrat, Atlanta Constitution, Louisville Times, New Haven Register, among others.

I am familiar with the work of NANA because one of my hometown papers, the San Diego Union, carries this service. In days when there is a tendency to publicize the spectacular, I wish to commend Mr. Goldberg, Mr. Curtis, and NANA in presenting to the public a forward looking analysis of economic steps that can and should be taken in our relations with countries overseas and, at the same time, protect the jobs of American workers:

In Answer to Soviets, Lawmaker Urges New Weapons To Fight an "Economic War"

(By Sid Goldberg, North American Newspaper Alliance)

New York, April 16.—A key Congressman, in response to Premier Khrushchev's declaration of economic war, proposes strong countermeasures to Soviet "dumping," a complete revamping of the U.S. tariff system, and creation of a secretary of foreign economics as a full Cabinet member.

"Khrushchev has challenged us to economic war, but our arsenal is empty of effective weapons in this field," says Representative Tom Curns of St. Louis, Mo. "We've got the bombs and missiles to stand up to Russia in a military showdown, but in a battle between economies—the kind we're now being forced into—the United States is almost defenseless."

CURTIS, the only Missouri Republican holding high elective office, is the ranking minority Member of the House-Senate Joint Economic Committee and fourth-ranking Republican in the House Ways and Mcans Committee.

Now completing his fifth term in the House, the 48-year-old Congressman has been mentioned in the press as a running mate for either Vice President Nixon or, should he be drafted, Gov. Nelson Rockefeller of New York.

PROPOSALS NOTED

The first of Curris' unorthodox proposals is the establishment of a U.S. Trading Corpotion (USTC), capitalized by the Government at \$1 billion with a potential of up to \$4 billion. Purpose of the corporation would be to enable U.S. firms to compete with the artificially low prices set by Soviet state trading monopolies. Payments from the corporation would assure a U.S. firm of a fair profit margin if it were forced to drastically lower its prices to meet the monopoly prices of Russia.

of Russia.

"Right now Russia is engaged in the same kind of unscrupulous business practices that were outlawed by our antitrust legislation in the last century," CURTS explained in an interview during a visit here.

"The U.S. exporter, in competing with Soviet monopolies, often is up against the type of unfair competition that many small businessmen faced in American before the Sherman Antitrust Act," he said.

The St. Louis Congressman stresses that the Corporation would be designed as a defense only against totalitarian economies such as Russia's, and would go into action only when U.S. firms could prove they were up against unscrupulous foreign competition.

"There must be built-in safeguards against U.S. firms taking advantage of the Corporation," he continued. "Some firms inevitably would try to blackmail the Corporation into helping them underbid foreign competitors. But payments would be made only when the competition could be shown blantantly unfair"

Tom Curris cites several examples of how Russia cuts corners in its economic war with the West. Two years ago it tried to create anarchy in the world aluminum market by dumping vast quantities of the metal at below-cost prices. At the same time it outbid the United States for Icelandic fish, trying to tie the island's entire foreign trade to Kremlin purchases.

RETALIATION THREAT

He also points out that Poland recently agreed to supply Cuba with textile machinery; yet for several months Poland was negotiating to buy textile machinery from the United States, claiming a serious shortage at home.

"This kind of trade deal often is expenalve economically to the Soviet bloc, and is entered only when an outstanding political goal can be achieved," Curtis said. "Perhaps the mere threat of U.S. retaliation through the trading Corporation would be enough to dissuade the Russians from these practices.

"Just as the possession of the hydrogen bomb works as a deterrent to military aggression, existence of the trading Corporation could work as a deterrent to economic forms of aggression," he suggested.

Curris hopes that the Corporation, if set up, some day could be internationalized, growing into an "economic court of justice" that would elimniate the cutthroat practices that still persis in international trade.

Regarding U.S. tariffs, Curris believes the whole system is outdated. "It regulates but it doesn't stimulate," he said. "The tariff should be an economic wedge that we could use to force an increase in the standard of living around the world."

He believes this could be done by automatically lowering the tariff by a set percentage every time a foreign wage scale goes up. For example, if Japanese textile workers received an increase in pay, the tariff on Japanese textiles would be lowered proportionately. Similarly, when a foreign wage rate goes down, the U.S. tariff would go up.

Curtis says it is inconceivable that we can have healthy trade relations with countries where workers are paid a 10th or a 20th of the U.S. scale. He cites the Peruvian miner, who earns 8 cents an hour—compared to the \$1.50 an hour earned by his American counterpart.

EMPLOYERS COULD PAY MORE

"Our miners may be 10 times more efficient than Peru's, or even 15 times; but I refuse to believe they are 20 times better," he said. "Although employers in underdeveloped countries naturally can't pay U.S.-scale wages, they certainly can afford to pay more than they are. One way to encourage them is through a carrot-and-stick tariff policy."

Curtis says the United States need have no guilty conscience about "meddling" in the wage policies of foreign countries. "If you call this 'interference,' then I'm all for more 'interference' of this kind," he says. "People will eat better."

The Congressman is not dispirited that neither the trading corporation nor the new tariff system has majority support in Congress. He has tried twice without success to push through the necessary legislation. But he believes that, as the Soviet economic threat intensifies, and as the needs and demands of underdeveloped countries continue growing, pressure for a new approach to foreign economic policy will become compelling.

"The problems already have become so vast that the State Department no longer can handle them," he said. "What is needed is a new Cabinet position, a Secretary of Foreign Economics, devoted entirely to the questions of export-import, tariffs, the Soviet economic challenge, and our aid and trade agreements. Several European Governments have had such cabinet posts for many years, and it is time we got around to having one ourselves."

Papa Knows Best

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. ALEXANDER WILEY

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, May 17, 1960

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, over the years, the people of the Nation—unwise-

ly, I believe—have developed a habit of looking to Uncle Sam to meet a great many of their needs,

Perhaps, because of the circuitous route of the taxpayer's dollar, back through Uncle Sam's gift-giving hand to provide Federal aid programs, there is a widespread illusion that Federal support either does not come directly from the taxpayer's pocket, or, perhaps, at least payment can be indefinitely postponed.

Frankly, I believe it is hightime that we dispelled this illusion and put some realism into our public thinking.

In view of this widespread conception, therefore, I always welcome signs that individualistic, free enterprise thinking is still strongly active in the Nation.

Recently, the executive vice president of the National Association of Real Estate Boards published an editorial entitled "Papa Knows Best."

Reflecting the need for getting away from this idea of locking to Uncle Sam to set the goals in too many fields—in this case, housing—I ask unanimous consent to have the editorial printed in the Appendix of the Record.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PAPA KNOWS BEST (By Eugene P. Conser)

People who work in Government like to establish goals. If these can gain acceptance as part of an innocuous appearing bill, the problem of obtaining appropriations for otherwise dubious projects is greatly lessened. A policy already has been established, so the argument goes, and the money must be provided to complete the project—to carry out the will of Congress.

Such an annual goal for housing is being proposed now. It would become the duty of the President to determine how much housing is to be needed each year (and supposedly what type, where located, what price brackets, etc.), and to propose to the Congress how these goals should be reached.

Within the lifetime of many of us, the farmer was persuaded that he should let an agency of Government determine how many acres he should plant, and in return he would be assured of a predetermined price for his crops. It would take the gambling out of farming, and the farmer could be assured a profit. This kind of planning, this setting of goals, would protect the farmer against the vicissitudes of the market.

What the planners did not foresee was the inability—or the unwillingness—of politicians to adjust politically determined goals to the economic facts of life. The result is that the farmers have a political albatross around their collective necks that is costing the taxpayers of the entire country some \$6 billion a year. The farmer is in a strait-jacket from which no one has been able to find for him an escape.

People who build, sell, lease, and manage housing could find themselves with the same kind of a political noose around their necks. Even now, housing construction is thought of as a counter cyclical activity which under politically initiated stimulus, may help turn upward a sag in the economy. It would be easy for politicians to decide upon an arbitrary goal in order to provide added employment and bolster the economy. But if the housing were not occupied—what then? Would it be boarded up and held in an inventory by FHA—just as surplus wheat, cotton, tobacco, pennuts, etc., are held in storage in tens of thousands of bins and

warehouses throughout the country? And what if the economic planners found that the welfare of the country required that additional houses be built to provide continuing employment—meanwhile adding to the inventory of boarded-up houses awalting occupants? Or decided that employment should be boistered by building apartments with Government money to attract tenants out of the privately owned high-rent apartments?

If individuals are to remain free to exercise their own judgment, history tells us that they have not yet found a better economy than the competition and the disciplines of the marketplace. The American farmer realizes it now, but he has become hopelessly entwined in the tentacles of political domination. The realtors and builders will do well to avoid the same fate. The theory that papa knows best doesn't hold true with the "great white father" in Washington or any other capital city. The judgments of bureaucracy are not omnipotent. But they are an opiate to those who fear competition and the hard reality of the collective judgment of a free market. Let us avoid this goal setting by political fiat.

Do We Value Our Free Civilization?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, JAMES J. DELANEY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 17, 1960

Mr. DELANEY. Mr. Speaker, the Freedom Institute of St. John's University, Jamaica, N.Y., is designed to inform students at the graduate level of the nature and evils of communism as contrasted to the priceless gift of freedom.

In view of the developments at Paris, the following eloquent address given by Senator Thomas J. Dodd at the convocation of the Freedom Institute on May 14, 1960, is particularly timely, and I commend it to the attention of my colleagues:

Address of Senator Thomas J. Dodd at the Convocation of the Freedom Institute of St. John's University, Jamaica, N.Y., May 14, 1960

On Thursday of this week, during debate on the Senate floor, I had occasion to refer to the Pulitzer Prize-winning novel "Advise and Consent," which pictures an America of a few years hence, an America in which demagogs can inflame huge gatherings and bring them to their feet cheering with the slogan, "I would rather crawl to Moscow on my hands and knees than be killed by an atomic bomb."

Should this book prove prophetic, it will mean that our people have rejected the choice between liberty and death made by Patrick Henry and the Founding Fathers, the choice which drew the cheers of America from 1775 down to the recent past.

The fundamental question before the United States and our free world allies in the coming decade is this: Do we value our free civilization enough to run all the risks and meet all the challenges which the Communists will force upon us in the years ahead? It is in the context of this question that I would like to discuss the subject that has been assigned to me today—"Political freedom under a representative government and in a totalitarian state."

I do not think it likely that an ignoble surrender policy will ever be publicly pro-

claimed by high American officials as their political platform.

Men and nations have frequently betrayed their best interests through fear but they have generally rationalized and disguised their cowardice and not publicly proclaimed it. Surrender, if it comes, will probably come in more subtle ways, but the end result will be the same. We need not look, therefore, for base pronouncements. We must seek out the trend in less obvious signs and guises. And such signs are not wanting.

When the preservation of freedom in West Berlin appeared to run serious risk of war a year ago, there was no dearth of advocates, at home and abroad, for a policy of concession and retreat that would temporarily avoid risk of war at the probable cost of freedom for West Berlin.

There is today a rapidly growing movement, well organized, well represented in the press, movies and TV, in the scientific community and in government, people so fearful of the risks of the cold war, that they are willing to accept nuclear disarmament on almost any terms, with or without an adequate system of detection and enforcement.

These people are not concerned that this could condemn the United States to a military inferiority which would make our eventual surrender or destruction inevitable. They are concerned only with their fears of the present.

And then we have the school of British intellectuals now openly advocating what our own "softies" have heretofore kept below the surface. This group, headed by Lord Bertrand Russell and Philip Toynbee, believes that we must give up nuclear weapons now to assure that they will never be used against us, that we should seek the best terms from the Soviets we can get; but if they should be totally intransigent we should give up nuclear weapons anyway, and submit to Communist control as a preferable alternative to carrying on the present struggle that might lead to nuclear war.

Toynbee states the basic philosophy of this group in the following sentence:

"In the terrible context of nuclear war, even the vital differences between communism and Western freedom become almost unimportant."

Almost unimportant.

This is the neutralist intellectual's equivalent of "I would rather crawl to Moscow on my hands and knees than be killed by an atomic bomb."

It does not matter to these people that by building our strength we maintain a good chance of preserving both our lives and our freedom. It does not matter that the blood bath which historically follows every Communist seizure might take more lives than the A-bomb. It does not matter that the existence they purchased by surrender would be only the exploited existence of a Communist slave.

It matters only that the element of risk is large, and that, to them, any considerable risk to existence is a greater evil than the loss of Christian civilization. They are so overwhelmed at the horror of nuclear destruction that all other values are for them already destroyed and are rendered relatively meaningless.

Whether this neutralist philosophy will remain an isolated view held by an insignificant group, manifesting itself infrequently in test ban rallies or in occasional picketing of Downing Street and the White House; or whether this poisonous creed will seep into the marrow of our national bone structure and paralyze us, will depend upon whether our people really understand, or can be brought to understand, what the loss of national freedom and subjection to Communist tyranny would mean.

There are two basic replies to the neutralist position. The first is that we can avoid

both catastrophies, nuclear war and enslavement, by remaining militarily strong and standing firm against aggression. This is a potent argument. It is a tangible argument. It is a demonstrable argument that has thus far worked. It is the basis of our national policy. It has been exhaustively debated, its tenets are widely known, and I therefore forego discussion of it today in favor of the second argument against neutralism, which is less understood and little discussed.

This argument maintains that the political destruction of Western civilization and its system of free institutions constitutes a death for its people and its nations just as violent, just as hideous, just as final as nuclear destruction itself, that there is little to choose between nuclear physical destruction and Communist political destruction.

The detailed knowledge of communism in all its aspects is available; indeed it is abundant. But the evil of communism is so allen, so appalling, so far removed from anything in our own experience, that our intellectuals and our people ignore the evidence.

and our people ignore the evidence.

By and large, men believe what they are prepared to believe, what is familiar to them, what jibes with their own experience. We ignore the clear signs in order to retain our familiar conceptions. We shield our eyes from the reality of communism or we lack the intellectual curiosity to inquire into it.

On the supernatural level, we have read

On the supernatural level, we have read in the lives of the saints of occasions when they were granted visions of human evil as God sees it, and the sight of this evil in its true light was so loathsome, so horrible that they felt they would die were the visions not instantly withdrawn. And ever after they would die rather than commit evil.

So on the natural level, a true picture of atheistic communism would so repel the freedom-loving peoples of the world could they but see it, that they would risk all that they have to defend themselves and their posterity against it. Our task is to bring this true picture before them in every way we can.

Communism can win only in darkness, deceit, error, and falsehood. Freedom can win only in light, candor, logic, and truth. This struggle must be fought on the intellectual front. Once we have won the intellectual struggle for men's minds, the other battles will be easily won and communism will be remembered in history as just another mental plague and torment that cost men dearly.

Your Freedom Institute is a great and early arsenal of truth and freedom. I congratulate St. John's University for exerting leadership in this field as it has throughout its distinguished history in so many fields of learning.

I hope that the Judiciary Committee of the U.S. Senate will favorably recommend, within the next few weeks, the establishment of a National Freedom Academy, an academy which aims to do on the national level what the Freedom Institute is doing here at St. John's University.

It is a relatively easy thing to imagine the horrors of physical destruction brought on by a nuclear attack. It seems a difficult thing for people to understand the meaning of the political, moral, and social destruction that is involved in the communization of the civilized world. We cannot even grasp the full extent of it by looking at what the Communists have done already in the areas they control. For they have been unable to completely work their will on their subject peoples.

The existence of a great and powerful free community exercises a restraint upon them. The public remembrance of the old order still limits them. The need to concede some things to the wishes of their subjects still restrains them. Should they conquer the world, and thus gain complete security, they could work their terrible will unrestrained

which is as yet only half realized.

Prof. Gerhart Neimeyer of Notre Dame University, has described the meaning of Communist rule in a brilliant essay, a classic, recently appearing in Modern Age.

Dr. Neimeyer says at one point:

"Communism is destructive with a novel quality, not mere injustice or mere unfreedom, but the ravaging of the reality of human life by the spirit of dogmatized unreality. Western intellectuals understand the danger of material destruction, which is, after all, simple and obvious. The quality of communism's destructiveness has so far escaped their grasp. To understand it, one must get oneself to enter a mental world of distortion, reason perverted with the ald of force, half-truth set up as dogma, deceit espoused as norm."

If the Communists sought only to rule the world, then the danger could be judged in the same light as that of previous aggressive tyrannies. But they want more than to rule the world. They want to destroy it and remake it in the image of their insane dogma.

To the Communists, everything that we hold to be true is false. Our ideals, values, customs, loyalties are to him parts of an ugly system he is determined Our concepts of God, the individual, the family, truth, love, freedom, justice are to him objects of hatred and derision.

But our world haunts him. He cannot be content just to deride us and wait for our demise. If our truths are real, then his life is a senseless nightmare. He must banish

our values to vindicate his own. In the long run, therefore, our death becomes essential to his life. He is locked tight in an irrational system which admits of no truth or standard of measurement outside its own dialectic.

To the extent that he is a Communist, he abhors the non-Communist world and is compelled to work for its destruction. To the extent that he is a Communist, he can know no peace. He is driven on by a desperate inner compulsion toward the destruction of the existing world order.

The only priority ahead of the destruction of our system is the building and preservation of his own. The only restraints upon his designs against us are his fears for the

safety of his own system.

The threat of Communist subjugation, therefore, differs from the threat of all previous attempts to conquer the world. Here is no tyranny which seeks domination only for the sake of power, or spoils, or exploitation, or even the gratification of limitless ambition. Here is a depraved Samson which seeks to pull down the pillars of the present world and raise in its place a structure such as man has never seen. How would our lives be changed should the Communists achieve world domination? What would Communist rule mean in America?

The revealed truths of religion would be thoroughly and systematically stamped out. Religious instruction and services, the Sacraments, the means of grace which we hold to be essential for the salvation of the human soul, would be made as unavailable as perverted man can make them. Knowledge of the true goal of our existence, eternal life, would be erased insofar as it is possible for

it to be erased.

The concept of private property, around which so much of our daily life revolves, would be swept away. The fabric of free choice, through which we shape our lives by thousands of our own decisions, would be unraveled. Family life as we know it would disappear. Our free associations would be

Pride of country, respect for law, satisfaction with our basic political and social order, all of which so much conditions our

and put into total practice their dialectic habitual attitudes, our character, our personality-all this would vanish.

Every aspect of our lives, from the sublime to the ridiculous, would be swept away and in its place erected the insane, irrational, antihuman regimentation of every phase of life, which requires not mere submission to evil but active participation in it.

Again to quote Dr. Neimeyer:

"Their rule is 'not of this world,' not of the world of present reality, but of the unreality of speculative fiction. That is why their hostility to the present-day world is so unrelenting. That is why they impose their party line not merely to secure their power, but to combat the expressions of the present-day world in art, poetry, music, philosophy, and religion. That is why they are never contented with mere compliance under their rule, but always seek to break their victim's mind from the world of common humanity, to attach it to the cause of the dialectic future, to bring about its inner transformation by means of self-criticism or public confession. That is why they cannot stop lecturing even to their life-long enemies in the inhuman setting of the prison That is why there can be for them no truth, ethics, wisdom, save in the party's will, why ever act of the party's power is to them hallowed through its service to the dialectic of history. And that is why Communists, in their relations with men and women of the present-day world can never achieve peace, no matter how strong a structure of power they erect."

For the existence that we have known. Communist rule would mean a death as final as the grave. And our despair would be magnified by the sight of our children and grandchildren born into and growing up in a world alien to everything once cherished-a world of darkness, a world without faith, a world dead to either temporal or

eternal realities.

This is the fate which the avant-garde of the neutralists is willing to accept now if they can thereby purchase the guarantee that there will be no war; death of the soul, death of the spirit, death of the heart, if only the body is permitted to live.

Failure to understand the evil of communism is only half of our problem. The other half is that so many free people do not understand the meaning of Government in their lives, nor the significance of free-

They tend to downgrade the importance of our political structure. They think that we work out our destiny, our happiness in the private sphere of life and that the public sphere provides only utilities, peripheral benefits, law, order, safety.

They think that a change of government, or a new system of government, might cause some distress, some inconvenience but it would not reach the heart of our existence, it need not intrude upon the inner sanctum of our lives.

Many of our people regard government as a nuisance, a game of spoils for politicians, a butt for jokes. Many think that whatever degree of contentment and happiness they have achieved has come about independently of, or in spite of our political institutions rather than in large measure because of them.

These assumptions are tragically errone-The extent to which our lives are influenced by public institutions is difficult to Our education, our development, our ideas, goals, hopes, are all heavily influenced by a variety of public institutions. These institutions reflect the basic ideas of our people about God, about the nature of life, the destiny of mankind, the way that life should be lived.

Our public institutions determine whether our home is our refuge or a mere extension of the state; whether we live with our neighbors comfortably as with friends, or fearfully as with spies; whether we raise our children according to our lights, or surrender them to the state; whether we are free to work out a private life of our own making, or have no private life, but only a public existence ordered to serve the all-consuming demands of the state.

If our public institutions reflect our religious, ethical, and social ideals, our personal growth can take place with a certain harmony. If they do not, we are at best dogged with doubt and confusion and, at worst, reduced to hopless frustration and neurotic helplessness.

If there are no religious or ethical convictions reflected in public institutions, but only a ruthless program to exterminate them and replace them with false gods and distorted truth, then the purpose of human life is so frustrated, the goal of life is so obscured, that it is really dehumanized.

And so the uprooting of public order, the destruction of this system of free institutions and its replacement with an order which is totally alien would wholly destroy our mode of existence as we have known it. This is a death as real as physical death

And as the public framework is pulled down, as the churches are destroyed, as our ideals are uprooted, as human knowledge of God and His revelation is blotted out, as all the moral refinements and elevations of human nature wrought by thousands of years of our Judaic-Christian heritage are eroded away, our descendants may be condemned to a death infinitely more final than physical death, for we leave to them a world without the instruction, the aids, the instruments of grace which are necessary to man's eternal salvation.

That is the argument that I would make to the neutralist intellectual. But I would make it with scant hope of success, for in many ways he is little better than the Communist

He is the lukewarm, for whom Christ reserved perhaps the most severe condemnation of the New Testament.

Convinced that there are no moral absolutes, he can wholly commit himself to nothing and he finds nothing worth suffering greatly for or giving his life for. Convinced that there is no life beyond the grave, animal survival is to him the ultimate reality.

Fear blinds him to his own best interests; pettiness robs him of the magnanimous courage to risk all for the sake of posterity; pride compells him to cloak his fear and pettiness in the mantle of high, noble motives. All he can offer the civilization which has given him life and growth is the whimpering counsel of despair and abandonment.

Only history can tell how much of our intellectual community deserves this description. We may fervently hope the portion is small.

Any philosophy or political program which aims at the avoidance of death or destruction is foredoomed to failure.

Death, in the end, comes to all men and destruction comes upon all material things. In the century-old words of Cardinal Newman:

"The world passes, the lofty palace crumbles, the busy city is mute, the ships of Tarshish are sped away; death comes upon the heart and the flesh. The veil is breaking."

It is not the circumstance of death, but the moral quality of life that has eternal significance.

Let us help our countrymen to react to the risk of nuclear death not with a craven terror that prompts the betrayal of all we value in return for the wormlike existence of Communist slaves for ourselves and our descendants. Let us help them to regard death as the time of judgment, the time of

entry into immortality.

Let our people live, and if need be die, in defense of our faith, our freedom and our country, confident that our individual destiny and the survival of our race is yet in the hands of Divine Providence, a Providence which, if we but act our part with courage and loyalty, may yet ordain for us and our children a full, natural life in a world in which the peace of a just political and moral order is extended to all peoples.

Padre Island National Seashore Area Project Support Continues To Grow; the Daily Texan and Corpus Christi Caller-Times Call for Action

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. RALPH W. YARBOROUGH

OF TEXAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Tuesday, May 17, 1960

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, "the vast majority of Texans aware of the proposal ardently desire establishment of a National Seashore Recreation Area on Padre Island."

The words I have just read are not mine. These words are a direct quote from an editorial published in the May 8, 1960, edition of the Corpus Christi Caller-Times. The editorial goes on to urge the Congress for approval this session of the proposal to establish a great new national seashore recreation area on Padre Island, the longest and south-

ernmost beach in the Nation.

The Daily Texan, in its panorama page of May 8, 1960, also published a full page of articles concerning Padre Island, and at one point listed those who are supporting the proposal. The panorama page prepared by students in the Uni-Versity of Texas journalism department under the direction of Prof. Bill Rivers did an outstanding job of presenting this project to their readers. I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD excerpts from the article by Mr. Bill McReynolds, from the Daily Texan of May 8, 1960, entitled Padre Island, U.S. Longest Isle Seashore, May Become National Park."

I also ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD the editorial from the May 8, 1960, issue of the Corpus Christi Caller-Times en-

titled "National Seashore."

There being no objection, the excerpts and editorial were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Daily Texan, May 8, 1960]

PADRE ISLAND, UNITED STATES LONGEST ISLE SEASHORE, MAY BECOME NATIONAL PARK

"Here's one," exclaimed the little girl as she picked up another sand dollar on the vast Padre Island beach.

In mutual excitement, the brother treaded on her words. "Let's make nickels and pennies."

In their individualistic way, the two youngsters were underlining the capitalistic venture and size squabble that remain just about the only big hurdles left before Padre Island can become a national seashore.

Leading a puffing team for recognition of seashore designation is Texas junior Senator, RALPH YARBOROUGH, who introduced legislation (January 9, 1958) into the U.S. Senate to save this "hem off the vast garment of Texas resources." Only slightly ahead of YARBOR-OUGH, perhaps, is the Texas Observer, a liberal newspaper which gave the seashore plan a dawning and constant support.

But the interest in Padre cannot be confined within a conditioned liberal boundary. Other national and local adherents of preserving this Texas island for public use have

spoken:

1. The late Senator Richard Neuberger, of Oregon, champion of national conservation; Fred A. Seaton, Secretary of the Interior; Texas Gov. Price Daniel (in a lower Rio Grande Valley speech); and Lyndon B. John-son, Texas senior U.S. Senator. 2. Via the editorial route, the New York

Times lent its prestigious endorsement.

3. Public hearings, conducted in Corpus Christi on December 14, revealed overwhelming public support for the proposed seashore.

4. The U.S. Department of Interior's National Park Service has reported favorably. "Padre Island presents one of the last remaining opportunities for this Nation to preserve such a length of beach in its natural state. In future years, America's growing population will have few chances to experience and gain inspiration from a vast sweep of ocean shore unaltered by man."

Proposed size of the national seashore on Padre Island has become another stumbling block in the way of acceptance. Senator YARBOROUGH'S imagination has been captured by the entire length of the 117-milelong island, which stretches its slim size along most of the Texas southeast coast. He has said that he is "opposed to those who want to make a little honky-tonk beach in the middle * * *."

However, since the island already has commercial resort developments at each end, Yarborough stands to lose out. The Park Service, itself, recommends only an 88-mile-long seashore label.

If Padre Island is to become a national seashore, speed is of the utmost importance. Regarding Cape Code, another proposed national seashore, for example, Senator Neuberger reported that a park there would cost about \$16 million for the land alone. "And I understand," he said, "that a few years ago, it would have cost \$5 million." The price for acquiring rights on Padre Island increases annually just as does the rising price on Cape Cod.

WHY SAVE IT?

Why, might be asked, is saving Padre Island for the people so important?

The National Park Service reasons: "To its people, this country has always symbolized bigness and spaciousness * * *. To preserve America's longest beach will provide not only an outstanding area for biological and geological study, but also a place where future generations of Americans can experience a wild spaciousness that is their heritage * * *."

What's more, Padre is what one might call an inviting beach because it occupies the same latitude as the south Florida coast; the average January temperature is 57 degrees (average July temperature, 83); and the prevailing winds are southerly and warm. A national seashore on Padre, then, would have year-round appeal.

As far as business interests are concerned, seashore designation would accent the vast tourist boom that is engulfing the whole nearby Corpus Christi area.

With its beautiful new "High Bridge" acting as a decisive magnet to the cult of construction, Corpus is turning thumbs down on the slum-happy character of North Beach, its ancient playground—ratty appearance is deserting this whole area.

Corpus is priming for a perpetual influx of the tourist dollar. Look what has happened to the primitive Cape Hatteras sea-shore in North Carolina. This area now

commands more than 350,000 tourists each year. Isn't it possible that Padre will do the same for Corpus and the other surrounding, smaller cities?

[From the Corpus Christi Caller-Times, May 8, 1960]

NATIONAL SEASHORE

The vast majority of Texans aware of the proposal ardently desire the establishment of a national seashore area on Padre Island. There are no insurmountable obstacles in the way of early achievement of this worthy projand needless delay will not sit well with public opinion, especially in this area.

Secretary of the Interior Seaton has given the Eisenhower administration's blessing to a bill pending in the U.S. Senate specifically naming Padre Island as one of three seashore areas to be federally acquired for public recreation, wildlife conservation, and preservation of virgin natural beauty for posterity. The plan has been approved in principle by all Federal, State, and local officials whose agreement is essential to the accomplish-

The problems of private property rights, mineral development, naval activities, and administrative jurisdictions remain to be finally negotiated. But the area of agree-ment has broadened on these matters to the point where satisfactory solution appears assured.

The main snag now is the difference between the National Park Service's recommendation that the wilderness park cover an 88mile stretch of the island and the 56th legislature's 50-mile limitation in its 1959 consent resolution. That difference surely can be amicably resolved, or compromised; the concern is that the settlement should not be unnecessarily delayed.

It has been suggested that Congress postpone authorization until the Texas Legislature can consider expanding or removing its 50-mile limitation, but that would waste valuable time. One sees no reason why Congress could not approve an "open end" authorization, and leave it to the Federal administration to negotiate the actual size with State authorities.

There is no doubt that the Federal park officials want to develop what is best for this area and this State, as well as for the national heritage. What the people of Texas, and particularly the gulf coast, should now insist upon is the fullest measure of cooperation from their State officials and representatives in Washington to carry this plan to a speedy and successful conclusion.

Federal Subsidies Inflate School Costs (H.R. 10128)

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. O. C. FISHER

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 17, 1960

Mr. FISHER. Mr. Speaker, in considering the question of Federal aid for education, we need to take a close, hard look at the facts. Is such Federal aid actually needed? Is it good business to send a tax dollar to Washington and get back a smaller dollar in the form of socalled Federal aid for school construction? Should we risk a degree of Federal control over education by undertaking a mammoth \$975 million grant and aid program for school construction?

On the question of need, the U.S. Office of Education states that the peak need for new classroom construction has been passed. From that source it can also be assumed that the anticipated annual classroom construction rate, without Federal aid, will more than meet future requirements—even as estimated by the bill's proponents.

That same office, after a recent survey, reports that only 237 school districts in 45 States (embracing 35,000 districts) have exhausted all sources of borrowing for classroom construction. The total classroom need in these 237 "borrowed-up" districts was less than 3,100; and 45 percent of the districts had fewer than 600 pupils enrolled.

It is also significant that almost 50 percent of all classrooms used in 1959 have been built since World War II.

Moreover, it is estimated that on a national average property values for school tax purposes are assessed at 30 percent of real values.

It would seem self-evident, therefore, that in the face of available information the facts do not support the need for this form of Federal aid as proposed.

Second, is it good business from a tax-payer's standpoint to send a tax dollar to Washington and get back only a portion of it, to help build classrooms? Or, on the other hand, would it not be better, from the taxpayer's standpoint, to retain that tax dollar at its source, avoid the shrinking effect of sending it to Washington and then back to its source, and be able to get the full benefit of that tax dollar in the construction of classrooms, and with no strings attached in the use that is made of it?

On this subject of costs, it is necessary for local interests to take into consideration section 8 of the pending bill, H.R. 10128, which provides:

SEC. 8. (a) The State educational agency of each State which receives funds under this Act shall give adequate assurance to the Commissioner that all laborers and mechanics employed by contractors or subcontractors in the performance of work on school construction projects financed in whole or in part under this Act will be paid wages at rates not less than those prevailing on similar construction in the locality as determined by the Davis-Bacon Act.

A difficulty often encountered in the application of the Davis-Bacon Act is that wage rates set by the Secretary of Labor in a given community may reflect prevailing wages in a locality, but not those that prevail in a particular community.

Let me cite one example to illustrate that fact. Two schools were recently built simultaneously in Selma, Ala.—the Edgewood Grade School, upon which no Federal funds were used, and the New Knox Elementary School upon which Federal funds were used.

Here are the wage rates applied to the two construction jobs:

[Per hour]

Job category	Edgewood School (no Federal funds)	Knox School (Federal funds)	
Common labor Carpenter Concrete firisher Concrete mixer and traveling	\$0.75 1.75 1.75	\$1.15 2,25 2.85	
machine operator.	1.50	2.75	

It can be seen that the federally set wages ranged from 40 cents to \$1.25 more per hour than local wages for the same kind of work. It appears from this example that the wage rates set by the Secretary of Labor in that particular community were substantially higher than the prevailing wage that existed there, although it may have reflected the prevailing rates in a locality that perhaps included a metropolitan area.

I have pointed out that the tax dollar that is sent to Washington and comes back later in the form of Federal aid, is a smaller dollar when it returns to its place of origin. I do not know just how much of its true value is lost in this form of Federal aid. In the field of Federal aid for slum clearance, for example, it is said that some 221/2 cents of each dollar is consumed by the Federal overhead expense of making the dollar available and returned to its original source. And in the case of public housing, the brokerage fee paid to the Government on each tax dollar spent amounts to 39.9 cents.

Moreover, Mr. Speaker, I think most people agree with the warning so often given by the late Senator Robert Taft when he said: "Federal aid means Federal control. There is no middle ground."

A study of the history of Federal aid programs reveals that as a general rule such aid entails conditions and terms under which it is to be spent. We begin with it here by the application of the Davis-Bacon Act right at the inception, with Uncle Sam dictating to the local community how much they must pay the laborers who do the work, without regard to the local labor market and the wage rates that may actually prevail in a particular community.

It becomes evident, therefore, that if the taxpayers' money is to be sent to Washington, then returned for local use, it will come back with strings attached. That is one of the elements in the price that the people must pay if they choose to make use of Federal aid on local projects of this nature.

Therefore, while certain Federal aid programs have become accepted in this country, it would seem wise to take a close, hard look at the new ones that are proposed. Unless there are compelling reasons to justify such activities, it would seem the better part of wisdom to allow local communities which can do so to assume this responsibility on a local level, and keep Uncle Sam out of it.

Support by Mutual Savings Banks for the President's Position on Interest Rates

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. KENNETH B. KEATING

OF NEW YORK

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, May 17, 1960

Mr. KEATING. Mr. President, the Sunday, May 8 edition of the New York Herald Tribune contained a section marking the 150th anniversary of the existence of mutual savings banks. Donald I. Rogers, the able and articulate business and financial editor of the Tribune, headed up the team of financial writers who contributed to this undertaking.

One of the articles included in this section and which is of special interest deals with the President's request that the interest rate ceiling on long-term Government bonds be removed. The writer of this particular article indicates that the Nation's savings banks and related thrift institutions favor the removal of the arbitrary and unrealistic 4½ percent curb on the Treasury Department in the financing of the national debt.

I heartily agree with these sentiments and am hopeful that the legislative "log jam" on the interest rate issue will be cleared so that Congress can enact the much needed and widely supported request that the existing ceiling be removed.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the above referred to article from the New York Herald Tribune be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

FOUR-AND-ONE-FOURTH-PERCENT BOND CEILING STIFLES TREASURY

Congressional action to lift the 4¼-percent ceiling on long-term Treasury bonds could be a major factor in determining the flow of savings into the Nation's thrift institutions.

Although the Government expects to have a balanced budget in the current fiscal year and anticipates a surplus of \$4,200 million the following year, the Treasury still faces a major task in refinancing issues falling due.

The Government must refinance \$58 billion of maturing securities during 1960. How much of this can be placed in long-term bonds and how much must be placed in notes or bills will have a great influence in determining short-term rates in the next several months.

Under present market conditions it seems unlikely the Treasury can get much money in the capital market when it must labor under the 4½-percent ceiling on long-term securities. Thus the Treasury could be forced into the short-term sector of the money market, a move that would tend to pressure up interest rates generally.

"At this point, it appears that bond-rateceiling legislation will not be enacted now in view of the recent sharp decline in yields on Government securities," says Kenneth G. Heisler, managing director, National League of Insured Savings Associations.

"However," he adds, "the picture could change without warning." Although he goes on to say, "A rise in the cost of money is not to be discounted this summer and fall. with the possibility that the Treasury may find itself back in the financial stratigacket.

which gripped it through much of 1959."

It was in 1959 when the Treasury was in the "financial straitjacket" described by Mr. Heisler, that the Government issued the

"magic 5s"—notes returning 5 percent yield. The results were anticipated, but perhaps not on the scale which actually took place. Depositors at savings banks and other thrift institutions withdrew funds in order to take advantage of the higher yields being offered

by the Treasury bills.

Thus savings banks found themselves in direct competition with the U.S. Government in the matter of collecting savings of the general public. And it is entirely possible that such a thing could occur again, though

perhaps not involving as great a drain on thrift accounts as occurred in 1959.

However, any estimates of Treasury offerings, of necessity, depend on many factors, including, for instance, the general tempo of business activity. In a period of brisk output and high consumer demand, money would probably continue tight as corporations build up inventories in anticipation of further business. However, if business activity should decline, there would be some easing in the money supply and thus perhaps more funds available to the Treasury and to other borrowers.

Perhaps with this notion in mind or just to prove the case against the 4½ percent ceiling, the Treasury recently offered, 25-year bonds carrying a 4½ percent coupon. The results were disappointing, at the least.

In announcing the bond offering the Treasury said it would be satisfied to sell \$500 million, but would accept up to about \$1,500 million. Investors, apparently none too impressed with the 4¼-percent label, asked for only \$370 million—the Treasury bought \$100 million itself for various Government trust accounts and thus came close to the \$500 million figure.

Still the example tended to prove there was little hope, under present conditions, for the Treasury to do much in the capital market.

"If business turns upward, as is generally expected, the problems of the Treasury will grow in direct proportion, with the result that money may tighten and rates again may rise," says Mr. Heisler. Savings banks can be expected to feel the squeeze.

However, it is now popular to talk about inflation being virtually licked. Observers point to a firm bond market, relatively stable prices, and a declining stock market. Thus, they contend, fixed income securities will be attractive investments. People, they say, will lend money for years, if they are reasonably certain it will not depreciate in value during the period.

Not all observers are as convinced: "Despite reassuring statements from high authorities that both inflation and the fear of it are dead, I remain doubtful because the whole philosophy of the welfare state is against any such optimism," says Robert G. Van Tleave, vice president, research, for the investment firm C. F. Childs & Co.

Probably the only factor which could materially alter the short-term outlook, assuming a business recession does not occur, would be for Congress to lift the 4½ percent ceiling on Government bonds and thereby allow the Treasury to put more of \$58 billion refinancing this year in bonds.

The Plight of the Railroads

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JACOB K. JAVITS

OF NEW YORK

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, May 17, 1960

Mr. JAVITS. -Mr. President, the plight of our country's railroads has become of major public concern, affecting not only the industry itself, but the very economy of this Nation. According to the recently released report of the Interstate Commerce Commission, Bureau of Transport Economics and Statistics, dated April 3, 1960, the railroads have hit a new low in passenger service. On February 9, in introducing Senate Joint Resolution 158, "To establish a National Advisory Committee on Rail Transpor-

tation," I emphasized that it is in the interest of national security and the growth of our Nation's economy that the combined resources and facilities of the railroads and the Federal Government be channeled into a coordinated, maximum effort in research and development programs to enable this vital industry to modernize its facilities and upgrade its operational efficiency and services.

Realizing the gravity of the situation, Secretary of Labor Mitchell, at a recent AFL-CIO meeting in Chicago, stated:

Whereas in the past Government regulation of the railroads was a protection of the public interest, the protection of the public interest now demands a fresh approach to economic policies, regulation, subsidies, and taxation.

Secretary Mitchell feels that further waiting will only aggravate the continuously deteriorating position and that economic change does not wait.

I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the Record an editorial from the New York Times of April 28, entitled "Antirailroad Subsidies," quoting these remarks of Secretary Mitchell and pointing up the concern being expressed more frequently throughout the Nation.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ANTIRAILROAD SUBSIDIES

At an AFI.—CIO meeting in Chicago, Secretary of Labor Mitchell stated some of the facts of life bearing on survival of the railroads. He remarked that the Federal Government subsidizes shipbuilding and losses of American flag lines; it deepens and develops inland waterways; it subsidizes airlines through construction of terminals and mail-carrying; it has subsidized truckers through building public roads. "The railroads remain the great unsubsidized portion of the American transportation system," said Mr. Mitchell.

He went on to suggest "the gradual elimination of all Government subsidies in transportation in America and * * * the introduction of user charges so that each mode of transportation carries its fair share of public expenditures from which they now profit unequally."

We must recognize, as to railroads and Government on all levels, that we no longer deal with a monopoly industry. Not only has the relative position of the railroads in competition with other modes of transport declined, but as Mr. Mitchell said, the growth of the competitors is going to increase rather than diminish. Whereas in the past Government regulation of the railroads was a protection of the public interest, the protection of the public interest now demands a "fresh approach to economic policies, regulations, subsidies, and taxation."

"I suggest that a fundamental overhauling of the Interstate Commerce Commission and the laws that govern transportation is necessary so that Federal regulation produces equality of competition and not an index to the competition of yesterday," said Secretary Mitchell. But does the administration or the Congress need the prodding which Mr. Mitchell invites, in the form of a "joint recommendation on this subject from labor and management," to take the initiative? If, as he warns, economic change does not wait, and the railroads and their employees face a continuously deteriorating position, then Congress, State legislatures, and local governments should not wait, either, for further petitions already innumerable.

Sailing the Arkansas

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. ROBERT S. KERR

OF OKLAHOMA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, May 17, 1960

Mr. KERR. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the Record an article from the Wall Street Journal of Friday, May 13, entitled "Sailing the Arkansas"—a big, new waterway.

Our dreams to sail a prairie fleet across the State of Arkansas and into landlocked Oklahoma are at long last approaching reality. This important new, economic frontier is hailed by the authoritative Wall Street Journal and brought to the attention of the business and industrial world.

Present plans will bring the new waterway to near Tulsa, and efforts are underway to extend it to central Oklahoma. The economic impact will be felt throughout the region, and have a cumulative effect on the entire inland waterway system.

I am particularly gratified over the progress thus far because navigation has been a basic part of my program for land, wood, and water, and I salute the return of commerce on modern barge tows to the once bustling Arkansas so famous in history and so promising for the future.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SAILING THE ARKANSAS—AREA RUSHES TO RE-CRUIT FIRMS AS ARMY PUSHES WORK ON WATERWAY—CITIES TALK OF CHEAP POWER, TRANSPORTATION; RAILROADS FIGHT FUNDS FOR PROJECTS—LINKING OKLAHOMA TO THE

(By Burt Schorr)

CATOOSA, OKLA.—On the edge of this community of 500 people, hard by U.S. Highway 66, a bright yellow sign flashes an intriguing greeting: "Welcome to Catoosa—Oklahoma's Gateway to the Sea."

To travelers with even a casual sense of geography, the sign may cause a start. The nearest "sea" is the Gulf of Mexico, some 500 miles southward. And the only watercourse hereabouts is the shallow, winding Verdigris River, which snakes along about 2 miles east. But Catoosa's claim, though perhaps premature, is no pipedream. For engineers and construction workers now are embarked on an ambitious \$1.2 billion Federal scheme to open the Arkansas River and one of its major tributaries, the Verdigris, to commercial navigation and industrial exploitation.

Development of the Arkansas River—last of the major Mississippi River tributaries to be made navigable—long has been urged by local boosters. And now, with actual construction well underway, they're out recruiting new plants and businesses in a long-term effort to shore up the area's sagging economy. Biggest sales arguments: Cheap barge transportation, hydroelectric power, and plenty of water for industrial uses.

ECONOMIC IMPACT IS BROAD

But the Arkansas River project, like earlier ones in the Missouri and Ohio River Valleys, packs a more-than-local economic punch. For one thing, such benefits as flood control will accrue to the vast Arkansas Basin. Experts insist, too, that the project could alter

historical patterns of commerce and industry in this area, where at least some natural and mineral resources remain untapped. And U.S. taxpayers, who stand to pick up most of the tab, might also find more than passing

interest in this plan.

Key of the plan, of course, is the Arkansas River-which forms in the Colorado Rockies, broadens and slows in the flat Kansas Plains and is nourished anew in the rolling, rainier sections of eastern Oklahoma. It rambles some 1,450 miles before flowing into the Mississippi about 60 miles southeast of Pine Bluff, Ark. Fed by dozens of small, fickle streams, the Arkansas sometimes becomes a savage torrent. But more often it's a docile, sediment-filled river with shoals that have proven treacherous to boatmen since the first white men began exploring it in the 1680's. The French in 1686 established a fur trading post on the Arkansas, using the river to reach Indian settlements upstream.

Under present plans the Arkansas River project calls for a channel 9 feet deep running from Catoosa to the Mississippi, 520 river-miles downstream. Keys to the navigational phase of the project are 10 major dams shown on the map on page 4. [Not printed in the Record.] But there will be other dams, whose primary functions will be officed control and power production. All told, the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers figures to build 22 dams on the river and its tributaries

over a period stretching into 1973.

The \$1.2 billion cost of the project is about one-third of the total sum of \$3.5 billion spent by the Federal Government so far on all previous multiple-purpose navigation projects—of which \$3.2 billion went for 32 dams that provide hydroelectric power, control flooding, and permit navigation in many parts of the country. By comparison the Ohio River project, completed in 1929, cost \$125 million—but bottlenecks at some of the locks now are forcing a modernization program that may eventually run to an additional \$1.1 billion.

WORK PICKS UP SPEED

So far, Congress has appropriated \$122 million to the Arkansas navigation project and, officials say, it's likely to approve the \$53.3 million requested in the President's budget for fiscal 1961. So, with most of the preliminray work out of the way and building contracts signed through 1963, construction at several damsites is picking up speed.

"This is just the beginning here," says the yellow-helmeted supervisor of a work crew at the site of the projected Keystone Dam, 30 miles west of Catoosa, where earth moving machines of Hyde Construction Co., Jackson, Miss., are churning through bottom land gumbo. "When we get rolling, we'll have 800 men working 3 shifts. And before we finish our part of the job 2 years from now, we'll have put in a rail siding to bring in supplies, moved a road, poured 750,000 cubic yards of concrete for the spillway and built a refrigerating plant to cool it while it sets."

Completed, Keystone will stretch 4,570 feet across the Arkansas Valley to form a two-forked lake capable of storing 1.9 million acre-feet of water, plus all sediment deposited for the next 50 years. (An acre-foot of water would cover an area of 1 acre to a depth of 1 foot.) Sixty miles south of Catoosa, bulldozers are chewing out the foundations of Eufaula Dam on the Canadian River; it will back 3.2 million acre-feet of water plus sediment into the Canadian, North Canadian and Deep Fork valleys. North of Catoosa, on the Verdigris, the Oologah Dam spillway is nearly completed and the 4,000-foot earth-filled dam itself is being pushed across the riverbed. Farther upstream, highways, powerlines and pipelines are being relocated and abandoned oil wells plugged off in advance of creation of a million acre-foot reservoir; the reservoir will be filled in 2 years. The three new dams, part of a planned seven-dam upstream system, are price-tagged at \$387 million.

are price-tagged at \$387 million.

With construction started, businessmen and basin development boosters up and down the river are brightening. "For the first time since we began fighting for this thing, we feel we're over the hump," comments Verser Hicks, Tulsa banker and president of the Arkansas Basin Development Association, Inc., leader in local lobbying efforts.

Here in Catoosa, western terminus of the Frisco Railroad in territory days and noted then for its booze, bullets and blondes, townsfolk predict a spurt in land values—even before buildozers chase the wolves and coyotes out of the wooded bottomland below the Highway 66 bridge where engineers plan to excavate a barge turning basin. Catoosa today is primarily a commuters' town; most folks work in Tulsa, 12 miles to the west.

"We're getting a bigger turnout at our monthly chamber of commerce meetings than we've ever seen before," enthuses Waite Twist, chamber secretary and Catoosa's superintendent of schools. "Our first aim is to get an industry here with a payroll. We think water transportation will make a good selling point and we're planning a port authority, but that's a little way off."

PORT LEGISLATION PASSED

Nearby Tulsa, Muskogee, Fort Smith, Ark., and Little Rock are also mulling port plans. A law passed last year by the Oklahoma Legislature permits any combination of cities and counties to create authorities with power to sell bonds and make port improvements. Similar legislation was passed 13 years ago in Arkansas and reinforced in 1959.

Water for navigation and industrial uses is proving a potent argument in the campaign to bring in new industries. Arthur Lindberg, trim, youthful industrial manager of the Tulsa Chamber of Commerce, says the vice president in charge of manufacturing for a large rubber company at first gave him only an hour's time for his sales talk. "When he heard there was going to be water," adds Mr. Lindberg, "he canceled all his other appointments and we talked for 3 hours."

As a result, Mr. Lindberg reports, the rubber company and a large petrochemical concern now are considering locating in Tulsa. "The chemical people want to split the costs on an \$80 million ethylene and polyethylene plant with a petroleum company," he says. "They're still dickering."

Tulsa's courtship of new industry rises out of a concern over a slowdown in growth affecting the entire basin area.

Hailed as the "oil capital of the world," Tulsa serves as headquarters for 850 oil companies and firms an allied activities. But the city has shown little growth since the post-Suez slump hit domestic oil exploration and production. Some oil companies have been shifting operations from Tulsa to Denver and Houston. More disturbing: A recently completed survey disclosed that, of 75 industries which located in Texas, Arkansas, Kansas, and Missouri in the past 2 years, 68 had not even bothered to look for sites in Oklahoma.

"Tulsa has a golden past, a dark present and a tremendous future," sums up L. W. (Bud) Grant, Jr., president of the Home Federal Savings & Loan Association in Tulsa and an enthusiastic navigation booster who will lead a businessmen's barge tour of the Ohio this summer. Evidence of the current problem, he adds, is the sharp slide in 1959 housing starts in the city and further dips expected this year.

FARMING NOT ENOUGH

"Eastern Oklahoma is at the point where agriculture will not support our population," agrees Glade R. Kirkpatrick, owner of the Guaranty Abstract Co. in Tulsa and one of the founders of the Arkansas Basin Development Association. "The same is true for oil. Unless we develop payroll industries, we'll be hurting."

Barge traffic on the projected channel is expected to be the major factor in changing this gloomy economic outlook. Surveys by the Corps of Engineers indicate, in fact, that without it there would be little excuse for the Arkansas-Verdigris project. Of the \$64.5 million in benefits forecast annually when the dams are completed, \$40.5 million would be attributable to navigation, according to the surveys. Other benefits: \$9.2 million from a 3-billion-kilowatt-hour hydroelectric capacity; \$7.2 million from fiood control; \$6.6 million from riverbank land saved through channel stabilization; \$900,000 from use of water by local communities, and \$200,000 from rental of reservoir shoreland.

To determine navigation benefits, Army Engineers first estimate cargo tonnages that would be available to move along the waterway if barge transportation were possible. This figure is then multiplied by the average dollar savings per mile over present transportation. A small allowance also is made for area industrial growth resulting from availability of barge service. In making these estimates, the Engineers draw on the area's economic data, past and present, and on experiences of other areas where rivers have been turned into navigable arteries.

The chief advantage is expected to be the considerable savings anticipated from burge transportation over present rail rates in Oklahoma—ordinarily a high tariff area. I.E. Chenoweth, manager of the Tulsa Chamber of Commerce traffic and transportation department, estimates that transportation charges on coal shipments from eastern Oklahoma to Pittsburgh, for example, would run more than \$15 a ton by rail if Oklahoma coal were being shipped to Pittsburgh. By barge, he figures, the shipping cost would drop to \$6 a ton. Similarly, steel from Pittsburgh to Tulsa would cost around \$8 a ton to ship, compared with the present \$23. Wheat from Tulsa to New Orleans would drop from the present \$17 a ton to around \$4.

RAILROADS BATTLE BACK

With such fierce competition just a few years off, it's not surprising that most railroads are fighting a bitter-end action against spending tax dollars for the benefit of barge lines. And until recently they've had help from conservative forces in western Oklahoma who looked on Arkansas navigation as another example of unnecessary big Federal spending. "Big Dam Foolishness," & book by Elmer T. Peterson, editorial writer for the Oklahoma City Times and the Daily Oklahoman, argued in 1954 that the proposed Arkansas project was further evidence of congressional pork barrelers catering to power-mad Army Engineers. Today, however, many former critics have changed their minds and are talking about extending navigation and water supply all the way to Oklahoma City, some 135 miles further west.

The railroads have concentrated their fire on Corps of Engineers predictions that annual movements of cargo on the Arkansas will total 13 million tons, the tonnage required to justify navigation costs. One study recently completed for the Association of American Railroads even contends that cargoes on the river will total only 1.2 million

tons a year.

One lone railroad president has taken the maverick's role of welcoming the coming of the barges. "We're convinced the overall development in eastern Oklahoma resulting from navigation, will far exceed any loss in rail freight," says Robert H. Lomax, who heads the Kansas, Oklahoma & Gulf, Midland Valley and Oklahoma City-Ada-Atoka, three connecting lines serving Oklahoma and neighboring States. Seated before a rolltop

desk in his high-cellinged Muskogee office, Mr. Lomax tells a visitor:

"In 1958, the Midland Valley hauled 500,000 tons of coal and the Kansas, Oklahoma & Gulf moved nearly 20,000 cars of wheat, torn, and small grains. This is a large share of our income and we're certain to lose much of it to the barges at first—but new industry will help us more than make it up. We'll have plenty of work hauling freight to and from the barges."

MINERALS MEAN TRAFFIC

The U.S. Bureau of Mines estimates that there are more than 60 commercially produceable minerals in the lower Arkansas-White-Red River Basins, which cover parts of three States—Missouri, Oklahoma, and Arkansas—and basin boosters are counting on these resources to build barge traffic.

"Why, there's enough coal alone in eastern Oklahoma and western Arkansas to make navigation worth while," asserts Col. Francis J. Wilson, a retired Corps of Engineers officer who serves as executive vice president of the ABDA. "We've got 55 million tons in reserves. Furthermore, this is a metallurgical or coking coal. It's superior to the steam coal found in Kentucky and southern Illinois," he

Colonel Wilson notes that steel mills in Texas, Utah, Mexico, and California are using Oklahoma coal at the present time. "We're shipping relatively small amounts to them," he says. "We should be able to move it to the Chicago-Gary area, but at present rail rates, we can't get it farther east than Batesville, Ark."

Aluminum producing prospects also are encouraging basin developers. Ninety-six percent of the bauxfte mined in the United States now comes from the Little Rock region. For refining, this is mixed with higher grade grees from the Caribbean.

"It's obvious that the barge trip between Little Rock and the gulf, where the foreign ore arrives by ship, would be cheaper than the trip to the Ohio—where most of the country's aluminum is now being smelted," Colonel Wilson contends. (One Ohio Valley advantage: An estimated 70 percent of the U.S. aluminum market lies within a 500-mile radius of the giant Kaiser aluminum plant at Rayenswood, W. Va.)

Natural gas and crude oil, both for use as fuel or as raw materials in petrochemical operations, are also plentiful in the area of the waterway. It's estimated there are reserves of 75 trillion cubic feet of natural gas and 5 billion barrels of oil in Oklahoma, Kansas, Arkansas, Texas, Colorado, and Louisians. Other resources in and around the Arkansas Basin: Large supplies of salt; glass sands, gravel and building stone: gypsum, tripoli, volcanic ash, special-purpose sands and limestones; and many rarer metals such as columbium and titanium.

San Antonio Citizens Taking Important Lead in Helping Build New Lives for Needy Old Folks in Pioneering Golden Age Center

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RALPH W. YARBOROUGH

OF TEXAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, May 17, 1960

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, the people of San Antonio, working through their local housing authority, are taking a nationally important and significant step toward helping their needy elderly people.

Within the next 30 days, the city's \$1,927,000 Golden Age Center—a nine-story apartment building containing 185 apartments—will be formally dedicated, and some 300 senior citizens will take residence there.

Mrs. Marie C. McGuire, executive director of the San Antonio Housing Authority, reports that inquiries concerning construction and planning of the home have been received from public officials and housing authorities in all sections of the Nation. It is an extremely worthy project and I am proud that the people had the vision and dedication to take the lead in this challenging field.

I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the Record an article from the May 1, 1960, edition of the San Antonio Express and News, by Sam Kindrick, entitled "A Bright, New Golden Age Center."

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

A Bright, New Golden Age Center (By Sam Kindrick)

Three hundred aged San Antonio citizens will begin a new life this summer with completion of one of the most fabulous public service projects this country has seen.

It's the \$1,927,000 Golden Age Center—a nine-story apartment building, to contain 185 apartments—now being completed at Labor and Barrera Streets.

"The center will be finished between May 15 and June 15," said Marie C. McGuire, executive director of the San Antonio Housing Authority, "We expect dedication services around June 1."

Already 700 have applied for space in the new center.

Funds are being received to furnish and equip the 5,600 square foot center on the first floor of the building that will be a veritable USO for the elderly.

Programs covering recreation, counseling, library, indoor and outdoor play and health are now being planned. The art work to adorn the building is fantastic.

ARTISTS HELP MAKE IT UNIQUE

A host of San Antonio artists have joined forces in completing the architecture, making the undertaking unique in the country.

The structure is T-shaped. Flanking the main entrance is Cecil Casebier's mosaic abstraction—a 45-foot-wide theme executed in yellow, gold, gray, black and white, giving a glow to the entire building.

Lobby floor and walls will be gay with

Lobby floor and walls will be gay with multicolored patterns as the light filters through three panels of fused glass executed by Dorothy Steinbomer.

A mural in quiet shades of blue covers one entire wall of the library. Portraying themes from the Old and New Testament, this large mural by Ruth Dunn will be an intrinsic and natural part of the library decor.

Across from the library, June Kroll's sand sculpture, using Genesis as a theme, bedecks a private patio with 8-foot chocolate brown walls.

Also in the patio is a rectangular pool complete with a fishing scene designed by seven San Antonio ceramists.

On the east patio wall, Amy Freeman Lee's "Enchanted Voyages"—two murals 6 feet by 40 inches—depict the theme of fanciful travel through means of imagination.

Leaving the patio through iron gates to the outside, we find a 5-foot sculpture in Texas limstone surrounded by trees and benches and set off by the brown wall background. This is the work of Robert Lancaster, director of the Art Department of South-western University.

Many, many other works of art will decorate the new center.

WILL THEY BE SATISFIED?

But, still the question arises: Will the elderly be satisfied with such modernistic dwelling? Don't most old folks want to return to a rural setting with a garden and a few chickens?

This question has been answered by surveys which indicate that while a few wanted this, the large majority wanted the convenience, comfort, and accessibility of a midtown area.

Residents of the Golden Age Center will pay rent based on 20 percent of their incomes with a \$24 monthly maximum.

"Average income expected is about \$100 monthly," explained Marie McGuire.

In addition to providing a place to study, work, and lead useful lives, the new center provides unequaled comfort facilities.

Since many accidents occur in the bathroom, showers will be equipped with comfortable wooden seats; tempered glass doors that won't break instead of dangerous shower curtains; no curb at shower so that a person in a wheelchair may roll to the shower seat without the sid of an attendant.

Also, there will be an emergency bell 2 feet from the floor near the lavatory.

There will be no stove to fall against. Heat will come from infrared lamps installed in the ceilings.

In the kitchens, all cabinets and shelves are within arm's reach.

Nixon's Stature Pointed Up

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. THOMAS M. PELLY

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, May 5, 1960

Mr. PELLY. Mr. Speaker, the political stature of Vice President Nixon and his mental strength are well pointed up in the attached editorial from this morning's New York Times, which under unanimous consent I include following these brief remarks:

MR. NIXON ON TV

In his television interview Sunday night Vice President Nixon laid considerable emphasis on the difference between the "open society" of the United States and the "closed society" of the Soviet Union. His own appearance on that amizing nationwide broadcast lent point to his argument about the distinction.

No matter what one's personal or political feelings are about Mr. Nixon, one would have to admit that it was an extraordinary and daring thing for the Vice President of the United States to do: To submit to 334 hours (less the many tiresome commercials) of unrehearsed questioning about his views on foreign and domestic affairs, not to mention Presidential politics. In no closed society, and we doubt that in any other open society than the United States, would the second highest officer of the Government be willing to undergo so free-wheeling an interrogation as that to which Mr. Nixon voluntarily subjected himself on the TV program "Open End." The political advantage to him was obvious; but the pitfalls were many, and he acquitted himself well.

Norwegian Independence Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, May 17, 1960

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, we honor today a milestone in Norway's more-than-thousand-year-old history. Norway's Constitution Day dates from but a century and a half ago—May 17, 1814.

The Norsemen, however, were recognized as a separate nation as early as the 9th century. Political unification of this ancient country is identified with the Viking era; as is, indeed, the first connection with North America. For the intrepid Norsemen were famous for their voyages, reaching as far as Greenland and the coast of the North American Continent. This day May 17, 1814, marks the reemergence of the nation of Norway.

During the intervening centuries the political independence of Norway had more than once been submerged; but the spirit of freedom was unconquerable. It reasserted itself most vigorously after the Napoleonic Wars. The people refused to be dominated either from without or within.

On May 17, 1814, Norway, through a national assembly, was declared independent. The constitution then adopted was based on the ideas which had inspired the American and the French Revolutions, on the principles of Montesquieu and John Locke's doctrine of the sovereignty of the people.

The spirit of independence in Norway was, however, long linked with a spirit of cooperation. During the 19th century Norway was linked with Sweden in a union. Theoretically each country was to preserve its complete, sovereign independence. In fact, however, Sweden became dominant, particularly in the conduct of foreign affairs; and in 1905 the union was dissolved. Norway became an entirely independent nation.

Significantly, the democratic spirit of a people was never more clearly demonstrated than in their election of a king. When, in 1905, King Haakon VII commenced his long reign as a much-loved "First Citizen," he was the first man ever to be elected king by modern democratic processes.

Together with their love of democracy and independence the Norwegians have maintained their willingness to cooperate. Clear evidence of this spirit

exists today in the part that Norway plays in the North Atlantic Treaty

Organization.

Emphasizing the fact that the principal aim of this collective system is to prevent war, Norway has placed great weight on NATO's activities to promote conditions of peace.

Norway has sought to strengthen political contacts between member countries for consultative activity on political problems. Such measures are not only valuable for cooperative purposes—and Norway places emphasis on the nonmili-

tary field—but also contributes to the relaxing of tensions. Such a policy is typical of Norway's traditional avoidance of international conflict.

We in the United States are proud to feel a kinship with Norway—this country of demonstrated faith in the principles of democracy, cooperation, and the promotion of world peace—one which has sent so many of her sons and daughters to our own shores.

Vice President Nixon

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. STEVEN B. DEROUNIAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 17, 1960

Mr. DEROUNIAN. Mr. Speaker, our great Vice President accepted a challenge few men would, or could, take on, and the American people were given an unparalleled opportunity of judging the capabilities of a presidential candidate.

Mr. David Lawrence sums up Vice President Nixon's Sunday night appearance on television, briefly and accurately. I am pleased to submit his article, as it appeared today in the New York Herald Tribune:

TODAY IN NATIONAL AFFAIRS—NIXON'S COM-POSURE, CANDOR IN TV MARATHON PRAISED

(By David Lawrence)

Washington, May 16.—A quiz to end all quizzes took place from 10 o'clock Sunday night until 1:45 Monday morning. Vice President Nixon stood the ordeal of hostile questioning which covered everything from the "spy" incident and the ramifications of international policy to the most delicate question of domestic politics and campaign personalities.

This correspondent watched the television marathon from start to finish and wondered if any other aspirant for the presidency on either ticket could have done as well as the Vice President did.

What was amazing was not only Mr. Nixon's endurance in an interview that ran almost 4 hours, but his calmness and frankness in the face of the sharpest type of criticism in the questions, which were, indeed, provocative.

Not once did the Vice President lose his temper or his poise, and not once did he fail to give an answer to questions relating to the administration's domestic and foreign policies. He refrained from answering only two questions. They were on politics—he wouldn't say whom he would favor as a running mate, and he wouldn't appraise the chances of the various contenders for the Democratic Party nomination.

There was not the slightest trace of resentment over the questions, even when one of them implied that back in his early campaigns in California Mr. Nixon had treated his opponents harshly.

"NEW" AND "OLD" NIXON

The interrogator—David Susskind—wanted to know why there was talk every now and then about a "new Nixon" and an "old Nixon." The Vice President said with a smile that maybe it was because the critics didn't know the "old Nixon." He said that, of course, almost every man matures with years of experience in public life and implied that 7 years of actual contact with the making

of public policies had enabled him to get a wider understanding of many controversial questions.

It was impressive how detailed were Mr. Nixon's answers to questions about such highly controversial matters as medical care for the aged, higher salaries for public school teachers, school construction, civil rights and lunch counter sit-ins, legislation relating to aid for distressed areas, tax reform and tax reduction, as well as labor-management relations. In answer to a question repeating the criticism that the Republican Party favors big business, Mr. Nixon said he thinks the party should be neither anti-big-business nor anti-big-labor, but should be in favor of good business and good unions. He said he doesn't favor unions of the Hoffa type.

DIFFERS ON DEFINITIONS

There was a discussion as to what is meant by conservative and liberal or progressive. Mr. Nixon disagreed vehemently with a definition cited from the dictionary that a conservative is one who opposes all change, while a progressive makes use of new ideas. Vice President drew a distinction between sound and unsound measures, particularly in the conduct of the Nation's finances. He said it is important to have progress and change which will conserve the best of the past and build on that, but it is also important not to follow those so-called liberals who want to scrap everything that we are presently doing in order to solve the problem. This approach he rejected as inefficient and not the best way to solve the problem.

SKILLFUL IN WORLD AFFAIRS

It was in the international arena that the Vice President seemed particularly skillful, especially in his analysis of the Khrushchev tactics. Mr. Nixon explained some of the intricacies of international affairs today and was able to tell firsthand about his visits to 54 different countries and especially about some of his talks with Prime Minister Macmillan, General de Gaulle and Chancellor Adenauer.

Mr. Nixon indicated quite clearly that, if elected, he would pursue President Eisenhower's policies of cooperation with the Democratic Party in Congress. For the Vice President said it was certain that the Senate wouldn't change party control in the coming election, and he might even be faced, if elected, with a Democratic majority in the House.

TV "REPEATS" LIKELY

The Vice President conceded that the Republican Party, from an organization standpoint, is weak and that the administration is stronger than its party. Mr. Nixon indicated that he foresees a tough fight ahead to get Republicans to the polls and that his party is in need of better candidates at the local level, both for Congress and State offices.

While the Vice President said he wouldn't indicate any choice for a running mate, he did say that whoever it was should be in agreement on major policies with the man at the top of the ticket.

All in all, it was a remarkable performance, and many more Americans will have an opportunity to see and hear a "repeat" of the program, which is called "Open End." In addition to the originating station in New York City, WNTA-TV, only two TV and four radio stations carried it "live," but the producers report that a large number of other stations around the country are scheduling a rebroadcast of the video tape of the original show.

It is doubtful whether any future speeches or quizzes will be any more useful in helping the voter form an opinion on the qualifications of Vice President Nixon for the Presidency. Mr. Nixon hinted that he would be glad to debate with a rival candi-

date, but even this could hardly compare in the effectiveness with the technique of hard-hitting, biting, and often cynical questions thrown at Mr. Nixon in the marathon quiz of Sunday night.

Legal Entry of Mexican National Agricultural Workers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. E. C. GATHINGS

OF ARKANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 17, 1960

Mr. GATHINGS. Mr. Speaker, on May 12 the House Committee on Agriculture reported favorably for early House action legislation to extend the provisions of Public Law 78 for an additional 2 years after 1961.

This is the program which permits the legal entry of Mexican national agricultural workers on a seasonal basis to harvest and work the food and fiber crops so vital to the well-being of the American consuming public. Such workers are certified for use on American farms by the Secretary of Labor only when he finds that there is a shortage of domestic farmworkers available to handle the crops. The legislation approved by the Committee on Agriculture, H.R. 12176, Would continue this essential program.

But, as necessary as this program is to American agriculture and a continued supply of food and fiber to the American public, this program has many other merits. One such benefit is to the economy of our sister Republic to the south, the great Mexican nation. These agricultural workers coming up from Mexico during the harvest season return to Mexico well acquainted with the United States and its people. The money they earn and carry back to Mexico constitutes the third largest segment of the Mexican economy. The friendships they make in the United States constitute the very best kind of international accord. As an illustration of how such friendships and understandings between the citizens of Mexico and the United States are formed, the following letter received from Mrs. W. W. Draper, Jr., of Forrest City, Ark., will be of interest to the Members. Mrs. Draper writes on the operations of Centro Mexicano, which has been formed in St. Francis County, Ark., and which has operated so splendidly for a number of years.

APRIL 27, 1960.

Mr. E. C. Gathings, House of Representatives, Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. GATHINGS: Centro Mexicano in Forrest City has been sponsored by the Council of Churches and the Ministerial Alliance. A committee with a member from each church has: (1) Secured workers, (2) arranged for facilities, (3) planned programs (movies, speakers, etc.), (4) contacted farmers with invitations to bring workers to the center and coordinated all phases of the center.

From the beginning this has been a project in which the total community has cooperated to the fullest. The building has been donated rent free. The Arkansas Power & Light gave the electric power free. Zero Butane Gas Co. furnished secondhand stoves. Coca-Cola and Nesbitt Bottling Cos. put in soft-drink machines and serviced each machine weekly. Gates Lumber Co. put in benches of concrete blocks and planks, gave paint and brushes and because of these donations expenses have been less than \$25 per year.

Literature printed in Spanish has been donated from various sources. Each church furnished pamphlets. The Arkansas Department of Health sent films in Spanish. The Pan American Union in Washington, D.C., sent most attractive booklets in Spanish. The Mexican consulate gave us colorful posters and maps.

The U.S. Department of Labor has been most helpful. From them we have always secured lists of farmers hiring braceros. Each year members from this Department have visited the center and nearly always a Spanish-speaking employee from this Department has been assigned to help us.

The Mexican consul and his entire staff have visited the center. The consul has thanked us profusely through letters and telegrams for the kindness shown to their fellow countrymen.

All of us who have been workers at the center these few years have had a heart-warming experience. We have found these braceros to be courteous, gentlemanly, and most appreciative of these meager efforts. Since these men come from all parts of Mexico we feel that it has been a measure of cementing a bond of friendship between two neighboring countries—Mexico and the United States.

The farmers of St. Francis County have been helped by having these workers to harvest their crops. In turn the Mexicans have gained monetarily and have gained a knowlodge of good farming practices to take back to their native Mexico.

As chairman of Centro Mexicano I am looking forward to the coming season of working with our neighbors from south of the border.

Yours truly,

Mrs. W. W. DRAPER, Jr.

Hon. Joseph Zaretzki, Minority Leader of New York State Senate, Honored by Jewish War Veterans

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. HERBERT ZELENKO

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, May 17, 1960

Mr. ZELENKO. Mr. Speaker, on April 26, 1960, a certificate of merit was presented to a distinguished public servant by the Jewish War Veterans of the United States, Department of New York.

The recipient, Hon. Joseph Zaretzki, represents the 23d District in the New York State senate. He has served with distinction in that body for the past 14 years, the last 4 as the Democratic leader. Senator Zaretzki's constituency covers a large part of the district which I have the honor to represent, the Washington Heights, Inwood, and Marble Hill sections of Manhattan.

Present at the ceremony were commanders and delegates from most of the 250 posts of the Jewish War Veterans in New York State. The ceremony was conducted by Past State Commander Sol Masch and the actual presentation of the certificate by Department Commander Emanuel Targum. The citation upon which the award was based and which was read by Commander Targum follows:

The Jewish War Veterans of the United States, Department of New York, take pleasure in presenting to Hon. Joseph Zaretzki this certificate of merit for his wholehearted support of legislation benefitting war veterans and their families during his seven terms in the State senate. The certificate is issued not only on the basis of the Senator's work for veterans but also upon his service to the entire community. Senator Zaretzki is himself a veteran and is active in all communal, civic, and philanthropic endeavors, in his district, participating in the drives of the U.J.A. Jewish Federation, Catholic Charities. Protestant Council, and all local charities regardless of race or religion. He is a member of the local posts of the American Legion and J.W.V., local trustee of B'nai B'rith and ZOA and a life member of the NAACP. For his dedication to their cause he received distinguished service plaques from the U.J.A. and Federation of Jewish Philanthropies at their annual dinners given in his honor during the past year.

As a result of his courageous leadership the legislature voted more aid for education and for the city of New York than in any other session in the history of the State.

In his own district Senator Zaretzki obtained the free use of elevators at subway stations, replacements for old schools, Public schools 5, 46, 169, and 115, and new additions to public schools 52 and 152. He is now fighting for a huge middle income housing development on the air rights over the depressed roadway to the George Washington Bridge between 178th and 179th Streets on Audubon, St. Nicholas, and Wadsworth Avenues; and for improved subway service to all of Washington Heights and Inwood.

For his devoted service as a State senator and his dynamic and effective leadership of the minority, he has received letters of commendation from Superintendent of Schools John J. Theobald of the New York City Board of Education; Chairman Gustave A. Rosenberg, of the board of higher education, New York State AFL-CIO; United Parents Association; Empire State Chamber of Commerce; police, fire, teachers, and civil service associations; New York Council of Retail Merchants.

Letters of praise have been forwarded to him by retired teachers associations, the American Jewish Congress, the diocesan union of Holy Name societies; YMCA; judicial conference; Catholic Institute of the Press.

All in all, he has done and is doing a tremendous job for the people in his district, in the city, and in the State of New York. Attesting to his great ability as a legislator and as the minority leader, are these excerpts from letters of endorsement and full support from some of the outstanding leaders of the city and State of New York:

Mayor Robert F. Wagner: "Congratulations on a fine job and for your devotion and sympathy for the people. We are fortunate in having you as the Democratic leader in the State senate."

Gov. Averell Harriman: "You are doing a magnificent job as the minority leader in the State senate. The Democratic Party needs you."

Comptroller Arthur Levitt: "The people of our State owe you a debt of gratitude for your efforts to obtain vitally needed legislation. I hope that the people of your district send you back to the senate with an overwhelming vote of confidence."

Former U.S. Postmaster General James A.

Former U.S. Postmaster General James A. Farley: "I appreciate the splendid and effective manner in which you acted as

May 17

Democratic leader in the New York State Senate and extend my best wishes for continued success."

Raymond R. Corbett (legislative chairman, New York AFL-CIO): "On behalf of New York State AFL-CIO our sincere appreciation for your outstanding efforts on behalf of labor in the 1960 legislative session."

Alex Rose (vice president Liberal Party of New York State): "As a State senator and as the minority leader of the State senate you have been diligent, earnest, and conscientious on behalf of the people of New York State."

By reason of all of the foregoing and with the hope that Senator Zaretzki will be able to continue his fine work on behalf of the veterans and the community for many years to come, this certificate of merit is now handed over to him.

The Economic Era We Are Entering Has Been Developing Over the Last Few Years

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. HOWARD W. ROBISON

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Friday, May 6, 1960

Mr. ROBISON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following column by the respected economic writer, Sylvia Porter, as printed in the Evening Star of Washington, May 10, 1960:

This Is a New Era (By Sylvia Porter)

We are now living in an economic era unlike any we've ever known before.

It's really new. Nineteen hundred and sixty has no parallel in the decades before World War II and certainly not in any year since the 1930's.

Actually, this new cycle has been developing for the last few years, but only a comparative few recognize even today how profound the changes have been.

Yet, to every American this new cycle will mean changed circumstances and challenges. It will demand revised attitudes toward the position of and prospects for the U.S. dollar, the value of savings in a bank or high-grade bonds, investments in the stock market, speculation in land, the purchase of a home for profit as well as desirable shelter.

It also will bring benefits to groups who have been at the bottom of the pile for a generation, slash the advantages of those who have had it easiest.

What is this new cycle?

It is an era of no shortages and thus of no need for businessmen or consumers to try to hoard to beat shortages.

Younger Americans living today can't remember anything like this. During World War II, there were shortages of everything from hatpins to houses; during the 1950's, scarcities continued in spots and the fear of them remained dominant. But what is scarce today? Not raw materials or finished materials, not steel or cars, not hatpins or houses. Even in the service fields shortages are drying up. This is new, dictates a new attitude on our part toward stocking up on goods.

It is an era of no inflation.

Neither the pace nor the caliber of the climb in the consumer price level these days may properly be called inflation. A cycle of reasonable price stability has emerged. This change from World War II and its prolonged aftermath is one of the most significant of all changes.

It is an era of few pressures for manpower and therefore of pay raises which are and will continue to be moderate.

While the pressures for manpower aren't present, though, there are built-in forces for annual wage and salary increases and built-in protections against joblessness which vitally distinguish this era from the days before World War II.

It is an era of fierce competition for the consumer's dollar among all domestic businessmen and from foreign producers.

This competitive phase has been developing for years, of course, but competition now is the toughest yet. It demands that businessmen control costs, puts a premium on efficiency. It is a powerful factor working against price increases.

It is an era of boom around the world.

Industrial nations are roaring ahead, producing enough not only to supply themselves but also to move into our market.

It is an era of high money costs, credit controls and still of general availability of credit.

Lenders are getting the best price for cash in decades, savers are being rewarded as they haven't been rewarded in years. But although money is expensive, it is available. This is not a credit expense.

And it is an era of a balanced budget at a record and rising level of spending—including tremendous spending for defense.

Most young adults have known only war and inflation. Most older adults associate peacetime with deflation. This is new, neither war nor inflation nor deflation. In the next few columns I'll give details on what this new era means to you and your family.

Health Care for Elderly Citizens

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. KENNETH A. ROBERTS

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 17, 1960

Mr. ROBERTS. Mr. Speaker, I have long been of the opinion that practical steps need to be taken to overcome one of the most disturbing and ironic facts of our time. It is sadly true that our older people most need hospital insurance; at the same time, they often have the most difficult time obtaining such insurance.

For the first time in history, Congress now seems to be in a mood to do something this year about this problem.

Many approaches to the solution have been offered. In my estimation, some of them are too broad; some, too weak; and some, misguided.

While I am not presently supporting any particular bill, I think most of them have some merit. I feel confident that this Congress will consider carefully all aspects of this problem and will arrive at a sound solution for providing health care for the aged.

I hope some consideration will be given to the legislation which I have introduced on this subject. While I hold no pride of authorship since there are similar and earlier bills, I do think there are worthwhile provisions in the Roberts bill. Doubtless it can be improved upon; I

would not stand in the way of proper improvements, but would welcome them.

For the benefit of Members who are interested in this matter, let me state briefly what my proposal does.

The Roberts bill, H.R. 412, introduced on the opening day of the 86th Congress, provides for insurance against the cost of hospitalization for social security insured aged persons, their dependents and survivors, and for insured disabled persons.

In some respects it is similar both to the Forand bill and to the administration bill. But at the same time the Roberts bill differs on several points and has unique features of its own.

Among the differences are that the Roberts bill would provide only hospital services, excluding tuberculosis or mental hospitals, and not nursing home or surgical services.

The Roberts bill would furnish hospital services to disability beneficiaries as well as to old-age and survivor beneficiaries.

It would limit hospitalization to 60 days in any calendar year rather than in any 12-month period.

any 12-month period.

The Roberts bill would rely primarily on the States, acting as agents of the United States, to administer the program through agreements with the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, rather than on direct utilization by the Secretary of private nonprofit organizations.

It would not amend payroll tax rates in the Internal Revenue Code.

In its report on my bill made October 15, 1959, the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare noted that my bill "differs on certain important points" from the Forand bill, but opposed my bill on the same fundamental grounds as it had opposed the enactment of the Forand bill.

This matter certainly will continue to be pondered in the weeks ahead, as it should be. I hope the features suggested in H.R. 412 will be of some benefit in these considerations, and that we will reach agreement on legislation which will best serve the health needs of a vital segment of the American people.

Mr. Speaker, an informed view on this matter comes from the editorial columns of an outstanding daily newspaper in my district, the Anniston Star.

I certainly think this editorial, which appeared on May 6, 1960, would be helpful to interested Members. Under unanimous consent I insert it at this point in the RECORD.

The editorial follows:

MEDICAL CARE FOR AGED

It seems to us that in the realm of medical care for the aged, new legislation should be in the middle ground between what President Elsenhower proposed yesterday and the Forand bill, which would drain billions of additional dollars from the already heavily burdened social security fund.

The latter measure would amend the Social Security Act to provide insurance against the cost of hospital or nursing home care and the cost of surgical services of all persons for old-age and survivors insurance benefits.

It would impose an additional social security payroll tax of one-fourth of 1 percent each on employers and employees (threeeighths of 1 percent on the self-employed) and raise the ceiling on annual earnings subject to the tax from the present \$4,800 to \$6,000

Twelve months after approval of the amended act, OASI beneficiaries would become eligible to receive the following benefits:

Cost of hospital services (ambulance, staff and laboratory services, drugs, appliances, operating room) and room and board in a semiprivate room for the first 60 days of hospitalization in any 12-month period.

Surgeon's fee for a necessary operation performed in a hospital or emergency or minor surgery performed in the outpatient clinic or in the doctor's office.

Nursing home care (room and board and nursing, medical and personal services) for patients transferred from a hospital for continuation of care for the same or a consequent condition, up to a maximum of 120 days of combined hospital and nursing home care during a 12-month period.

Payments would be made out of the Federal old-age and survivors insurance trust fund directly to suppliers of the service.

Any hospital or nursing home (except tuberculosis or mental institutions) and surgeons or their designated associations could enter into agreements with the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare for payments for services furnished to eligible patients.

The amount of payment to hospital or nursing home would be determined "on the basis of the reasonable cost incurred * * * for all bed patients, or, when use of such a basis is impractical * * * or inequitable * * * on a reasonably equivalent basis which takes account of pertinent factors with respect to service furnished. 5

Private nonprofit organizations which offer hospital, nursing home, or surgical services, or which operate voluntary insurance plans covering such services would make agreements with the Government for reimbursement from OASI funds for services to patients qualifying for benefits under the Government program.

Government program.

The bill stipulates that institutions and individuals entering into agreements with the Government must not require additional payments by the patient other than payments for services not covered by the program.

A hospital, for example, would be allowed to collect from a patient wanting a private room the difference between the charge for that accommodation and the charge for the semiprivate room to which the insurance would entitle him.

It is in this connection that we would voice one of several criticims of the Forand bill

Why extend the hospital and surgical coverage to everyone who is listed as a beneficiary of the social security program?

It ought to be enough, in our opinion, that the basic care—not necessarily including semiprivate hospital rooms—is provided for the needy, without incurring all the expenses, administrative, and otherwise, that would be incurred in meeting some part of the cost of medical care for all OASI beneficiaries, including those who are well able to pay.

Roscoe Drummond Comments Cogently on the Berlin Situation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, KENNETH B. KEATING

OF NEW YORK

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, May 17, 1960

Mr. KEATING. Mr. President, the Soviet Union's recent outbursts of bluff

and bluster and the crisis at the Summit meeting emphasize once again the vital role Berlin and West Germany will play in shaping the future of world peace. It is especially important, in these tense times, for America to remain stanch and firm in its allegiance to our courageous friends in West Germany.

We can be grateful that Chancellor Adenauer's hand on the tiller remains strong and secure and we can be equally thankful for the tremendous strides his nation has made along the road to economic and political stability. The part Berlin plays today in demonstrating to the Communist world the virtues of democracy and freedom cannot be overlooked.

The astute columnist and student of world affairs, Roscoe Drummond, recently penned two interesting and informative comments on his tour of Germany. Because of their merit and the pertinence of the subject matter, I ask unanimous consent that they be printed in the Appendix of the Record.

There being no objection, the articles were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the New York Herald Tribune, May 11, 1960]

AFTER ADENAUER? ANSWER TO AN ANXIOUS QUESTION

(By Roscoe Drummond)

BONN.—There is, I find here in Bonn, an unexpected answer to the anxious question so often raised in the United States:

What will happen when the 84-year-old Chancellor Konrad Adenauer, steadfast ally of the West, is no longer at the head of the government?

With Adenauer not on the scene, will leadership slip into weak, more venturesome hands? Will German policy veer into a form of neutralism which could give Moscow new opportunities to divide and draw Western Europe into its orbit?

Obviously everyone will not answer these questions in exactly the same way. But there is a consensus among those inside and outside the government and among European and American correspondents who really know what is going qn. It is this:

1. There is no evident heir-apparent to Chancellor Adenauer. Adenauer himself could not name his successor at this point even if he wanted to—and he doesn't.

No questionable successor to Adenauer is anywhere on the horizon—no successor who would cause trepidation, or even apprehension in the Allied capitals that West German policy might be seriously altered.

3. Finally, this aging but almost ageless German Chancellor, this unbowed oak of German politics who would be 90 at the end of another term, is showing no sign of resigning or fading away. He will run for his fourth term next year and he will not rush to press a successor forward if he is elected.

Nothing could be more welcome than having Dr. Adenauer standing on the middle of Europe as the rocklike mooring for Western policy during the present harsh tension (now menacingly aggravated by the American plane incident) between Russia and the West—and for some time in the future,

Adenauer is used to the purposeful and atroclous attacks on himself by Premier Khrushchev and others in the Kremlin. They keep on branding him without any justification as "a successor to the Nazis, a new Hitler." While he is concerned over the crashing propaganda fury with which Mr. Khrushchev has dealt with the U.S. plane incident—and Mr. K. certainly has legitimate complaint—Adenauer is neither surprised not intimidated. He has never believed that

the Soviets really wanted a relaxation of tension. The manner in which Mr. K. has whipped up Soviet emotions over the airplane persuades many observers here that, seeing little chance of getting the concessions he wanted at the Paris summit next week, Mr. K. has chosen to torpedo it in advance.

Adenauer is a source of continuity and firmness of allied policy in Western Europe. His position within Germany and with the allies, preeminently with De Gaulle, is as strong and, at points, stronger than ever.

The German Chancellor is devoting himself unwaveringly to his three overriding objectives.

He wants to prevent Communist expansion anywhere in Europe.

Finding himself blocked in his efforts to unify Germany, he has turned to building Western Europe into an integrated com-

He hopes to carry Franco-German rapprochement so far forward and imbedded so deeply in action that it will be irreversible.

This Government is far from reactionary. It is dedicated to a vigorous enterprising economy and to high quotient of social welfare in the fields of pensions and social security.

Adenauer was Chancellor of Germany before Mr. Eisenhower was President. He may well be right here at the summit after all the present "Big Four" have left the scene.

[From the New York Herald Tribune, May 14, 1960]

WEST BERLIN-UNWELCOME CHALLENGE TO KHRUSHCHEV

(By Roscoe Drummond)

West Berlin—Nikita Khrushchev is right; you only have to see and feel West Berlin in the flesh to realize why, to the Soviet leader, it is a "cancer" and a "bone stuck in my throat," an "abnormality."

It is all of these things—and more.

It is an annoying, disturbing, depressing vision of Western democratic spirit, visible to the whole Soviet and satellite peoples; a radiant image of what their life could be if it were permitted.

Have no doubt about it, these two-and-aquarter million West Berliners are not gloom-ridden about their future, despite the threats which Mr. Khrushchev has kept up for the past 18 months.

The truth is that West Berlin is a city of light and verve and firm determination.

But Mr. Khrushchev is not willing to look upon West Berlin as a challenge which he will take up and eagerly endeavor to surpass. He can look benignly upon the United States and boast he will soon outdistance us. Not so Berlin. It may be too near at hand, its vision too visible. Berlin's freedom and resilience and prosperity are a "bone in his throat," an "abnormality" which he must try to suffocate.

I feel sure of one thing. The West Berliners are not going to stand quietly by and have their inalienable rights to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness suppressed. They will defend their postwar democracy with everything they own including their bare hands.

This is the spirit of West Berlin and it is not declining even if the prospect of recapturing the glory of becoming again the capital of a united Germany has been receding year after year.

To travel by air to Berlin at night is always an exciting experience. For 100 miles you have been flying over East German Communist territory and in every direction there is almost unrelieved darkness, occasionally a lone flicker of light to suggest a sleeping city—a kind of mental darkness as well as visible.

And then you come upon West Berlin as though a massive rainbow had burst through the clouds, a fiashing, animate, multicolored city spread out below you as though proud to be alive and proud to be seen.

The Soviets want it to be dead so that it cannot be seen.

You can theorize all you want to about how West Berlin—a divided city in a divided country, a city surrounded by a regime controlled by Moscow—cannot last. You can look at the facts and say that this city can't exist, can't survive, can't sustain itself. You can remember for a decade after the war the hopes and morale of the West Berliners lifted into being by the feeling that a united Germany might be just around the corner, that it couldn't forever be elusive. And, it hasn't come.

You can believe that West Berlin can surmount the latest Soviet-inspired crisis, but can it survive the next? Or the next? You can see Berlin just as it now is, buoyant, vital, undaunted, 2 years hence. But what of 10 years—and after? And you can "logically" conclude that West Berlin just is not tenable.

Some suggest that West Berlin is a dying city. Perhaps it should be—theoretically. It isn't. Because of the high percentage of elderly people in the city's total population, its population decreased 18,000 last year, Deaths still exceed births. But the birth rate is steadily going up. It mounted from 7.9 to 9.5 in the last 4 years.

Ten years ago no one foresaw the vigor and vitality that are Berlin's today. I submit that no one can dare say that Berlin's future is behind it.

If there is one thing which the Western Powers at the summit conference in Paris must preserve it is the freedom of the 21/4 million West Berliners who are using their freedom so magnificently.

Progress United States of America—Fairfield County, Conn., Roads, Rails, and Rotors

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. DONALD J. IRWIN

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, May 17, 1960

Mr. IRWIN. Mr. Speaker, I recently inserted in the RECORD a series of articles about my district—the Fourth Congressional, which embraces Fairfield County, Conn.

These articles appeared under the general heading of "Progress U.S.A.—Fair-field County, Conn.: Bright Star in U.S. Industrial Sky."

I would like to make another insertion that points up still further the economic growth and development of my district. As were the other articles, this one is excerpted from the April-May economic newsletter and fact sheet of the Fairfield County Trust Co.

The excerpt:

ROADS, RAILS, AND ROTORS

Fairfield County businesses can look just about everywhere for their markets—just about everywhere is next door. One American in three, and two out of every five manufacturing plants can be spotted within a 500-mile radius of the county.

These are the first line of domestic sales for local producers, whose growth has been especially dramatic in the north and central county. In the anticipation of a populous

and industrialized region within the decade, bulldozers, earthmovers, and cement mixers have already started to give shape to the Connecticut State Highway Department's plan for an extensive network of modern auto-truck expressways.

The lighter nature of the county's industry makes large-scale highway hauling of much of its products practicable. Plastic items, ball bearings, instruments, magnetic tape, pencils, and electronic devices, for instance, move to market mainly in less-thancarload lots. Rapid growth of the area around Danbury will also mean more auto travel.

Keeping pace, Connecticut recently hired team of engineering consultants to do a thoroughgoing study of the State's road system. Goal is to make sure the roads continue to do their job of moving vehicles quickly and safely. Fairfield County, already handling the lion's share of the State's passenger and commercial traffic, will be the hub of this program. Two-thirds of Connecticut Turnpike receipts at present pass through county toll stations. Meanwhile, some \$23.3 million of highway construction is underway in Fairfield County. Currently, \$22 million is being spent on U.S. Interstate 84 as a "north-county Connecticut Turnpike"-a high-speed commercial expressway running from the New York State line, by Danbury, and up through Waterbury and Hartford to the Massachusetts border. This will complement the two southern roads, Connecticut Turnpike and Merritt Parkway.

Other road work will widen Routes 7 and 25, principal north-south arteries in the county, linking the Danbury region with the Norwalk, Stamford, and Bridgeport areas, and turnpike and parkway.

Already big road programs in Connecticut and throughout the East have brought Fairfield County within an hour's driving time of New York City, within 2½ hours of Philadelphia and Boston. Since 1940, 2 and 3 hours have been snipped from Baltimore and Washington runs.

Supplementing the highway network will be expanded helicopter service between Stamford and New York. Plans call for passenger service to Bridgeport later this year, with Danbury next. Fast overnight freight service connects Danbury, Norwalk, Stamford and Bridgeport with New York and Boston. It's 2 days to Baltimore, Buffalo, and Philadelphia. Commutingwise, the New Haven Railroad recently decided to buy 50 new commuter cars through the Port of

New York Authority. They are expected to be in service by early 1961.

Young bloods, young areas: Recent report shows the Danbury area school enrollment up 33 percent between 1955 and 1959, one-third more than county and State gains of 22 percent. The panhandle region—Greenwich-Stamford-Norwalk—matched the county and the State in growth while the older Bridge-port area lagged somewhat. Among the larger towns, Ridgefield's gain of 56 percent in number of schoolchildren leads the list. Wilton, up 50 percent; Weston, up 48 percent; and New Canaan, ahead 41 percent, closely follow.

Who counts: First returns from the April census estimate Fairfield county's population to be around 579,000—15 percent more than the 504,342 for 1950. Census figure is lower than Connecticut Health Department's reckoning of 646,000 by July 1, or Sales Management's estimate of 612,000 last January 1. Differences result from the special ways Connecticut Health Department and Sales Management make projections. Final census figure, whatever it is, will be definitive.

SPRING IN BOOM

Total nonfarm workers in Fairfield County numbered 221,080 in March, a record high for this month. Manufacturing employment remained on a high plateau, while construction jobs—during an unseasonable third-month, continued below year-ago levels. County housing starts for the year-to-date however, are keeping pace with 1959, while nationwide there has been a 17 percent dip.

Further sanguine note is the unemployment picture. Benefit claimants are one-fifth under a year ago. Total jobless—including also noncovered workers, part-timers and retired—were 15,030 in March, 5,060 below last year. They number 5.6 percent of the labor force, down from 7.6 percent in March of 1959. "Labor force" includes store owners, proprietors, doctors, lawyers, farmers, domestics, and others not en ordinary payrolls, as well as those covered by jobless insurance.

Fairfield County continues to outspeed the recovery in the State as a whole, and the Danbury, Norwalk, and Greenwich areas continue to pace the county. In these three regions, jobs continue to look for workers, especially in such fields as metalworking.

Reflecting the signs, Fairfield County Trust's Index of Business Activity in March stood at 222.8 percent of its 1947 base, up 5.5 percent from the same month a year ago.

Fairfield County total labor force, unemployment, and percent unemployed

Labor market area	Total labor force			Unemployment			Percent un- unemployed	
	March 1959	March 1960	Percent change	March 1959	March 1960	Percent change	March 1959	March 1960
Bridgeport	137, 400 24, 920 34, 880 68, 000 265, 200 1, 051, 350	136, 180 27, 910 35, 710 62, 230 269, 030 1, 064, 410	-0.9 +12.0 +2.3 +1.7 +1.4 +1.2	13, 200 2, 190 1, 500 3, 200 20, 090 77, 800	8, 990 1, 840 1, 500 2, 700 15, 030 62, 800	-31.9 -16.0 0 -15.6 -25.2 -19.3	9.6 8.8 4.3 4.7 7.6 7.4	6. 6 6. 6 4. 2 3. 5 5. 6

Source: Connecticut Department of Labor.

Powerhouse: Fairfield County's utilities have doubled their electric sales in the past decade, quadrupled them since 1940. Commercial, residential and industrial consumption ran to 1.7 billion kilowatt-hours last year, 13 percent above 1958. By comparison, the U.S. increase was 10 percent. So far in 1960, sales are well ahead of the same period in 1959.

Underscoring these gains are the capital spending plans of the utilities. Their outlays for facilities in Fairfield County are scheduled to rise 57 percent this year, to \$25 billion, from \$16 billion in 1959.

Mr. Mills' Dilemma

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. PETER FRELINGHUYSEN, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 17, 1960

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. Mr. Speaker, as has been widely reported in the press.

Mr. Edward K. Mills, Jr., has requested that President Eisenhower withdraw his nomination to the Federal Communications Commission. The President has complied with this request. In my opinion, it is most unfortunate that this step should be necessary. Mr. Mills has had an enviable record of public service, and is eminently qualified to serve on the Federal Communications Commission. He is the former Deputy Di-rector of the General Services Administration, where he served with distinction. He is a former mayor of my home town of Morristown, N.J., and is a man widely respected for his ability and integrity.

The problem which Mr. Mills faced, but which apparently could not be solved, indicates the need for revision and clarification of our laws dealing with conflicts of interest.

The following editorials from today's Washington Post and the Morris County Daily Record of May 14 discuss Mr. Mills' case in some detail:

[From the Washington Post, May 17, 1960]

MR. MILLS' SERVICE

President Eisenhower's decision to withdraw the nomination of Edward K. Mills, Jr., to the Federal Communication Commission was unavoidable under the laws governing qualifications of FCC members. But it deserves more than passing notice, for Mr. Mills has behaved admirably in a situation not of his own making and over which he had no control.

He volunteered the information to the Senate Commerce Committee that he was the beneficiary of a lifetime trust which has in its portfolio some Westinghouse and General Electric shares. An FCC Commissioner may not have a pecuniary interest in the radio and television business, and both companies are in this business. The trustee of the life estate refused to sell the shares. Mr. Mills offered to give the dividends to charity, but his estate still would have benefited from capital gains. Thorough investigation by the Justice Department apparently showed that there was simply no way in which Mr. Mills could shed this disability and legally qualify for the FCC, and so he asked that his name be withdrawn.

Throughout, Mr. Mills' own conduct displayed a keen sense of propriety, in marked contrast to the performance of some Federal officials who have contrived to circumvent the letter or the spirit of the conflict-of-interest laws. In this case, the President's candidate seemed to be an exceptionally well qualified man for the job, and it is a pity that he is unable to serve. But he has performed another kind of service in setting so fine an example of public rectitude and in saving the administration from possible future embarrassment by full candor about his affairs.

[From the Daily Record, May 14, 1960] REMOTE INTEREST CONFLICT

It would indeed be unfortunate for the United States to lose the services of Edward R. Mills, Jr., of Mendham because of the technicality of a "conflict of interest."

The purpose of conflict of interest provisions is to prevent an individual's stock holdings from becoming in any way compromised by his official position, which gives him information that might permit stock manipulation, the possibility of basing decisions or awarding contracts that would be conducive to benefitting the shares of stock owned.

Mr. Mills "conflict" is a very remote one, indeed. He is a beneficiary of a trust fund that owns shares of stock of business in the

communications field. Mr. Mills has absolutely no control over this stock, or the decisions that the trustee might make in administering his charge.

The trustee, who also must protect the interests of the other beneficiaries of the trust, does not wish to dispose of the shares in the trust fund. Therefore, it might be said that under the statute that Mr. Mills has a financial interest in a business in the communications field, which is the field in which the Federal Communications Commission operates.

Acting in a highly praiseworthy manner, Mr. Mills has asked the President to with-

draw his nomination.

Naturally, this is unfortunate because Mr. Mills seems clearly not to have such a conflict of interest as the statute desires to prevent.

We trust that the lawyers of the Justice Department will be able to come up with some solution to this perplexing case. We believe that the nominee is a man of high caliber that can bring a high standard of service to a Federal agency that sadly needs such a man.

Science and Ethics-The Contributions of Greece, India, and Israel

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 17, 1960

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to commend to the attention of our colleagues the text of an address by Israeli Prime Minister David Ben-Gurion delivered at Brandeis University on March 9, 1960, at which time Brandeis University conferred upon him the honorary degree of doctors of laws. Following the address is the text of the diploma:

Science and Ethics—The Contributions of Greece, India, and Israel

FOREWORD

On March 9, 1960, Prime Minister David Ben-Gurion received an honorary degree from Brandeis University at a special convocation.

The address delivered by the Prime Minister upon his dramatic arrival from Israel was a striking illustration of the philosopher-statesman in action. In harmony with the spirit of the occasion, the head of a young, struggling state transcended immediate tensions and problems to examine the universal implications of the true statesman's task. Instead of engaging in a political discussion of urgent questions of the day, in whose solution he is so crucial a factor, he chose to trace the spiritual legacy of the great peoples of antiquity, of which Israel is one. Through his philosophic and ethical awareness of the past he defined the nature of the future. Mr. Ben-Gurion's declaration, "Israel cannot endure without strength and power, but we still hold fast to the faith that has accompanied our people for thousands of years, faith in the supremacy of the spirit," was placed by him in the kind of historic perspective which made it concretely meaningful for the present.

It was eminently fitting that such an address should be delivered at Brandeis University. Established in 1948, the same year that saw the emergence of the State of Israel, Brandeis University, too, on its scale, represented a dynamic, pioneering effort of

American Jewry through the creation of the first Jewish-sponsored, secular university in the United States,

Inevitably, by virtue of its general and particular sympathies, Brandeis University has enjoyed many fruitful contacts with the representatives of Israel. In 1948 the emissary of the newly established state, Mr. Eliahu Elath, took part in the inaugural ceremonies of the newly founded university. In 1951 Prime Minister Ben-Gurion addressed scholars of 24 universities gathered to hear him on this campus. Ambassador Abba Eban was the chief speaker at the celebration marking the 10th anniversary of Brandeis University.

The recent appearance of Prime Minister Ben-Gurion represents a high moment in the life of the university. His address, speaking as it did to all, irrespective of creed or race, voiced those generous intellectual and moral aspirations which men of thought everywhere may cherish in common.

AN ADDRESS BY DAVID BEN-GURION AT BRANDEIS UNIVERSITY, MARCH 9, 1960

I consider it a great privilege to be the guest of the American University that bears the name of the greatest American Jew of our generation: Justice Louis D. Brandeis.

I knew Brandeis from his appointment as Justice of the Supreme Court until a year before his death—and whenever I came in contact with him I felt that I was in the presence of a perfect and harmonious human personality—insofar as a human being can be perfect—as Jew and American, as thinker and man of moral rectitude.

Brandeis' intellect and conscience were strong, clear, and compelling, and governed all his acts; there was a harmonious interaction between them throughout his life, and this fusion was the secret of his greatness, as jurist, judge, American, and Jew. I regard Brandeis as the personality that should be a model for our people—if I were not afraid of being too presumptuous, I would say: for the whole of humanity.

I am one of those who believe whole-heartedly, in the prophecy of Isaiah: "I the Lord, have called thee in righteousness, and have taken hold of thy hand, and kept thee. and set thee for a covenant of the people, for a light of the nations" (42: 6). That is not the only prophecy of his in which I be-lieve. Isaiah said: "I will bring thy seed from the East, and gather thee from the West; I will say to the North: 'Give up' and to the South: 'Keep not back, bring My sons from far, and My daughters from the end of the earth'" (43: 5-6). And he also said: "And it shall come to pass in the end of days, that the mountain of the Lord's house shall be established as the top of the mountains, and shall be exalted above the hills; and all nations shall flow unto it. And they shall beat their swords into ploughshares, and their spears into pruning hooks; nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more" (2: 2-4). One of these prophecies has already begun to be realized in our days, and in the first decade of the resuscitation of the Jewish State in our ancient homeland we have brought in about a million Jews from over a hundred countries, from East and West, from the North and the South. And the vision of general disarmament has also been placed on the agenda of the United Nations Assembly in our day.

Every people is chosen

The Jewish people is a small one, and today Israel numbers only a little more than 15 percent of the Jews of the world. So that the claim that Israel in its land might be a light to the Gentiles, may be regarded as exaggerated and chauvinistic. To dispel this error from the minds of my listeners, I will say that I do not hold that we are a chosen people. Every people, to some extent, is a chosen people—in its own eyes, at any rate;

and, just as there are shadows in the life of every people, so we know that, in past as in present, light radiates from many peoples. "Are ye not as children of the Ethiopians unto Me, O Children of Israel?" saith the Lord. "Have not I brought up Israel out of the land of Egypt? And the Philistines from Caphter, and the Syrians from Kir?" So spake the prophet Amos. Every people has a share in the heritage of the human race, just as every man, without distinction of race, religion or birthplace, is equal in rights and duties, and of equal worth. The relations of men and of peoples must, therefore, be set firm upon equality of rights and duties.

But, equality between men, which lies at the foundation of our political and social consciousness, stands in no contradiction to our wonderment at the greatness of Descartes, Newton, Da Vinci, Rembrandt, Beethoven and Einstein. Similarly, recognition of the equality of peoples cannot lessen our admiration for those few exceptional peoples which have played a uniquely fructifying role in the annals of humanity.

Immortal bequests

To this day, no one has unraveled the riddle of the genius of those divinely blessed personalities, who, by their mighty intellect, have shed light on the mystries of nature or enriched the human treasury with majestic creations of art and literature; nor to this day has the secret been explained of the special greatness of those few exceptional peoples which left their imprint on human culture. The Jewish people in days gone by was privileged to be one of the three ancient peoples that bequeathed immortal values to humankind, and, in large measure, fashioned the pattern of many peoples in all parts of the earth. The three peoples were Israel, Greece and India.

In mentioning India I do not refer to the wisdom of the Brahmins. In the Upanishads, it is true, there may be found jewels of pantheistic metaphysics, but this wisdom was the possession of the few, and did not prevent the perpetuation of the caste system, which degraded millions of human beings to the level of the unclean, nor did it uproot the brutal custom of suttee, the burning of widows alive, which has its origin in the Atarya-Veda.

India's great contribution

India's greatest contribution was the teaching of Buddhism. The founder of this doctrine, Sidarta Gautama, one of the princes of northern India, and known to the world as the Buddha, was in his lifetime a symbol of human nobility and moral purity, and, without doubt, was one of the 10 greatest personalities in human history. Buddha rebelled against the Indian caste tradition. In the Buddhist communitythe Sanga-no caste distinctions are recognized. All men are equal. The Buddha recognized the equality of status of woman with man. The Buddha was indeed convinced of his great personal mission and of the significance of his teachings, but he did not put himself in the central position in the new teaching which he preached. Buddha was on the point of death, he saw his favorite disciple Aranda crying. He said to him: "Do not cry, Aranda. You shall be a light unto yourself. You will have no need of me."

The Buddha rebelled against the Indian tradition of sacrifice, which was the central feature of the Brahminist creed. He rejected the privileged position of the Brahminists. It is not privilege through heredity but the righteousness of a man himself which entitles one to the distinction of being a Brahmin—or a higher man. That was the Buddha's teaching.

To preach this doctrine, 2,500 years ago in an Indian society dominated by Brahminism, called for great spiritual courage and a revolutionary spirit; great creative capacity. It

is remarkable to think that his doctine, which originated in India, has almost disappeared from the land of its birth, but has spread among the peoples of the Far East: Ceylon, Thailand, Cambodia, Laos, Burma, China, and Japan, and, although there is in it much of the negation of the material world, and nirvana is its highest ideal Buddhism overcame the influences of its pessimistic beginnings and preached love, kindness and compassion to every living creature; nor, in the main, are its ethical imperatives different from our Ten Commandments. The Buddha was the educator of the peoples of the Far East, which, for some reason, were not reached by the message of Judaism either in its original form or in its Christian and Moslem versions, and his teaching is still an educative and moral factor of tremendous force for hundreds of millions in the eastern expanses of Asia.

In the days of the Buddha, the leaders of Greek philosophy were active in Greece: Thales of Miletus and his disciples, Pythagoras, Heraclitus, Empedocles, and Parmen-From them and from their disciples, the West-and now the entire world-inherited their systematic philosophical and scientific research. It would unquestionably be a vast exaggeration to say that the conquests of science during the last three or four centuries are exclusively the legacy of classical Greece. It may be said with some degree of truth that modern science was born out of revolt against the Greek scientific tradition. An example of this was Galileo's struggle with the followers of Aristotle in his Even previously we see an example of this in Copernicus' disproof of the Ptolemaic theory-Aristarchus of Samos, who is not mentioned in Copernicus' great work, already knew of the rotation of the earth on its axis and its revolution round the sun, but his teaching was not accepted in ancient Greece. It was left to Copernicus to renew this doctrine. It is impossible, however, to conceive the Renaissance in Italy and in other countries which laid the foundation of modern science, without the rediscovery of ancient Greek literature, brought to Europe in the 15th century from declining Byzantium. And even today, the works of the great ones of Greece, with Plato at their head, are a source of inspiration to the human spirit in its search to understand the order of nature and of the universe-and itself.

Science and everyday life

More and more, however, the accomplishments of science are becoming the estate of all peoples in all parts of the world. is, perhaps, the most universal spiritual triumph of our era, and no second asset is so shared by all the peoples in our time as is science. In one sense, contemporary science differs from what it was in the days of ancient Greece. For the thinkers of ancient Greece, intellectual contemplation, theoria, was the principal thing, and few of them also occupied themselves with praxis, with the practical side, with the integration of science into everyday life. Not so in these our days. Scientific research has become a central, permanent daily factor in the lives of peoples. Economic activity, health, securityall these are now based on what science achieved, and from day to day the vital significance of science in all branches of action shows a progressive increase. Pure science and everyday action are interlocked.

Science, however, with all its spiritual and material importance, by its very essence stands beyond good and evil. By its power we can explain the phenomena of nature—and man is a part of nature, but science is incapable of telling man what path he should choose in life. By means of science it is possible to bestow blessings on humanity: health, prosperity, and intellectual progress. By its power it is also feasible to being about ruin and destruction, and to destroy civilized humanity. The tree of

knowledge of good and evil does not blossom on the soil of science. Science strives to lay bare the secrets of nature, but not to counsel man what he shall do.

There can, however, be no science without scientists, and the scientist is not just a thinking and contemplating machine, but a personality, carrying a lofty moral responsibility. The crisis discussed in our time is not a crisis of science.

Scientists must foster moral values

The scientist, therefore, will not be discharging his mission faithfully or be worthy of his task unless, while yet augmenting the capacity of science and enlarging the bounds of pure knowledge, he makes every effort to foster the moral values on which the relations between men and between peoples must rest. The tree of knowledge of good and evil must be planted in the soul of every man, and first of all in the soul of men of science, so that their creative activity may be a blessing to mankind.

The discovery of scientific truth is a goal in itself, but it is also a means to an exalted end: the advancement of man and of society, the dominion of man over nature for the sake of his spiritual and moral elevation, and the economic and social well-being of each people and of the entire human race. We must not separate the exploits of science, which are the achievements of the human intellect, from the values of ethics, that is to say, from the imperatives of the human conscience, the divine element in man. The secret of man's intelligence, which is capable of comprehending the structure of the cosmos and its host, has never yet been penetrated-and I do not know if it ever will be. Nor has anyone penetrated the secret of the human conscience, which equips man to give up his life for values dearer to him than life itself. But both of them exist, and it is only through their inmost integration that there will flourish for man the great and glorious blessing that is hidden in each of

We shall be doing violence to the truth if we say that the greatness of ancient Greece was restricted to the realms of beauty and intellect alone. In the writings of Plato, Aristotle and Plotinus, we find a profound aspiration for the good and the just. It would equally violate the truth to say that the greatness of ancient Israel was manifest only in the religious and ethical messages of its Prophets. The Books of the Bible are overflowing with sublime beauty and deep wisdom. Likewise, the teachings of the Buddha are not restricted to laying down a noble and redemptive way of life, but radiate profound and original philosophic thought. It is true, however, that the center of gravity of Greek genius was in the realm of art and philosophy, as the center of gravity of Buddhist teaching was fixed on freeing the individual from suffering and tribulations. With the Prophets of Israel the central theme was the supremacy of religious and moral consciousness.

Faith in supremacy of the spirit

The renascence of Israel in our day has not been merely political and material in character. Israel cannot endure without strength and power, but we still hold fast to the faith that has accompanied our people for thousands of years, faith in the supremacy of the spirit. Not the spirit opposed to matter and divorced from it—the duality of matter and spirit was foreign to Jewish outlook in Biblical times, as it is foreign to the science of our present. We believed, and still believe, in the supremacy of the spirit that pervades matter and rules it. On this faith is founded the historio mission and destiny of the State of Israel.

And the supremacy of the spirit implies not only the supremacy of science and intelligence, but also that of conscience and of morality, of which the authentic and practical expression in our lives is halutziuth, the quality of pioneering and personal dedication to man's mission in life. The return of Israel to its land in our time is without parallel in history. We are receiving the fragments of a people scattered throughout the world, to rebuild the ruins of a small and poor country surrounded by enemies, and to establish a model society constructed upon a basis of liberty, equality, cooperation and love of our fellow men.

The great Book, or, more correctly, the collection of great Books, that has given us the prerogative to be known, in honor, as "the people of the Book," was created at a time when our people lived on its own soll and was sovereign in its own right. Though it was a small and poor people, small in numbers and poor in military strength, and in extent of territory, yet from that day to this it fell in no wise behind any nation in its creativity, and it gave to itself and the world Books of the highest spiritual values, of a majestic and enduring expression of poetry and thought, of morality and religion.

Torn from homeland and independence

When we want into exile we continued to live, in our hearts and our minds, within the bounds of this Biblical heritage; but we did not continue to create anew, save for multiplying the making of interpretations and interpretations of interpretations, explanations and explanations of explanations, about our sacred writings. Our spiritual lives, like our material lives, were impoverished and shrivelled. And if, at the commencement of the modern Renaissance period in the 17th century, a great eagle Baruch Spinoza-rose from our midst and in his lofty thought ascended to the skies, he was cast out of our nest, and shed his light on others uttering his profound words in a foreign tongue. We lived in a political, an economic and also a spiritual ghetto. This was not because our creative power Was atrophied-had that been so, it is doubtful if we could have maintained our identity under those terrible conditions—but because We had been torn from the roots of the People's vitality: from homeland and independence.

The new period that began with the renewal of the upbuilding of our homeland 80 years ago, and of our independence during recent years, opened up a new chapter, not only in respect to our status in the World, but also in regard to our spiritual creativity. True, for the first phase of the third restoration of our independence-and we shall, as up to now, indeed, be constrained to invest the better part of our energy and our spiritual and physical forces in Israel in fortifying our security, developing the country, building up its economy, absorbing its immigrants, and laying safe foundations of a free and independent nation, sovereign in its own right. Our independence is still in danger; we are still beleaguered; we still face vital problems in regard to immigrant absorption; our deserts still await redemption. Our primary en-deavor, therefore, must lie in the security, Political and economic spheres. These efforts, however, will not succeed unless sustained by a great spiritual dedication.

Tenacious spirit of our youth

One of the marvels of our generation has been the victory of the Israel Defense Forces; but it was not by its weapons or its numbers that the young Israel Army withstood the onslaughts of the enemy hosts. Its secret weapon was the high moral quality of our youth. The upbuilding of the country, too, the hundreds of villages that sprang up as if overnight in every corner of the land, the discovery of water in a desert left and and

barren since the dawn of creation, the hundreds of thousands of immigrants assembled in the homeland within a brief space of time—all these things were not done by means of technology and finance alone. A decisive factor was also the power of that same tenacious spirit that inspires our people. The Jews of Yemen and Babylon were speeded to Israel by modern aircraft. But the real driving force was the Messianic vision they had preserved in their hearts from the moment they went into exile, over 2,500 years ago. Had it not been for that spirit they would not have clung to their Jewishness; they would never have returned to Israel

All-embracing unity of existence

What is the nature of the spirit we need? First of all, the conquests of science. Our work in Israel is perhaps uniquely difficult, in the internal and external hindrances it faces. Our constructive work will fail unless we know how to mobilize all the achievements of science to the aid of our economy, our education, and our security. We dare not be content with what has been achieved so far; we must reinforce our intellectual capacity, for the sake of new, additional scientific attainments which will help us to overcome the obstacles, to improve the quality and productivity of our work in building our country and defending it.

The value of science, however, lies not merely in its practical uses, but in enhancing the distinctive qualities of man and enriching his spirit. We are few, and few we shall remain; our country is small and small it always will be, though I hope we shall succeed in expanding its economic capacity. The sole greatness which awaits us, one inherent in our character, is greatness of spirit. Science, knowledge of the world and all therein, discovery of the secrets of nature and of existence—through these we shall rise ever higher. There is no limit to the capacity of man to penetrate the secrets of nature and the universe. We have never accepted the discredited theory that the world is composed of blind and crude matter, just as we have never accepted the fallacious opinion that everything we see, feel, and hear is only the disembodied creation of the imagination and spirit.

All the great men of Israel, in days gone by and in our times, whether through religious intuition or scientific comprehension have always recognized the all-embracing unity of existence, the oneness of matter and mind. Man is a part of the marvel of existence, which in all its unity has many manifestations, both material and spiritual; and man, as an organic part of his complex existence, which is both material and spiritual, both natural and divine, has the gift of seeing and observing, of understanding and comprehending the nature of the universe. Man has two means of probing the secret of being: through his internal and his external contemplation. There is no end or bound to man's intellectual capacity, and the peaks to which science has climbed in our day are only the first rungs in a ladder that is set on earth but whose top reaches the sky. Man in Israel is inferior in his qualities and capacity to no man in the world, and nothing will be denied him in the kingdom of science, if he makes the de-liberate effort and boldly and unremittingly presses on upward.

Science needs moral direction

Science in isolation, however, cannot suffice; it needs moral force to direct it. The second spiritual imperative, therefore, is the great and eternal ethical values of Judaism. Not only we, but other ancient peoples as well, have at different epochs given voice to great and sublime moral truths. But, I doubt if there was ever anyone who succeeded in doing so with a mightier vigor or

with a purer and holier passion than did the prophets of Israel. The idea that man was created in the image of God, and that all men are the children of God and therefore brothers, the precept "And thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself," our prophets' vision of peace and justice—in no ancient or modern literature is there anything to excel or even equal them.

And our prophets found and demanded justice, not only in the life of man, but in the whole world, in the entire cosmos. Isiah, one of the greatest our prophets, envisions justice and peace as imprinted upon the heavens above and on the earth be-neath. He says: "Drop down, ye heavens, from above, and let the skies pour down righteousness: let the earth open, and let them bring forth salvation, and let righteousness spring up together" (45: 8). And when the Psalmist seeks in one short verse to catalog supreme moral values, he says: and truth are met together: righteousness and peace have kissed each other." And he adds: "Truth shall spring out of the earth; and righteousness shall look down from heaven" (85: 10-11). The moral content, in the words of our prophets, is inherent not only in man but in the whole of nature: the skies pour down righteousness, truth springs from the earth.

Only by pursuing the goals of prophetic ethics is it possible to direct the tremendous and fructifying power of science so that it may be a blessing to peoples and to men. Sciences, unguided by moral values, could be dangerous.

Morality must be practiced

Morality itself, however, can be beneficial on one condition alone: not if it is preached to others, not if it is elegantly expounded, but if it is observed not just in theory but in practice also, if it is attended by pioneering that fulfills. Moral values are transformed into a creative revolutionary force that repairs the imperfections of the world and enhances the lift of man, only through the experience of personal pioneering and fulfillment. We have learned this truth through the experience of the pioneering forces which were at work from the beginning of our settlement 80 years ago until our own days.

The ancient Chinese sage called Kung-Tze (Confucius), who lived in the days of Jeremiah, and remained the teacher of the Chinese people for 2,500 years, condensed the whole doctrine of pioneering into one short and incisive saying. One of his disciples asked him: "Master, who is the higher man?" Kung-Tze answered: "The higher man is he who first carries out himself what he demands of others, and then demands of others only what he does himself." The three generations of pioneers who rebuilt our country and established the State of Israel did not preach the return to Zion—they fulfilled it.

The will to pioneer action

The longing and yearning for a Jewish state were alive in the Jewish people all the years and generations since our second temple was destroyed. What produced the miracle in our day? What converted the prayer, the yearning and the longing of the heart into the reality of national independence? It was the will to pioneer action that was awakened in the hearts of the lonely few, who went forth 80 years ago from behind the walls of the old city of Jerusalem and from the distant exile of Hungary. They came together to establish the first Jewish village of our time. They were followed by scores and then by hundreds, and then by thousands and hundreds of thousands. It was they who made the miracle.

It is only pioneering which fulfills that lends force to the moral values to which we adhere. Without pioneering, without personal fulfillment, the values are emptied of their content and are turned into verbiage, which becomes deceptive and hurtful.

The establishment of the third State of Israel in our time has opened a new era. At its establishment, the state comprised some 650,000 Jews. It still comprises less than 2 650,000 Jews. million Jews today. We have yet to consummate the process of rebuilding. The road ahead is long and hard. And while engaged in our national regeneration we must always remember the messianic vision of redemption that preserved us for thousands of years. That vision foresaw not only the complete redemption of the Jewish people, but of all humanity. For there can be no whole and lasting redemption of one people without the redemption of all nations. And we shall discharge the great and difficult task that is laid upon us only if we are true to the great vision of the latter days which Israel's prophets foresaw and which will surely come to pass. The vision will be realized in all its fullness if, side by side with all our practical efforts we also cling tightly to spiritual values: the schievements of science, the ethics of the prophets, and pioneering that fulfills.

TEXT OF THE DIPLOMA

The trustees of Brandeis University, upon the recommendation of the faculty, have conferred on David Ben-Gurion, statesman, scholar, author, Prime Minister of Israel and symbol of her strength and courage, all of whose gifts converge to a single purpose: securing the future of Israel. As head and front of the Jewish agency, a resourceful guide for his people through the horrors of Naziism and the Second World War. In newly created Israel, the leader in a magnificent defense against the onslaughts of misguided neighbors. In the tasks of state building, a modern Ezra, sounding the clarion for the return of the dispersed of his people to a hospitable homeland. Anchored in the prophetic tradition, he reaches out for universal truth. The ideal philosopherstatesman who would have delighted Plato and Isaiah; the honorary degree of doctor of laws and all the rights and privileges thereunto appertaining in witness thereof, they have issued this diploma duly signed and have affixed the seal of the university.

Issued at Brandeis University, Waitham,
Mass., on the 9th day of March, 1960.

ABRAHAM FEINBERG,
President, Board of Trustees.

SAMUEL L. SLOSBERG,
Secretary, Board of Trustees.

ABRAHAM L. SACHAR,
President of the University.

Center for Cultural and Technical Interchange Between East and West

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. DANIEL K. INOUYE

OF HAWAII

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 17, 1960

Mr. INOUYE. Mr. Speaker, on Thursday, May 12, this honorable body adopted the conference report on H.R. 11510 to amend further the Mutual Security Act of 1954. On the same date, the Senate similarly adopted the report, thus clearing it for Presidential action.

Contained in the bill was a chapter dealing with the authorization for the establishment in Hawaii of a Center for Cultural and Technical Interchange between East and West. We in Hawaii are highly enthusiastic about our potential contribution to the betterment of our Nation's foreign relations and are convinced that the East-West Center is a step in the right direction.

One of the many non-Hawaiians who shares our enthusiasm is Edward R. Murrow, CBS news correspondent and moderator of "Small World."

Under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I would like to include herewith a portion of Mr. Murrow's statement given in Hawaii in an interview on April 18, 1960, on the 6:45 p.m. news program of KGMB-TV. Mr. Murrow sets forth very succinctly a few of the many reasons why the center is ideally to be located in Hawaii. In reply to the question "What do you think of our East-West Center?" Mr. Murrow said:

I think it is one of the biggest progress in education I have heard of in many a long year. I think it will pay great dividends to us. I think it will create what the academicians like to call the cross-fertilization of culture—by which I think in general, the better you get to know a person, the better you like them. The less we know them, the less we like them. What will happen here, I am sure, is that there will be an exchange of ideas, an exchange of experience, and that not only students from Asia who come here will receive a dividend; that American students who come from the mainland will also have exposure that is not available to them on the mainland.

I think that if this project is properly administered—if the staff is of sufficient distinction, no one can calculate what the dividends will do; and in terms of propaganda—and in terms of education in the old-fashioned sense—it seems to me that you have here a more flexible and tolerant society than we have on the mainland. That Asian students coming here will not be flung immediately into this materialistic, mechanistic madhouse that we have in the large metropolitan centers in the States, and that their introduction into America will be a little more gradual than if they went immediately to the mainland.

More About Algeria: The Necessity for Negotiations

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. CHARLES O. PORTER

OF OREGON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Friday, May 6, 1960

Mr. PORTER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the text of the letter sent last month to the President by the American Committee on Africa on the occasion of the visit to the United States by President Charles de Gaulle of France:

APRIL 21, 1960.

President Dwight D. EISENHOWER, The White House,

Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: On the occasion of the visit of President Charles de Gaulle to the United States, the American Committee on Africa wants to join you in welcoming an old ally of the United States. We hope, however, that you will not let this warm friendship of the American people and yourself for France and for General de Gaulle to deflect you from what must surely be high on your agenda: A firm indication to President de Gaulle that the American people and their Government want him to open negotiations immediately with the Provisional Government of Algeria toward ending the war on the basis of the self-determination of the Algerian people and that America will no longer allow arms or airplanes to be exported to France for use directly or indirectly in Algeria.

While you as President rightly praised General de Gaulle for his announcement last September that independence would be one of the options given to the Algerian people, events have transpired since that time to raise these serious questions: Why has the French Government refused for months to negotiate with Mr. Ferhat Abbas and his associates? Why is French Premier Debre talking of the partition of Algeria? We want you to know, Mr. President, that

We want you to know, Mr. President, that we were deeply disappointed when Ambassador Lodge abstained during the vote last December on the Algerian resolution in the United Nations which merely called for pourparlers leading to a peaceful and just settlement. We Americans can abstain no longer from judgment as the Algerian war continues in its sixth year.

We as Americans are proud of Ambassador Lodge's leadership and vote in the recent debates in the U.N. Security Council on South Africa. If apartheid in South Africa is clearly the concern of the United States after the killing of 72 Africans, certainly war in Algeria can be no less so with hundreds of thousands of Algerians as casualties.

Partition of Algeria is no solution. Continued war is no solution. We urge that you make crystal clear to General de Gaulle that (1) he must begin negotiations at once to end the Algerian war so that there can be self-determination of the Algerian people in a free election; and (2) until there is peace in Algeria, American arms and airplanes will not be sent to France, since it can be presumed that any such shipments in one way or another will be used to kill our friends, the Algerian people.

Sincerely yours,

DONALD HARRINGTON, Chairman.

Gentlemen of Our Economy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. WILLIAM H. AVERY

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 17, 1960

Mr. AVERY. Mr. Speaker, those of us representing the great farm States of America are certainly aware that our farm economy does not favorably compare with the other segments in America. There is no justification in the conclusion, however, that the new wealth produced on our Nation's farms has shrunk to a level at which it is no longer significant to our national gross product. gross income in 1959 of over \$46 billion of farmers was second largest to any other year in our history. For these reasons it is the responsibility of Congress to be continually alert to the need for legislation that will more nearly restore the balance in real income between agriculture and the competitive segments in our economy. These factors are impressively set forth in an editorial contained

in the Topeka Capital-Journal on Sunday, May 15, 1960;

GENTLEMEN OF OUR ECONOMY

Latest estimate on the Kansas wheat crop by the State Department of Agriculture is 211 million bushels.

That's a lot of wheat. It means a lot of new money injected into the State's financial bloodstream.

Remember, Kansas farms don't just exchange dollars or "take in someone else's washing" as many businesses do. They create new wealth. Our farms are dynamic in their economic role.

For, while we are talking of new wealth, did you know Kansas farms last year, according to the State Board of Agriculture, created and put in circulation \$1,132,441,000 from the sales of farm products? That doesn't include what was raised and consumed on the farms.

Can you comprehend what a billion dollars means in merchandise, in automobiles, in farm equipment, in appliances, in clothing, in food, and all the other wants that make today's farmer the gentleman of our economy?

The farmer no longer is isolated. He has all the conveniences of the city dweller and much that urban residents do not have.

It's interesting to note from some recent facts and figures gathered by an Eastern publisher based on reports of the U.S. Department of Agriculture that-

Farmers' gross income of \$46.3 billion in 1959 was the second largest in history.

The 1959 average gross income per farm family is 50 percent above the average for all U.S. families.

Gross income per farm family of \$9,978 in 1959 marks a new high.

Farm family net income in 1959 is the

second highest on record.

Farmers now are worth more than ever before. Total assets reach \$208.2 billions.

The average farm family today is worth more than \$43,000.

Yes, the American farmer constitutes the bulkwark of America's free enterprise.

Every Move Has a Purpose-Dancey Looks at Khrushchev

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. ROBERT H. MICHEL

OF HAINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, May 17, 1960

Mr. MICHEL, Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Rec-ORD, I include the following article from the Peoria Journal Star, May 12, 1960:

EVERY MOVE HAS A PURPOSE-DANCEY LOOKS AT KHRUSHCHEV

(By Charles L. Dancey)

Last summer, I saw an auto, which I was told contained Nikita Khrushchev, enter the Kremlin.

All traffic lights in the area turned redtrame stopped, such as it was, and motorcycle police catapulted around a corner, swung crossways across the normal flow of traffic, along a wide safety lane sort of marketing in the center of the broad street, escorting three big black limousines.

They all charged through pell mell, at high speed, along the virtually empty street and swung into a Kremlin gate scarcely slowing

I was told this was Mr. K. You couldn't prove it by me. I certainly didn't get a

chance to see him and neither did anybody else in the area.

This contrasts somewhat with the photographs exported from Russia showing Mr. Khruschchev as a smiling Santa Claus in the midst of workers there. It contrasts with the smiling Khrushchev who wanted so badly to escape security restrictions and mingle with "common people" during his American tour.

A few months later, I talked at length with the manager of the American fair in Moscow who lived there 6 months. He told me that Khrushchev visited the fair three times, as I recall (not counting the Nixon escort business), and that each time huge crowds of Muscovites turned out to see him.

He discovered that the reason was they had never seen him before. Even rather important people, and staffers associated with the fair and fair arrangements were very excited about the visits and revealed they had never seen the premier in person before.

In short, he is not in the habit of "min-

gling" with the people. Indeed, he is not in the habit of making any sort of public appearance.

Thus, the picture that has remained with many Americans ever since his visit here is a false one. It is the impression he wanted to give, and he is a consummate actor.

He wanted to give that impression for a

When Khrushchev smiles it is for a purpose. When he acts like a good guy, it is for a purpose. And when he talks tough, the same thing is true.

It behooves us to look for the reason.

During my 4 years at college I worked as a sort of secretary, sometimes assistant, and sometimes human guinea pig in physiological research. As such, I took part (writing for my employer) in an exchange of letters and theories with Pavlov, the famous Russian physiologist, shortly before his death. Pavlov's work is the basis of Soviet the-

ories of human behavior, and they reject Western physiological theories. Pavlov was not a psychologist, but a physiologist. He worked with animals, not with men. But Communists regard men as animals—with no soul and no God.

Pavlov's work on conditioned reflexes is the basis of Red tactics in dealing with human beings at every level, from brainwashing an individual to conducting affairs with a nation.

Many experts on Red doctrines have established this connection, and have revealed their set doctrine for destroying the will of a man-or a nation of men-as exposed in their methods as actually practiced against the now captive nations and against us.

The Reds believe that a man, or a people, can adjust to constant pressure and resist it-but that alternating good treatment and bad will keep a man or a people "off balance" for each succeeding blow and will eventually break the will to resist.

Experts have therefore warned us for more than 15 years, that the Communists will blow "hot and cold"-that they will cry out for peace, and then threaten war, and keep testing for signs that we are weakening.

They have bounced us from threats of war at Berlin, to Asia, to the Middle East and back to Berlin-with intervening bids for "peace." Round and round it goes.

They figure that after enough of this, any "peace proposal" they make, regardless of how loaded it may be, will begin to sound good to us.

Mr. Dulles' "brink of war" policy called such bluffs several times, each one followed by a new "peace offensive."

Now, it would seem, after one of the biggest softening up exercises of all-the Khrushchev visit to the United States and its glowing aftermath—the time has come to shock us again. Thus, the plane incident is blown up fantastically big.

This is entirely in the predicted pattern of Soviet policy.

They are trying to "condition" us, a la Pavlov. They are trying to "condition" us for collapse or piece-meal surrender.

Yes, when Mr. Khrushchev smiles it is for a purpose. When he scowls and shouts it is for a purpose. Indeed, both are for the same purpose—to break us down into acceptance of any Red deal that bears the label "peace."

It is the Pavlovian system.

So say the experts. It makes sense to me.

Herbert J. Pascoe Educational Scholarship Foundation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. PETER W. RODINO. JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, May 17, 1960

Mr. RODINO. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I should like to include a statement which I made at the seventh anniversary dinner of the Herbert J. Pascoe Educational Scholarship Foundation, which was held on Sunday, May 15, in Newark, N.J. The foundation was set up to encourage young people to enter the field of education by awarding scholarships to aspiring young teachers. This year, scholar-ships were awarded to two outstanding students; Joyce Tuzzolo, of Bloomfield, N.J., and Rosalie Notto, of Phillipsburg. Both of these young women were selected because they demonstrated their superior academic ability and excellent potential for the profession which they have chosen for themselves.

The statement follows:

REMARKS BY CONGRESSMAN PETER W. RODING, JR., AT THE HERBERT J. PASCOE EDUCATIONAL SCHOLARSHIP FOUNDATION SEVENTH ANNUAL

It is a great pleasure to greet you once again at this commemoration of 7 years of fruitful activity by the Herbert J. Pascoe Educational Scholarship Foundation.

There could be no more fitting memorial to Herbert J. Pascoe, who himself made a great contribution to education in this State,

than the dedicated work of the Foundation.
The lives of boys and girls throughout the
State of New Jersey are already being affected
and enriched by the leadership of Herbert J. Pascoe scholars who have now graduated and joined the dedicated ranks of their chosen

Through your efforts many young people have become teachers who otherwise might have been attracted elsewhere, and many have attended college who might otherwise not have been able to do so.

The broad problem of higher education has come into sharp focus in recent years as we realize how essential is a college-trained and college-educated citizenry to our very

The complex problems of living in this nuclear age makes bare literacy hardly sufficient. And the challenge of keeping pace with the technological advance of the Soviet Unionchallenge we must meet-further underlines the importance of higher education.

Unfortunately, the recognition of these basic truths has not yet spurred us on to adequate action.

While the Soviet Union is graduating more teachers, more scientists and more engineers than ever before, we complacently permit an appalling wastage of our human resources. It his been estimated that over half, and possibly three-quarters, of our qualified and capable students, with demonstrated academic ability, fall to go on to college.

Perhaps a major reason why so many of these young people do not go to college is because of a lack of adequate personal funds to finance their education. Part of this gap is being filled by the efforts of this foundation, and by similar private groups throughout the country. Another part of this gap is being filled by the National Defense Education Act, which in the 2 years since its passage has enabled many young people to go to college.

But I do not think I shall offend this organization, nor shall I offend the Federal Government, when I say that all of these efforts are only a drop in the bucket. The dimensions of the need are simply too great

and too overwhelming.

And the problem is not alone that of finances. As graduation time approaches I receive dozens of letters every week from high school seniors who plead with me for help in getting into college. It is tragic, but true, that students with A or B averages, with well-rounded and impressive records, are being turned away every day by our colleges and universities. The schools have 5, 10 or even 15 applications for every opening. As a result, even those who could pay their own way are forced to forego their lifetime ambitions.

The problem is becoming more and more acute in New Jersey, which has always exported the majority of its high school graduates to out-of-State institutions. I understand from the press that other State universities have already given notice that the increasing pressures of their local applicants will require them to give less and less consideration to the New Jersey student in the future.

We cannot continue to permit our potential human resources to lie fallow. It is not my purpose, in this brief statement, to suggest the details of a solution. I merely wish to stress that the solution requires the concerted and dedicated efforts of all our citizens on all fronts and on all levels. It requires a program of national scope and with national support. Above all, it requires our united conviction that the need is too urgent to be set aside or ignored.

We in this country, have indeed, bet all our chips on the enlightenment of our people. We have placed all our faith, all our hope, upon the education, the intelligence and the understanding of our body politic. We have said that ours is a Government conducted by its citizens, and from this it follows that our Government can only be properly conducted if our citizens are well educated.

The manner in which we accept the challenge to provide those citizens with educational opportunities may well determine the future course of our destiny.

Soviet-Proposed Confederation Is No Solution

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. FRANK J. BECKER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, May 11, 1960

Mr. BECKER. Mr. Speaker, whenever the German people has raised its voice to demand national unity and the right of self-determination, the Communist side has suggested a "German Confederation," that is, a confederation of the allegedly existing "two German States"—as "the only feasible way to the reunification of Germany."

The Soviet Union officially proposed such a "German Confederation" in January 1959, and reiterated this proposal in May 1959, during the Geneva Conference of the Foreign Ministers of France, the United Kingdom, the United States, and the Soviet Union. Ever since, the Communist rulers of the Soviet-occupied zone of Germany have missed no chance to praise the "German Confederation" as the only solution of the German problem.

What is actually behind this Communist proposal, and why do the German people reject it? The following answer to this question is based on a statement made by Prof. Wilhelm Grewe, the German Ambassador in Washington:

THE AMERICAN EXAMPLE

The Communist champions of a "German Confederation" like to point to the fact that the process of merging the United States into one State started with the foundation of a Confederation in the 18th century.

The Confederation of 1776 comprised those

The Confederation of 1778 comprised those formerly British colonies which in a great revolutionary movement had gained their independence. The inhabitants of those colonies were inspired by the great ideals of liberty, democracy, and human rights formulated in the famous Declaration of Independence of 1776. That Confederation therefore was based—as indeed every confederation must be—on fundamental principles held in common by its members, on basic agreement as regards political convictions, ideals, and moral values. No one can reasonably assert that it would have been possible to admit to that American Confederation a body politic rejecting the principles of the Declaration of Independence.

It is, however, exactly such an obviously unworkable arrangement that is implied in the Soviet proposal of a confederation between the Federal Republic of Germany with its free democratic system of government on the one hand and, on the other, the so-called German Democratic Republic with its system of tyranny and oppressive police state methods.

One cannot confederate a system of freedom with a system of bondage. Anyone making such a proposal exposes himself to the suspicion of pursuing aims which, far from contributing to the merger of the countries so confederated, tend in the opposite direction, namely, toward the prevention of a genuine merger.

The Germans need not, however, rely on American history in order to learn what confederation means. From 1815 to 1866 Germany was a Confederation. This form of governmental organization proved to be extremely weak and inadequate. Its governmental and administrative functions as well as its legislative powers were quite restricted. Under that form of government it was impossible in practice to pursue either a united foreign policy or a constructive internal policy. The only result of that construction was to delay the national unification of Germany for 55 years.

A confederation of communities that are guided by completely opposite political ideas, and whose political institutions are incompatible with each other, can only result in an organization that at best is quite incapable of action. Indeed, it is inherent in the concept of confederation that each of its members has a right of veto in respect of the decisions taken by the common institutions.

Who would benefit by a confereration embodying institutions that were incapable of action? Obviously the only gainer would be the one who in establishing a confederation pursues the aim of paralyzing its members—or one of its members.

one of its members.

Unfortunately it is to be feared that just this intention is hidden in the Communist proposal of a German Confederation.

With the aid of a confederate constitution that in certain fields and for the implementation of certain measures would require the approval of the all-German Council (or whatever may be the name of the central confederate body), the foreign and defense policies of the Federal Republic, to mention only two examples, could be paralyzed for years to come. For that to happen, it would suffice for the all-German Council, blocked as it would be by the right of veto of its members, to fall to reach any decision.

TURNING BACK THE CLOCK

What has become known so far unfortunately leads to the conclusion that an antiquated, hoary concept which never was particularly fruitful anyway, has been resurrected from a dark corner of a political science library—because that concept promises to serve certain political purposes directed against the reunification of Germany. This, however, would mean turning the clock of history back by one and a half centuries.

In view of the forthcoming East-West meetings it should be reiterated that the proposal of a German Confederation would not contribute to the reunification of Germany but to its postponement, its prevention and, over and above this, to the political paralysis of the Federal Republic.

Time for a New Look at an Old Problem

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. CHARLES E. CHAMBERLAIN

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, May 11, 1960

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. Mr. Speaker, as one who has annually protested the discriminatory excise tax placed on our automobiles, I was very interested in seeing the editorial of Robert B. Powers in Ward's Automotive Yearbook for 1960, just released, calling attention to this injurious tax. It is gratifying indeed to know that such an eminent authority on automotive affairs agrees with me with respect to the devastating effects of this 10-percent tax against our automobile industry. Mr. Powers' editorial, which I commend to the careful study of every Member, is as follows:

Time for a New Look at an Old Problem (By Robert B. Powers)

While 1959 did not prove to be the best of automotive production years, Federal excise tax collections on motor vehicles climbed to an alltime high \$3.675 billion. That's almost enough to finance the annual foreign-aid program.

The Federal excise tax on motor vehicles began in 1917 as a wartime emergency. For the U.S. Treasury the take then was only slightly more than \$40 million. The "emergency" except for 1928-32, has never been lifted. During the years, the automotive industry has collected over \$14 billion from America's 50 million vehicle owners for the Treasury.

Counting the tax on raw materials and components, Federal excise taxes now take approximately 17.3 percent of the wholesale value of a motor vehicle. To a car valued at \$2,000, wholesale, \$346 is added in Federal taxes.

On an automotive production tool such as a \$6,000 dump truck, the purchaser on its wholesale valuation pays a Federal tax of \$450. The \$20,000 power shovel that loads it, however, goes scot free. The 10-percent straight excise tax also does not apply on other production equipment such as farm tractors, lathes, grinders, freight cars, industrial engines.

Over the years, the automotive industry—largely through the Automobile Manufacturers Association—has worked to have this politically immoral, punitive, wartime emergency Federal excise tax removed or reduced. We, too, have had a hand in attempting to

get a change.

It's time again for a new and closer look at this aging discriminatory tax. The dawn of the era of the American compacts and the consequent arrival of direct competition with their European counterparts make this

imperative.

In 1940 only 253 automobiles were imported from Europe. In 1959, 668,070 cars arrived. The price differential between the American product and the European variety had become too great for the budget-minded American buyer to pass up. This, plus some disenchantment with the flambouyant American product and the alertness of the independents to the change in American automotive tastes hastened the arrival en masse of the compact car.

In a matter of months, the American-made compacts, largely at the expense of the standard cars, began to take close to 30 percent of the market. It may not be many years before they will take 60 percent or more, providing the European manufacturers who started it all do not employ some powerful

weapons in their hands.

Three European motor vehicle manufacturers who presently have the lion's share in the American market either are Government-owned or Government controlled. Their sales total more than 40 percent of all imports. Without stockholders clamoring for generous quarterly dividends, they can pretty much set their own sales prices. Conceivably they also have considerable influence in determining the internal taxes on their products. Lower labor costs, smaller and less-costly staffs of management, engineering, styling sales, and marketing offer them a flexibility in the pricing of their products that presently all we can do is envy.

The introduction of an Iron Curtain motorcar at the recent international automobile exhibit in New York shows what could happen. Priced at \$1,550 in the United States of America, the car retails here for \$200 less

than in the country of its origin.

Our postwar administrations have long been committed to a costly policy designed to win and maintain world friendships. It is unthinkable then that we should suddenly and summarily revive outmoded tariff barriers should the time come when our auto industry falters. Some drastic governmental decision certainly would have to be made should sharp price reductions accompany the ever-increasing flow of oversea compacts to our shores.

All agree the American automotive industry must continue to thrive. So much of the economy of our country depends on it. It's an industry whose manufactured motor vehicles alone are worth over \$12 billion a year. One out of every six business firms and one out of every seven workers gain their livelihood from it. It was the American automobile that lifted our country out of the mud at the turn of the century and sped the Nation to unrivaled prosperity.

To bring relief to the industry from the excise tax at some later time when the need may become critical may cost us those friends throughout the world we have worked so diligently and expensively to win and influence,

Washington policymakers, experts and legislative committees surveying Federal tax structures can forestall possible future injury to the industry and prevent national embarrassment and harm by taking positive action now.

Ernest of California Talks About Fishing, Peace, and Dresses

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. CLYDE DOYLE

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 28, 1960

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Speaker, by reason of unanimous consent granted me here-tofore so to do, I present the text of an article which appeared in the California Teachers Consultant Services magazines and which was forwarded to me by one of the school principals in the great 23d District with an expression of interest that you and all the other of my distinguished colleagues might have an opportunity to read the same. So I am very pleased to herewith present it:

Ernest of California Talks About Fishing, Peace—and Dresses

I want to go fishing and catch a little fish, as big as my finger; I want to go fishing and catch a big fish, as big as my arm; I want to go fishing and catch a giant fish, bigger than my whole body.

my whole body.

I want to go fishing and I don't care what I catch. I told myself, "the best time to go fishing is when you feel like it," and I feel

like it

I am fishing in a boat in the harbor. All is quiet. I am not thinking, but thoughts race across my mind like rabbits across a field. The thoughts are mere glimpses, wonderful glimpses of men and women and children, of ages and civilizations, of worlds, of the whole cosmos.

A glimpse of men and women, fine good men and women, quiet, peaceful, smiling, simple men and women, willing to work, wishing to give of themselves to those who

need them.

A glimpse of children, beautiful with the beauty of children, the simplicity, the truth, the wisdom of children. We should watch children closely; we can learn much from them.

A glimpse of nations fighting each other in many ways, nations talking nice, but holding daggers at each other's ribs. Small nations, big nations, giant nations.

Listen, you nations. Listen to the men and women, listen to the children, to those who live in your country and those who live in other countries. Listen to the common man.

Listen, United States. Listen Russia. England and France and Germany, listen. China and India, listen. All the continents, listen.

Listen to the story of Moses, of Jesus, of Buddha, of Mohammed, of Lincoln, of Ghandl, and all the other great ones. They loved freedom and they loved the people. They knew the people.

Listen and learn what the people want. They want bread, they want a home, they want to love a man, to love a woman, to have and love children. They want quiet, and peace, and work, and play. They want to go fishing, and catch a little fish, or a big fish, or nothing.

They want peace. Listen.

ERNEST ZUKIN.

H.R. 5

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. HALE BOGGS

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 17, 1960

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. Speaker, the Members of the House have been advised that H.R. 5, the Foreign Investment Tax Act, will be brought up on Thursday of this week so that the House can complete consideration of the bill. Members will recall the debate on H.R. 5 began on March 8 under a closed rule providing for 3 hours of debate. Two and one-half hours of debate were consumed on that day and debate was suspended until a later date. Thus, when consideration of H.R. 5 is resumed on Thursday, there will only remain 30 minutes of debate, 22 minutes of which are reserved to the minority.

The limited amount of time available for debate on Thursday will not permit a full discussion of a number of points which deserve to be brought to the attention of the House for its consideration in connection with the vote on the bill.

I refer particularly to the fact that the Committee on Ways and means has adopted two amendments to the bill which it proposes to offer to the House as committee amendments, as provided for by the rule. On April 28 I inserted in the Appendix of the Record the text of three amendments and the text of the press release of the chairman of the Committee on Ways and Means, the Honorable Wilbur D. Mills, in explanation of the committee amendments.

I want to take this occasion to explain briefly the committee amendments and to commend them and the bill to the House. These amendments were adopted in the light of the debate which took place on March 8 on the bill and are designed to perfect the bill by removing some of the features which evidently gave concern to a number of the Members of the House. I feel confident that the committee amendments successfully accomplish this purpose and that no Member of the House need entertain any reservations about voting for H.R. 5 this Thursday.

I also propose to discuss some of the matters raised by the Members involving general policy questions surrounding H.R. 5. I refer particularly to two matters: First, the question of the impact of H.R. 5 on the U.S. balance of payments and, second, the effect of the bill on American jobs. After giving very careful thought to these questions, I am absolutely convinced that there need not be any concern about H.R. 5 on these two counts.

BASIC PURPOSE OF THE DILL

The basic purpose of H.R. 5 is to permit the deferral—postponement—of the U.S. corporate income tax on income earned abroad by a new type of domestic corporation to be known as the Foreign Business Corporation. The Foreign Business Corporation will be a corporation that earns virtually all of its in-

come outside of the United States and meets a number of very rigorous tests. Under one of the committee amendments, which I will discuss in greater detail below, the Foreign Business Corporation must earn and reinvest its income in the less-developed countries of the world.

Today, under existing law, a great number of American business firms can enjoy tax deferral by setting up foreign corporations and particularly what are known as "foreign base companies." The Foreign Business Corporation would be a domestic base company. As I have indicated, in order to qualify as a Foreign Business Corporation and to enjoy tax deferral on the income earned, a company would have to meet very rigorous tests, more rigorous than those involved in foreign incorporation. addition, as I have also pointed out, the Foreign Business Corporation would have to earn its income in the less-developed countries in order to enjoy tax deferral whereas existing foreign base companies can earn their income anywhere in the world.

The modest character of H.R. 5 is, I think, quite evident. Nevertheless the bill is important. A number of American firms, particularly small business firms, are either not able or not willing to incorporate abroad in order to get tax deferral. Foreign incorporation is generally regarded as a cumbersome and expensive business and often does not lead to rational management of business operations. H.R. 5 would make it possible for these American firms to enjoy parity with other American firms that have been able and willing to go abroadat least so far as operating in the lessdeveloped countries is concerned. H.R. 5 would also-and this is most importantimprove the competitive position of American firms abroad relative to the position of their foreign competitors. The United States stands virtually alone among the major countries of the world in not providing the kind of tax treatment involved in H.R. 5. Finally, H.R. 5 would serve as an incentive to American private investment in the less developed countries and would serve, therefore, to advance our foreign policy objectives which are being met through Government aid. It is only through expanding private investment that the prospect of reducing Government aid to the less developed countries can be realized.

COMMITTEE AMENDMENTS TO H.R. 5

The two amendments to H.R. 5 that will be offered to the House would accomplish three purposes. They would:

First, limit the provisions of H.R. 5 to income earned and reinvested in the less developed countries;

Second, eliminate the so-called grossup with respect to the dividend income received by the foreign business corporation; and

Third, make a corporation ineligible as a foreign business corporation if it has been operating abroad under substandard labor conditions.

Limiting H.R. 5 to investment in the less developed countries means that the provisions of the bill would act as incentives to investment in the less devel-

oped countries only. It is in these areas of the world that private investment is most desperately needed and where the development of private enterprise is essential for long-term economic growth and political stability.

The elimination of gross-up is a highly technical matter. A number of the minority members of the committee, in the floor debate of March 8, objected to the inclusion of this provision in H.R. 5 on the grounds that it is discriminated against the Foreign Business Corporation provided for in H.R. 5. Since that time, the Committee on Ways and Means has held public hearings on gross-up legislation which, if enacted, would apply to all domestic corporations including the Foreign Business Corporation. It was felt that, in view of this pending bill, it was not necessary or desirable to have a separate gross-up provision in H.R. 5.

The committee also adopted an amendment providing that a corporation would be ineligible for the benefits of H.R. 5 for any taxable year in which it was found to be operating abroad under substandard labor conditions. The wage standards involved would be those of the foreign country in which it was operating. The committee felt that, since the expansion of U.S. private investment was essential to the effectuation of important goals of national policy, the positive results of such an investment should not be endangered by a corporation operating in a less developed country under labor standard conditions that were below the minimum standards of the country concerned and still be able to enjoy the advantages of H.R. 5. This provision of the bill will not be administered in a harsh and punitive manner. It is expected that adequate opportunity will be given a corporation to raise its standards in order to conform with the required standards.

REVENUE EFFECTS

The Treasury Department has estimated that, with the amendment limiting H.R. 5 to less developed countries, the revenue effect of the bill will range between \$30 to \$40 million a year. This is a reduction of over 50 percent and, indeed, more like a two-thirds reduction, in the revenue effect that was estimated for the bill as originally reported by the Committee on Ways and Means.

It is important to emphasize that this revenue effect does not involve an ultimate revenue loss for the Treasury. H.R. 5 does not provide for tax reduction; it only provides for the postponement of tax. When the earnings from foreign investments are returned to the United States, as they ultimately must. the full U.S. tax will be paid. Moreover, by promoting investments, H.R. 5 also promotes the future flow of income from investments and hence increases the revenue from such income which the Treasury will collect. I firmly believe that tax deferral should be regarded as a short-term investment by our Government in American private enterprise abroad that will yield good returns to the U.S. Government, to the Treasury Department and to American business in the years ahead.

ADMINISTRATION SUPPORTS H.R. 5

The administration has indicated its support for H.R. 5, as amended, because it gives effect to the President's recommendation, contained in his budget message this year, for the enactment of tax deferral legislation limited to income earned and reinvested in the less developed countries of the world. In a letter from the Treasury Department to the chairman of the Ways and Means Committee it is pointed out that the administration has urged that further steps be taken to encourage private investment in the less developed countries abroad and that H.R. 5 is in accord with this specific recommendation of the Presi-

I also understand that the committee amendments to the bill have satisfactorily met the reservations that a number of groups have had to the enactment of H.R. 5. The AFL-CIO, which indicated its opposition to H.R. 5 when the bill was first brought up, has now urged the passage of H.R. 5, as amended.

H.R. 5 AND THE U.S. BALANCE OF PAYMENTS

There has been some concern expressed about the question of promoting private investment abroad at a time when the U.S. balance of payments has manifested a deficit. It is, therefore, worthwhile to examine briefly the relationship between private investment and the U.S. balance of payments and the effect of H.R. 5 thereon. Before doing so it is useful to take a look at the recent developments in the U.S. balance of payments to see what has been happening and particularly to note whether our balance of payments problem is as serious today as it was a year or two ago.

The evidence is very encouraging. In the Foreign Commerce Weekly, for May 9, 1960, a publication of the U.S. Department of Commerce, there is a detailed discussion of the remarkable improvement in U.S. exports. I quote the lead paragraph in this article:

Sales of U.S. goods abroad displayed considerably increased vigor in the first 3 months of this year, following their rebounds in the second half of 1959. Nonmilitary shipments, totaling \$18.4 billion at a seasonally adjusted annual rate in January-March, as compared with \$15.4 billion a year earlier, showed the greatest strength apparent in more than 2 years.

The improvement in our exports reflected a 20-percent increase over the same period in 1959 and March exports were larger than in any month since June of 1957 when exports were inflated by the post-Suez situation. The gain in exports this year was shared by all major categories of U.S. exports.

It is interesting to note that exports to Western Europe—a prime target for American investors in recent years—rose 40 percent in January and February 1960 above the corresponding months of 1959. Exports to Japan were also higher by 40 percent than for the same period in 1959.

With the improvement in our balance of payments the gold outflow that was of so much concern in 1958 and 1959 has slowed down to a trickle. I understand that there was a smaller gold outflow in the whole first quarter of 1960 than

was recorded on the average for any month in 1959.

Not only has our balance of payments situation shown very encouraging signs of improvement so that we need be less concerned about our balance of payments, but it is also very important to recognize that U.S. direct private investment abroad has not been a factor in our balance of payments troubles. There is one fact about investment and our balance of payments that is not well known and deserves wide attention. It is that year in and year out since the end of World War II, and even before, the income that we have earned from our direct investments abroad has exceeded the outflow of new direct investment

Every year we have been taking in more in income than we have been sending out in new investment. This has been an important plus factor in our balance of payments-almost as important in 1959 as our export surplus. Thus, over the last 5 years, 1955-59, the excess of our direct investment income over our direct investment outgo has totaled \$3.5 billion. Thus, direct investment transactions have on balance supported our balance of payments to the tune of \$3.5 billion over the past 5 years. In 1958 and 1959, the excesses of income over outgo on direct investment account equaled \$1.1 billion and \$0.9 billion respectively.

Nor can it be argued that direct investment outflows helped cause our balance of payments problems in 1958 and 1959. The fact of the matter is that direct investment outflows were lower in 1958 and 1959 than in 1957 which was a year of balance of payments surplus for the United States.

Actually we can look forward to income from our direct investments offering an important support for our balance of payments in the years ahead. Direct investments abroad also help U.S. exports as can be seen in the record of exports to Western Europe this year which I cited earlier.

The "Staff Report on Employment, Growth, and Price Levels" prepared by the staff of the Joint Economic Committee of the U.S. Congress and published on December 24, 1959, confirms these observations. The following quotation is taken from this report:

Taken by itself, the net contribution of private capital investments abroad cannot reasonably be accused of causing balance of payments problems. To say this, however, requires the setting against one another of private foreign investment outflows and private earnings on foreign investment. If, at this period, U.S. business stopped investing abroad, the balance of payments deficit would be reduced to a negligible amount However, if the fruits of past private foreign investment were also eliminated, this proposition would be vitiated. It seems a more reasonable approach to take the net of these two flows, which gives private foreign investments to date a pretty clear bill of health.

A recent interim report by the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce of the U.S. Senate, prepared in

connection with its special study of U.S. foreign commerce and dated April 25, 1960 had this to say in connection with the subject of private foreign investment and our balance of payments:

Reducing the flow of private investment abroad would contradict a major thesis of our economic assistance policy, hobble the competitive power of U.S. industry in world commerce and, in the longer run, diminish the returns from foreign investment which are an important entry on the income side of our international ledger.

JOBS, EXPORTS, AND FOREIGN INVESTMENT

It has been contended that private investment abroad reduces U.S. exports and hence takes away American jobs. What truth is there to this contention? I think the evidence shows that far from reducing American exports and taking away American jobs, private investment abroad creates markets for American exports and hence helps create American jobs.

First, let me say that H.R. 5 would not take away investment money that would otherwise be invested in the United States and induce American corporations to invest that capital abroad. H.R. 5 provides the deferral of U.S. tax on income earned abroad. It, therefore, operates as an incentive to reinvestment abroad of incomes earned abroad. To put it briefly, it promotes the plowingback of foreign earnings. Once the foreign earnings come back to the United States and enter the domestic capital market they will be subject to the full U.S. tax. Thus, H.R. 5 will not take capital away from investment in the United States and from the creation of jobs in the United States. As a matter of fact, if an American corporation has decided to invest abroad, H.R. 5 would make it possible for that corporation to . finance more of the investment out of its foreign earnings and correspondingly less of the investment out of its domestic capital.

Neither would the bill result in a reduction of U.S. exports and the production abroad of goods that were formerly exported from the United States. As we all know, there has been a sizable amount of U.S. investment abroad particularly in Canada and Western Europe in the last few years. Has this investment resulted in a decline of the U.S. exports? Let us take Western Europe for example. There has been a substantial amount of investment by U.S. corporations in the six countries that make up the common market. Yet, despite this fact, our exports to the common market countries have acutally increased. In the first 2 months of this year U.S. exports to the common market amounted to almost \$550 million. This was 52 percent above our exports for the same period in 1959 and 36 percent above our exports for the same period in 1956, a year which we tend to regard as a high export year.

Another test of whether U.S. investment has impaired our exports can be made by examining the decline in our exports that took place in 1958 and 1959 to see whether these declines in exports

were attributable to American investments abroad. Our exports declined in such categories as raw cotton, iron and steel mill products, nonferrous metals, civilian aircraft and petroleum. In no case did our exports decline because the exports markets for these products were being supplied from overseas sources by American companies.

Even in the case of imports into the United States, the increase that we have experienced over the past few years is not attributable to goods produced by American investment abroad. As you know, H.R. 5 contains a provision that would make a corporation ineligible for the benefits of H.R. 5 if it reexported to the United States, directly or indirectly, goods that had been produced by it abroad. The provision in the bill says specifically that a corporation will be ineligible for the benefits of H.R. 5 if more than 10 percent of its gross income is derived from the sale of goods in the United States that were produced abroad.

I think it should be appreciated that the less developed countries of the world are not good markets for U.S. exports for the simple and basic reason that these countries are poor. Investment abroad, as investment at home, creates wealth and income. It is only through investment that production can expand, standards of living rise and markets be developed. Investment by private U.S. companies will produce goods that these countries cannot afford to buy today from the United States. But in the process these countries will become markets for U.S. exports and this will create jobs in the United States.

This is surely the lesson of American history. We export the most to those countries with the highest standards of living and in which American enterprise has the greatest investment. The following table shows this clearly:

	per	Per capita purchases from U.S.
Canada	\$1,436	\$234.0
Great Britain	958	21.0
France	846	13.0
Germany	742	18.0
Italy		14.0
Japan	254	13.0
Egypt	109	1.5
India	61	1.1
Pakistan	52	1.3

I therefore do not think that there is a basis for concern about the effect of H.R. 5 either in terms of what it might do to exports and jobs at home or in terms of the effect that it might have on the balance of payments. On the contrary, it seems to me that through offering this modest, but important, incentive to private investment in the less developed countries we will help these countries to develop and to become good customers. Beyond that we would be advancing important objectives of national policy through the utilization of private enterprise which is our secret weapon in the cold war with the Sino-Soviet bloc.

Addresses of Congressman John Brademas, of Indiana, and Martin Mc-Kneally, National Commander of the American Legion, at Dedication of New Post Home of James Lowell Corey Post 63, American Legion, Argos, Ind., May 15, 1960

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JOHN BRADEMAS

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 5, 1960

Mr. BRADEMAS. Mr. Speaker, on Sunday, May 15, in Argos, Ind., members of the James Lowell Corey Post 68 of the American Legion took part in ceremonies marking the dedication of a new post home to replace one that burned in 1958.

Among the persons participating in this event were the distinguished former Governor of the State of Indiana, the Honorable Henry F. Schricker; the Indiana department commander of the American Legion, Donald Hynes; and the commander of the James Lowell Corey Post, Bruce Van Der Weele.

Of particular interest to the Legionnaires and their families was the moving address of the national commander of the American Legion, Martin B. Mc-Kneally, of New York, who dedicated the new post home.

CONGRESSMAN BRADEMAS PRESENTS AMERICAN FLAG

It was my honor on this occasion to to present to the members of the James Lowell Corey Post a 49-star flag which had flown over the Capitol of the United States on July 4, 1959, the day when the 49-star flag became the official flag of our country. I was also pleased to present the post with four pencil drawings of the "Four Fortresses of Freedom," the White House, the Capitol, the Supreme Court, and the Declaration of Independence.

Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent I include my own remarks on this occasion and those of National American Legion Commander McKneally:

RUMARKS OF CONGRESSMAN JOHN BRADEMAS ON MAY 15, 1960, ARGOS, IND.

Governor Schricker, Commander McKneally, Commander Hynes, Commander Van Der Weele, fellow Legionnaires and friends, today is a great day not only for members of the James Lowell Corey Post of the American Legion but for all Hoosier Legionnaires. Not often do we have an opportunity to have our distinguished national commander, Martin McKneally, in our midst and we welcome him here today.

I want to congratulate Commander Van Der Weele and all the members of James Lowel Corey Post 68 of Argos for their dedtcated efforts which have made possible the construction of this fine new home.

ARMED FORCES WEEK SLOGAN: POWER FOR PEACE

It is fitting and proper that we should dedicate this new home on the eve of Armed Forces Week, which begins tomorrow and runs through May 22. Commander McKneally has asked all Legionnaires to support the 11th observance of this week and Comman-

der Hynes has been named by the Governor of Indiana to serve as Indiana State chairman of the observance.

The recognition of Armed Forces Week is therefore a splendid symbol of the continuing devotion of the American Legion to the security and defense of our country and to the cause of freedom.

The slogan of Armed Forces Week is "Power for Peace." All Americans want peace. Democrats want peace. Republicans want peace. You want peace and I want peace. Yet you and I know that today the world is standing on a tightrope, with peace depending in large measure on the capacity of a divided world to maintain its balance and not fall into the volcano of nuclear war.

REPUBLICANS AND DEMOCRATS DISCUSS ARMS CONTROL

It is encouraging to see that political leaders of both our great political parties are now discussing the problem of arms control more seriously than it has ever been discussed before. For as Secretary of State Christian Herter made clear in February in his famous speech to the National Press Club in Washington, D.C., the only sure longrun way to defend ourselves in this troubled world is to work out an effective disarmament agreement with our adversaries in the Soviet Union, an agreement which, I hasten to add, will of course require effective inspection guarantees.

WE MUST BE MILITARILY STRONG IN ORDER TO DISCUSS DISARMAMENT

But I am sure Commander McNeally would agree with me that we in America must be strong militarily if we are to have bargaining power in dealing with the Soviet Union, even on the subject of disarmament.

We cannot lead effectively from a position of military weakness.

That is the meaning of the slogan, "Power for Peace."

We must be strong not only militarily but economically and diplomatically as well, for our Communist adversaries do not fight the cold war on one front alone. We have already seen, for example, how Khrushchev has been exploiting the unhappy blunder of the U-2 incident for all the anti-American propaganda he can make of it.

I have no wish to exploit this matter for partisan gain for we want our President to enjoy the united support of the American people as he goes into talks at the summit which may directly affect the destiny and peace of the entire world. We nonetheless must recognize how our Government has been placed on the defensive by this incident and by the way in which Khruchchev has been using it.

AMERICA FACED WITH POWERFUL CHALLENGE IN SOVIET UNION

We must realize more than ever by the events of recent days and by the trip which Khrushchev made across our country last year that in him and in the Soviet people whom he leads we are confronted with the most powerful challenge to our survival as a free society in all the history of the American Republic. We must be prepared to understand the nature of the challenge we face.

We believe in a free society. The Communists believe in a slave society.

We believe in an open society. The Communists believe in a closed society.

If we are effectively to meet the challenge of the Communist world, we must be prepared to sacrifice. We must understand why we must be strong if we are to continue to be free.

WE MUST HAVE POWER IF WE ARE TO HAVE PEACE

Better than most organizations in our country, the American Legion understands the dangers of the Communist challenge to freedom, understands why we must have power if we are to have peace.

I therefore deem it a high honor and a privilege, as your Representative in Congress, in the presence of our national and State commanders and of Commander Van Der Weele and all my fellow Legionnaires to present to the members of the James Lowell Corey Post 68 of the American Legion this American flag which was flown over the Capitol of the United States on July 4, 1959, the day the 49-star flag became the official flag of our country.

fiag of our country.

I have another gift which I am pleased at this time to present to you, four pencil drawings of the Four Fortresses of American Freedom: The White House, the Capitol, the Supreme Court Building and the Declaration

of Independence.

May these drawings and may this flag serve as an ever constant reminder to all members of the American Legion of the greatness of our country and the freedom which is the birthright of the American people.

REMARKS OF NATIONAL COMMANDER MARTIN B.
MCKNEALLY, THE AMERICAN LEGION, AT THE
DEDICATION OF THE NEW HOME OF THE JAMES
LOWELL COREY POST, ARGOS, IND., MAY 15,
1960

I am delighted to be in Argos and to assist in the dedication of this beautiful new building wherein will be housed not only the men and women of James Lowell Corey Post but their ideals as well. This new post home is a fulfillment of the hopes and labors of the men and women of Argos for 40 years. It is a monument and at once a milestone of progress in the history of the American Legion.

The American Legion stands solely as the architect of the rehabilitation program with its network of hospitals across the land which is monument enough for any group of founders, but what of the millions of hours spent in hospital visitations? What of the millions of dollars spent in child welfare? What of the original thinking that chartered the course of the country in ways of preparedness or national security? What of the GI bill, written by the American Legion and sponsored over the protest of professional educators? What of the development of a strong, authentic voice in the field of Americanism? What of the multifarious arts of charity that have become a legend in the land? What a heritage-what a perfect description of this heritage of charity was written by the immortal Shakespeare when he penned the lines which read: far that little candle throws its beams, so shines a good deed in a naughty world."

THE PURPOSE OF THE AMERICAN LEGION

I have said on previous occasions that the American Legion purpose in our day was the sustaining of the doctrine of belief upon which this Nation was founded and without which it must perish, and that is the belief in the existence of God and in the dignity of human personality. I need not point out to you that today it is those twin beliefs which are under the most relentless and the most powerful attack in the history of mankind.

CALLS FOR CONTINUED ATTENTION TO U.S. GRAVES ABROAD

The American Legion holds in high esteem the profession and the office of the soldier. If it were not for the soldier there would be no America and there would be no hope for men who love freedom. In man's ceaseless struggle to be free, he must be willing to pay the enormous costs of war. It is the melancholy record of fallen man, that his motivations conflict and collide. His will to do evil and his baseness must be reckoned with and the reckoning sometimes enslaves and it very frequently kills. I commend to your most reverent attention the thousands of graves abroad in cemeteries cared for by the American Govern-

ment and I direct you to the fact that five new cemeteries are to be dedicated this year. Hardly a word is written, a picture published concerning this subject and I am informed that this is so because the present-day rationale of the American people is not to be reminded of the ugliness of the cost of freedom. Freedom and the cause of America we say to you, must never be computed in the terms of dollars and cents. The only item to be considered is the cost of men's lives. Reminiscence and reminders of this fact must be the No. 1 item on the agenda of our daily lives, depression, and sadness to the contrary notwithstanding.

"WE ARE EITHER FOR FREEDOM OR WE ARE AGAINST IT"

For we have an enemy, an enemy that opposes everything that we hold dear and that enemy makes our age one of tremendous risks. And in this age there is no neutrality, we are either for freedom or we are against it. Fear of atomic destruction does not provide us with the solution of the diemma. There is a considerable body of intellectuals whom the fear of atomic war has obsessed. They have made their objective in life only the preserving of existence. One reads of their thinking with a certain horrifying fascination. Phillip Toynbee states as follows: "In the terrible contest of nuclear war even the vital differences between communism and western freedom become almost unimportant."

The West he declares should, "negotiate at once with the Russians and get the best terms that are available." Since Russia in his estimation is now and will continue to remain stronger there is nothing to do for the West "but to negotiate from comparative weakness." He admits that this may well set up the total domination of the world by Russia in a few years. The Soviets would impose on us a regime which most of us detest but this is better than allowing the human race to destroy itself. And one of Toynbee's confreres observes, "I might not much mind living under Soviet domination."

These men are not Communists but they have lost their will; they have lost it to fear and to despair, in the pursuit of existence. They have lost sight of the truth which is simple enough and that is that we in our day are faced with two destructive forces of incredible dimensions. The bomb represents material devastation, the Communist party political destruction.

THE SOLEMN DILEMMA OF OUR TIME

This is the solemn dilemma of our time and this is the foremost consideration of our people this afternoon. The administra-Washington has chosen by its continuation of nuclear testing, by the flight of the U-2 over the secret territory of the Soviets to pursue the ideal of political freedom. What kind of a nation with the holy mission of preserving its sovereignty, its people, and its freedom, would do less in the face of the gigantic dilemma? To sit by knowing what we know, facing what we face, and do nothing, would make the cemeterless of Figure 2. teries of Europe where our honored dead are entombed, and the whole history of this Republic a gargantuan jest. The administration is charged through its intelligence service with the responsibility of providing for the safety of its people; its duty is plain and it is to gather the facts with which it may discharge that duty. Must we act as if its duty were less? Must we act as if the obtaining of information necessary to our own defense against a secretive and threatening power was to commit a sin? Are we to assume the abasing role of the boy caught with his hand in the cooky jar when we know the food there obtained is the only means of sustaining freedom and hope? I for one American, suffer no embarrassment and highly praise all those in authority who see clearly the bitter dilemma of these days. We of the American Legion do not seek to impose our views but we do propose to all that there is no flight from the serious business of our days and that is the survival of free man.

CONGRESSIONAL RECORD — APPENDIX

MEN OF COURAGE, FAITH, IDEALS NEEDED

The late Albert Camus tells us, "with every dawn an assassin slips into some cell, murder is the question before us." This is the solemn keynote of our time, the murder of men and the murder of ideals. As Americans, let us conduct ourselves as men. Men of courage, men of faith, and men of ideals. There is no other way open to us, for Americans may not be craven, they may not be pacifistic, they may not be men of despair.

In the world there is but one city in which we can dwell, it is the city of the halt, the blind, the malmed, but it is the city of charity, and it is the city of courage, the city of freedom. It is the City of God. Outside it is the night.

Supersonic Transport

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. OVERTON BROOKS

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 17, 1960

Mr. BROOKS of Louisiana. Mr. Speaker, Robert F. Six, dynamic president of Continental Airlines, and the only airline president in the United States who has flown twice the speed of sound, is one of the U.S. aviation leaders who has come to grips with the future. When I called for hearings on the subject of financing supersonic transports for May 17 and 18, Mr. Six responded as follows:

CONTINENTAL AIR LINES, INC., Denver, Colo., May 5, 1960.

Hon. Overton Brooks,

Chairman, House Science and Astronautics Committee, House of Representatives, Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: My sincere compliments on your foresight in calling public hearings to gather information on the forthcoming supersonic transport.

As you maly know, Continental Air Lines for the past year has had a special team evaluating supersonic transports, for we're convinced that such 2,000-mile-per-hour aircraft will enter scheduled airline service between 1965 and 1970, with 1967 the probable year.

The plane, we believe, will be in the mach 3 to mach 3.5 class (the limit of our present jet engines), weight no more than a present subsonic jet (250,000 pounds) and be able to carry 80 passengers from coast to coast in 1½ hours or halfway around the world in 6 hours.

Financing of the initial prototype, of course, is the biggest stumbling block to production of a supersonic passenger transport. However, the problem is not insurmountable because of the vast sums already expended by the Federal Government in development of air frames and engines for supersonic military planes now flying or in the design stage. Because of these expenditures already made, I believe that only an additional \$75 million to \$100 million would be needed for the prototype, rather than the vast sums some people are quoting; yet even this amount would be too great for either our manufacturers or our airlines to finance.

I believe there is a simple solution to the problem, and one that could not be classed as subsidy. If the Federal Government financed the prototype, then was repaid through royalties on all production aircraft, the end result would be to give this country supersonic transports far earlier than they would otherwise be available, and at no net cost to the taxpayer.

The British Government financed the Vickers Viscount in the same way with royal-ties more than repaying the initial expenditure.

It's obvious that foreign governments, particularly the Russians, will be behind development and production of their own supersonic transports. Since the world market may be no higher than 150 to 200 such transports, only 1 model may be built worldwide. If a foreign manufacturer produces that model, U.S. airlines may have to buy it to maintain their competitive position, seriously injuring our own aircraft manufacturers.

Rest assured that other nations will do everything in their power to be first with a supersonic transport, not only for prestige, but for the chance to dominate world markets.

I sincerely feel that this country cannot afford to let that happen. We cannot afford to be second with a supersonic transport, for in this race there may be no second place. Sincerely.

ROBERT F. SIX, President.

"Rules for Raising Delinquent Children Are Worthy of Note" From the Pen of Tom Goff, Editor, the Huntington Park (Calif.) Daily Signal

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. CLYDE DOYLE

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 28, 1960

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Speaker, by reason of unanimous consent heretofore granted me so to do, I call to your attention and the attention of my other distinguished colleagues a very timely editorial appearing in the Huntington Park Daily Signal, one of the leading newspapers in the great 23d District, Los Angeles County, Calif., which I represent in this great Legislature. Mr. Tom Goff, the distiguished editor, wrote this editorial for his column entitled "Around the Southeast with Tom Goff":

RULES FOR RAISING DELINQUENT CHILDREN
ARE WORTHY OF NOTE

Currently going the rounds is a tonguein-cheek list of "Twelve Rules for Raising Delinquent Children" dreamed up by some wagster or other.

Parents who haven't seen it already—and I hope some you haven't—might find it interesting. Some of the rules should strike a sore spot in many homes in the southeast district and elsewhere. At least a couple of them brought me up rather short. Here are the rules:

"1. Begin with infancy to give the child everything he wants. In this way he will grow up to believe the world owes him a

"2. When he picks up bad words, laugh at him. This will make him think he's cute. It also will encourage him to pick

up 'cuter' phrases that will blow off the top of your head later.

"SELF-DETERMINATION THE KEY

"3. Never give him any spiritual training. Wait until he is 21 and then let him 'decide for himslef."

'4. Avoid use of the word 'wrong.' develop a guilt complex. This will condi-tion him to believe later, when he is arrested for stealing a car, that society is against him and he is being persecuted.

"5. Pick up everything he leaves lying around—books, shoes and clothes. Do everything for him so that he will be experienced in throwing all responsibility on others.

"6. Let him read any printed matter he can get his hands on. Be careful that the silverware and drinking glasses are sterlized, but let his mind feast on garbage.

'7. Quarrel frequently in the presence of your children. In this way they will not be too shocked when the home is broken up later.

"NEVER SAY 'NO'

"8. Give a child all the spending money he wants. Never let him earn his own. Why should he have things as tough as you had them?

"9. Satisfy his every craving for food, drink, and comfort. See that every sensual desire is gratified. Denial may lead to harmful frustration.

"10. Take his part against neighbors, teachers, policemen. They all are prejudiced against your child.

'11. When he gets into real trouble, apologize for yourself by saying, 'I never could do anything with him.'

"12. Prepare for a life of grief. You will be likely to have it."

Good food for thought, I believe. And besides, what else can you write about on election day.

Funds for the Building of Schools and Paying of Teachers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. WILLIAM G. BRAY

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, May 17, 1960

Mr. BRAY. Mr. Speaker, there has ben much said in our country about the need for good, sound education for American youth. I believe that all of us will agree that we do want such education provided for them. I believe that the State of Indiana has been trying to provide such education.

The building of schools, their maintenance, and the employment of an adequate number of capable teachers are very expensive and such costs will increase as time goes on. The taxes to support this educational system are falling heavily on property owners, especially the owners of homes, farms, and small businesses. In some school districts, especially those where the children live and go to school in one district and their parents are employed in another, the property taxes for the building and maintenance of schools have pushed the local property tax levy to seven, eight, and even as much as nine and ten dollars per hundred dollars of taxable property.

In order to alleviate this burden, taxpayers are considering many alternatives. For years it has been suggested that the Federal Government contribute heavily to the support of our schools, but that, too, entails several problems. One is that the Federal Government is, as we know, heavily in debt, and in the end the taxpayer is also paying for all of the Federal money, plus the expense of Federal bureaucracy. If Federal money is to be used, a problem also arises about the formula for allocating the money among the various States and school districts. Some say that Federal assistance should be according to the need of the respective States. This could lead to a great unfairness, as a State which has refused to tax its citizens to build and maintain its schools, and frankly there are such States, naturally has needs greater than those States which have taxed themselves to give their children a proper education. School districts in Indiana have been leaders in building and maintaining adequate educational systems. Any Federal criteria for either school construction or teachers' salaries that bases that allocation on need would give great advantage to those States which refuse to pay adequate taxes for education. This practice would condone those States which have failed to collect taxes to properly construct and operate their schools, and would encourage these States to rely on the money other States pay into the Federal treasury.

Certain States have encouraged industry to move from Indiana. The State of Indiana has lost considerable industry to these States by giving an exemption on property taxes. That brings about an interesting situation. Several States give industries 10 years freedom from taxes if they will move their factories from Indiana to their State. This industry, which has paid taxes to maintain Indiana schools, goes to another State and pays no taxes. Taxpayers in Indiana employed in that industry lose their jobs and the Indiana school system loses the taxes this industry paid. The industry pays no taxes in its new location so that State has a greater need for the Federal money. If legislation is passed which allocates Federal aid on the basis of need, Indiana would pay taxes to the Federal Government to build schools in these States that take industry away fom Indiana. This situation could go on and on.

However, we must admit that there is a great need to find additional revenue sources to build and support our schools without creating a greater burden on the local property owner.

In addition to these problems arising from proposals for Federal assistance in education, we also have a national fear. and I think a just one, that the Government might dominate our schools and would not exert the same care in spending our tax dollars as the individual States do. It is, fortunately, a problem to which there is a solution.

The Federal Government, through income and excise taxes, has been taking a tremendous tax bite out of our national economy. The Federal Government has. throughout the years, exploited new taxes in an aggressive manner and now dominates the excise, corporation, and personal income tax field. What I propose is that the Federal Government earmark a certain part of the taxes it takes from the citizens of each State to return to that State for educational purposes. The Federal Government would have no claim on this money; there would be no part of it remaining in Washington. The relationship of the Federal Government to this money would be the same as that of the county treasurer in each of the 92 counties in the State of Indiana. If the treasurer is to collect a \$3 levy for schools in a certain township or district, all of it, not just part of it is sent to that district.

I have introduced legislation whereby the Federal Government shall return to each State one-half of the tax it collects on cigarettes sold in that State. The State would be obliged to use this money for teachers' salaries or the construction of school buildings, whichever it determines is most needed. This would not encourage a State to cut down on its property taxes in order to get Federal aid. Each State would get back a certain portion of that which its taxpayers had paid.

I mentioned the possibility of the cigarette tax to an educator friend of mine. He said that it wouldn't be enough. I pointed out to him that if the Federal Government returned to Indiana just one-half of the cigarette tax, that is, 4 cents of every 8 cents tax per pack, it would amount to \$24 million per year, which is three times the amount Indiana would receive under proposed legislation. He readily agreed that this legislation would meet their needs. It would be a simple matter to determine how much each State would receive, for all States except three have imposed State cigarette taxes, which require that accurate sales records are kept.

For more than a decade we have heard many voices raised to provide Federal financial assistance to our schools to relieve the burden on State and local revenue sources. These proposals have varied widely but have inevitably become mired down, owing to the problems stemming from the Federal association with the program. If we really want to provide additional money for school purposes here is a way to do it and leave the authority with the States and communities. This will offset much of the criticism of the other proposals and avoid some of the problems which have prevented enactment of other suggestions.

Furthermore, the several alternative plans for Federal aid which have been before the Congress this year are all temporary "stopgap" measures, or so we are told. A rebate of excise tax collections could provide a steady and permanent source of additional revenue for school purposes. There would be no need for congressional wrangles about the distribution of such funds, for each State would receive what it would be entitled to, based on its own consumption.

This approach need not be limited to one-half of the cigarette tax. It could be a greater or lesser proportion of that tax or it could be related to some similar Federal excise tax or a percentage of a personal income tax paid by each State which would provide adequate funds. It does provide an opportunity for persons concerned about this growing financial problem to meet the need for additional school funds and avoid many of the pitfalls of other Federal school-aid suggestions.

Is the World Our Campus?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, May 17, 1960

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I commend to the attention of our colleagues the following synopsis of a newly published book entitled "Is the World Our Campus?" The book was written by Walter Adams and John A. Garraty.

Following the synopsis is a review of the book as it appeared in the New York

Times of May 2, 1960:

IS THE WORLD OUR CAMPUS? BY WALTER ADAMS AND JOHN A. GARRATY

Technical assistance — its challenge, achievements, frustrations, and failures—is the subject of this hard-hitting and candid account of American university programs overseas. Prepared by two distinguished professors, and published by Michigan State University Press, "Is the World Our Campus?" is bound to stimulate discussion, debate, and—most important, perhaps—demands for reform.

American universities, the authors point out, are no longer confined to the ivory tower. Financed by the Federal Government or the large foundations, they have become subcontractors in the dispensing of technical assistance. They have ventured forth to reform business education in France, public administration in Italy, and veterinary medicine in Turkey—to say nothing of other activities in these countries and many others. In a sense, they have made the world their campus.

Has this attempt to export American technical know-how been successful? Have the results justified the investment? Have the universities proved a service to the Nation and still remained true to themselves? Have their emissaries proved that the academic American is a better ambassador than the ugly American or the quiet American?

These are some of the questions this book is designed to answer. It is based on first-hand observation and interviews with more than 300 Americans, Turks, and Europeans; university representatives and government officials; professors and administrators; direct participants and informed observers.

The authors found that not all foreign assistance is worthy of the Nation's private or public purse; that many foreign institutions do not deserve help; that not all American universities are responsible purveyors of technical assistance; that many professors engaged in oversea projects are far from ideal ambassadors; and that the university contract system is not necessarily an effective way to help "underdeveloped" countries. Much as the authors would have liked to conclude that "all is well," they felt obligated to report the facts and "let the chips fall where they may." As scholars, they felt there was no alternative to telling the truth.

This outspoken study was financed under a grant from the Carnegie Corp. of New York, and is a sequel to the authors' "From Main Street to the Left Bank," published late last year.

last year.

Walter Adams, professor of economics in Michigan State University, is an internationally recognized authority on economics and has been visiting lecturer in Salzburg and Geneva. Two of his books have been translated into Japanese and one into Spanish.

John A. Garraty, professor of history in Columbia University, is the distinguished biographer of Silas Wright, Henry Cabot Lodge, and Woodrow Wilson, and the author of "The Nature of Biography."

STAFF SELECTION

"Some projects, to be sure, are staffed by able, conscientious, and hardworking scholars, but the overall average is low. many oversea operatives are mediocrities, fed up with academic routine and in need of extra cash. Having little success at home, they seek status elsewhere . . Overseas, such men may find a sense of belonging, a feeling of importance. Many, once they have had the experience, cannot get it out of their blood. They hire themselves out to different projects in different universities. They join the growing ranks of a new class-what one professor has called 'the expatriate academic bums. They become part of a mercenary army that lacks pur-pose, morale, and zeal. With such men pose, morale, and zeal. With such men America is not putting its best foot forward. These mercenaries are not representative of American higher education, and they should not be sent to represent it abroad" (p. 156).

"What, in the final analysis, makes for a good academic ambassador? According to foreign observers, the American professor is most likely to succeed simply by being himself, by doing what he knows best, by being a good teacher. He does not impress people by trying to 'go native' or emulating the diplomatic corps or flaunting his 'wealth' or bearing the 'white man's burden.' He is most effective when he exemplifies, by what he says and does, the American university tradition. An informal, 'democratic' classroom atmosphere; a 'closeness' with students; a lack of rank consciousness; a refusal to make social distinctions; a tolerance for different points of view; a problemsolving research orientation; a spirit of enthusiasm and optimism-these are the things which strike the foreigner as uniquely American. These are the things which the American professor abroad should dramatize in word and deed" (p. 79).

JUNKETS

"Such trips, it would appear, are a builtin feature of most university technical assistance projects," (p. 108) and have caused
widespread resentment. One American professor put it this way: "These inspection
trips are worthless," he said. "Our administrative brass comes out here. They are
wined and dined. They move from one reception to another. There's a lot of fuss
and bother. But they never really find out
what's going on. They get a false, overoptimistic impression of the progress we have
made. They do too little inspecting on these
inspection trips" (p. 109).

"In theory, an inspection trip could give the visiting administrator a better insight into the project. * * It could improve supervision, guidance, and direction. It could cement relations with the host country authorities. It could bolster morale." But the junket "docs none of these things. It is an inspection trip in name only; it serves no useful purpose. Furthermore, the junket has a corrupting influence. It is physically, intellectually, and morally debilitating for those who participate in it. It destroys whatever missionary zeal the personnel in the field may have had, and makes them cynical about the basic purpose of technical assistance. Finally, it undermines the idealism of our friends abroad

about American aid. If the Americans have their junkets, they reason, 'let us have ours, If it's all right for them to inspect conditions in our country, let us go to America to do the same. Why shouldn't we get as much as we can out of this show while it lasts?'" (p. 111).

ORIENTATION AND BRIEFING

"All the programs we studied suffered from inadequate briefing about the job assignment." After going through the typical orientation procedure, "the professor knows whether or not he needs striped pants, how to adapt his electric appliances, and what drugs are available at the PX * * although he still knows precious little about the job he is supposed to do." These are some typical comments on the orientation process: "This is the only time I have taken a job where I didn't know ahead of time what I was supposed to do." "The briefing I got was inadequate and much of it inaccurate." "The only advice I got was: Make your own job, play it by ear, look over the field and decide what needs to be done" (p. 106).

Many Americans going abroad "are uninformed and ill informed. Their orientation tends to be inaccurate, because 'administrators in the home office don't know what's going on in the field' or because overzealous recruiters paint an unrealistic picture of work and life abroad; often it is also inadequate, because many universities 'don't know what their program is all about' " (p. 107).

PLANNING -

"If technical assistance programs are to be more than a succession of foreign experts, more than 'a flame which burns brightly but briefly,' they must give rise to permanent, self-sustaining institutions operated by natives and for natives" (p. 62).

"If impact is to be lasting, technical assistance should prime the pump but never act as a permanent reservoir. And this requires planning and continuity of effort" (p. 45).

"Concentrated, short-run programs are not likely to have lasting results. Without sustained, carefully planned, properly phased efforts, there is little prospect of permanent impact. As Mr. Dooley said, 'it's like building a bonfire on an ice flow; it burns as long as you keep feeding it'" (p. 49).

"Enthusiasm and a naive desire to 'do good' are no substitutes for hardheaded planning. We must survey a country's needs, arrange them in some order of priority, take stock of our human and material resources, and develop a strategy for committing those resources effectively. The size of a program is less important than its quality and continuity. One expert, professionally competent and capable of getting himself accepted, may accomplish more than a dozen mediocrities. A small team, thoroughly familiar with a country and assigned there for 5 years, is preferable to a succession of large teams with a constantly changing staff. Timing is of the essence. The technical assistance planner must decide how much and what kind of assistance a country can absorb at a particular stage of its economic development. Program contributions must be properly phased." And this requires "more than a haphazard effort and the naive desire to bring some benefits to some people in some way" (p. 62-63).

ACHIEVEMENTS

versity programs in Europe and Turkey are less than impressive. In some instances this is due to stubborn and pervasive resistance. In others, the fault lies mainly in mistakes of conception and execution. Clearly, it takes more than a lying of hands'

on the natives to achieve enduring results" vital oversea academic assistance programs (p. 146).

"If the oversea programs have been bad, as many certainly have, let us locate the mis-takes, admit to them, learn from them, and make the necessary corrections. Let us discount the cynicism of the hard-boiled, destructive critics and the hosannas of the soft-boiled, scatterbrain do-gooders. Let us make an honest self-appraisal-what Madison Avenue calls an 'advertising audit'—to find out why our product has failed to sell, and how we can do better on the next try. Let us eliminate, not foreign aid and technical assistance, but avoidable ignorance and unnecessary blunders."

'One of the first requirements in any technical assistance program is multidi-mensional planning. Too often the United States promotes programs which 'scratch where it does not itch.' Should a country be helped to build superhighways when less than 1 percent of its population has vehicles other than bicycles or oxcarts? Should a country with an oversupply of labor be given huge quantities of labor-saving machinery? Why export giant tractors to people accustomed to wooden hoes? Would not an ordinary plow be good enough, or even better? Why send an IBM data processor to a country which has no statistics to feed into the monster? 'Underdeveloped' or 'less developed' nations do not require the same kind, quality, or quantity of capital as a highly industrialized country. The knowhow commonplace in American industry is not necessarily appropriate to other nations going through a different stage of economic development."

"In planning a university project one should ask: How can the project be integrated with the 'total country program'? What will it accomplish? Is it the proper thing to undertake at this time? Would some other venture be more useful? American resources are not limitless. We cannot afford to scatter them aimlessly or hap-hazardly. We cannot justify financing projects the objectives of which are so unclear that the oversea staff are instructed merely to 'play it by ear' and 'make your own job. Before launching a program, we obviously should have a clearer understanding that is now customary of what the goals are. These should be developed with the country and people involved, so that a project is not imposed from above or outside. The consumers of our know-how ought to be apprised of what they are buying, and the implications of their commitment. There ought to be less false and misleading advertising by project promoters. In some cases, the resistance to a program may be so great and the marginal benefits to be derived so small, that the program is not worth the effort. United States does not believe in cultural imperialism and, therefore, should never be in the position of appearing to force technical assistance on people who do not want

it" (pp. 140-151).
"If foreign aid promotes the best interests of the United States; if technical assistance reflects America's determination to fight poverty, starvation, and disease, we can shoulder the burden. The task is consistent with our ideals and commensurate with our purse. But, for our own sake and the sake of our friends, let us eliminate the mountebanks and parasites. Let us entrust the job to those who will project the true image of America" (p. 160).

[From the New York Times, May 2, 1960] LAG NOTED ABROAD IN U.S. COLLEGE AID-FAULTY PLANNING AND SECOND-RATE PER-SONNEL CITED IN SURVEY OF EUROPE AND NEAR EAST

(By Fred M. Hechinger)

Haphazard planning, second-rate personnel and lack of continuity are damaging many

undertaken by American universities, a twoman survey of such operations in Europe and the Near East will charge in its final report.

The critical analysis hits at what it calls a lack of understanding of foreign needs, unnecessary junketeering and inept leadership. This criticism closely parallels the theme of "The Ugly Americans," a book dealing with the Foreign Service and economic aid.

But in their forthcoming report, "Is the

World Our Campus?" two young academicians, Walter Adams and John A. Garraty, will aim their fire at America's diplomaed rather than diplomatic representatives.

Mr. Garraty is associate professor of history at Columbia University and a biographer, and Mr. Adams is professor of economics at Michigan State University and consultant to several congressional committees.

Last year they prepared an equally criti-cal report on American students studying abroad, which was published in the book, "From Main Street to the Left Bank." Both studies were financed with grants from the Carnegie Corp. of New York but carried out independently of the foundation.

FINDS WEALTH A MENACE

In an interview, Mr. Adams said that although he considered university-sponsored technical assistance more important than ever, too many American academic representatives abroad were corrupted by unaccustomed wealth of personal power and post

On the basis of firsthand observations of American university programs in Europe and Turkey, with heavy emphasis on the latter, during the 1957-58 academic year, Mr. Adams charges:

That many American universities, after accepting commitments of cooperation with educational institutions abroad, merely act as hiring agents for the International Cooperation Administration. Instead of sending abroad carefully selected members from their faculties, they often employ mercen-aries far below the caliber they would tolerate on their own campus, Mr. Adams said.

That projects frequently lack long-range planning and systematic supervision, except for occasional academic junkets by university administrators or foundation officials. Such officials rarely take the time to get a real picture of local facts and needs.

That haphazard selection of foreign counterpart experts, who are either trained under American guidance abroad or sent to the United States for study, leads to considerable waste. This occurs when educational careers are abandoned by such persons who, insufficiently committed in the first place, had been attracted by the promise of a free

That a frequent lack of understanding of totally different economic and academic traditions often leads to unrealistic expectations and to permanently hurt feelings.

SUDDEN AFFLUENCE HARMFUL

Most damaging, said Mr. Adams, is the effect of sudden affluence and personal prestige on all but the first-rate academic American missionaries abroad.

"Too many of them soon get caught up in the diplomatic cocktail circuit and impressed with rubbing shoulders with American congressional visitors," he said.

After a while, many of them are more concerned with diplomatic license plates and American commissary privileges than with their academic missions, he asserted. One professor asked for American flags for his car to assure recognition of his "diplomatic status," Mr. Adams said.

Sometimes, the survey team found, the pressure for change was accompanied by veiled or direct threats of the discontinuation of financial aid.

Mr. Adams contends that such programs as the case-method approach, used so effectively by the Harvard Graduate School of Business Administration at home, suffer in translation to the point of becoming useless. This method uses cases in business practice and lets the student learn by solving them.

But, Mr. Adams asserts, the "case" program in Turkey was administered by some persons who had little knowledge of its operation at home.

Reached at Cambridge, Mass., John Bayley Fox, director of overseas relations of the Graduate School of Business Administration, emphatically denied that the Harvard program in Istanbul was carried out without detailed preparation.

He said that "indigenous material" used for "cases" there had been collected for an entire year prior to the program. Mr. Fox agreed, however, that the director of the program, who had had considerable experience abroad, had not been on Harvard's staff in the United States.

Mr. Adams cites the great impact by some outstanding persons who got to know local problems, people, and languages. He lists successful projects with clear-cut missions. His examples included an N.Y.U.-established training college for commercial teachers in Ankara, the Spring Garden Institute's (Philadelphia) Automotive Repair School in Izmir, some agricultural programs carried out by the University of Nebraska, and a public administration program of the University of California in Italy.

But much of the success is offset, Mr. Adams said, by remarks such as that of an American program director shepherding a foreign group on a visit to the United States.

"Stop reading the Koran," he told a Moslem scholar, "and attend Christian churches so you can get the full benefit of your stay in America."

This, Mr. Adams suggests, is "a flirtation with colonialism."

In asking for more rather than less support of academic technical assistance abroad. Mr. Adams sets down the following guidelines:

Select outstanding persons who want to go abroad to do a job rather than to raise their own standard of living;

Give service abroad the academic acceptance, on par with teaching and research at home, which it still lacks at many univer-

Realize that long-range effort and planning are needed if any impact is to be made on universities and schools abroad and that only vigorous, young foreign teachers and professors, with many years of service ahead of them, can assure such impact;

Understand that the size of a program is less important than its quality and continuity and that "one expert, professionally able and with the personality to get himself accepted, will accomplish more than a dozen mediocrities."

School Aid Legislation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. STEWART L. UDALL

OF ARIZONA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, May 9, 1960

Mr. UDALL. Mr. Speaker, the House will soon vote on the vitally important legislation to provide needed Federal assistance to education. This issue has been before the Congress for more than 10 years in the form of similar legisla-

However, the concept of Federal responsibility for education actually predates our Constitution and has been reaffirmed many times over the years in

land grants under the Morrill Act, the Bankhead-Jones Act, the Smith-Hughes Vocational Education Act, the George-Barden Act, the Hill-Elliott Act, the GI education bills, the Federal impact school construction and maintenance programs, and the National Defense Education Act. All in all more than 160 different Federal aid bills related to education have been passed by Congress.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I include the following article by Fred M. Hechinger from the New York Times of Sunday, May 15, 1960, summarizing the current status of Federal aid to education legislation.

FEDERAL AID BILL—COMPROMISE MEASURE IN HOUSE MAY AVOID PRESIDENTIAL VETO

(By Fred M. Hechinger)

With the deadline for congressional action around the corner, supporters of Federal aid to education are getting worried. They may see action this week. Whether this will lead to actual aid remains to be seen. But the outlook, though still gloomy, is no longer as

hopeless as it appeared earlier.

Observers predict that the bill which may hold the key to Federal aid may come up for House action on Wednesday. H.R. 10128 is sponsored by Representative Frank Thompson, Jr., Democrat of New Jersey. It is a hybrid bill—far from satisfactory even to some of its own supporters, to say nothing of partisans of all-out Federal aid. But it is slightly stronger than the administration proposal. Its main virtue is that, should it pass, it has a fair chance of being signed by the President.

This is the status of legislation to date:
The Senate defeated the Administration bill, which would have offered Federal funds only to help school districts retire \$3 billion of new construction bonds over a 30-year period. Vice President Nixon then, in his first tie-breaking vote of the session, defeated a strong Democratic proposal. Nevertheless, on Feburary 4, by a vote of 51 to 34, the Senate passed a strong Federal aid bill which would provide \$1,800 million in grants applicable to both school construction and

teachers' salaries.

Later, on March 15, the House Education and Labor Committee approved Mr. Thompson's far more limited aid bill, which provides for \$325 million annually for 3 years. To make the bill acceptable to the White House, the States would be required to match Federal money on a 50-50 basis during the second and third years. But, to overcome the most seriously criticized shortcoming of the administration proposal, no matching would be required during the first year. This would give immediate aid to districts which have already borrowed up to their legal limit and give legislatures time to raise those limits. At present, about 24 percent of the Nation's 45,000 school districts are believed to be in this predicament.

The bill was approved by the committee by a vote of 19 to 11, with Representative Peter Freinghuysen, Jr. of New Jersey its only Republican supporter.

What is likely to happen this week, or soon thereafter, when Federal aid begins to

move in the House?

When Mr. Thompson's bill comes to the foor, an attempt will probably be made to substitute the Senate-approved bill for it. If this happens and the bill passes, it is almost certain to be vetoed by President Eisenhower. This would end this year's attempt to get school aid. This course might provide campaign ammunition to the Democrats, but it would not help the schools.

EXPECTED TO FAIL

Informed observers, however, believe that the attempt to substitute the Senate bill for the Thompson measure will fall on the floor of the House. They are reasonably hopeful that the Thompson bill will then pass and go to the Senate. There it could, of course, be defeated. But it is more likely that it would either be approved in its present form or that it might be referred to a joint House-Senate conference for revision. If this happens, the prediction is that it will be beefed up along the lines of the Senate bill possibly with addition of ald for teachers' salaries. But if this occurs and the resulting bill passes, it will eventually be vetoed—unless the President changes his mind.

This makes the issue fairly simple: Either the Thompson bill passes in its present limited form or there is little hope for Federal

The compromise measure will have the general support of those who agreed with the recommendations of the Committee for Economic Development, which endorsed Federal aid in a report last February. Although its recommendation actually called for more money—an annual expenditure of \$600 million—its general ideological tenor was not very different from this proposal's mixture of direct aid and matching grants.

An even stronger supporter of the Thompson bill is a lobbying group called the "Bipartisan Citizens Committee for Federal Aid for School Construction," headed by George J. Hecht, chairman of the American Parents

Committee.

The committee points to a conservative estimate of the present classroom shortage—132,400. It believes that the Thompson bill would build 40,000 of the most urgently needed classrooms.

needed classrooms.

Representative CLEVELAND M. BAILEY,
Democrat of West Virginia, chairman of the
General Education Subcommittee of the
House, points to the differences of opinions
among those who want Federal aid. He endorsed the Thompson bill because, he felt,
it charts "a common ground for all these divergent views."

NEA OPPOSED

Committed against the compromise bill, at present, is the National Education Association, which is pledged to every effort to revive the Senate measure and specific aid for teachers' salaries.

Thus, the NEA can be expected to do everything in its power to gain support for substitution of the stronger measure. It hopes against hope that, if passed, such a bill might not be vetoed if pressure is strong enough to convince the President that a veto would hurt the Republican campaign. Many observers feel that the NEA overestimates the popular steam behind the issue, or at any rate, the politicians' fear of such steam.

But supporters of the Thompson bill, even those who accept the compromise with realism rather than enthusiasm, predict that, should substitution of the Senate version fail in the House, the NEA might also join the compromise forces and endorse the House measure as better than no aid at all.

What assurance is there that even the Thompson bill, which goes slightly beyond the administration proposal, will be signed by the President? Reliable sources say Vice President Nixon has personally but confidentially told supporters of the bill that he has urged President Elsenhower to sign it. According to this report the President has indicated he would. Mr. Nixon, it is felt, is anxious to wipe out the memory of his crucial vote against the Senate bill.

LITTLE POPULAR SUPPORT

What then is the real chance for Federal aid in this session? One of the worst road-blocks is that, despite desperate need for money, especially in the poor States and in the poor regions of even the wealthier States, the hoped-for massive popular support has never materialized. Even though the White House Conference on Children and Youth

asked for an astronomical tripling of public school expenditure, politicians look to votes from constituents rather than from conferences. They might be influenced by the CED report of influential businessmen; but then there is the continued, violent opposition to all Federal aid by the U.S. Chamber of Commerce to offset much of that gain.

Against these obstacles, there is the realization by many legislators that a true national need is involved and that inaction will not only heighten the crisis but make eventual action more expensive. In addition, even those who find the compromise bill too weak to spark their enthusiasm realize that, once enacted, the law can much more easily be strengthened, improved and made to serve long range plans for better education.

At this point, the best that can be said is that some action during this session looks more likely than it did last year. But even with this slightly more optimistic view, the obstacle course still to be run makes the chances for Federal aid still slightly less than even.

Jobs After 40

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CRAIG HOSMER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 17, 1960

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Speaker, the Fraternal Order of Eagles has for some time conducted a fine campaign to educate employers to the advantages of hiring older workers. Remarks on the subject a couple of years ago by former Senator Frank A. Barrett were commented upon editorially by the Wyoming Tribune, Apirl 30, 1958, as follows:

JOB HUNTING APTER 40

A lot of people will indeed applaud Senator Frank A. Barrett for questioning, in his newsletter, the callousness of the crack that "Life Begins at 40."

He pointed to the growing and grave concern with the trend among employers to bypass the fellow who has seen 40 summers.

"It is becoming increasingly difficult for men of that age to find jobs," he observed. "Thousands of skilled and experienced workers are unable to earn a living because of this discrimination in employment."

He praised the nationwide drive of the Eagles, which got off to a rousing start at Cheyenne largely through the efforts of W. F. O'Toole.

Legislation is pending before the Senate Labor Committee which would prohibit contractors on a Federal project from discriminating against individuals solely because of age.

"A good many of our citizens find themselves unemployed after working 20 years or more for one employer," the Senator said. "Even though they are in good physical condition and in the prime of life, they cannot find jobs. And yet these people are entirely too young to retire, and most without means to retire.

"They are caught betwixt and between. In my book, it 'ain't' fair and I don't mind saying so."

The seriousness of the situation was pronounced even when the economy was booming. It has become tragic in many respects with the onset of the depression.

The Federal Government, at least, doesn't have to go along with the matter. And, States might also take a cue.

Other favorable comments on the Eagles' campaign have been made by many public figures. Here are samples:

Vice President: "The Fraternal Order of Eagles deserves the gratitude of every American for their 'Jobs After 40' campaign. The all too prevalent practice of discriminating against middle-aged workers is a twofold tragedy. It causes hardship to many of our finest citizens, and it deprives the Nation of skills which it so badly needs these criticay days"—Richard Nixon, Vice President of the United States.

Governor: "It is gratifying to learn that the Fraternal Order of Eagles, of which I am a member, is conducting this active campaign to end job discrimination based on age. I have been very much opposed to practice of shunting aside older folks"— Ernest W. McFarland, Governor of Arizona. U.S. Senator: "In what should be their

'golden years,' altogether too many, now, are shunted more and more to an insecure, dependent, and hopeless position in our society, through deprivation, because of their age, of their opportunity for gainful work"—Warren G. Magnuson, U.S. Senator

from Washington.

Governor: "The Eagles certainly have my Governor: "The Eagles certainly have my support in their efforts to take better advantage of the skills now being neglected in the increasing group of older men and women. I do support the Eagles 'Jobs After 40' campaign"—Albert D. Rosellini, Governor of the State of Washington.

Congressman: "Both public and private employers would be benefited by giving our older workers greater job opportunities and I should like to commend the Eagles for their efforts in this important field"-GEORGE HUDDLESTON, JR., Member of Congress, Ninth District, Alabama.

Governor: "I subscribe wholeheartedly to the objectives of the Eagles 'Jobs After 40' campaign. I will be happy to take steps to evaluate the problem in Maine with a view to developing solutions"-EDMUND S. MUS-KIE, Governor of Maine.

Congressman: "The Fraternal Order of Eagles program for 'Jobs After 40' is a highly meritorious one and it certainly has my full support. Congratulations on this worth-while enterprise"—Lawrence H. Smith, Member of Congress, First District, Wiscon-

Governor: "I am sure that your organization can do a great deal to assist persons over 40 years of age find employment, and I have long been understanding of the problems faced by the middle aged"—Theodore R. McKeldin, Governor of Maryland.

Congressman: "Today too many competent, able-bodied, trained, and experienced workers are being told they are 'too old, even at age 40.' That is why I have pledged my full support to the Fraternal Order of Eagles campaign against age discrimination"— HENRY S. REUSS, Member of Congress, Fifth District, Wisconsin.

Governor: "To the Fraternal Order of Eagles: It has been my experience that people after the age of 40 years have very much to offer in being placed on jobs. Their accumulated experience is valuable, and I find that very often they are more inclined to take an interest in the work and stay on the job longer than younger people"—Charles H. Russell, Governor of Nevada.

U.S. Senator: "The loss of production, as well as of a skilled work force sufficient to meet our national defense needs, require that older workers be given equal status in the competitive job market. The Eagles 'Jobs After 40' campaign is a most commendable and worthy project, and one which deserves wholehearted support. You certainly can count on mine"—HUBERT H. HUMPHREY, U.S. Senator from Minnesota.

Going Up

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. AL ULLMAN

OF OREGON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, May 16, 1960

Mr. ULLMAN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I would like to insert in the RECORD the following item relative to the President's refusal to reappoint Mr. Connole to the Federal Power Commission. It appeared in the latest issue of News for Electric Consumers the newsletter of the Electric Consumers Information Committee. This case provides a significant footnote to the history of the continuing weakening of the regulatory commissions.

PRICE OF DISSENT, LIKE PRICE OF GAS, KEEPS GOING UP

President Eisenhower's failure to reappoint William R. Connole to the Federal Power Commission is fast becoming a campaign issue. The lone defender of consumer interests and apparently the lone believer in regulation on the FPC, Connole was fired at the President's press conference on April 27. Asked if he was going to reappoint Connole, President Eisenhower replied:

"First why, this: Because it is my responsibility to appoint people and to get the best people I can. This Mr. Connole came to see one of my staff in December to ask about his reappointment, and they said they'd look into it. I think I can get a better man, that's all "

To date, that is all the President has said. Requests by Senators for an explanation by the White House have gone unanswered, just as pleas to the President to reappoint Con-nole went unheeded. The President was urged to rename Connole by the mayors of large gas consuming cities; by 10 professors of law and government regulation at Columbia, Harvard, Pennsylvania, and Yale Law Schools; by consumer groups; and by major newspapers.

Connole's fine record, his ability, his intelligence, his dissents against unjustified gas rate increases—all were cited. Connole, who comes from Connecticut, was praised by the regulatory commissions of the New England States as "the most preeminently qualified person in New England in the field of regulation."

But as NBC commentator Martin Agronsky said in a recent broadcast, "None of this seems to have registered with the President. The price of dissent, like the price of gas, keeps going up."

Eisenhower announced the name of his "better man" to replace Connole just 5 days later. He appointed Thomas J. Donegan, a member of the Subversive Activities Control Board. Said the New York Times in a pro-file of Donegan:

"If Thomas James Donegan, whom the President appointed to the Federal Power Commission today, has any special qualifica-tion for his new job, even Mr. Donegan does not know what it is."

The Times then quoted Donegan as saying: "I've never had anything to do with utilities outside of paying my gas bill."

Donegan was named for a 5-year term, beginning June 23. The President also appointed Paul A. Sweeney, a Justice Department lawyer, to fill the FPC vacancy caused by the death of John B. Hussey recently.

Among the cries of protest against the firing of Connole was a call by Senator

Price of Dissent, Like Price of Gas, Keeps THOMAS J. DODD, of Connecticut, for the Senate to refuse to confirm the new appointees until the President explained why he'd dumped Connole. Other Senators-including Proxmire, of Wisconsin, Gruening, of Alaska, and Clark, of Pennsylvania, went even further. They called on the Senate to use its power of confirmation to prevent the further deterioration of the independent agencies," as Senator Gruening put it, adding:

"It is my hope that the Senate . . will keep those places vacant so that the next President may have an opportunity to fill the Commission by the appointment of two members who are dedicated to the public interest."

Meanwhile, there have been rumors that the White House staff is split on the dumping of Connole and that Republican Party leaders—particularly in heavy gas consuming areas—view the failure to rename Connole to the FPC as a major political blunder. Senator Monroney, Oklahoma Democrat, brought Vice President Nixon into the dispute, charging that the President has delegated his power of appointment to the Vice President.

Monroney charged that both Donegan and Sweeney were chosen by Nixon and Attorney General Rogers, often mentioned for the second place on the Republican ticket this fall.

Washington observers are also noting that no Republican has yet defended dumping Connole—and that none of the major candidates for the Democratic nomination-HUM-PHREY, JOHNSON, KENNEDY OF SYMINGTON—has yet spoken on the issue at all.

Jobs After 40

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. CRAIG HOSMER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, May 17, 1960

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Speaker, discrimination against workers over 40 years old, not only creates individual distress for the person affected, but amounts to a senseless waste of the Nation's manpower. The Building Service Employees International Union has prepared educational material on the subject in cooperation with the Fraternal Order of Eagles' campaign to spur employment of the over-40 age group. This excellent brochure contains the following information:

TOO OLD TO WORK AT 40?

Ridiculous, of course.

Building Service Employees' International Union members—250,000 of them—are mostly over 40. They work hard, pull their own weight on the job, and are praised as skilled, dependable workers.

Are BSEIU'ers the exceptions when it comes to workers over 40?

No. Special Government and university studies have shown that the more mature worker is, more likely than not, the better

These facts have been proven:

The older worker produces more, with less spoilage, than the younger, less experienced worker.

His safety record is better; he has fewer accidents.

His judgment is better, and he get along more easily with his fellow workers.

He is more dependable; he is absent from the tob less often.

He is loyal. He stays with the company longer and respects its policies more.

These are not opinions. They are conclusions derived from careful research by experts in the field.

Why, then, do up to 79 percent of a city's employers refuse to hire workers beyond the mid 40's?

Because prejudice, ignorance, and just plain stupidity are creating an employment problem where there should be none.

WE CANNOT AFFORD MANPOWER WASTE

At the present time, skilled manpowerand womanpower-is in great demand. Yet a stenographer looking for a job finds she is too old at 35. A nurse, with the shortage of nurses staring her in the face, is too old for hospital work at 40. A production line worker, with years of experience, is too old at 42, or 43.

Our country simply cannot afford to toss these people into the ashcan and label them "too old."

And yet, employers do just that. The reasons they give show that they are clinging to ideas which have no basis in actuality.

Older workers do not get sick more often than younger workers.

Pension and insurance costs are not significantly greater for the older worker.

Older workers are fully as trainable, as adaptable as younger workers. Their job motivation may be greater because they know the importance of being selfsupporting.

WHO SUFFERS?

First, we all suffer. Our taxes are raised to pay for public assistance and unemployment compensation for people who should be a part of the working force.

Consumers in general suffer. It has been estimated that the value of goods in the United States could be increased by \$5 billion a year if older people who want to work and

are able to do so were given jobs. People over 40-one-third of our population-suffer the fear of unemployment and the respect-shattering experience of being told they are too old—after 40.

BSEIU's President William L. McFetridge "Unemployment of men and women simply because they have attained a certain age represents a real and tragic loss of skill and productive power to the Nation. When corporate custom denies employment to experienced workers in their most productive Years, the loss to America is indeed great."

IT'S GETTING WORSE

This is not a new problem. Employers and personnel men—for reasons best known to themselves-have usually shown a preference for younger people especially when an oversupply of labor was available. Industry spends millions of dollars annually on trainee and apprenticeship programs for these young people, but tends to ignore the fast-growing reservoir of labor that already has training and job experience.

The new element in the situation today is the changing character of the population. In both the United States and Canada, the proportion of over-40 people is increasing, while the group under 40 is declining. By 1960, half of the population will be over 40.

We are faced with a human problem that will rapidly assume serious proportions. Bad enough in normal times, any little business downturn is bound to make the situation more crucial.

The enemy is ignorance. All of us-employers as well as employees-need to become familiar with the facts, and then simply to act in accord with them. The facts are clear: the over-40 worker is at least as good an employee as his younger counterpart. He wants and needs to be productively employed, and the Nation needs his skills and experience, and the goods and services he can produce.

Political Camouflage

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. JAMES C. HEALEY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 17, 1960

Mr. HEALEY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I would like to include the following article by Mr. Sanford E. Stanton, which appeared a few days ago in the New York Journal-American:

> THE REFORM LABEL: A POLITICAL CAMOUFLAGE

(By Sanford E. Stanton)

ALBANY .- Now it comes out.

All the hullabaloo about reforming Tammany Hall turns out to be a horse of another color-a ringer they would call it at Aqueduct.

It may well be that the distinguished elders of the Democratic Party, characterized by screaming propagandists as leaders in the reform movement, are victims, along with the general public, of nothing more than a hoax.

The records of the board of elections where nominating petitions for the June 7 primaries have just been filed, throw a sickly green light on the whole thing. They show that-

Three reformers want to go to Congress; Ten reformers are itching to become members of the State assembly;

Two reformers want to sit in the State

Within their rights, as they are, why can't reformers play the game of politics straight? Why try to camouflage legitimate ambitions under a transparent alles? Why not be forthright and tell the public what it is to be reformed?

Do the valiant three hope to reform Congress? Have the embryo State senators and assemblymen designs on the legislature?

Possibly the State and National legislative bodies need a bit of reforming; but, if that is the goal, why not say so?

To throw up a smoke screen labeled "Reform the Organization" around an attempt to gain personal glory is the sheerest kind of bunk-and not new bunk at that.

This kind of deceit should have been banned when the professional baseball leagues outlawed the "spitter."

THING CALLED FUSION

Actually these Barnumlike attempts to delude the public under the guise of "re-form" are on all fours with that other willo-wispy political thing called fusion.

Rip the wrapping off these "reform" and "fusion" packages and you find litters of self-serving individuals who either never knew or have conveniently forgotten that our democratic form of government has survived because of the existence of a twoparty system, sustained by strong political organization. Destroy the organization, which is the "reform" battle cry, and the whole structure may come tumbling down.

To hark back to this mess of primary contests now cluttering New York's political scenes-who will argue that they represent anything more than attempts for personal glorification at the expense of party organ-

It is possible to win a personal victory and in so doing, wreck a party. Somehow the "reformer" tub-thumpers seem to have overlooked that fact.

If these self-glorifying "reformers" don't know it, they should. A year of national elections is one when party loyalty—if that

is not employing a word beyond the understanding of some-demands something better than internal disrupting dissensions.

The Fallacy of High Interest Rates

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JOHN D. DINGELL

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, May 17, 1960

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker. tempts to raise the interest rate on longterm U.S. bonds, will have an adverse impact upon our economy. The tightmoney policy saddles this Nation with one of the most fantastic economic theories ever advanced.

Since 1953, the Eisenhower administration has persistently sought to effectuate higher and higher interest rates. As I have stated before, the rise in interest rates has been nothing less than scandalous. Hiking of interest rates has only one function, to create spirals of increasing costs on every item, transaction, and commodity, sold or purchased in our economy. These in-creased interest rates must be borne by the borrower, while the lender reaps tremendous additional profits for no good reason whatsoever.

The action of the Republican Party. self-professed disciples of the balanced budget, in straight-facedly urging a higher interest rate-which will among other things increase the cost of Government indebtedness-while at the same time, accusing the Democratic leadership of wild, inflationary spending, would be indeed comical if it were not so vicious.

The tight-money policy is dangerous because it tends to restrict our Nation's economic growth. Topflight economists have been quick to point out that pursuit of a policy such as this at a time when our economic growth is already retarded, as evidenced by the high unemployment statistics, serves only to further curb our productive capacity. Unfortunately, inflation is not retarded by increased interest rates. High interest rates accomplish higher costs with no corresponding increase in output. For example: the increased cost to the taxpayer of a quarter of 1 percent rise in interest on \$1 billion worth of Government bonds is \$2.5 million a year. Yet none of this increased cost gives the taxpayers a dime's worth of additional services; rather, it further raises the cost of all the other money borrowed, since this increase is passed along in other loans, mortgages, and financing plans. For instance, such a proposed interest raise would increase the cost of buying a home, and this would make homeownership more difficult.

Recently, Senator WILLIAM PROXMINE illustrated how increased interest rates have raised the cost of each typical elementary school by \$150,000. The results of the tight-money policy in the school program alone have cost the Government an additional \$675 million each year. This increased burden on school construction and education in the United States is directly attributable to the Republican administration's tight-money policy. The additional money did not go toward increased construction costs, or for the wages of workingmen, or even to the building contractors. Instead, this money went to the moneylenders, the financiers and investment corporations, and banks. It was sweated from the hides of our citizens.

The effect of tight money on private housing is already observable. Despite the continued pressing need for decent housing, it is estimated that there will be some 200,000 less homes built this year as compared with the year 1959, in which only 1.3 million new homes were built. The main reasons for fewer new homes: lack of mortgage money and the high interest rates, both the natural result of the Republican tight-money policy.

The more carefully the tight-money policy is analyzed, the more fantastic it becomes. Inflation can be successfully curbed, according to the administration, if the runaway boom in this country is nipped by making money more difficult to obtain. Money can be made more difficult to obtain by making those seeking it pay more interest when they attempt to borrow it. But how can this theory possibly work when the increased interest rate will only affect those who have need of the money markets; namely, the consumer and small business. It is they who must pay the increased interest rate oftentimes for commodities that are necessary to them and vital to our economy. Thus bankers prosper while the consumer staggers under an increased cost for borrowing money or mortgages, while the big corporations go unscathed. Yet it is the huge corporations who can, and do, swell their profits by continuous price hikes, thereby directly contributing to an inflated economy.

Not only has tight money failed to curb inflation, it has directly and unmistakably promoted it. The cost of living has increased in spite of this misguided act of clamping down on the little man. Billions of dollars have been lost as a result of only partial economic productivity. With at least 31/2 million unemployed, and no reduction in sight, there is nothing to justify the currently high interest rates or an increase in them. Certainly we must scrap all economic theories which prevent the economy from developing in a manner that will permit it to support full employment. In Detroit, there are absolutely no signs whatsoever that point to a boom. Indeed, the opposite is true. Unemployment is still a serious problem, small business is in bad shape by any standard of measurement, and taxes and revenue from all branches of government are falling off. This then, is obviously no time to be raising interest rates. Already the number of second land contracts, second mortgages, and other shaky security devices grow more numerous; and at the same time, there has been a drastic increase in the number of foreclosures. These are the results of this artificial scarcity of money that the administration seems determined to accomplish at any cost to the national economy. The tremendous costs of these already high interest rates that have been heaped upon millions of wage earners as well as small businessmen and home buyers, permitting moneylenders to reap a tremendous profit without providing any additional service whatsoever is disgraceful. To surrender to the moneylenders of this country by indulging them in this selfish desire, is unnecessary.

May I point out that since World War I, through the booms, depressions, and crises, this country has successfully met its fiscal needs without the necessity to exceed the 4½-percent interest rate ceiling on long-term U.S. bonds. I believe these bonds can attract buyers as they always have without the necessity of raising the interset rate. Whatever shortage of loanable funds that may arise from time to time, is, at most, a temporary situation.

I further charge the Republican administration with promoting a scare campaign about inflation, which besides being an irresponsible act in itself, operates to discourage investors in longterm bonds of any kind, but rather encourages them to buy stocks. Republicans from the President down have engaged in this inflation scare to justify various policies and results of the present administration. Why should the interest rates on long-term U.S. bonds be increased at a time when these rates are now at an alltime 35-year high? It would only add billions to the tax bill of working Americans, and to make it worse, would operate to further inflate all other interest rates as well.

Ever since Mr. Eisenhower's first Secretary of the Treasury, Mr. Humphrey, boosted interest rates, interest rates in all fields have been steadily increasing. Surely the tight-money policy should prove to its Republican supporters that the inflationary atmosphere created by the gigantic corporations in this Nation cannot be deterred by the tight-money policy, primarily because they have no necessity to go to the moneylenders. The giant industries of steel, oil, automobiles, and drugs, can and do administer their prices upward, without any regard whatever for a tight-money policy that is supposed to curb inflation.

Millions of average American families have been hit hard by tight money. For example, over the last few years, higher interest rates on FHA mortgages have added thousands of dollars to the cost of buying a home.

In the final analysis, high interest rates increase all prices; they inflate the cost of raising a family, of buying a home, car, or appliances, and of raising small business capital. Thus, high interest costs are a major factor in the spiraling prices.

Are not two recessions since the Republican-sponsored tight-money policy sufficient proof of its ineffectiveness?

In my view, the President's recent request for a higher interest rate on U.S. bonds is more than just bad economic judgment. It reflects concern for the bankers and the money lenders in preference to the welfare of the entire Nation. Such callous indifference to the economic

necessities of the day are inexcusable. It is my intention to bring the facts to the American people for it is they who must know who in Government would make them economic pawns of the vested interests of this country.

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board, or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives or the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS FOR SALE

Additional copies of Government publications are offered for sale to the public by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D.C., at cost thereof as determined by the Public Printer plus 50 percent: *Provided*, That a discount of not to exceed 25 percent may be allowed to authorized bookdealers and quantity purchasers, but such printing shall not interfere with the prompt execution of work for the Government. The Superintendent of Documents shall prescribe the terms and conditions under which he may authorize the resale of Government publications by bookdealers, and he may designate any Government officer his agent for the sale of Government publications under such regulations as shall be agreed upon by the Superintendent of Documents and the head of the respective department or establishment of the Government (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 72a, Supp. 2).

CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY

The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. No sale shall be made on credit (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p. 1939).

PRINTING OF CONGRESSIONAL RECORD EXTRACTS

It shall be lawful for the Public Printer to print and deliver upon the order of any Senator, Representative, or Delegate, extracts from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, the person ordering the same paying the cost thereof (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 185, p. 1942).

CHANGE OF RESIDENCE

Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the RECORD.

Appendix

The Honorable Dewey Short Delivers Inspiring Address Before the Convention of the National Jewish Welfare Board

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON, KENNETH B. KEATING

OF NEW YORK

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Wednesday, May 18, 1960

Mr. KEATING. Mr. President, all of us are familiar with the important contributions being made to the spiritual and material well-being of the Nation by the National Jewish Welfare Board. organization, whose national headquarters are in New York City, provides moral, religious, and welfare services for men and women of the Jewish faith in the armed services. It is the parent body of the more than 350 Jewish community centers in this country, and is a member agency of the USO.

Many aspects of this great force for good were emphasized in an inspiring address recently delivered by my good friend and former distinguished colleague in the House of Representatives, Assistant Secretary of the Army Dewey Short. In a speech before the bienniel convention of the National Jewish Welfare Board in St. Louis on March 31, he discussed in his usual eloquent manner the work of the Jewish Welfare Board. the importance of loyalty, and some of the moral and spiritual responsibilities Which go with service in our Armed Forces.

So that this splendid address will gain the wide readership it deserves, I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD,

as follows:

ADDRESS BY THE HONORABLE DEWEY SHORT, ASSISTANT ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF THE ARMY (M.R. & R.F.) NATIONAL JEWISH WELFARE BOARD CONVENTION, CHASE PARK PLAZA, ST. LOUIS, MO., MARCH 31, 1960

Ladies and gentlemen, I cannot tell you how especially pleased I am to be here with you at this, the blennial meeting of the National Jewish Welfare Board. Not only is it a distinct honor for me to meet with such distinguished group of selfless and dedicated Americans, but it is always a great pleasure for me to return to my home State of Missouri.

Since the inception of the Jewish Welfare Board in 1917, its great works have been indispensable to Jewish Americans in particular, and therefore to America as a whole. Through your community centers and the Young Men's and Young Women's Hebrew Associations, you have nurtured responsible citizenship and a national awareness which are so essential to the continued strength of our Nation today. In serving the religious and welfare needs of our Jewish

armed forces personnel, you are further giving young Americans an example of service to their fellow man, something crucial for our youth to embrace in this complex age of anxiety. It is the cement that binds people to people and nations to nations. As an American, I would thank you for this, and on behalf of Hon. Wilber M. Brucker, Secretary of the Army, I would like to thank you for all you have done to lift the morale of members of your faith serving in the Armed Forces.

At the outset, I would like to take a moment to point up the splendid relationship that the Department of the Army-as well as the other military departments—has en-joyed with your national representative in Washington, my good friend Moe Hoffman. His cooperative spirit and deep understanding of our mutual problems have contributed substantially to our common goals.

The Army, Navy, Air Force, and Marine Corps-all the services-have every reason to be deeply grateful to the National Jewish Welfare Board, and especially its Commission on Jewish Chaplaincy, for its most generous support in furnishing sufficient chaplains to minister to the religious needs of service personnel of the Jewish faith. The commission also is to be commended for its far-sighted plans to immediately enlarge its force of chaplains in the event of a national emergency. The fine work done by your chaplains should be a source of pride to the commission as well as to the board.

Today our Military Establishment is faced with many problems, but there is one which is unique in American history. I refer to the need to maintain a vast military force at a time when we are not actually at war. a phenomenon as unnatural to traditionally peace-loving Americans as it is burdensome

to our economy and manpower. But viewing the stated aims of international communism, and noting the activi-ties of the Sino-Soviet bloc in this framework, I do not believe that any right-thinking American would let down our guard for freedom. Our defensive structure is like a great dam holding back the determined waters. But like a great dam the slightest breakthrough would be opened and exploited by the pent-up waters until the land was laid waste by the oppressive flood. This we cannot allow. That is why so many Americans have willingly given of their lives in defense of the principles for which we stand. And it is because of such self-sacrificing men as these that our Nation is as strong in spirit and determination today as it was at Valley Forge and Verdun and Bastogne and Pork Chop Hill. They died that America might remain strong, and today in the face of a force that threatens our cherished and hard-fought-for freedom again, all of us must be prepared to make the same supreme sacrifice

I believe it was Macaulay who aptly asked:

"And how can man die better Than facing fearful odds For the ashes of his father and The temples of his Gods?"

It is not our pleasure to take 2, 3, or 4 years out of our young men's lives to teach them to wage war. But the alternative— bondage—has always been, and always will be repugnant to all Americans. Granting the necessity of a strong defense,

it is up to you, up to me-up to all of us-

to make the most of it, and instill in our young people an awareness and understanding of why they must fulfill their military obligation. It cannot be denied that the at-titudes of youth toward military service are strongly influenced by their parents. If fathers and mothers look on military service as nothing more than an extremely distasteful inconvenience, then in all probability so will their children. Indeed if this were case with everyone, our guard for freedom would be a shallow and hollow one. In these turbulent times it is up to each and every parent to view military service as their sons essential contribution toward the preservation of human dignity, of liberty, of freedom—in short—of America.

Surely this is not asking too much when

we pause to consider that our democratic society requires that we contribute our just share if we are to enjoy its benefits. great Nation whose blessings we enjoy today serves as a reservoir of liberty to which each generation has made its contribution. As each younger group comes along, it draws refreshments from the vineyards which it did not plant and sips from the cisterns it did not dig. Thus it becomes incumbent on each generation of Americans to make its own contribution toward the overall welfare, the freedom and the human dignity of generations yet unborn. It is such personal sacrifice to the common good that has made our Nation what it is today. Men like George Washington and Abraham Lincoln throughout their lives exemplified this spirit of sacrifice. And each American has an obligation to that inheritance, to keep it strong and to keep it enduring for his children and for his children's children.

Loyalty to the principles for which we stand must be instilled in our children at the earliest possible age. In a way it is a very natural thing, for a child's first loyalties develop in the home. When he is very young, he can do nothing but receive, but as he grows he begins to take part in family activities and learns to share responsibility. If the parents have done their job well, he will learn by practical experience that it is indeed better to give than to receive. Thus does the family become his first locus of

As he grows older, his next loyalty is probably to God and to his religious faith. No matter what his faith, a set of values built on the foundation of the Golden Rule gives him a moral framework which transcends the basic loyalties of the family—to the realm of ideals as well as people.

In his schooling he further learns that he cannot get along without giving of himself, for he will get out of life only what he puts into it. By studying and participating in school activities and sports, he integrates himself into the school community. Thus does he prepare himself for the larger communities of city, State, and country.

Probably the military affords him his first real opportunity to manifest loyalty to his country in a direct way. Military service should thus be a welcome opportunity in that it provides the basis for a deeper and more meaningful relationship between the individual youth and his country. In the United States, military service is not some-thing imposed upon us by a dictatorship for its own selfish ends, but it expresses the will of the American people to protect their ideals and their country. It is not only a

positive value to our society, but even above that it is crucial to the security and well-being of every man, woman, and child that make up our free society. This individual responsibility must be made crystal clear, for it is incumbent upon all of us to shoulder our fair share of the burden of our Nation's defense if we are to preserve our way of life. As one historian has put it, and as all loyal Americans so well know: "The price of liberty is eternal vigilance."

Of course, one must realize that serving in the Armed Forces is not always pleasant, for war itself is not pleasant, but that is what he must be prepared for should it come. The soldier must learn to shoot and learn to protect himself, for to us every human life is precious. We may thank God that we are not like the Chinese Communists who have no respect for human life and who will mercilessly deliver tens of thousands of their troops to be slaughtered on the battlefield. We want our soldiers to come home alive, and so they must be made tough. So, as blisters and soreness give way to hard muscle, and the youth comes to understand the ordered logic of military life, he gains pride, not only in himself, but in his outfit and his country. And this is a very positive value.

is a very positive value.

Our youth is called upon to make a number of decisions in preparation for going into the armed services. If he is to avoid the lack of self-determination of the draft, he may select a time best suited to himself. be it after high school, after college, or whenever it would least interfere with his civilian vocation. Then he may choose the service he wishes to enter and what program to pursue within that service, taking into consideration the time required for each program and where he could best fulfill his potentiality and improve himself. It is a many-faceted decision, to be considered carefully and with deliberation, for the Armed Forces offer a multitude of alternatives to suit almost every individual. There is a need for trained personnel in just about every field one can think of and many skills learned in uniform are readily adaptable to a trade or profession later on in civilian life.

In the Army, for example, we give valuable training to qualified men in such fields as: Electronics, including guided missiles and atomic energy; radar, television, and radio; electrical, chemical, and mechanical technology; dental and medical training; transportation; law; finance; communications; administrative training; drafting and printing; photography; underwater demolition; cooking; or playing an instrument with the Army Band or singing with the Army Chorus. Well, the list is endless, but I think you can see from this partial listing that an intelligent young man may certainly use his service time to good advantage, mastering skills that could well launch him on a successful career either in the Army or as a civilian.

It should also be noted that beyond this direct schooling the Army offers, it also encourages its personnel to continue and further their education. Many soldiers today are taking advantage of this education at little cost, for the Army pays a large part of the cost of the courses the individual might choose.

Beyond these practical considerations of Army life, it must be emphasized that we feel a continuing obligation to maintain and improve the moral and physical fitness of the men who come to us from American homes and communities. As regards his normal fitness, he receives splendid character guidance from the dedicated chaplains of the Army, many of whom are made available through the good offices of the National

Jewish Welfare Board. In this regard, I would like to quote to you from a report made by Dr. Julius Mark, senior rabbi of New York City's Temple Emanu-Bl following his working visit with our troops in Europe last January, again with the fine cooperation and assistance of the Jewish Welfare Board.

Rabbi Mark wrote:

"The concern which the Defense Department of the United States has for the spiritual well-being of our men in uniform is quite without parallel anywhere in the world * * *. I daresay that the upsurge of religious interest, under youthful guidance * * * , which is discernible among all religious denominations, has resulted to a large extent * * * from the contacts which young men in uniform have made with chaplains and with civilian clergymen provided by the Defense Department * * *. My pride in Defense Department * * *. My pride in America is always heightened and strengthened when I think of the sincere desire of our Military Establishment to satisfy the spiritual needs of men of all faiths, when I think of the chaplains-Catholic, Protestant, Jewish-who are serving under God and country with unselfish dedication, and when I think of the American soldier who is learning to live in understanding and fellowship

with his fellow American of another faith." I would thank Rabbi Mark in turn for his continuing contact with and interest in our men in the military. It is such interest as this on the part of our citizens not directly involved in the military that prevents life in the military from becoming a separate entity, and the more this interest is manifested by our citizens, the easier and more pleasant it is for our youth during their time in the Armed Forces. You of the Jewish Welfare Board are certainly outstanding examples of this, and I can tell you, nothing is more important to the morale of our boys in uniform than this interest.

For our part, we associated with the military welcome this contact because we have seen the great good it has done over the years. That is why we allow 30 days leave per year, and encourage our boys to participate in the particular communities where they might be stationed, be it in sports, education, hobbies, or whatever facet they may choose. How many friendships have evolved from this splendid reciprocity is indeterminable, but it is certainly a strong binding force both abroad and within our own borders where so many varied backgrounds are brought together in an atmosphere of mutual friend-liness.

Of course, the citizen-soldier differentiation is only skin deep, for underneath this superficial distinction we find Americans all, and this is to say hearts beating in one accord for peace, justice, and freedom for all mankind. This our youth must realize through experience, and it is my opinion that they indeed do emerge from the military stronger in this knowledge.

I think this knowledge is particularly well expressed in an anonymous creed I came across recently, and I should like to leave you with it. It goes:

"I do not choose to be a common man. It is my right to be uncommon—if I can seek opportunity—not security. I want to take the calculated risk, to dream and to build, to fail and to succeed. I refuse to barter incentive for a dole. I prefer the challenges of life to the guaranteed existence, the thrill of fulfillment to the stale calm of utopla. I will not trade freedom for beneficence nor my dignity for a handout. I will never cower before any master nor bend to any threat. It is my heritage to stand erect, proud and unafraid, to think and act for myself, enjoy the benefit of my creations, to face the world boldly and say, I am an American."

Fred Seaton Becomes More and More Likely the GOP Vice-Presidential Choice

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. PHIL WEAVER

OF NEBRASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 18, 1960

Mr. WEAVER. Mr. Speaker, we in Nebraska are very proud of one of our outstanding citizens who has contributed notably to the growth of this Nation and to the administration of its affairs. I refer to the Honorable Fred A. Seaton, Secretary of the Interior.

Mr. Seaton has a record of able administration and has been a close friend and adviser not only of the President but of the Vice President, Mr. Nixon.

His capabilities have long placed him—in the minds of those of us from the Midwest—in the forefront of those being considered as a possible Republican choice for the Vice-Presidency. So apparent is this that the Nebraska and North Dakota Republican State conventions have already committed themselves to Mr. Seaton.

I am pleased to note that in recent days this interest in Mr. Seaton has spread considerably. In fact, only last Friday, May 13, the Wall Street Journal of New York printed a front page article in which it noted that Mr. Seaton's chances for the Vice Presidential nod are bright. This article points out that Mr. Seaton represents the Midwest where he has gathered a great deal of strength. It also makes mention of his close friendship for Mr. Nixon.

The following day, on Saturday, May 14, the Omaha World Herald printed a very fine editorial commenting on the growing stature of Mr. Seaton in national affairs. This editorial is particularly significant because the World Herald is more than just a hometown Omaha newspaper. It is one of the voices of the Midwestern Plains States and is recognized as such throughout the area. To a great extent it represents the views of its readers.

Because of the significance of this editorial, I would like to incorporate it in these remarks. The editorial from the Omaha World Herald of Saturday, May 14, 1960, follows:

SEATON'S PROSPECTS

Along with popular enthusiasm for Mr. Nixon, as shown by his surprising write-in vote in this State, there has been a strong shower of support among Nebraska Republican leaders for Fred Seaton as the vice-presidential candidate.

It would be a serious mistake to dismiss this support for Mr. Seaton as a polite bow to a popular "favorite son." He is the formal choice of Nebraska and North Dakota Republicans. But Mr. Seaton's prospects amount to considerably more than that. A brief rundown of vice-presidential possibilities in the Wall Street Journal Friday pointed out that Mr. Seaton's cause looks pretty good nationally.

The Journal reasons this way:

The odds are turning against Lodge, of Massachusetts, as Mr. Nixon prepares to write off New England. Nixon men concede most Catholic votes to Kennedy and are not considering Labor Secretary Mitchell, a Catholic. Party leaders are losing hope that Rockefeller will run, and Senator Goldwater's purpose is seen as that of influencing Mr. Nixon to adopt conservative policies rather than that of winning running-mate honors for himself.

That leaves Senator Thruston Morton, of Kentucky, and Mr. Seaton as the best bets, says the Journal. The paper does not judge their strength in relation to each other. The Kentucky man's appeal to the border States and the South is mentioned. As for Mr. Seaton, "the Interior Secretary from Nebraska would add pulling power in the Midwest."

And since the election may very well be won and lost in the Midwest, Mr. Seaton's position as the only midwestern prospect of established reputation is an important conalderation.

Couple that with the facts that Mr. Seaton has conducted his Cabinet duties ably, that he is regarded as a man of moderate views and good sense, that he is a personable and popular figure—and he becomes a very good bet indeed.

The overriding consideration, of course, will be what the presidential nominee wants in a running mate, and here again Mr. Seaton is in a strong position. He is both the political and the personal friend of Mr. Nixon. If Mr. Nixon, as a nominee, is convinced that a midwestern name is needed on the ticket, the Nebraskan becomes an obvious choice.

Nebraska Republican leaders, particularly the convention delegates, are well aware of these considerations but they may not be well known to the average voters. It is time for the Midwest to take note of the fact that Mr. Seaton is a highly regarded prospect for the Vice Presidency.

Address Commemorating 124th Anniversary of the Battle of San Jacinto

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. LYNDON B. JOHNSON

OF TEXAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, May 18, 1960

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. President, April 21 is a very special day for Texans. On the 21st of April, 1836, freemen under the leadership of Sam Houston fought the Battle of San Jacinto which avenged the lives of those heroic men who sacrificed their lives on the altar of Texas freedom at the Alamo.

On this day each year, there is a pilgrimage to the Alamo in connection with the San Jacinto Fiesta celebration. It is in the finest tradition of this great empire of the Southwest and pays tribute to one of the secred shrines of American liberty—the Alamo.

I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the Record the text of an address delivered by Lt. Gen. Edward T. Williams, commanding general, 4th U.S. Army, on the evening of April 18, 1960, celebrating the 124th year which has passed since those Texas heroes died to the man defending their way of life and their search for freedom.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PILGRIMAGE TO THE ALAMO

Mrs. Harral, and members of the Alamo Mission Chapter, Daughters of the Republic of Texas, I am signally honored that you invited me to speak on this solemn occasion.

The pilgrimage to the Alamo, sponsored annually by your organization, is in the finest tradition of this great empire of the Southwest and pays tribute to one of the sacred shrines of American liberty.

One hundred and twenty-four years have passed since the heroic men, whose names are here memorialized, sacrificed their lives on the altar of Texas freedom. Hundreds of years more will pass, but the shadows of time can never dim the glory that is the Alamo.

What took place here, on the very ground we are standing on, was not just a battle, not just a 13-day siege ending in massacre. It has become, and will always be, a great American legend and one of the most heroic epics of all times.

A legend, as you know, is something we have been aware of all our lives, without being conscious of where or how we learned it. So widespread is the fame of what happened here, that the name of the Alamo has passed into the language and become a living part of America's great heritage of valor and sacrifice for freedom. It is a vital spark that has fired the hearts of men for more than a century.

Let us pause for a moment, and think about the events that took place on this spot which is now the center of the great city of San Antonio. Even though all of us know the story well, the highlights of this epic will never grow old in the telling.

It is important, I think, to recall that the fighting men of the Alamo were here because they freely chose to be here. They were not trapped, or outwitted by the enemy, or forced into their heroic stand. When the Alamo commander, Col. William Barret Travis, drew with his sword a deep line in the soft earth and said, "those who will stay, step over to me," these men moved across without a moment's hesitation, carrying with them the intrepid James Bowie who was stricken at the time with typhoid-pneumonia.

In his immortal letter addressed "to the people of Texas and all Americans in the world," Colonel Travis declared, "our flag still waves proudly from the walls—I shall never surrender or retreat."

Keep in mind that he was referring to these very walls you see in front of you at this moment. One hundred and twenty-four years of history look down on us as we stand here.

Picture, if you will, the desperate situation in which Travis and his men found themselves on the night of March 5, as the last hours of the 13-day slege approached.

Just a few days before, Lt. James Butler Bonham had returned from the mission Travis gave him, bringing 32 men who volunteered to fight their way through enemy fire and join the defenders in the last days of the attack. These were the only reinforcements the Alamo received. They knew the situation was hopeless, but they were determined to fight to the last man.

The final attack started in the early morning hours of March 6 with a tremendous concentration of cannon fire from the 5,000 troops under Santa Anna. The Mexican forces brought up scaling ladders and hundreds of them started climbing the walls.

Earlier, Travis had ordered a wooden stockade erected to fill a gap in the south wall. It was there, near the entrance to the church that the famous frontiersman, David Crockett and his men made their stand.

On the church wall, pointing south, James Bonham had emplaced the long cannon, and

Travis stook station with other guns at the corner of the north and west walls. James Bowie, though confined to his cot by a raging fever, was armed with a rifle, two pistols, and his deadly "Bowie knife" which had already become a legend on the frontier.

The stage was set for the final act in this heroic tragedy. And the fighting that followed will live forever on the record of raw courage in the face of overwhelming odds.

Santa Anna's cavalry formed a closed circle outside to prevent escape of the Texans, but not one of them tried to get away. These men—187 of them—fought where they stood, never giving an inch of ground.

They fired their rifles until the last round of ammunition was gone, then grabbed the barrels of their guns and used them as clubs. Years later, one of the 16 children within the walls who were spared in the slaughter, told how Davy Crockett went mad with the fury of his fighting, swinging his rifle like a flail of destruction, was surrounded by broken bodies of the enemy when he finally went down.

All was quiet at dawn. Santa Anna came, accompanied by one of the town officials, to identify the bodies of the four leaders. Bonham lay beside his cannon, on the south wall. Bowie was found on his cot, in a small room of "the long barracks." Crockett was lying before the entrance to the church, and Travis had fallen across one of the cannons on the north wall.

The tragedy was ended—except for a brief epilog of vengeful spite by a tyrant. Santa Anna ordered the burning of the bodies of the Alamo defenders. It was only a short time, however, before Gen. Sam Houston sent Texas soldiers to collect and bury with honor the ashes of these fighting men.

What is the meaning of this epic struggle? What does it mean to us now—in the year of our lord 1960, more than a century after the event? What is the message that Travis, Bowie, Crockett, and Bonham have passed on to us?

The commanders of the Alamo, and the brave men who fought with them, did not die in vain. They set an inspiring example for all succeeding generations of Americans to follow.

After all, what is it that men live by? What are the driving forces, the eternal principles, that give purpose and meaning to life? The symbol of heroic courage is certainly one of them—a most important one. Throughout the ages philosophers have told us that courage is the highest virtue. Without it, the others are meaningless. And the sublime courage demonstrated by these heroes of the Alamo throws a shining light through the gloom of indecision which plagues the world in these troubled times.

Of all the battle cries that have stirred the hearts of American men and women, there is none with the magnetic call to action inspired by those fighting words: "Remember the Alamo."

This battlecry was the driving force which—a scant 46 days after the courageous stand of the Alamo defenders—spurred Gen. Sam Houston's Texan Army to bring about the complete defeat of Santa Anna's forces at the Battle of San Jacinto. It is the anniversary of that day—April 21—which will be observed later this week in the great flests San Jacinto celebration.

As we gather here at this cradle of Texas liberty, it seems to me we should courageously rededicate ourselves to the cause of freedom and justice.

Let us be in the forefront of those who want to encourage Pan-American solidarity, mutual respect, and recognition of the essential worthiness in all men of good will. It is one of the highest goals we should strive for, and certainly the most rewarding in its results for this great empire of the southwest. These are times, I think, which call for understanding, forbearance, and friendliness.

The indomitable spirit and courage of the Alamo heroes are still with us. They constitute a reservoir of great spiritual power, always ready, if we need it. This is the power that has made and will preserve us as a Nation.

Small Business "Plow Back" Tax Relief Bill Needed Now

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JOE L. EVINS

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 16, 1960

Mr. EVINS. Mr. Speaker, the small business economy of the Nation needs immediate tax relief. Under the present tax structure it is almost impossible for many small business concerns to acquire sufficient profits above a bare livelihood with which they can replace their inventory, replace their depreciable assets, or expand. Because of this situation many small businesses are being forced out of business and closing each year.

There are presently bills before the Congress which would provide some tax relief for the benefit of small business by providing that a limited amount of earnings which the businessman could best "plow back" into his business and would be tax exempt. This would not only benefit the small businessman, but would encourage expansion and development and stimulate the overall business ecenomy. The Congress should act on this legislation before adjournment.

An example of how businesses, especially small family businesses, can be strangled by the burden of taxation is noted in an article by the president of a small manufacturing company. This article was published in a trade magazine of April-May 1960. This article on the heavy burden of taxation is thought provoking and follows:

TAXATION OF SMALL BUSINESS

When you read in the paper that some communistic country or some country con-trolled by a dictator has confiscated people's property, you hear the expression—"Thank the Lord that I live in America—it can't happen here."

Confiscation of property is happening in the United States. Just like leprosy or cancer, it is slowly but surely destroying our resources and wealth. This confiscation of property is done by unfair, immoral and unconstitutional excessive misapplication of

My property is being confiscated by such taxation. Let me explain this in detail because it has a serious effect on your own futures and property.

A little over 30 years ago, I started a small company that came to be known as Miller Electric Manufacturing Co. I ran this business alone for several years. Then I declded to incorporate because there was more prestige and confidence in the corporate form of doing business.

As it is well known, we had little capital. We had, however, energy, good health, confidence and enthusiasm and each year we built a successfully larger corporation.

We paid no dividends because we used dividend money for working capital. Con-sequently, we did not have to borrow.

Our records will prove that we have paid the Federal and State tax bureaus about 59 percent of our profits as taxes year after year. There was taxation on property al-ready taxed simply because we owned it.

Being a large majority stockholder, I be-lieved I was building a business I could con-sider my own and that I was personally paying taxes on its income year after year.

I had to pay a high tax rate on earnings of the company I owned. The money held by the corporation as dividends was taxed. soon as I received the dividends, they were again taxed. The combined total of tax rates on the dividends was greater than the dividends. In other words, this property was

confiscated by the tax bureaus.

After several years of this type of alleged legal robbery of property, I made a heart-breaking discovery. I could not let my family carry on my business because of the confiscatory inheritance taxes that would be involved. My family could not have enough money to pay the inheritance taxes. This meant my business would have to be liquidated to satisfy the selfish bureaucrats who have wasted billions of dollars of tax money.

Consequently, I started to go around to some of the best tax experts in the country to find a way to solve our problem. Their answer was always the same—"Well, Mr. Miller, you are so right. This is confiscation of your property by the Government bureaus, but at the moment, it is considered

I have been determined to set up some kind of liquid fund to help my heirs pay the inheritance taxes so that my business can continue. However, the confiscatory nature of the taxes involved prevents me

from doing so.

I could sell this corporation and pay a capital gains tax, which would still leave me enough to be in a fairly good financial position. But this would not solve the problem. It would not contribute anything toward destroying this evil confiscation of property through unconstitutional taxation. We have worked too long and too hard to give in to the bureaucrats.

One of the first and important things to do is to eliminate the double taxation on dividends, or at least consider dividends as something other than straight income. The least that could be done would be to permit stockholders to treat dividends the same as capital gains for tax purposes because actu-

ally dividends are capital gains.

It is hard to believe that in the United States of America, confiscation of property by taxation was ever intended to occur. I honestly believe our present Senators and Representatives can and would be willing to clear up the situation of double taxation. However, it must be brought to their close attention.

I am writing this article because I feel so strongly about maintaining the company I have built, and I know that many of my friends are in a similar situation. If we had a concerted action by injured people like myself, I am sure we can get the reputation of the United States of America back where it belongs.

Statement by David A. Hamil, REA Administrator

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. GEORGE D. AIKEN

OF VERMONT

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Wednesday, May 18, 1960

Mr. AIKEN. Mr. President, I ask

the Appendix of the RECORD the remarks of David A. Hamil, REA Administrator, on the observance of the 25th anniversary of REA, in Washington, D.C., on May 11 of this year.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the

RECORD, as follows:

REMARKS OF DAVID A. HAMIL, REA ADMINIS-TRATOR, AT REA 25TH ANNIVERSARY OBSERV-ANCE, MAY 11, 1960, WASHINGTON, D.C.

The National Archives has furnished us with this photocopy of Executive Order of the President No. 7037, which created REA on May 11, 1935.

This document has historic interest for us, since it is the anniversary of its signing

which we observe today.

You can see that it is very short, only a page and one-half. You may be interested to know that it makes no mention of a lending program. It does not mention cooperatives. It makes no reference to area coverage. It does not say that rural electrification must go on and on until every farm and ranch in America is electrified.

The order grants powers to an Adminis-

trator:

"To initiate, formulate, administer, and supervise a program of approved projects with respect to the generation, transmission, and distribution of electric energy in rural

This is how we began, 25 years ago today. The great program which grew out of that order was shaped by the rural people of this

One year after REA was created, many of the aspirations of farmers were written into the Rural Electrification Act of 1936. The original bills were introduced in the Senate by the late George Norris of Nebraska, and in the House of Representatives by our guest, the Speaker of the House. I think Speaker RAYBURN will agree that the act set up the kind of program that farmers wanted.

Rural Americans did not want free elec-They asked only for a loan program, and they were willing to pay back their

loans with interest.

They asked that cooperatives be permitted to borrow REA funds and build the lines to their farms.

They asked for an authority broad enough to provide a complete electric system, including transmission as well as distribution lines,

and generating facilities if necessary.

They insisted that they should have the right to serve nonfarm rural residents as well as farmers, recognizing that they should and must serve everyone in a rural area to make their projects feasible.

The Rural Electrification Act provided spe-

cifically for all these things.

It wasn't long before REA began to stand for much more than a Government agency in Washington. It stood for a national movement of rural people, united in their common need for electric power.

Rural people were fed up with promises, with conferences, with experiments. They knew that they needed electricity as much, if not more, than town and city people. They knew that it was possible from an engineering standpoint to build lines to their farms. If no one else would undertake construction, they were more than willing to tackle the job themselves.

As a result, cooperatives emerged as the principal borrowers of REA funds. Of the 1,086 organizations which have obtained loans under our electric program, 985 of them have been cooperatives. Nearly all of them were organized after the creation of REA

The people who formed those co-ops faced The people who formed those to be towering difficulties. In most States, entowering difficulties, in head to be approved. The unanimous consent to have printed in organizers had to answer the questions of

their neighbors, collect easements, sign up new consumers. They had to satisfy REA that their project would pay out. All these strange new tasks were undertaken by people without any experience in the electric business.

In each county where a co-op got under way, a handful of rural people supplied the spark, the drive, the faith to make the thing work. Some were aggressive men, powerful speakers, with the talent for arousing the enthusiasm of others. Some didn't talk much, but they made up for that with hard Others had the ability to soothe people's feelings, to help them to understand and to compromise.

All of them were determined to get elec-

tricity into their areas.

These co-op pioneers deserve the greatest share of the credit for the success of rural electrification. There are thousands of them-too many to name even if we knew all of their names. Millions of rural people owe these pioneers a debt of gratitude that

can never be repaid.

The enthusiasm of the early leaders spread to others. Consulting engineers and contractors were caught up in the spirit of the movement, and their devotion to their jobs undoubtedly saved many of the first cooperatives from early extinction. Many manufacturers and suppliers of line equipment also were quick to cooperate. A number of techniques were developed that lowered construction costs and helped to make area coverage feasible. Once the rural electri-fication program was underway, there was no stopping it. The people saw to that.

There is no question in my mind but that REA employees caught the excitement, too. Our employees have had an unusual spirit of dedication. Part of this came from the close working relationship which developed between the REA staff and rural people. Many of the staff had grown up on farms; they understood the problem. They knew that they were engaged in a project of direct benefit to rural America; they could see the tangible results of their efforts spreading

mile by mile across the Nation.

All those who work for REA today-and those who have gone before, beginning with the late Morris L. Cooke, the first Administrator-can take pride in the tremendous accomplishments of the last 25 years. may be too early to assign a place in history to the rural electrification program, but I believe that it will be recorded as an undertaking as significant to the development of America as the transcontinental railroads or our road and highway network. By helping to rub out the sharp line that used to exist between town and country, rural electrification has drawn all of us closer together. It has been another great step forward in uniting all of our people into one nation.

Years ago, REA produced a motion pictre, "The Power and the Land." It showed rural people how they could help themselves to obtain electric power with an REA loan.

Now we have made another motion picture, "The REA Story." It shows some of the ways in which electricity has changed the face of rural America.

You are going to see the premiere of that film now. As its narrator points out, the story of rural electrification is still being written.

I hope that this new generation of rural leaders will do some pioneer work in rural development. With the electric power which their fathers helped provide—and with the modern telephone systems which are being financed under REA's newer telephone loan program-there is no reason why many more factories and business firms and processing plants cannot be built in rural America. Today you can do anything in the country that you can do in the city.

I want you to think about what can be done as you view this film—and I hope that thousands of young men and women in co-op

areas will think about it. too.

As the narrator points out, rural electri-fication has a big, bright, and beautiful future. The vision of the first co-op pioneers has come true. There is no reason why we should not try to make a new vision-the vision of a rural America with stable com-munities and full employment—come true in the next 25 years.

Deer Creek Pilot Wins Award as Best Smalltown Weekly Newspaper

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, FRANK E. SMITH

OF MISSISSIPPI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 19, 1960

SMITH of Mississippi. Mr. Speaker, those of us who are regular readers of the Deer Creek Pilot, of Rolling Fork, Miss., have always known it to be one of the finest smalltown newspapers in the country, but we were very much pleased to see this recognition made by the National Editorial Association, the national organization of weekly newspapers. Under unanimous consent, I include the following news story from the Deer Creek Pilot giving an account of the award, and an editorial signed by Hal DeCell, editor and publisher, and his wife, Carolyn, his coworker on the Pilot: RECOGNIZED AT NEA CONVENTION IN ATLANTA. GA.

Your Deer Creek Pilot has been judged by the National Editorial Association to be the best small weekly newspaper in the entire United States of America for the year

A plague signifying this recognition was presented Editor and Mrs. Hal DeCell last riday night at the awards night banquet of the National Editorial Association convention in Atlanta, Ga.

This was the second National Editorial Association award for your Pilot. The other was a 1952 award for second best column in the Nation which was received by Editor Hal DeCall for his column "Out on a Limb."

Other Mississippi newspapers and editors receiving recognition were Mrs. Lois Anderson, of the Ripley Southern Sentinel, was awarded third place in "Service to Agriculture"; Jim Lacey, Jr., of the Madison County Herald was awarded honorable mention for "Best News Picture"; and Cal Turnner of the Jackson State-Times received honorable mention for his entry in "Best Feature Story.'

In awarding your Pilot first place in General Excellence in the small weekly field, the judges commented, "The Deer Pilot is a thoroughly progressive publica-tion, hardly suggestive of a provincial set-The editorial page, news coverage, advertising display, and general appearance reflect professional management."

The committee of judges was made up of Dean Warrne K. Agee, School of Journalism, West Virginia University; Charles H. Wiseman of Des Moines, Iowa; Dean Earl E. English, School of Journalism, University of Missouri; Prof. Clifton C. Edom, School of Journalism, University of Missouri; Prof. Paul Fisher, School of Journalism, University of Missouri; Prof. Alfred Crowell,

Department of Journalism and Public Relations, University of Maryland; Victor Portmann, School of Journalism, University of Kentucky; Robert Baram, Boston University and New England Weekly Press Association; Dr. H. R. Long, Department of Journalism, Southern Illinois University; Prof. John Stempel, Department of Journalism, Indiana University; John Wolf, Norwood, Ohio; Prof. Charles B. Kopp, Henry W. Grady, School of Journalism, University of Georgia; Dean John E. Drewry, Henry W. Grady School of Journalism, University of Georgia; R. A. Brodhecker, Brownstown, Indiana; Russ Metz, Salem, Indiana; Oliver Knight, Indiana University; Reuben Mehling, Indiana University; Richard W. Lee, Southern Illinois University; Pointer McEvoy, Indiana University; Bernin James, West Virginia University; Werner Severin, University of Maryland; Dr. D. E. Newsom, University of Maryland; and Dr. Carter Byran, University of Maryland.

THAT WHICH PLEASED US MOST (By Hal and Carolyn DeCell)

We were, as could be expected, very pleased and thrilled to receive the plaque last Friday night in Atlanta, Ga. It was a plaque, as you probably know, that proclaimed your Deer Creek Pilot to be, in the judgment of the National Editorial Association, the best small weekly newspaper in the United States of America.

We were even more pleased, however, to receive the next morning a telegram from Rolling Fork's mayor and board of aldermen, which read: "Your hometown folks also agree our weekly newspaper is the best. Congratulations on your outstanding victory."

It means a lot to have the Pilot considered

outstanding by our fellow newspapermen in the Nation. But it means even more to us to be provided with such evidence as that telegram to show that we have succeeded. at least to some extent, in publishing the type of newspaper that you—our friends, neighbors, critics, and fellow citizens—are not ashamed to claims as yours.

That we have perhaps, through our newspapering efforts, achieved for the Pilot a place not only in your homes but in your hearts has for us more meaning than tional honors and recognition—that we can be considered an integral part of our community and county is a much higher accolade than can ever be bestowed upon us elsewhere.

There is, incidentally, one extremely important thing in connection with the recent honor accorded the Pilot which has not yet been done and which we intend to do with

no further delay.

A newspaper is the creative product, week after week, of many persons. And it is un-fortunate that all those persons can never be accorded the full recognition due them for the important parts they play in the publication of the Deer Creek Pilot

In an attempt to correct this, we want to publicly share all of the wonderful congratulations and best wishes with Harry Simmons, who is not only the best backshop foreman in Mississippi, but one of the best friends we have. The Pilot just wouldn't be the Pilot were it not for the highly creative pride and affection which Harry lavishes upon its pages.

And where would we be were it not for the efforts of Mrs. Pete Brown, who in some miraculous manner manages to maintain some semblance of order in the business and circulation departments, while at the same time keeping up with the social doings of the area. The fact that the DeCell children consider "Mrs. Pete" a second mother stands as mute evidence, also, to the personal relationship which helps keep the wheels turning.

We bow deeply in the direction of Miss Ethel Middlebrook, whose patience and per-sistence with our temperamental linotype

machine make possible each week the transforming of thousands of words into type. Not to mention her diligence in catching lacy-trimmed but misspelled words, and her noncomplaining compliance with the pe-culiar typographical ideas of the editor.

We must also point out-and we do so with pride—that the entire Negro community can be justly proud of the part played in the production of the Pilot by Charlie Lewis Sam Bruce. Their work and efforts each week bespeak the pride which they,

too, have in the Pilot.

These are the ones who are responsible for the actual physical production of your Deer Creek Pilot. There are others whose creativeness, energy and efforts also play a most important part in making the Pilot what it is. In recognition of the efforts of those others-our columnists-we extend a warm thank you to Mr. Johnny Joor, Ceach Bob Dunaway, Coach Clarence Wilkinson, Mary Jo Latham, Karen Evans, those two DeCell boys, and most assuredly our wonderful Hollandale editor, Frances Boykin.

Our thanks also to County Agents George Berry and Bill Fleming and their capable and cooperative staffs, and to our community correspondents: Mrs. J. E. Pearce, Mrs. Bill Hammond, Mrs. Johnny Cooper, Mrs. Frank Waren, Mrs. V. E. Stewart, Mrs. Marshall Spiars, Mrs. Gilbert Bennett, and Miss Addle

Lou White.

Most of all do we want to say thanks to each of you—because you make our communities and counties what they are-the most wonderful and warm area in the entire world in which to publish a newspaper. Thank you a million times over for letting us be a part of you.

Wisconsin Agriculturists Honored for Leadership

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. ALEXANDER WILEY

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Wednesday, May 18, 1960

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, currently, the Nation is facing serious economic difficulties in agriculture.

Although there have been a wide variety of patent medicines prescribed for the farm economy, none, as yet, has succeeded in substantially improving the situation.

The great challenges in agriculture include the need for establishing a relative supply-demand balance of farm commodities, to carry forward effective research programs, establishing new markets, as well as new ways of utilizing farm products, providing information and educational programs to better enable our rural people to deal with the difficulties, and other such tasks.

A major challenge, too, is to provide the creative, constructive, forwardthinking leadership necessary for progress in agriculture.

Today, I welcome the opportunity to pay tribute to examples of just such leadership. I had the privilege of visiting with my friend Marvin F. Schweers

Recently, four sons of our Badger State received recognition by the Department of Agriculture for leadership in their specific fields.

These leaders include: Dr. Henry L. Ahlgren, of Madison, director of the Wisconsin Cooperative Extension Service: Ned R. Ellis, of Lancaster, Wis., associate director of Animal Husbandry Research at Beltsville, Md.; Werner P. Meyer, of Cedarburg, Wis., assistant director for research communications in Wisconsin; and Marvin F. Schweers, of Madison, Wis., our State conservationist.

Over the years, these outstanding leaders and their associates have contributed much to improving and expanding such constructive programs as extension services, animal husbandry, communications programs, soil and water conservation, and contributing to solution of problems in other aspects of the farm economy.

Reflecting the high caliber of agricultural leadership needed by the country, I ask unanimous consent to have an article from the Milwaukee Journal, giving further details on the specific contribution of these sons of Wisconsin to agriculture, printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

AHLGREN TO GET HONOR AS EXTENSION LEADER—DIRECTOR OF SERVICE AT UW AMONG FOUR FROM WISCONSIN TO GET AWARDS

Washington, D.C.—Dr. Henry L. Ahlgren, Madison, director of the Wisconsin Cooperative Extension Service, will receive the Federal Agriculture Department's distinguished service award Tuesday.

Dr. Ahlgren is one of seven Department employees who will get this award from Agriculture Secretary Benson in a ceremony at the Washington Monument grounds.

Three other Wisconsin men are among the 82 who will get the Department's annual superior service awards.

A native of Wyoming, Minn., Dr. Ahlgren was cited for outstanding leadership and superb skill in carrying forward a nationwide self-appraisal of extension work as a basis for sound and realistic extension programs.

AT UW SINCE 1929

Throughout his career he has been associated with the University of Wisconsin, where he got a bachelor of science degree in 1931, a master of science in 1933, and a doctor of philosophy in 1935. He has been on the UW faculty since 1929 and a professor of agronomy since 1944. He has been extension director since 1952.

As a member and chairman of the extension committee on organization and policy of the land-grant colleges and State universities, he took the lead in developing an effective nationwide program for extension.

HONORED BY SWEDEN

In 1958 Dr. Ahlgren was named oversea fellow of the Royal Swedish Academy of Agriculture and Forestry.

Superior service awards will go to Ned R. Ellis, a native of Lancaster, Wis.; Werner P. Meyer, who was born in Cedarburg, and Marvin F. Schweers, a native of Shawano.

Ellis, who was educated at UW, has been with the Federal agency for 40 years and for the last 3 years has been associate director of the animal husbandry research division at Beltsville, Md.

His award is for directing research resulting in more effective methods of breeding. feeding, and managing livestock and poultry

and for distinguished research in animal nutrition.

Meyer, assistant director for research com-munications here, got a B.S. degree in agricultural journalism at Wisconsin in 1923 and has been in this field ever since.

WORKED ON FARM JOURNAL

Before joining the Department of Agricul-ture he was on the staff of the Farm Journal and worked at the Wisconsin Agricultural Experiment Station.

Meyer is being honored for leadership and initiative in developing coordinated and cooperative communications programs at the State agricultural experiment stations.

Schweers attended Oshkosh Normal and Ripon Colleges and received a B.S. degree from the University of Wisconsin and an M.S. degree from Iowa State University. He joined the Soil Conservation Service in 1933 and has been State conservationist in Wisconsin since 1942.

Schweers is being recognized for meritorious leadership in advancing soil and water conservation programs in Wisconsin.

Veto of Excesses

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. J. ERNEST WHARTON

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 21, 1960

Mr. WHARTON. Mr. Speaker, it is one of the vagaries of politics that some of the people who have lately advocated streamlining the Government and making it more efficient are now voting for new Federal agencies. At least a dozen new bureaus have either been voted upon or are in the process of serious consideration at the hands of the present Congress. Is not it about time that'we stop passing new laws and repeal some of the old boondoggles that have been deceiving the public for years? The labels on some of the new legislation that is coming before us are truly magnificent; but upon closer examination the major provision is usually a new bureau for the taxpayer to support.

Fortunately, the President has again caught up with one of these monstrosities, and I wish to submit herewith an editorial from the Washington Daily News, entitled "Veto of Excesses."

VETO OF EXCESSES

President Eisenhower has vetoed the socalled depressed areas bill because of its excesses. The key jibe in the veto message is that this was an election year measurefrequently the root motive for bad legisla-

For one thing, the bill proposed a new Federal agency in a Government already overrun with duplicate, time-wasting agencies

soaking up the taxpayers' money.

"Lasting solutions to the problems of chronic unemployment," the President said. "can be only forthcoming if local citizensthe people most immediately concernedtake the lead in planning and financing

This bill would have discouraged and stymied such efforts, and thus would have been largely a boondoggle. The Federal Government is in a position to help communities in meeting their local problems—but it never can help by hindering. The veto was an obvious necessity.

W. H. M. Stover Writes of His Mother's Last Prayer as Tribute to Value of Loving and Helpful Parents

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JENNINGS RANDOLPH

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, May 18, 1960

Mr. RANDOLPH. Mr. President, in this period of international tension it seems appropriate that we pause to reflect upon our homes and the loved ones who have shared our joys and our sorrows.

It has been only a short time since Mother's Day was observed, and on that occasion I am sure many beautiful tributes were accorded to these oftentimes unapplauded molders of men.

"My Mother's Last Prayer," written by my friend "Bill" W. H. M. Stover, of Washington, D.C., for Mother's Day, May 8, 1960, has come to my attention.

Mr. President, "Bill" Stover's human document—the touching words of memorial, both to his mother and his father—constitutes a meaningful manifestation of reverence and Christian thoughtfulness. I ask unanimous consent that his tribute be printed in the Appendix of the Record.

There being no objection, the tribute was ordered printed in the RECORD, as

follows:

MY MOTHER'S LAST PRAYER

My mother was an angel of mercy. She taught her children to share. No shaggy dog left her door hungry. Stray cats came to our small farm and stayed. Tramps and beggars, following the nearby railroad, frequently detoured by our back door where they were fed in great abundance.

Since as early as 5, I can remember being sent with my 7-year-old brother to the village frequently to carry a bowl of soup, a bundle of clothing, or a wagon of wood to the village destitute widow we called Aunt Mollie Barrie. I can hear that kindly old woman still saying, "I pray every night that God will richly bless your good mother and you boys." And He did, in much greater abundance than we perhaps deserved.

abundance than we perhaps deserved.

Charlie Murray, the town drunkard and ne'er-do-well, was on her list. When he was dispossessed, she helped her sons build old Charlie a one-room shack on the hill by the woods on our farm, and he lived there, fed mostly by us, until he died. Many were the repeat Sunday visitors, who just happened around, when frying chickns were ripe for plucking. I know for I killed and picked 5 or 6 fryers with regularity on Saturdays. Even the neighbors, with little of life's goods and with much less energy than mother and her brood of six, lived off our garden, our hennery, and our larder.

As a child I used to hear her sing that old song which I shall never forget:

"A mother was bidding a farewell to her boy, He was going to leave her that morn; "Twas hard to depart from the ones that he

loved,
And the old cottage where he was born.
He never returned but he never forgot
The appeal she had made to her boy:

Be faithful and fearless, kindhearted and true,

Be manly in sorrow or joy. In trials remember, 'tis darkest e'er dawn.' 'Twas a mother's appeal to her boy." Later in life, after dad's retirement, I got into financial hot water. Mother and dad, visiting on my farm at the time, were as concerned as I was. I saw them walking around in deep conversation. Finally they came and offered me first their stocks and bonds, then added their meager savings, and after a final conference added their only other possession—their home. They said, "You can sell it and use the money. We don't really need it."

Of course I never accepted their generosity, but their very unselfishness stiffened my backbone, touched my heart, and caused the mental processes to start to work to solve what turned out to be a very simple problem.

We lost mother the 7th of last December. She spent her last 3 days in a hospital under an oxygen tent. Between gasps she'd rally to greet visitors. When her favorite nephew approached her bed she looked up and said, "I promised to make you a pie." Her pastor said, "only last week she sent my wife a birthday cake. Your mother has sent us a cake for Mrs. Ransom's birthday every year since I became her pastor."

Two weeks before her final confinement she pressed two \$100 bills into my hand with such firmness and such an air of finality that I tucked it away in my billfold for later return. Instead I used it as the hospital admission fee, for which apparently it was intended. It was to cover the cost of her last residence here on earth.

In her final hours, between lapses of partial consciousness, she could be heard repeating over and over, that simple prayer which Christ taught, "Our Father who art in heaven." With that prayer on her lips she went down through the valley of the shadow of death, fearing no evil. For the Lord always was her shepherd since as long as I can remember.

My mother was the most generous person I've ever met. And my dad was like unto her. My dad was the finest Christian gentleman I've ever known. He was one of God's great noblemen, and she an angel of mercy. It can truly be said of her: "She didn't know how to cut a small slice of cake."

So today, on this first anniversary when this family celebrates Mother's Day around a vacant chair and with an aching heart, I pay my humble respects to my mother and father, and to all the mothers and fathers of this world.

And I pray that sons and daughters everywhere may daily strive to be faithful and ever worthy of our Christian concept and heritage of parenthood.

By "BILL" W. H. M. STOVER.

San Luis Unit of the Central Valley Project

SPEECH

HON. AL ULLMAN

OF OREGON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, May 17, 1960

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H.R. 7155) to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to construct the San Luis unit of the Central Valley project, California, to enter into an agreement with the State of California with respect to the construction and operation of such unit, and for other purposes.

Mr. ASPINALL. Mr. Chairman, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from Oregon [Mr. Ullman].

Mr. ULLMAN. Mr. Chairman, let me state at the outset that the San Luis project is a good project and that I support its authorization. The need for San Luis has been clearly demonstrated and its feasibility has been substantiated. The bill before us is the result of extended negotiations and is based on our committee's consideration of the problem over a period of not just weeks or months, but of years. This proposal is a sound compromise stemming from the earlier differing approaches to the situation. It provides for an agreement between the Federal Government and the State for joint use as a first alternative, but provides at the same time that the project shall proceed on an all-Federal basis in the event that agreement on joint-use cannot be reached within a specified time.

In short, Mr. Chairman, except for one section this is an excellent bill. That one exception is section 7, which I believe is unnecessary, unwise and unsound and which I strongly urge be elminated from the bill. At the appropriate time I will offer an amendment to accomplish that purpose.

Why must we delete section 7? The answer to that question must be seen in the context of four aspects of the San Luis proposal before us.

First, the bill authorizes a joint-venture of State and Federal Government. This is made necessary by the fact that the San Luis reservoir site is the only adequate and feasible storage site in the area. For this reason the proposal is to construct, either initially or by subsequent enlargement, facilities sufficient to serve both the recognized Federal needs and those additional needs which the State proposed to meet.

Second, as a part of this joint-venture aspect, there will be a commingling of project facilities and storage supplies. This gives the project a character which is, I believe, unique and which represents a new approach to reclamation development. Third, and of utmost importance, is the fact that the details of joint-use arrangements are not spelled out in the bill before us. They are, of necessity, left to negotiation. The fact that we are moving here into a new area of approach to reclamation problems and that the details of the probable arrangement are to be worked out later in negotiations should alert all of us to the imperative need to move with extreme care-care that we do not in any way undermine Federal interests or the basic concepts of Federal reclamation law.

This concern is given a specific character when we consider the fourth aspect of the situation—the challenge to the tradtional 160-acre limitation in Federal reclamation law. The 1956 data show that, of the 1.4 million acres in the San Luis Valley including the proposed Federal service area and surrounding areas, over 64 percent of the land is held by owners with more than 1,000 acres each. The largest of these, the Southern Pacific Railroad, accounts for 10 percent of the total and the second-largest owner, the Standard Oil Co., accounts for another 7 percent. A similar pattern is to be found in Kern County including possible areas of irrigation service south of the Federal service area. Here, of 1.1 million acres of land, we again find that 64 percent is accounted for by owners of more than 1,000 acres each. The largest owner, the Kern County Land Co., accounts for 16 percent of the total and the various oil companies with large holdings account for another 15 percent.

Mr. Chairman, I do not need to be-labor the point. The basic question is whether or not the 160-acre limitation and other such Federal guideposts of reclamation law shall follow Federal investment. This being the basic question, I think all of us would agree that it should be answered either by the courts or by the Congress considering it on its own merits. I submit that section 7 adheres to neither of these approaches, and that for this reason it must be deleted. It does not consider the question on its merits, as is abundantly clear both from the report of the committee on the bill and from the arguments of those who support its retention. But, at the same time, it clearly implies an answer to the question which may be regarded as binding by the courts. This is not the proper way of either changing fundamental reclamation law or of expressing our opinion as to the intent of such fundamental law.

Section 7 may not in any way alter reclamation law as some suggest. The majority of the committee takes the position that this is the case. Then it is redundancy and should be eliminated.

On the other hand, because of the indefinite nature of Federal-State relations contemplated by this bill-which, as I have pointed out, represents a new approach to reclamation—section 7, if left in the bill, may very well alter directly fundamental reclamation law and abrogate the 160-acre limitation in its legal application. Because of that very distinct and dangerous possibility, this section must be deleted from the bill.

Section 7 is not necessary to the bill. The measure is complete without it.

I ask the opponents of my amendment this question: Is the retention of section 7 necessary to insure that Federal reclamation law will not extend to the socalled State service area? If they answer "no," then they are saying, as some of them do say, that existing law already provides this assurance and they can have no objection to deletion of this admittedly unnecessary action. If they answer "yes," then they are saying, in effect, "we are not sure whether or not existing law would extend to the State service area and we want to insure that it doesn't." If that is their answer, they are clearly asking that we take a position on a question of fundamental Federal reclamation law-a position either expressing our intent as to its interpretation or altering it-and I repeat that such an action by this body should only be carried out through a specific measure in its own right, with all the due consideration and hearings that such a measure must receive.

I ask the Members of this body to protect the 160-acre limitation by supporting my amendment, then to support this project which will add so greatly to the conservation and use of the water resources of our Nation.

Mr. ULLMAN. Mr. Chairman, I want to commend the very able gentleman from California for his untiring efforts on behalf of the San Luis project. And, I want to say here that that is a very excellent example of the type of development that has built America, as the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. KIRWAN] has so ably told us a few minutes ago. This is a feasible project. It is a good project. It has been beset with many difficulties over a number of years because of the fact that involved here is not only Federal reclamation but a State water plan. So, we have had a compromise solution worked out in this bill before us today.

Generally speaking, it is a good solution. We are launching out in some respects in a new direction, an untried direction, but I think it is a sound one and the American way to get the job done.

I am concerned about one section of this bill, as many of my colleagues are, and at the proper time I plan to offer an amendment. It will be a very simple amendment to strike out section 7 of the bill. Section 7 is a very short section.

The provision of the Federal reclamation laws shall not be applicable to water deliveries or to the use of drainage facilities serving lands under contract with the State to receive a water supply, outside of the Federal San Luis unit service area described in the report of the Department of the Interior entitled "San Luis Unit, Central Valley Project," dated December 17, 1956.

The reason that I oppose this section so strongly-and I do strongly oppose it, as do many of my colleagues to the extent that if section 7 is left in the bill we may have to vote against the project. I urge all of you who are sincere believers in this great development to join in eliminating this section.

Mr. YOUNGER. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. ULLMAN. I yield to the gentleman from California.

Mr. YOUNGER. If, as the chairman of the committee states, it makes no difference whether section 7 is in or out. why, if it is left in, would you vote against the bill?

Mr. ULLMAN. Of course, there is a difference of opinion on this point. The committee takes the position that it makes no difference. Therefore I say why not take it out? Under those circumstances it is completely redundant. There were days of debate over in the other body on this same issue. You can read the RECORD. The other body took out this section. The feeling is so strong over there that if you really want a bill, you will be wise to accept the amend-

Mr. YOUNGER. Mr. Chairman, if the gentleman will yield further, if it is redundant and you are in favor of the bill, why would you vote against the bill with something that is redundant in it?

Mr. ULLMAN. The preponents of section 7 take that position. I do not happen to agree. My position is that it does make a difference, that if section 7 remains in the bill, there is every likelihood that what we are doing is changing our basic reclamation law. What I am talking about is the 160-acre limitation. I think you all believe in this principle of spreading benefits to the small landowners and keeping the large operators from getting undue enrichment from our Federal investment. This is basic. I think most of my colleagues acknowledge that the taxpayers, who have through the years supported reclamation, depend upon us to make sure that this basic principle is safeguarded.

Mr. COHELAN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. ULLMAN. I yield to the gentleman from California.

Mr. COHELAN. On this question of whether it does or does not make any difference, and with all due respect to those who contend otherwise, I am wondering if the gentleman is aware that the Feather River Association on February 12 of this year passed a resolution demanding that if the Congress declined to delete section 7, the State of California should be asked to build San Luis in order to avoid the 160-acre limitation. Somebody obviously feels that this is important. In other words the position is taken just the other way around. The bill is threatened if section 7 does not remain in. This makes me very suspicious, and I am sure the gentleman will agree with me.

Mr. ULLMAN. This is true; a great issue has been made over this section 7. There are many people who cannot support the project if section 7 remains. I say delete section 7. What we seek is to have basic reclamation law apply. We want Federal benefits to follow our Federal investment.

Mr. HAGEN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. ULLMAN. I yield to the gentle-

Mr. HAGEN. This may be a privileged matter; I think it occurred in the committee at the time of executive consideration of the bill and if the gentleman does not feel it is privileged I should appreciate his answer. Is it not true that in the committee the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. SAYLOR] offered an amendment which would have spelled out the fact that Federal reclamation law did apply to the State project under these circumstances? As I understand, the gentleman was opposed to that amendment; I would like to know why.

Mr. ULLMAN. This is true. In other words, there are some who take the position that all of the water in this joint facility should be under the 160-acre limitation. I take the position that that portion of the water that comes from the Federal investment should be definitely under the 160-acre limitation. What I want to do is to preserve that basic principle. I believe that basic principle will be abrogated with section 7 in the bill and that there is a good likelihood that the benefits from this Federal project will go onto lands without the proper 160-acre limitation.

Mr. HAGEN. One more question, if I may. It is the gentleman's position, then, in offering his amendment, which he will do tomorrow, I assume, to strike

section 7: and it is not his intention that water produced with State funds, let us say, shall be subject to the Federal reclamation law?

Mr. ULLMAN. My intention is that existing Federal reclamation law should apply to that portion of the water resulting from Federal investment. On that basis I feel sure that the Members of the House can and will support the amendment. I is certainly a reasonable position. It is a sound position. It is one that I know the taxpayers of America would support because they do not want to take the chance that part of their investment would go to provide water to unduly enrich large landholders beyond the 160-acre limitation principle.

(Mr. ULLMAN asked and was given permission to revise and extend his re-

marks.)

A Veto Voters Will Remember Next November

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. VANCE HARTKE

OF INDIANA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Wednesday, May 18, 1960

Mr. HARTKE. Mr. President, a few days ago President Eisenhower in his legislative message to Congress requested enactment of a bill to aid depressed areas. We passed a modest bill authorizing \$251 million in loans and grants to aid local communities suffering by acute and chronic unemployment to help create new jobs. Eighty percent of the authorized sum was for loans. Thirtyone areas of the country need such legislation, including five in my State.

Unfortunately, the President vetoed the bill we passed. This veto was certainly ill advised. I fail to see how an area which has lost its principal industry, such as coal, can be expected to solve its own jobless problems.

The Louisville Courier-Journal commented very astutely on this veto. I ask unanimous consent that its comment be Drinted in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

A VETO VOTERS WILL REMEMBER NEXT NOVEMBER

One of the better side effects of the West Virginia primary was the attention given to the depressed coal-producing areas of the State. Not only the candidates, Mr. KENNEDY and Mr. HUMPHREY, but many of the country's news media discovered, somewhat to wallowing in the lap of Mr. Elsenhower's unprecedented prosperity. There are also, they found, great economic backwashes in Which the people live in poverty, hunger, Joblessness and almost despair.

Our only regret is that the reporters and television newsmen had no occasion to come across the line into Kentucky, where they might have found even more widespread and equally desperate conditions. Telecaster David Brinkley did a first-rate job not only of showing the coal-camp misery of West Virginia but of prodding the conscience of a wealthy nation that permits such misery to continue. (He was berated by West Virginia officials, incidentally, for his pains.) We

wish that he could pay equal attention to Kentucky's depressed areas, and emphasize that these conditions are now more than 10 vears old.

NO IMPRESSION OF IKE

Unfortunately, neither the words nor pictures of Mr. Brinkley and his fellows seem to have impressed President Eisenhower, who has again vetoed a bill designed to relieve the suffering and distress of the people of these economically depressed regions and start them on the road to recovery. The veto of this bill was neither humane nor economical. It denies, in effect, the responsibility of the Government to its people. And in the long run it will cost the American taxpayer money. For the longer the relief and recovery of these areas is postponed, the more

it is going to cost.

The bill passed by the Senate Democrats, with the help of five Republicans including Kentucky's John Sherman Cooper, was not a lavish one. It called for \$251 million to be spent to rebuild the basic economy of the areas and to assist efforts to create new jobs. We will spend this year 16 times as much to rebuild the economies and assist the depressed areas of foreign nations. We will spend 155 times as much on defense. In view of such spending, it is preposterous to contend, as does the President, that we cannot afford so minor an expense for our own people without threatening the budget and

our national financial stability.
President Eisenhower, who has achieved no reputation for keeping abreast of the news and who confessed recently that he read only Sunday newspapers, cannot justify his veto with ignorance of the facts. Senator Cooper spoke movingly on the need for this measure, and twice pleaded with the President personally to approve it, pointing out that it was merely an authorization, needing the approval of the Appropriations Committee before any money was actually

Despite this, the President later referred to the bill as "a pork barrel." "I will do what my judgment tells me to do," he said, shortly before he attached his veto. Both his statement and his action indicate that his judgment could stand improvement. A balanced diet for hungry American children is as important as a balanced budget.

Show Your Loyalty to the United States of America by Displaying Old Glory

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. PAUL A. FINO

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, May 18, 1960

Mr. FINO. Mr. Speaker, I am privileged to insert in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD a statement issued by Floyd I. Silk, commander, New York County, Disabled American Veterans, on displaying the American flag: SHOW YOUR LOYALTY TO THE UNITED STATES

OF AMERICA BY DISPLAYING OLD GLORY

The American flag is the symbol of the United States of America and should be shown by every good American. Display of the American flag shows love of

country and approval of the ideals and principles that our Nation stands for.

Display of the American flag on New Year's Day, January 1, shows love of God and

Display of Our Flag on Lincoln's Birthday, February 12 and Washington's Birthday, February 22-shows admiration and respect for these two great men, who did so much for our Nation and helps to perpetuate the

memory of these two great past Presidents.

Display of Old Glory on Loyalty Day,
April 30—shows loyalty to the United States of America.

Display of The Stars and Stripes on Armed Forces Day, third Saturday of May demonstrates support of our Armed Forces and their efforts to preserve the peace and freedom of our Nation.

Display of the Star-Spangled Banner on Memorial Day, May 30, shows that we, the people of America, have not forgotten those gallant heroes, who served in the Armed Forces to preserve our freedom and who have passed on to their final resting

Display of our national colors on Flag Day, June 14, demonstrates recognition of the Stars and Stripes, as the symbols of our great Nation, and shows pride and love

for our Nation and flag.
Display of Old Glory on Independence Day, July 4—a show of appreciation for our independence and recognition of the rights of all mankind.

Display of the red, white and blue on Labor Day, first Monday of September—shows appreciation for the rights and freedom of all our citizens to seek their own livelihood in their own way in their pursuit of happiness.

Display of the American flag on Columbus Day, October 12—recognizes the discovery of the land that became our great Nation and creates awareness of the many great nationalities that emigrated to and make up our great Nation.

Display of our flag on Theodore Rooseveit's birthday, October 27—also known as Navy Day—helps to perpetuate the memory of this great American and also salutes our great naval service and the boys in navy blue, who serve so well and help keep America strong.

Display of our national colors on Veterans Day, November 11—is a salute to all who served in our Armed Forces and a pledge to continue our efforts to preserve democracy.

Display of the flag of the United States of America on Thanksgiving Day, final Thursday of November, a means of showing gratitude for the blessings that come with being a citizen of the United States of America and the Republic for which it stands.

Display of The Stars and Stripes during the final week of December demonstrates appreciation for the religious freedom we enjoy

in this great country.

These are the special occasions for display of the beloved banner of our land. the patriotic duty of every American citizen to display the fiag at these times. Truly Old Glory should be flown 365 days of each year and the ideal situation for display of love of country would be a flag pole on the property of each home owner and every public edifice in our land. It would be a magnificent sight to see many flags blowing in the breeze daily, instead of the very few that we do see.

FLOYD I. SILK, Commander, New York County, Disabled American Veterans.

A Piece of Parchment

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. LYNDON B. JOHNSON

OF TEXAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Wednesday, May 18, 1960

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a copy of the talk made by Miss Dorwayne Phelps, of Houston, Tex., who was one of the 12 finalists in the 1960 American Legion high school oratorical contest. I think the words of this 17-year-old will be an inspiration to all of us as we read her speech on the birth of the Constitution of the United States.

The contest, approved by the National Association of Secondary School Principals, has attracted thousands of high school students throughout the country. This year more than 350,000 students competed in 12 basic regions. Miss Phelps was the winner of the sixth region.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

A PIECE OF PARCHMENT

(By Dorwayne Phelps, 26 North Wynden Drive, Houston, Tex.)

The men seated around the long mahogany table were tired and hot and a little bit glad that this whole thing was just about over. A long sheet of white parchment lay on the table and each man took up a quill pen and signed his name to it. They were all very weary, and well they should be—for on this sweltry fall afternoon—these men had given birth to the Constitution of the United States. For this was Carpenters' Hall, Philadelphia. And this was the afternoon of September 17, 1787.

The Constitution of the United States. What were the ingredients that went into it? It was made up of 100 days of dispute, argument, discussion; 3 months of planning and toiling; years of confusion; minds filled with doubt; and hearts full of hope and determination—hope for the successful future; determination for a safe and secure present.

For these men had created what Winston Churchlli was to call almost 200 years later ".* * the greatest piece of writing ever to come out of America."

"The greatest piece of writing." But what made it so great was that it was not merely a piece of writing—a dead piece of white parchment—it was a way of life—a living, growing, reproducing organism. It lives to-day almost 200 years after its birth; it has grown constantly through the years; it has seen itself reproduced numerous times in similar foreign replicas.

This "great piece of writing" demands

This "great piece of writing" demands more than just reading. It demands supporting, defending, and most of all—this demands living. Just as it takes a heap of living to make a house a home, so it has taken a heap of living to make this Constitution work. For this is but a useless piece of parchment without people to support and protect it. This Bitl of Rights is but a group of meaningless words without people dedicated to guard it.

George Washington called the Articles of Confederation, the Constitution's predecessor, "a rope of sand." What keeps this Constitution from being a rope of sand—what mysterious threads are woven through it to give it strength and stability? Namely these—the threads of individual rights. But rights are more than gifts. As every coin has tails as well as heads, so every privilege has its corresponding responsibility. But, few people bother to turn the coin over. Too many people are simply working on the basis of paying by credit, accepting privileges with a vague assurance of paying for them later, if they pay at all.

Well, let us turn the coin over and see the corresponding responsibilities that come with the privileges, the responsibilities that must be paid day by day—not in some nebulous future. Just as we have the right to vote, so we also have the responsibility to exercise that right—to give up the bridge party or baseball game to cast our ballot on election day. What a sacrifice. Just as we have the right to worship freely, so we have the responsibility of seeing that this tolerance is extended to all minority groups. Just as we have the right of free speech, so we must extend this same right to others. Just as we enjoy the services and protection of the Government, so we must also pay taxes to maintain that Government.

Yes, each privilege, each right, has its corresponding responsibility. But how few of us ever bother with the responsibility side of the picture. What do we bother with—with being successful, with getting ahead. But we never stop to realize that it is this Constitution—the very foundation of our way of life—that gives us the opportunity to be successful, to get aread. For it is the Constitution that assures us our system of free enterprise.

In today's world, many people hold the idea that patriotism is "corny." In their so-called sophistication, they brand the patriotic as "immature." How tragic—and how very, very shortsighted. How easy it is to forget that it was those corny patriots who fought and died for our freedoms. And it was the immature who gave us our golden heritage—the Constitution. Sometimes it takes a major catastrophe—a war, a depression, or a sputnik to knock us out of our complacency and pseudo-sophistication. The noted historian, Arnold Toynbee, has

The noted historian, Arnold Toynbee, has said that of the 21 greatest civilizations, 19 have dled from within. I imagine it is a very slow but sure process, don't you—dying from within. Its source—neglect and indifference for priceless heritages like constitutions. Its symptoms—apathy, complacency, pseudosophistication.

For this Constitution is quite a heritage—a heritage of freedom—of individual freedom—of individual responsibility. But great as it is, without defending, guarding, and most of all living, it can be destroyed.

The English poet, Shelley, in his poem, "Ozymandias," tells a tale of a giant pyramid, now crumbling, built in honor of the great king Ozymandias at the height of his power. The poem ends like this:

"And on the pedestal these words appear:
'My name is Ozymandias, king of kings;
Look on my works, ye mighty, and despair!'
Nothing beside remains. Round the decay
Of that colossal wreck, boundless and bare
The lone and level sands stretch far away."

No matter how powerful our country is today, the lone and level sands of time can stretch far away from us, if we do not awake to our golden heritage—our Constitution—guard it, defend it, support it, live it.

It is our duty to see that the Constitution of today, and the way of life it represents, will have a present just as safe and secure and a future just as bright as did that piece of white parchment, lying on a table in Philadelphia—1787.

A Bill To Prevent the Use of Stopwatches or Other Measuring Devices in the Postal Service

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. THADDEUS J. DULSKI

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 3, 1960

Mr. DULSKI. Mr. Speaker, I have today introduced a bill to prevent the use

of stopwatches or other measuring devices in the postal service. The purpose of this legislation is self-evident from its title.

Recently the Post Office Department introduced a work-measuring system known as the distribution guides program. So far as I am able to ascertain, this system is based on rule-of-thumb averages which, according to the Postmaster General, were obtained from a study of some 40 post offices differing in size, in physical conditions, such as lighting, the size of distribution cases, or other equipment factors. Everything I have heard about the system indicates that it is neither a scientific nor accurate system, and I subscribe to the view of the employees of the Buffalo Post Office that it is at best a speedup system. It fails to take into consideration the many factors which enter into an effective and honest time study, and particularly fails to take into account the hours of the day during which the work is performed. Dr. Frederic Lee, in his book "The Human Machine and Industrial Efficiency." has the following to say about nightwork in comparison with daywork:

I have shown that nightwork is characterized by certain distinctive features: It imposes on a physiological organism attuned to one sequence of events a different and abnormal sequence; it is characterized by greater fatigue than is daywork; it is interrupted by sleep; its curve of output falls off at an excessive rate in the morning hours; its total output is less than with daywork; its accident rate and its proportion of lost time are in excess over those of the day; it has a deleterious effect on health. All these features are inimical to a high degree of efficiency.

Night work is unnatural, unphysiological, abnormal, and it must ever remain so. It should not be allowed for women, and resort to it for men can only be justified by exceptional circumstances.

This distribution guides program is based on a system of measurement that is faulty in the extreme. The basic measure is 2 feet of mail. Theoretically, 2 feet of mail is supposed to equal 580 pieces. Actually, 2 feet of mail can vary anywhere between 350 pieces and 800 pieces, depending upon the thickness of the mail. The unit of measurement, therefore, is elastic.

The excuse for this system, as stated by the Post Office Department, is:

We believe that any distributor is interested in knowing how well he is doing on the job and how his work production compares. We believe that a distributor has a right to know what the yardstick is in measuring his production and the distribution guides system was developed to let the employee know just how he is doing.

In my judgment, such a statement is just so much hogwash. Whatever other reasons there may have been for the distribution guides system, certainly a desire to let the employee know just how he is doing had to be the least important. The Post Office Department certainly did not take the time, the trouble, and the expense necessary to the development of this system merely to let an employee know just how well he was doing or was not doing

Had the Department been sincerely interested in the employee's welfare, this system or any system of this nature, could only have been developed after adequate consultation with employee representatives and with the employees being represented every step of the way in the development of the program. Time and motion studies in private industry are not made without the consultation and participation of the employees through their union representatives.

According to the Post Office Department the vast majority of the employees readily meet the minimum requirements of the distribution guides program. This being true, it would seem to me that any system which requires that employees be detailed to nonproductive duties concerned principally with weighing, measuring, checking, and tabulating output, removes from productive effort at least as many hours as the system can be expected to save.

I have introduced this legislation after consultation with the officers of Local No. 374 of the National Federation of Post Office Clerks at Buffalo, N.Y., and with their national officers, and I commend it to the serious study of my collegues.

Wisconsin Conference on Aging

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. ALEXANDER WILEY

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, May 18, 1960

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, traditionally, my home State of Wisconsin has been vigorous, creative, forward-thinking, in tackling the great gamut of problems that confront a fast-growing, complex society.

This includes such fields as: youth development; industrial progress; conservation of natural resources; stimulating greater patriotism among our citizens; and a wide variety of other constructive activities.

At this time, I refer specifically to the upcoming Conference on Aging, scheduled for June 1-3 at Madison, Wis.

We recognize, of course, that our senlor citizens often face serious, difficult problems, in making social, economic, and other adjustments to changing conditions, as these affect their personal life.

Consequently, there is, I believe, a community responsibility for attempting to establish the climate which can best accommodate these older citizens and, as possible, provide them an opportunity to continue to make their unique and valuable contribution to community projects.

The upcoming conference in Madison proposes to consider a wide scope of problems, including economic security, housing, social services, health and medical care, life adjustments, and a variety of other topics integral with the problems of aging.

Reflecting one more way in which the great State of Wisconsin is moving forward to meet its own problems, and to

deal with the difficulties confronting its citizens, I ask unanimous consent that an article from the May 15 La Crosse Sunday Tribune, entitled "Plans Are Made for Conference on Aging" be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PLANS ARE MADE FOR CONFERENCE ON AGING
MADISON —Thirteen special subjects under

Madison.—Thirteen special subjects under the general heading "Health and Medical Care" will receive special attention of discussion panels during the third Governor's Conference on Aging, to be held at the Wisconsin Center in Madison, June 1–3.

The theme of the 3-day conference is "Aging—Everybody's Concern." The conference is open to the public.

The discussions will be a part of a state-wide conference planned as a step in Wisconsin's preparation for the White House Conference on Aging, to be held in January 1961. In addition to health and medical care, conferees will consider economic security, housing, social services, life adjustment, research, organization and organizations and the role and training of professional personnel, the eight major topics for the Governor's conference.

Speakers and discussions will highlight current programs for the aging in the State, identify needs and raise questions about the directions future programs should take, and will include recommendations for action needed in a total State and national effort concerned with aging.

concerned with aging.
Subjects in the health and medical care area to be discussed during the first day of the conference, Wednesday, June I, are: health maintenance and safety for the senior citizen, community level programing for health, long-term illness and the chronically ill, can we rehabilitate the disabled older person, and health insurance for the older

Thursday's discussions in health will include health maintenance and safety for the senior citizen, home and auto safety. long-term illness and the chronically ill, rehabilitation, and health insurance for the older years.

Remaining for Friday's health discussions will be: long-term illness and the chronically ill, rehabilitation, and nutrition.

"Sorry Dad, No Room for You," by Jim Bishop, Depicts Problems Common to Many Senior Citizens

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JENNINGS RANDOLPH

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, May 18, 1960

Mr. RANDOLPH. Mr. President, a stirring vignette by Jim Bishop "Sorry Dad, No Room for You" appeared in the Washington Evening Star of May 11, 1960.

The underlying tragedy of the situation depicted can tug at the conscience of each of us—in terms of personal responsibility to our own parents, as well as the realization of the tragic dilemma of millions of elderly Americans who face a similar problem.

On the surface, it would appear that the problem relates completely to lack of

filial responsibility. But this is not the total story, as revealed in the findings of the Senate Subcommittee on Problems of the Aged and Aging, of which I am a member.

The man in Bishop's syndicated column is beset by problems common to millions of our elderly—inadequate income, substandard housing, lack of preventive health services, and soul searing loneliness. While companionship and financial assistance from children can play an important role in helping to make the later years of parents more comfortable, this is not enough in most instances.

The report of our subcommittee, released earlier this year, lists 12 recommendations for legislative action needed to make it possible for our senior citizens to live comfortable, satisfying, and meaningful lives.

It would be well to keep these facts in mind as we read the story of "the world's greatest dad."

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have Jim Bishop's story, "Sorry Dad, No Room for You," printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SORRY, DAD, NO ROOM FOR YOU (By Jim Bishop)

The ambulance stood double parked. The blinker winked on and off, on and off. Some little girls stopped skipping rope to watch. It was a cheap neighborhood. On the lawn a sign read: Furnished Rooms. Upstairs, a stout landlady stood in the doorway wringing her hands.

The old man was on the floor. A young intern in white peeled the eyelids back, unbuttoned the old sweater and shirt, and crouched to listen to the fading footsteps of the heart. He refolded the stethoscope while studying the waxed fruit skin, the half-opened eyes, the thin blue lips pulling air against toothless gums. "Cardiac," he said to the policeman. "Could be malnutrition, too."

The intern and the ambulance attendant wrapped the old man in blankets and lifted him easily onto the stretcher and carried him out. Downstairs, the little girls watched and one said: "That's the old guy who gave me a nickel for getting the newspaper."

The cop upstairs dismissed the landlady and examined the room.

The policeman checked his notebook against the photos. Mr. Kenneth T. had been a widower since 1938. He had worked as a compositor on an Ohio newspaper and had not remarried. Apparently, he had brought the children up himself. The record showed the next of kin to be John T., engineering consultant; Mrs. R. K., housewife and former registered nurse; Mrs. Peter Mc., schoolteacher.

The policeman opened the bureau draw-

The policeman opened the bureau drawers. There were three shirts with frayed collars, two ties, a half dozen worsted socks, some shorts and undershirts, an Elks pin,

three pairs of bronzed baby shoes, and a bundle of letters.

He riffled through the letters. A half dozen snapshops fell out. These showed young family groups. On the back, in a shaky hand, the old man had written the names of his grandchildren and their ages and the dates of the pictures.

The letters were signed "Your loving son, Jack" and "Love, Miriam" and "Best, Jane." They were postmarked from nearby and all started off saying that matters had not gone too well lately. A husband needed an operation; the mortgage payments were heavy. Reading them, the policeman gathered that the old man's children didn't want him to come live with them.

come live with them.

One note, signed "Jack," said, "May has enough on her hands with three children. You wouldn't want me to ask her to take care of you, too. You're not young any more, and it would be like having a fourth child." Daughter Miriam wrote: "I wish I could help with a few dollars a month, Dad, but times are difficult for us, too, and George says that your social security should be plenty for your needs."

In the hospital, the nurse searched through the old man's pockets for effects. She found a tiny piece of wood with a mintature loving cup on it.

fature loving cup on it.

It was old and the metal legend had been pitted by time. It said: "To the World's Greatest Dad."

Some Thoughts on the Summit

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. PAUL B. DAGUE

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, May 18, 1960

Mr. DAGUE. Mr. Speaker, like every patriotic American I am incensed over the treatment accorded our President at the now wrecked Paris Conference and herewith set down my reactions, point by point, to the news reports as they have reached us by press and radio.

First. President Eisenhower, under the firm counsel of the late John Foster Dulles, steadfastly resisted the idea of a summit meeting until he was finally pressured into it by Macmillan.

Second. The British are criticizing Ike not because we spied on Russia but

because we got caught at it.

Third. Walter Lippmann, the Olympian oracle, criticizes Ike not because we got caught at spying but rather because

he refused to lie about it.

Fourth. Debate on our "right" to make reconnaisance flights over another nation is academic in the light of the Russian space vehicle presently passing over most of the countries of the world every 90 minutes, plus the obvious fact that in a few short months we will have in orbit observer satellites that can collect all the information, to be gleaned by a U-2 plane and no one will be able to do a thing about it.

Fifth, Mr. Khrushchev came to the summit with his own hands red with bloody repression of free people and with a record of infiltration and espionage not matched by any nation in history. And speaking of aerial surveillance, how do Russian observer planes find their

way over our Sixth Fleet in the Mediterranean without violating the air corridors of other powers?

Sixth, It is reassuring to have confirmed by most editorial writers my firm conviction that Mr. K. is not the unfettered dictator some believe him to be. The wily Russian quite evidently has been brought to book by the military and political hierarchy in back of him and told by them to back away from the summit.

Seventh. Khrushchev, in my opinion, never intended that anything constructive toward peace should come out of the Paris conference. He lives on controversy and unrest and he would stiffe in a peaceful world. The U-2 plane incident gave him an easy way out.

Eighth. The effect of this summit fiasco should be the enhancement of the stature of RICHARD NIXON as our next President since he has already demonstrated his ability to slug it out with Khrushchev toe-to-toe. That the Democrat front runners are equipped neither by temperament or experience for such a slugging contest is quite obvious. As for former Governor Stevenson, in his one conference with Mr. K. he came back to America literally shaken down to his shoes.

Ninth. In summation, let us never forget that the Russian leaders are not reasonable men. They are completely ruthless in the full meaning of that term. They are amenable only to force and as a result it behooves us to keep our defenses intact and our bombers and missiles on the alert. And then as reasonable people let us abandon this fiction of international comity and let's forthwith sever diplomatic relations that we should never have entered into in the first instance.

Tenth. And as a final thought, it is gratifying to see the alacrity with which the American people are uniting in back of their President, that Democrats and Republicans have closed ranks, if not in back of Ike then in opposition to a demagog who insults our intelligence and casts aspersions on our integrity and national honor.

La Crosse, Wis.: Outstanding Symbol of Self-Help for Industrial and Community Progress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. ALEXANDER WILEY

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, May 18, 1960

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, nationally, we need ever-wider efforts at community levels to promote greater economic progress, as well as to resolve specific problems confronting a community.

Currently, La Crosse, Wis., is undertaking such a constructive, creative effort to promote industrial progress,

The La Crosse County Industrial Development Council is sponsoring the

establishment of a corporation to secure and administer funds for attracting industry to this splendid community.

We recognize, of course, that such bootstraps operations require a concerted effort of a whole community. The prospect involves taking a look at possible better utilization of local natural resources, finances, and manpower. A public-spirited effort is required, also, to provide the climate, services essential for industrial development, encouraging adoption of local tax policies that will promote, not stymie, industrial progress; and in other ways mustering the human and natural resources of a community. If successfully accomplished, the result is greater industrial development; more jobs for the people; and an improved economy.

A splendid byproduct of such an effort, too, is the uniting of citizens in industry, labor, the professions and other fields in common programs for lifting the level of living to ever-higher plateaus.

Recently, the La Crosse Sunday Tribune published a thought-provoking editorial outlining the splendid way in which La Crosse is undertaking an in-

dustrial self-help program.

Reflecting the kind of community action effort—which, if more widely applied, could promote economic health for a great many communities, not only in Wisconsin, but throughout the country. I ask unanimous consent to have the editorial printed in the Appendix of the Record.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

STAGE IS SET FOR ONE OF LA CROSSE'S FINEST EFFORTS IN INDUSTRIAL SELF HELP

The stage is set for what can become one of La Crosse's finest efforts in industrial and community self help.

The La Crosse County Industrial Development Council is sponsoring a venture to add positiveness to industrial development with funds in hand and acreage to attract industry to this community.

dustry to this community.

Corporate bylaws have been approved authorizing the issuance of \$150,000 capital to be raised by the sale of 15,000 shares of \$10 par value capital stock.

The Development Council is on the right track, sponsoring a corporation to secure and administer funds in the interests of attracting industry.

The fact that La Crosse is one notable exception among cities of comparable size in Wisconsin without industrial acreage ready for immediate occupancy lends urgency to the move under way.

It has oft been argued that industry worth having will choose to stand on its own feet, once a site selection has been made, and in general handle its own financial responsibilities.

Yet there are examples in the State and surrounding communities where municipal help, or assistance from some local source, has attracted industry which might not otherwise have been obtained.

Competition for industry among both the larger and smaller cities in Wisconsin finds respective communities trying to outdistance the other in the matter of attractive proposals. A corporation to assist in the endeavor thus becomes more urgent than ever.

The spread of community development programs has been rapid throughout the State. But the most successful of them have been those willing to make an investment. This is in line with what the local council

now proposes to do.

The strength of this campaign to bring a transformation to La Crosse lies in its appeal to everyone—those able to buy one share and those able to purchase multiple shares of stock.

Labor significantly is taking an active part, joining with all forces in the community to see this investment plan through to ultimate success.

Making industrial park sites available has been under consideration by the council for many months, yet it has been unable to move for lack of a corporation financed and authorized to act. Such a corporation now is in existence.

It is to be hoped that support for its efforts may be readily enlisted, and that the hopes we have envisioned for years may take a turning toward realization.

Soil Stewardship Week in Colorado

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. BYRON L. JOHNSON

OF COLORADO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, May 18, 1960

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. Mr. Speaker, the conservation of topsoil is essential. We who live with aridity and wind erosion know this. Those who live with abundant rainfall also know the erosive power of water.

Next week is Soil Stewardship Week in Colorado. I take this opportunity to pay tribute to those who more than 25 years ago saw the great need for action to conserve the Nation's soil. As a result of their vision, some 41/2 million farmers and ranchers have united to form 2,822 soil conservation districts. These districts include 1.7 billion acres of land, or a major portion of the United States. These soil conservation districts represent groups of landowners who have joined together to protect our land so that future generations may enjoy its blessings. All America owes them a debt. We are not really the owners of the land—we are but trustees for this generation, and we should view our obligation as involving stewardship.

The work is not finished. It may never be finished. But it is going forward. This Congress or the next one should establish a soil moisture conservation laboratory to help advance this work. The soil moisture conservation laboratory would study the principles involved in increasing the intake of water from the soil, improving the moisture retention characteristics of the soil and increasing the efficiency of soil moisture use by plants. In the great plains area, holding 8 percent of the moisture that now evaporates back in the soil until it can be put to work growing crops is equivalent to adding 3 inches to the scarce rainfall.

Such a laboratory could well be located at Fort Collins, Colo., but wherever located, it is needed.

Similarly, research in weather modification can contribute toward improving the productivity of our soil. The soil

conservation program represents the finest kind of cooperation in research, education, publication and constructive action between Federal, State and local units of government. But even as we commend the soil conservation districts of Colorado, let us press forward to further the cause that they have thus far so nobly advanced.

The Quest for Safeguarded Disarmament

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, May 18, 1960

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the Record an address entitled "The Quest for Safeguarded Disarmament Must Be at the Heart of U.S. Foreign Policy." which I delivered in Washington, D.C., April 27, 1960.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE QUEST FOR SAFEGUARDED DISARMAMENT MUST BE AT THE HEART OF U.S. FOREIGN POLICY

(Address delivered by Senator Hubert H. Humphrey, Democrat, of Minnesota, at Washington, D.C., April 27, 1960)

It may seem a long way from the real mountains of West Virginia to the metaphorical summit of next month—but it is not. Like the people of Arizona and Alabama, Wyoming and Wisconsin, like people everywhere, the men and women I have been talking with in West Virginia are deeply concerned with peace.

I have no crystal ball, and I will not attempt to predict what the outcome of the summit meeting will be. I do earnestly hope, however, that the four leaders will give serious and thoughtful consideration to the problems of arms control and disarmament, and will be able to achieve real, even if limited, progress.

I recognize that the armament race and the lack of political settlements are as closely related as, for example, racial prejudice and racial discrimination. Both are vicious circles, and it would be easy to sit down and give up trying on the theory that you can't eliminate one unless you eliminate the other. As a practical and optimistic people, how-

As a practical and optimistic people, nowever, we Americans like to break in on these
vicious circles somewhere. For example, in
recent years we have been enacting laws
against racial discrimination. That does
not mean that we fail to recognize the need
to banish prejudice by education; it does
mean that we recognize that education
alone would take a long, long time to achieve
results, and that having to cease some acts
of discrimination by law has in itself an educational effect.

So it is with disarmament and political settlements. The Soviet leaders have given little ground for hope that they are ready to consider a practical political settlement for Berlin, let alone Germany as a whole. The same is true of other political problems which clutter the international agenda.

OUR MAJOR EFFORT SHOULD BE IN DISARMAMENT

That does not mean that we should forget them, or cease trying. It does mean in my view, however, that our major effort should be in the field of disarmament—a field in which, during recent years, the Soviet leaders have done rather less propaganda and rather more serious negotiation than over political questions. If we do manage to achieve some real progress in disarmament, we can return to the political questions with greater hope of success.

There are obvious reasons for this. Unfortunate as it is that there are—for example—two Germanies, two Koreas, two Vietnams, peace can conceivably survive this division. We can live with it for the time being, even if we do not condone it. But the armaments race threatens both sides with the imminence of mutual annihilation. Furthermore—as the recent news of strikes and riots among Soviet workers emphasizes—the Soviet leaders have urgent domestic reasons for seeking to beat some of their swords into ploughshares.

SOVIET UNION NEEDS PEACE

Over a year ago, on returning from my visit to the Soviet Union, I noted Chairman Khrushchev's urgent need for peace, and predicted that he would launch a big push for disarmament. We should have been prepared—but we weren't.

The four leaders at the summit might well take their text from Shakespeare—who, I understand, is in Boris Pasternak's excellent translations as popular in the Soviet Union as in the Western World. He might have been speaking directly to the summit when he wrote:

"There is a tide in the affairs of men, Which, taken at the full, leads on to fortune:

fortune; Omitted, all the voyage of their life Is bound in shallows and in miseries."

Such a tide is running now for disarmament—and I profoundly hope that the summit leaders will take it at the full.

TWO STEPS AT THE SUMMIT

There are two major steps that they can and should take. One of these is to resolve the most difficult obstacle standing in the way of a nuclear weapons test ban agreement—namely, the number of onsite inspections. The second is to give directions for the future course of the 10-nation disarmament negotiations.

DEFINITE POSSIBILITY OF TEST BAN AGREEMENT

There is a very definite possibility that a test ban agreement—the first real breakthrough toward peace—may be achieved this year, even if it is not concluded in time to be submitted to this session of Congress.

Most of you in this well-informed audience are familiar with the broad features of the proposed test ban treaty. I shall review them briefly:

1. The treaty would ban permanently all nuclear tests in the atmosphere, under water, and in outer space. It would ban underground tests down to a certain level—the level suggested by the United States being 4.75 on the earthquake scale, that is 19 kilotons of TNT in magnitude, roughly the size of the Hiroshima bomb.

2. A minimum of 180 control posts would be erected around the world to monitor shocks to the earth's surface, and to identify them as earthquakes or as nuclear ex-

plosions.

3. Up to a certain number of times each year, a mobile inspection team could make an on-site investigation of an event registered at the control posts which could not be identified as being natural in origin or an earthquake.

4. A coordinated program of research would be conducted by the three nuclear powers to improve the techniques of detecting and identifying nuclear explosions.

There is also the possibility of a separate agreement that, while this research is going on—and at least for a 2-year period—the

nuclear powers would refrain from underground tests.

These four points are the major elements of the proposed treaty. There are other important points, and some of them are as yet unresolved. But, at this stage of the negotiations, the principal obstacle to agreement is the number or quota of "veto-free onsite" inspections to be carried out each year.

The U.S. position is that at least 20 inspections would be needed in the Soviet Union each year to check for possible explosions of 19 kilotons and above. If a lower threshold were to be selected, say 5 or 10 kilotons, a larger number of inspections would be required.

SENATE WOULD NOT SUPPORT INADEQUATE INSPECTIONS

The Soviet Union surely knows that a treaty cannot go into effect without a two-thirds vote of the Senate—we should advise them that a treaty which provides for less than 20 veto-free on-site inspections would have little or no chance of winning Senate ratification.

I hope that they will recognize—on this issue, our negotiators have no room to yield.
WHAT CAN WE EXPECT FROM THE SUMMIT?

The achievement of a test-ban agreement at the summit meeting—or even, to be more realistic about the prospects, the removal of this major obstacle to agreement—would raise a banner of hope for troubled and fearful mankind.

Such hopes, however, might be cruelly disappointed if the summit conference stopped there—and did not make a real effort to move the general disarmament talks off the dead center on which they are presently stuck.

The problem the summit should decide is in what direction to move forward. At present, the Big Four are like the horseman of the Canadian humorist, Stephen Leacock—they want to ride off furiously in all directions.

SOVIET EMPHASIS

The Soviet Union talks of complete disarmament in 4 years. On these occasions when it mutes this particular trumpet and talks of partial measures, it concentrates on proposals for Europe alone and for the elimination of foreign bases—the old Soviet propaganda line.

FRENCH POSITION

France evidently is opposed to any discussion of disarmament measures for Europe. The United States apparently does not want to negotiate about its overseas bases.

France would prefer to talk about nuclear delivery systems rather than nuclear ammunition. The reverse is true for the United States. And any mention of a control system for either ammunition or delivery vehicles seems to send cold shivers up the Soviet spine.

IMPORTANCE OF RESEARCH ON CONTROLS

Indeed, we need to know much more about controls before we can seriously negotiate them. This is primarily an American responsibility. The Soviet Union is allergic to controls, and will accept as little of them as it can. We cannot expect President Khrushchev to authorize a serious effort in this field—any more than he would set up classes to teach shrimps how to whistle.

In the entire area of arms control, only two items could be settled immediately, according to the latest U.S. proposal. One is the freezing of the level of United States and Soviet armed forces at 2.5 million. The other is the prior notification to an international control organization of proposed launchings of space vehicles.

Nothing else could be considered without very serious study. So far as I am aware, no studies have been started on any disarmament measure, other than techniques for detecting nuclear weapons tests—and this study has been proceeding on a substantial scale only for the past 3 months.

RESEARCH FUNDS ABSOLUTELY VITAL

It may be that more thought has been given to these subjects than Congress is permitted to know. But thought is not enough. The expenditure of very substantial funds is required. The Berkner panel estimated \$30 million as the cost of a 2- or 3-year research program in nuclear test detection alone, and \$3 million has been allocated for the first year.

SUMMIT CONFERENCE SHOULD PRODUCE GUIDELINES

One way out of the present impasse is for the summit conference to set forth directives on the next steps in arms control. With such directives, the 10-nation disarmament conferences could concentrate its efforts, instead of riding off in all directions at once. And, with such directives, our own Government would know where to concentrate major study and research in order to be prepared for the next steps in disarmament negotiations.

INADEQUATE U.S. PLANNING

We have not been prepared for such negotiations, as I have been warning for many months. At long last, the State Department itself has acknowledged this fact. I quote Mr. Raymond Hare, the Deputy Under Secretary of State:

"In reviewing our approach to disarmament, it was further found that the most serious deficiency in the U.S. approach has been the lack of adequate planning and studies in the field of disarmament."

At long last, too, there are reports of a possible upgrading of the Office of Disarmament within the Department of State. That is good as far as it goes—but it doesn't go nearly far enough. It comes late—I don't say "too late"—and it is certainly too little.

A MANHATTAN PROJECT FOR PEACE NEEDED

What we really need—as the Senate Disarmament Committee proposed as long ago as September, 1957—is a special agency devoted to the single and comprehensive problem of disarmament—a sort of "Manhattan Project for Peace."

Early in February I introduced legislation to establish a National Peace Agency. It should have the services of some of the ablest and most dedicated people in the country. It should have authority to coordinate the many different projects in the general disarmament field which are presently splintered among the Department of Defense, the Atomic Energy Commission, the Central Intelligence Agency, and the Department of State.

Its single, overriding assignment should be to find a way to end the arms race. In the existing agencies, this is at best a partime or occasional assignment. Then, too, there is a built-in contradiction in expecting any Department of Defense to give whole-hearted enthusiasm to limiting armaments—or any Atomic Energy Commission to show as much zeal for curtailing atom bombs as for developing more effective and varied ones.

The proverb tells us that poachers make poor gamekeepers. I don't apply this proverb in its totality to the Pentagon and the AEC. They can and should provide needed advice and technical services to the National Peace Agency. But, in this field, they should be valued servants and advisers, not masters.

The Department of State would continue, of course, to carry on disarmament negotiations—and I have introduced legislation to upgrade this function by establishing an Assistant Secretary of State for Disarmament and Atomic Energy affairs.

NATIONAL PEACE AGENCY RESEARCH ASSIGNMENTS

The National Peace Agency would provide the State Department, and other Departments concerned, with the fullest information and advice in the field of disarmament and related subjects. Its research assignments should include, among others:

1. The detection and identification of

nuclear weapons tests.

2. The detection of missile tests and of the launching of outer space vehicles.

- 3. Measures to guard against surprise attack, either by long-range or conventional means.
- 4. Control systems to verify the cutoff of the production of nuclear weapons.

 Control measures for reducing or eliminating the production of chemical, biological, and radiological weapons.

and radiological weapons.

6. Studies of the feasibility of demilitarized zones and of the stationing of international police contingents in areas of potential conflict.

7. Political problems concerned with the inclusion of Communist China in an arms control agreement.

 Studies of measures to slow down or embargo the arms traffic to disturbed areas, such as the Middle East.

 Plans for the economic adjustments required in the event of a substantial reduction in armaments manufacture.

All this, and more, will be needed ultimately to achieve genuine disarmament. If the summit conference, as I hope, sets directions for next steps in negotiation, this will be most helpful in establishing priorities.

NEW EMPHASIS ON SAFEGUARDED DISARMAMENT REQUIRED

The quest for safeguarded disarmament must be at the heart and center of American foreign policy. It must be placed as far as possible within the framework of the United Nations—because disarmament is a concern of all countries, and not only of the great powers. By making our statements on disarmament in the forum of the United Nations, we can—if our case is sound—rally behind it the moral force and the conscience of mankind.

We have a better than even chance of making the last four decades of the 20th century decades of peace. The French have a good proverb—amply illustrated by many buildings here in Washington—that nothing is so permanent as the temporary. And, if we can keep the peace for the next 40 years, there is real hope that the habit may take hold for good.

Public Affairs Research Council

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. T. A. THOMPSON

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 18, 1960

Mr. THOMPSON of Louisiana. Mr. Speaker, former Gov. Sam H. Jones of Louisiana has continued his interest in public affairs over the years and his great interest in further development of our State of Louisiana caused him to be invited to address a prelegislative conference of the Public Affairs Research Council of Louisiana recently. Although my good friend, Governor Jones, began his statement with undue modesty, his words were those of wisdom which reflect extremely well his years of experience and study in governmental affairs.

In addition to being one of the leading attorneys in Louisiana, Governor Jones is, no doubt, the expert of the South in the long-fought battle over southern rate cases. I commend his recent remarks to the membership of this body:

PRZIEGISLATIVE CONTERENCE, PUBLIC AFFAIRS RESEARCH COUNCIL, BATON ROUGE, LA.

(By Sam H. Jones)

The subject assigned to me is, of course, impossible of accomplishment by any one person. No State government is quite so complex and complicated as our own. It would take a staff of experts many hundreds of man-hours to even approach an explanation that would be satisfactory to either the political scientist or the practical politician. It is therefore flattering that I should be called upon to do the impossible.

Some have generously suggested that certain experiences in my career befit me for the task which I accepted with fear and trepidation. But a closer examination indicates such appraisal is not justified.

The fact that I participated in writing our present constitution does not. For this constitution is certainly the longest of any of the 50 States; it is admittedly the most complicated and puzzling; and it has been characterized by some as the worst "Ever struck off at a given time by the brain and purpose of man."

My ill-fated efforts to reorganize the executive branch of the State government back in 1940 would seem to constitute no particular qualification. For although the legislature did succeed in consolidating 174 agencies into 20 departments and five independent agencies, and although the people ratified the idea at the polls, we can legally claim but one distinction: That of establishing something novel in constitutional Jurisprudence, namely, that constitutional amendments can, themselves, be unconstitutional

My participation in the crusade to stop centralization of Government in Washington, through the Federal Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, was something less than a brilliant success. Since our sine die adjournment in 1955, the National Government has proceeded to move out in all directions, grabbing more power and money on the run, and leaving the States and localities much the worse for the noble experiment that was to correct the evils on all three levels of Government.

But there is a brighter side. There are compensations for failures and setbacks. Even the poet has said: "Sweet are the uses of adversity." Another great man has reminded us that "Failure is usually the beginning of success." And we might profit from the philosophy of patience, so eloquently expressed by Woodrow Wilson when he said: "It is the discovery of what they cannot do and ought not to attempt that transforms reformers into statemen."

I have one qualification for my appearance before you today. I am not discouraged. I am as optimistic about the future of Louisiana now as I was 40 years ago when I began my career. There is much in our heritage, and in the genius of our people and in the wealth of our resources that sets us aside and gives our State a special place of preeminence in the constellation of American States.

Never let it be forgotten that the white man came to Louisiana long before he landed at Jamestown and Plymouth Rock. Alonozo Alvarez de Pineda preceded the Mayflower by a full century. Narvaez came to Louisiana in 1529, and DeSota crossed the Mississippi in 1541. We had the benefit of the early mixing of the cultures of the Spanish, the Portuguese, the French, and the Anglo-Saxon which gave to Louisiana the International flavor that exists down to this

day. Ours is an older, a broader, a richer civilization than exists anywhere else in the American Union.

Then 150 years ago there came to our land the immortal Acadians to further enrich our commonwealth. Theirs is an epic which has given a spiritual lift to our people that will never die: Theirs is a saga that will inspire Louisianians and Americans as far down the path of history as men can vision.

We have lived under France and Spain: portions under the rule of Mexico and Great Britain and the West Florida Republic. Our State emerged briefly as an independent nation; then as a part of the Confederacy. For 50 years the Spanish Province of Tejas, or Texas, had its capital well within the present borders of our State. Napoleon was thinking about that part of the larger territory now represented by the State of Louislana, when he referred to its transfer to the United States as the economic and political force which would enable America to surpass in power the British Empire. Finally we came to rest under the stars and stripes.

But we brought with us much to enrich the American Nation. We brought many cultures and varied languages and numerous religions. We brought manners and customs and ways of life of far-off lands. History, for us, was written by the Spanish conquistador, by the intrepid French explorer, for the exiled Acadian in his pirogue, and the Anglo-Saxon in his covered wagon. It was written by the pirate, Jean Lafitte; and by the schemes of the Scotsman, John Law, and the Frenchman, Antoine Crozat, in the promotion called "The Mississippi Bubble." It is still being written by the hillbillies of the North and the Cajuns of the Bayous, as well as by the intellectual aristocracy of a State that, in its versatility and distinctiveness, has no peer.

Then, if you have any doubt about the genius of our people, I would remind you of such artists as John James Audubon, the great naturalist, whose fame is worldwide, and of Caroline Wogan Durleux; of such educators as Elexander Dimitry, and Paul Tulane, and William Preston Johnston, and Thomas D. Boyd; of such great engineers as James Buchanan Eads, and Henry Miller Shreve and Lester Alexander. And in the same field I would mention the Spanish architects, who gave us the charm of the world-renowned Vieux Carre; and of James Gallier and Henry Hobson Richardson, whose architectural gems are scattered throughout the North and East.

I would remind you of the experiments of Etienne De Bore and Valcour Aime, in the culture and refining processes of sugarcane, experiments and discoveries that became a boon to the entire world, and which have caused Louisiana to be the leader in this industry for a century and a half, and to be the trainer of 90 percent of the sugar engineers, chemists and technicians for the entire world. So also of Louisiana's early business leaders and industrial glants such as Daniel Clark and John McDonough and Judah Touro and Julien Poydras,

In the field of medicine Louisiana, since its earliest beginnings, has been an outstanding leader in the Western Hemisphere. Here plagues were conquered. Here tropical medicine found cures that have benefited all mankind. Here was formed the first State department of health in the entire Union. And here great leaders in medicine and surgery, such as Drs. Stanford E. Chaille, Tobias G. Richardson, Edmond Souchon, Rudolph Matas, and Alton Ochsner have caused their names to be known and revered throughout a grateful world. And there were the illustrious philanthropists such as Almonester, Pontalba, Margaret Haugherty, and Poydras, Touro, McDonough, Tulane, and

Onto the field of military battle from the State went such outstanding leaders as Beauregard and Braxton Bragg and Dick Taylor and the "Fighting Bishop" Leonidas Polk. And, at this point, we might remind our Texas friends that Jim Bowie, of Alamo fame, was not a Texan but a Louisianian. And still later John A LeJeune, who became head of the Marines, and "Lightning" Joe Collins, later to be Army Chief of Staff, and Lt. Gen. Thoy H. Middleton, classed by his superiors as one of the great generals of World War II, and Claire Chennault, of Fiying Tiger fame.

Alcee Fortier and Charles Gayarre lead a long list of Louisiana historians. It would be impossible to name all the literary personalities that have lent fame to our State, but we cannot pass without listing George W. Cable, Ruth McEnery Stuart, Alfred Mercier, Eliza Jane Nicholson, Dorothy Dix, Lafcadio Hearn, and Grace King. Nor should we miss the great musician, Louis Moreau Gottschalk, whose fame and concerts led to every land of the world. Nor the great religious leaders like Abbe Adrien Rouquette and Bishop Leonidas Polk.

In the field of law, so closely connected with government, I would remind you of Louisiana's most illustrious lawyer, Judah P. Benjamin, the "brains of the Confederacy;" of Francois Kavier Martin, Christian Roselius; of Pierre Derbigny and Edward Livingston, adopted son of Louisiana, two of the authors of the civil code; and finally, of course, Edward Douglas White, who went on to become Chief Justice of the United States, intellectual giants and great leaders who would do justice to any civilization anywhere.

Now come we to the political leaders of the past: The Spaniards DeSoto, Galvez, Almonester, Carondelet, and Esteban Miro, who where where the grown over advertity, communities only build above themselves upon the dust of their shattered dreams." There were the Frenchmen Lasalle, the LeMoyne brothers, Blenville and Iberville; St. Denis, De Tonti, Cadillac, and the Marquis de Vaudreuil, who conquered the wilderness and brought culture and social graces to the growing empire of Louisiana. Then came the English-speaking Anglo-Saxons, the Claibornes, the Wilkinsons, and the Livingstons whose efforts merged Louisiana as a sovereign State into the American Union, the 18th in order of admission.

From that time until the War Between the States the political control of Louisiana alternated between Frenchman and Anglo-Saxon and, as the historian Chambers said, Louisiana became "America's first melting pot." Not only French and English, but Spanish and German whose names and tradition and influence enrich our civilization today; and the Scotch-Irish who came overland from the East in their covered wagons; and later the Slavs, the Greeks, the Italians, and the Jews, whose business acumen did so much to develop the rich American midlands. And many, from many other nations, and religions and climes.

And, it seems to me, this mixture of peoples and ideas, and customs and religions, make for the greatness of our people. History gives us many examples. There was the British Empire which consisted not only of Englishmen, but of ancient Britons, of Romans, of Vikings, and Danes, and Normans, of Angles and Saxons—of Scots and Picts, and the Gaelic of Ireland. The same may be said of the Greek and Roman Empires. Some of the most stable countries of Europe, today, are the small states of Belgium and Switzerland, who combine mixtures of French and Flemish, and of German and Italian and of descendants of ancient Romans.

Thus, not only through the bloodstreams of our original settlers, but through the media of our distinctive legal system and our specialized medical achievements, and our versatility of land and resources and minerals, and the almost unbelievable diversity of our agriculture, and our connection with the outside world, by our own superior lines of communication with foreign lands-we have carved for Louisiana, a place in the American Union which has not, and never will be duplicated by another American State.

As an American State we have produced men of great political stature: A President of the United States, Zachary Taylor, a Chief Justice Edward Douglas White; great Governors like Villere and Mouton and Francis Tillou Nicholls, and Henry Watkins Allen; great Senators like John Slidell, Pierre Soule, Judah P. Benjamin, and Donaldson Cafferyto name only a few down to the end of the 19th century-lest we travel into the controversial areas of contemporary politics.

If we have been blessed with great leaders and men of genius, we have been even more blessed, by nature itself, with a great outpouring of rich, basic wealth; with fabulous natural resources that make us the envy of our neighbors. As far back as 1850 we were the richest State in the Union, both in per capita wealth and per capita income (including slaves). Seven-eighths of the Nation's millionaires once lived in Natchez, Miss., but made their fortunes across the river in Louisiana. New Orleans was once the Nation's third largest city and for 7 years its financial and banking resources exceeded those of New York City. The com-merce, not only of this Nation, but of the British Empire, was largely controlled from the Crescent City.

All this would seem to have been the fulfillment of the vision of the great leaders of the past. Of Father Charlevolx who, in 1721, said: "Rome and Paris had no beginnings so considerable, nor were they under auspices so happy, nor did their founders meet upon the Seine and upon the Tiber the advantages we find upon the Mississippi.

Of Napoleon who looked upon lower Louisiana, with its undeveloped hinterland, as the economic and political force which would enable America to surpass in power the great British Empire. Of Thomas Jefferson, who, speaking of New Orleans said that it would "forever be, as it is now the mighty mart of merchandise bought from more than a thousand rivers," and would "In the not distant time leave the emporia of the eastern world far behind."

Of Robert R. Livingston who said, on the occasion of the Louisiana Purchase, "the treaty which we have just signed will change vast solitudes into a flourishing country. Today the United States take their place among the powers of first rank," further predicting that: The purchase "will prepare centuries of happiness for innumerable representations of the times." generations of the human race."

There is not the slightest doubt that those of our generation have let the greatness of Louisiana slip; and have failed to properly develop the cornucopia of wealth, resources, and natural advantages that nature has provided. We are the greatest undeveloped agricultural frontier in all of North America. We have been in the past, and we will be again, the leader in forestry—for here we can grow a tree in 40 percent the time required by the climates of the north and of

Canada-and we have 16 million acres of land upon which to do this job.

We have seen our mineral wealth grow to staggering proportions; salt deposits sufficient to outlive the span of the Roman Empire; sulfur supplies of almost unbelievable proportions; shell reefs that have been deposited over thousands of years; oil and gas that already place us in second rank among the States, with additional reservoirs in the Gulf of Mexico, competent geologists say will outproduce the fabulous supplies of the Middle East; waterways that nature gave us. which cannot be equaled anywhere else in the world; and supplies of fresh water that daily flow through our State in quantities greater than is consumed by the Nation, by all its people, for all purposes, domestic, agricultural, and industrial.

Then, too, contemplate our fish and wildlife, the quantity and versatility of which is without equal; a fur-bearing industry that surpasses all the other connected 47 States put together, and a seafoods supply from the Gulf of Mexico and our lakes, bays, and inlets that destines we shall be the leading commercial fisheries State of the Union.

We are thus blessed with products and supplies from the forest, and the farm, and the mine, and the sea that cause us to be the No. 1 example of economic sufficiency, still largely waiting for its development by

the brains and tools of man.

When we repeat the inventory of the wealth which is ours, and hear one of the Nation's great developers say: "The lower Mississippl Valley has the potential to be-come the Ruhr Valley of America," we can only conclude that John Law and Antoine Crozat, with their "Mississippi Bubble," were merely some two centuries ahead of their

Perhaps by now I have convinced you of at least one thing I said earlier: That there is much in our heritage, and in the genius of our people, and in the wealth of our resources that sets us aside and gives our State a special place of preeminence in the American Union. But what, you say, has this to do with the subject, "The Executive Branch of the Louisiana State Government?

That is a fair question, and I shall try to Historically we are stigmatized with the unwanted reputation of encouraging unstable government. In 148 years we have lived under 9 constitutions, an average of 16 years to a constitution. If we eliminate our first and last constitutions, our average has been only 11 years. By reputation we are in much the same position as modern France which, prior to De Gaulle, changed its governments like we change clothes for the seasons.

At long last we seem to have become weary of writing new constitutions and settled down to a new, and even worse, habit of writing amendments, thus compounding the confusion that has brought chaos to our governmental structure. And which spawned, I'm afraid, an attitude of defeatism and a great deal of hopelessness among our people. The constitution of 1821 to nearly 40 years old. But it has been amended

We started out, I think, rather well. reached our golden era prior to the Civil War under the first constitution. Then we were beset with the problems of the War Between the States and the horrifying experience of the Reconstruction, but we must remember that, even since the final ending of the Reconstruction in 1879, we have lived under four constitutions, or one for every 20 years. Having grown weary of writing constitutions, we decided on the amending process, which proved to be relatively easy. For Louisiana, the difference between a statute and a constitutional amendment, from a practical standpoint, is but 90 days.

Our experiment in 1940 used the amending process. We did a thoroughgoing task eliminating useless jobs and of consolidating 174 sprawling agencies into 20 departments and 5 independent agencies. But the Supreme Court said we went too far, too fast, and that our objective was too allembracive. We picked up the pieces in 1942 and reenacted a substantial portion of the reorganization by way of statutory laws. I have never counted them but I estimate that we wound up with some 50 to 75 agencies.

Since then we have grown, like Topsy, without rhyme or reason. Our executive branch embraces a minimum of 217 separate agencies according to Public Affairs Research Council. The Governor is required to make 995 different appointments and holds 24 ex officio positions himself. His appointees hold another 33 positions ex officio. total of 1,052. The constitution says that the Governor "shall take care that the laws be faithfully executed" and empowers him "to require information in writing from the officers in the executive departments upon any subject relating to the duties of their respective offices."

Let us assume that the Governor allots 1 day, each year, for attention to each State agency of the 217; and allots 1 working night. each year, to reading the report of that agency for the year, what would be the result? Using a 5-day working week, he would have only 43 days left. And then when you consider that, under our present system, there are an average of 45 legislative days per year, when he must be available to this coordinate branch, the Governor has less than no time at all for the other duties and obligations of his office.

It is, of course, impossible for a Governor to supervise 995 appointees. A military commander usually has a staff of five, and about that many subordinate commanders. This is workable. A political cabinet of 25 members makes sense and is feasible. A Governor can supervise 25 but not 995 ap-Thus, in Louisiana, he is saddled pointees.

with an insuperable job.

That is the reason why I said, at the outset, that the subject assigned to me, under our present legal setup is impossible. And that is the reason why, I now say, that we must ultimately face up to a task that we cannot escape, just as France faced up to a similar problem under the leadership of De Gaulle, and just as the Founding Fathers of this country did the same thing when they junked the impossible Articles of Confederation and gave to us a government, under a Constitution, which has been praised as the greatest ever devised by the brain and pen

And that is a job, may I remind you, that will require time and patience and courage and genius and leadership, qualities that never have been, and are not now, lacking in the people of Louisiana.

The mere size and number of the 217 State agencies does not tell the whole story of the confusing labyrinth of administrative structure until I remind you of these facts:

We have 13 agencies dealing with fiscal affairs, some elective and some appointive; 8 agencies that handle education: 11 agencies are required to handle 15 hospitals, although 12 of these are, presumably, under the control of a single board. In addition, there are 6 other agencies that have to do with health and sanitation matters, making 17 offices and agencies, plus 15 hospitals, in the field

There are 17 agencies, or groups of agencies, that deal with conservation. These include 1 group of 12 fish and game commissions that are largely local in character. To handle penal and correctional matters we have a total of 10 different agencies and offices and, in addition, 5 wardens or superintendents of institutions. By way of parentheses, most of these agencies will be grouped in one department of corrections, if the report of the Parolee Rehabilitation Committee is acted upon favorably by you in your coming session.

A total of 15 appointive and ex officio boards, commissions, and offices operate in the field of agriculture in addition to the elected commissioner of agriculture. spite of the fact that the commissioner holds his portfolio directly from the voters, he is permitted to control only one of these appointees, namely, the State entomologist. And, while he serves on a number of boards, and is required to work with all of them, a vast majority are appointed by the Governor, without any nomination on the commissioner's part. This gives us a department whose head is elected by the people, yet whose functions can be almost completely hamstrung by the Governor, if he happens

to be unfriendly.

To handle elections we have two elective oficials, the secretary of state and the State custodian of voting machines. Not deeming this sufficient, we also have an ex officio board of registration, a director of registrations and a board for voting machines which is appointive. The first custodian to be elected recently complained that "I was elected by the people. At the same time, I am governed by a board that was not elected by the people." Similar inconsistencies occur so frequently that, to use the vernacular, "they are a dime a dozen."

One would think that a director of highways or a board of highways would be sufficient to handle State highway matters, but when we dig into the governmental structure we find a total of five agencies or offices operating in this field. Six offices and agencies handle welfare matters while it takes four in the field of protection of per-

sons and property.

The State has inherited a system of levee districts which originated long before the flood control act of 1928, by which the Federal Government assumed most of the important functions formerly performed by the levee boards. These districts are financed locally at a cost of \$6 million a year, but the governing authorities are appointed by the Governor. The State department of public works does certain engineering work for the districts, acts in an advisory capacity and is the liaison agency between the boards and the U.S. Corps of Engineers. The department does not exercise general jurisdiction, and the State, itself, exercises no budgetary control or other overall supervision. If these are to be considered State agencies, the State should properly control and direct their overall operations. If, on the other hand, they are to be considered local agencies, they should be reorganized accordingly, and the appointment of their governing authorities should be taken away from the Governor and vested locally.

Somewhat similar situations exist with reference to the 12 fish and game commissions and the 7 port and harbor commissions, the jurisdictional territory being largely local, but the appointments of governing bodies being made by the Governor, usually without restriction, but sometimes on local

nominations.

There are, besides the Governor, 10 elective officials. Some of these are highly important and, as matters of public policy, should be elected. Others head departments that require highly specialized skills and training which, in other States, are considered more appropriately as appointive officials. A few are of relatively minor stature and cannot be compared in importance with such appointive officials as, for instance, the conservation comissioner, who makes decisions, almost monthly, involving properties the value of which runs into the scores of millions of dollars.

There is no easy explanation of the maze of complexity which surrounds the executive branch of the Louisiana State Government. It has been called complex, confusing, and chaotic; and it is all of these. An interesting comment recently appeared in an editorial of the Times Picayune, which said:

"The incongruities of Louisiana government keeps at least one person in the Covernor's office occupied almost full time advising the Governor as to the expiration of commissions and the method he must use in selecting a replacement."

But, so far the problems confronting you

as legislators are concerned, the worst is yet to come. The situation is not getting better; it is getting worse. The speed with which "big government" is moving into the State house is alarming. Sixteen years ago we were spening \$100 million a year. Now we are spending \$800 million a year. In dollars of constant value this means we are spending four times as much for State government as we were four administrations back.

In the early 1940's we operated the State government with 17,000 employees. Now we have 36,000 employees. Certainly we have more State agencies to man and finance, and the old ones have grown in size. But the question for you to answer is: Do we have twice as much government as we had 16 years ago? And if this be so, are we going to have twice as much in 1976 as we have today? And if we do, how are we going to pay for it?

In this connection let me remind you that we have a total of 48 State taxes and our State tax collections—per \$100 of personal income—are already the highest of any State in the Union. This means that we Louisianians pay an average of \$8.82 for State taxes out of every \$100 we make. The national average is \$4.46, while citizens of New Jersey pay only \$2.33. In per capita State tax collections we pay the fourth highest amount among all the States—and while our per capita income has recently dropped to 39th place we rank 10th in total of State tax collections.

While this staggering load of taxation is constantly mounting, the legislature is confronted with the legal fact that over 83 percent of the State taxes have been dedicated by constitutional amendment or statutory enactment to specific uses. This adds up to a system by which you have abdicated your most important controls and powers, and have made the Governor and his appointees and the elected administrative officials all powerful. In fact, the Governor's office in Louislana has been referred to as "one of the most powerful positions in the United States."

May I interpose here the thought that any suggestion for the reduction of the Governor's appointive power is not meant to decrease the importance of his control of strictly executive functions. On the contrary, it is meant to increase the effectiveness of his executive control and at the same time reduce the complexity of operation of the State government. The fact that I endeavored to reduce the Governor's appointive power in 1940 is the best evidence of my sincerity on this point.

In addition to his phenomenal control of the purse strings, and his vast appointive power of nearly a thousand State officials, he has still another weapon of power that is little discussed. That is his authority to make appointments on the local level. This is provided by statute for an exceptional number of positions that are strictly appointive—and for the filling of vacancies in many elective offices of a local nature. The exercise of this power ofttimes upsets the will of the majority in a locality, with serious damage to the principle of local self government. At the same time it is a grave injustice to the Governor, himself, who is thus, unnecessarily, drawn into local controversies, ofttimes among his own friends, and to his own detriment.

Thus you are saddled with a system that is defective down to its very roots—a system that can be corrected only by a complete overhaul of the entire executive branch of the government.

The changes here suggested are intended to promote the Governor's effectiveness, and your own; to strengthen and not to weaken; to remove and not to add burdens; to clarify and not to becloud; and finally to readjust the traditional system of checks and balances—so necessary in our type of government.

Many of them are, by their nature, beyond the scope of your authority to correct except by the intervention and concurrence of the people themselves. This does not mean that you, and the incoming administration, are powerless to cope with the

There is much you can do, and many reasons why the process of remedial legislation, and corrective executive policy should commence now. We have just completed a reorganization of our appellate judiciary which will go into effect on July 1 and which will work substantial improvements in that branch of government. It is only logical that this should be followed by similar reforms in the legislative and executive branches. As an example, you could render great service to the cause of governmental efficiency by eliminating overlapping boards in purely political departments of state. Both Governor Kennon and I tried this experiment, and while I cannot speak for Governor Kennon, I am now convinced that the system is undemocratic and wrong in principle.

The time is appropriate. Our incoming Governor is a man of reason, common sense and good judgment, experienced in the office, and is, thus, in a position to judge the need for proper changes and improvements. Equally as important is the State's good fortune in having one of the best legislatures Louislana has been privileged to boast in the 20th century. Then I think there is an awareness among the people that we must tackle the problems of governmental complexity, of the growing specter of big government, and of excessive taxation which is somewhere near the breaking point; even if we have to practice a little austerity.

Capable analysts believe that savings in expenditures up to \$65 million a year are entirely possible, without sacrificing essential services to the people. There is no legal reason why you should not recapture at least a substantial portion of your power to appropriate funds, heretofore dedicated by statutory enactments. And you might even find that the people would back you in the abolition of at least a portion of the constitutional dedications that have shorn you of much of your legislative powers.

There is ample authority, under the constitution, or abolition of useless offices and for merging and consolidation of scores of others. There is a great field for inauguration of better business practices in the State government. Tremendous improvements have already been made by the division of administration in the budgetary functions. Similar improvements can be made in the field of State purchases. And many of us hope that one of these days the legislature will provide itself with its own auditor to find out just what happens to the funds it appropriates and allocates to the various administrative agencies.

It is an open political secret that, at least some of the numerous State agencies are overstaffed in personnel and that substantial savings can be effected in this field. And since there is a normal turnover of between 20 and 25 percent annually, this can be done without the serious political repercussions one might imagine. May I remind you that in 1939 we had at least two State agencies with more than 3,000 employees. We reduced each of them by more than 2,000; and they have remained at this level ever since.

One of these was the New Orleans Dock Board which, in spite of the fact that it has less than one-third of its 1939 personnel, is handling three times its 1939 business.

But your greatest opportunity to be of service to Louislana, in the next 4 years, is to encourage its economic development by creating a favorable political climate. I am completely objective and completely practical in approaching the solution to our political problems. Most of them will be cured by the correction of our economy. Some tax relief can be achieved by direct legislative action. By far the most will come from a long-range program of encouraging industrial and other economic development.

In this manner we expand our industry and our payrolls; and we will have more people earning more money to pay the same tax load. But to do this you must convince outside capital that you will be fair. The repeal of the Power Use Tax, for example, would lose this State less than \$2 million; yet it would be a signal to the world that we were changing our policies and were welcoming new industry. In my opinion, it would have a dramatic effect on the State's economic future. The repeal of the 1 cent Refining Tax back in 1942 had a spectacular effect in bringing new industry into the State.

Let me use one of many examples to point up our problems of industrial development. In this day and time we hear a lot about the tidelands oil. Nearly all the specula-tion, at least in political circles, centers around one question: How much additional taxes do we stand to get? Not how many new industries do we hope to get. Not how many new jobs we expect to create. Not how many oil refineries and how many petro-chemical plants we hope to locate upon our shores to furnish jobs for our Now don't misunderstand me: would like to see us get title to all the tidelands oil we can reasonably claim.

But whether we get title merely 3 miles out, or 3 leagues out, or to the edge of the Continental Shelf, the future of the State of Louisiana is largely assured no matter who owns the oil, if we induce the producers to bring that oil to our shores and refine and manufacture it here. We have a treasure trove beyond compare, and one that will bring to us full employment, and riches and prosperity, if we can convince the producers and owners to handle the manufacturing processes here.

Now what are we going to do about that? And if New Jersey on the Atlantic coast, and Texas on the gulf coast offer a better political climate and a more favorable tax rate, where do you think the tidelands oil will Are we still going to be merely wind up? the producers of raw materials, merely the hewers of wood and the drawers of water? I choose to think that we are learning our lesson, and that we will not let this opportunity for permanent prosperity slip from our grasp.

Finally, there is the job that all of us know must, eventually, be tackled and accomplished. That is the job of reorganizing completely the executive branch of the State government, and of restoring to the legislature the powers to which it is entitled, under the American system of checks and balances. There are two ways in which this can be done. One is by an immediate constitutional convention. The other is by a Hoover-type study commission which you would authorize.

Frankly, I do not think the constitutional convention is the practical method at this time without much preliminary research. The political factors are such that it is an unpopular approach. The issue of reapportionment, alone (to which I think there are answers), might easily amount to an impossible obstacle. In addition, we have written much fine legislation into the constitution which the people want to remain there. An example of this is civil service. There are many others. There are ways of effectively preserving these political gains while at the same time providing comprehensive reorganization. But this is not the time to make the

But aside from the political factors it would be unwise to jump into a major opera-

tion until the patient's condition has been diagnosed and studied. And our complex governmental structure, plus our long history of uncoordinated constitutional amendments. makes a thorough, exhaustive study of our executive branch an absolute necessity, if we are to avoid the mistakes of the past. this suggests the advisability of a commission to devise a plan of reorganization, a commission that will have ample time and ample funds with which to make a study of the most vital problem that confronts the State of Louisiana today.

Fortunately, the State today has effective and qualified groups to provide technical assistance in such undertakings. Among these are the public affairs research council, the Louisiana Law Institute, the bureau of governmental research, and the Louisiana Legislative Council.

This new administration and this new legislature have no easy task. Some way, somehow, we must put an end to the complexity and confusion that characterizes our government. We must bring order out of chaos. Some way, somehow, we must stop the headiong, skyrocketing, catapulting, astronomical increase in taxation. Some way, somehow, we must clear the way and simplify the methods by which the Governor and the legislature perform their duties. Some way, some how, we must stop the evil trends which, if left unstopped, will do critical, or even fatal, damage to the economy of this State.

Without doubt you have the second toughest job that has confronted a Louisiana government since the reconstruction. It may well become the toughest. We are about to commence the reaping of the harvest from a lot of bad seed we have been planting over the years. But there is a bright side. is a way out. We have the brains and the genius and the leadership to cope with the problem. We have the tools and the resources. And we have a tradition, here in Louisiana, for the solution of great problems.

It's a challenge to Governor Davis and to you. It is a time for greatness. I believe you will rise to the challenge. I envy you in the opportunity that is yours. Louisiana has risen to great heights in meeting similar crises in the past. And with the executive and legislative leadership provided for the next 4 years, I have an abiding faith that you will do so in the days ahead.

Citation of Robert M. Chapman, Ashland, Ohio

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. FRANK J. LAUSCHE

OF OHIO

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Wednesday, May 18, 1960

Mr. LAUSCHE. Mr. President, last week there visited our Nation's Capitol a representative group of school safety patrolmen who were properly recognized and duly cited for heroic actions beyond their usual call to duty.

I am pleased to call attention to the fact that one of these young men to receive the medal citation is Robert M. Chapman, aged 14, of Montgomery School, Ashland, Ohio.

Robert is the son of Mr. and Mrs. Merle Chapman, R.F.D. No. 2, Ashland, Ohio.

I ask unanimous consent that there be printed in the Appendix of the REC-

ORD the citation relating to the outstanding act of heroism by this young man.

There being no objection, the citation was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Quick thinking and courageous action by Robert, while on school bus patrol duty the afternoon of March 24, 1960, prevented a tragic accident. The school bus had stopped east of Ashland on U.S. Route 250. Three children were about to cross the road. A heavily loaded tractor-trailer combination bore down on the bus. Being unable to stop, it swerved to one side but nonetheless struck the bus, driving it forward over 25 feet. Robert shoved the three children, two into the ditch, and the other flat onto the pavement. Two of the children were not hit. Robert and the third child, although struck by the bus, fortunately escaped serious in-

Wilkes-Barre General Hospital Receives First Installment of Hill-Burton Funds

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, May 18, 1960

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following news article from the Wilkes-Barre Times-Leader of May 17, 1960, announcing the receipt by the Wilkes-Barre General Hospital of the first installment, totaling \$261,313, of Federal Hill-Burton funds to be used for construction of a new \$3 million hospital. \$1 million of this total to come from

Hill-Burton funds: GENERAL HOSPITAL RECEIVES PART OF U.S. AID

Wilkes-Barre General Hospital new building fund has received a check in the amount of \$261,313.31, representing the first installment of a \$1 million Federal Hill-Burton grant to help build the \$3 million hospital, it was announced last night by F. E. Parkhurst, hospital president, and Dr. Samuel T. Buckman, campaign general chairman.

The check was received at General Hospital through the State treasurer's office.

It represents approximately one-quarter of the Federal Government's \$1 million pledge to the local hospital, and was based on the fact that, at the time of audit for purposes of payment, the new showplace hospital was 25 percent completed.

Additional installments will be paid as the building program, rapidly underway, at-tains certain stages of completion. The construction schedule, hospital officials stated, will soon reach 50 percent of completion.

The \$1 million Hill-Burton pledge to help build Wyoming Valley a new, fully modernized general hospital was procured originally on the premise the public of the community would itself pay \$2 million, or two-thirds, of the cost of the planned \$3 million medical installation.

A four-phase campaign was launched in the summer of 1958. First phase was an unpublicized drive among General Hospital "family" itself, under the chairmanship of Dr. Lewis T. Buckman. An advance gifts campaign, embarked January 7, 1959, followed by the general campaign kickoff, February 4, 1959, under Dr. Samuel T. Buck-man, general chairman. Contributions and pledges during all phases of the overall drive were lauded as re-

flecting the enthusiastic support and backing

of all segments of the community.

Last year, the campaign's final-phase, "Operation Windup," was launched to complete solicitation of prospects who had not yet been contacted, and to attain the \$2

million local goal.

Hospital officials said pledges and con-tributions are being received at "Operation Windup" headquarters, General Hospital. They urged all who have not yet been contacted, and who wish to be listed as participating in this major community project, to send in their contributions as soon as possible.

The hospital officials lauded receipt of the

Federal Government's first installment.
Parkhurst declared: "Receipt of the \$261," 313.31 check, as first installment of the Hill-Burton \$1 million pledge to the new General Hospital represents a giant stride. It is eloquent tribute to the Federal Government's fulfillment of its promise. We are all delighted."

Dr. Samuel Buckman stated: "We trust that receipt of one-quarter of the Hill-Burton grant will serve to remind all still uncontacted prospective contributors that their pledges and contributions, now more than ever, will be more than welcome at "Operation Windup" headquarters. We still need to attain the full local goal of \$2 million, and potential contributors are urged to make themselves part of this great building program without delay."

Members of General Hospital Building Committee include: Samuel M. Wolfe, Jr., chairman; Frank W. Anderson, Dr. Samuel T. Buckman, F. E. Parkhurst, Dr. Carlos E.

Rodriguez, and William O. Sword.

Joseph W. Barr: Department of Research

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. EARL HOGAN

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, May 18, 1960

Mr. HOGAN. Mr. Speaker, I am submitting a speech which was given by my colleague, Joseph W. Barr, Representative from the 11th District, Indiana, before the Federal Government Accountants' Association at the Naval Weapons Plant in Washington, D.C. on May 13.

The speech, Mr. Speaker, points up the need for coordinated effort on the part of our Government in the field of

In the past 20 years the expenditures of the United States on research have increased about 110 times-from \$74 million in 1940 to \$8,400 million in fiscal 1961. In 1961 research expenditures will use up about 10 cents of every Federal tax dollar collected.

This amazing jump in research appropriations over a 20-year span seems to reflect an awareness by the people that we can survive in the sixties only through research. We do not have the population to field great land armies, so to remain secure in a military sense, we must out-research the rest of the world. Economically, research is probably the best weapon we have in a highly competitive world. Ours is a high-cost economy. From the chairman of the board, through engineering staffs, and on down to the production line, our people demand and get salaries that are very high by world standards. To support these standards and to compete, we must literally turn in a better research performance than our competitors in the world market.

These facts seem apparent and are generally accepted. There is, however, a growing concern from the voters and from the Congress that the expenditure of this \$8,400 million is poorly coordinated, often wasteful, lacking in direction and purpose, and too often based on 'expediency' rather than

logical long-term goals.

Research, unlike other Government functions, is not centered under a department head reporting to the President and through him to the Congress. Research is scattered all over the lot. Defense of course gets the lion's share-\$5,840 million. Over a billion dollars goes to the Atomic Energy Commission, National Aeronautics and Space Administration is next with \$600 million, then the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare with \$375 million (mostly spent in the National Institutes of Health), Department of Agriculture gets \$138 million, the National Science Foundation gets \$101 million, and a group of other agencies gets \$283 million among them.

In spite of the fact that research is a clearly established Government function as clearly defined as defense, labor, or agriculture, in spite of the fact that it uses 10 cents out of every tax dollar, in spite of the fact that it is clearly vital to our continued existence, still there have been no attempts to make sense out of this sprawling mess. There is no clear line of authority to the President and to the Congress. And worst of all there seems to be no attempt to establish national science goals, to coordinate existing programs, or to give the taxpayer a break on this enormous expenditure.

In my opinion there are three areas of management problems involved that must be resolved quickly if our research efforts are to produce a reasonable return:

Some way, somehow, the President or the Congress must decide how much of our resources can be devoted to research. Today money is probably not as much a controlling factor as the sheer availability of scientists.

II

Some way, somehow, the Congress or the President must establish a direction and a goal for our efforts and this expenditure of tax funds. At the moment direction is imparted to research by departments concerned with their particular problems. It is only natural that people in Agriculture would emphasize their particular problems of research. It is only natural that Defense scientists would insist on the overriding importance of their efforts, and the same would be true of the doctors at the National Institutes of Health. Each group has its own ax to grind, and unfortunately the Congress judges research appropriations on this departmental basis. I think this ap-proach is all wrong. It is not as important to argue whether cancer research is more important than research on heart disease, to stack these programs up against the whole range of Government research efforts-space, defense, meteorology, oceanography, communications, etc. There may be some anguished howls, but in my opinion we can no longer afford to consider research efforts in a departmental context; we must line them up and give them priorities on the basis of total national interest.

Finally, the Executive is now faced with a management problem of the first magnitude in getting the most out of the tax dollar—this 8,400 million. As I understand it, management of research involves three basic problems: (1) What projects to start; (2) Continuing evaluation of the work; and

(3) When to quit.

I also understand that the toughest problem is the last—when to throw in the sponge and quit on a line of research that is not panning out.

In the years 1957 to 1959 we probably "blew" about 4 billion in Defense research because no one blew the whistle in time. One weapon system after another was advanced to the production point and then abandoned. Someone should have and could have stopped these projects much earlier in the game when they were obviously not developing properly. This kind of waste is intolerable.

Now that we have laid out the problems, what is the answer. I know that my answer is repugnant to many people, but I predict that we will be driven into a Department of Research with a Cabinet officer reporting directly to the President and collecting under his direction most of the sprawling research efforts of this Nation. Hearings were held on this subject in 1959 and many scientists yelled "tyranny." They may have a point, but I know of no other way for this Government to get a national, not a departmental, direction to our defense efforts. I know of no other way to coordinate these sprawling projects. I know of no other way ot assure the American taxpayer that he will get a fair return from his tax dollars.

Rochester, N.Y.—Senior Citizen Magazine June Travel Target

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. KENNETH B. KEATING

OF NEW YORK

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Wednesday, May 18, 1960

Mr. KEATING. Mr. President, the magazine, Senior Citizen, in its June issue contains an article entitled. "Travel Target of the Month-Rochester, N.Y .: Top Quality Status." This article, written by Lora Kelly, touches on a number of the most important cultural assets and community landmarks of my home city. Miss Kelly's excellent treatment of the history of the founding and development of Rochester is particularly noteworthy.

The author, of course, places special emphasis on the facilities and opportunities available to senior citizens in the Rochester area. Her discussion of the various public and private medical and general care facilities and of the cultural and social activities for the aged indeed indicates that the city of Rochester can take pride in the services and opportunities available to this important and vital age group.

With the problems and needs of senior citizens so much in the news at the present time, I think it is appropriate that attention be called to this article. which demonstrates the great interest that senior citizens themselves have taken in the many and diversified activities of particular concern to them.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that Miss Kelly's article on Rochester be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD. as follows:

TRAVEL TARGET OF THE MONTH-ROCHESTER, N.Y., TOP QUALITY STATUS

(By Lora Kelly)

"May we cultivate the vine and sheaf in this New World and furnish the Old World with bread."

This was the toast to which Revolutionary War veterans raised their tankards in the taverns of the Genesee country of upstate New York after they had exchanged their buff and blue uniforms of conflict for the

drab homespun of peace.

But that optimistic forecast of the future never came true. It remained for the wheatlands of the Far West a century and a half later to "furnish the Old World with bread" in the guise of foreign aid. The vine still grows and area farmers still raise crops of golden grain, but neither commodity is responsible for Rochester's worldwide fame. It took manmade products, now indispensable to modern living, to make it the third largest city in the State. Its diversified industries with 800 plants provide employment for the population of more than half a million, with payrolls running into the millions. Its paramount production of cameras plus supplies, and optical goods alone give it a "quality" status. What else makes Rochester so special? Many things. One is a compatible blend of the material and cultural way of life, coupled with a spirit of independence that goes clear back to its be-ginnings. Another is the warmhearted friendliness of the people which you may readily discover for yourself when you arrive

If you are a stranger you will be well advised to make the first stop at the Danforth Recreation Center, 200 West Avenue, municipally planned and maintained for the enjoyment of mature people. It is open from 10 in the morning until 4 in the afternoon except Saturday and Sunday. "As yet there is no senior citizens center which offers a comprehensive cultural program, but we are working on it," say the sponsors. "But in the meantime, if it's fun and entertainment you're after, you'll find it here." Its program consists of social activities including many special events. To those who wish to cultivate other interests the center recommends the following:

Memorial Art Gallery, 490 University Avenue, which has extensive collections of paintings, sculpture, and decorative arts from Egyptian to modern times. It also sponsors lectures, exhibitions, and creative

art classes for all ages.

Rochester Museum of Arts and Sciences, 657 East Avenue. Tours are conducted at various times. Here you may see unusual Indian, natural science and geological exhibits, local historical dioramas and visual reminders of the city's early days. There are motion pictures and evening lectures which visitors may attend.

Rundel Library, 115 South Avenue, not only has a fine collection of books on all subjects but maintains an art gallery of current exhibits on its second floor. It is the city's public library.

The entire list of points of interest is an exhaustive one but if your memory harks back to the days when "votes for women" were fighting words, you may wish to visit the house at 1 Madison Street where Susan B. Anthony, militant suffrage crusader, lived from 1866 until her death in 1906. The resi-dence contains many mementos of the noted leader's life.

Another stop on your house-to-house tour is the Campbell-Whittlesey at 123 South Fitzhugh Street, built in 1835. Now owned and administered by the Society for the Preservation of Landmarks in Western New York it is a real sightseeing bargain for the admission fee of 50 cents. This early Rochester home of a wealthy miller, Benjamin

Campbell, is completely restored and re-furnished. Another mansion of the same period is Woodside, 485 East Avenue, home of the Rochester Historical Society, which houses many historical objects and much literary information of the area. Both structures are fine examples of lovely Greek revival architecture.

Of course, if you are a camera fan you will find yourself in a shutterbug's paradise, for Rochester is famous as the world capital of photography. In that case you probably will make a beeline to the George House, 900 East Avenue. This Eastman stately white-pillared mansion dedicated in 1949 as a memorial to its former owner, is now a museum and a world center for the study and uses of that graphic art. One of Rochester's most distinguished citizens whose trademark Kodak is known from the jungles of Malay to practically every household in America, Eastman made millions of dollars from the invention he perfected in 1888. He was also the inventor of the flexible film which little Johnny rolls in his box Brownie, to say nothing of its vial function in the movie industry.

When Eastman died in 1932 at the age of 78, it was found that he was a firm believer in sharing the wealth. To this end he had donated more than \$72 million to various projects. Lavish endowments were bestowed upon the University of Rochester, enabling it to establish the Eastman School of Music, also schools of medicine and dentistry. A man of diverse cultural interests who had transformed an expansive hobby into a popular pastime and the mainstay of modern mass entertainment, he was an art connoisseur whose paintings are a part of the museum's exhibits. Conducted tours through Kodak Park, chief plant of the company bearing his name, are available. Consisting of about 80 buildings it is a city in itself. An urn on a pedestal at the memorial plaza entrance contains the founder's ashes.

Those who are old enough to remember Mary Pickford's curls, Charlie Chaplin's swagger stick, screen captions requesting ladies to remove their hats, the inevitable chase of the Keystone Cops, plus the Mack Sennett "bathing beauties" (fully clothed) will recapture some of the thrills of yesteryear at the Dryden Theater: Now a part of the Eastman Home it specializes in showing old silent pictures on Saturday and Sunday afternoons.

In the same neighborhood is the Rochester Museum of Arts and Sciences which features habitat dioramas of the region's features habitate displays of European native wildlife, also displays of European man and American Indians, especially the Seneces, the city's original inhabitants. The Senecas, the city's original inhabitants. reproduced scenes of colonial Rochester, its early homes and stores, are fascinating subjects for the antiquarian.

Although the city is an important manufacturing center you will find none of the grime usually associated with industrial communities. On the contrary, most of its factories are located in parklife settings with gardens abounding in flowers. In fact it gardens abounding in nowers.
was once known as the "Flower City," succeeding the previous nickname of "Flour City" at the time of its incorporation in 1834. Though it now tags itself appropriately enough "The City of Quality Products." its devotion to horticulture has increased correspondently with the rise of great nurseries whose seeds and plants are supplied to growers all over the Nation as well as abroad. Almost any time of the year you can see and sniff the fragrance of the floral displays, indoors in winter, outdoors in sum-The most widely known is the Lilac Festival in late May or early June in Highland Park where more than 500 varieties of lilacs are exhibited along with thousands of azaleas, rhododendrons, and other shrubs.

Maplewood Park, too, is a vast rose garden of no less than 5,000 plants.

All of the well-landscaped parks offer attractions for everyone regardless of age. The entire system of 2,000 acres within the city limits offers ample facilities for recreation. During the summer free band concerts are presented regularly, and the 56 playgrounds sponsor more than a hundred special events a year. Picnickers may enjoy the conven-ience of shelters and grills while three public golf courses are available to the clubswinging set.

This sprawling city which now spreads over 12 miles on the banks of the Genesee River had its beginnings shortly after the close of the Revolutionary War. Rumors of the rich lands of western upstate New York led to what was called Genesee fever attracting a widely varying group of hopeful settlers. Some were humble craftsmen and farmers who had served in Washington's armies and having won national independence now wanted it on an individual basis. Others were promoters who bought up huge acreages with a view toward selling them to wealthy Dutch patroons of the Hudson River Valley or southern aristocrats for feudal estates. It took a combination of both elements to insure progress.

Rochester's first settler was Ebenezer Allen who built a sawmill and a gristmill at the upper falls of the Genesee in 1789. Fourteen years later he sold his tract of a hundred acres to three gentlemen from Maryland, Col. William Fitzhugh, Maj. Charles Carroll, and Col. Nathan Rochester for whom the site was named when lots were offered for sale

in 1811.

By this time the influx of newcomers had begun and during the War of 1812 its 332 residents served as a frontier depot. peace came to the borders of the Great Lakes the spirit of democracy had become so firmly entrenched that there were no less than eight settlements along the river banks, all of which decades later were absorbed by Rochester. The grandiose dreams of the landed gentry from the East never materialized. Instead, the smallscale farmers cultivated the soil with their primitive implements, built their cabins, schools, and churches, and shipped their products in handhewn barges and arks down the waterways to southern markets. Their sturdy toil laid a firm foundation for the increasing prosperity which was to come with the building of the Erie Canal in the early 1830's, Various industries sprang up-shoes, clothing, and other commodities as the machine age began to supplant hand workmanship. But not wholly. Almost half of Rochester's workers are highly skilled artisans on precision instruments. The traffic on Clinton's Ditch enriched Rochester's economy; the growing city was by no means blind and deaf to the forces of religion and education. From its very beginnings most of the established denominations were represented and the need for schools recognized. Appreciation of the arts likewise flourished, finding expression today in the numerous galleries, the fine philharmonic symphony orchestra, also free operas and concerts sponsored by the city during the summer.

Although Rochester maintains nine homes for the aged chiefly under chuch auspices, it is now pioneering in a unique metal housing development in Cobb's Hill Village designed for the comfort of tenants in the upper age brackets. It has already attracted national attention along with another apartment house type of two-story separated units on the Seth Green Drive.

If, as William Lyon Phelps once said, "one of the secrets of life is to keep our intellectual curiosity," you will find yours richly satisfied in Rochester. Genesee fever is still contagious.

Enterprise System, Inc.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. HUGH SCOTT

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Wednesday, May 18, 1960

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. President, a speech delivered by the Senator from New York [Mr. KEATING], in Philadelphia, May 13, contains so much of general interest and is so soundly reasoned that I believe it should receive much wider attention. I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD the speech of Senator Keating before the Americans for the Competitive Enterprise System, Inc.-ACES.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SPEECH OF SENATOR KENNETH B. KEATING, REPUBLICAN, OF NEW YORK, BEFORE THE AMERICANS FOR THE COMPETITIVE ENTER-PRISE SYSTEM, INC., PHILADELPHIA, MAY 13, 1960

I am delighted to be here this afternoon to talk to the Philadelphia Americans for the Competitive Enterprise System.

The purposes for which your fine organization stands are the greatest ideals of all history-freedom and its many facets. motivates and inspires men, and has done so from the beginning of recorded time. It

is mankind's eternal trump card.

Speaking to the ACES, I suppose should have held on to my trump card, but in 20 minutes or so one can't do too much finessing with a subject as broad as that Which I have chosen for today.

I want to talk today about the attitudes and ideas which people have towards government and towards its impact on our

Let's begin by getting things in the proper

perspective.

All of us with no small anticipation have been watching the recent growth of our gross national product. This is the statistical index which sums up all of the goods and services produced in the United States. The reason for its receiving special attention in recent months is that this index is about to reach 500 billion or one-half trillion dollars. In fact, the annual rate for the January-March quarter was \$498 billion, just 2 bil-lion short of the half trillion mark.

I realize full well that we must not allow ourselves to become hypnotized by the level of this index of national output. There are of this index of national output. still a great many questions as to what will be the course of our economy in the months ahead. However, despite these various uncertainties, there is little doubt that at one time or another we will reach and surpass the half-trillion-dollar rate. In fact, we may have already done so.

It will, I am sure, take a statistical giant to determine at exactly what time this event occurred. Maybe it is happening right now as I am speaking. Perhaps it was just at the moment that the President wound up at Griffith Stadium to throw out the first Amer-

ican League baseball. Perhaps it happened at 3 o'clock in the morning.

I am impressed and excited by this halftrillion-dollar figure, because in my mind it affirms and illustrates the great prosperity of our Nation—a record of which all of us can be proud. We must, of course, look to the future more than we gloat over the past.

Speech by Senator Kenneth B. Keating I know that all of you are concerned, as am I, about the best and most effective route Before the Americans for Competitive to a gross national product of \$600 million then 700-and eventually a trillion

In 1959, total spending by Federal, State, and local governments totaled \$97.9 billion. This represents roughly 20 percent of our gross national product, which means that approximately \$1 out of every \$5 spent in 1959 was spent for government.

On the overall, when you compare national income and total tax revenues an average of 1 day out of every 5-day workweek goes toward providing and maintaining the services of our Federal, State, and local governments. Half a day's wages each week go for national defense alone.

One mustn't take these figures lightly. Because of the high proportion of our time as well as our income which is devoted to government, there is every reason for all taxpaying Americans to take government seriously.

To an unhappily large proportion of Americans, government is like a New Year's Eve party. It comes once a year—as do elec-tions—and the rest of the year is spent wondering blearily why such a fuss is made about it.

As a Member of Congress for over a decade and as an active private citizen for several, I have had a chance to observe and study people's attitudes toward the Federal Government and toward the various uses to which it puts the over \$90 billion each year which we pay in taxes.

want, at this point, to discuss two distinct and certainly extreme attitudes toward government. The first is that of a fellow whom I call the "rant and raver" (he's the nonmusical counterpart of the "rock and roller"). The figures which I have just cited are well known to him. He is all too well aware of them. However, he makes absolutely no attempt to learn about and analyze the ways in which the Government's resources are put to use.

Instead of breaking down the total cost of government and distinguishing between those governmental expenditures which are good and necessary and those which may be bad and unnecessary, he prefers to generalize. To him, government simply costs too much and does too little.

In his mind, the Federal Government is a giant groping carnivorous octopus, reaching in every direction and strangling every living income-receiving thing which it can lay a tentacle one. The only person to whom the octopus of big government responds is the politician-complete with frock coat, plaid pants, and stale cigar.

The politician, deft in the ways of octopi, carefully conditions the beast to spare from his stranglehold just enough voters to get him reelected. Not a happy picture, and fortunately not representative of the attitude of the great majority of informed Americans. The "rant and raver" is most easily re-

vealed by what I call the "exception deception." He's furious about high taxes, huge bureaucracies, and payola. The Government does too much. We ought to break the whole thing up. But, the only thing which gets him madder than the Government, is the refusal of the party or parties in power to make an exception in order to build him a dam, grant him a special pension, or build a monument for his great grandmother's third cousin, a veteran of a battle of long ago.

The second character whom I want to call to your attention is cleverer and perhaps more sophisticated than the "rant and rayer." He is the "gravy train engineer." He starts with the same fundamental assumption as does the "rant and raver," namely that the Government already does too much for too many people. This is his first axiom. corollary is that since everybody is so well

subsidized, the best and only course of action for him is to see to it that he gets his full share-and then some.

You have heard this fellow many times. "Look what so and so gets and how much money goes for something even sillier-why shouldn't I get my fair share of the gravy?

A serious fallacy common to the "gravy train engineer" is the notion that the Federal Government can do anything it wants far more cheaply and easily than anyone else. In his all-unknowing view, since the Federal Government controls and prints money, it has or can get as much as it needs.

The victim of this unfortunate miscon-ception, which for lack of a better term might be called "mint madness," rejects all forms of therapy. He deliberately and blissfully adheres to his strange and illogical belief that the Government is so big and so unique that the only thing one needs to do to make it work is to plead successfully to an Appropriations Committee of the Congress.

The victim of "mint madness" can frequently be cured by a special kind of shock treatment administered on April 15 of each year by the Internal Revenue Service.

These two imaginary and fictional characters, the "rant and raver" and the "gravy train engineer," are, of course, extremes. And yet, isn't it true that we often recognize similar tendencies in people we know? fact-if the whole truth be known-don't we find ourselves falling on occasion into the unfortunate habits of the "rant and raver" and his more sophisticated fictional colleague?

What then is the best and most effective attitude for the private as well as the public citizen in thinking about Government and its impact upon his life?

In my mind, it is important that we focus on the basic question as to what is the proper size, scope, and function of Government in our society. In brief, what should the Government do? What should it not do?

Let me cite some common examples of ways in which these fundamental questions relate to existing and proposed activities of the Federal Government. Should the Federal Government insure home mortgages, pay teachers' salaries, subsidize our farm economy, build public housing, underwrite the merchant marine, finance the Weather Bureau, pay for school lunches, provide electricity, build theaters, and assist private

The answer to these several questions, of course, depends upon the philosophy and ideology of every American, as an individual-and as a free man.

Knowing of the principles and purposes of the ACES, I am sure that it is within this general framework that you appraise both new proposals for governmental action and the performance of the Government in carrying out the various activities with which it is presently charged.

It is not enough merely to think about government and its overall role in our society. It is necessary, in addition, that every effort be made to be kept fully informed as to the intent and mechanics of our various major governmental programs. This is not a subject matter which should be reserved to academicians and politicians. America's vigorous free press puts at the disposal of every citizen the means by which to keep informed of the events of the day and of the objectives and activities of the various agencies of government at all levels. This is an opportunity which cannot and must not be neglected.

I want to make it absolutely clear that I do not mean to be partisan in suggesting that one take as his basic frame of reference an analysis of the proper size, scope, and function of government in our society. There are and must be honest differences of opinion between our two major parties (and amongst individuals within each) as to what

should and should not be the proper functions of government. Today I want merely and primarily to stress the importance of a rational and realistic frame of reference for all informed citizens in understanding and actively participating in the vital business of government. Such a framework avoids the pitfalls experienced by the "rant and raver" and the "gravy-train engineer."

This is by no means all that I intend to say on this subject. I would certainly be short changing you intellectually if I did not address myself to the type of considerations which underlie the frame of reference which I have just described. It is absolutely imperative that every American define in his own mind those principles which are of greatest importance to our Nation and which are crucial in determining the proper size, scope, and function of our Government.

My recipe for good government depends, above all, on the wholesome taste of freedom. This includes freedom of speech, religion, thought, and, certainly of special significance to all of you, freedom of opportunity, which is basic to our American competitive-enterprise system.

The history of our country clearly demonstrates that economic expansion, stemming from the energy and enthusiasm of our American free enterprise system, has made our Nation great and powerful.

Free enterprise does not belong to one social stratum or one political party. It is an inalienable right. It encompasses and supersedes all social, political, and economic groupings.

What is the crux of freedom? Where does it come from?

I can't give you the answers. Freedom is delicate and illusive. Freedom is an intangible. One often cannot appreciate its cost and understand its value until it has been taken away. I am sure the people of Soviet Russia and of her lifeless and downtrodden satellite nations understand this proposition far better than we.

I am confident that, as ACES, your understanding of the proper role of government in our society depends primarily upon the need to maintain a structure of society wherein people can and must do things for themselves. This is freedom in the simplest possible terms. In a nutshell, it is therefore the function of government to do those things which people cannot and would not otherwise take care of on their own.

This need not be an altogether narrow and unyielding concept of a free society. It is a concept which can and must grow and change with the times. As men of vision, it is absolutely imperative that your philosophies of government borrow from the past, conform to the present, and grapple with the future.

The Federal Government does not and cannot stand alone. The relationship between the Federal Government and the governments of our 50 States is a broad and vital subject, which has been all too frequently neglected. Last year I introduced a bill in the Senate calling for the establishment of a congressional committee on Federal-State economic relations charged with the responsibility of studying this entire subject then within a limited time reporting back to Congress with specific proposals for action to modernize and improve the links between Washington and our 50 State capitals. This bill was not approved. In its place, Congress enacted a bill setting up a commission in the executive branch to make a longrun study of this general field.

To me this isn't the solution. The best way to solve a problem is not merely to establish a commission to study it.

There are many important considerations which arise here. Our State governments have not been firm enough in asserting their jurisdictional rights. For a subsidy—they have all too often sold themselves

down the Potomac. On the other hand, the Federal Government, having preempted the best sources of tax revenue, has left the States little choice.

In giving attention, as we are today, to the role of the Federal Government in our society, we must not ignore the role of State governments and their place in the Federal system.

To sum up, in evaluating an existing or proposed governmental program, one must decide whether or not it satisfied his own personal views as to the meaning of our democracy and as to the most desirable size and scope of the activities of government in a free society.

In a democracy, every citizen can and must think about and participate actively in this process of governing if his Nation is to persevere. The vitality and lifeblood of the United States rests on a spirit of active participation in Government on the part of people like yourselves who are sincerely and conscientiously devoted to and concerned about good government.

Political participation is far more than a fine phrase. I have given you some of my own personal thoughts on this subject. Encouraging Americans to be active citizens and to get out and vote is not enough. It is necessary that we also devote attention both to the ways in which citizens should participate in government and to an enlightened and realistic understanding of the major political and governmental issues of our day.

I commend you, as ACES, for your willingness to think about and talk about the most constructive and positive approach for Americans to take to the big and terribly important business of government.

The Arab Boycott and American Jewry

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 18, 1960

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I commend to the attention of our colleagues the following article by A. V. Benjamin, Jerusalem correspondent, as it appeared in the publication Israel Today, April 12, 1960, issue:

THE ARAB BOYCOTT AND AMERICAN JEWRY (By A. V. Benjamin)

When the first news about the action taken by the International Seafarers Union against the Egyptian freighter Cleopatra in New York harbor reached Israel, some of the local newspapers were under the impression that the picketing of Cleopatra was a sequel to Nasser's Suez Canal blockade policy and a direct punishment for disobeying the United Nations and for not fulfilling the gentlemen's agreement with Hammarskjold. But as the statements of the union spokesmen kept coming, everybody realized that although the members of the International Seafarers Union were doing a good deed, and a most impressive one at that, from Israel's point of view, they were nevertheless fighting their own battle and defending the rights of their comrades on the high seas and in foreign

It has also become clear that the Egyptian dictator was caught unawares. According to Cairo, he was absolutely astonished or even dumfounded at the refusal by American dockworkers to unload the freighter Cleopatra in New York. It was a natural thing to expect Egypt to accuse the Zionists of

a plot, and all official assurances from Washington that the picketing did not reflect the official policy of the U.S. Government could hardly change the opinions of the Arab ruler, who found it easier to attribute all evil designs to Zionism and Zionist influences in the United States.

Israelis chuckled at the wrath of the Egyptian dictator, who apparently has forgotten, or has never learned, the rule; don't do unto your neighbor what you would not

have him do unto you. As news kept coming from New York of one Federal judge after another refusing to issue an injunction against the picketing members of the International Seafarers union, the Israelis became more and more interested in the developments, especially since they knew that the Socialist International Conference, slated to open in Haifa within a few days, was expected to urge all seafarers and dockworkers unions in the free world to join the American unions in picketing Egyptian ships. Again, the place of the conference and the sympathy of the Socialists to Israel and Israel's workers were not the only reasons why the leaders of labor from different countries of the world should take such a stand. Here was simply a matter of defending the dignity of the laborer and of the sailor, maltreated by Nasser's soldiers and officials under the pretext of continuing the anti-Israeli boycott and blacklisting 387 ships, 100 of them American, for trading

with Israel.

By denying water, food and fuel to the blacklisted ships, and by blockading them in Arab ports Egypt has committed a willful act of discrimination against the sailors of these ships, depriving them of the services and facilities due them and of freedom of the seas, in accordance with International Maritime Law. Thus, Egypt invited upon itself retallatory action by the maritime unions of the free world. The picketing of Cleopatra was considered in Israel only a beginning, and a very good omen of things to come in all other democratic countries of the West, where free unions exist and are free to act on their own in defending their rights.

At the same time, it was realized in Israel that, politically speaking, the time was not too propitious for any action against Egyptian ships in American harbors which would cause the State Department to feel that American workers' organization are "out to antagonize Nasser." Some foresaw indirect intervention on the part of the State Department and the use of the argument that presently there are 100 American ships in the Near East against a few Egyptian ships in American ports, and Arab counterpicketing may be highly inconvenient.

But the thing that impressed the Israelis most was the violent reaction of rage and confusion evoked in Arab quarters as a result of picketing the Cleopatra by ISU members in New York. For years and years Nasser defied all resolutions by the U.N. Security Council and all the diplomatic interventions by the maritime powers, pleading abolition of the Suez blockade of Icraeli ships, but to no avail. Israel was helpless in this matter, and while it never for a moment gave up its right of passage in the international waters of the Suez Canal, it could not see a way to force the Egyptian dictator to give up the blockade. And so Israel was ready to bow to a compromise worked out by Hammerskjold and agreed to by Nasser at a time when Cairo was eager to please Washington and obtain a loan from the World Bank. Nasser never intended to keep his promise. He detained the SS Astepalea and unloaded its cargo, thus renewing the blockade crisis in all its severity.

Israeli newspapers, as recently as 2 weeks ago, began to question the wisdom of sending more Israeli cargoes through Suez, and facing a certain financial loss without any

promise of betterment in the situation. But everyone realized that Israel's Foreign Minister, Golda Meir, meant what she said when she declared that despite all disappointments Israel would continue to insist on its right to free passage through Suez. Yet everybody asked himself how the change could be brought about.

It was then that the decision by the Israeli Government to take energetic countermeasures against the Arab economic boycott assumed a special significance. The establishment of a department for economic warfare against the Arab boycott was greeted by all Israelis with satisfaction. In fact, most newspapers asked why was nothing done much earlier in this respect, and why did Israel take all these economic blows lying down. The main damage caused by economic boycott was a result of the Suez blockade. It forced oil tankers going to Israel to make long detours at an additional cost of millions of dollars annually. But the weapons of the Arab economic boycott Were many and varied, and the Israeli attitude was passive and in most cases the reaction came too late to be of any effect.

The incidents of Renault and Air France did more than any previous incidents of Arab economic war activities, to shake public opinion in Israel and to awaken the Israelis from their complacency. Just because of the close friendship with France and the French, the shock was all the greater. The Public demanded action and so did the press.

Several weeks passed and a new feeling of unrest made itself felt. Many Israelis could understand that economic warfare requires secrecy. Israel is not out to damage anybody; it wants to defend itself against its enemies. It has to answer Arab boycott with counterboycott. But in order to be effective it cannot publicize its steps in advance. It also cannot mobilize all citizens of Israel for effective, action against Israel's enemies, because economic warfare is so different from military defense, in which each able-bodied man can and must do his part.

It was the Cleopatra incident that raised the question: Are we, Israelis, and are the Jews of the Diaspora, in particular those of America, doing all that can be done to counter the Arab economic boycott in all its cruel and ugly forms? It is the Arab contention that the "technical state of war" between them and Israel permits them all kinds of restrictions and confiscations." In the name of this one-sided and illegal state of war they justify all kinds of acts of piracy, robbery and discrimination, not only against Israel and Israelis, but against Jews everywhere and against all Jewish communities of the world with the convenient contention that they are all Zionists and agents of Israel. All limitations on American Jews in Arab countries (the Aramco case in Saudi Arabia, and the blacklisting of many Jewish business firms, simply because their owners are Jewish, are

the best proof of this policy).

The policy of blacklisting Jewish firms in America and other parts of the world, and discriminating against Jews by boy-cotting them economically and preventing them physically from entering certain Arab countries is, ipso facto, the best proof in the eyes of the Arab rulers led by Nasser, the racist approach of the Nazi era still prevails. In other words, it is not the citizenship of the Jews that counts, but their racial origin and religious beliefs. True, Nasser tolerates Jewish tourists from certain Western countries, because they supply him with dollars. But so did the Nazis before World War II, tolerate Jewish money from abroad while confiscating the properties of their Jewish citizens and planning mass slaughter of the Jews under their rule.

From time to time, the Arab propagandists denied discrimination against Jews as such,

and maintained that they are fighting the Zionists only. But, as time went on, it became more and more apparent that both, in the limitation of the rights of foreign Jews and in the blacklisting of Jewish firms, the Egyptians hardly bothered to find out who is a Zionist and who is not. A positive answer to the questions of the Arab League boycott office questionnaire: "Is the firm Jewish?" and, "are any of the managers of this firm Jews?" sufficed to put these firms on the Arab's trade blacklist.

In view of these facts, many Israelis ask themselves today why the Jews of America and other free countries of the world do not take a more active stand in the fight against the Arab boycott, which is, in the last resource, not only a boycott against Israel, but in essence, a boycott against world Jewry. When the Egyptian Ambassador Jewry. protested, the other day, to the Assistant Secretary of State for Near Eastern Affairs, Mr. G. Lewis Jones, against the picketing of the SS Cleopatra, he argued that this was unfair discrimination, because no state of war exists between America and the United Arab Republic. To all practical purposes, a state of economic war and of unfair dis-crimination does exist between the Arabs, led by the Egyptian dictator Nasser, and world Jewry. It is a state of war forced upon world Jewry by the Arabs against our will, as it is forced upon the Jews of Israel against theirs. But such a unilateral war declaration, followed by acts of discrimina-tion and boycott, must be answered, and the sooner the better.

In the boycott against Israel, we have witnessed how silence and secrecy and re-luctance, on the part of the Israeli Government, to proceed energetically against the Arab boycott has led quite a few private firms, and sometimes even such a potent factor as the U.S. Navy, to acquiesce in the Arab boycott, and to order certain ships not to call at Israeli ports, so as to avoid difficulties with the Arabs. As soon as the matter became public knowledge, American public opinion forced the U.S. Government to act against such procedures. The U.S. Navy contracts which indirectly helped the Arab boycott are now a thing of the past. The battle for the rights of American Jewish citizens to serve in American bases in Saudia is also on the way to be won, thanks to energetic action taken by the American Jewish Congress. Both cases serve as proof that the way to do away with Nasser's tac-tics and discriminatory practices against Israelis, and Jews in general, is to "do unto him what he tries to do unto us!"

The Jews in Israel can appeal to their Government to act on behalf of the Israeli citizens in fending off economic, or any other attacks on the Jewish State. The Jews of the United States of America, the United Kingdom, France, and other free countries of the world, cannot expect their Governments to do more than lodge diplomatic protests against discrimination of their citizens abroad. They cannot give up mili-tary bases in Arab countries for such a reason, and they cannot do much when Jewish firms are boycotted in Arab countries. American and British citizenship and passports are of no avail when it comes to rulers of countries who treat them according to the Nazi criterion of racial origin and religious persuasion. The only answer to Nazism and neo-Nazism, whether Arab or German, is counterboycott and counterdiscrimination, wherever Jewish people live and work.

It is no secret that sales of the Renault cars in the United States of America slumped to a marked degree, when American Jews learned about the shameful way in which this firm was browbeaten into liquidating its assembly plant in Israel, so as to accommodate the Arab Boycott Committee in Cairo. Now, Renault is not a Nazi firm. It is established in a country most friendly to Israel, and

some of its managers are Jewish. But, unfortunately, the management of Renault took the cowardly, or, the so-called practical view, being convinced that the Arab market is more profitable for them than the Israeli one. In their calculations, they forgot Jewish public opinion in the world, and also the strange but confirmed fact that many a non-Jew would not approve of such injustice and cowardice, and would join the ranks of people who do not like to buy from such firms as Renault, no matter what the merit of the product is.

Many Israells wonder if the time has not arrived for the Jews of America, and other free countries, to take an active stand against Arab boycott and discrimination, which is clearly directed against all the Jews of the world, with the exception, maybe, of the Council for Judaism people, whom the Nazis of Hitler's Germany would probably have given the honorary title of useful Jews, and permitted them to live and breathe a while longer than most of their persecuted brethren.

Everybody in Israel is convinced that the Jews of America have all the pride and courage necessary to proceed in this matter with vigor and success. What they need is a determined leadership, to carry out the sacred task of self-defense against Arab depredations and discriminations in the Middle East, on the high seas and on the continent of America.

Citizenship Training in the Realities of Government

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. KARL E. MUNDT

OF SOUTH DAKOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, May 18, 1960

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. President, students of government can find a clue to new avenues of study which are open to them if they read the editorial, "Citizenship Training in the Realities of Government," written in the May 1960 issue of the Catholic School Journal. The writer of the editorial is a distinguished scholar, Dr. Edward A. Fitzpatrick.

Dr. Fitzpatrick has made a realistic revelation of the machinations of bureaucracy—a system that has grown, over the years, and which operates in spite of political administrations or any change in administrators.

He states:

The amazing bureaucracy should be revealed in all its awfulness—a bureaucracy that believes in the infallibility of governmental communications, and considers informal conversation as official action

Describing the need of studies on this new concept of managing a government, the writer again says:

We should reveal clearly the shift of a liberalism with its emphasis on protecting individual rights to a liberalism that is unabashedly statism.

Warning that the bureaucracy can gradually control the entire system of government if we give it the authority, through Federal assistance programs, to set up compulsory standards over activities which we desire to be kept under local leadership, Dr. Fitzpatrick explains:

The important result of Federal aid is not the comparatively small amount of money that is given to each locality, but the aggrandizement of Federal power and the imposition, through a highly camouflaged bribery, of policies which the communities have never adopted.

This editorial is a well thought out discussion of the trends of government. It is realistic and factual—but the truths it contains are too often ignored by the public.

Or, it might be more accurate to say, the truths are never discovered by the

public.

Since I believe this is an important suggestion for students, and teachers in government classes, as well as for people in public life, I ask that the editorial be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD,

as follows:

CITIZENSHIP TRAINING IN THE REALITIES OF GOVERNMENT

(By Dr. Edward A. Fitzpatrick)

One of the greatest factors in modern life is government, and its directing, controlling, and regimenting power is becoming greater year after year. In more naive days we regarded the government as greatly beneficent and we participated actively in the efforts to make public service a career, and to have universities establish professional schools for the training of public servants. Despite the shame of the cities and the Teapot Domes, the words public servants really meant people with a high sense of dedication to service to the people. We were in the heyday of the Wisconsin social leadership when State Senator Hatton of Wisconsin had earlier expressed the purpose of the Railroad Commission as an instrumentality to which the poorest citizen could write on a postal card his complaint, and have it studied and followed by any necessary action. Now as we see government at closer range we see an imperative need for a teaching of civics in the elementary school and the teaching of political science in the college which is more realistic concerning what is actually happening in government. The structure of government must be taught, and perhaps the salaries of officers, but the amazing bureaucracy should be revealed in all its awfulness a bureaucracy that believes in the infallibility of governmental communications, and considers informal conversation as official action. We must note the subdivision of departments into offices, sections, bureaus, and what not, each little bureaucrat building his empire in order to go higher so that can refer and pass the buck and have the lower echelons do the work. One talks to a Congressman about an obvious injustice. and he is told "why should anyone like that ever have wanted a job in government." Maybe the young man read Father Keller's literature from the Christophers. But even Father Keller might direct his attention to the autocratic personnel departments called in at least one notable agency ax men. The administrative codes often made in the offices to be controlled and included in legislation are major factors in the irresponsibility of what are presumed public servants.

These conditions ordinarily develop slowly, but they are at times deliberate. An extraordinary example is the power of the Administrator of the Veterans' Administration whose action cannot be reviewed by any other official (including the President) nor by any court (including the Supreme Court). In my naivete I assume this is a violation of the Constitution. In a recent case, the U.S. Supreme Court found the Administrator's action "arbitrary and capricious" but

said it could do nothing about it, but added, piously enough, that the Administrator might correct his own error.

There is a great responsibility schools to teach students the actual governments under which they are living. The development of an alert citizenship in a period of excessive and even arbitrary governmental administration is one of the major tasks of all school systems, including the public schools. The citizen is ordinarily powerless in dealing with the bureaucracy, but the possible corrective is with the legislators who make laws and judges who interpret them. Greater emphasis needs to be placed on citizenship training, on legislation, and on judicial interpretation than on executive routine which does not reveal the administrative absolutism. We should reveal clearly the shift of a liberalism with its emphasis on protecting individual rights to a liberalism that is unabashedly statism. need to have students see what the president of the California School of Technology called the "ugly specter of government" as well as its potentially beneficent aspects when well administered. We must realize at least the partial truth in the statement: It is better to have Satan write the laws and have St. Peter administer them than to have St. Peter write the laws and Satan administer them. There is too much satanic spirit in public administration.

This background must be kept in mind as we consider problems of Federal aid to education. Too often communities think they are getting something for nothing. Utah's refusal to take Federal aid is an indication that there may be an awakening. The important result of Federal aid is not the comparatively small amount of money that is given to each locality, but the ag-grandizement of Federal power and the imposition, through a highly camouflaged bribery, of policies which the local com-munities have never adopted. The British Webbs of Fabian fame long ago realized the amazing power of the technique to impose national policies and standards on local communities. They pointed out "The Na-tional Government (British) in the course of three quarters of a century from 1832 successively bought the rights of inspection, audit, supervision, initiative, criticism, and control, in respect to one service after another, by the grant of annual subventions from the National Exchequer in aid of the local finances, and therefore, in relief of the local rate-payer" (p. 5).

The authors comment for Great Britain that grants-in-aid are "the actualities of administration rather than items of pagentry, and no matter what is presumed to be the constitution, this is "becoming the pivot on which the machine really works"—and is to be preferred to French or German bureaucracy or "the American anarchy of local autonomy."

The emphasis on all teaching of government should be on decentralization of power. Lewis Mumford in "The Condition of Man" (p. 419) put the problem well:

"The task of our age is to decentralize power in all its manifestations. To this end, we must build up balanced personalities: personalities that will be capable of drawing upon our immense stores of energy, knowledge, and wealth without being demoralized by them. On this point, Plato's words in "The Laws' cannot be improved: 'If anyone gives too great power to anything, too large a sall to a vessel, too much food to the body, too much authority to the mind, and does not observe the mean, everything is overthrown, and in the wantonness of excess runs in the one case to disorders, and in the other to injustice, which is the child of excess.'"

Religious Persecution Continues in the Ukraine

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. DON L. SHORT

OF NORTH DAKOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 10, 1960

Mr. SHORT. Mr. Speaker, last April 10 was declared by Ukrainians over the free world as Ukrainian Day of National Solidarity, in tribute to the martyred Ukrainian Catholic Church. Some startling facts regarding persecution of the church in the Ukraine have been brought to my attention by Dr. Anthony Zukowsky, president of the North Dakota branch, Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, Inc.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I include a letter from Dr. Zukowsky and other material on the subject of church

persecution:

OF AMERICA, INC.,
STATE BRANCH OF NORTH DAKOTA,
Bismarck; N. Dak., April 30, 1960.
Hon. Don L. Short,
U.S. Penragentation

UKRAINIAN CONGRESS COMMITTEE

U.S. Representative, House of Representatives Building, Washington, D.C.

Dear Congressman Short: Our organization recalls with sorrow that 15 years ago in April Russian Communists launched their brutal drive to crush the Ukrainian Catholic Church.

The offensive began in April 1945 with an attack in the press. On April 10, 1945, Russian Communist regime arrested all the Ukrainian Catholic bishops, the Archbishop-Metropolitan Joseph Slipy at the head, and imprisoned them.

Archbishop-Metropolitan Joseph Slipy of Lviv was jailed and sentenced, is now seriously ill in Siberia. The latter, who alone of the other 10 bishops is still alive after a term of 15 years' penal servitude in the concentration camps, was recently again sentenced for 7 more years for writing a pastoral letter to his faithful and he continues to be a prisoner and a martyr of the Soviet Union.

Since that memorable date, at the hands of the Russian Communist regime the Ukrainians have lost 3,000 priests, 500 theology students, over a thousand monks and nuns, and over 4,000 churches and chapels, 195 religious premises, 38 Catholic publishing houses, and over 1,000 schools. Millions of the faithful also became victims of the Communist terror.

On this occasion we would like to recall similar destruction of the Ukrainian Autocephalic Orthodox Church in eastern Ukraine where within 10 years, from 1921 to 1931. Russian Communist regime unjustly arrested and annihilated 80 bishops with the Metropolitan Vasyl Lypkiwsky at the head, and also thousands of priests and millions of the faithful.

At the same time our organization recalls similar destruction of Christian churches in Lithuania, Estonia, Latvia, Byelorussia, Rumania, Hungary, and in many other countries subjugated by the Russian Communist regime.

Having removed the shepherds and the clergy the Reds decided to deliver a decisive blow. In March 1946 they declared the Ukrainian church be wiped out and they staged an artificial "synod" which proclaimed

a "union" with the Russian Orthodox Church. This Russian Orthodox Church is now subservient to the Communists, supports Communist regime, and helps Russian imperialism by russification of other non-Russian nations. Therefore the faithful of the Ukrainian Catholic Church went underground and became a "silent church."

The facts stated in this letter indicate that the Russian Communist regime destroys with premeditation the leaders of the Christian churches of the non-Russian nations, persecutes the church and the faithful, seeing in them the only obstacle against its imperialistic expansion without respecting even the simplete principles of ethics and morals.

The Ukrainians all over the free world, and especially in the United States, Canada, Great Britain, and Germany, under the leadership of their hierarchy and their councils, have been united on April 10, 1960, in joint prayers for the persecuted church of Christ and her leaders. The Ukrainians also declared April 10 as "Ukrainian Day of National Solidarity" in tribute to the martyred Ukrainian Catholic Church. They prayed that the free world might understand the Present tragedy of Christ's church in the Ukraine and in other countries subjugated by Communist Russia, and that the free world might preserve itself from similar tragedy.

Enclosed is a copy of the "America," Ukrainian Catholic daily of April 7, 1960, which has an editorial for this event under the title "Destruction of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in Ukraine," by Dr. L. Mydlowsky, and a copy of an editorial of "Register" of April 10, 1960, by Ray Whitehead under the title, "Ukrainian Rite Church Silent, But Not Dead." All of these editorials illustrate the condition of the persecuted church in Ukraine.

Therefore, I respectfully request to present to the U.S. Congress the dreadful situation of the religious persecution in Ukraine. I also request that the Secretary of State propose to the American delegation in the United Nations the condition of the persecuted church in Ukraine be placed on the agenda of the United Nations Assembly

Respectfully yours,

Dr. Anthony Zukowsky, President, UCCA, State Branch of North Dakota, Inc.

An Appeal to the Conscience of the Free World

We follow with great interest the events taking place in South Africa where both Negroes and many whites raised an open rebellion against the racial discriminating policles of their Government. We sympathize deeply on hearing that many suffered bodily injuries and others paid dearly with their lives in defense of their human rights. It was encouraging to hear that the Security Council of the United Nations, on the presentation of the grievances which came from the 29 nations of the Afro-Asian bloc of the U.N., in spite of the protests of the representative of the South African Government, took up the question of the bloody Outbursts in South Africa. The settlement of this question in the spirit of divine and natural law will bring peace not only to South Africa, but it will influence the making of true peace throughout the world.

But true peace in the world will not come from high-sounding meaningless words, nor from the lying phraseology about the broth-

¹P.S. Also enclosed please find "An Appeal to the Conscience of Free World," written by Roman Danylewycz, chief editor of Ukrainian Catholic weekly "Progress" of Winnipeg, Manitoba, Canada.—A. Z.

erhood of nations and world peace carried to the Western World by the wolf in sheep's clothing, the Soviet Premier, the enslaver of human dignity and whole nations—Nikita Khrushchev.

In 1938 Nikita Khrushchev, through the will of Stalin became the appointed commissar of the Ukraine in the role of a secretary of the Communist Party in Ukraine. He followed in the footsteps of his predecessors, Postishev, and Kosior. In bloody letters the history of the Ukraine recorded Khrushchev as the merciless butcher of thousands of Ukrainian political prisoners at the beginning of the German-Soviet war, the formal liquidator of the Ukrainian Catholic Church with the imprisonment of its whole hierarchy and their superior Metropolitan Slipyj, and the murderer of hundreds of priests and thousands of faithful

On Palm Sunday, which falls on April 10, 1980, the Ukrainians of the free world, under the initiative of the Ukrainian Catholic Metropolitan of Canada, His Grace Maxime Hermaniuk, are preparing an All-Ukrainian Day of national solidarity. The occasions for such an expression of common solidarity is the 15th anniversary of the bloody purge of the Ukrainian Catholic Church by the Communists. This persecution is only one link in the long chain of bloody persecutions to which for the last 43 years Communist Moscow subjected Christ's church and her faithful in countries which fell under the Red imperialistic heel.

One of the first countries to fall a victim of the bloody Communist regime was the Ukraine. During the 40 years of domination by the Communists, the Ukrainian history recorded most important events: the millions of victims of the artificially produced famine of 1932–33, the mass imprisonment and shooting of people as happened in Vinnitza, the banishment of thousands of Ukrainian young men and women to work on Asiatic virgin lands, the destruction of the Ukrainian Autocephalic Orthodox Church, and as mentioned previously, the formal destruction of the Ukrainian Catholic Church.

On this All-Ukrainian Day of national solidarity, we appeal to the conscience of the free world, which has in the last few days in the spirit of brotherly love, given voice to the bloody events of South Africa. We call upon all who stand together in this drawn-out struggle against the present Red barbarism. We raise a brother's voice of warning not to overlook what is taking place on the other side of the Iron Curtain, especially in the Ukraine, because the indifference of the free world will truly be the cause of the enslavement of many other nations, and the physical destruction of millions of people. Let us therefore, united in brotherly love, be ever watchful and active in battle with evil—if we wish true peace.

The Role of Politics Today

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, May 18, 1960

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, it is my privilege to invite the attention of the Senate to an excellent article entitled "Assistant Senator," written by Harry W. Flannery, and published in the magazine Ave Maria of May 14, 1960. The article sets forth the views of Emerson Hynes, legislative assistant to Senator Eugene McCarthy, on politics and its role today. Emerson Hynes, prior to joining the staff of Senator McCarthy in 1959, taught sociology at one of Minnesota's finest institutions of learning—St. John's University, in Collegeville.

I have known Emerson Hynes for many years. I am proud to be able to call him a friend. As a professor and as an active practitioner in the political arena, he has demonstrated great ability and great integrity. We of Minnesota are proud of his good works over many years in promoting the public good. His observations on the role of politics, as presented in the article, deserve wide attention.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the article may be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ASSISTANT SENATOR

(By Harry W. Flannery)

(Emerson Hynes, right-hand man for Senator McCarthy, explains politics and its real role today.)

Although "politics" is a dirty word to many people, it should not be. Mr. Emerson Hynes, legislative assistant

Mr. Emerson Hynes, legislative assistant to Minnesota's Eugene McCarthy, believes the true character of politics should be better known by all Americans—especially this year, as the presidential campaigns and elec-

tions near once more.

When Hynes was teaching sociology at St.
John's University in Collegeville, Minn., he
became a close friend of the then Professor
McCarthy, whose specialties were education
and economics. Through his teaching and
previous education Hynes absorbed much
about the intricate—and sometimes delicate—art of politics.

But in the year he has served as Senator McCarthy's legislative assistant in Washington, Hynes has doubled his knowledge of politics—and the word "politics" has taken

on a new meaning for him.

"Unfortunately, many people have a cynical view about politics," the tall, slim, former professor remarked as we talked at his desk, next door to Senator McCarthy's office in the Senate Office Building in Washington. Hynes, 44, is 6 feet tall and weighs only 160 pounds. "I was warned that I would probably end up a cynic after seeing Congress in operation. I am happy to report that my viewpoint is quite the other way. The typical Congressman today is a conscientious citizen, working hard at a hard tob."

Hynes deplored Americans thinking the worst of those who operate the Government. A recent poll showed that 70 percent of American parents are absolutely opposed to their sons making a career of politics; 10 percent are undecided, and only 20 percent think it might be all right. Americans have a dim view of politicians even though some of our greatest heroes are politicians: Abraham Lincoln, Theodore Roosevelt and Franklin D. Roosevelt, for instance, each of whom was a professional politician, rising to the Presidency after having been a member of their State legislature and having served as Governor.

"The family, the church and the state are the basic social institutions," said Hynes. "To defend and support them is an obligation that every man shares. Politics is the dynamic life of the state, and the poli-

tician is as necessary to government as the doctor to medicine.

"Everyone can't hold political office, but parents should look upon politics as one of the worthwhile careers for their children. Youngsters who are interested can begin by entering into community civic life and po-litical party activity at the local level. Of course, every citizen should be concerned with political party activities on a volunteer basis as much as he can. This involves some sacrifices, but it is also interesting and

McCarthy's legislative assistant thinks that the attitudes of young people toward politics is formed mainly in the home, with many reflecting the views of their parents. Conversations at the table and in the living room, as well as attitudes acquired from radio and television, have a fundamental effect.

"Schools and universities also have a responsibility," said Hynes. "Of course, they should inform young people about political abuses and mistakes; but the educational system should not make the exceptions appear to be the rule. It should make young people aware of the way in which our Government works for the common good. Students should be taught to realize that the founders of the Nation and its saviors in the time of crisis were politicians. They need to know that politics is a means for high service."

Senator McCarrhy passed us on his way to his office, paused, waved a hand in greeting, smiled and went on

"Supposing a young man or woman, say a college student or graduate, wants to enter politics, working at the precinct level, should he serve his party and wait until he's called upon to run for office?" I asked.

Hynes smiled. "Should he wait to be drafted? The hard fact is that few people are drafted. So modest and great a man as Lincoln had to assert himself and stand for office a number of times before he was suc-" cessful once. There has to be, however, a willingness to work at the preliminary levels, to rise along the line. In most cases, one cannot seek national office first-or ever. You can aim at it, but work first on the sandlots and in the minors.

"Anyone who aspires to Congress should be warned that Capitol Hill is a place for workers, not political hacks. I think the demands on a Senator are tremendous, the requirements and obligations greater than can be realized from the outside. It is by no means just a post to achieve-and then relax. It is a job at two or three levels, each of which could be considered a full-time occupation. The Congress is in session many hours a day, and if a Senator were on the floor during that time he'd have done a full day's work. In addition, there's committee work almost every day, and that takes con-siderable preparation before and much study afterward. There's contact with the State's

A Senator's day normally begins at 9, though there may have been a breakfast meeting before. He starts by reading and answering mail, having read the papers before he comes down—the Washington Post, the New York Times, New York Herald-Tribune—and at the office marked stories and editorials from the principal papers of the State. Then come personal visits, calls from constituents, delegations from groups visiting the Capitol and other Senators inquiring about legislation. At 10 or 10:30 a.m. there's likely to be a meeting of one of the committee's to which he's assigned. Sometimes more than one of his committees may be in session at the same time and he may have to divide his time between them. Luncheon will usually be with other Senators or constituents on business. Meanwhile, the Senate may be in session; it usually convenes at noon.

I remarked that visitors to the Senate galleries usually see only a few Senators on the floor.

'That may be the case," he said, "unless there's a roll call, an important debate or new material is being brought up in which every Senator is interested.

Senator should not and need not be on the floor at all times," Hynes continued. "He knows what is going on there even when he isn't present, and he is on hand when he feels it advisable to make his views known or when he believes it necessary to take part in a debate. Meanwhile, he has an opportunity to read and evaluate all that is said on the floor, since everything appears in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. I agree that when a visitor drops into the gallery for 10 or 15 minutes, the picture would not be what most visitors expect—unless they happen to drop in during a lively debate."

Hynes leaned back in his chair, his hands

grasped behind his head.

'No Senator could do his job properly if he spent all his time on the floor,' clared: "He is available; in his office, ready to respond when a buzzer sounds, warning of a quorum call or a roll call. He may be working in his office on legislative matters, or preparing for his part in debate. Senate is a great forum, where members explore all kinds of problems-some Senators seeking just to make the record clear and others, who feel strongly on a subject, talking for 2, 3 or 4 hours. Senators not directly involved may know the issue and not have to be present at such times.

"They may be familiar with the matter through one of the committees. The committee system is a means for division of labor. The scope of Senate business is so great that no Senator could conceivably be familiar with the details of each issue. He has to consider and act upon matters as diverse as the farm problem and the missile gap, labormanagement reform, and foreign aid in Vietnam, Federal aid for school construction, and continuation of the excise tax on ladies handbags. A Senator has to trust his colleagues to make a complete investigation and to argue out details in committee. Every important bill that comes up for consideration carries with it a summary of the hearings or the judgment of the committee on The Senators learn the verdict of the committee and are able to study their comments.

"Committee judgments may be rejected on the floor, however, even though the majority party has committee control. There were everal occasions in the last session when this occurred. One of the most noteworthy instances was the labor-management reform bill. The Senate Labor Committee worked for months to draw up what it thought was a reasonable and good measure. They heard scores of witnesses, conferred at length and finally had a committee bill printed. As I recall, the bill was debated for 7 days. At one point, Senator McClellan proposed an amendment, and a tie vote resulted. This is the only time the Vice President has an opportunity to vote; it happens rarely, and he voted for the amendment.

"Consequently, the purpose of the original bill was greatly expanded, and the way was opened for a whole series of amendments. The bill that was finally approved was considerably different from the committee measure. And it was substantially changed furthere when the House adopted a substitute measure, which then went to conference with the Senate bill. Finally, the conference compromise had to be voted on by both sides. Senators were obliged to weigh factor against factor and cast their votes on the compromise measure. Those are difficult decisions when the legislators know that both good and bad effects are likely to follow either way. They have to make judgment on what will bring the greater good."

Senator McCarrhy stepped from his office and beckoned to Hynes. "If you don't mind," said the Senator, "this will take just a minute."

When Hynes returned, I asked about the

duties of a Senator's staff.

"The staff, as in any business, assists in the work of an office. We are here to help him in any way we can, to assist him with cases and problems that arise. scarcely a letter that comes in for the Senator's attention that doesn't demand specific information, perhaps involving eixstence of a statute or the bearing on an issue of present law or proposed legislation. In any case, the Senator must have the necessary background and facts to answer such letters. Most legislation that's proposed requires research into existing statutes on the subject and of the hearings that have been held. These facts have to be assembled. The staff should also be familiar with the interests and problems of the State and the particular fields that are the major concern of the Senator. Senator McCarthy, for instance, is a member of the Finance Committee and the Public Works Committee.

'Senate staffs average from 8 to 10 or 12, and even more for larger States. The administrative assistant oversees the operation of the staff and must also be well informed on the problems that the Senator has to deal with. Each Senator also has a secretary, who generally handles appoint-Some have a press and radio or TV secretary, plus the necessary clerks and stenographers."

I remarked that the Senate is usually in session only part of a year. It sat nearly 9 months last year, but may meet only a

little more than 6 this year.

"Yes, but a Senator's business is not confined to the period of a congressional session, nor to his office in Washington," said Hynes. Unlike most workers, he has two offices and has to maintain two homes—one in Washington, the other back in his State or district. In order to do his work effectively here, he has to keep in touch with the problems and people of his State, and this requires returning to the State frequently. Constituents have problems they want to discuss. He wants to get their judgment, too, on the major issues of the day. And when a session is over, he goes back home to talk directly with these people. He also has an obligation to inform them on what is going on, and to help make clear the tasks before the Government and the steps it should take here and abroad. He must talk with people personally and at gatherings of all kinds. The schedule is always heavy.
"At the end of the last session Senator

McCarthy was named chairman of the Special Senate Committee in Unemployment Problems. In addition to his regular tour of cities and rural areas in Minnesota, Senator McCarthy was scheduled to give speeches in San Francisco, Los Angeles, Kansas City, New Orleans; Freeport (III.), Cincinnati, Detroit and other places during October and November. We did manage to work most of them in despite the committee meetings. He had, of course, to do a lot of rescheduling, as did his eight colleagues on the Senate committee. All but one Senator-eight of them-were back in Washington in the first week of October for 3 days of hearings at the national level hear testimony from representatives of the AFL-CIO, the Chamber of Commerce of the United States, the National Association of Manufacturers and the representatives of the Secretaries of Labor, Commerce and Defense.

"After that, field hearings were held in all parts of the country, in West Virginia, Pennsylvania, Illinois, Massachusetts, Oregon, New York, the South. The conditions of unemployment were studied in those areas where it was especially heavy; the causes of Joblessness, its effect on individuals, families and communities, including schools, home owning, business. And a report had to be prepared to make to the Senate early in 1960."

I noted that some of the groups that had testified were known as lobbles, "pressure groups."

"Yes, the first amendment guarantees the right of people to assemble and to petition the Government regarding their grievances. Any group in this country may organize and may petition—may present its position. Legislation affects different segments of the population, and even among similar groups there may be different positions. On a farm bill, for instance, two farm organizations may be on one side, and one on the other. Lobbying, in a broad sense, is a means in a complex society for interested groups to inform Congress how legislation would affect the people they represent, though obviously it can be abused.

"In the case of the unemployment committee hearings, some of the best information came from school superintendents who told what happened to the children of the jobless, and what kind of preparation young people need to enter the labor market. Are we using our educational systems properly to prepare the young—or are we using our educational facilities to retrain older people for new skills when automation has made their old skills useless? Religious leaders, government officials who deal with problems of the unemployed, social welfare workers—all had important testimony to give."

Hynes paused a moment as a buzzer called the Senators for a quorum call. Senator McCarrhy again passed by, smiled and waved.

"I sometimes think of ex-President Tru-man's observation, about the President be-ing a lobbyist for the people," Hynes said. "I thing that's true in a general way, but in fact most people rely on their Representatives and their Senators to help them with problems that have to do with the Government. The Congress in our system of government is the branch where the people get a hearing; they know their interests will be considered with concern. Congress also is a check on the administrative branch of Government, in the activities of the departments of Government. Without Congress, we might have bureaucracy in the bad sense of that word. It might be authoritarian and highhanded, or passive and in-different, and a citizen would feel that he had no means of settling his grievances.

Congress may not be given enough credit for this part of its job."

McCarthy's legislative assistant was called to the telephone. One of the girls

came to us and apologized.

"I don't like to interrupt," she said, "but there's a man here from St. Paul who has time only between trains, and the Senator is over on the floor, and I thought maybe you—"

Hynes excused himself. He is a graduate of St. John's who received his M.A. at Notre Dame in 1939. In 1941, he married Arleen McCarthy, a graduate of St. Catherine's in St. Paul, and librarian. Mrs. Hynes, now national chairman of the Family Life Committee of the National Council of Catholic Women, is no relative of Senator McCarthy. The Hyneses hase 10 children; the oldest, Denis, is a senior at St. John's Preparatory School. There are eight boys and two girls. The youngest is Christopher, who is 2. The family now resides in Arlington, across the river from Washington.

When Hynes returned he said: "I've been impressed with how complex the Federal Government is. The President executes the laws, but Congress decides the policy of the Government, raises funds and decides how those funds are to be disposed. In the past year Congress appropriated approximately

\$80 billion to be spent on a wide variety of bureaus, agencies, and for public matters of various kinds, and it is trying to raise as much in an intricate series of taxes. This is a business that dwarfs any single corporation or any combination of corporations.

"There's a tremendous responsibility in making a judgment as to how to divide the \$80 billion so that the national welfare is promoted—so that one part of society is not treated unfairly as compared with another, to see that the Federal Government does enough and yet not too much, to see that the economy keeps an even keel. There's the whole question of trying to maintain fiscal responsibility, from the standpoint of revenues raised to such items as the interest rate on Government bonds. The art of law-making is not scientific. It involves the virtue of prudence.

"People say, 'We're against inflation.' Or, 'We want justice for the farmer. We want justice for the farmer. We want justice for the taxpayer.' I'm certain there are no Congressman and no one on their staffs who disagree. All are agreed on these general objectives and upon democracy and keeping freedom. The art of legislating involves determining how you prevent inflation, how you secure justice for the farmer, the businessman, the taxpayer. These are all treacherous problems. They're jellylike. You press too hard here, and they squirt out there.

"This is the thing that impresses me since I've been here. I've spent 18 years in school and I've taught school at the college level for 20 years, and I think I can honestly say that I've never studied as hard, or learned as much, as in the past year. It's been exciting, interesting, challenging—even, at times, awesome.

"So much of importance can happen on any day. I think only one day was devoted to debating, and voting on the bill to extend the draft for another 4 years. That was a decision that affected every family in the Nation with a son from 14 to 18 years of age. His life is going to be altered considerably by just that one of the many hundreds of decisions that Congress makes. Nearly every law the Congress passes affects everyone in one way or another. It isn't as though the Federal Government were a long way off in Washington; the Government affects individuals, families and local communities.

"And the laws that are enacted are many. The last session went from January through September 14, a 1,000 hours, 140 days. In the Senate alone, 2,748 bills were introduced and many of the bills had cosponsors so that the name of more than one Senator was on many of the bills. A judgment had to be made on all these bills, at least by a committee if not the whole Senate. Of the 2,748 bills—and other bills were introduced in the House—the Senate passed 1,052 bills and resolutions. Of that number, 383, as I recall, were finally approved by both Houses and signed by the President so that they became public laws.

"Yes, I think that is about average for a first session. More bills will be introduced in the current session.

"When I speak of the number of bills that are considered and passed, I don't want to imply drastic changes. We should realize the innate conservation of Congress. I think of it as a tree with thousands of roots in the ground. The House is made up of Representatives from 437 different sections of land in the United States, each with a population that is supposed to be somewhat the same size. That means there are 437 groups of people who make decisions, each about a particular man to represent them. It isn't the whole Nation rushing this way or that. And the Senate represents 50 different sections of people. This is a wide base; and,

while the Senators and the Representatives take an oath of office to defend the Constitution and to promote the general welfare of the whole Nation, they are answerable only to one four-hundred-and-thirty-seventh or to one-fiftieth of the Nation.

"I'm speaking of conservatism in the best sense of the word: in the sense of responsibility, of balance, of not being stampeded but, rather, having a certain freedom and independence to judge legislation.

"Another thing, much of Congress' work is bipartisan. Partisanship is not as controlling as it sometimes seems to be—though, of course, there are clear differences between the two major parties. In the last Senate there were only 215 rollcall votes. That means a majority of bills were sufficiently bipartisan so there was no strong opposition from either party. And many of the rollcall votes were on the same bill. Even in the rollcall votes, 52 percent of the Senate bills had the support of a majority of both parties in 1959. In 1957, 64 percent of the bills, or two-thirds of those passed on a rollcall vote. had the support of a majority of both parties. Political parties are important, particularly at the State level, to provide a choice between men, trends of political thinking, and platforms. And they are important in Congress, especially for organization, but they can be overstressed. To come back to something we were talking about some time ago: the Senator or Representative cannot forget the reality of American politics back home. We operate in a political party system and there are matters of party politics that have to be tended to if the system is to operate as it should.

· "The Congressman back home listens to teachers, editors, businessmen, and labor people as well as politicians, but he should make his final judgments on his own. He is spending his full time at the business of government just as the man who votes may be spending his full time at farming and knows more about chemical fertilizers and hybrids, and the tradesman knows more about the operation and merchandising of his store. The politician seeks a vote of confidence in his character, his general intelligence, his party platform, his own goals as he explains them and on his record.

"The citizen, on the other hand, cannot assume that if he just votes everything is safe. He should be as active in politics as he can find time to be. He should know about issues and give every candidate a hearing. I think one of our most important responsibilities as human persons is to know the facts about our Government and its people. Not only families and educational systems, as I said, have a responsibility here, but also the press, civic organizations, business groups, the pulpit, and trade unions.

"As more people know about our Government—and the more thay know—the better it is for democratic government. And a good place to start is with a deeper appreciation and knowledge of the Congress."

Mental Problems Expansive

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. AL ULLMAN

OF OREGON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 16, 1960

Mr. ULLMAN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks I would like to insert in the RECORD the following editorial from the Central Oregonian on the social responsibility of the community for the field of mental health:

[From the Central Oregonian (Pineville, Oreg.), May 5, 1960]

MENTAL PROBLEMS EXPANSIVE

At least 1 person in every 10-17,500,000 people in all-has some form of mental or emotional illness (from the mild to the severe) needing psychiatric treatment.

There's no better time than Mental Health Week to reflect upon the extent to which mental illness is now affecting our population.

This extends down to our children. in 10 in our public schools have emotional problems requiring psychiatric help. About 11,500 are admitted to public mental hospitals each year.

Mental illness extends into physical illnesses as well. It is an important factor in bringing on cancer, heart disease, and tu-

berculosis.

Each year some 1,240,000 persons receive treatment in mental hospitals to psychiatric

wards of general hospitals.

Compared with the foregoing figures, resources for caring for the mentally ill are sadly lacking. Right now there are about 1,300 psychiatric clinics in the United States. Half of them are part-time and most have long waiting lists. Of these, 50 percent are located in Northeastern cities with 67 percent in cities with populations over 50,000. At least 3,500 full-time clinics are needed if we are to have 1 for every 50,000 population.

The supply of psychiatrists is lacking too. While the average U.S. ratio is one psychiatrist per 16,400 persons, still there are eight States which have only one psychiatrist for every 53,000 to 72,000 persons.

Thanks to research and other progress in this area, at least seven out of ten patients can leave mental hospitals partially or totally recovered with good care and treatmen. Take, for example, Pennsylvania's mental hospitals. Twenty years ago 80 per-cent of the mentally ill died there. The remaining 20 percent were returned to so-ciety. Today the situation is reversed: 80 percent are discharged within a year after admission.

Now the chances of recovery from the most serious mental crippler, schizophrenia, have jumped from 20 to 60 percent in the past forty years. This should be of interest to persons between the ages of 15 and 35, because it is persons in this age category who make up one-fourth the population of mental hospitals. The greater percentage are schizophrenic.

One can say without reservation that we have a very real social responsibility to conquer this number one health problem. And if we realize it or not, the ultimate cost of neglecting the problem is far greater than the cost of solving it.

Grain Storage

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JOHN KYL

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, May 18, 1960

Mr. KYL. Mr. Speaker, one fallacy of the claim that all private grain storage facilities reap huge profits is demonstrated in the following record submitted to me this day.

An Iowa warehouse had 50,000 bushels of corn in storage. Recently the grain was shipped. Because the grain is now graded "sample" instead of "No. 1" or "No. 2," the warehouseman faces a loss of \$10,000.

Now it should be pointed out that had this grain been stored by the Government there would be no recovery from this reduction in grade.

This factor was not given proper consideration at the time the Yates amendment was adopted, nor was it adequately considered when the politically inspired investigations of storage profits were made. It was this careless mass indictment which pressured the Agriculture Department to cut storage rates so drastically.

It would be beneficial to give this entire matter fresh, unprejudiced consideration.

Should the Public Interest Be Represented?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. QUENTIN BURDICK

OF NORTH DAKOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, May 18, 1960

Mr. BURDICK. Mr. Speaker, I never thought the time would come when anyone would tell the American public that they are not the public. Yet that is what this administration is trying to do. It has refused to reappoint to the Federal Power Commission the only member of that Commission, William R. Connole, who has fought consistently and courageously to protect the consumer from unjustified increases in his gas and electric bills. The administration has given as its reason that Mr. Connole is too consumer minded, that he represents a special group, the consumers.

This is indeed a strange distinction. Since when are the public and the consumers two different groups? Since when are the consumers a special group? When Congress authorizes the Food and Drug Administration to protect the public interest against dangerous drugs, whom does Congress mean by the public it not the people who buy those drugs. the consumers? And when Congress tells the Federal Trade Commission to protect the public from misleading advertising, whom does Congress mean if not the people who will be fooled by that advertising, the consumers?

And when the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that the Federal Power Commission's job was to protect the public interest, whom did it mean but the consumers, the users of gas and electricity? Or does not this administration understand that the only function of the Federal Power Commission is to protect the interest of the public? And does it not know that the consumers are the public and that the only way the Federal Power Commission can protect the interest of the public is to protect the consumers? If a man does not understand this-if he is not ready and willing to do thishe does not belong on the Commission. And an administration that does not understand it has no right to make appointments to the Commission.

I am completely amazed by this reason given by the administration for its re-

fusal to reappoint Mr. Connole. I would think that even this administration would know why regulatory commissions have been created. Utilities are given an absolute monopoly to render an essential service for the public. With this monopoly position, if utilities were not regulated or controlled, they could charge almost any prices and give almost any prices and give almost any kind of service. As an example, take an electric utility. People must have their electricity. They can buy it usually only from one source and that source is the power company serving that area. To get that service, they must pay whatever rates the power company charges. Obviously, unless there is some group to control what the companies do and what they charge, the public-the consumers-would be at the complete mercy of the power companies. To protect the public-the consumersregulatory commissions were created. They were created in the States to protect the public as far as intrastate matters are concerned. And the Federal commissions were created to protect the public insofar as interstate transactions are involved. But every commission, State or Federal, was created solely to protect the public. It is perfectly clear that a utility which has a monopoly for rendering an essential service to the public needs no protection from the public-but just as obviously the public needs protection from the utilities. And unless they get that protection from the regulatory commissions, they are at the complete mercy of the utilities.

I saw this at first hand. For years I was counsel for a rural electric cooperative in North Dakota. I know how important good regulation is to the public. I know that because the Federal Power Commission is allowing electric power companies to keep for themselves, and not pass on to the consumers, the savings realized from accelerated depreciation, the consumers are being compelled to pay much higher rates for electricity than they should be paying. I also know that when the Federal Power Commission granted a private power company a license to build 3 small dams instead of one high Hells Canyon Dam it meant that the farmers of North Dakota would be denied the low-cost fertilizer which the high dam would have made possible. These are only two illustrations out of many which show how costly to the consumers-to the public-poor regulation

If the public only realized how important good regulation is to them, they would do everything in their power to insure that only men who had the public interest-the consumer's interestat heart would be appointed or elected to the regulatory commissions. Unfortunately, the average citizen does not realize that he pays with his own hardearned money for the poor appointments made to regulatory commissions. He does not understand that whenever a commission allows a utility to overcharge in its rates-and this happens all too often-every consumer pays more on his utility bill: that when the Federal Power Commission allows increase after increase to the big wholesale gas companies, those companies pass the increases on to the retail gas companies which serve the individual consumer and the individual consumer's gas bill goes up. The same is true in the case of every other type of utility service.

I wish it were possible to carry this message to every one of our citizens. I wish they could be made to realize that they are directly concerned in every action that the Federal Power Commission—and every other regulatory commission—takes. I wish the public could be made to realize that they pay the cost of poor regulation both through unnecessarily high bills for their utility services and through the increased costs of the other things they must buy.

Certainly, the administration should understand these plain facts of life. Even if it did not understand these facts before 1956, it must have known about it since that time. Because in 1956 the Supreme Court of the United States, in two cases decided at the same time. made it unmistakably clear that the sole function of the Federal Power Commission was to protect the public interest. In the cases of United Gas Pipe Line Co. v. Mobile Gas Service Corp, et al. (350 U.S. 332), and Federal Power Commission v. Sierra Pacific Power Company (350 U.S. 348), the Supreme Court emphasized the fact "that the purpose of the power given the Commission is the protection of the public interest, as distinguished from the private interests of the utilities."

These decisions by the U.S. Supreme Court both gratified and shocked me. I was gratified that the U.S. Supreme Court so plainly and clearly told the Federal Power Commission what its function was. On the other hand, I was shocked that it was necessary for the Supreme Court to remind the Federal Power Commission why it was created and why it existed. You would think that the Federal Power Commission would know at least that much. Despite these decisions by the U.S. Supreme Court, however, the administration refuses to reappoint to the Federal Power Commission the only man on it who has demonstrated the ability and desire to perform his duties as they should be performed and to protect the public interest.

I was interested to see, a few months ago, an article in the magazine Fortune. Fortune, you know, is the magazine of big business. It ran an article which reviewed and analyzed the work of our Federal regulatory commissions. When the article discussed the Federal Power Commission it said that of the five Commissioners on that Commission there was only one who was doing his job and that one was William R. Connole. This was not the appraisal or opinion of consumer-minded groups, but it was the conclusion reached by the magazine of big business. I congratulate Fortune for conducting such a study and making such an honest and objective presentation. But this administration, which has proved itself to be the instrument of big business, refuses to go along even with the magazine of big business when that magazine presents an honest and

fair story. Apparently the motto of this administration is: "Whether it be right or wrong, we are always for big business and against the consumer."

In a recent broadcast, NBC Commentator Martin Agronsky noted that many Senators, the mayors of large gas-consuming cities, 10 professors of law and government regulation at Columbia, Harvard, Pennsylvania, and Yale Law Schools, many consumer groups and major newspapers have urged the reappointment of Mr. Connole, and that the regulatory commissioners of Mr. Connole's home area—the New England States—have praised him as being the most preeminently qualified person in New England in the field of regulation, Martin Agronsky then comments:

None of this seems to have registered with the President. The price of dissent, like the price of gas, keeps going up.

I would make only one addition to this splendid statement by Martin Agronsky. I would say that the price of dissent, when the dissent is in favor of the public, like the price of gas, keeps going up. I am sure that if the dissent was in favor of big business, the commissioner who dissented would have guaranteed his reappointment.

Ever since 1953, we have witnessed the deterioration of our regulatory commissions by the appointment of men who have no understanding whatsoever of their duties and functions, of men who often disagree with and disapprove of the very statutes they are to enforce. But the refusal of the administration to reappoint to the Federal Power Commission the only man on it who understands and conscientiously endeavors to do his duty—William R. Connole—and the explanation made for this refusal establish a new low.

I fervently pray that the Senate will not permit this continuing deterioration in the makeup of our Federal regulatory commissions. The Senate, of course, has no appointive powers. Only the President can make the appointment. But I sincerely hope that no man will be confirmed who does not understand that his function as a commissioner is to protect the public interest, or who does not intend to do all that he can to protect the public interest—and that means to protect the consumer.

Letter of Under Secretary of Labor James T. O'Connell Regarding H.R. 9070

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. THOMAS M. PELLY

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, May 18, 1960

Mr. PELLY. Mr. Speaker, I am receiving many inquiries and comments from contractors and building material supply firms with regard to H.R. 9070, the bill to exempt construction situs picketing from the provisions of the Taft-Hartley Act.

In order to clarify some misconceptions as to what the passage of this bill would and would not accomplish, I wrote the Office of the Secretary of Labor for clarification.

Because other Members may be hearing from constituents who are confused as to the intent and purpose of this legislation, I include a letter from Under Secretary of Labor James T. O'Connell which clearly sets forth the correct information:

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR,
OFFICE OF THE UNDER SECRETARY,
Washington, May 18, 1960.
The Honorable Thomas M. Pelly,

House of Representatives, Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN PELLY: This is in reply to several letters of opposition to H.R. 9070 which you have brought to our attention.

Much confusion attends interpretations of the purpose and the effect of the proposal embodied in H.R. 9070. It is erroneously viewed either as a device whereby construction unions will be able to coerce employees in the exercise of their free choice to join or not to join a labor union, and therefore as an organizational and recognition picketing bill, or as a bill which will legalize secondary boycotts in the construction industry. Neither interpretation is correct. As you know, the secondary boycott provisions of the Taft-Hartley Act are not intended to shelter a primary employer, nor to protect other than third parties. Those provisions were designed for the protection of innocent third parties wholly unconcerned in a disagreement between an employer and his employees.

The proposed bill recognizes that within the realities of the construction industry joint venturers and subcontractors jointly engaged in construction at a common construction site are not true, innocent, third parties so unconcerned in the dispute at the site that they should be sheltered from the incidental effects of a lawful dispute between one of their members and his employees. The bill would correct the application of the secondary boycott provisions to lawful primary construction situs activity, which resulted from the application of the so-called Denver Building Trades rule. The bill does not make lawful otherwise unlawful organizational and recognition picketing or secondary boycott activities. Simply stated, this proposal would enable construction employees involved in a lawful dispute with their employer over working condi-tions at the site to engage in concerted primary activities against him, without being charged with secondary boycott viola-tions because employees of joint venturers or subcontractors jointly engaged in work at that site choose to respect the primary picket line.

Contrary to some assertions, this bill has been very carefully drafted. It is not intended, nor does the plain language of the bill permit the interpretation, that picketing against the delivery of materials to the site would be legalized by the provisions of this proposal. The bill relates to work done at the site of the construction, to lawful concerted activities directed at any of several employers who are in the construction industry and jointly engaged with others in work at such sites, and to lawful labor disputes concerning wages, hours, and other working conditions of employees employed at such site by any of such employers. Legitimate organizational activities at the construction site would be subject to the recently enacted provisions of the National Labor Relations Act relating to organizational and recognition picketing activities.

I hope these comments will be of assistance to you. If I can be of any further assistance in this or any other matter, please let me know.

Sincerely yours,

JAMES T. O'CONNELL, Under Secretary of Labor.

Report From Paris

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, May 18, 1960

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the REC-ORD, I would like to call the attention of my colleagues to the excellent article on the summit conference by Mr. Walter Trohan, chief of the Chicago Tribune Washington bureau, which appeared in this morning's Chicago Tribune.

The article follows:

[From the Chicago Tribune, May 18, 1960]

REPORT FROM PARIS

(By Walter Trohan)

Paris, May 17 .- Once again the United States is stumbling groggily in a propaganda bout with Russia. As usual this country has tried to play the bout by ear and as usual has ended up on its ear.

The latest international battle began May

1 when the unarmed photographic reconnaissance U-2 jet was shot down over Russia, evidently while seeking to get pictures of the launching site of the five ton space ship the Russians put into orbit on the eve of the summit conference. The pilot of the plane dipped low, took off upward into space and glided low again. The jet was struck on the second dip by a missile. It is obvious missiles guard any Russian launching site.

Many have blamed the United States for not halting reconnaissance flights during preparations for the summit conference. However, it has been expected that the Russians would launch a new and mightier earth satellite during the chiefs of government meeting. The opportunity was too good to pass by, especially since photographic flights had been underway without mishap for 4 years.

BLAST SHOULD HAVE BEEN EXPECTED

The first propaganda error was to dismiss the U-2 as a weather observation plane. Then the Russians produced not only the pilot and his confession of espionage but also photographs of his spy camera. Not then did the United States seek to justify its flights as part of its responsibility to protect the Western World from surprise attack.

The next propaganda error was to come to the summit meeting in the expectation Khrushchev might forget the incident. It should have been assumed that he would play many variations of "Hearts and Flowers" on this propaganda theme, so that the United States could with propaganda profit have ordered an end to such flights and an investigation into the spy policy.

It is true that President Eisenhower displayed statesmanship when he came face to face with the stumpy, belligerent and ranting Khrushchev. He was calm and cool in the teeth of the Russian tirade. He presented his answer and one which could have been made much of, because of its promise to end overflights. The President accepted responsibility for the flights and could hardly have been expected to punish himself.

IKE'S ANSWER DELAYED TOO LONG

But the wily Russian released his blast about 2 hours ahead of the President's reply. In some quarters it is likely that the American answer never caught up to the accusations. In any case they were sub-ordinated. There is no question but that the American answer should have been released in important parts—the proposal for United Nations overflight inspections as well as the cancellation of American flights-before Khrushchev's attack.

There was an even more serious propaganda defeat for the United States in Khrushchev's withdrawal of his invitation to the President to make a return visit to Russia. President Eisenhower could have forestalled this by following the advice he received from many quarters after the U-2 incident that he call off the Russia visit. He did not do so, evidently because he did not wish to jeopardize the conference, but he has never had any high hopes for accomplishment at the projected meeting.

Khrushchev did maneuver himself into an American invitation, from which he reaped considerable advantage around the world. Now he has scored again by withdrawing his invitation. He wins in inviting the President in and by inviting him out.

Economist Spots Error on Growth

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. THOMAS B. CURTIS

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 18, 1960

Mr. CURTIS of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, on April 20 of this year there was placed in the Congressional Record a letter by Dr. Seymour Harris to the Washington Post and Times Herald. As this letter dealt with a subject on which there has been much controversy, I think the reply, also published by the Washington Post and Times Herald in its May 4 issue, a letter written by Dr. Charles T. Stewart, Jr., be entered in the RECORD. Dr. Stewart is to be highly commended for his efforts in preparing this reply to point out the weaknesses in Dr. Harris' statement which as he aptly states wins no laurels for the economics profession.

ERROR ON GROWTH

Saymour Harris' letter of April 21 contains a simple error which completely changes the conclusions which he, and the reader, may reach. He contrasts the effects of tight money and loose money on the rate of economic growth, concluding that tight money has slowed down the economy.

Unfortunately his tight-money period is 1953-59, and his loose-money period is 1947-52. This is a mistake. The accord between the Treasury and the Federal Reserve which initiated a tight-money policy was reached in early 1951. I know this is awkward, because President Truman still had nearly 2 years to go in the White House, and because Senator Douglas was instrumental in bringing about the accord. But facts are facts.

The tight-money period, therefore, should be 1951-59. The economic growth rate for this period was 2.8 percent. The loose-money period should be 1945-50. The growth rate during this period was 0.3 percent. But what are the results of this correction? Practically no growth during the loose-money period (and actual decline in income per capita); substantial growth thereafter.

Why does Professor Harris pick on 1947 as the initial year? It is not the first year of the Truman administration, nor of a loose-money policy, nor of peace. In all these regards, 1945 is a better choice.

This abuse of innocents at home wins no laurels for the economics profession.

CHARLES T. STEWART, Jr.

WASHINGTON.

Tax Overhaul Due

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. AL ULLMAN

OF OREGON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, May 16, 1960

Mr. ULLMAN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks I wish to call the attention of my colleagues to the following editorial which appeared in last month's issue of the Oregon-Washington Farmer Union newspaper. The subject is the need for tightening loopholes in our current income tax laws, a matter that is certainly of concern to all of us.

The editorial follows:

TAX OVERHAUL DUE

Sixty million Americans have filed income tax returns this month. Did each pay his fair share? The income tax is the fairest of all taxes-but only if rates are kept in line with income-and if loopholes do not allow the wealthy to escape what the law intends them to pay.

A study of Federal tax returns for 1956 raises some interesting questions. steeply graduated Federal income tax ranges from 20 percent on workers with taxable incomes below \$3,000 to a maximum of 87 percent on a taxable income of \$1 million and over. These are the statutory rates. But what rate was actually paid?

Treasury figures show where the tax schedules require a rate of 20 percent on the wage earner making less than \$3,000, this taxpayer's joint return showed he actually paid 19.9 percent. In other words, his tax rate was 20 cents on each taxable dollar and he paid almost exactly 20 cents.

The worker in the \$3,000 to \$5,000 class had a tax rate of 20.4 percent; he paid 19.9 percent. The worker in the \$5,000 to \$7,000 bracket had a tax rate of 21.2 percent; he paid 20 percent.

As income rises, according to Government figures, the gap widened between the tax called for and the tax paid.

The tax rate for the \$15,000 to \$20,000 class was 30.6 percent; they paid 23 percent.

The \$25,000 to \$50,000 income class had a tax rate of 43.5 percent. The tax this group actually paid for 30.5 percent.

The tax rate for those in the \$200,000 to \$500,000 class was 80.1 percent. They paid 58.3 percent. This group kept 22 cents of each taxable dollar which—in theory under the law-had been earmarked for the public Treasury.

The 80 percent bracket, set out in the income tax law, has dropped to 58 percent. And it's perfectly legal. The income tax laws create special tax benefits for such unearned income as stock dividends and capital gains. Some dividends of private utilities are nontaxable. And there is the gaping oil depletion allowance under which hundreds of millions annually are lost to the Federal Treasury. On capital gains, the effective rate of taxation is a maximum of 25 percent. The AFL-CIO in a recent paper before the House Ways and Means Committee, noting these gaps between principle and practice, called for a complete overhaul of the tax structure. The paper estimated that these loopholes and special benefits have saved for the higher income groups over \$350 million from dividend exclusion and credits; \$2.6 billion from capital gains; over \$1 billion from depletion allowances; some \$500 million from untaxed expense accounts and over \$4 billion from the split-income provisions favoring high income couples.

It would seem that an overhaul of the

tax structure is long overdue.

We Shall Beat Them With Ingenuity

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, May 16, 1960

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, recently I had occasion to discuss the present world situation, particular the increasing pressure that America is experiencing from foreign imports, with one of the Nation's most successful businessmen, who got his start in my district and continues to have his central store in my district.

I was most encouraged to hear Mr. Sol Polk, whose merchandising techniques have attracted nationwide attention and who is now celebrating his 25th anniversary as a retailer, assure me that America will find an answer to the prob-

lems which now confront us.

"We shall beat them with ingenuity," was Mr Polk's confident rejoinder.

I think this is a powerful slogan which we Americans ought to adopt throughout our Nation.

There are few people I know who are more qualified to make this statement with such confidence than Sol Polk. From a very humble beginning, Sol Polk and his family have been able to build a highly impressive retailing institution. I think we all know how thoroughly competitive is the retailing field. Yet, by using the full scope of ingenuity, initiative, and dedication to the highest principles of retailing, Sol Polk today stands out as one of the Nation's most successful businessmen.

I am very concerned that so many Americans look to the future with grave fear and apprehension. The spirit of confidence and dedication, which exemplifies Sol Polk, is too frequently being replaced in many people by an attitude

of despair and lethargy.

If all of us, as Americans, will recognize the full depth of the statement—"We shall beat them with ingenuity"—I feel that we can recapture that precious attribute which has distinguished us as free Americans from all other social orders.

It is true that the world is growing ever smaller. We are now engaged in a great race for conquest of outer space. As a Nation, we are also confronted with a world that is experiencing an industrial revolution. Many areas of the

world, which for centuries have remained dark and totally undeveloped, are today seeing the magic of light. Nations which for centuries have relied on primitive methods of production and satisfied themselves with only an agrarian economy, today are becoming bastions of industrial development.

Many nations whose industrial potential was totally destroyed during World War II, are today again competing for world markets. It should come then as no surprise that competition in our country from foreign imports will mount in an ever increasing degree.

I find comfort in Sol Polk's confident prediction that "We shall beat them with ingenuity," because I believe we can, if we exercise our traditional American initiative.

The aura of fear and uncertainty in this country must be replaced with confidence that we have the ability to solve our problems with ingenuity. It was this ingenuity which has helped make the United States the greatest Nation in the world today. It was this ingenuity which has given our Nation the highest standard of living anywhere in the world today. It was this ingenuity which has given us a productive capacity that has inspired the imagination of people throughout the world.

There are many problems confronting America today, but I am confident that, in the words of Sol Polk, "we will solve

them with ingenuity."

Yes, Mr. Speaker, to those who would predict the collapse of America; to those who would have the world believe we are a decadent Nation; to those who would want to cast doubts about our ability to defend freedom, to those who fear other ideologies will destroy us, I should just like to send this admonition: "We shall beat them with ingenuity."

I feel confident we shall meet the challenge of the sixties not by lowering our own standard of living, but rather by inspiring the rest of the world to raise its own standard; not by surrendering our own liberties but by bringing freedom to others; not by going backward but, instead, by proceeding forward—and all of this we shall do with traditional American ingenuity.

Bomarc B Succeeds Again

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. THOMAS M. PELLY

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, May 18, 1960

Mr. PELLY. Mr. Speaker, Senate hearings begin tomorrow on the military appropriations bill where the Air Force is scheduled to seek restoration of funds cut by the House for procurement of the Bomarc B missile.

As I understand, these cuts resulted in part from the partial fallures of early test firings of this missile.

However, since the House action, the basis of the Air Force's confidence in this program has been justified by two fully successful tests. Therefore, I hope the Senate will go along with the Air Force request and in turn the House conferees will accept any funds restored by the Senate in the light of new developments.

The following news item from the New York Times of May 18, 1960, tells the story in a few words:

BOMARC SUCCESS IN TEST

Valpariso, Fla., May 17.—The second straight successful launching of the Bomarc B interceptor missile from nearby Eglin Air Force Base was announced by the Air Force today. Eight previous attempts from Cape Canaveral, Fla., were failures. The 47-foot missile, launched from the Santa Rosa Island test center, flew more than 270 miles down the Eglin gulf test range.

Wiretapping

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 18, 1960

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I commend to the attention of our colleagues the following timely article by Louis H. Pollak, as it appeared in the May 16, 1960, issue of the New Republic:

Wiretapping—Lawlessness in Law Enforcement

(By Louis H. Pollak)

("The widest inquiry into the shortcomings of the administration of justice, which the President enjoined upon this Commission, necessarily involves the duty of investigating the justice of complaints, often made, that in their zeal to accomplish results Government officials themselves frequently lose sight of the fact that they are servants of the law, subject to its mandates and peculiarly charged with the duty to observe its spirit and its letter. They should always remember that there is no more sinister sophism than that the end justifies the employment of illegal means to bring offenders to justice. * * * Respect for law, which is the fundamental prerequisite of law observance, hardly can be expected of people in general if the officers charged with the en-forcement of the law do not set the example of obedience to its precepts."—Wickersham Commission, Lawlessness in Law Enforcement (1931).)

The story of wiretapping as a weapon of law enforcement goes back to prohibition—to the now-it-seems-quaint era when bootlegging was our national crime. In 1928 Justice Brandeis reported that "discovery and invention have made it possible for the Government, by means far more effective than stretching upon the rack, to obtain disclosure in court of what is whispered in the closet." In his view, moreover, wiretapping was equivalent to an unlawful search. But Justice Brandeis, Justice Holmes—who called illegal law enforcement "dirty business"—Justice Stone, and Justice Butler were one shy of a majority of the Supreme Court, and so the challenge to wiretapping as an unconstitutional method of obtaining evidence was unsuccessful.

A decade later, the Supreme Court took another look at the problem and came to the conclusion that Congress had banned the practice which the framers of the Bill of Rights had failed to anticipate. The Court

held that the enactment in 1934 of the Federal Communications Act forbade the dis-closure in a Federal court of information gained by wiretapping, and therefore re-quired the reversal of convictions supported by such illegal evidence or by evidence to which the police were led in consequence of the initial unlawful interceptionof the poisonous tree." For section 605 of the Federal Communications Act emphatically declares that "no person shall intercept any communication and divulge or publish the existence, contents, substance, purport, effect or meaning of such intercepted communication to any person. * * *" Violation of the statutory prohibition is a Federal crime, punishable by fine and imprisonment. The Supreme Court felt that to sustain convictions based on the disclosure in testimony of wiretapped communications would have amounted to condoning the commission of a Federal crime in a Federal

Wiretapping by Federal officials has, however, continued unabated. In describing the wiretapping conducted by the FBI, Mr. J. Edgar Hoover has stated that the practice is confined to "cases involving espionage, sabotage, grave risks to internal security, or when human lives are in jeopardy." Whether or not this limitation is adhered to, it is hard to escape the conclusion that all the wiretapping engaged in by Federal officials is, nevertheless, in blatant defiance of section 605. The practice is rationalized on the basis of an extremely dubious assertion that, under the statute, interception is not in itself unlawful-that no crime is committed until one undertakes to "intercept and . . divulge"-and on the wholly unsupportable further ground that when one Government official reveals an intercepted communication to another Government official, he does not "divulge" the communication within the meaning of the statute. Regrettably, the Supreme Court has not had occasion to untangle these elegant subtleties.

The few attempts to prosecute for the Federal crime of wiretapping seem to have been directed at unofficial wiretapping-e.g., persons engaged in extortion, or "private ears" who for hire will eavesdrop on a spouse or on a business competitor. So far as is known, no Federal prosecutions have been instituted against State police or State prosecutors engaged in wiretapping. seem to share the same blanket of immunity that warms their Federal counterparts. Moreover, the limited evidence at hand suggests that State law enforcement officials engage in wiretapping on an even more widespread basis than Federal officials. To be sure, many States prohibit wiretapping, and some-of which New York is a conspicuous example-permit wiretapping if, only if, law enforcement officials persuade a judge (in a judicial proceeding which does not, of course, involve notice to the prospective tappee) that tapping a particular phone is likely to uncover evidence of a crime. The temptation for State police and prosecutors to tap—even when the tapping is illegal under (rarely enforced) provision of local law—seems to be strong: the communica-tions intercepted may facilitate the gathering of other evidence, and some State courts will admit the communications themselves in evidence notwithstanding the taint which local as well as Federal law attaches to their interception.

At all events, it is a matter of record—documented in a recent study by Samuel Dash, former District Attorney of Philadelphia—that a great deal of wiretapping is done by law enforcement officers in States where none is authorized, and also that a great deal of official but unauthorized wiretapping is done in States which, like New York, have sought to legitimate the practice when carried on under judicial supervision. Just how much tapping goes on is, almost by

definition, unknown. In New York City the police and the several district attorneys acknowledge several hundred authorized wiretaps (each of which may last for several weeks) annually. Mr. Dash estimates that unauthorized wiretaps by law enforcement officers far exceed those which are authorized, bringing the total figure for New York City alone to upwards of 13,000 taps a year.

WIRETAPPING AS A FEDERAL OFFENSE

Viewed from the perspective of section 605 of the Federal Communications Act, it should be said on behalf of State law enforcement officials that, for several years after the Supreme Court had asserted the illegality of Federal wiretapping, it was still at least arguable that State officials were not covered by the Federal statute. Thus, in 1952, the Supreme Court, in sustaining a State robbery conviction, refused to find in section 605 any congressional intention to make wiretapped evidence inadmissible in State criminal trials. On the other hand, the Court was at pains to make clear in its decision that the introduction of the intercepted communications would itself be a violation of the statute," though it concluded, rather lamely, that "this is simply an additional factor for a State to consider in formulating a rule of evidence for use in its own courts." Significantly, the Court added: Enforcement of the statutory prohibition in section 605 can be achieved under the penal provisions of section 501"—the provisions prescribing criminal penalties for those convicted of wiretapping.

Still no Federal prosecutions of State officials have been forthcoming. Nor is the dearth of prosecutions traceable to any noticeable change in the habits of State law enforcement officers. Thus, in a case which reached the Supreme Court 2 years ago, a Federal conviction depended on dence uncovered by New York City policemen who had tapped pursuant to a New York court order. The Court reversed the Federal conviction, and took occasion explicitly to declare the invalidity of the New York statute permitting judicial authorization of wiretaps: "Keeping in mind this compre-hensive system of interstate regulation and the public policy of section 605 as part of the scheme, we find that Congress, setting out a prohibition in plain terms, did not mean to allow State legislation which would contradict that section."

Unabashed, New York police, New York prosecutors, and (with certain distinguished exceptions) New York judges have continued to participate in, or at least to facilitate, flagrant and widespread breach of the congressional mandate—by initiating wiretaps and by sanctioning the disclosure of what has been intercepted as testimony in State criminal trials. And, through the asquiescence of Federal prosecutors, this lawlessness goes unpunished.

This past winter, several defendants in two New York criminal cases, having been apprised at or before their trials that wire-tapped testimony was to be introduced against them, turned to the Federal courts in New York to seek injunctions against the introduction of the testimony. Their requests for the Federal judicial intervention culminated last month in the very important and highly perplexing Pugach decision, handed down by the United States Court of Appeals for the Second Circuit. It is worth careful study.

The obstacles to securing the requested injunctions were clear: As already noted, the Supreme Court had, in 1952, refused to set aside a State court conviction based on wiretapping. And in a 1951 decision, the Supreme Court had refused to restrain State police from introducing in a State criminal trial evidence obtained as a result of an unconstitutional search. But in one seemingly vital respect these precedents were

distinguishable. In the first of these cases the Federal crime of divulging the wire-tapped communication in court had already taken place when the case reached the Supreme Court. And in the second case the unconstitutional search had already taken place and the anticipated introduction of the evidence in court would not, from a Federal point of view, be a further illegal act. By contrast, those seeking injunctions in the Pugach case wanted Federal judicial protection from Federal crimes which were about to be perpetrated against them—the disclosure in their State criminal trials of their intercepted telephone conversations.

One further legal difficulty confronts those seeking Federal judicial protection against the expected disclosures. Conventionally, English and American courts have been most reluctant, except in labor disputes, to issue injunctions against the commission of a crime. Ordinarily, this reluctance is proper. Those who violate injunctions are guilty of contempt of court, and the procedures for trying contempt are, broadly speaking, geared to achieving swift compliance with judicial decrees and are therefore not overly solicitous of the accused. But where the act of contempt is itself a crime, Anglo-American legal tradition suggests the desirability of surrounding the accused with the elaborate safeguards which normally characterize our criminal justice. To avoid this dilemma, judges seldom issue injunctions whose breach would constitute crime tryable in the ordinary courts. However, this understandable reluctance of courts presupposes that the accused would be criminally prosecuted for his acts. And precisely that presupposition is untenable where—as in wiretapping by law enforcement officials-no attempt is ever made to punish the crime once it has been com-

THE PROSECUTION OF VIOLATORS

Nevertheless the Court of Appeals for the Second Circuit refused the requested relief: To grant it would have been an unwarranted intrusion on State criminal processes, said Chief Judge J. Edward Lumbard, speaking for himself, Judge Leonard P. Moore and Judge Henry J. Friendly. Judge Sterry R. Waterman concurred: He felt it would be "presumptuous to assume that any New York State trial judge will acquiesce to the commission of a crime against the United States in his presence in his courtroom by a witness testifying under oath."

Only Judge Charles E. Clark dissented. The veteran of more than 20 years on the second circuit—who once numbered Learned Hand (now retired), the late Augustus Hand and the late Jerome Frank among his colleagues-spoke with the voice of that court's great days: "In sum, it is beyond dispute that there is a general, indeed universal, custom of Federal law violation. Now this is a distressing situation, made not less so that in the eyes of many worthy citizens it is required by the asserted exigencies of successful law administration. But it is not an unusual situation. For actually it is a clash between Federal and State governmental pol-As such it is a recurrent struggle in our history and quite possibly a necessary one to a Federal form of government. the past we have found ways of meeting and solving the problem. Of course there are several forms of remedy; but the one to which there seems continual return when other remedies fail is the resort to the equity powers of the Federal courts to enjoin repeated violations of the criminal law. I ask (as was asked with respect to Little Rock schools, martial law in the Texas oil fields, and other historic Federal-State clashes). When does enough of Federal law violation become too much? The facts rehearsed above demonstrate in my opinion that only

by the course of Federal injunction will the present impasse be resolved."

It is very likely that the Pugach decision itself will not come before the Supreme Court, for certain procedural reasons not germane to the present inquiry. If this proves not to be the case—If the Supreme Court were to review and reverse the second circuit's decision—something salutary would be accomplished. But more is needed than authority to enjoin disclosure of the occasional wiretap whose existence is known in advance of trial.

Thus the Congress could gain substantial ground if it were to amend section 605 so as to invalidate State convictions based on wiretap evidence. But such legislation which would produce howls of anguish from State prosecutors and police, is most unlikely. Conversely, some of the prevalent illegalities of State officials could at least be legitimized if Congress were to amend section 605, as Congressman Celler and Senator Keating now propose, to permit State officials to engage in the discredited New York practice. But Congress has for years turned an encouragingly deaf ear to proposals to give any statutory blessing to wiretapping.

If the Federal statute stays as it is, one can only hope that Federal law enforcement officers will come to recognize their obligation to comply with the congressional mandate and to prosecute every person-public or private-who continues to violate it. At the same time, perhaps more State judges will follow the lead of Justice Samuel H. Hofstadter of the New York Supreme Court and Judge Irwin D. Davidson of New York's Court of General Sessions who had, even before the second circuit's ruling, announced that they would no longer entertain police applications for permission to wiretap. since the Pugach decision, Nassau County Judge Paul J. Widlitz has refused to permit the introduction of wiretapped testimony in a criminal trial pending before him.

Possibly these three New York judges share that insight into the purposes of the Framers of the Bill of Rights which underlay Brandeis' hostility to wiretapping: "They sought to protect Americans in their beliefs, their thoughts, their emotions, and their sensations. They conferred, as against the Government, the right to be let alone—the most comprehensive of rights and that most valued by civilized men."

The Challenge We Face

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. A. S. J. CARNAHAN

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, May 18, 1960

Mr. CARNAHAN. Mr. Speaker, in April of this year, the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations conducted in New York City a 2-day conference on world affairs.

Appearing at this conference, at the invitation of the AFL-CIO, were outstanding authorities on the problems of international diplomacy, national defense and the role of the United States in Germany, Latin America, Africa, and Asia. This was not a partisan conference; it embraced spokesmen for both the present administration and its critics. During the conference, leaders of the labor movement also presented

their views on world affairs. There was a forthright and often lively exchange of ideas, which I am sure was deeply rewarding to all who participated.

I am sure my distinguished colleagues would agree, Mr. Speaker, that in conducting this conference the AFL-CIO displayed a high degree of statesmanship. But this is not the end of the story.

A few weeks later, on May 8, the AFI-CIO caused to be published in the New York Times, as a special supplement, a digest of the conference proceedings, together with very valuable information on the aspirations and activities of American labor, especially with regard to international relations.

I was especially impressed with the statement of George Meany, the president of the AFL-CIO. In less than one page of type, it analyzes and appraises the conflict between the Soviet Union and the free world; sets forth the challenges we face, and proposes a program for the future.

It is one of the few such statements I have read which does not need rewriting as a result of the events in Paris.

Mr. Speaker, because the material in Mr. Meany's article is of such a high order, and of such great value to all of us who are concerned with our Nation's welfare, I ask that the text be inserted in the Record for the benefit of all its readers:

THE CHALLENGE WE FACE (By George Meany)

Our civilization, hour by hour and year by year, is breaking through past barriers that have stood in the way of universal participation in the benefits of progress.

Before too long, every nation can have the power, the material resources, and the industrial know-how to provide decent homes, adequate clothing, and well-paid employment for its people.

In the foreseeable future science will find the answer to the major diseases that victimize millions.

In the course of a generation or two, illiteracy and ignorance can be wiped out.

At this very moment, great masses of people are rising up against economic and political subjugation and reaching for their rights and dignity as human beings. Despite the opposition of colonial powers in lands like Algeria, Angola, Hungary, and Nyasaland, this search for freedom and equality cannot long be denied or suppressed. The stirring events now gripping Africa—and duplicated in a nonviolent manner in our own country—are an inevitable step in the historic march of progress. We are now witnessing the beginning of the end of color as a divisive force in society.

The great negative potential in world affairs today is war—atomic war or cold war, military war or economic war.

That continuing threat to human survival and progress stems from one source and one source only—Soviet Russia.

We Americans want peace. We want to be secure and prosperous. We seek no territorial conquest or aggrandizement of any sort. We do not aim to impose our economic or political system on any other country, small or large. We prize our freedom and we are willing to defend it at any cost. And we would be happy to see all other peoples enjoying freedom, peace, and prosperity.

enjoying freedom, peace, and prosperity.

America has no aggressive designs, now or in the future, against Soviet Russia. No other free nation entertains such foolhardy notions. If there can be any one certainty in international affairs, it is this—that the free world is willing to live and let live.

Now let us look at the Soviet record. During the last World War, it entered into a nefarious pact with Hitler to carve up Poland. It was not until Hitler turned against Russia and invaded her that the Communists retaliated. If it had not been for our intervention in the war, Soviet Rusia might have been utterly crushed.

Since the end of the Second World War, Soviet Russia has repudiated every agreement with her former allies. She seized and dragged behind the Iron Curtain nation after nation along her borders. She suppressed with brutal and overpowering force revolutions of the freedom-loving people of Hungary, Poland and East Germany.

The Kremlin aided and engineered the Communist conquest of China. It instigated and abetted the war in Korea and the capture of vast territories in Indochina. It fomented and financed aggression and tension in the Near East.

At the same time, Soviet Rusisa has carried on an unceasing campaign of subversion and hostile propaganda against freedom throughout Europe, Asia, Africa, Latin America and even in our own country.

Moscow invented and initiated the cold war. It was Russia that forced the first Berlin crisis which we overcame with the airlift. The U.S.R. precipitated the new Berlin crisis to which the summit conference must now address itself.

There have been changes of faces in the Kremlin but not one scrap of evidence of any change in the fundamental Communist determination to dominate the entire world by every available method, even war.

The Soviet's offer of peaceful coexistence rings hollow when Russia's entire national effort is concentrated on achieving superiority in aggressive military production.

Khrushchev's sweeping proposals for world disarmament sound alarming rather than reassuring, when he refuses to permit adequate inspection behind the Iron Curtain to check on compliance.

We in the trade union movement are familiar with the hocus-pocus of the Communists' terminology. They speak in terms of a "people's democracy." They act in terms of ruthless dictatorship. Their system chains the farmer to the soil and freezes the worker to his assigned job. It robs the people of the fruits of their production and their basic liberties. It stifles freedom of conscience and the intellect. It concentrates total economic and political power in the hands of a narrow party dictatorship to which the people at large are enslaved. It takes no stock of either human rights or human life on the theory that the end justifies the means. Today it is desperately concentrating on producing the means to end freedom on earth.

America and the free world cannot afford to underestimate the Soviet military and economic strength, nor should we become overawed by it. We have what it takes to win the struggle for freedom. The greater danger is default, rather than defeat. We cannot bank on any Soviet concessions given in false coin. With this uppermost in mind, the American trade union movement earnestly recommends the following program:

- 1. Our country and the free world must acquire adequate military strength to deter and, if necessary, to defeat any aggressor. What we need, not what it costs, must be the determining factor.
- 2. NATO must be revitalized and broadened into an organization for promoting effective economic scientific and cultural—as well as military—cooperation among its member states.
- 3. America should exert stronger leadership in an international program to promote peaceful uses of atomic energy, harnessed to modern industrial techniques.
- 4. Only an unceasing struggle against racial discrimination in the United States will enable our country to win the full trust and

support of the captive peoples of Africa,

Asia, and Europe.

5. Colonialism must be systematically eliminated and the nations thus gaining independence assisted in raising the living standards of their people through industrial and agricultural development.

6. Every effort must be made to secure even limited reduction of armament, provided effective international inspection is guaranteed. Our goal should be the banning of military atomic tests, an end to production of nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction, and the genuine reduction of land, sea, and air forces.

7. The U.N. should be strengthened as an instrument of world peace, and empowered to implement its decisions on vital inter-

national problems.

8. Under U.N. supervision, free elections should be held in every area or territory in dispute—in Asia and Africa, as well as in Europe. This is the only just and prac-tical method for the reunification of Ger-

many.
9. It is most urgent that the United States cement closer ties with our Latin American neighbors on a basis of equality. By helping to promote economic development and to raise living standards, we can unite the continent as a more effective stronghold of peace, freedom, and well-being.

10. Our Government together with private industry, should pursue a clear-cut policy of stepped-up economic growth. Only thus can we meet the needs of the defense program and our increasing population. Only thus can we carry out our obligations to preserve peace and promote a better way of life for mankind.

Pilots Aren't Obsolete Yet

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. EDGAR W. HIESTAND

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 18, 1960

Mr. HIESTAND. Mr. Speaker, a Saturday Evening Post editor reports on our missile-heavy defense program and tells why the B-70 Valkyrie bomber might be necessary for our survival.

Under previous consent I insert the article in the Appendix of the RECORD:

PILOTS AREN'T OBSOLETE YET

(By Clay Blair, Jr.)

In Norse mythology the Valkyries, lovely handmaidens of the war god Odin, struck terror in the hearts of all warriors. In time of battle the Valkyries soared over the field of conflict and chose the heroes who were to be slain and borne away to the hall of fame, Valhalla. Not long ago when the Air Force sought a name for its dart-wing, 2,000-mile-an-hour bomber, the B-70, Valkyrie was proposed. Air Force generals, marveling at its appropriateness, approved the name. Today the name Valkyrie seems more fitting than ever. Unless some changes are made, the B-70, like its namesake, will never be more than a myth.

This unhappy situation has caused the air generals more genuine concern than the controversial "missile lag" and Soviet space triumphs put together.

The B-70 was conceived to replace the 600mile-an-hour B-52 intercontinental bomber, backbone of the Strategic Air Command's massive deterrent force. The Air Force hoped to begin by building 100 of these behemoth bombers. The planes were scheduled to come into operation in about 1965, lending versatility and a powerful nuclear punch to our ballistic-missile force of Atlas, Titan, Minuteman, and Polaris. In the missile-heavy defense budget now being debated before Congress, funds for the bomber have been slashed from \$461 million to \$75 million, barely enough to sustain a program for two experimental B-70 shells devoid of combat capability. It means, as one four-star Air Force general puts it, "the B-70 has had it.

Why should the air generals be gnashing their teeth about the loss of a single airplane program in this age of glamorous mis-siles? The answer is that there is much more involved than the mere gutting of one more promising deterrent system. Coming hard on the heels of the cancellation, or drastic stretching-out, of the F-108, the B-58, the F-104 and F-106, the decision, if it sticks, spells the end of the era of manned combat aircraft. The decision constitutes a major shift in military strategy from a "mixed" deterrent force of manned and unmanned machines, widely ballyhooed by the Administration, to a one-basket, unmannedmissile force, considered perilous by the most ardent missile proponents. The decision also has tremendous ramifications for the future of our commercial aviation. The industry, already suffering from the blows of one airplane cutback after the other, is no longer in a position to underwrite the cost of developing larger and faster jet transports, which surely must come. Russia will be in a position to move ahead in this field virtually unchallenged.

Although the end of the manned-aircraft era appears to be approaching rapidly, it will not come overnight. Combat airplanes are born only after a prolonged gestation period, and in these days of soaring costs they are made to last for a long time. The United States will continue to build improved versions of the B-52 and its companion jet-powered tanker, the KC-135, for several more years. Economy demands that SAC squeeze a few more years of life from its aging 1,300-plane B-47 force. Mainly because the Air Force could justify it as an Army ground-support plane, the flashy F-105 fighter bomber will remain in production for some time. The Navy will build a handful of planes to stock its costly fleet of Forrestal-class carriers.

The air generals are fighting hard to save the B-70. When word first seeped down through the Secretary of Defense last fall that the plane was doomed, Gen. Thomas D. White, Air Force Chief of Staff, and his rawhide deputy, Gen. Curtis E. LeMay, mounted an impassioned but futile appeal behind closed doors in the Pentagon. By the beginning of the year there were indications that the air staff might stage a rumble reminiscent of the admirals' revolt following the cancellation of their prized supercarrier in 1949.

"It's an ironic mess we're caught up in," a high-ranking air staffer explains. "We had to sell like hell to get the missile programs going. Maybe we oversold. Anyway, now Congress is beating us on the back to build more and more missiles. The way we look at it, missiles are a necessary part of the deter-rent force. But from the retaliation standpoint we need the B-70 as badly as, or worse than, we need the missiles. Yet if we go before Congress now and ask for more airplanes in the middle of this missile hassle, we sound like a bunch of battleship admirals. To really make our case we've got to point up the shortcomings of the missile as a retaliation weapon on which we have spent billionsover \$6 billion this year alone. This makes us look even worse. The trouble is, I guess, us look even worse. The trouble is, I guess, we never really believed a day would come when we would actually have to defend the manned airplane."

The best way to appreciate fully the Air Force's position on the B-70 is to take a hard

look at our present and projected big-war deterrent force. Thus viewed, the missile "shortcomings," which the air generals find too embarrassing to discuss in public, come to light, and the role of the manned aircraft in the missile age, as the Air Force sees it, is brought into clear focus. A close look at our deterrent power also helps to draw the basic issues involved in the great defense debate which, if the Democrats have their way, will become a major issue in this year's political campaign.

Our primary military objective is to prevent the Russians from enslaving any more free people by force of arms. To dissuade them from this course, we have designed two types of military "deterrents," one for the big all-out nuclear war and the other for the limited war, nuclear or nonnuclear. Our big-war deterrent is based around the U.S. Air Force's Strategic Air Command, and, to a certain extent, the Navy's aircraft carriers. The small-war force, tailored to operate in conjunction with the soldiers of the country in which the conflict may arise, is beyond the scope of this report.

To be decisive, our big-war deterrent must be capable of pounding the Soviet Union with nuclear weapons until it yields or is reduced to radioactive ashes. While we held a monopoly on the atomic bomb, the task of maintaining this deterrent was relatively straightforward. We created the Strategic Air Command and equipped it with an alllet bomber fleet. After Russia achieved an atomic capability and showed indications of building a bomber force, the deterrent job for the big war became infinitely more complex. We had then to consider that if Russia launched an all-out war it would include a concerted attempt to nuclearize our SACcatch our bombers flatfooted on the ground. To insure our ability to survive this first blow and to lay Russia waste in a reflex, or "retaliatory," action required many expensive additional measures. We vastly increased our supply of bombs and bombers. The bomber force today numbers some 2,000 planes. We erected a massive air-defense-warning net and interception force of some 2,000 planes and a thin crust of Nike and Bomarc missiles. We dispersed SAC to bases the world over and supplied this network with instantaneous communications, infinitely reducing the chance of being caught by a surprise attack. These measures cost an estimated \$100 million.

Although he concerns us very much the average ictizen began to assume less importance in the deterrent equation. The goal was to prevent a war from happening, and the forces were tailored for that purpose. Thus city busting, and reduction of population by fallout and other fissionable byproducts, gave way to force and counterforce doctrine. Cities would get course, and people, too, by blast and fallout. But their simple destruction was no longer considered decisive. The important thing was to have a military force strong and wily enough to withstand a first blow, and retaliate with overwhelming effectiveness against the enemy's military force.

For many years the United States held an indisputable edge in this so-called delicate balance of terror. One reason was that the Russians did not build a large intercontinental bomber force. Each year our retaliatory capability increased until we had accumulated enough bombs and bombers to pulverize the Soviet Union 10 or 20 times over. Then, in the summer of 1957, the Russians launched an intercontinental ballistic missile. Although the Soviets were then a long way from completing an operational ICBM force of any size, we had to begin planning for this dramatic new factor in the delicate balance.

The greatest single impact of the ICBM was a vast compression of the time element. At first blush it seemed a decisive compression. With its speed the ICBM would give no warning of attack. There was no known counterweapon to the ICBM. In theory the Russians could launch a well coordinated, simultaneous attack not only on our cittes but also upon our deterrent bases, destroying everything within a matter of 30 minutes. Our air-defense system, geared to a bomber threat, was obsolete. Our overseas aircraft carriers and SAC bases, lying within reach of intermediate range ballistic missiles, became not an asset but a liability. Our massive bomber force, which our military had favored over ICBM development, appeared hopelessly inadequate in the missile age.

The obvious answer to so great a threat to our deterrent was twofold; first, to get our own missile force in place as rapidly as possible; second, to develop a means of detecting a Soviet missile attack soon enough to enable our bombers and missles to get into the air. We hurriedly stepped up production of our first-generation ICBM's, Atlas and Titan, striving for a maximum "15-minute reaction time." Next we laid down plans for a second-generation ICBM, Minuteman, with a reaction time of several minutes, and embarked on the Polaris seabased IRBM. At the same time we began building a missile-warning radar lineknown as BMEWS-across the top of the world. One-third of SAC's bombers were ordered into "cocked configuration"-bombedup and fueled, poised at the end of SAC runways, ready to go aloft in 15 minutes or less.

As our planners studied the problem, they realized that any hope of getting warning in time to launch our force before the Rus sion missiles landed was freighted with uncertainty. For one thing, warning devices are subject to jamming or obliteration and would obviously be the first objective of an Then there was the added enemy attack. problem of reaching the President and obtaining his decision to launch in time. We could hope for some warning, but the only safe way-conceding, as we must, the Russion first blow-was to design a missile-age deterrent force that could "ride out" that first blow and survive to retaliate. For our missile force this would require either secret launching areas or sites "hard" enough to weather the enemy attack. Secret bases were out of the question, so the planners studied the idea of putting missiles under-

This new view of deterrence appeared, at first glance, to render SAC's bomber fleet of greater liability than ever. The locations of our 50 bomber bases are well known. It is not feasible to "harden" a bomber base sufficient to weather an enemy missile attack. The best thing that could be said in favor of the bomber was that it could be launched hurriedly-and recalled in case it was all a dreadful mistake. But whether we liked it or not, we were stuck with 2,000 The Russians were given a missile bombers. Until such times as we "caught up," our bomber force was the only deterrent we had. If the Russians did build an ICBM force, the only sure way to protect our bombers would be to put part of them in the air on full-time "alert."

Could a bomber penetrate in the missile age? The answer from SAC was an unqualified "Yes." The offense, SAC says, traditionally holds a tremendous advantage. SAC points out that in 530,000 bomber sorties against the enemy in World War II, including many in flak-heavy areas—but many against no defense—the average attrition rate was only 1.8 percent. In "simulated" exercises against our own antibomber missiles, such as Nike-Ajax and Nike-Hercules, SAC invariably comes off the winner. With the added touch of a few American ICBM's falling into Russia like heavy artillery, destroying enemy radar-warning and communications systems, not 98.2 percent, but nevertheless a high

percentage of our bombers would get to the target. Fifty percent would be more than enough, SAC says.

To make certain, SAC has recently spent hundreds of millions improving the B-52. The latest model has considerably more range, which will enable it to reach many more targets in Russia. It is equipped with a bigger batch of radar-jamming electronics and decoy missiles, which it can fire off to confuse enemy detection equipment. Finally the B-52 is being fitted with two husky "Hound Dogs," air-to-ground nuclear missiles which will help the bomber blaze a path through the most concentrated enemy defenses. These improvements, with new bombing tactics, have greatly increased the efficiency and extended the life of the bomber.

To underestimate the ICBM could be fatal. To overestimate its effectiveness could be equally disastrous. Therefore, our military planners put the missile under a coldly objective microscope. Amidst the missile's great strengths, they found some surprising weeknesses. These are:

weaknesses. These are:

1. Missiles are not very reliable. Missiles are made up of hundreds of thousands of separate parts, and the failure of any one can cause it to go awry. In recent tests at Cape Canaveral missiles fired under laboratory conditions have achieved some remarkable reliability figures. Overall, however, the score has been on the low side. These tests are conducted in ideal weather, only after prolonged preparations by highly skilled engineers. The reliability rate of a missile in the hands of troops, under combat conditions, would be much lower. Perhaps for the next decade the best hope for any missile force is an average of 50 percent reliability.

2. Missiles have comparatively small warheads. The payload of an Atlas is about two megatons. The payload of Minuteman will be one-half megaton, and Polaris even smaller. By comparison, a B-52 bomber can carry something on the order of six or eight times the payload of the Atlas. Russian missiles have larger payloads because they have bigger rocket engines. But for some time the Soviet warhead will not exceed five megatons. A one-megaton blast may seem enough. But in considering military targets, especially those that have been protected, a difference between one and five megatons can make a decisive difference.

3. Missiles are not very accurate. At Cape Canaveral, under ideal conditions, we have achieved an impressive accuracy score with But the precise location of the target must be known. The shape of the earth, its wobble, magnetic field, winds and the relationship between one continent and the other-geodesy-are important. Many Russian targets are only imprecisely known. All these must be considered, as well as the intrinsic accuracy of the missile, which is measured, in military terms, by Circular Error Probable, or CEP. The CEP of Atlas at Cape Canaveral is about 2 miles or slightly less. But overall accuracy is a subject rarely discussed. Combining all the accuracy factors in terms of CEP. 2 miles would be remarkable for a missile fired under combat conditions. More reasonable figures would be a 5-mile CEP for our missiles, a 3-mile CEP for Soviet missiles.

4. Missiles are very expensive. The only realistic way to determine costs is to include the stupendous research and development tag every missile generates, plus an additional huge sum for bases. By this reckoning one combat-ready Atlas or Titan, for example, costs \$35 million. Minuteman, bought in quantity—over 500—will cost much less. A B-52 bomber, including research and development, now costs about \$14 million. In strictly economic terms, a B-52 can carry about six times the megaton yield of an Atlas to the target for about half the capital investment in the vehicle. A missile, of course, is a one-shot proposition. It cannot

be used again, nor can it be used on more than one target.

5. Vast numbers of missiles are needed to do the job. Today the accuracy, mechanical reliability and warhead yield of a missile can be assembled in a formula designed to measure the precise extent of the missile threat to a target or group of targets. An important factor in the formula is the degree of hardness of the target. All targets are divided roughly into three categories—soft, semihard, and hard. A soft target is one that is unprotected, such as a SAC bomber base or city. A semihard target is one shielded to some degree by reinforced concrete, such as a windowless office building. In the language of the planners a semihard target is capable of withstanding 25 pounds per square inch (p.s.i.) of pressure above normal atmospheric pressure. To the layman, this is a near miss. A hard target is an underground structure of concrete topped by a heavy layer of earth. It is capable of holding up under a withering 100-p.s.i. blast, or all but a direct hit.

One such formula, since refined, was published in the spring, 1958, edition of the Air University Quarterly Review by Air Force Col. Robert D. Bowers, now a member of the Joint Chiefs' Weapons Systems Evaluation Group. By this formula we see that the number of missiles required to kill—or insure 90-percent destruction of—a soft fixed target is relatively small. But as the fixed target is hardened, the requirement increases spectacularly. When a target is mobile, the requirement approaches infinity.

The number of targets and their hardness in our present and projected deterrent system has been published. Thus with the help of Colonel Bowers' formula, a slide rule and certain reasonable assumptions about Soviet missiles, it is possible to determine nearly the exact number of Soviet missiles required on a first strike to wipe out the United States deterrent. Assumptions about Russian missiles—those generally used by military planners—give them every benefit of the doubt. The Russian missile is presumed to have a warhead yield of 5 megatons, mechanical reliability of 50 percent and a CEP of 2 miles.

By the formula our present 50 SAC bases in the United States could be destroyed with 166 5-megaton missiles. The first Atlas squadrons, which are closely grouped and soft, would require about another 50 missiles, for a total of about 216. The additional Atlases and Titans, a total of 23 squadrons, mustering about 200 missiles on the firing line, are to be semihard and hard, and dispersed so that each missile in the squadron represents a separate target. kill the 1961 Atlas force of 3 semihard squadrons would take an additional 225 5megaton missiles. To knock out the com-plete Atlas force of 13 squadrons, scheduled to be completed in 1963, would take a grand total of about 1,600 5-megaton ICBM's. To destroy the 1963 force of 14 Titan squadrons, dispersed and hardened to 100 pounds per square inch, would require an additional 4,000 5-megaton ICBM's. When all 27 squadrons of Atlas and Titan are in place, the enemy's missile requirement to insure 90 percent destruction would be increased to more than 5,500 5-megaton ICBM's.
"Missile mathematics" is even more start-

"Missile mathematics" is even more startling when applied to the two additional U.S.
strategic-delivery systems scheduled for 1963,
Minuteman and Polaris. By the formula, the
seaborne Polaris, always on the move, nearly
defies destruction by missiles alone. In
theory, tens of thousands of missiles would
be required to kill one Polaris sub. Minuteman, which will be placed in hard underground silos—and perhaps mounted on moving railway cars—is almost as impressive.
Under present plans 400 Minutemen will be
buried in U.S. soil. To destroy 90 percent
of this force would take no less than 11,000

5-megaton enemy ICBM's. Thus, to render our modest missile deterrent impotent would require a grand total of some 16,000 enemy ICBM's. That many missiles, counting expensive warheads and bases, would cost perhaps \$500 billion.

The laws of missile mathematics apply to us, as an aggressor, as well as to the Russians. Unhapply they work to our disadvantage. The reason is twofold: Our warheads are smaller, and our knowledge of target location is imprecise and compounded by the associated problem of geodesy. In Bowers' formula, a slight decrease in warhead size and missile accuracy demands a substantial increase in numbers of missiles.

For example, if the Soviets attacked Europe and we wished to respond by launching a surprise attack on Russia, our missile requirement to insure 90 percent destruction of Soviet retaliatory missiles would be enormous. For example, if the Russians had only a small force of 200 missiles in hard sites, it conceivably might require 10,000 or 15,000 of our missiles to destroy them. Looking toward a day when the United States could pinpoint Russian missile targets and achieve 100 percent mechanical reliability with a 5-megaton warhead, it would still take something like 2,000 ICBM's to "kill" 200 hard Russian missile sites. To knock out conventional Soviet military forces would require additional missiles, depending on the hardness of the target and degree of dispersal. Thus we can never hope to destroy anything with our missiles except known soft Soviet targets-that is, cities.

In calculating the number of ICBM's needed to destroy the U.S. deterrent, we used numbers of missiles that apply to near-total destruction of our force, and thus near-zero risk to the Russians. This is, of course, merely a textbook exercise. If the Soviets actually reached a decision to attack us, they would no doubt already have determined to accept certain retaliatory damage. Because of the large numbers involved in reducing our missile force. it is conceivable that the Russians might ignore it altogether and concentrate on obliterating the manned-bomber fleet and our Thus an attack could be launched with far fewer missiles, depending on how much damage the Russians were willing to take on their cities. At the same time, we must realize that for the aggressor the figures are minimal mathematical computations. It is highly unlikely that any military commander, however eager, would launch an attack on so slim a margin. For example, mathematics demonstrates that only 166 ICBM's would be required to destroy 50 soft SAC bases. More likely the aggressor would demand double that number-or 332-before launching an attack. Thus the one fact offsets the other, and in the final analysis the textbook figures become a realistic yard-

When viewed in this light, the missile loses some of its glamor. In time, many of its mechanical weaknesses might be overcome. However, there are fixed factors which will never change. In sum, we see that for an aggressor against modest hardened defending missile force, large-almost prohibitive-numbers of missiles are required to launch an attack entirely free of a devastating counterattack. Because the United States will always be the defender, it is not only unnecessary to match an aggressor, missile for missile, but also foolhardy. By this reasoning, incredible as it may seem, our planned missile force may already be excessive. At the same time, as a retaliatory weapon in our arsenal, it would be disastrous to rely on the missile to do the whole job. As we have seen, the missile cannot deal at all with Soviet targets other than soft cities. The massive Soviet conventional military machine-Army, Navy, Air

Force—underground industry and perhaps most of the population, forewarned to shelters, could survive to fight on after the fallout had subsided.

After this hard analysis our massive bomber fleet was viewed differently. Far from being a liability or stopgap deterrent in the missile age, it seemed an incalculable asset. It proved a relief from the fixed laws of missile mathematics, lending flexibility, mobility and a big added punch to our deterrent system. If there was any warning at all-even a mysterious blackout of our warning system-the bomber could be launched and, if it was only a blown fuse, recalled. In the unlikely event of a catastrophic missile exchange, our missiles would get Soviet cities. But a surviving bomber fleet would be the only force capable of dealing decisively with surviving Soviet conventional military forces. With its big-loadcarrying, staying and restriking capability, the bomber force could also be used to blast hard enemy missile sites to preclude any further salvos. It would bring back some word of the progress of the grim battlehave they run up the white flag? Bombers would ferret out the last vestiges of enemy resistance and police the ashes of civilization. They would claim the hollow victory.

With no warning, to be capable of surviving the initial blow, it was already clear that the bomber force would have to be airborne in the face of a known enemy missile threat. Thus our planners made every effort to determine the extent of that threat-in short, Soviet ICBM production rates. The results were interesting. Following the first rocket-rattling in the fall of 1957, Soviet ICBM testing, curiously was suspended for a period of about 9 months. It was resumed in the spring of 1959 on a moderate scale of one, sometimes two, missiles a month. In early 1960 the Russians plopped two very long-range rockets into a Pacific testing ground. But overall the test rate was very slow. Hence our estimates of a Soviet ICBM readiness date were sharply cut back. To-day, even by the gloomiest administration predictions, the Soviets are still a long way from obtaining the margin required by Bowers' formula to launch a decisive missile attack against the United States. We have begun buying necessary spare parts, but SAC has not yet been placed on a full or partial air alert. But it will be ready any time the Soviet ICBM production rate moves into high gear.

Convinced then that the manned bomber was here to stay, Air Force planners turned their thoughts far into the future-to 1965 and beyond. They envisioned every conceivable situation. These included a time when the Soviet Union might have 10,000 or 15,000 ICBM's, buried in hard targets, zeroed in on U.S. cities and missile bases. A time when the Soviets might have no ICBM's at all, but a huge force of missile-launching nuclear submarines. A time when the Soviets might have a combination ICBM and mach 3 or mach 5 bomber force. A time when the Soviets might leapfrog to some unforeseeable weapon. No matter how they looked at the future, the planners still concluded that the United States could profit decisively by a manned-bomber force--for many of the same reasons that it is an incalculable asset between now and 1965.

Thus the Air Force pressed ahead with plans for its B-70 Valkyrie, a bomber which was eventually scheduled to replace the B-52. A contract—the last of the Air Force manned-combat-aircraft contracts—was awarded to North American Aviation, builders of the Sabrejet and the 4,000-mile-an-hour X-15 experimental rocket plane. Subcontracts were spread throughout the aviation industry. By last summer the plane—no dream—had advanced to preproduction mockup at a cost of \$360 million.

From a design standpoint, the B-70 represents an enormous technological jump over all existing military airplanes. It makes use of a revolutionary aeronautical advance called compression lift, which enables the bomber-about the same size as the B-52to cruise at mach 3 (2,000 miles per hour) for 7.000 miles nonstop. It is designed to ride on its own supersonic shock wave, like a hydroplane on its step. Using existing B-52 bases, it can reach any point on the globe in 6 hours-21/2 hours to most Soviet targets-carrying an impressive 20-ton payload, the equivalent of 6 Atlas or 10 Minuteman warheads. It can be fitted with air-toground missiles, decoys, and electronicjamming equipment, to enable it to penetrate from any point of the compass at subsonic speed on the deck, or 33 miles every 60 seconds at 80,000 feet. To stop the B-70 the Russians would have to build an entirely new air-defense system requiring a scientific effort on the scale of an ICBM developmentor better.

Then, last fall, came the stunning news that the B-70 program had been gutted to two experimental shells. The :eason advanced by the National Security Council was that the Valkyrie was competitive with Atlas, Tital, Polaris, and Minuteman, that it failed to measure up. President Eisenhower an-nounced this major shift from the mixed deterrent not in the state of the message but in a few lines in his budget message to wit: "* * * the need for the B-70 as a strategic weapon system is doubtful." In testimony before Congress Secretary of Defense Gates said the B-70 would require the development of new metals. Aeronautical engineers replied that this was simply not true. Most Washington strategists, including top-level air generals, confided privately that the B-70 was cut for purely economy reasons, and said, "If the President really understood the factors involved, it wouldn't have happened. The basic laws of missiles don't change day by day. What's true in the missile age today is true tomorrow.

These are times when every man has a right—indeed a duty—to probe for flaws in our deterrent shield. Thus many people of good will have seriously questioned the adequacy of our deterrent. Understandably confounded, administration critics, in their frustration, have demanded accelerated Atlas, Minuteman, and Polaris missile production, a defensive missile against an ICBM, immediate appropriations to place SAC into the air full time, a cancellation of Titan, and other extreme measures.

If all these suggestions—some politically inspired-are followed up, the air generals believe, we might well find ourselves overdressed, facing the wrong threat at the wrong time with the wrong weapons. The Congress has been trying to make an honest appraisal of our national defense in the budget hearings, delving into this weapon and that, dealing with a bewildering array of proposals and counterproposals. As the air generals see it, this is a futile exercise conducted by men preoccupied with other matters (such as a \$140,000 appropriation to the Air Force for diaper service). What's needed, they think, is a new special investigation by a handpicked blue-ribbon committee, which could hear witnesses such as Colonel Bowers and other specialists of the missile-age deterrent, in a completely dispassionate nonpolitical atmosphere, with full disclosure of the missile facts by the administration. In such an investigation the air generals believe that not the last but the first point of business ought to be a reexamination of the gutting of the B-70. Says one, "If the present administration's stand on manned bombers is indeed sound, its stand on the B-70 is indefensible."

Jobs After 40

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. CRAIG HOSMER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 18, 1960

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Speaker, persuasive reasons why workers over 40 should not be discriminated against were set out by Albert Q. Maisel in the American Weekly several years ago. These reasons still are valid and the Maisel article deserves not to be forgotten. The following is a condensation which appeared in the Catholic Digest:

THROUGH AT DJ-INDUSTRY IS SAWING OFF THE BRANCH ON WHICH IT IS SITTING

(By Albert Q. Maisel)

He was a well-dressed, dignified man who had never before found it hard to put his ideas over convincingly. But as he sat uncomfortably before an interviewer's desk in an office of the New York State Employment Service, his words came hesitantly. He had been hunting a job for nearly 5 months, and had found nothing.

John Jones (that's not his real name, of course) had lost his position when a merger swallowed up the drug manufacturing firm for which he had worked for 14 years. He described his record: As an honor student at college, as chief pharmacist at a hospital, as a "detail man" introducing new drugs to physicians, and as supervisor of a dozen other pharmaceutical detailers.

There was more than a hint of desperation in his voice as he named the salary he would accept, a third less than he had earned before. But when he finished, the interviewer smiled encouragingly, and lifted a card from her file. "You've got exactly the experience these people are looking for," she told him as she reached for her telephone.

Seconds later she was-describing him to a personnel director. "Yes, he has his own car," Jones heard her say. "Yes, he lives out on Long Island and knows every physician and druggist in the territory. His age? Let's see. Oh, yes—he was 41 last December."

For a fleeting moment Jones' eyes had been aglow with hope and anticipation. Then he heard the interviewer saying, "But won't you even see him?" And his shoulders drooped as he realized that once again he had been denied the chance to be considered for a job that he knew he could have filled to perfection.

to perfection.
"I'm terribly sorry," the interviewer explained. "I should have remembered that they have an ironclad rule against hiring any new employee who is over 40."

Fantastic? Irrational? Disgraceful? Of course. But shockingly true. What happened to John Jones is happening every day to scores of thousands of men and women. At 45, 40, 35, sometimes at 30, they are discovering that they have become too old to meet the arbitrary hiring-age barriers erected by more than half of all employers.

Mind you, I am not talking about incompetence, not pleading for neurotics who can't get along with supervisors or fellow employees. I am not defending job jumpers who quit whenever a whim strikes them. My concern (and, I hope, yours) is with the innumerable talented, experienced men and women who, in the face of a desperate shortage of skilled personnel, are being routinely refused even an interview, solely because of the accident of their dates of birth.

The age bias could hit you just as disastrously as it hits them, through no fault

of your own, if a merger, business failure, or introduction of automatic machinery suddenly wiped out the job you've held for warrs.

In New York City, for example, changes in shopping habits have compelled three large department stores to close within the last two years. Each time, almost 1,000 employees were thrown out of work. Each time, the younger workers, with but a few years of experience, were quickly offered jobs by other big stores. But almost all the others, men, and women with 15- and 20-year records as star salespeople, found themselves on the scrap heap.

"When the Namm-Loeser Brooklyn store closed, nearly 600 of its older workers registered with us," Janet O. Wolfe, manager of the commercial and sales office of the New York State Employment Service, told me. "In nearly a year we've managed to place only a handful of these skilled people. The rest? Most are still haunting the personnel offices and getting nothing but an occasional part-time job. But a number of them, rebuffed over and over, have completely cracked up."

In Michigan, in 1956, automation enabled one of the big auto makers to boost production in its stamping shops by fully 300 percent. As a result, an independent stamping plant lost its contract and was forced to close down, throwing 5,000 men out of work.

For most of the younger men it meant only a short layoff; other manufacturers bid against one another in a wild scramble to hire them. But the unemployment benefits of most workers between 35 and 50 were exhausted before they could find new positions.

Even then the lucklest of these victims of age discrimination had to accept wage cuts of from 25 to 50 percent to get any work at all. And a full year after the disaster had struck them 1,000 of the older workers were still without employment.

In 1951 an analysis of 4,374 "Help wanted, male" ads in a New York City daily revealed that 38.2 percent carried age restrictions. Last year U.S. Labor Department officials found that the proportion of want ads limiting job opportunities to workers under 45 had skyrocketed to nearly 60 percent.

had skyrocketed to nearly 60 percent.

Often the iron curtain against age descends far sooner than that. A typical Los Angeles advertiser, for example, demands "Researchers on defense project; B.S. degree plus 5 years' minimum experience; age 27-35."

A large manufacturing plant near Chicago seeks "Machinists, experience all phases of setup on planers, millers, shapers; must be under 30."

Thousands of similar ads, casually barring mature workers as if they were doddering has-beens, appear every day. But such open admissions of age bias tell only a part of the whole ugly story. Confidential hiring orders to employment agencies are even more often discriminatory. Last spring, for instance, the U.S. Department of Labor sponsored a study of more than 21,000 such job orders received during a single month by the State employment services in 7 cities. In Detroit, more than two-thirds of all jobs were tagged "older workers needn't apply." In Miami, 73 percent of job orders set rigid age limitations. In Minneapolis and St. Paul, age restrictions accompanied more than three-quarters of all requests for new

In Philadelphia, the City of Brotherly Love, fully 79 percent of all employers were barring men and women in their middle 40's from all hope of employment. In all seven metropolitan districts, one hiring order out of every five set the maximum age for new employees at 35 or lower.

Is there any real excuse for this cruel discrimination? Why does industry, so effi-

cient in everything else, so flagrantly waste skill, talent, and experience?

For more than 4 months I have hunted for a logical answer to these questions. I have interviewed scores of personnel directors, sales managers, production executives, and company presidents. Like everyone else who has studied the problem, I've listened to a host of reasons. But every last one has turned out to be not a reason at all, but merely an excuse based upon myths, old wives' tales, half-truths, and raw, ugly prejudice.

Typical was the answer of the personnel director of a metalworking firm with more than 5,000 employees. "I hate to turn down an older man," he told me. "But you can't get over the fact that after 40 they slow down. If we didn't set a hiring age limit, our production costs would climb sky high."

This same reason was cited by more than 4 out of every 10 employers interviewed by the Department of Labor in its recent sevencity survey. But is it really a fact?

The National Association of Manufacturers tried to find out, 6 years ago, through a study of more than 3,000 companies employing more than 3 million people. And 93 percent of the firms reported that workers 40 and older were equal or superior to younger workers.

More recently, when the Bureau of National Affairs asked the personnel and industrial relations executives of 196 large companies, "Are your older workers less efficient?" three out of every four of these men responded with a loud "No!"

Researchers from Temple University recently queried 97 Pennsylvania companies employing 1,000 or more workers each. On quantity of production, more than 60 percent of the firms rated their older employees as "average or above average." More than 90 percent of the companies said that older men turned out finer work, had far lower spoilage rates, and far fewer rejects.

Another favorite excuse centers about the charge that older workers are inflexible and unimaginative, and have trouble getting along with younger men. But when the Bureau of National Affairs asked executives whether they had any great difficulty supervising the work of older men in their own plants, 81 percent of the officials from large companies replied, "Not at all," and 90 percent of the executives from companies with fewer than 1,000 employees gave the same emphatic answer.

The University of Illinois survey dealt with workers over 60, presumably the crankiest and most inflexible. Yet 59 percent of their supervisors reported that the older men got along just as well with their foremen and their fellow employees as did the majority of younger men.

In fact, study after study has shown that the work attitudes of people over 40 are measurably better than those of youngsters. Prentice-Hall, Inc., a book-publishing concern, surveyed a cross section of companies ranging in size from 100 to 50,000 employees. Seventy-six percent of the firms, reported that general dependability was greater among the older men. Not a single company claimed that younger men deserved a better rating.

One excuse for hiring only youngsters is that absenteeism is far more common among older workers. But what are the facts?

Among women it is predominantly the young, unmarried ones who phone in to plead a "headache" after a too-late date with the boy friend. Among men it is again predominantly the youngsters who turn up on Tuesday or Wednesday after a weekend bender.

In fact, when the Bureau of Labor Statistics studied the timecards of more than 16,000 male employees in 109 manufacturing plants, it found that men over 40 had a 20

percent better attendance record than younger workers. In Chicago, when a leading de-partment store checked its files, it discovered that absenteeism was 35 percent higher among its younger saleswomen than among those over 50.

"We need young trainees who will stay with us for many years," one crewcut personnel man, himself just recently out of the trainee class, told me. "If we hired people over 40, half of them wouldn't stay on the payroll long enough to justify their training costs."

But who are really the job jumpers? To find the truth the Labor Department analyzed nearly 2 million job-separation records. The quit rate of men in their twenties and thirties turned out to be nearly three times higher than that of workers

What about the charge that older workers have more accidents? Bunk again. It's the inexperienced youngsters who leap before they look who end up in the hospital. Workers over 45, a Federal survey of 18,700 employees recently revealed, actually have 2.5 percent fewer disabling injuries and 25 percent fewer nondisabling injuries than those in the younger age brackets.

As for sickness, mature workers have a far better record than their juniors. Visits to plant clinics for headaches, colds, and similar ailments are most common in the 20-34 age group, least frequent among those over 50. In a study of more than 9,000 steelworkers, men with 25 or more years of service were sick enough to be hospitalized only half as often as were the younger men.

No matter what other reasons they recite for denying jobs to mature workers, almost all who practice age discrimination eventually fall back upon the argument that higher insurance and pension costs make it too expensive to hire anyone on the wrong side of 40. But this alibi has been thoroughly exploded by an extensive study conducted for the Department of Labor by a committee of 19 pension and insurance experts.

To provide \$3,500 group life insurance for a worker hired at 55, this committee noted, would cost an employer only 2 cents more per hour than for a man of 30. "Tax deductions and dividend credits," the report added, "would reduce this cost to 1 cent an

hour or less."

Workmen's compensation rates the committee reminded industry, are based upon each employer's accident record, not upon the age of his workers. Health and accident insurance policies likewise are not generally affected by the age of the employee. "Sickness and accident insurance costs," the report declares, "may actually be lower for employees in the older age groups, since their dependents are fewer and maternity is no longer a significant hazard."

When he hires an older worker, the employer is seldom expected to pile up as large a pension for him in 5 or 10 years as would be accumulated for a younger man over a period of 25 to 35 years. The employer makes the same contributions for both-so many cents per hour or per dollar earned. The older man, of course, gets a smaller supplementary pension when he retires. But that is far better than being barred from employment and getting no income at all.

The experts' report was published more than 2 years ago. Yet many an employment manager still uses the old pension cost

argument.

What is the price we all are paying for this callous squandering of precious skills

and trained minds?

For the victims of the process, age barriers spell shattered lives. For millions more of us the threat of finding ourselves all washed up in the prime of life poses a haunting fear for the future.

But for all of us, whether we be employees, the self-employed or employers, the insidious growth of age discrimination involves an even greater threat to our futures. Already

we are all paying higher taxes to provide unemployment benefits and relief payments to the competent workers that industry is

needlessly discarding.
Yet these vast expenses are but the beginning of the toll. For as long as we permit men and women of 45, and even 35, to be barred from employment solely because of their age, we are leaving the way wide open for the rise of an explosive political movement that will make the "ham and eggs," the "\$30 every Thursday," and the Townsend plan of the 1930's seem like Sunday School picnics.

"The older worker," New York State Senator Thomas C. Desmond has warned us, "is tired of hearing about the problem of age discrimination. He wants something done about it. There are millions of people between 40 and 65 whose livelihood is jeopardized by the discriminatory use of the crude, unreliable index of age as a measure of capacity. The frustrations of the older worker can find release in a wild handout movement that will engulf the stability of our entire economic order."

"If economic life becomes too hard for the over-40's," says Secretary of Labor James P. Mitchell, "they will form the most potent pressure group this Nation has ever known and force some kind of public program for their survival. This is a problem industry must face immediately. Will it find places for them-and make profits from their production-or will it wait to be taxed much more heavily than now in order to sustain them as nonworkers?"

Where We Stand in Space

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. CHESTER BOWLES

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, May 18, 1960

Mr. BOWLES. Mr. Speaker, one of the most effective and hard-working Members of the House is my good friend and distinguished colleague from the First Congressional District of Connecticut, the Honorable Emilio Q. Daddario.

"MIM" DADDARIO long ago acquired a habit of attaining distinction in anything he attempts. From his college days at Wesleyan University in Middletown, Conn., where he became one of Weslevan's alltime star athletes, he proceeded to compile an enviable military record in World War II with the Office of Strategic Services. In the postwar period, he became mayor of Middletown and later judge of the Middletown municipal court. With the outbreak of the Korean conflict, he returned to military service, this time in the Far East, again compiling a distinguished record.

As a member of the Committee on Science and Astronautics, "MIM" DAD-DARIO has made significant contributions to the pioneering work of this group. His grasp of the difficult and complex problems of the exploration and development of outer space are clearly shown in an article he has written for the May 1960 issue of the Wesleyan University Alumnus, entitled "Where We Stand in Under leave to extend my re-Space." marks, I call the article to the earnest attention of my colleagues. The text

WHERE WE STAND IN SPACE (By Hon, EMILIO Q. DADDARIO)

The exploration of space and the development of its use for service to man is a major responsibility of Congress and its Committee on Science and Astronautics. Because we are not the only nation so interested, a race for space has been created with every success or failure tallied on the chart of world public opinion. We cannot ignore so great a challenge. Involving as it does both the military survival of the Nation and its economic well-being, it demands an ultimate effort. This is a capsule report on the outlook as it appears to me after studying reports and listening to statements by our scientists, military leaders, and industrialists as presented to the Committee on Science and Astronautics, of which I am a member.

MAN IN SPACE

There is great public interest in the project to put man himself into space. This represents a new frontier, one without limit, unlike the vanished frontiers of the earth's surface. It is too early to say whether putting man into space in this manner will have immediate economic or military significance, but no one can doubt the psychological impact in the world power struggle, or the ultimate consequences both for military development and for scientific and economic endeavor.

Putting man into space successfully for any length of time is the culmination and synthesis of a great amount of our modern scientific knowledge and technical achievement. It involves reliable propulsion, ma-terials of remarkable qualities, intricate guidance and communications, and a collection of environment controls to overcome the absence of air, the presence of radiation, weightlessness, and the fierce heat of reentry. It also requires a vast system of ground support including tracking and computing facilities and effective recovery means. have all this combined and made to work reliably is a major undertaking resting on the base of billions of dollars of research, development, and testing.

As of this date it is difficult to predict

with certainty whether it will be the United States or the Soviet Union which first achieves the successful orbiting and recovery of a man in a ballistic capsule. It would not be surprising if the Russians do it first. This is because they have had larger rocket powerplants for a longer period of time, and because they early pursued a vigorous and highly successful program of biological experiments in space which have included the successful recovery of living animals from some very ambitious vertical probes into

The U.S. effort is centered in Project Mercury. Although it has its limitations, it represents our first important hope for success. It is well thought out and is proceeding in an orderly way at a very high level of priority.

Particular public interest has centered on the seven chosen astronauts. Having met these young men, I can assure you that they are skilled and dedicated, and that they will bring this country success if it is within the capabilities of man.

No positive timetable can be given on such an experimental program. However, tentative goal is to make the first ballistictype attempt with a modified Redstone carrying the capsule and astronaut some time this year. If all goes well, it may be possible to orbit a man in 1961. It is most likely that he will orbit the earth three times in a period of 4 hours and then skip down from outer space into the upper atmosphere, beginning over the Pacific, crossing the continental limits of the United States, and landing in the Atlantic Ocean.

Follow-on projects at various stages of development or study include Dyna-Soar,

which in advanced versions will orbit a man, and allow some choice as to point of landing through use of a winged glider reentry instead of the straight ballistic fall with blunt nosecone and parachute as intended with Mercury. Farther away but under study are manned space stations and ultimate expeditions to the Moon, Venus, and Mars.

COMMUNICATIONS SATELLITES

One of the earliest and surest payoffs from our space research is in the area of space communications. The most compelling urgency is to have a sure system of worldwide communications. The volume of military messages being far in excess of our commercial traffic illustrates the importance of communications to our national security. We know how vulnerable most of our communication channels are from solar disturbances and how terrible the consequences would be in this missile age if immediate commands could not be passed between headquarters and our strategic forces both on airfields and in the air the world over. and how our defensive tracking and command systems also can falter when communications become difficult. Ordinary communication channels are not only over-Ordinary crowded, but can blank out for days, and yet military requirements call for instantaneous

These are the compelling arguments advanced for putting the first generations of communications satellites called Project Notus under the control of the Defense Department. Project Notus includes several parts: Project Courier will be an improvement of the Project Score Atlas which carried the President's voice and teletypewriter messages around the world in December 1958. It is called a delayed repeater active satellite because its taperecorders pick up messages for delivery on command from the ground at a later time. Project Steer will be somewhat similar, but will relay messages instantane-It offers the opporously by rebroadcast. tunity for developing virtually jamproof, sunstorm-proof line of sight narrow beam signal transmission. Project Decree will come about when we have more powerful launching vehicles to place the real time repeater satellite 22,300 miles over the Equator so that its speed in orbit matches the rotation of the earth exactly enough to hold it with minor corrections in fixed position relative to the surface of the Earth. Three properly spaced equatorial orbit satellites will allow line of sight communication to all except the extreme polar regions. All these devices are practical, but will call for careful design to create reliability of circuits and a durable power supply from either solar cells or a nuclear source of energy whether isotopic battery or a miniature reactor with heat exchanges, turbine, and generator.

While we are waiting for these military projects to reach perfection, the National Aeronautics and Space Administration will be pursuing the passive relay of signals by placing large reflecting objects in orbit against which anyone may bounce signals just as the Navy is bouncing signals off the surface of the Moon. This passive satellite relay is called Project Echo and will include the placing and inflating of exceedingly thin 100-foot-diameter metal-coated plastic balloons into orbit. It is planned that these balloons will stay in orbit for a time before they gradually slow and are destroyed on reentry to the upper atmosphere.

Once urgent military needs have been cared for, and perhaps partly in parallel, we are going to see a commercial use of communications satellites. The research for this is already underway among the big telephone, cable, and radio companies. The reasons are fairly simple. Not only can such links be free from the delays of solar activity, but they offer many more channels through which information can be

poured. Satellites will prove cheaper than laying more ocean cables, will provide many additional channels, and will make intercontinental television a practical thing. As of today pictures sent live across the Atlantic take hours of broadcasting and taping to produce a few minutes of pictures and the results are hardly satisfactory for regular or instantaneous use.

In contrast, the satellite planned for Project Decree will be able to carry 300 voice channels or two television channels through the 8,000 pounds of weight in orbit. This project should be a going thing, in less than 5 years, and will be just the beginning, for one industrial company has plans for an advanced satellite capable of relaying 50,000 voice messages simultaneously. Once the big 1.5 million pound thrust Saturn booster is perfected, stations of this type can be placed in orbit.

The needs for high capacity are very great. The National Aeronautics and Space Administration has shown that there were 1.5 million oversea telephone messages in 1950, that 3 million are expected this year, and that the saturation capacity of slightly over 4 million messages will be reached by 1962. By 1970 the number of messages could rise to 21 million if facilities were provided. Since no cables are planned to keep up with this project demand, communication satellites will be a virtual necessity during the present decade. The present two Atlantic cables carry only 36 voice channels each. Compared with the estimate above as to what satellites will do, one can envision the kind of "quantum jump" which is coming in our contacts with the rest of the world. deed, it was Arthur Clarke, author of "The Exploration of Space," who suggested to my committee that the first nation to achieve a practical television satellite might set the universal language for all the world. will exert a force on the course of history far greater than ever previously experienced.

WEATHER SATELLITES

Although not a commercial project in itself, the weather satellite is likely to exercise a profound influence on the world economy within a decade. Leading weather experts have said that the United States alone may realize benefits from this one type of satellite in excess of \$4 billion a year. Such a saving would be more than enough to pay for the entire space program.

The weather satellite is still an experimental device and is under development by the National Aeronautics and Space Administration under the code Project Tiros. This will be followed by the more sophisticated Project Nimbus. Success here will give continuous reports on cloud cover, heat balance, solar activity, and many other related matters. Weathermen on the ground can then feed the worldwide information into computers and complete studies now based greatly on theory. Only then will we begin to have reliable weather reports useful to agriculture and industry in a definitive way.

The weather satellite will have military uses as well. For example, when reconnaissance military satellites are able to broadcast the immediate position of ships at sea to missile launching pads, these ships will lose some of their present invulnerability. Information from weather satellites relayed to ships will give them cloud cover reports allowing them to keep out of sight much of the time, and thus reduce their vulnerability.

NAVIGATION SATELLITES

The Navy in particular has a very keen interest in a navigation satellite called Project Transit. In effect it will become a manmade radio star which regardless of weather can be sighted through instruments and very exact readings on location can be made through the Doppler shift of signals as it passes. It is expected that these devices will be available within 2 years to guide ships

and Polaris submarines at a cost well below the presently maintained long-distance range stations. Their signals will also have practical commercial value and will be available to other countries as well.

VEHICLE FAMILIES

My discussion above is largely in terms of the important end uses which are coming most immediately. Equally significant is the development of the launching vehicles themselves.

Ballistic missile experience is the foundation of by far the largest part of our space effort. Powered with the H-1 rocket engine, the Atlas, Thor, and Jupiter have put up all but the nominal payloads of the Vanguards and the early Explorer satellites. However, the relatively limited Vanguards and Explorers of the 1958 period have provided components for the upper stages of the more versatile vehicles of the present. Still better is the new Agena second stage for use on either Thor or Atlas. It has been placing 1,700-pound Discoverer engineering test satellites into polar orbit.

The Agena B version which will be ready presently will have a restart capability in space. This development will be essential to attaining the controlled and circular orbits in space needed for the communications and other advanced satellite applications. An additional improvement because of the greater efficiency of hydrogen as a fuel will be the Centaur upper stage. This will have important military assignments and also will provide the first significant capability for lunar soft landings of instruments and interplanetary probes.

However ingenious we are with improved upper stages, our present total lifting capacity will be limited to that possible with our largest launching booster, the Atlas. Atlas has a thrust of 360,000 pounds, only about half that used for the first three sputniks and first three lunik Soviet rockets. This gives a clue to the importance of Saturn, a clustered arrangement of eight H-1 engines of the type used by our present boosters, and expected to give a first stage thrust of close to 1.5 million pounds.

Along with the big booster are to come super upper stages fueled with hydrogen, and delivering in final version 800,000 pounds of thrust for the second stage, tapering to a fifth Centaur stage. This ultimate arrangement is the kind which will carry men around the moon and perhaps support a landing there. Such landings are feasible with our present technology within a decade.

Saturn is not the end of the line in booster development. Some funding has been given the F-1 engine, to deliver from a single chamber 1.5 million pounds of thrust. With clustering in the Nova concept, we may see as many as 12 million pounds of thrust made available, the basis for a manned round trip to Mars.

Many people close to the work also wish we were pushing with more speed on Project Rover. This is a nuclear heat exchanger rocket already ground-tested which will ultimately increase tenfold the payload that can be sent on interplanetary missions. Here is an opportunity for a significant surge ahead in space for the United States.

Another possibility in the nuclear field is Project Orion, a nuclear bomb propulsion system which would propel a spaceship by firing a sequence of modest-sized nuclear weapons. Enthusiasts see the opportunity for lifting literally thousands of tons of payload by this means.

Electrical propulsion development is showing another important gain for interplanetary work. These may include electrostatically accelerated ions or electromagnetically accelerated plasmas.

All of these plans will see much further development and some applications within the next decade or two, the speed being largely a matter of how much support we give to the work.

IMPLICATIONS OF SPACE DEVELOPMENT

There is not room here to develop the full implications of our entry into the space age. I have reviewed in general terms some of the applications which will come in our spacework and the vehicles which will carry out these tasks. We must realize that our needs for scientific discovery are linked with space research and that our success in meeting these challenges affects our status as a world leader in the eyes of people all over the globe. There is no doubt that we have at this moment the technical ability and the industrial skill to accomplish leaps ahead in space. We also have the inherent abilities and skills in government and in the universities. It will all take a combination of time, money, and good management. In the background there must be attention to scientific education and training, and an understanding of the importance of this program extending far beyond the current funding of the particular projects being developed.

My review would not be complete without a clear recognition that however we may wish to dedicate space to peaceful uses and to practical applications which are financially self-supporting, there are some very urgent military aspects as well. Quite aside from the ballistic weapons which are becoming for the immediate future the mainstay of the nuclear deterrent of both the United States and the Soviet Union, space has an immediate and urgent significance of military concern. The Midas infrared detector for satellite observation of any mislaunchings, and the Samos photographic, television, and electronic ferret satellite for advance warning of military activity represent key projects which involve our very survival. They represent a means to have sufficient warning of any sneak attack on this country which may in fact rule out such sneak attack as being a practical strategy to use against us. Civil defense and retaliatory strikes are back in the picture to a worthwhile degree if we could have even a full half hour of warning from Midas. The present hoped for 10 to 15 minutes of warning is almost meaningless. Modern defense involves many complex issues and forces, and space development is inseparable from consideration of our defense.

There remains the very real hope that space activity in some form will eventually rule out the waste of military preparations, and may serve as a unifying force in human endeavors. This is something for which we should all fervently hope. Meanwhile we have no real choice but to do our best to increase our understanding of the space environment and to increase the skill to use this environment. These are goals worthy of man's best efforts and high faculties.

Veterans Life Insurance

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. RAY J. MADDEN

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, May 18, 1960

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Speaker, I have been receiving a number of letters from my district regarding the right of the World War II and Korean veterans to reapply for national service life insurance which was terminated on April 25, 1951. I feel these veterans have a just

cause and hope that favorable action can be secured on pending legislation by the House Veterans Committee and the Congress before adjournment.

The following is a resolution passed by the Hessville Community Service Post 232, the American Legion, Hammond,

Ind.:

RESOLUTION—HESSVILLE COMMUNITY SERVICE POST 232, THE AMERICAN LEGION, HAM-MOND, IND.

Whereas the right of World War II veterans to reapply for national service life insurance ended on April 25, 1951, and Korean veterans had only 120 days after separation from the Armed Forces in which to apply for said insurance; and

to apply for said insurance; and Whereas readjustment and economic problems made it extremely difficult for many worthy veterans to maintain their national service life insurance or to take advantage of early opportunties to secure the insurance, and because now, with advancing age and growing family responsibilities, they desperately need the insurance protection; and

Whereas three bills are now before the House Veterans' Affairs Committee which would accomplish the purpose of providing a limited opportunity for one year for veterans to secure national service life insurance; and

Whereas the three pending bills are described and enumerated as H.R. 4305, H.R. 5437 and H.R. 10407, and said bills should be reported out favorably by the House Veterans' Affairs Committee: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That a resolution be passed requesting Congressman Ray J. Madden and Congressman E. Ross Adars, both from the State of Indiana, to do all they can to have the aforementioned House bills reported out favorably from committee, and to support said bills on through final passage; it is further

Resolved, That copies of this resolution be sent to Congressman RAY J. MADDEN and Congressman E. Ross ADAIR, with a letter requesting their cooperation in the passage of this veterans' legislation.

This resolution passed unanimously by the membership of the aforesaid American Le-

gion Post 232, May 10, 1960.

A. L. Bradburn,

Judge Advocate, Hessville Community
Service Post 232, the American Legion, Department of Indiana.

Letter From Constituent on Post Office Advertising

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. HAMER H. BUDGE

OF IDAHO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 18, 1960

Mr. BUDGE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I include the text of a letter recently received from a constitutent of my congressional district:

In reading newspaper items I notice that Postmaster General Summerfield is screaming to high heaven about the niggardly attitude of Congress toward his appropriations and asking for various and sundry increases,

I ride the bus downtown each day going to work. Having nothing better to do, I look over the advertising signs that are placed in these buses. I am just wondering what these various types of advertising cost if the same ratio prevails over the entire United States. The buses I ride have for the Post Office alone four different types of advertising: (1) "Certified Mail"; (2) "Stamp Containers"; (3) "Wrap Right"; (4) "Air Mail Service." How much does this cost over the United States and what good does it do? The Post Office is not the only one. The Navy, for example, has three different types of ads in these buses. Another one is "Launch Hope"; another is "U.S. Savings Bonds"; another, "World Refugee"; another, "Radio Free Europe." This is just a few of them that appear in the buses alone. I am just wondering who pays for all of these things.

Personally, I think if we cut out all of the public relations departments in these various Government agencies and not let these "squirrel heads" run loose that we could save a lot of money for the taxpayers of the country. I can't understand why these various departments have to have a lot of high-priced public relations departments to carry on an activity at the taxpayers' expense to promote their ideas which may or may not be good. If the Government has a good program on any subject, I am sure it does not take the public long to be apprised of it without the high-priced, long-haired public relations people to try to sell the idea at taxpayers' expense.

Newspapermen Must Warm Themselves by Their Own Fires

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. HOWARD W. ROBISON

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Friday, May 6, 1960

Mr. ROBISON. Mr. Speaker, all of us in public life are naturally concerned with the responsibility of our Nation's press. A view of this problem, from the community service aspect is this article, titled "Community Leadership," which was written by Fred W. Stein, editor and general manager of the Binghamton Press and the Sunday Press, at the request of Sigma Delta Chi, national professional journalistic fraternity. The article, herewith condensed, was published in the April issue of "The Quill," the fraternity's publication, and was the fifth in a series on journalistic ethics compiled by the SDX Committee on Ethics.

(By Fred W. Stein)

Every city has its own personality. Every city is a complex, sometimes confusing, blend of virtues and evil, success and failure, hope and despair. The task of portraying this municipal personality is the almost insurmountable job of the newspaper.

Most editors would agree that the only hope of accomplishing this lies in telling the readers the whole story, in illuminating fairly and accurately every situation, every incident that concerns the city. The difficulties and differences arise, however, in the application of this concept.

Where does coverage begin? How deep should the newspaper probe? Are there occasions on which the newspaper performs a greater public service by withholding information than publishing it?

For years newspapers generally have pointed at real and imagined corruption in their cities. Sometimes their motives have been pure. Sometimes not. The role of Jack the Giant Killer comes easily to most newspapermen. Some have filled it with distinction. But many newspapers—perhaps even most—are still regarded with some public suspicion. Often, they are suspected of irresponsibility, bred of a taste for sensationalism and a desire to sell more newspapers.

To some extent, the critics are right. In their desire to catch the reader's roving eye, many newspapers place an inflated value on the flashy, frivolous story at the expense of responsible coverage of their community's

life.

These are the publishers and editors who regard expedience and easy appeals to sentiment and sensationalism as the sure route to success. In their desire to make friends and score high on the profit-and-loss sheet, these editors and publishers are inviting the criticism that their newspapers are creatures of caprice, and without conscience.

A newspaper can be only as good as its publisher and editors demand. They set its tone and its attitudes. Theirs are the

values the newspaper reflects.

True, it is a paradox of the business that a newspaper makes few friends when really doing its best work.

The critics are loudest when a newspaper is chasing down hints of deep corruption or exposing the seamier side of community life. Yet, this is the way a successful and in-

fluential newspaper is created.

A few years ago when my own staff wrote broadly and often of our suspicions of municipal corruption, we were tagged as "carpies." There are those who said we were giving the city a bad name. For a long time we stood alone. It took a few years and a series of gangland murders to awaken the community. And it was only after lengthy official investigation, trial and conviction that the community was convinced.

We are, perhaps, still unloved. But we never have hoped for affection, only respect.

At its best, a newspaperman's life is lonely. As Time Editor Thomas Griffith recently wrote: "Newspapermen must warm themselves by their own fires."

There is probably no newspaper which cannot point with pride to some worthy campaign it carried on, against great odds and in the face of public abuse. But rather than pride themselves on achievements, newspapers might better consider worthy

causes long ignored.

There is a tendency on the part of some editors and publishers to flinch at the cost—in time and money and effort—of pinning down reports of official misbehavior. Instead, they look elsewhere for easier and cheaper tasks. Thus, they pass up their opportunity to perform at their greatest capacity.

It is often worthwhile—though sometimes expensive—to look behind some vague but seemingly unsavory situation, or into the background of some important but little-known individual whose power seems inconsistent with his position. Occasionally, there will be no immediate reward. But the eventual payoff might be a bonanza.

Such was our experience in 1952 when we cut loose a reporter to look into the background of a mysterious man of wealth whose influence in the community was growing. His name was mentioned with awe by the petty racketeers of the city. Yet he wined and dined with people of substance.

Six months of legwork shed some light on the man the whole country came to know as Joseph Barbara, host at the Apalachin convention of the country's most notorious hoodlums. Barbara's record carried only one conviction and that was a petty affair, 22 years old. Our investigation led us to believe beyond doubt that Barbara was high up the the national crime syndicate.

Through our efforts, we built up a portfolio of information and frustration. It appeared on the surface that Barbara had lived down his shadowy past. A threat of libel hung over us if we were to base a series of stories on long-forgotten arrests and notquite-solid evidence of Barbara's close connections with the elite of the underworld.

We never stopped trying to find a way to break the Barbara story without appearing to have viciously dredged up the shady past of an extremely successful businessman who was doing a great job of living down his wild youth.

In 1954, we thought we had found the answer. We persuaded the State liquor authority to look into Barbara's fitness to hold a wholesale beer license. The SLA started a proceeding and we were able to use some of the information we had collected a few years before.

But, as occasionally happens, we had chosen a bad time. The SLA moved slowly and before the proceeding had progressed very far, there was a change in State administrations. The newcomers were not interested in Barbara.

Our day finally came on that fateful November afternoon in 1957 when police broke up Barbara's barbecue. The mystery man was a mystery no longer. His afternoon on the green with his friends of the underworld made him fair game.

Our Barbara investigation was not a complete success insofar as we were unable to tell the story properly until the underworld meeting. But its value atili was great if for no other reason than that it provided us with the background to understand and make the proper judgments of events and individuals connected with Barbara.

In those uncertain hours after the Apalachin convention, our special knowledge was used to orient scores of newspapers throughout the country of the real significance of the underworld gathering.

The Barbara affair, and cases like it, open up an important ethical problem: Should a newspaper, under any circumstances, work with law enforcement agencies as my newspaper worked with the State liquor authority?

Convinced though we were that Barbara should be exposed, libel experts expressed sympathy for our convictions but warned that the lack of solid legal evidence might lead us into an expensive libel suit.

Clearly, the weapon needed to break open the Barbara case was the power of subpena. Our investigation had led us to believe that Barbara had concealed his criminal record in obtaining his wholesale beer distributors' license. If our information was right, Barbara had provided the SLA with the grounds on which to revoke his license. A revocation proceeding by the SLA would provide the newspaper with the opportunity to explore all facets of Barbara's background, with at least a good chance of avoiding a libel suit.

In dealing with any law enforcement agency, a newspaper should exercise great caution. It should work at arm's length and be careful that it is not covering up corruption worse than it is trying to expose. It must avoid commitments that could compromise the newspaper. It is a job that should be assigned a skilled reporter who is mindful of every possible pitfall.

If handled improperly, this newspaperpolice relationship can lead to great embarrassments for the newspaper. But it seems too, that arbitrarily to reject this avenue of action is to accept defeat when success is

It is not only on the big crime stories that newspapers occasionally fumble. And it is certainly true that in the coverage of lesser crime stories, many newspapers encounter the greatest temptation to buckle and withhold a story.

Having decided where coverage begins, a newspaper cannot waver. Everything above the line must be covered. We believe that

coverage of all drunken driving cases in our own community is a greater deterrent than the fines offenders generally receive.

It is, however, in the particular type of case that the greatest pressures are exerted, the strongest pleas to "humaneness" are made. "Why," we are often asked, "do we ruin some otherwise outstanding citizen who made the simple mistake of driving with one too many under his belt?"

Our answer is that we will continue to publish such stories as long as we can walk into a courtroom and hear a defendant say, "I don't mind the fine, but does this have to get into the newspaper?"

The policy, especially in the smaller cities, must be absolute. A single exception convicts the newspaper of favortism and deceit-

fulness.

A similar determined attitude toward cases of sudden death often bring angry charges of crueity.

This is particularly so in suicides. Still, it would seem faithless for a newspaper to provide less than complete coverage of the findings of a public official with the inherently tremendous powers of a coroner.

It would seem preferable to expose the newspaper to occasional harsh charges from an individual or a small group than to supply the environment of silence in which murder could be officially regarded as natural death, and suicide an accident.

Of course, no responsible editor can deny that there are occasions—very rare indeed—when a newspaper should withhold a story. The example that comes to mind is the one involving the parents of a kidnap victim who are in contact with the kidnaper. The parents without exception are warned against contacting police or the newspapers, Also, without exception, the parents do contact police, and it is only a matter of hours until newspapers learn of the kidnaping.

It would appear that in such cases there are times when a newspaper would best serve the public interest and perhaps avoid a murder by a panicky kidnaper—by witholding its information of the case for a time.

There are very few occasions in any editor's life when he properly should withhold a story. Certainly, no inflexible rule could be devised to fit even these few situations. Each incident should be studied carefully, judged on its own merits and the story withheld only when the damage of premature publication is obviously beyond all argument.

As has happened since the first newspaper was printed, requests to withhold or go easy on news stories still come from advertisers, who seek to justify their requests solely on the grounds that they are advertisers.

Few editors would argue with the theory that an advertiser's personal wishes should be ignored and that the story should be judged only on its merits as news.

Sadly, too many newspapers still heed an advertiser's whims, or, worse, an advertiser's warnings of reprisal if a certain story is published.

While requests to withhold a story usually are made to editors and publishers, it is the reporter who generally is the target for suggestions that some unpleasant or untidy situation be overlooked by the newspaper.

Often, these suggestions carry carefully veiled hints that the reporter will be rewarded for his oversight. Reporters, however, are a unique lot, and few succumb. They are a dedicated group who work in a business where the pay is low compared to the qualities of intelligence, experience, energy and judgment they must bring to it.

The proffered "rewards" for things undone usually take some subtle form—the special privilege, the "complimentary pass" to some exclusive group or organization.

Today's would-be donor of special privileges is too cagey to attempt to exact from a newsman any firm commitment on future behavior. Instead, the complimentary pass and special privilege are forms of silent brainwashing that carry with them the implicit hope that the newsman will "go easy" if ever the day comes when the donor finds himself in some embarrassment.

Sometimes the most destructive pressures on a reporter emanate from his own editor

or publisher.

The reporter soon becomes jaundiced who realizes his newspaper's targets are hand-picked. He firts with cynicism when he detects a publisher's reluctance to hold both political parties to the same standards of performance.

The editor or publisher who lets his news evaluation be swayed by the opinions of his country club friends or allows private business interests outside the newspaper to color his editorial judgment, will fill his city room and disillusion and distrust.

In the fields of political and city hall reporting, many otherwise mediocre newspapers do well. In part, this is because so many newspapers—by tradition—concentrate on these fields. It also is true that there are relatively easy areas in which to

do an acceptable job.

The day of the plug-hat, ward-heeling politician is thankfully behind us in most cities. His place has been taken by men of both political parties who, for the most part, are genuinely trying to grapple with the multiplicity of problems confronting the American city—rising juvenile crime, mushrooming slums, oppressive traffic congestion, and the exodus of business to the suburbs.

The newspaper's opportunity to do exceptional work in municipal affairs appears today to be in depth reporting—in learning and reporting the reasons for the problems, the significance of the problems.

Here lies today's overriding question of ethics for newspapermen. Will the publisher and editor try to attract readers by large, whipped-cream servings of frivolity and flash?

Or will they assemble an able staff, and demand the expert and responsible coverage which can bring them prestige, respect and, I believe, the financial success needed to sustain such an operation?

If this is their choice, their communities cannot help but be better for it.

Are There Wholesale and Retail Ethical Standards?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, May 18, 1960

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I have heretofore placed in the Congressional Record the views of Reform Jewry against capital punishment. I am now pleased to commend to the attention of our colleagues the following timely editorial by Rabbi Harry Halpern, former president of the United Synagogues of America, representing conservative Jewry in this country. The editorial appeared in the Bulletin of the East Midwood Jewish Center, May 6, 1960, issue:

FROM WHERE I STAND

No event in the life of the human family is of greater importance than the birth of a baby. Its arrival is awaited for months and its appearance is greeted with unbounded joy. Hope wrapped in a blanket, purpose reclining in a crib—such is the newly born infant, upon which the tenderest care is lavished. The miracle of life is this before which we stand in awe.

If there is anything which religion has taught, it is the sacredness of human life. To preserve it we expend great effort, even if the life involved is that of the humblest person. Yet, with all our concern for life we find nothing contradictory in dropping a poisonous pellet whose fumes wipe out the existence of a fellow creature.

One man in California has been put to death. What is the value of one insignificant human being in the midst of the world's teeming millions? The answer of Judaism is to be found in a rabbinic utterance to the effect that he who destroys one soul is like one who destroys the whole world. It is not a question of how many perish but rather the principle of taking human life which is of tremendous importance.

What makes it right for a State to do that which is illegal and morally wrong if done by an individual? Are there wholesale and re-

tail ethical standards?

But, it may be said, the legal killing of an individual, by the constituted authorities of the State, is justifiable because it achieves a higher end. What does it achieve? It will higher end. What does it accurately deter others from committing crimes, say some. However, experience over a period of time proves beyond a doubt that this is not true. The criminal must be punished, say others. But must punishment take the form of death? Does it achieve anything else but satisfy a lust for the blood of a human being as the only means of atoning for wrongdoing? Do we adequately consider the unfortunate elements which went into making a felon out of a person like ourselves? If the purpose of punishment be rehabilitation, how does one rehabilitate a corpse? Shall we, then, permit wrongdoers to go scot free? By no means. If it is desirable that malefactors be restrained from doing further harm, then we have prisons where, for a longer or shorter term, such persons may be incarcerated.

Does someone say that the Bible itself teaches capital punishment in the injunction to take "an eye for an eye"? But what many, aye, most people do not realize is that this law was so restricted and hemmed in with qualifications as to render it completely inoperative. The Talmud tells us that a court which passed the sentence of death on a person once in 70 years was called a murderous court. Human life was and is too sacred to us to wipe it out in self-righteous indigna-

Chessman is dead: Is our conscience in the same condition?

This Is No Political Issue

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. CHESTER E. MERROW

OF NEW HAMPSHIRE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 18, 1960

Mr. MERROW. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the Record, I include therein an editorial from the Rochester (N.H.) Courier, of May 5, 1960, entitled "This Is No Political Issue":

THIS IS NO POLITICAL ISSUE

The Committee of One Million (Against the Admission of Communist China to the United Nations) has called upon all Members of Congress to endorse its Red China plank and urge its inclusion in the platforms of both parties.

The proposed text, submitted to all Senators and Representatives by Warren R. Austin, first U.S. Ambassador to the U.N. and Joseph C. Grew, formerly U.S. Ambassador to Japan and Under Secretary of State, reads as follows:

"We continue to oppose the seating of Communist China in the United Nations, thus upholding international morality and keeping faith with the thousands of American youths who gave their lives fighting Communist aggression in Korea. To seat a Communist China which defies, by word and deed, the principles of the U.N. Charter would be to betray the letter, violate the spirit, and subvert the purposes of that Charter. We further continue to oppose U.S. diplomatic recognition or any other steps that would build the power and prestige of the Chinese Communist regime to the detriment of our friends and allies in Asia and of our national security. Any such action would break faith with our dead and the unfortunate Americans still wrongfully imprisoned by Communist China and would dishearten our friends and allies in Asia whose continued will to resist Communist China's pressures and blandishments is so vital to our own security interests in that part of the world."

In submitting this proposal, the two elder statesmen noted that a similar recommendation had been made to the Congress in 1956 and expressed their pleasure that it had been adopted in the national platforms of both parties. This bipartisan action, they said, reflected the sentiment of the overwhelming majority of the American people.

It should also be called to the attention of the Congressmen (and to all concerned with platform writing), however, that in 1956 both parties ducked the issue of diplomatic recognition of Red China by the United States. To repeat this evasion, and to fall again to register opposition to these international bandits, both at the U.N. and in Washington could only be interpreted by Mao and Khrushchev as a further deterioration of the American backbone.

The committee's plank admits of no deletions. It requires no rewriting. If true Americans are standing guard on the Republican and Democratic national platform committees, there will be none.

A Good Example To Follow

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 16, 1960

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, last week I had the pleasure of attending what I believe was a historic meeting of Local 1031, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers Union, in Chicago, whose president is Mr. Frank Darling.

So far as I know, local 1031 is the first union in America to provide for its retired members hospital and surgical insurance, which they otherwise could not afford and which will be paid for out of union dues.

Much has been said in the recent past about the lack of democracy in unions. On the basis of my own personal observations, no such charge could be lodged against local 1031, which used 29 voting machines to conduct a secret election on a proposal to raise the union's dues 50 cents a month with which to provide this insurance for its retired members.

The proposal was approved by an overwhelming vote of approximately 6 to 1, and it is indeed encouraging to see the members of a union show such humane concern for their retired members, who otherwise would be denied surgical and hospital care in their older years.

The membership of this union is fully aware that Congress is now studying various proposals to provide surgical and hospital care for our senior citizens. I think it can be an inspiration to all of us to see that this organization did not wait for the Federal Government to act, but rather until such time as a Federal program is agreed upon, it has undertaken the responsibility of providing for the care of its retired members through its own resources.

In discussing the proposal, Mr. Darling made it eminently clear that many small unions throughout the country are not financially capable of taking similar action and that the action of his own union was in no way intended to serve as a deterrent to the responsibility which rests with Congress to provide a plan for our Nation's senior citizens. But it is refreshing to see this union recognize its responsibility to its older members without waiting for Federal action.

I recall the many assaults against decent unions that were voiced here in this Chamber last year, during the debate on the labor-management reform bill. I wish that every Member of Congress could have seen democracy at work at this meeting of local 1031, when each member's individual right to express himself in a secret ballot on this proposal was respected by the union's leadership.

I believe Mr. Darling is to be congratulated for initiating this action in his union. It was obvious to me in observing the voting on this proposal that the large turnout of members who participated in this meeting reflects the high regard the members of local 1031 have for Mr. Darling and the rest of the officers of his local.

Those who have been so severe in their criticism of the labor movement and who have repeatedly refused to acknowledge the fact that the abuses of the few in no way reflect the decent conduct of the overwhelming majority of unions in this country, could learn a great deal by observing the conduct of local 1031.

Together with my remarks I should like to include an excerpt from a bulletin put out by Harry C. Herman, of New York, entitled "Executive's Labor Report" which is published weekly for the Nation's top industrial executives. This publication caters primarily to the Nation's largest industries and could hardly be called a prolabor publication. Significantly, in this bulletin of May 2, the "Executive's Labor Report" describes Frank Darling as "one of labor's most original innovators."

Here is how this particular publication described the action of Mr. Darling's union regarding surgical and medical care for its senior citizens:

The Darling plan, which is the first to our knowledge in America for a major industrial union, provides hospitalization and medical

care upon retirement for the rest of the members' lives. It starts in 1960.

But this is not the astonishing part. Here is the big twist:

The entire and complete cost of this program will be borne by the union. No dues during this time or any other costs are required.

In order to qualify to receive such hospitalization and medical care, a member must have a total membership period of 10 years or more, be employed in any local 1031 shop after reaching the age of 60, be 65 years old or more, and retire at 65 or more.

The proposed insurance coverage is to be \$15 per day hospital expense, up to \$300 surgical expense, up to \$150 for medicines, X-rays, ambulance, etc., and doctor visits of \$5 for each visit a doctor makes to either the member's home or a hospital, and \$3 for each visit the member makes to a doctor's office starting with the third such visit and with a maximum of 50 visits in any illness.

The plan will apply to any member who has paid dues to local 1031 for 10 years or more, regardless of the number of companies any such member may have worked for

during that period.

It further provides that local 1031 will give any member who otherwise qualifies and retired during 1959, who was 65 or more, such an insurance policy at no cost to the retired member even though the plan does not formally go into effect until 1960.

When checking around the country for the effects of such a plan among labor leaders and industrialists, it was interesting to this observer that reaction was unanimously enthusiastic by both.

The bulletin quite appropriately includes a salute to Frank Darling, "Chicago's most unusual labor man—we need more like him."

This action taken by local 1031, I believe, will undoubtedly inspire other unions to take similar action until such time as Congress recognizes its responsibility and provides an adequate program to care for the Nation's senior citizens.

I should like to add my own warm congratulations to Frank Darling and to his membership, which showed such good judgment in solving a serious problem for its senior members. I feel confident that the action taken by local 1031 will provide a stimulus for other organizations to follow suit.

Law Observance and Enforcement Coordination

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. HERMAN TOLL

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 18, 1960

Mr. TOLL. Mr. Speaker, I again direct the attention of the Members to a program sponsored by the Philadelphia chapter of the Federal Bar Association in the field of law observance and enforcement, which I feel will get results in our communities as the various agencies gather to participate in the schedule of activities. On May 13 a conference was held in the Philadelphia Quartermaster Depot, which included the leading Federal and local enforcement offi-

cials. The following news release and list of those who attended indicate the scope and interest which have developed in this field:

LAW ENFORCERS GATHER TO COMBAT CRIME AND PROMOTE RESPECT FOR LAW

Members of law enforcement agencies gathered together today at the Philadelphia Quartermaster Depot in what promises to be an historic conference for the purpose of enhancing coordination of their activities and to promote respect for law.

The meeting, sponsored by the Federal Bar Association (Philadelphia chapter) Law Observance Committee under the chairmanship of Harry D. Shargel, brought together representatives of all the law enforcement agencies in this area as well as Hon. Walter E, Allesandroni, the U.S. attorney, Hon. Victor H. Blanc, the district attorney, and Mrs. Lois G. Forer, deputy staff attorney general. Also present, as observers, were Judge Earl Chudoff of the Common Pleas Court, Dr. E. Preston Sharp, executive director of the Youth Study Center, and Dalibor W. Kralovec of the Philadelphia school system. Maj. Gen. Webster Anderson, commanding general of the Philadelphia Quartermaster Depot was host to the conference.

The conferees exchanged information relative to their functions and agreed upon fullest cordination of their activities to improve the effectiveness of the law enforcement agencies in the prevention of crime and the apprehension of criminals. They also agreed to seek the cooperation of the public to promote respect for law and law enforcement agencies. To this end the law enforcement agencies will increase cooperation with the schools and would expand their community relation program to make the public better aware of their capacity and accomplishments.

The consensus of the meeting was that in-adequate facilities were being provided for the correction and detention of juvenile delinquents; that mentally ill children were being improperly treated as legal problems rather than as mental problems; that the mixing of mentally ill children with delinquents complicated the treatment of each to the detriment of both; and that the public should be urged to visit the Youth Study Center so as to become aware of the problems and assist in obtaining corrective action. pamphlet is to be prepared describing the functions of the various law enforcement agencies so that all may be made fully aware of the cooperative services available from each. It was also noted that there is a dearth of college courses concerned with police administration and it was agreed to endeavor to induce colleges to offer a full 4-year course leading to a degree in police administration. As an interim measure the conference agreed to explore the establishment of seminars on the subject.

It was agreed that more coordination con-

It was agreed that more coordination conferences were desirable and that the next meeting should be held soon at the Youth Study Center at which time the problems of dealing with juvenile delinquents would receive special emphasis.

Within the next few weeks new posters urging respect for law will be placed on the rear of Yellow Cabs and in P.T.C. vehicles.

LAW OBSERVANCE AND ENFORCEMENT COORDI-NATION CONFERENCE, PHILADELPHIA QUAR-TERMASTER DEPOT, MAY 13, 1960

SPONSOR

The Law Observance Committee and the Interagency Committee of the Philadelphia Chapter of the Federal Bar Assoication, Harry D. Shargel, chalrman.

HOST

Donnell K. Wolverton, general counsel, Military Clothing and Textile Supply Agency, Philadelphia Quartermaster Depot.

Walter E. Alessandroni, U.S. attorney, eastern district of Pennsylvania.

Alcohol and Tobacco Tax, Internal Revenue Service, Louis DeCarlo, Assistant Reglonal Commissioner.

Anti-Trust Division, U.S. Department of Justice, John E. Sarbaugh, attorney.

Attorney general, Pennsylvania, Lois G.

Forer, deputy attorney general.

Board of education, Philadelphia, Dalibor W. Kralovec, assistant director in charge of safety education.

Coast Guard, Capt. Henry U. Scholl, captain of the port of Philadelphia, Lt. Comdr. Rayner C. Burke, Lt. Comdr. William A. May-

Court of common pleas, Judge Earl Chudoff, Joseph Litvin.

Customs, John Hansell.

District attorney, Philadelphia, Victor Blanc, district attorney; Paul Chalfin, first

assistant district attorney.

Federal Bar Association, Al S. Harzenstein, national vice president; Harry D. Schargel, chairman law observance committee and interagency coordination committee; Herman R. Testan, treasurer; Russell J. Borden, program chairman.

Federal Bureau of Investigation, Fred A. Frohbose, agent in charge; Norris S. Harzenstein, field supervisor.

Federal Bureau of Narcotics, Joseph Bran-

sky, district supervisor.
Immigration and Naturalization Service, Henry T. Kamen, assistant district director. Intelligence Division, Internal Revenue Service, Wesley Craig, assistant regional commissioner.

Philadelphia Quartermaster Depot, Donnell K. Wolverton, general counsel; Lt. Col. Henry Bassetti, provost marshal.

Police Department, Philadelphia, Edward

Schriver, staff inspector.

Police Department, Pennsylvania, Capt. Walter E. Price.

Postal inspector, Wilfred A. Miner, postal inspector in charge.

Secret Service, Joseph P. Jordan, agent in

U.S. attorney, eastern district of Pennsylvania, Walter E. Alessandroni, U.S. attorney; Joseph L. McGlynn, Jr., first assistant U.S. attorney.

Youth study center, Dr. E. Preston Sharp, executive director.

Resolution Regarding the Future of the Mexican Agricultural Worker Importation Program

> EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. THOMAS J. LANE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, May 16, 1960

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include a letter and resolution received from Rev. Cameron P. Hall, executive director, National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U.S.A., 475 Riverside Drive, New York:

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF THE CHURCHES OF CHRIST IN THE U.S.A. New York, N.Y., May 17, 1960.

Hon. THOMAS J. LANE, U.S. House of Representatives, Washington, D.C.

Dear Congressman Lane: I enclose a recent action of the general board of the Na-

tional Council of Churches entitled, "Resolution Regarding the Future of the Mexican Agricultural Worker Importatio (Public Law 78, 82d Congress)." Importation Program

This resolution was adopted on February 25 of this year, and reflects the long ex-perience of the National Council of Churches through its ministry to migrants which has led us to the conviction that the Mexican farm worker importation program should not be extended in the form provided under present Public Law 78, but should be gradually eliminated with corrective amendments for the interim period.

I am sending this to you for your infor-mation on a matter of public interest be-fore the Congress at this time. If your busy schedule permits, we would appreciate re ceiving your comment on the principles embodied in this resolution.

Sincerely yours,

CAMERON P HALL

RESOLUTION REGARDING THE FUTURE OF THE MEXICAN AGRICULTURAL WORKER IMPORTA-TION PROGRAM (PUBLIC LAW 78, 82D CONG.). ADOPTED BY THE GENERAL BOARD OF NA-TIONAL COUNCIL OF THE CHURCHES CHRIST IN THE U.S.A., FEBRUARY 25, 1960

Whereas Public Law 78 (82d Cong.) providing for the importation of agricultural workers from the Republic of Mexico will expire on June 30, 1961 unless extended by Congress; and

Whereas the present practice of our Government in authorizing the importation of Mexican nationals for agricultural labor in the United States involves human and ethical issues of grave concern to the conscience of Christian people; namely:

(a) The importation program has injurious effects on the family and community life both of the Mexican nationals who are imported and of the domestic workers who, because of the presence of Mexican nationals, are deprived of employment or find it necessary to migrate in search of employment;

(b) Importation tends to produce a labor surplus thereby depressing wages and labor standards for domestic agricultural workers; and even if the United States has failed to make the necessary adjustments to enable all farmers to secure an equitable share of the national income there is no moral justification for perpetuation of substandard wages for agricultural labor; and

Whereas the general board of the National Council of Churches has, from time to time, adopted policy positions which are relevant to this situation: 1 Therefore be it

Resolved, That the general board of the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the United States of America is opposed to the extension of Public Law 78 (82d Conin its present form; but, to avoid hardships on employers and workers who have come to rely on this program, we ap-

1 Pertinent National Council statements:

"We believe that churches should support measures intended to provide more effective utilization of domestic seasonal labor; the importation of foreign workers only when necessary to supplement the domestic labor supply, with adequate provision made for their welfare; the discouragement of the practices of importing foreign workers from economically depressed areas as a means of their rehabilitation, with emphasis instead on the encouragement of efforts such as the point 4 program." ("The Church and the Agricultural Migrants," Statement by the general board, Sept. 19, 1951.)

"A violation of the Christian concept of justice exists in the fact that wage workers in agriculture are denied most of the legal and economic protections long accorded to wage workers in industry." ("Ethical Goals for Agricultural Policy," statement by the general board, June 4, 1958.)

prove the extension of the farm labor importation program (Public Law 78) in amended form for a temporary period with a specific date of final termination and with definite provisions for annual reductions in volume written into the act:

Furthermore, even for this period of transition, we recommend that amendments be adopted designed to bring about the following improvements in the legislation:

- (a) Limitation of the program to temporary labor shortage situations and to unskilled, nonmachine jobs;
- (b) Assurance that diligent efforts have been made by both employers and the Bureau of Employment Security of the Department of Labor to recruit domestic labor at a wage adequate for health and welfare before any certification of need for Mexican nationals is made by the Department;
- (c) Removal of the "certification of need" procedures as fully as possible from undue local pressure by growers;
- (d) Determination of prevailing wage rates for Mexican nationals by the Depart-ment of Labor at a level that will not depress wages which might be offered to domestic workers or prevent their seeking such employment;
- (e) Inclusion in the law of specific provisions with respect to promulgation of rules and regulations by the Secretary of Labor which will insure observance of the intent of the law; and adequate provision for en-forcement including authorization of suffi-cient inspection and enforcement personnel, and appropriate penalties for violations;
- (f) Establishment of an appeal procedure available to growers or workers where findings of violation are made; be it further

Resolved, That in taking this position we recognize that certain other aspects of our national policy are intertwined with the operation of the Mexican importation program and that we recognize that a responsible policy which provides for early termination of that program must also come to grips with the following related issues:

- (a) The necessity of providing adequate enforcement of the immigration laws on the Mexican border to prevent resurgence of the vast influx of so-called wetbacks of a few years ago and strict interpretation of the provisions of the immigration laws so as to prevent circumvention of the termination of the Mexican importation program;
- (b) The readiness of the U.S. Government develop, with the Mexican Government, such programs of economic and technical aid as may be required at least to offset any injury the Mexican economy may suffer from the termination of the Mexican importation program: be it further

Resolved, That the general board authorize representatives of the National Council of Churches to testify at hearings in respect to Public Law 78 (82d Congress) along lines indicated above.

Critics of Spy Work Not Very Well Informed

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. ROBERT H. MICHEL

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, May 18, 1960

Mr. MICHEL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the REC-ORD, I include the following article from the Peoria Journal Star, May 16, 1960: WORLD AFFAIRS-CRITICS OF SPY WORK NOT LAWS AND RULES FOR PUBLICATION OF VERY WELL INFORMED

(By David Lawrence)

WASHINGTON .- Some of the comments being made currently on the U.S. plane that went down in Russia are stranger than the incident itself.

Thus, it is being lamented that the incident happened just before the summit conference, as if this were something inopportune. Actually, it would have been most unfortunate if the episode had occurred after the summit conference. For then a long time would have elapsed before the matter could have been disposed of by the governments concerned at a subsequent summit show

It is also being asserted that the President should have known in detail every minute of the day what missions were planned for every pilot in the farflung operations of the United States overseas, so that this particular flight could have been canceled. is precisely what the Communists desireto halt all defense operations by the Allies, including information gathering, while they themselves pursue their customary infiltration and spying projects.

It is obvious that many of the critics either are naive or just don't understand the importance of intelligence work in a period like the present. To say that the President should have known about the Powers' flight or similar projects so as to be able to turn them on or off at will is to attribute to the Presidency superhuman responsibilities. The concept of such flights has, of course, been discussed at the top level and a policy

General authority to carry them on was delegated. The U.S. Government, under this or any other administration, is not likely to be lulled into the dangerous attitude that, while diplomats talk, all weapons must be grounded and America must take the chance of being subjected to surprise attack with missiles that carry nuclear weapons.

Fortunately, criticism from Congress is more restrained and sensible. The administration has again and again briefed members of both parties in secret about intelligence activities. These are delicate operations, but the advantages outweigh the disadvantages, risks must be taken because the

stakes are high-the defense of the United States.

Both sides are engaged in spying. Khrushchev talks in righteous tones as if the Communists do nothing on this score. important revelation, however, has just been made. It is disclosed that the Czechoslovak Embassy in Washington is the center of a ring. The military attaché of the Embassy defected recently and gave the whole story to the House Committee on Un-American Activities. His testimony has just been released by the committee

The Soviet Union undoubtedly uses all of Its satellite embassies for espionage work. If spying is to be abolished, it will be necessary to abolish the satellite legations. The

House committee in a recent report says:
"The facts brought out in this report make it crystal clear that Communist embassies, consulates, U.N. delegations, trade and other missions have been, and are presently, used as legal covers for international Communist spy rings. There is no reason to believe that their use for this purpose will ever be discontinued by the arch conspirators in the Kremlin."

But somehow, when the Communists do the spying and congressional committees expose it, this hasn't been front-page news. Moscow wins propaganda victories primarily because the truth about Soviet espionage and infiltration in the cold war rarely gets attention and is brushed aside by too many Deople here and in Britain as just so much "McCarthyism." THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

CODE OF LAWS OF THE UNITED STATES

TITLE 44, SECTION 181. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD; ARRANGEMENT, STYLE, CONTENTS, AND INDEXES .- The Joint Committee on Printing shall have control of the arrangement and style of the Congres-SIONAL RECORD, and while providing that it shall be substantially a verbatim report of proceedings shall take all needed action for the reduction of unneces bulk, and shall provide for the publication of an index of the Congressional RECORD semimonthly during the sessions of Congress and at the close thereof. (Jan. 12, 1895, c. 23, § 13, 28 Stat. 603.)

TITLE 44, SECTION 182b. SAME; ILLUS-TRATIONS, MAPS, DIAGRAMS .- No maps, diagrams, or illustrations may be inserted in the RECORD without the approval of the Joint Committee on Printing. (June 20, 1936, c. 630, § 2, 49 Stat. 1546.)

Pursuant to the foregoing statute and in order to provide for the prompt publication and delivery of the Congressional Record the Joint Committee on Printing has adopted the following rules, to which the attention of Senators, Representatives, and Delegates is respectfully invited:

- 1. Arrangement of the daily Record .- The Public Printer will arrange the contents of the daily RECORD as follows: First, the Senate proceedings; second, the House proceedings; third, the Appendix: Provided, That when the proceedings of the Senate are not received in time to follow this arrangement, the Public Printer may begin the RECORD with the House proceedings. The proceedings of each House and the Appendix shall each begin a new page, with appropriate headings centered
- 2. Type and style.—The Public Printer shall print the report of the proceedings and debates of the Senate and House of Representatives, as furnished by the Official Reporters of the Congressional Record, in 71/2 -point type; and all matter included in the remarks speeches of Members of Congress, other than their own words, and all reports, documents, and other matter authorized to be inserted in the RECORD shall be printed in 61/2-point type; and all rollcalls shall be printed in 6-point type. No italic or black type nor words in capitals or small capitals shall be used for emphasis or prominence; nor will unusual indentions be permitted. These restrictions do not apply to the printing of or quotations from historical, official, or legal documents or papers of which a literal reproduction is necessary.
- 3. Return of manuscript.-When manuscript is submitted to Members for revision it should be returned to the Government Printing Office not later than 9 o'clock p.m. in order to insure publication in the RECORD issued on the following morning; and if all of said manuscript is not furnished at the time specified, the Public Printer is authorized to withhold it from the RECORD for 1 day. In no case will a speech be printed in the RECORD of the day of its delivery if the manuscript is furnished later than 12 o'clock midnight.
- 4. Tabular matter.-The manuscript of speeches containing tabular statements to be published in the RECORD shall be in the hands of the Public Printer not later than 7 o'clock p.m., to insure publication the following morning.
- 5. Proof furnished .- Proofs of "leave to print" and advance speeches will not be furnished the day the manuscript is received but will be submitted the following day, whenever possible to do so without causing delay in the publication of the regular proceedings of Congress. Advance speeches shall be set in the Record style of type, and not more than

six sets of proofs may be furnished to Members without charge.

6. Notation of withheld remarks.-If manuscript or proofs have not been returned in time for publication in the proceedings, the Public Printer will insert the words "Mr. - addressed the Senate (House or Committee). His remarks will appear hereafter in the Appendix," and proceed with the printing of the RECORD.

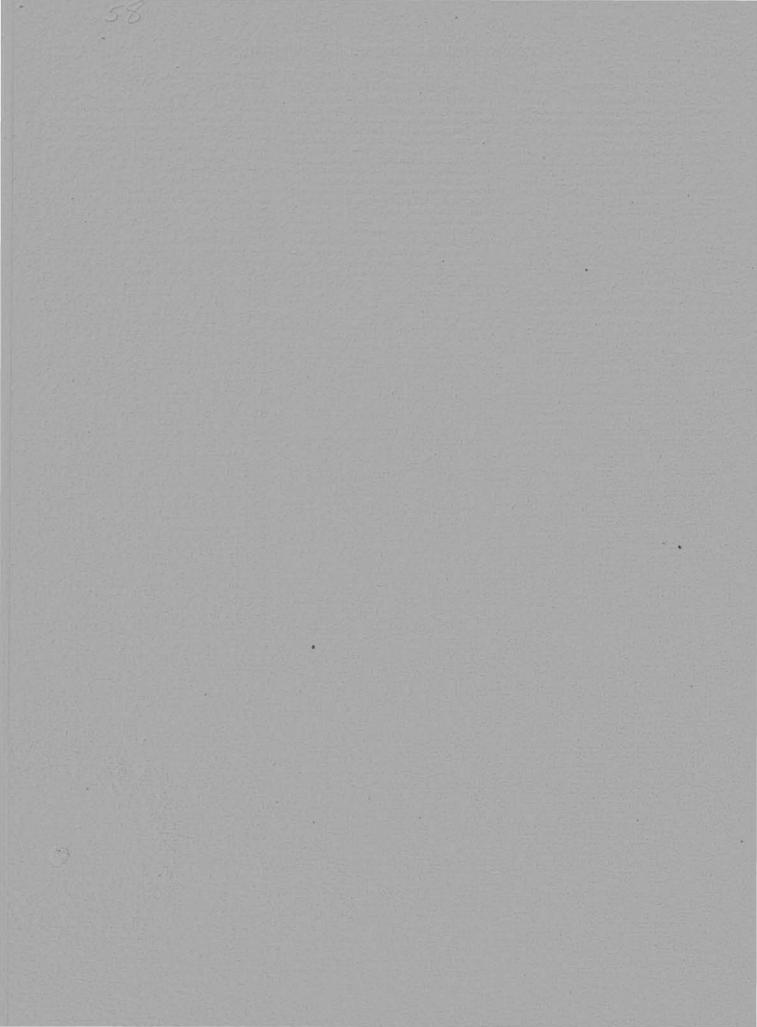
7. Thirty-day limit.-The Public Printer shall not publish in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD any speech or extension of remarks which has been withheld for a period exceeding 30 calendar days from the date when its printing was authorized: Provided, That at the expiration of each session of Congress the time limit herein fixed shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee.

8. Corrections .- The permanent RECORD is made up for printing and binding 30 days after each daily publication is issued; therefore all corrections must be sent to the Public Printer within that time: Provided, That upon the final adjournment of each session of Congress the time limit shall be 10 days. unless otherwise ordered by the committee: Provided further, That no Member of Congress shall be entitled to make more than one revision. Any revision shall consist only of corrections of the original copy and shall not include deletions of correct material, substitutions for correct material, or additions of new subject matter.

9. The Public Printer shall not publish in the Congressional Record the full report or print of any committee or subcommittee when said report or print has been previously printed. This rule shall not be construed to

apply to conference reports.

- 10. Appendix to daily Record.—When either House has granted leave to print (1) a speech not delivered in either House, (2) a newspaper or magazine article, or (3) any other matter not germane to the proceedings, the same shall be published in the Appendix except in cases of duplication. In such cases only the first item received in the Government Printing Office will be printed. This rule shall not apply to quotations which form part of a speech of a Member, or to an authorized extension of his own remarks: Provided, That no address, speech, or article delivered or released subsequently to the final adjournment of a session of Congress may be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.
- 11. Estimate of cost.—No extraneous matter in excess of two pages in any one instance may be printed in the Congressional Record by a Member under leave to print or to extend his remarks unless the manuscript is accompanied by an estimate in writing from the Public Printer of the probable cost of publishing the same, which estimate of cost must be announced by the Member when such leave is requested; but this rule shall not apply to excerpts from letters, telegrams, or articles presented in connection with a speech delivered in the course of debate or to communications from State legislatures, addresses or articles by the President and the members of his Cabinet, the Vice President, or a Member of Congress. For the purposes of this regulation, any one article printed in two or more parts, with or with-out individual headings, shall be considered as a single extension and the two-page, rule shall apply. The Public Printer or the Off tak Reporters of the House or Senate shall return to the Member of the respective House any matter submitted for the Congressional RECORD which is in contravention of this paragraph.
- 12. Official Reporters .- The Official Reporters of each House shall indicate on the manuscript and prepare headings for all matter to be printed in the Appendix, and shall make suitable reference thereto at the proper place in the proceedings.



Appendix

Export Drive Not Enough

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. ARCH A. MOORE, JR.

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, May 19, 1960

Mr. MOORE. Mr. Speaker, as we move forward in 1960 and watch the trend of our foreign trade, both as to exports and imports, I am not seized with the degree of optimism that seems to pervade the halls of the trade-promoting departments of the Government.

It is true that our exports have increased approximately 21 percent in the first quarter of 1960 compared with a year ago while imports have increased only 10 percent. This no doubt is better than a further decline in exports would have been but the increase is not all of what it appears on the surface to be. A good part of the increase came in raw cotton exports. This increase in turn was attributable in great part if not altogether to the lift in the export subsidy from 6 cents to 8 cents per pound.

To the extent that we look to agricultural exports to bail us out we should not overlook the fact that these exports are heavily susbidized and cannot be used as a gage of our general export situation. In the fiscal year 1958-59 slightly over 57 percent of agricultural exports moved under some sort of governmental assistance program, such as subsidies, sales for foreign currencies, grants and loans. Only 43 percent was sold under straight commercial transactions by private exporters.

As for the greater increase in exports than in imports we should also remember that in 1959 exports were at a point well below the peak while imports were at their highest level in history. In 1959 our imports were higher by nearly \$21/2 billion than in 1957, the previous high. Exports were some \$3 billion below their peak.

The 10 percent increase in imports in the first quarter of this year compared With 1959 therefore means that imports are invading our territory or rising in old territory; whereas the increase in exports represents recapture of lost ground.

Mr. Speaker, on the question of export and import trends, short-term samples may be deceptive. I was interested in seeing these trends traced from the late twenties to the present day as was done recently in a statement in which was reviewed the effects of the trade agreements program.

One of the conclusions of greatest interest was that the dollars we send abroad do not necessarily come back in a short time or soon enough to right our

unbalanced trade situation. This fact has been highlighted not only by the outflow of gold but by the heavy claims on our dollars held abroad. These claims exceed the amount of gold remaining in Fort Knox.

Under leave to extend my remarks I offer this statement at this point in the RECORD. The author of the statement is O. R. Strackbein, who as chairman of the Nation-Wide Committee on Import-Export Policy, has kept in close touch with the foreign trade trends of this country. I commend his analysis and review to all Members who are interested in our foreign trade policy. The statement follows:

OUR FAILING FOREIGN TRADE POLICY

About all that holds our foreign trade program together today is imported baling

This program has been under so much stress and strain and has been patched up so many times that it bears little recemblance to the original model and the original

The present foreign trade policy had its roots in the so-called Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act of 1934. That act came in response to widespread feelings that in order escape the great depression we must rebuild foreign markets for our goods. Our exports had declined from an \$4.7 billion per year in the 1925-30 period to the low level of just under \$2 billion annual average in the 1931-35 period. This was a decline of about 60 percent in dollar value.

We needed desperately to do something that would put people back to work. If we could kick our exports back to their previous levels we would employ more people in the export industries. More workers would go back to their jobs in Detroit (automobiles). Pittsburgh (steel and electrical equipment), Chicago (packing house products), Akron (rubber tires), and other industries centers, We would also sell more cotton, tobacco, wheat, and fruits abroad.

It was argued that the reason for the decline in our exports was to be found in the monstrous Hawley-Smoot Tariff Act of The rates were held to be unconscionably high. The average tariff on dutiable goods during the 1931-35 period was a shade above 50 percent. (This has been reduced to approximately 11 percent at the present time.)

Because the rates were high-it was eagerly pointed out by great seers-other countries found it most difficult to sell in this market. Therefore they could not earn the dollars necessary to buy our exports goods in greater volume. In turn, therefore, our exports could not be revived to give emoployment to more people. It was thought that dollars earned abroad would surely come back to us in the form of demand for our products.

Obviously the thing to do was to reduce our tariffs in return for the reduction of tariffs and other obstructions to trade by other countries. Dismantling of our high tariff wall would permit other countries to ship into this country more freely. They would then have more dollars to use in buying our exports; and that was what we

Such was the philosophy of the Trade Agreements Act of 1934. The President was authorized by Congress to lower our duties on imports up to 50 percent in return for similar concessions by other countries. These exchanges of mutual reduction of trade barriers were to be accomplished by means of foreign trade agreements negotiated by the Department of State. In 1945, after a series of bilateral trade agreements had already been made, Congress authorized the President to make another 50 percent cut on top of the cuts that had already been

made.

By 1947 some 29 trade agreements had been made with individual countries. Our tariff had already been reduced materially; but the Department of State evidently felt that the process was too slow and in that year negotiated the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade at Geneva with some 21 other countries. This became known as GATT from the initials of the agreement, and went into effect on January 1, 1948. The general agreement was followed by other multilateral conferences, one in Annecy, France, in 1949, one at Torquay, England, in 1950-51 and one in Geneva in 1955 and 1956. Another conference awaits convening later this year under authorization of the President to make an additional cut in tariffs up to 20 percent. The 1955-56 conferences utilized authority for a 15 percent reduc-

As indicated above, these various tariff reductions, together with a rise in prices, has brought the average American duty on dutiable imports down to about 111/2 percent from a level of 50 percent 25 to 30 years

If we keep in mind that the purpose of the Trade Agreements Act was to increase exports by the roundabout process of tariff reductions, it becomes in order to inquire into the success of the program.

Did our drastic tariff reductions lead to a really significant increase in our exports? And where do we stand today in world trade? Did the trade agreements program lead us into a strong position in inter-national trade? Did it lower foreign trade barriers and thus open foreign markets to our exports? Did it furnish other countries with additional dollars as a result of in-creased exports to us; and, if so, have these additional dollars been used to buy more freely of our products?

these results have not been achieved,

what stood in the way or still stands in the way of their achievement? The first question is: Did our exports increase? If so, when, how much, and

From 1931-35 we exported annually an average of only \$15.55 worth of goods per That was low indeed. The rate during the preceding 5-year period (1926-30) had been \$38.50. Imports during the same period were \$33.02 per capita. The decline in exports to \$15 was a measure of the disastrous effect of the depressioon and the sharp decline in prices.

By 1939 per capita exports had gone back up to \$23.44. This increase was accompanied by a rise of 10 percent in wholesale prices; but it did represent an export in-crease of appreciable proportion, although it did not yet reach half way back to the 1926-30 level.

Imports that had slumped to an average of \$13.33 per capita during the 1931-35 period had risen to only \$17.08 per capita in 1939. This rise was not very impressive in view of our tariff reductions. Exports, as seen above, were somewhat more active. War preparations in several parts of the world were already drawing on our goods and accounted for most of the rise.

If the trade agreements program was designed to increase our exports through a stimulation of imports not much could be said for the program in its first 6 years.

Then came World War II and its great demand for our goods from overseas during 1940 and 1941. Our per capita exports jumped to \$29.25 in 1940 and to \$36.94 in 1941, while imports only made it to \$18.89 in 1940 and on up to \$23.71 per capita in 1941. This record would hardly uphold the idea that tariff reductions under the trade agreements program caused the brisk rise in our exports.

After the United States entered the war the lid blew off exports. They went to \$58.17 per capita in 1942 and zoomed to \$91.95 in 1943. In 1944 they hit \$100.08.

\$91.95 in 1943. In 1944 they hit \$100.08. But where were imports? They dropped to \$20.21 in 1942, recovered to \$24.27 in 1943 and then lumbered up to \$27.47 in 1944, at a time when exports had reached \$100. Certainly it was not our increase in imports that accounted for the soaring exports.

Obviously, our trade agreements program could not be credited for this meteoric rise in exports through 1944. In other words, after 10 years the trade agreements had done very little of what was expected of it. In 1945 and 1946 exports dropped back to an average of approximately \$66 per capita, while imports rose to a little above \$30. This was still below the 1926–30 level of \$33.02.

Then began our feverish postwar efforts to supply the war-devastated countries. Exports raced back up to \$97.01 per capita in 1947; and then fell back until the Marshal plan and the Korean outbreak provided another fillip. After dropping to \$65.64 per capita in 1950 exports pushed back up to \$94 in 1951 and 1952.

What was the behavior of imports? In 1946 they stood at \$33.47 per capita. This was very close to the 1926-30 average of \$33.02. Exports ran ahead nearly threefold.

In 1947 the General Agreements on Tariffs and Trade was signed. It represented an extensive reduction in our tariff and went into effect January 1, 1948. In that year (1948) imports rose sharply to \$47.45. Of course, prices were rising and a great part of the increase was no doubt attributable to that fact. Wholesale prices in this country, for example, rose from 121.1 in 1946 to 165.1 in 1948. This was a rise of 36 percent. The rise in per capita imports was 42 percent, or only a little more than the rise in wholesale prices.

Evidently the increase in exports that was recorded in these years also could not be attributed to the trade agreements program. Europe and Japan were not yet rehabilitated and continued to have a strong demand for our materials, equipment and supplies. Moreover, the war-torn countries still left the supplying of Latin American and other areas largely to us. These markets had fallen to us by default during the war. That our exports should have continued at a high level in the early years of the fifties was therefore not surprising. From 1951-55 the average annual per capita exports stood at \$93.40. This figure, while not as high as that reached in 1947, was nevertheless above the 5-year average from 1946-50, when it was \$78.12 per capita.

The Suez crisis in 1956 sent our exports to a new high point per capita in both 1956 and 1957. In 1956 they rose sharply to \$110 per capita and in 1957 to \$118; then dropped back to \$99 in 1958.

It was during these latter years that Europe and Japan regained their feet. They experienced unprecedented prosperity and their industrial expansion fed their demand for our goods. They had maintained a rigid system of protection, in the form of exchange controls, import licenses, import quotas, etc., and clung stubbornly to these devices to hold what they had gained. Meantime they bitterly and persistently denounced protectionism, as if their lips did not know what their hands were doing.

The war-torn countries, now rehabilitated, were coming into a position not only to supply a greater part of their own internal markets but also to export. This could mean lesser demand for American goods from Europe and Japan no less than progressive recapture by these countries of their prewar oversea markets. The latter event in turn would reduce the American share of markets in Latin America and elsewhere; and events confirmed the probability.

confirmed the probability.

From the high level of 1956 and 1957 our exports began to decline despite the continuing rise in prices; meaning that they dropped more than the decline in per capita exports indicate. These dropped from \$118 in 1957 to \$99 in 1958.

Meantime what happened on the import front? Our tariffs had been demolished on a broad front and on the average were but little more than 20 percent of their height of 25 years ago. Foreign countries, once on the road to recovery, and having rebuilt their economy, began looking overseas in earnest as an outlet for their burgeoning production. Our defenses were down. We did not believe in protecting ourselves as did these other countries. While they threw all varieties of restrictions around imports, even as they vilified protectionism, we listened to them and continued to dismantle our tariff; we used no import licenses; resorted to no exchange controls and limited our import quotas to a few agricultural items, such as cotton, wheat, dairy products, peanuts, and two or three other farm products. On national security grounds we recently limited the imports of oil. This is the only industrial product thus limited.

Imports began an almost uninterrupted rise after 1949 when they stood at \$43.36 per capita. In 1950 they went to \$56, in 1951 to \$68 and then subsided to \$61 in 1954. Resuming their rise in 1955 they climbed to \$73 in 1956, to \$74 in 1957, and then in 1959 reached \$85, an all-time high. In terms of total dollar imports this latter (1959) figure was higher by nearly \$2½ billion than the previous high of 1957 while exports in 1959 did well to hold their own at a 4-year low per capita figure.

The evidence here is very disturbing, because there is no visible correlation between our rising imports and the trend in exports. The trends, in fact, are the exact opposite of what economic theory and the hopes of the free-trade advocates call for. From 1949 to 1959, a period during which imports very nearly doubled (i.e., went from \$43 per capita to \$85), exports from a 1947-49 average of \$86.46 went only to \$90.5 per capita in 1959, or an increase of less than 4 percent.

During the whole course of the trade agreements program exports rose independently of imports. Then imports rose independently of exports.

The inevitable conclusion from these contrary trends is that forces far beyond the trade agreements program determined our trade until very recent years. In the early years of the program our exports expanded more rapidly than our imports. Latterly as our imports broke from their moorings and began to soar, our exports have become listless and sickly. Yet if the theory of the trade agreements was to be credited, exports should have risen as our swelling imports

sent new billions of dollars abroad. On the contrary, our exports began to breathe heavily, unable to make the grade back to the summit they had reached in 1957. Instead of employment rising, as it was supposed to do, in Detroit (automobiles). Pittsburgh (steel and electrical equipment), Chicago (packinghouse products), Akron (rubber goods), it rose in England, Germany, Japan, France, Belgium, etc.

The next question is, What stood in the way of achievement of our export goals once our heavy imports overcame the dollar gap of the early postwar years and put money into the hands of our foreign customers?

Evidently there had been a failure of theory. To be sure, our tariff-slashing program did succeed in putting life into our imports, but just as surely the life was drained out of our exports.

Had there been failure of foresight? Of penetrative analysis of competitive realities? In place of realism was there perhaps a mere attachment to the romantic and exciting notion that free and liberal trade would bring lions and lambs to lie down together in global peace?

The trade agreements was then a mere toy of make believe, a mollifier of the people, and a veritable political opiate that prevents them from seeing the facts as they are.

Surely calculations could hardly have gone so wide of the mark if there was not some rather miserable failure to read accurately the economic trends of the world. The blindness of romantic attachment is well known, as is also the stubborn unwillingness in the face of overwhelming evidence to face reality once the romance has been shattered.

The economists who have been overwhelmingly in support of the trade program cannot see reality even today for watching the principles they were taught in the universities. These are generally beside the point or, as the trade trends of the past 20 years have demonstrated, are usually derailed by events. History then goes on without them, leaving the economists to their favorite sport of batting their errors back and forth.

Such is the discomfiture of the liberal trade elements. To save their intellectual faces and their vested interest in being right they seem willing to see industry after industry in this country blood sucked and knee buckled before turning a hand to rescue them from the folly of romantic theory.

The trade agreements program is not only dripping with failure; it has brought American industry, agriculture, and labor to a position of trembling dependence upon the President to save their future.

This was the most natural outcome and should have been foreseen because the trade agreements program went down a road that ran in a diametrically opposite direction from that taken by domestic economic measures. The effect of these latter was to raise this country to an economic plateau in relation to the rest of the world. As a result we became surrounded by the international swamps of lower prices, lower wages, lower production costs, and lower standards of living. The trade program feverishly exposed us more and more by reducing our outward defenses at the very time that we were busy at home climbing the economic plateau.

We did something else to make doubly sure our onsetting discomfiture and distress. We built up our competitors, first by supplying them with many necessities of life and then rebuilding their shattered economy. We furnished them modern machinery and equipment, opened our plants to their production and industrial engineers, and taught them our methods. The high moral purpose of all this action can hardly be questioned; but that is not the point. We must still be ca-

pable of assessing the results of our action and face them. We may say we had to do these things but we must also confront the future.

The final result of our several policies was to increase our competitive vulnerability threefold. As we sharply raised our costs, we reduced our tariffs drastically and we greatly improved foreign productivity without bringing up foreign wages in proportion. This latter lies beyond our power.

Little wonder that our exports are at a standstill and responsive only to governmental stimuli, in the form of subsidies, peptalks and commercial missionaries.

If a program falls to do in 25 years what it was supposed to do, either by way of setting the pattern of commerce or pacifying the world, it is either a fallure or the economists and interpreters have been singing the wrong chorus. If a medicine gave no better account of itself than the economists of the trade program and were responsible for as many casualties, its discoverers would not only be called quacks or criminals but would, if treated tenderly, only be ridden out of town on a rall.

Where are the dollars absorbed by foreign countries, that according to the romantic economic theorists always come back to us in the form of demand for our goods? Yes, where are they? They are lolling about in many foreign balances, in no hurry to get back. Our foreign account has been against us every year but one since 1950 or earlier. Other countries have not only drained away some \$5 billion in gold but have accumulated claims in the amount of some \$18 billion on

the \$19.4 billion of gold left in Fort Knox. Why have these dollars that have been accumulated abroad not been spent in this country if the theories of the romantic economists are true? Of course, the economists always take refuge behind the escape hatch labeled "in the long run." Obviously if "the long run" means over 10 years (which is the length of the vacation already taken by our dollars abroad) the theory is worse than useless since many industries do not need so long a run in order to die or to be crippied for life.

The trade agreements program has not only led us onto an untenable position; it has all but closed the avenues of retreat. It has all but destroyed the powers of Congress to regulate foreign commerce by binding the legislative hands with the chains of international executive agreements, GATT, for example; and it has thrown industry, labor, and agriculture more and more on the mercy of the executive branch. The executive branch and the executive branch alone, meaning principally the Department of State, today regulates our foreign commerce—not Congress.

The final welding process through which it is sought to fasten permanently on Congress the chains that have been so laboriously wrought these last 12 years, is now under way. What was begun with GATT is now about to be finished.

Our negotiating teams will be going once more to Geneva in a few months to level our tariff defenses still more; and efforts will be made to draw us into a rebuilt international trade organization, the charter for which has already been drafted by the "Four Wise Men." The name of this new venture is to be the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development. This organization is to rise like a phoenix from the bones of the earlier failures, namely, the ITO and the recently interred OTC. More will be heard of this proposal.

If this move succeeds our vulnerable competitive position will become the excuse for permanent eviction of Congress and the permanent dependence of American industry and agriculture and labor on the Federal Government, to be altered, bartered, or slaughtered at the pleasure of the State Department. We are very close to that point now.

Already our domestic economy sits besieged on all sides by a form of competition that holds all the advantages contrived by us for our own undoing. The question is inevitable: Can we now meet this competition or stand it off only by undoing a part of our handiwork of the past 25 years or shall we add to this handiwork and deepen our discomfiture?

Either we stand still in point of wages and costs while other countries come up or we descend or fall part way to meet them.

The only other alternative is to do what the other countries have been doing so successfully in the postwar years, i.e., protect ourselves and our resources against relentless drainaway of blood and substance. This would call for a moratorium on the dismantling of what is left of our tariff, and then, in the form of a rearguard action, instituting the use of limited import restrictions, preferably in the form of combined quotas and tariffs, designed to hold what we have built, while stopping the bleeding at the vulnerable spots. This would permit continued progress in this country while the living standards of other countries catch up as they can or will.

as they can or will.
What else? Let us look about us.

If we continue to build up other countries, the underdeveloped areas of the world, for example, in the naive faith that this upbuilding will rescue us, we court the bitterest disappointment of all. That we may be able to build them up may be conceded, even though grave doubts may assail us; but to hope that they will become markets predominantly for us rather than markets to be supplied by Japan, other rising Far East economies, and Europe, is to forget recent economic history and to expect something that experience cannot support. While it may still be argued that we must build up the retarded countries as a measure against communism, we must be aware of what we are about and not confuse that objective with the expansion of our export trade.

It took us 25 years of doing, including much domestic economic legislation, a world war, a local war and then the cold war to stack up the international competitive situation as we see it today; and here we are as a nation naively bewildered, fumbling for the international solvency against which we have all but foreclosed ourselves, unwilling to give up an aging romanticism that we can no longer afford. All that we know to do has the effect of a "Chinese" truss. The harder we try through subsidies, hawking of our wares in the markets of the world, further tariff reductions and foreign economic buildup, to revive our exports, the tighter we draw the choking cords about us.

Our export subsidies burden our Treasury. Our foreign ald does the same. Already our gold is flowing out. In order to halt this flow we have to offer higher interest rates; and this action raises our total interest burden. Already this has gone from \$7 billion a year to about \$9½ billion on our national debt in a few years' time.

Our production costs are high in relation to those of other countries. In order to bring them down we must automate; but we then face the problem of employing the nearly a million new workers coming on the scene each year. Moreover, other countries have learned how to automate and are doing so. We have lost our technological leadership.

We are on the eve of an earthquake that will shiver us to our economic foundations if we do not soon take thought and reverse some of our romantic policies. If we do not do this the economic waters of the world will inundate us and in the outflow will rend us and swirl us to the common level.

We will no longer reside on a plateau, a beacon to other lands, but will slide indistinguishably into the low waters that now surround us. Our leadership of the free world will dissolve into a sea of impotence and our ideals for building a peaceful world will be of little avail.

Confederate Memorial Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. HERMAN E. TALMADGE

OF GEORGIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, May 19, 1960

Mr. TALMADGE. Mr. President, on April 26, 1960, Confederate Memorial Day was observed in Atlanta, Ga., with traditional services at West View Cemetery. The colorful ceremony of remembrance was held under the joint auspices of the Dorothy Blount Lamar Chapter of the United Daughters of the Confederacy and the John B. Gordon Camp No. 46 of the Sons of Confederate Veterans. both of Atlanta. Wreaths were placed at the base of the Confederate Monument there, and military honors were accorded by a 3d Army honor guard. The principal address was delivered by Gen. Letcher O. Grice-brigadier general, U.S. Army, retired-of Atlanta, commander in chief of the Sons of Confederate Veterans. I ask unanimous consent, Mr. President, that the text of General Grice's stirring remarks on that occasion be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

CONFEDERATE MEMORIAL DAY SERVICES

(By Gen. Letcher O. Grice, brigadier general, U.S. Army, retired, commander in chief, Sons of Confederate Veterans, West View Cemetery, April 26, 1960, Atlanta, Ga.)

Compatriots, ladies, and gentlemen, we are assembled here in beautiful West View Cemetery to participate in the annual observance of Confederate Memorial Day. Within a few feet of us are graves of many Confederate soldiers, and we are within the shadow of a striking monument erected in years gone by to honor our heroic dead.

Not only is this a beautiful and sacred spot. Today there are gathered here many dedicated members of the United Daughters of the Confederacy, Sons of Confederate Veterans and other patriotic citizens, including the West End Elementary Band and a contingent of U.S. soldiers, to honor our departed veterans.

This assemblage, this setting, and this observance inspire us to renewed determination to live and carry on in such manner as to be worthy sors and daughters of those whom we eulogize and honor.

We salute and pay tribute to our forefathers—the soldiers of the Confederacy—on this hallowed day. We eulogize those who fought so long against such great odds for principles and causes which they held sacred.

This ceremony is sponsored by the United Daughters of the Confederacy, and the Sons of Confederate Veterans—two great national organizations. I know of no more loyal or patriotic organizations in all America. Meetings are begun by having each member

participate in the Pledge of Allegiance, reading:

"I pledge allegiance to the flag of the United States of America and to the Republic for which it stands, one Nation, under God, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all."

The following excerpts are quoted from the constitution of the Sons of Confederate Veterans:

'We declare an unquestioned allegiance to the Constitution of the United States of America *

The Sons of Confederate Veterans shall be strictly historical and benevolent, nonpolitical and nonsectarian . .

This Confederation shall observe the celebration of Memorial Day."

THE CENTENNIAL

We strongly support the centennial observance of the stirring days of a hundred years ago. But we hasten to point out that we are not celebrating particular events of the past. but are commemorating them.

Prior to my election last year to my present office, I served as chairman of the S.C.V. National Committee, to cooperate with the U.S. Civil War Centennial Commission. Let us remember, it is not for us to judge, or criticize, or engage either in ignoring or celebrating events of the War Between the States, but to commemorate them.

REBELS

We are assembled here to eulogize and honor the patriotic soldiers of the Confederacy, especially those who gave their lives for the cause. But, unfortunately, there are people, especially some who are high placed in the fields of education and journalism, who refer to them as "rebels" and to the "War of the Rebellion" or to the "Civil War," instead of the "War Between the States," or the "War for Southern Inde-pendence."

Some people in England in the days of 1776 regarded George Washington, Benjamin Franklin and other great American leaders as "rebels" or worse. But to southerners and other good Americans, they are patriots, saviors, and heroes,

And so we honor our leaders of the South during the war period—President Jefferson Davis, General Robert E. Lee, General "Stonewall" Jackson, and other leaders and soldiers of the Confederacy-as patriots.

The Government of the United States has honored both Generals Lee and Jackson by the issuance of U.S. postage stamps bearing their images. The Government of the United States some years ago provided pensions for Confederate soldiers. They were not "rebels," but patriots.

TIME MARCHES ON

Time marches on-from Fort Sumter to Appomattox, to the first reunion of the Boys in Gray.

Time marches on—to the establishment of the Sons of Confederate Veterans' national organization by the United Confederate Veterans in their annual national reunion at Richmond, in 1896.

Time marches on-to the great, patriotic joint reunion of the Boys in Blue and the Boys in Gray, on the battlefield at Gettysburg, in the mid-1930's. At that time I was a contracting officer for the U.S. Army, at Philadelphia; and it was my duty, and a pleasant one, to buy several thousand small U.S. flags, and an equal number of Confederate flags. These were installed in pairs on the tent pole of each wall tent. Each tent was occupied by a Boy in Blue and a Boy in Gray. This was the first, and only joint reunion of the Blue and the Gray.

Times marches on—to the passing at Houston, Tex., on December 19, 1959 of the last veteran of the War Between the States, General Williams. It was my sad duty, as

commander in chief, Sons of Confederate Veterans, to attend the memorial and funeral services held in his honor. Governors of the Southern States, or their representatives, were present, as well as members of the U.S. Congress, the judiciary, State officials and representatives of numerous patriotic societies. Messages of condolence were read from the President of the United States and other prominent leaders throughout the

The passing of the last veteran was of great historical significance. It marked the passing of an epoch and the beginning of a new

The memorial, funeral, and burial services of the last Confederate were in keeping with the dignity of the occasion. U.S. Army officials coordinated all services. The services were of national interest, and conducted in a manner befitting the highest official. It was truly a state occasion.

The funeral services were closed by one of the ministers reading from the poem of Frank L. Stanton, of our own Atlanta, entitled, "Going Home," as follows:

"Adieu, sweet friends-I have waited long To hear the message that calls me home, And now it comes like a low, sweet song Of welcome over the river's foam:

And my heart shall ache and my feet shall roam

No more-no more: I am going home. Home. Where no storm-where no tempest

In the light of the calm, eternal day; Where no willows weep over lonely graves And the tears from our eyelids are kissed away.

And my soul shall sigh, and my feet shall roam

No more-no more: I am going home."

Time marches on-to this Confederate Memorial Day of 1960. The last veteran is gone, but the sons, and daughters, remain, and shall ever remain.

And time shall continue to march on. Our story did not end at Appomattox, or with the passing of the last veteran. It shall never end, but continue, on and on, through generations yet to come.

In closing, I should like to leave with you the thoughts of Edwin Markham in his poem, entitled "How We Shall Honor Them."

"How shall we honor them, our fathers dead? With strew of laurel and stately tread? With the blaze of honors brightening over-

head? Nay, not alone these cheaper passes bring: They will not have this easy honoring. How shall we honor them-our fathers

dead? How keep their mighty memories alive? In him who feels their passion, they survive.

Flatter their souls with deeds, and all is said."

Resolution of Appreciation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. HAROLD D. COOLEY

OF NORTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, May 19, 1960

Mr. COOLEY. Mr. Speaker, our colleague, the Honorable and beloved CARL T. DURHAM, is retiring at the end of this session of Congress. At the county convention of the Democratic Party of Orange County held on May

14, 1960, a resolution was adopted unanimously by those attending the convention. The resolution is as fol-

RESOLUTION OF APPRECIATION FOR CARL THOMAS DURHAM, "MR. DEMOCRAT" AND "DR. COMMON SENSE" OF ORANGE COUNTY. NO

Because Carl T. Durham has ably and faithfully represented the 6th Congressional District of North Carolina in the Congress of the United States since December, 1938;

Because he recently expressed his heart's desire and his intention to return, after the close of the current session of the Congress, to full-time residence with his family and grandchildren, to daily association with his many relatives and other friends in and near Orange County, and to working with his coon dog and turkey caller;

Because, for 37 consecutive years, as an elected representative of the people in various offices of public trust, without a fanfare of words and dramatics, he has quietly, directly, and honestly studied extensively, worked hard, and served well his neighbors, his constituents, and his country. As a good pharmacist, a devoted husband and father. a wise counselor, a faithful member of and leader in his church, he has, also, labored wisely for his home community and his country, successively, as a member of the Chapel Hill School Board, the Chapel Hill Board of Aldermen, the Orange County Board of Commissioners, the Board of Trustees of his alma mater—the University of North Carolina—and as a Member of the Congress of the United States;

Because, with vision, commonsense, and perseverance, he has distinguished himself by helping establish numerous public benefits, such as-

The breadth and beauty of Chapel Hill's Franklin Street:

The consolidation of public schools; The first publicly owned rural electrifica-tion line in the United States, here in Orange County—the model for what later, under a national Democratic administration, became the great Rural Electrification Authority, etc., including as chairman of the Joint Congressional Committee on Atomic Energy, the development and use of atomic, nuclear energy, under civilian control, for medical and other constructive purposes, and for helping keep the peace among the peoples of the world;

Because a great university, his alma mater, in whose shadows CARL DURHAM, the country boy from Bingham Township, chased rabbits and grew into fine manhood, did, in grateful recognition of his attainments, confer upon him the degree of doctor of laws;

Because Carl Durham's record of public service, with few parallels, has set for his successors a high standard and a challenge;

Because he has stayed on the job and not beat the bushes, working intelligently and successfully for his constituents and for the free peoples of the world; and

Because, in his election and repeated reelections to the Congress, we and the world have witnessed a free people in peaceful action at the secret ballot box choose from among themselves and for themselves a calm, wise, and faithful representative in a democracy: Therefore be it

Resolved by this May 14, 1960, Convention Session of the Democratic Party of Orange County that:

First, CARL T. DURHAM abundantly merits and has our genuine gratitude for his great career of fine public service; and

Second, while we reluctantly concur in his decision to return home from the Halls of Congress we do sincerely say to Congressman and Dr. Durham "Mr. Carl you have long been a good and faithful public servantall the way from Chapel Hill's Town Hall to the International Atomic Energy Agency headquarters in Geneva, Switzerland. Now, come on back home and help us with our pills and whittling."

EDWIN S. LANIER,
Chairman.
ALEXANDER HEARD,
CLYDE C. CARTER,
Committee.

Mr. Speaker, our colleague, Carl T. Durham has served the people of his district, State, and Nation faithfully and well. He is worthy of the confidence of his constituents. He is a devoted and dedicated public servant and he has a right to be proud of the great record he has made.

I have enjoyed CARL DURHAM's friendship for many long years. I shall miss him in the next session of the Congress of our country. By his devotion to duty and his loyalty to the traditions of our great Republic, he has endeared himself to his colleagues and in retirement I hope that he will find happiness and contentment. I am certain that our good wishes will go with him as he returns to the hills of home.

Limit on Earnings of Social Security Recipients Should Be Raised From \$1,200 to \$2,400 Per Year—Dallas News Again Supports Proposal

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. RALPH W. YARBOROUGH

OF TEXAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, May 19, 1960

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, the purpose of the great social security program, as I understand it and as I believe most people understand it, is to allow and encourage Americans to prepay money into a retirement plan so they will have income in later life.

Because of inflation and other factors over the past quarter century, the money which Americans put in this savings plan for retirement does not go as far as we would like or as far as we expected that it would when the program was started. For that reason, I have introduced legislation to allow social security recipients to earn more income—to continue work Where they are able and want to work without losing any of the retirement benefits they already have paid for. This proposal would raise the limit on earnings of those receiving social security from the present \$1,200 per year to \$2,400 per year.

Among the newspapers which support this proposal is the Dallas Morning News. I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the Record the editorial from the May 10, 1960, Dallas Morning News entitled "Insurance, Not Dole"

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

INSURANCE, NOT DOLE

Since its outset more than two decades ago, social security has been pictured by officials as insurance, not a dole on the order of the still-retained old-age assistance. Social security benefits are paid for by the beneficiaries and their employers. Since that is the case, what difference should it make to anyone how much a recipient may be able to earn after he is pensioned?

Senator Ralph Yarborough is on the right track in asking that the present \$1,200 a year limit on the earnings of social security pensioners be doubled. It should be removed entirely. The worker past 65 who has paid for a social security benefit should have it, whether he needs the money or not. It is his money.

Progress on School Aid

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. FRANK THOMPSON, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 19, 1960

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, today's New York Times contains an interesting editorial in support of Federal school-aid legislation soon to come before the House.

The editorial states:

There can no longer be any reasonable doubt that such Federal assistance is needed; the only reasonable argument now can be over the amounts, the form, and the specific purposes.

It also comments on the failure of the Rules Committee, which the writer calls "that 'black hole' of the House," to act during the past 2 months since H.R. 10128 was approved by the House Education and Labor Committee.

Mr. Speaker, I commend the entire editorial to my colleagues and under leave to extend my remarks, include it at this point:

[From the New York Times, May 17, 1960] PROGRESS ON SCHOOL AM?

On March 15, more than 2 months ago, the House Education and Labor Committee approved a compromise school-construction aid bill vastly scaled down from previous proposals in the hope of avoiding a Presidential veto. More than a month before that, on February 4, the Senate had passed a much broader bill, authorizing Federal assistance for both construction and teachers' salaries.

But despite these important actions on both sides of the Capitol, indicating a serious concern at this session that there at last be definite action on large-scale Federal aid to education, nothing further has happened. Why? Because the Rules Committee, that "black hole" of the House, has not seen fit to act. Until it does, the House, in the normal course of events, would not be able to vote on Federal aid for education. Yet hope has risen that this week things may begin to move.

There are two immediate possibilities. One is that the Rules Committee, recognizing the national need and the political importance of an education bill, may yet give clearance to the pending measure. The other is that the group of young, liberal Democrats who have been spearheading the drive may succeed in employing the little-

used parliamentary device of Calendar Wednesday tomorrow to force the bill out to the floor. This was the means successfully used a couple weeks ago to bring out the depressed areas bill, which was subsequently vetoed by the President.

Getting the education bill to the floor does not, of course, insure its passage, or insure that whatever bill may be passed will be a good one. But it would bring closer than ever before the ultimate adoption of a general aid-to-education law. There can longer be any reasonable doubt that such Federal assistance is needed; the only reasonable argument now can be over the amounts. the form and the specific purposes. We have already expressed our view that a broad-based bill, giving the States the option of using Federal aid on construction or salaries or both, is preferable to a construction bill alone. We also believe that the amounts have to be large enough to make a material dent in what is probably America's greatest weakness in her national defense system: the insufficiency of school plant, the shortage of teachers and the inadequacy of standards. The first two areas can be helped directly by Federal aid, the third indirectly; all of them require immediate, urgent attention in Washington.

Salt Water Conversion Plant Site

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. HARRISON A. WILLIAMS, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, May 19, 1960

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. Mr. President, all Americans who have given some thought to future water resources of the United States, are, I am sure, interested in present and projected efforts to find a practical sea water conversion demonstration plant. In New Jersey the State department of conservation and economic development has worked closely with municipal officials and individual citizens on one such effort in particular. An editorial in the Atlantic City Press of May 10 gives a summary of the proposal for a conversion demonstration plan and the unique advantages which the Garden State offers for such a project. I ask unanimous consent that the editorial be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SALT WATER CONVERSION PLANT SITE

New Jersey's hopes of getting a sea water conversion demonstration plant which the Federal Government proposes to build on the Atlantic coast rest on the possibility that Atlantic City or Cape May will be chosen as the site.

U.S. Senator Harrison A. Williams, Jr., and Representative Militon W. Glenn report that a Department of Interior sites selection committee has narrowed its choice to these and 11 Atlantic seaboard communities in other States. A preliminary decision was not reached on applications of four other cities pending receipt of additional information. Three of them—Long Branch, Madison, and Perth Amboy—are in New Jersey.

The Department will continue to receive

applications until August 1.

New Jersev's eagerness to be selected was reflected in a resolution recently adopted by the assembly asking the U.S. Department of Interior to locate the installation in the The resolution was sponsored by Assemblymen Paul Salsburg and Albert S. Smith of Atlantic County and William Kurtz of Middlesex.

Although potable water is plentiful in this region, the supply is a critical problem in many parts of the country and throughout large areas of the world. A cheap process for converting salt water into fresh would bring hope to arid areas and help provide for a

rapidly expanding population.

Interior Secretary Fred A. Seaton seems to think the Government is on the verge of a major scientific breakthrough in this respect. One purifying process, which has been tested in a pilot plant in North Carolina for 2 years, utilizes evaporator units in series, so that condensing steam from one heats sea water in the next.

Other methods employ freezing processes which have been undergoing tests in Syracuse, N.Y., and Warren, Pa. The specific freezing process selected will determine the capacity of the east coast plant. It will probably be designed to convert sea water to fresh at a rate of from 100,000 to 350,000 gallons a day.

As a highly developed industrial and research center, New Jersey would provide an ideal climate for the experimentation. And a site in this area would offer the additional advantages of easy access and available labor

supply.

Mock Political Convention Chooses Johnson for Presidential Candidate

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. WAYNE L. HAYS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, May 19, 1960

Mr. HAYS. Mr. Speaker, I had the honor of keynoting the Ohio University Mock Democratic Convention in Athens, Ohio, on March 4 but, unfortunately, had to return to Washington before the balloting. The following article from the Ohio University Post describes the nominating speeches and the resulting nomination of the distinguished majority leader of the Senate, LYNDON B. JOHNSON, for President and Gov. Robert B. Meyner of New Jersey for Vice President:

[From the Ohio University Post, Mar. 7, 1960] MOCK POLITICAL CONVENTION CHOOSES JOHN-SON FOR PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE

LYNDON B. JOHNSON, Senate majority leader, is the mock Democratic candidate for the Presidency of the United States.

The favorite son of Texas was chosen along with Robert B. Meyner, Governor of New Jersey, who won the vice presidential nomination to head the Democratic ticket. The two candidates were chosen Saturday evening at the mock Democratic convention held at Memorial Auditorium.

Wild cheers and sounds of noisemakers filled the poster-filled auditorium as the States presented their nominating speeches and demonstrations Saturday afternoon.

Smiling and firmly rapping the gavel, the Honorable Walter Moeller from Ohio, who acted as convention chairman, requested the delegates to be seated after demonstrations and intermittent outbreaks of wild cheering.

MOELLER commended the delegates on the ways that they resolved their differences in writing their platforms for the convention.

Robb, chairman of the convention Don executive committee, read telegrams from Lyndon B. Johnson, Robert Meyner, and John F. Kennedy to the convention delegates.

Elated delegates wearing derbies, feathers, cowboy hats, clown outfits, and Bermudas continuously yelled, threw confettl, banged on pots, pans, gongs, and drums to display zealous support for their candidates.

A demonstration for Johnson led by a horse wound its way through the noisy political arena. During this jubilant exhibition, wild applause competed with wild screams, noisemakers, songs, and chants.

Senator John F. Kennedy from Massa-chusetts was described as "the man who will lead us in the unpredictable years ahead, a man who will not hesitate or stumble and a man who demands the respect of his fellow Americans and of the world at large."

He was further described as a progressive young man who has the physical vigor to be President and who is a friend of the student.

HUBERT HUMPHREY was described as trying to do more to decrease the gap in the missile gap than to increase his golf score. "He is the man who can beat the Soviet leaders to the punch."

"GEORGE SMATHERS is not a novice in the political ring and he has experience, follow-ing, and leadership," were some of the comments heard for this candidate.

WAYNE MORSE was referred to as the man who will help the farmer and will put the

Republicans out to pasture.

A man from the rough-and-ready West is L. B. JOHNSON. He is an American first, a Senator second, a Democrat third, and the next President." Johnson was described as advocating what is best for the Nation as a whole.

Adlai Stevenson was described as the man who can lead us out of crises and into a life of fulfillment, and the man who will make

America first in technology.

"A stanch supporter of the American way of life, a man who is for the good of labor and management" brought cheers after STUART SYMINGTON'S nomination speech was presented.

Sky Should Be Free to All Nations Until International Rule Established

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. ALEXANDER WILEY

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Thursday, May 19, 1960

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, the world has long known that—because flights of planes, as well as satellites—a system, ultimately, of regulations or laws, must be adopted pertaining to airspace.

The U-2 incident over the Soviet Union-the orbiting of United States and Soviet satellites around the earththese, and other, factors, illustrate that sooner or lated the nations of the world must come to an understanding on airspace traffic.

Repeatedly, the United States has stressed that if nations could be discouraged from acts and plans for military aggression, the skies could be free.

As a nation with no aggressive plans, we are ready for adoption of such a program.

Regrettably, the Communist bloc, intent upon global conquest, is against such free flights-including aerial surveillance.

For any nation developing military programs for outright, or sneak, attacks, of course, this would be a dangerous thing.

However, the President-rightly, I believe-is planning to bring before the United Nations a proposal for freedom of airspace.

Recently David Lawrence's column entitled "Sky Should Be Free to all Nations Until International Rule Established" contained some thought-provoking ideas on the involved factors.

I ask unanimous consent to have the article printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SKY SHOULD BE FREE TO ALL NATIONS UNTIL INTERNATIONAL RULE ESTABLISHED

(By David Lawrence)

WASHINGTON .- What's the difference between a Russian aerial apparatus flying 188 miles in the air and taking pictures across the United States, and an American observation plane flying 12 miles above the territory of the Soviet Union also taking pic-

Is the flight of the newest sputnik of the Russians an act of aggression? Is it another spying operation? Certainly it was conducted without advance notice to and without the consent of the U.S. Government

There is no settled basis of international law for either the claim that national sovereignty does extend into outer space, or that it does not. It is an unresolved issue. Under those circumstances, the sky is free to everybody until an agreement of some kind is reached.

That is why a lot of the artificial commotion stirred up by Moscow propaganda in the last several days makes little sense. For the latest exploit of the so-called satellite of the Russians, which contains the dummy of a man, points up how unrealistic have b some of the comments about the American

plane. The Soviet Government does not seem to be worried whether the timing is right. The stunt was arranged to take place at the very moment the summit conference was about to meet. Yet in America, some of the critics have said that the experimental observation flight by Francis Powers should never have been flown at this time. Is the U.S. Air Force to be told hereafter it cannot carry on its airborne alert operations because these might offend Russia, though the Russians, in turn, appear to be flying their planes over Alaskan territory and their satellites across the American Continent whenever they please?

High-altitude flying by the reconnaissance planes of the United States is the direct result of Russia's refusal to open up and let her plane and missile sites and nuclear operations be observed, so that a surprise attack or an accidental attack can be prevented.

The case was dramatically summed up, prior to the Powers incident, in a report on April 29 by the U.S. House Committee on Appropriations, which said:

"In the final analysis, to effectively deter a would-be aggressor, we should maintain our Armed Forces in such a way and with such an understanding that, should it ever become obvious that an attack upon us or our allies is imminent, we can launch an attack before the aggressor has hit either us or our allies. This is an element of deterrence which the United States should not deny itself. No other form of deterrence can be fully relied upon."

This is but another way of saying that, of course, the United States must operate its observation planes so that if it sees a potential enemy getting ready for a surprise attack the American counterattack can be launched before the "first blow" actually strikes us.

The Russians have an advantage—they know they are not going to be attacked first. The Soviet Union would like nothing better than to stop all American observation measures and pick its own time for attack. Unfortunately, there are many naive Americans who trust the words of the Russians and would frustrate our own defensive machinery and reconnaissance measures in order to appease an enemy.

Aerial spying is not new. In the August 5, 1955, issue of U.S. News & World Report, Col. Richard S. Leghorn of the U.S. Air Force Reserve, who helped develop the "open skies" plan which President Eisenhower presented to the Geneva conference 5 years ago, wrote:

"Aerial spying on the Soviet Union—done covertly and without Soviet permission—can be carried out with a very, very small probability of loss and with great gains for the West.

"During World War II, high-flying reconnaissance planes, alone and unarmed, suffered fewer combat losses than any other type. And, since then, the techniques available for reducing the probability of detection and interception have been greatly advanced.

"Any serial reconnaissance that we conduct over the Soviet Union must be extremely difficult or even impossible to detect. I, for one, firmly believe that we can conduct such reconnaissance missions over Soviet territory without their being able to do anything about it—with very rare exceptions.

"Most importantly, knowledge that we can perform aerial inspection regardless of Soviet military opposition will be the most significant factor in bringing the Soviets to eventual acceptance of the President's proposal.

"The President's offer of mutual aerial inspection has at last seized for the West the initiative in the cold war. If we press this advantage hard, we can win a major coldwar battle—perhaps decisive enough to turn the tide truly toward complete, universal, and enforcible disarmament.

"Aerial reconnaissance is particularly needed against the Soviet totalitarian state, because other methods of collecting information and data operate under extreme difficulties."

The West will this week at Paris reiterate its demand for an "open society" and an agreement on measures to eliminate any chance of an unobserved surprise attack. The Powers episode may yet prove to be the turning point in a long struggle to get some safeguards against surprise attack.

Hon. Charles A. Buckley

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. EUGENE J. KEOGH

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, May 19, 1960

Mr. KEOGH. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I include the following article which appeared in the New York Times of Thursday, May 12, 1960, with reference to our beloved colleague and distinguished chairman of the Public Works

Committee, Hon. Charles A. Buckley. This is a fitting tribute to the talent and effectiveness of Charle Buckley, both as a Member of this House and as the Democratic leader of Bronx County. He is a devoted public servant who has accomplished much on behalf of the people he represents and has worked long and hard in the best interests of the Democratic Party. It is a pleasure for me to join in this evidence of recognition for our distinguished colleague and my very good friend, Charle Buckley:

Boss in the Bronx—Charles Anthony Buckley

When a man's friends and foes use the same phrases to describe him, the former in praise, the latter in disparagement, the consensus has a persuasive solidity. CHARLES ANTHONY BUCKLEY, the successor to Edward J. Boss Flynn as Democratic leader of Bronx County, is such a man. If there are areas of dispute concerning him, they are in the realm of interpretation. There appears to be no dispute over essential qualities.

A few days ago someone asked who among the Democratic presidential hopefuls the Bronx leaders were likely to support. "They'll go for who CHARLEY BUCKLEY tells them to go for," an observer declared.

Yesterday, Charley told them. He said he was for John F. Kenney, and he declared that he was speaking for the county.

Mr. Buckley runs a taut ship. There are

Mr. Buckler runs a taut ship. There are no leaks and there is swift, long-lasting discipline for anything that has the odor of mutting

When a man goes out of favor with Mr. BUCKLEY he goes equally out of fashion in Bronx politics, and he is about as likely to make a comeback as are tarred braids.

"He's a 100-percent organization man," a friend said—adding, "He's a real organization man from way back," as if to strengthen the characterization by emphatic repetition.

But this organization loyalty works both ways; if he demands it, he usually also extends it.

He clears local issues and appointments with his district leaders and rarely goes over their heads in taking action that affects their sectors.

POWER INHERITED

Mr. Buckley's strong hold on power is an inheritance from his predecessor. Mr. Flynn was much more than the Democratic tactician of the Bronx. He was the de facto leader of the city and a national figure as well, Mr. Buckley, though a member of the House of Representatives, has come into the possession of Mr. Flynn's home powers only.

Mr. Buckley tends to be frank in a few words in conversation and blunt at length in speeches.

His annual appearance as the star of the Bronx County Democratic Dinner—it will be held tonight at the Waldorf-Astoria—is an event reporters look forward to because Mr. Buckley often speaks with barbed sarcasm.

"He has a sort of aversion to eggheads and he doesn't cotton to liberals of any stripe," one man said.

SHUNS LIBERAL PARTY

This indisposition to persons who would make politics a vehicle for the expression of ideals or, far worse, abstract ideas is manifested in Mr. Buckley's refusal to allow Democratic candidates in the Bronx to accept concurrent liberal party nomination.

He has made a couple of exceptions to this, but only to accommodate powerful Democrats, not because he thought it was a

His aversion is further exposed at the \$100-a-plate dinners, which usually come close to filling the baliroom at the Waldorf. In 1957, he said the Democratic National

Committee was in the hands of amateurs who he thought should be replaced by "some old pros."

He called Paul M. Butler, the national chairman, "stupid" and said of Senator

ESTES KEFAUVER, "He's a lulu."

Mr. Buckley, a native New Yorker, is 69 years old. He lives with his wife in the Bronx and commutes to Washington during the legislative season. He was elected to the 74th Congress in 1934, has served continuously since, and is chairman of the House Committee on Public Works.

Though he would prefer to surrender his seat (his pension by now would be nearly equal to his pay), he has agreed to run again, mainly as a favor to other Democrats.

Mr. Buckley got into politics as a young man, served three terms on the board of aldermen, held various other positions and became a close assistant to Mr. Flynn. He became county leader in August 1953.

Mr. Buckley breeds trotting horses on his farm in Rockland County, and likes to watch television at home.

He was in the construction business for

a while, but has been out of it for about 10 years.

His son, Charles, Jr., is a lawyer and a Bronx district captain; his daughter is married and lives in Texas with her husband, John Forshay.

Applause for Mr. Frost

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. HARRISON A. WILLIAMS, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, May 19, 1960

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. Mr. President, the Senate of the United States was honored last week when Robert Frost, dean of American poets, appeared to testify before one of the Senate subcommittees. We were able to appreciate, firsthand, his wit, dignity, and eloquence. I am sure that Mr. Frost's visit to the Senate will long be remembered.

An editorial in the May 9 issue of the Asbury Park (N.J.) Evening Press describes Mr. Frost's testimony and gives its own arguments in support of his stand. I think we will all agree with its statement that "Mr. Frost has performed a public service."

I ask unanimous consent to have the article printed in the Appendix of the Record.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WE APPLAUD MR. FROST

When Robert Frost, dean of American poets, appeared before Congress last week to urge establishment of a National Academy of Culture he dramatized a need which too long has gone unfilled. Perhaps a better word than "culture" might be chosen but surely a National Academy that could pass upon fine distinctions of our language and serve as an inspiration to the arts could serve a useful purpose.

We are a populous country and we are still growing. People of many lands and many origins make up our population. Various sections of our country and divergent groups within those sections have made our language something less than the unified thing it should be. In some parts of the land we say "greezy" in others "greasy" is preferred. Both are correct, yet there is no standard. "Either" is another word that has equally correct variants. Some prefer "eether"; others favor "eyether." There is, of course, a preferred usage, but it is sectional rather than national. Is it "ten minutes to four" or "ten minutes of four"? Educated persons in different areas of the United States use both. And, when new words creep into a growing language such as ours it would be helpful if there were some authoritative Academy to study the origin of the word and give it proper form.

And language is not the only field in which a National Academy might be useful. In all the arts there is need for standards set by the consensus of scholars who are qualified to pass such judgments. Mr. Frost's proposed Academy would stimulate public interest in the fine arts and encourage and honor excellence in that field. Furthermore, he would award lifetime membership in the Academy to those making outstanding contributions to the arts. It would be a body of artists and scholars which would possess great prestige and shortly would assume a place in American cultural life like that of the Academie Francaise in France.

Mr. Frost has performed a public service. We hope that in the press of other matters confronting the Congress his suggestion will not be overlooked. Practical matters cannot be ignored. But neither can man live by bread alone; there is a vital place, as well, for things of the spirit.

Cleveland Editorial Comment Supports President at Summit

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. FRANCES P. BOLTON

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, May 19, 1960

Mrs. BOLTON. Mr. Speaker, the whole world has been shocked and disappointed by Soviet Premier Khrushchev's incredibly arrogant demands at the heads of government meeting in Paris. It is now exceedingly clear that the Soviets came to Paris with the sole intention of wrecking whatever possibility of agreement on outstanding issues that may have existed. Once again they have demonstrated their deepseated hostility to the non-Communist world, and exhibited disdain for seeking peaceful solutions to the divisive problems that confront us.

However much the collapse of the summit talks is to be regretted, we may be encouraged by the unifying effect Mr. Khrushchev's outburst has had upon the NATO alliance and the American people. Although intended to divide, Soviet intransigence has again pointed up the necessity for the closest cooperation by free world nations in security matters.

In their editorial comment, the Cleveland Press and the Cleveland Plain Dealer have forcefully described the need for American unity in this moment of increased danger and tension. Believing that these editorials will be of wide interest, I ask that they be included at this point in the RECORD,

[From the Cleveland Plain Dealer, May 17, 1960]

MR. K. KILLS THE CONFERENCE

Warned and well informed, the American people need not be shocked at the collapse of the summit conference in Parls. We are all, however, disappointed. Not that we ever expected very much from the meeting, but some of us hoped. These hopes are dead now and we are distressed over the manner Nikita S. Khrushchev chose to deal the death blow.

It is now clear that the Soviet Premier acted deliberately, that he came to Paris with the purpose of breaking up the meeting even before it started. He revealed his motive when his opening words took the form of an ultimatum: Give in to us, meet our demands, or there will be no conference.

This was directed at the United States. President Eisenhower, who has repeatedly said he will never negotiate under threat- and who personifies the pride and honor of the United States—acted the only way he could. He rejected the demands. To yield would have been abject surrender, which, of course, is unthinkable.

The President acted magnificently. Despite great provocation, he was dignified and cool and his counterproposals were assuring. This was in marked contrast to the emotional display by Premier Khrushchev and in the exchange, Mr. Eisenhower came out with added prestige.

In a way, the Soviet Premier has relieved the President of an unpleasant chore. Mr. Elsenhower was never enthusiastic about going to Moscow and now he won't have to make the trip.

Withdrawal of the invitation was a display of bad manners, but not unexpected in view of the Premier's behavior since the spy plane incident. What is surprising is the depth of the Khrushchev animosity toward Mr. Elsenhower.

One explanation might lie in opposition reported to have developed within the Kremlin and among the military to the Premier's coexistence policy. If so, he is in a tough spot because he has been humbled and humiliated. He must feel betrayed. His boasts of Soviet invincibility have been exposed as false and it was the United States which brought about the exposé. And political opposition in Russia can be deadly.

American reaction to the wreckage lying around the Paris conference room should be to prepare for anything. Mr. Khrushchev is in a mad, ugly, and vindictive mood. There is Berlin to watch and incidents might occur in the Far East or the Middle East.

Let us all be on guard.

[From the Cleveland Press, May 17, 1960] United Behind Ike

The double-barreled insult flung at President Eisenhower yesterday by Nikita Khrushchev should have all the psychological effects of a Pearl Harbor on the American people.

The bluster of the Soviet warmonger should unite us as external threats always have united us.

First, Khrushchev withdrew his invitation to President Elsenhower to visit Russia, on a mission that might have furthered the cause of peace.

Second, he cast doubt on the good faith of the President by suggesting a Big Four meeting should be delayed until Eisenhower's successor is in office.

Reaction in Congress—even in this political year—already is as spontaneous and non-patrisan as it was in that fateful December of 1941. "The whole country must support the President in whatever action he takes," said the respected Democratic Senator Richard Russell, of Georgia, and his sentiment was echoed almost unanimously in both Houses.

Public reaction should be no less united, no less forceful.

Khrushchev came all the way from Moscow to Paris to deliver his coup de grace, not so much to the summit meeting in itself, but to the United States, through President Eisenhower.

It is clear now that it was a move of calculated malice. He wanted the highest of world rostrums from which to thunder his imprecations over the incident of the U-2. His sabotage of the summit session—to which the world had looked in high hopes—was only secondary to his evil plan of showering all blame on America.

President Eisenhower should stay on in Paris, so long as he thinks any good can come in remaining there. Decisions of the next few hours, could be momentous. And they may be required in consequence of whatever further mischief Khrushchev may have in mind.

In any case, retreat is unthinkable from the verbal firing line the Russians have mounted at the summit.

A good general likes his command post far forward, if he knows his forces are well emplaced, confident and united behind him.

Ike's forces are the American people.

Jamestown

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. A. WILLIS ROBERTSON

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, May 19, 1960

Mr. ROBERTSON. Mr. President, May 13 was the 353d anniversary of the first settlement at Jamestown, Va., celebrated by commemorative exercises on Jamestown Island last Sunday. I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the Record a poem by a talented Virginia lady, Mrs. Susan McNeil Turner of South Hill, Va., commemorating the anniversary and published first in the May number of the magazine of the National Society, Daughters of the American Revolution and republished in the South Hill Enterprise.

There being no objection, the poem was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

REMEMBRANCE-JAMESTOWN, MAY 13

(By Susan McNeil Turner, historian, Prestwould Chapter, Daughters of the American Revolution)

Lo, three fair ships, with men from far away—

Sons of kings and vagobonds—in harbor on this day!

Hark, as their chants and songs rise on the balmy air, Safe from the stormy sea, they kneel in

Safe from the stormy sea, they kneel in humble prayer:

Saintly priest and yeoman brave, and sons of noble fame,

Venturers bold and mariners, praise their Redeemer's name.

Soon they will dream of homes to be, where happy children play,

Homes like those far o'er the sea, with many gardens, gay

With shining fruits and golden flowers—but evil foes arise;

Then, not for these will dreams come true, in Virginia's Paradise.

Long and bitter was the fight, as Death walked by their side,

That in this happy land, their sons may now abide.

Here, where the present meets the glorious

Hark to the ancient canticle and song, Look on the drama, the immortal cast, The birthgifts of a nation, great and strong. Here, let us warm our hearts at history's flame.

And think on these, who live in deathless fame.

An Appeal for Human Rights

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. CHARLES C. DIGGS, JR.

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, May 19, 1960

Mr. DIGGS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to read into the REC-ORD a full page publication of "An Appeal for Human Rights" which appeared in the Atlanta Journal of March 9, 1960. This appeal for human rights was made by students of six affiliated institutions forming the Atlanta University Center. Human relations and political experts across the nation are attempting to interpret to the world the national and international significance—the tremendous significance-of this massive student movement for human rights and human dignity for the Negro citizen here in America.

Here in this statement by students who are part of the movement the import is clear.

The statement follows:

AN APPEAL FOR HUMAN RIGHTS

We, the students of the six affiliated institutions forming the Atlanta University Center—Clark, Morehouse, Morris Brown, and Spelman Colleges, Atlanta University, and the Interdenominational Theological Center-have joined our hearts, minds, and bodies in the cause of gaining those rights which are inherently ours as members of the human race and as citizens of these United

We pledge our unqualified support to those students in this Nation who have recently been engaged in the significant movement to secure certain long-awaited rights and privileges. This protest, like the bus boycott in Montgomery, has shocked many people throughout the world. Why? Because they had not quite realized the unanimity of spirit and purpose which motivates the thinking and action of the great majority of the Negro people. The students who instigate and participate in these sitdown protests are dissatisfied, not only with the existing conditions, but with the snaillike speed at which they are being amelio-Every normal human being wants to walk the earth with dignity and abhors any and all proscriptions placed upon him be-cause of race or color. In essence, this is the meaning of the sitdown protests that are

sweeping this Nation today.

We do not intend to wait placidly for those rights which are already legally and morally ours to be meted out to us one at a time. Today's youth will not sit by submissively, while being denied all of the rights, privileges, and joys of life. We want to state clearly and unequivocally that we cannot tolerate, in a nation professing democracy and among people professing Christianity, the discriminatory conditions under which the Negro is living today in Atlanta, Ga. supposedly one of the most progressive cities in the South.

Atlanta and in Georgia against which we protest, the following are outstanding examples: (1) Education: In the public school sys

tem, facilities for Negroes and whites are separate and unequal. Double sessions continue in about half of the Negro public schools, and many Negro children travel 10 miles a day in order to reach a school that will admit them.

On the university level, the State will pay a Negro to attend a school out of State rather than admit him to the University of Georgia, Georgia Tech, the Georgia Medical and other tax-supported public institutions.

According to a recent publication, in the fiscal year 1958 a total of \$31,632,057.18 was spent in the State institutions of higher education for white only. In the Negro State colleges only \$2,001,177.06 was spent. The publicly supported institutions of higher education are interracial now, except that they deny admission to Negro Americans.

(2) Jobs: Negroes are denied employment in the majority of city, State, and Federal governmental jobs, except in the most menial

(3) Housing: While Negroes constitute 32 percent of the population of Atlanta, they are forced to live within 16 percent of the

area of the city.
Statistics also show that the bulk of Negro population is still: (a) locked into the more undesirable and overcrowded areas of the city; (b) paying a proportionately higher percentage of income for rental and purchase of generally lower quality property; (c) blocked by political and direct or indirect racial restrictions in its efforts to secure better housing.

(4) Voting: Contrary to statements made in Congress recently by several Southern Senators, we know that in many counties in Georgia and other Southern States, Negro college graduates are declared unqualified to

vote and are not permitted to register.

(5) Hospitals: Compared with facilities for other people in Atlanta and Georgia, those for Negroes are unequal and totally inadequate.

Reports show that Atlanta's 14 general hospitals and 9 related institutions provide some 4,000 beds. Except for some 430 beds at Grady Hospital, Negroes are limited to the 250 beds in three private Negro hospitals. Some of the hospitals barring Negroes were built with Federal funds.

restaurants: Movies, concerts, Negroes are barred from most downtown movies and segregated in the rest.

Negroes must even sit in a segregated section of the municipal auditorium.

If a Negro is hungry, his hunger must wait until he comes to a "colored" restaurant, and even his thirst must await its quenching at a "colored" water fountain.

(7) Law enforcement: There are grave inequalities in the area of law enforcement. Too often, Negroes are maltreated by officers of the law. An insufficient number of Negroes is employed in the law-enforcing agencies. They are seldom, if ever promoted. Of 830 policemen in Atlanta only 35 are

We have briefly mentioned only a few situations in which we are discriminated against. We have understated rather than overstated the problems. These social evils are seriously plaguing Georgia, the South, the Nation, and the world.

We hold that:

(1) The practice of racial segregation is not in keeping with the ideals of democracy and Christianity.

(2) Racial segregation is robbing not only the segregated but the segregator of his human dignity. Furthermore, the propagation of racial prejudice is unfair to the generations yet unborn.

(3) In times of war, the Negro has fought and died for his country; yet he still has not been accorded first-class citizenship.

(4) In spite of the fact that the Negro pays his share of taxes, he does not enjoy participation in city, county, and State gov-ernment at the level where laws are enacted.

(5) The social, economic, and political progress of Georgia is retarded by segrega-

tion and prejudices.

(6) America is fast losing the respect of other nations by the poor example which she sets in the area of race relations.

It is unfortunate that the Negro is being forced to fight, in any way, for what is due him and is freely accorded other Americans. It is unfortunate that even today some people should hold to the erroneous idea of racial superiority, despite the fact that the world is fast moving toward an integrated humanity.

The time has come for the people of Atlanta and Georgia to take a good look at what is really happening in this country, and to stop believing those who tell us that everything is fine and equal, and that the Negro is happy and satisfied.

It is to be regretted that there are those who still refuse to recognize the overriding supremacy of the Federal law.

Our churches which are ordained by God and claim to be the houses of all people, foster segregation of the races to the point of making Sunday the most segregated day of the week.

We, the students of the Atlanta University Center, are driven by past and present events to assert our feelings to the citizens of Atlanta and to the world.

We, therefore, call upon all people in authority—State, county, and city officials; all leaders in civic life—ministers, teachers, and businessmen; and all people of good will to assert themselves and abolish these injustices. We must say in all candor that we plan to use every legal and nonviolent means at our disposal to secure full citizenship rights as members of this great democracy of ours.

WILLIE MAYS, President of Dormitory Council for the Students of Atlanta University.

JAMES FELDER,

President of Student Government Association for the Students of Clark Col-

MARION D. BENNETT, President of Student Association for the Students of Interdenominational Theological Center.

DON CLARKE. President of Student Body for the Students of Morehouse College.

MARY ANN SMITH, Secretary of Student Government Association for the Students of Morris

Brown College. ROSLYN POPE, President of Student Government Association for the Students of Spelman

Senator Lyndon Johnson's Support Should Mean Early Approval of Padre Island Project 88 Miles Long

College.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. RALPH W. YARBOROUGH

OF TEXAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Thursday, May 19, 1960

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President. with the exceptionally able and brilliant tactician, the majority leader and senior Senator from Texas, LYNDON B. JOHNson, adding his considerable prestige and strength to the proposal for an 88mile-long Padre Island national recreation area, it seems highly probable that the proposal to establish a national seashore recreation area on Padre Island will be brought out for full Senate consideration at an early date.

In fact, when one considers the number of people in high places who have gone on record as urging approval of this important project, which I have long had the honor of sponsoring, one cannot help but wonder that the project has not already been completed. Senator Johnson has, as they say, laid it on the line in assuring his wholehearted support of the proposed 88-mile-long new national seashore park on America's longest and southernmost natural beach.

President Eisenhower and Secretary of the Interior Fred Seaton have both previously urged approval of the project so there will be no danger of a veto or administration opposition to the measure. The question now seems to be, What are we waiting for?

I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD two recent excellent editorials on this subject. They are:

From the Dallas Morning News of May 10, 1960, entitled, "Padre Park Boost."

And, from the Corpus Christi Caller-Times of May 15, 1960, entitled, "Eighty-eight-Mile Park."

There being no objection, the editorials were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Dallas Morning News, May 10, 1960]

PADRE PARK BOOST

Lynpon Johnson's backing of a national seashore park on Padre Island brings the project closer to unanimous approval, so far as Texans are concerned. Governor Daniel, the legislature, Congressmen from the area and Senator RALPH YARBOROUGH have all urged it.

Congress has been asked by the Depart-ment of the Interior to set up this and two other seashore parks-one on Cape Cod in New England, the other in Washington State. If they are to be established under the National Park Service, it is more economical to buy the land now than wait until it becomes much more costly.

[From the Corpus Christi Caller-Times, May 15, 1960]

EIGHTY-EIGHT-MILE PARK

Secretary of the Interior Fred Seaton's recommendation that an 88-mile-long national seashore area be established on Padre Island now has the firm support of Senator LYNDON B. JOHNSON. Favorable congressional action on the proposal may not be guaranteed by the Senate majority leader's endorsement, but it does give reasonable assurance that the plan probably will be approved by the Senate.

Earlier, Senator RALPH YARBOROUGH praised Seaton's recommendation and promised his wholehearted support for it. A bill authorizing the seashore area, but not prescribing its limits, is currently awaiting action in a Senate committee.

The apparent agreement of Texas Senators on a seashore plan is in marked contrast to an apparent lack of agreement in the Texas delegation in the House of Representatives.

The two Representatives most directly affected, John Young and Joe Kilgore, have withheld any firm commitment on the area to be included in the seashore plan. Young has suggested that some compromise may be possible between the 88-mile length recommended by the Department of the Interior and the 50-mile limit authorized last year by the Texas Legislature.

The need for a meeting of minds on the subject has become urgent. Without the support of Representatives Young and Km-GORE and without substantial agreement among the 22-Member Texas House delegation there appears to be little prospect to final congressional approval of the plan. Texas Representatives should take immediate steps to reach a consensus on the Padre Island plan, in line with JOHNSON'S favorite quotation from Isaiah: "Come let us reason together.'

Dedicated Service

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. JOHN KYL

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 19, 1960

Mr. KYL. Mr. Speaker, there are many citizens in this land who make great contributions to our society in a quiet manner-men and women dedicated to promoting a richer life for their communities. One such individual is Elmer L. Hunt, of Creston, Iowa, past grand master of the IOOF.

Mr. Hunt's recent speech, presented to the four-State conclave of IOOF in Lincoln, Nebr., is printed herewith:

DEDICATED SERVICE

(Address delivered at four-State conclave by Elmer L, Hunt, past grand master, Iowa IOOF, at Lincoln, Nebr., May 13, 1960)

Our Order in the State of Iowa right now needs brothers with an ambition to fellowship with the brotherhood of man and not be a recluse.

The dedicated man is one who will be used anytime or anywhere, and he must always be absolutely consistent. The dedicated man must always understand that there are two phases of life and they are: receiving and giving. Stress must be placed on both phases for the giving and the receiving must be reciprocal.

A dedicated life is one that is all-enveloping and all-consuming and relates to family and friends. We are told that to "bring up a child in the way he should go" we must live that way ourselves once in a while. We must all serve an apprenticeship at some time or another, and the apprentice cannot learn without an accomplished master. The measure you give will be the measure you receive.

We are sometimes found to be in the act of stealing from the future. When this is done it exhausts not only our physical life and our family, but our economic life as well. The demands which parents must meet are small indeed when set over against the guarantees of a full life for their children. The same is true when demands are made on us by our other relatives and friends, and in order to guarantee them a full life, we must also make the supreme sacrifice rather than to steal from their

It is an old thing in man-this desire to get something without paying for it—to reap a dividend without an investment. It is a rather strange thing too, when you come to think of it. I never knew a farmer who expected to have a big crop without planting and cultivating his fields—unless it was a crop of weeds.

We are reminded that there is nothing completely stable or changeless in this world. That which we depend upon today may not be available tomorrow. The world in which many of us grew up has changed whether we like it or not. Many of the things we have always taken for granted have been swept aside. Many of the old landmarks are gone.

In the area of transportation, for instance, we have in half a century the change from horse and buggy to automobile and air-plane. Even propeller-driven airplanes are becoming obsolete and we stand on the

threshold of a jet age.

Is there anything left upon which we can continue to depend? Are all the mines in our lives becoming exhausted? The jet age has already made a difference. We are not always sure we want to alter our thinking quite so fast, or give up what we consider to be unshakeable truths. We want something solid and stable to rest our lives upon as we contemplate the changing scene.

We turn to our possessions as something that will not let us down. Our homes and our worldly goods are tangible-something to depend upon when other things seem to be so fluid. Though we live in a world of change, a dedicated life circumscribes faith that is changeless. Anchor your faith in a dedicated life and consummate yourself to the fulfillment of a complete and dedicated mission.

We do not build men and women by abdicating our objectives and disciplines. We cannot lead children into manhood and womanhood by delegating our prerogatives to others. This demands a faith that transcends all other experiences. Conviction is worth very little unless it holds to that which endures. The only faith and dedi-cated life worth having is an honest faith and a complete devotion to the objectives to which the life is dedicated.

In order to perform a dedicated service, it is necessary to deviate from our usual routine of life. Service of this kind is always over and beyond the regular call of duty. Enrich your life by taking time out and performing some service to mankind.

History tells us that our organization was founded in the year 65 A.D. That since the time of its founding to the present time, it has been of service to many nations, kingdoms and countries. Our organization has been commissioned by a number of countries and kings to perform special services in behalf of their kingdoms and empires. During all this time many members of royal families as well as Presidents of our own country and Governors of our States have been members and have participated in our activities.

Dedicate yourself to preserving our heritage for it is the one thing that has endured throughout all these ages. As long as there are men, there will be a place for fraternal brotherhood.

We must build today if there is to be a tomorrow.

Nuclear Age Reaches Rutgers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HARRISON A. WILLIAMS, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Thursday, May 19, 1960

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. Mr. President, Rutgers, the State university, of New Jersey, has added a new and important activity to its already imposing and diversified array of research projects. It is now participating in joint effort to explore potential uses of electricity from atomic energy. An editorial in the May 4 issue of the Elizabeth (N.J.) Journal discusses this project and expresses the interest and pride felt by New Jersey citizens in this latest experiment with progress at our State university.

I ask unanimous consent to have the article printed in the Appendix of the Record.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

NUCLEAR AGE REACHES RUTGERS

Rutgers has become a participant in the Saxton Nuclear Experimental Corp., a combination of Pennsylvania and New Jersey utility companies engaged in the construction and operation of a nuclear-powered generating station at Saxton, Pa. The University of Pennsylvania also is in the compact.

Rutgers enters this project without prospect of assessment or other burden upon either the university or New Jersey taxpayers, except for whatever costs may be entailed in the activities of faculty and students.

The Saxton plant is one of several across the land in which science and utility companies are investigating the feasibility of generating electricity from atomic energy through a steam conversion process. This can be accomplished; in fact, a few plants of this category are in operation, although all admittedly are experimental.

The Rutgers administration has accepted the invitation to participate in the Saxton project as a recognition of the stature of engineering and scientific research at New Brunswick.

The yet-unmeasured power of the atom first was released for its potential in war, but its impact upon and value to peacetime are far greater, a yield that will be attained slowly. The principles involved are only emerging from the laboratory and Rutgers enters upon this research merely a step from the pioneering days.

The knowledge the university can distill from the Saxton venture will be of infinite worth to the students and may lead toward a source of abundant power for New Jersey. This already is important, but as the State progresses in industry this experimentation will reach greater significance. New Jersey residents like to see their university fully abreust of the times.

Hail and Farewell

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. THOMAS J. LANE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 16, 1960

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under the leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include the last editorial of James A. Sheehan, editor of the National Tribune-Stars and Stripes, on the day of his retirement from the paper, which appears in the issue for May 19, 1960.

HAIL AND FAREWELL

Some 10 weeks ago we printed a cartoon with our lead editorial. It showed four hands grasped in friendship. The four hands protruded from four sleeves. One sleeve was labeled American Legion, the second, Veterans of Foreign Wars, the third, Disabled American Veterans of World Wars, and the fourth, AMVETS.

In our editorial we stressed the need for unity among the four major veterans' organizations which grew out of World War I, World War II and the Korean war. (Might we say, in passing, that we understand the Department of the Army has officially designated the action in Korea as a war and may we request all interested groups to stop calling it a conflict in the fear of hurting somebody's feelings. It was a war. Ask the men who fought it.)

Setting aside the digression may we say that this clasp of amity depicted in the cartoon is the way we would like to think of these four veteran groups as we write this, our last editorial for the National Tribunethe Stars and Stripes.

For the past 34 years we have been associated with the affairs of veterans—with the American Legion, where we served our apprenticeship, with the Veterans of Foreign Wars, when we became the first national rehabilitation officer of that organization, and, for the past 26 years with the National Tribune-the Stars and Stripes.

une-the Stars and Stripes.

In view of this long association we have learned to know of the petty jealousies which have sprung up between the various groups. We can recall when one organization refused to have anything to do with another organization because of real or fancied difficulties.

Admitting the reality of the disagreements we have long since believed that time can heal many old wounds and that the only way in which our veteran groups may ever realize the fulfillment of their promise to care for their comrades of all wars is to unite, meet on a common front and present a force that should prove irresistible.

By this we do not mean that the war veterans of our country should take over the Government. That leans toward fascism which we strongly oppose and we would be the last to insist that war veterans are any better qualified in the art of governing our people than the rest of the citizens of this democratic country of ours.

What we have in mind is that down through the years we have seen one veteran group played against another group—too many ambitious people seeking their own advancement by way of national office, and we have been unhappy about it.

Going back through the years we have never found the veteran organizations too grasping or too greedy. On the whole, studying the legislation which has been presented to Congress during the past 30 years or more, we have found that their demands are, as a rule, reasonable—demands which can be met with facts that compel their enactment into legislation.

We have seen national leaders of these organizations come and go. They strut their short time upon the national stage and, but for a few, are soon forgotten.

The most important thing to us is that while the leaders soon take their place in what Grover Cleveland described as "innocuous desuctude," the rank and file still remain the men—and later the women—who make up the most important part of all the veteran organizations.

So much for generalities. In our 26 years of association with this newspaper we find nothing but praise to offer for the leaders of the United Spanish War Veterans. We have seen this fine body of men set aside their own wish for higher pensions in favor of the

widows of their comrades. They are still asking for this benefit and we trust that Congress may see fit to grant it without further delay.

We have seen the American Legion and the Veterans of Foreign Wars at cross purposes and we have seen them united. At odds they achieved nothing but together they could not be denied because their requests of Congress for proper legislation could be backed by sound logic and that logic prevailed because, after all, the Members of Congress are human and realize when something is presented to them with propriety and reason.

As for the Disabled American Veterans of World Wars we could never quarrel with them. They had one goal—the betterment of the service-connected disabled—and they have stood fast by that goal. Little by little they have achieved results and we trust that as time goes on their desire for increased benefits to their group will be achieved.

benefits to their group will be achieved. This brings us down to AMVETS. It stands to reason that we can't be too angry with a group of young men who went to battle at their country's call in World War II and in the Korean war and who covered themselves and their country with everlasting glory.

Our only sorrow is that, in the pride of youth and possible early financial success, they have forgotten those who made their success possible.

As for the Veterans' Administration, we have had our agreements and our disagreements. We have been moved almost to tears at some of their decisions and rejoied in others. On the whole our relationship has been a friendly one and none more friendly than that of the central office contact group, particularly in later years. With past heads of the Veterans Bureau and, later, the VA, we have found friendliness, if not altogether agreement, and we wish for the present head of the agency, Sumner G. Whittier and his staff, the best of everything and, naturally, a little more yielding on the points which we have always considered important.

As we have stated, when the Legion and the VFW got together to see that the young men of the two later wars were properly cared for upon the completion of their duty, there was no question in the minds of the country and the Congress that this group should be given every advantage in order to cope with the problems they would face upon discharge.

Since this is my last editorial I seek the indulgence of our readers for a personal word. May I say to my old comrades of the Spanish-American War and their dear ladies, not "Adios" but "hasta luega" as I hope to read of their activities for many years to come.

To the men with whom I served in the AEF in World War I, I say not "goodby" but "Til be seing you," if God grants me that privilege. To them I say, "Fight the good fight. Winning the last battle is what counts."

To the younger veterans of World War II and the Korean war I would say, "Be not too proud of your achievements. Remember you might never have attained them had it not been for your predecessors of earlier wars who realized the problems you might face and saw to it that these problems were cared for before you left the service."

Quite naturally I could not write this last editorial without a tribute to the officers of the National Tribune and its competent staff. I have worked with them for a long time and, I hope, made lasting friendships. Kindnesses received are not easily forgotten and I shall always remember my association with the Tribune with pride and gratitude.

Last but not least, the members of the composing room—Johnnie, Joe, and Carl and above all their foreman, Harry Swartz-baugh, without whose skill, competency, and cooperation the Tribune might never have gotten out on time.

To all I say: "May God be with you in the future and guide you to the happiness

you so well deserve."

The North Central Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. MARGUERITE STITT CHURCH

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, May 19, 1960

Mrs, CHURCH. Mr. Speaker, as one who has long felt that the ultimate attainment of good will among nations must be based on mutual understanding of individual citizens, and that the beginning of such understanding must be early developed in homes, churches, and schools, I would proudly call attention to the effort being made by the North Central Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools to produce a more enlightened citizenry in the field of foreign affairs.

The territory of the North Central Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools consists of 19 Midwestern States with a present membership of almost 4.000 institutions. It is a voluntary organization designed first to develop and maintain high standards of excellence for universities, colleges, and high schools; second, to improve continually the education program on secondary and college levels; third, to establish cooperative relationships between secondary schools, colleges, and universities within the association; and fourth, to maintain effective working relationships with other educational organizations and accrediting agencies.

Officially established in 1895, when representatives from 36 institutions met at Northwestern University to draft a constitution, the North Central Association, since its founding, has examined, discussed, and made recommendations regarding continuing basic problems of education. It has concerned itself with the ever-increasing enrollment and tremendous growth of secondary and higher education; with attendant problems of faculty, facilities, and funds, dealing in addition with interscholastic and intercollegiate athletics; pros and cons of accreditation; the proliferation of courses and the issues of general versus specialized curricular offers; and the questions of standards and criteria.

The work of the North Central Association is carried on by the executive committee and three major commissions—the Commission on Secondary Schools, the Commission on Colleges and Universities, and the Commission on Research and Service. In addition to perennial problems which have been debated through the decades, the North Central Association has also accepted responsibilities in new fields, such as television, programs for superior and

talented students, and the study of international relations. It is this study of international relations under the foreign relations project, instigated and sponsored by the Committee on Experimental Units, a committee on research and service, to which I would pay a significant tribute today in submitting the following report of its activities, prepared by its director, James M. Becker:

NORTH CENTRAL ASSOCIATION FOREIGN RELATIONS PROJECT

The North Central Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools has been keenly aware of the critical need for a more enlightened citizenry in the field of foreign affairs. Cognizant that the Nation's high schools play a key role in preparing young people for citizenship responsibilities, the NCA determined to develop a program in foreign relations education at the secondary level. NCA recognized that curriculum change is evolutionary, not revolutionary; that it cannot without making available materials which can be placed in the hands of boys and girls; that, by their inherent nature, traditional textbooks in social studies cannot suply the kind of up-to-date and constantly revised materials which the study of our international relations demands; and that the introduction of new teaching material would need to be accompanied by an intensive and persistent campaign to acquaint teachers with the new materials and their

Acting on these premises, the North Central Association, early in 1955 approached the Ford Foundation for funds to carry on an experimental program in the Nation's secondary schools. In July 1955, the Ford Foundation made a grant of \$125,000 for 2 years, which it renewed for an additional 2 years in May of 1957 with a second grant of \$250,000. Generous grants and the cooperation of Science Research Associates, Inc., brought into existence the NCA foreign relations project, designed to implement five broad objectives:

 To stimulate interest in foreign affairs and understanding of global problems;

(2) to develop better comprehension of basic American foreign policy problems; (3) to help develop ability to think criti-

(3) to help develop ability to think critically about possible solutions of American foreign policy problems;

(4) to develop techniques, methods, and habits which will help high school students develop and maintain interest in foreign affairs; and

(5) to develop accurate, complete, and objective materials which are interesting and comprehensible and which provide the necessary background for understanding current world problems.

The foreign relations project has carried on a two-phase program: (1) The development of materials; and (2) the sponsorship of conferences, consultant services, and workshops for high school teachers.

(1) Development of materials: There are now six titles in print, pamphlets prepared by competent scholars and carefully edited for high school student use. These are: (a) The United States and World Affairs, (b) The United States and the Soviet Challenge, (c) Chinese Dilemma, (d) America's Stake in Western Europe, (e) America's Role in the Middle East, (f) Southeast Asia and American Polley.

Each of these is accompanied by an extremely helpful teacher's guide, and there are five bulletins called classroom tips, dealing with the analysis of political cartoons, analysis of charts and graphs, a survey of U.S. military alliances, the challenge of southeast Asia, and economic grouping in Western Europe.

Additional pamphlets, Africa and the World Today and The United States in the United Nations will be published later this year. Also, there have been several newsletters and an experimental edition of test materials covering the field of foreign relations.

(2) The sponsorship of conferences, consultant services, and workshops. During the past 4 years, in partial response to a larger demand than could be handled by the staff, the project sponsored more than 250 1- or 2-day teacher conferences all over the Nation. School visits and conferences with local staff members have run into the hundreds since the project was inaugurated. Six summer workshops have been aided and in part staffed by the project and are now self-perpetuating.

Among the most intriguing undertakings, in terms of possible longrun results, are the three assemblies which the project has cosponsored with the American assembly. One was at Michigan State for Michigan teachers and administrators, another at Illinois State Normal University for Illinois high school students, and a third at Allerton Park for Illinois teachers and administrators.

More than 3,500 schools are enrolled in the NCA foreign relations project. A participating school is one which has received and agreed to use a minimum of classroom sets (30 copies) of a title in the foreign relations series. Public, private, and parochial secondary schools are included, as well as 170 colleges and universities which use the foreign relations materials in methods courses, laboratory schools, and in subject matter courses. Some 6,000 teachers are using project materials with more than 600,000 students. More than 500,000 copies of the basic pamphlets have been distributed, some free urgier the terms of the grant, and almost as many sold.

Mr. Speaker, among the valuable reports which the association has issued, none is more significant than the final report of its assembly on Africa for Illinois teachers. This report is striking evidence of the dedication and capacity of this association of colleges and secondary schools in seeking to recognize, analyze, and solve major foreign policy problems of this troubled age:

FINAL REPORT ASSEMBLY ON AFRICA FOR ILLINOIS TEACHERS

At the closing plenary session, the participants in the Illinois Assembly on Africa, at Allerton House, Monticello, February 28—March I, reviewed as a group their discussions of Africa and of U.S. policies pertaining thereto and adopted the following statement. Although there was general agreement on the final report, it must not be assumed that every participant subscribed to every recommendation contained therein.

Preamble: Africa is a continent in ferment. It is undergoing revolutionary change. Throughout the past decade, one after another African territory has achieved statehood and independence. The end is not in sight. With independence, each State is confronted with new problems of major proportions and each finds that it has great need for outside assistance.

Africa is a contingent of great physical diversities. Ethnically, its people are many and varied.

The Illinois assembly concentrated its attention on the sub-Saharan region but it did give some consideration to the area of north Africa as that area intruded into the discussion.

It is our firm belief that the peoples of Africa are well on their way to independence. It will not be long until each African political entity will be in a position to work out its own relationships with non-African States and with other African States. It is important in this formative stage that the United States win the confidence of the peoples and governing regimes in the newly formed states.

We are convinced that the United States should develop policies designed to assist the African peoples to achieve self-government, to build viable economies and enduring political entities. The United States should continue to support the principle of selfdetermination and should welcome each new African State as it achieves independence.

The Illinois assembly believes that as racial relations in the United States improve we indicate to Africa and to the world that

such problems are soluble.

Political problems: The Assembly recognizes that some of the European Allies of the United States have very significant stakes in Africa. Suddenly to sever the ties between those allies and their African territories could seriously weaken our Western allies and could be most destructive of the collective security system we and they have con-structed. On the other hand, if the European allies are too adamant in their resistance to inevitable change, they will be weakened by continuing civil strife.

The United States should continue to ad-Vocate the adoption of the principle of selfdetermination and should press for recognition by its European allies of the necesity of moving toward self-government for the African peoples. At the same time, the U.S. Government should seek to promote, wherever possible, the continued interdependence of the European States and the emerging African States. We should press to preserve the economic ties which make for strength both in the European allies and the new

African States.

Americans must recognize that the emerging forms of African political and economic orders will not be identical to those of the West. Such forms must and should be African in character and should emerge from African cultures. Nevertheless, the United States should encourage the development of institutions which provide for and preserve the widest possible participation in the government of all African states, which protect minorities and preserve the right of dissent. We should also encourage developments Which enlarge the scope for free enterprise in their economies.

Economic problems: The new African states stand in need of economic development. Capital must continue to flow into their economies in order that a rapid development may continue. Wherever and Whenever possible the need should be met from a variety of sources, particularly from private investment. The U.S. Government is urged to develop with the new African governments ways and means for developing attitudes and the building of a climate which

will encourage private investment.

To promote the investment of private capital it is necessary that the U.S. Government guarantee the convertibility of earnings of American investors and to take steps to reduce to a minimum the risk of confiscation

of private property.

Private capital may be expected to support developments in mining, in general industry and even in agriculture, provided the necessary public works are financed by governments. To finance the necessary public works, the new African states will require intergovernmental loans and grants. Such loans and grants will be needed for the building of rallways and other modes of transportation, for the construction of port facilities, for the building of hydroelectric plants, irrigation systems, etc. Unless such Public works are built, private investment could be seriously handicapped and, therefore, not readily available.

It is recognized that Africa needs and requires technical assistance on a wide front. We recommend that the U.S. Government make every effort to see that such assistance is rendered by (a) United Nations agencies; (b) other multilateral efforts; and (c) by the

U.S. Government.

the African states to increase productivity, to build their economies on a sound basis, to produce diversification and generally to promote viable economies. It must be recognized that there are limits beyond which technical assistance cannot go unless development assistance is also given. For this reason we commend an expanded program of financing African development plans.

In some cases, development loans made by an international agency will be more acceptable to African states. We recommend that the United States participate in the formation of an international development loan fund to finance African development plans.

We urge the U.S. Government to promote, whenever it can, the financing of African development plans by our Western allies.

We urge that a larger share of foreign aid appropriations be made available for African

We commend private efforts, such as those of CARE, to utilize excess American produc-

tion to aid African peoples.

Education: We find that the American people, including those in our schools and colleges, know far too little concerning Africa and its people. To better the situation, we urge the expansion of academic programs so as to include more instruction in African subject matter. We recommend the establishment of African area study programs in more American colleges and

It is evident that the expansion of education in the new African states is crucial to their development and their wel-This applies to education at all levels—primary, secondary, and college—but it is particularly important in technical edu-cation. It is our belief that U.S. Govern-ment aid to education should have as its highest priority the strengthening of African institutions which train technicians and teachers for the primary and secondary schools. Our program of technical assistance should provide for expanded programs of (a) aid to African educational institutions, and (b) educational exchange.

Because the new governments desperately need trained administrative personnel, we urge the U.S. Government to expand its technical assistance programs so as to include major programs for assisting the new states to train personnel in public admin-istration and allied fields.

We feel strongly that there is an unfilled need for adequately trained American personnel to serve as field representatives of the United States in the African states. meet this need we urge the establishment of training programs in American universities designed to train for African service a corps of persons competent in language, technical fields, and knowledge of African cultures.

We commend the radio, television, and newspaper industries for the dissemination of information concerning Africa and events transpiring therein and urge that even more

adequate coverage be provided.

We believe that the U.S. Information Service and all African channels of communication should be used by the United States to disseminate information about the United States throughout Africa.

Farm Policy Folly

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. STEVEN B. DEROUNIAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, May 19, 1960

Mr. DEROUNIAN. Mr. Speaker, the Technical assistance can do much to assist recent report of the Farm Policy Advi-

sory Committee of the Democratic Party was a real disappointment to all of those deeply concerned about the economic problems facing American farmers to-

The advisory committee, drafting a so-called set of recommendations that may influence the Democratic Party's 1960 election year platform, pointed up the vacuum in which critics of administration farm policies and principles flounder whenever they try to outline alternatives to the sound proposals of President Eisenhower and Secretary Renson

All the advisory committee could offer was the same, old, discredited formula of incentive high price supports and extended Government control over farmer freedom which got us into trouble in the first place.

A recent editorial in the New York Herald Tribune brings the advisory committee's proposals into sharp perspective under the title "Democratic Farm Policy Folly" and I now ask that this editorial be inserted in the RECORD:

[From the New York Herald Tribune, May 16, 1960]

DEMOCRATIC FARM POLICY FOLLY

Unlike the Frenchmen of the ancien régime who returned to Paris after the fall of Napoleon, the farm policy thinkers of the Democratic Party have not only learned nothing: they have forgotten everything they might be expected to remember from the last few years.

The party's advisory council has set a committee drafting a farm plank to be submitted to the convention in Los Angeles. What are its recommendations? Nothing less than the reestablishment of high, rigid price supports and elaborate crop production controls which laid the basis for the painful and ridiculous agricultural situation we find ourselves in today.

It has been made clear beyond a doubt that high price supports, crop regulation, and indeed all routine Government control of farm production are debilitating and unnecessary evils. Anything that artifically stimulates farm output in a country which is producing already far more than it can either consume or sell abroad is obviously

It is a burden on the taxpayer who thus pays twice for what he eats. It is a threat to farmers who see the accumulated surpluses depressing their market. It is a liability to our foreign policy because of the fear of dumping on the international market. It is an iniquitous waste of energy and resources.

Artificial stimulants originated during the depression years and carried through World War II, when it was essential for the country's food production to be maintained or There is no longer any such need, expanded. chiefly because of the fantastic revolution in agricultural technology.

Today, fewer and fewer farmers produce more and more food. Moreover, the farmers subsidies are supposed to help, that is, the marginal or small-acreage farmers, are those who, in truth, are helped least. Why? Because the crops of 56 percent of the farms represent only 9 percent of total farm sales. And if these small farms sell little, subsidized prices will help them correspondingly

None of this seems to make any impres sion on the Democrats, who are after the farm vote. Their promises would, if realized, undo all the progress toward the establishment of a sane relationship between the farmer and the consumer. And they would have the further effect of reducing

the real value of farmers' incomes through inflationary spending.

There is no simple solution to the farm problem. But a solution is certainly not to be found in this direction.

Electoral Vote Can Be a Tie

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. WILLIAM H. AYRES

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, May 19, 1960

Mr. AYRES. Mr. Speaker, I believe the following article will be of interest to the readers of the Congressional

ELECTORAL VOTE CAN BE A TIE (By Clyde Mann)

Is it possible for the presidential election to become deadlocked in the electoral college? Has it ever? What must be done to break the tie?

Rabbi Morton M. Applebaum of Temple Israel posed these questions recently. Since then, others have inquired about a possible tie for the Presidency.

It could happen. It did happen once. The House of Representatives decides a tie election for President and the Senate for Vice President.

While voters mark their "X's" for a candidate for President they actually are voting for electors pledged to the candidate.

The Constitution provides that a body of electors choose a President and Vice President. This body is known as the electoral college.

Each State is entitled to as many presidential electors as it has Members in Congress. Ohio, for instance, with 23 Congressmen and 2 Senators, has 25 electoral votes.

The college meets after the election and chooses the President and Vice President. Next year there will be 537 electoral votes with 269 required to elect a President. With a total of 537 votes, how can there

be a tie in the electoral college?

Answer. There is no Federal law and no constitutional provision requiring a presidential elector to vote for the candidate who heads his party's ticket.

The elector is bound only morally to the

candidate heading his ticket.

Five Southern States-Alabama, Arkansas, Mississippi, Georgia, and South Carolinahave laws permitting the election of inde-pendent or uncommitted electors. These States have a total of 47 electoral votes.

Other Southern States have laws permitting write-in candidates for Presidential electors. The Southern States have enough electoral votes to keep any candidate from getting the required 269 votes needed to win.

As a matter of fact, southern politicians are talking of forming a bloc of independent and uncommitted Presidential electors.

They plan to vote for neither of the major party candidates. This would throw the election into the House and give southerners a chance to bargain for policies most important to them.

In the House, each of the 50 States is allowed only one vote. Balloting would continue until a President is elected.

In 1800, Thomas Jefferson and Aaron Burr each received 73 electoral votes. The House balloted from February 11 to February 17, declaring Jefferson the victor after the 37th ballot.

Only once in our history has there been a President of one party and a Vice President of another. That was in 1796, when John Adams, a Federalist, became President, and Jefferson, a Democratic Republican, became Vice President.

This happened because in those days the candidate with highest number of votes became President and the one with the second highest became Vice President.

The 12th amendment, which went into effect in 1804, changed this.

Other interesting facts of American politics:

First party convention was that of the Anti-Masonic Party in 1831. The following year the Democrats held their first convenand nominated Andrew Jackson for President and Martin Van Buren, Vice President.

First Republican convention was held in 1856. It nominated John C. Fremont for President and William L. Dayton for Vice President. Democrat James Buchanan won that year.

Longest convention ever was held by the Democrats in 1924. It lasted 14 days and took 103 ballots to select a candidate-John W. Davis of West Virginia, who was beaten by Republican Calvin Coolidge.

The GOP nominated 13 candidates in Chicago (where it will meet in July) and elected eight of these: Lincoln, Grant, Garfield, Benjamin Harrison, Theodore Roosevelt, Taft, Harding and Elsenhower.

Only two Presidents were public officials most of their lives: Teddy Roosevelt and Andrew Johnson. Twenty-four Presidents were lawyers, one was a newspaperman, one an engineer and five were professional sol-

Harding was the only President elected while serving in the U.S. Senate. James A. Garfield was elected to the Senate January 13, 1880, and President on November 4, 1880. He declined the Senate seat to run for Presidency.

George Washington had to borrow 600 pounds to pay expenses of his first inauguration. He left an estate of \$530,000 when he died 10 years later.

Arthur E. Wullschleger Honored

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. EDWIN B. DOOLEY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, May 19, 1960

Mr. DOOLEY. Mr. Speaker, Arthur E. Wullschleger, of the town of Mamaroneck, N.J., one of the bright residential areas of my fine constituency, came to Washington on May 17 to be honored with a special ceremony at the Smithsonian Institution at which he presented to that world famous depository of historical treasures a priceless Jaquard

The loom, invented in the year 1801 by the man whose name it bears, is one of the most ingenious devices ever fashioned by the mind of man in the field of weaving. Thousands of cards, very similar to the IBM cards used today in machines all over the world, constitute an integral part of the loom and through the use of the punch-hole technique guide the design on the frame.

In presenting this century-and-a-halfold treasure to the museum-Mr. Wullschleger had it restored to working condition at great expense-Mr. Wullschleger was merely doing what he has

done often before, namely, giving to his fellow citizens some of the benefits of his wealth and knowledge.

As a citizen of Mamaroneck, Mr. Wullschleger is regarded as one of the most amiable of men and one of the most helpful and considerate people in the community. He has traversed the world many times, his trips to Europe alone totaling more than 100 voyages, but his interests lie with the men and women of his community. He has served as chairman of the zoning board of the town of Mamaroneck and in that capacity has rendered outstanding service.

At the ceremony at the Smithsonian Institution Mr. Wullschleger was presented to the audience by his son-in-law, Arthur "Red" Motley, the distinguished president of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, well-known publisher and famous after-dinner speaker.

Mr. Motley and Mr. Leonard Carmichael, the master of ceremonies who is the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, pointed out to those present that Mr. Wullschleger had come to this country as a young man to seek his fortune. He not only attained his monetary objective but in the process became one of the world's outstanding authorities on colors and fabrics. His impact on his field of operation has been extraordinary.

As his Representative I took pleasure in welcoming him to Washington and showing him every courtesy.

A Compromise Area Redevelopment Bill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. JAMES E. VAN ZANDT

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, May 19, 1960

Mr. VAN ZANDT. Mr. Speaker, on Wednesday, May 18, there was intro-duced in both Houses of Congress a compromise area redevelopment bill in an effort to meet the objections contained in President Eisenhower's veto message regarding S. 722.

In the Senate S. 3568 was introduced by Senator Hugh Scott, of Pennsylvania while in the House companion measures were introduced by my colleagues, the gentleman from Pennsylvania, Representative Ivor D. Fenton, who introduced H.R. 12291, the gentleman from Pennsylvania, Representative John SAY-LOR, who introduced H.R. 12298, and the number of my own bill is H.R. 12290. All of these bills have been referred to the committees having jurisdiction over this type of legislation and it is hoped that immediate action will be accorded them.

Following is a comparison of House area redevelopment bills including S. 722 vetoed by the President together with H.R. 4878 which I offered as a compromise measure at the first session of this Congress and H.R. 12290, 12291, and 12298 introduced yesterday as the revised version of H.R. 4878 and designed to meet the objections on which the President's veto of S. 722 was based.

Comparison of area redevelopment bills

Subject	S. 722 as passed and vetoed	H.R. 4878, original form	H.R. 12290, H.R. 12291, and H.R. 12208		
OrganizationSeparate Area Redevelopment Administration.		Department of Commerce	Department of Commerce.		
2. Division of redevelopment areas		Only industrial and public facility loans in areas of persistent and substantial unemployment.	Same; removed reference to rural. Note technical assistance can cover.		
3. Revolving fund loans	75	\$100,000,000	\$75,000,000. None. \$25,000,000; reference to machinery		
4. Pederal participation in loans	65 percent	33½ percent class I areas, 50 percent class II areas, and 75 percent class III areas.	removed. 35 percent; area classifications removed.		
5. Maximum loan period	40 years; 10 percent State contribution.	25 years; not less than 15 percent State contribu-	Same.		
6. Grants for public facilities	\$35,000,000	\$25,060,000; Federal participation 3335 percent class II areas, 75 percent class III areas.	None.		
7. Retraining subsistence payments 8. Vocational training grants	\$10,000,000 \$1,500,000		\$5,000,000. Same.		
Technical assistance. Criteria of unemployment	\$4,500,000. At least 6 percent at time of application and 12 percent for 12 months preceding, or 9 percent for 15 of 18 months preceding, or 6 percent for 18 of 24 months preceding.	\$3,000,000. An average of 6 percent, excluding seasonal, throughout qualifying period, and 50 percent above national average for 4 out of 5 years preceding in class I areas, or 75 percent above national average for 3 out of 4 years preceding in class II areas, or 100 percent above national average for 2 out of 3 years preceding in class III areas.	\$3,000,000. Same; area classifications removed.		
11. Interest on loans	Maximum permitted, 2 to 7 percent	To be determined by Secretary based on going	Same.		
12. Cost	\$251,000,000	rates. \$158,000,000	\$108,000,000.		

The Nation's Agriculture

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. ARCH A. MOORE, JR.

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, May 19, 1960

Mr. MOORE. Mr. Speaker, there is increasing evidence that this Nation's agriculture is being more severely hit by politically inspired adverse publicity about the farming business than by the recognized economic pressures which the present administration is striving to ease.

One of the Nation's leading farm magazines, the Farm Journal, is currently conducting an admirable campaign of advertising promotion.

The Farm Journal is attempting to but farm economics into a reasonable perspective by refuting some of the distortions

Taking note of this was the Charleston (W. Va.) Mail which treated the subject editorially in its issue of April 11. Under unanimous consent I insert the editorial in the Record:

THE MYTHS OF THE FARM PROBLEM DO A GREAT INJUSTICE TO MOST FARMERS

The farm situation, as it is called, is bad enough as it is, but it is not so bad as it is generally misrepresented. So says Carroll P. Streeter, editor of the Farm Journal in its current issue.

Take, for example, the myth that all farmers are living on a generous handout from the Government. Livestock farmers, who account for more than all farm income, have never accepted Government supports. And to clarify the picture a little more, less than one-fourth of all agricultural produce gets so much as a cent of 1 cent of price supports.

Well, then, what is all this talk about farm subsidies costing the United States billions of dollars every year? That figure, says Mr. Streeter, is the amount in the Federal Government set aside for all agriculture, including research and education, food grading and inspection, soil conservation, market report-

ing, and the Forestry Service. Of this total, says Mr. Streeter, "probably not more than one-half can be charged to farmers alone, and not all of that to subsidies."

Twice in recent years 55 percent of the farmers polled by the Farm Journal have voted to eliminate subsidies entirely. Who, then, is responsible for maintaining a system which most farmers regard as both unfair and unsuccessful? "Three groups," says Mr. Streeter: "a substantial minority of farmers, politicians who come from subsidy crop area and—surprise—businessmen in the wheat and cotton belts who sell farm supplies, process the crop and market it. This is the combination which makes it so hard for the will of the majority to prevail."

There are other myths which Mr. Streeter

There are other myths which Mr. Streeter disposes of just as factually, but these are a fair sampling and enough to make his point:

Sure there is a farm problem, but at its worst it does not arise with or seriously affect the great majority of American farmers. Most of them, with no subsidy from the Government, go right ahead making their maximum economic and social contribution to the Nation's welfare.

Khrushchev's Behavior at the Summit Does Not Create the World Cleavage; It Only Makes It More Apparent to All—His Tirades Came From His Weaknesses Which U-2 Flights Had Revealed

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. WALTER H. JUDD

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, May 19, 1960

Mr. JUDD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I include the following article by Mr. Edgar Ansel Mowrer:

SUMMIT FAILURE WAS VICTORY FOR WEST (By Edgar Ansel Mowrer)

Paris.—Essentially the summit conference that died aborning was great victory for the West and particularly for Eisenhower. Admittedly he should never have admitted any knowledge of the fateful U-2 whose detection by Moscow started trouble. But since then the President, so irritable in small matters, has revealed statesmanlike dignity and patience that won him the fullest admiration and support of De Gaulle and Macmillan as well as the French people.

The meeting fulfilled my prediction that thanks to the downed plane, this conference would be concerned with situations and not with verbal cobwebs labeled relaxing tension. By torpedoing the conference, once he became sure that he would get no substantial concessions on Berlin or any American scalps, the Soviet boss in an excess of sustained vituperation and insult, simply created the stink behind which he backed out altogether.

But with a bloody nose Mr. K. now knows he can neither blackmail nor intimidate the United States. It was high time he learned it. The lesson won't be lost at the next summit conference after the American election—if there is such summit.

For Khruschchev's policy of political pressure through public tantrums reveals not strength but weakness. The best observers here are convinced that what hurt Nikita most in the Powers affair was the shrieking revelation of Soviet vulnerability. Ever since the first sputnik and the threats to destroy Paris and London by missiles, Nikita has built up a legend of an invincible U.S.S.R. It could—according to the legend—crush any enemies while remaining impervious to their counterattacks. Such a story, endlessly repeated, found credence throughout the world. People accepted Soviet claims, first of parity with, then of superiority over the United States. Such boasts were the basis for Soviet threats against Berlin.

Then what happened? The downed American plane revealed that far from being invulernable, the U.S.S.R. could be penetrated and overflown at any spot away from chief centers. Not only could it be overflown but such flights had been undetected for 4 years. This meant that militarily the Iron Curtain was a myth—that American leaders undoubtedly have the fullest possible list of all necessary Soviet targets in case they were compelled to reply to Soviet sneak attack. Far from being stronger than the United States, the U.S.S.R. was weaker since airplanes and nearby bases would more than cancel out Soviet superiority—if any—in bal-

listic missiles. Moscow's ability to terrorize the world was henceforth severely limited.

This explains the consternation of the Soviet people, officially doped with illusion of superiority. It also explains why other Bolsheviks, especially military, must have become extremely critical of Nikita's management of Soviet affairs. What else could Nikita do but bluster and threaten? But the master spy and liar overplayed his hand. His weakness was not lost upon America's allies.

His threats and his intolerable attempt to humiliate Eisenhower created full allied unity. For if the West yielded to Khrushchev on such points it would never again be able to resist his ultimatums. For the first time since he succeeded Stalin, the wily Mr. K. was caught in his own noose.

Whatever politicians at home say about the failure of the "conference that never happened," officials here, both American and allied, agree that responsibility for failure rests upon Khrushchev. Rather than face a meeting where he could win nothing, he sought to mobilize public opinion against the United States and talk himself out of his embarrassment by insulting Eisenhower. The attempt has completely backfired. Even the eager British who arrived sure that the U.S.S.R. was ready for conciliation are now convinced that Russian Communists are enemies of both the West and real peace. In this sense the Paris summit has been a real success for the West.

Medical Care for the Aged

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. THOMAS B. CURTIS

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, May 18, 1960

Mr. CURTIS of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, I ran across an article appearing in the newspaper Labor, dated May 14, 1960, headlined "Says United States Lags in Medical Care." This article purports to quote our colleague Congressman Moss as follows:

The United States is the only large industrialized country in the world where the Government does not, in some form or other, provide medical care for most of its citizens.

All European countries, with the exception of Finland, operate some type of government health and maternity program, and most of the 59 countries of the globe which have such programs provide medical care benefits under some sort of a social insurance program.

I think this article lets the cat out of the bag, just as similar statements made by other proponents of the Forand bill call attention to what these people really have in their bag of wonders.

Our society has the finest health program, and this includes health care for the aged, of any society in history. These other systems have the Government in some form or other provide medical care for most of its citizens. This results in a system of inferior health care for the citizens, as a study of the health programs of these other industrialized societies reveals.

Should that not suggest to these other societies that socialism is the wrong way to achieve success in this area, even if it does not convince some of our own political theorists?

I must add a further statement to try to forestall what the Forand bill proponents usually fall back on to answer their critics. Their critics, they say, are standpatters and want no progress. This is false. Any program, no matter how good it may be, can be improved. There is plenty of room for improvement in the health program our society has, even though it is the best program ever set up. However, to improve it and not damage it, we must first understand what it is. The Forand bill supporters imply that there is no program even though the Federal Government today is spending over \$12 billion a year on care for the aged. Let us first lay the facts of our present program for health care out on the table, then debate the issue of how we can improve it. Is this such an illogical suggestion?

The article follows:

SAYS UNITED STATES LAGS IN MEDICAL CARE

"The United States is the only large industrialized country in the world where the Government does not, in some form or other, provide medical care for most of its citizens," Congressman John E. Moss, Democrat, of California, noted last week.

"All European countries, with the exception of Finland, operate some type of government health and maternity program," he said. "And most of the 59 countries of the globe which have such programs provide medical care benefits under some sort of a social insurance program."

Moss predicted that Congress this year will also enact medical insurance legislation for those over 65 years of age.

Descendants of Israel Surmount Overwhelming Odds

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. CHARLES C. DIGGS, JR.

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 19, 1960

Mr. DIGGS. Mr. Speaker, the 12th anniversary of the rebirth of Israel, May 2, recalls a saga of a suffering people as potent, fraught with drama as a movie spectacular, and as intensely histrionic as the journey of Moses and his followers to the Promised Land.

Fiction writers would not dare the literary license of depicting the trials and tribulations of the wandering tribes of Israel. It is unbelievable to conceive the perpetuity of the dream of independence for Israel as it has coursed through generations of exiles without loss of one spark of its original fire.

Descendants of Israel, surmounting overwhelming odds in pursuit of their dream of a homeland, have worked to build Jewish pride and world respect, and clung tenaciously to the idea of rebuilding a Jewish commonwealth in the face of international manifestations of anti-Semitism and Nazi cruelty. For 2,000 years the vision of a new Zion has spurred a decimated people, tottering under the yoke of bloodthirsty attacks, yet faithful to the vow that "their hands would lose their cunning and their tongues cleave to the roofs of their mouths" if they forgot Jerusalem.

In the pilgrimage to Israel exiles came from 4 continents and 70 countries singly, in single family groups, and in patriarchal clans; from behind the Iron Curtain; from behind store counters in the United States and Canada; from the remote Atlas Mountains and the bazaars of Casablanca; from the foggy grotesquerie of England and the parched deserts of the east. They came to pool their skills, their knowledge, and their finances, to be the forerunners in the creation of a great country, culled out of barren, acrid land; the earth to be tilled and cajoled into verdancy with loving hands and willing, if not strong, backs.

Exiles seeking the promise of this new frontier taxed the sparse resources to the

bursting point.

Prime Minister Ben-Gurion, on the 10th anniversary of the rebirth of Israel, commended the jews of the world for embodying the sole ally of infant Israel, "when the United Nations and all the nations of the world failed to come to Israel's aid." They sent money, and arms, and fighters, from 60 different countries to suckle and nurture the nestling state.

Israel has met in 12 years every threat to national security and integrity—communism, economic struggle, domestic strife, and the necessity for living within its narrow borders and absorbing all who wanted to come to Israel.

The people of Israel and the Jews of the world have the right to flex their muscles with pride of accomplishment

and tenacity of purpose.

It is our hope that Israel in its struggle will serve as a criterion for African nations, now straining at the leash of colonialism and near to breaking the yoke of servitude.

In a century when man has mastered his physical hospice, and his struggle is pointed toward the human barriers of prejudice, hatred and poverty, ignorance and intolerance, Israel represents a touchstone to the United States from which it may renew its standard of justice, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness for all its citizens.

American Mining Congress Convention

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JOHN P. SAYLOR

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, May 18, 1960

Mr. SAYLOR. Mr. Speaker, last week I had the honor of accompanying the Secretary of Interior on a visit to a coal mine. At the instance of our mutual friend, Stephen F. Dunn, president of the National Coal Association, the Secretary's party toured the Thomas Portal area of Mathies Mine, which is operated by the Pittsburgh Coal Division of Consolidation Coal Co. Other members of the group included Michael J. Widman, assistant to the president, United Mine Workers of America; Marling J. Ankeny. Director of the Bureau of Mines; Royce A. Hardy, Assistant Secretary of the Interior; Consolidation Coal executives George A. Shoemaker, Walter F. Schulten, S. M. Cassidy, and D. L. McElroy; and G. Don Sullivan and Mr. Dunn, of National Coal.

I commend Secretary Seaton for his interest in an industry that is vital to America in peace and war. On our return trip to Washington after the tour of Mathies Mine, he expressed his enthusiasm for the joint efforts of management and labor that have made this Nation's mines by far the most proficient in the world. Mr. Seaton also told me that he is eagerly awaiting Senate passage of the coal research bill so that his office will be able to undertake carrying out the purposes of the legislation as soon as it becomes law.

Mr. Speaker, the visit to the mine took place on the afternoon of May 9, which marked the opening session of the American Mining Congress Coal Convention in Pittsburgh. The morning session was devoted to a national fuels policy, in which I participated at the generous request of Mr. Julian D. Conover, executive vice president of the American Mining Congress. Among the other panelists was the distinguished chairman of the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, Mr. ASPINALL.

Because of my colleague's objective analysis of the Nation's fuel situation, I ask unanimous consent to have his statement printed in the Congressional Record. The coal industry is grateful that the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs has such an energetic and impartial chairman. Without his dedicated effort, coal research legislation would not have reached the floor of the House and carried through to success in the early weeks of this session. His conscientious analysis of the need for a fuels study will determine whether such an investigation will materialize.

Following the reprint of Chairman Aspinall's address to the coal convention, I ask that the brief remarks of Mr. Stephen F. Dunn also be printed. When I discussed the possibility of the need for a continental fuels study, Mr. Dunn referred to points that would have a bearing on the decision. His remarks are brief, but they are poignant.

The address and remarks follow:

NATIONAL FUELS POLICY

(Statement of Hon. WAYNE N. ASPINALL, Chairman, House Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, before the Coal Convention of the American Mining Congress, Pittsburgh, Pa., May 9, 1960)

It is indeed a pleasure for me to participate in this panel of the American Mining Congress on national fuels policy.

The proposed study of fuels policy is concerned with conservation and development of the fuel resources of the country. It involves the energy requirements and supplies of future generations. It involves the continuing competition that we have between the producers of fuel and energy. I trust that in any policy that we develop we shall have a maximum degree of free competition.

This keen spirit of competition between the fuel industries intrigues me. It seems to be in the true spirit of free enterprise. It might be likened for a moment to the advertising race between cigarettes.

I wonder which is the thinking man's

Each of the fuels, of course, maintains that it is the one that satisfies.

Which fuel would I be justified to "walk a mile for?" Perhaps there is not much these days that anyone walks a mile for.

This question of a national fuels policy is closely related to my duties as chairman of the House Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs. It touches closely in my own congressional district, where all of the major energy sources—coal, oil, gas, waterpower, and atomic energy—are well represented.

The Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, through its Mines and Mining Subcommittee, has had before it in this Congress some important mining legislation. The first coal research bill passed through Congress last September but was vetoed by the President. The second coal research bill has passed the House and is now awaiting action in the Senate. We are assured of at least \$1 million to get this program started in its first year of operation.

During the past year a resolution was adopted by both Houses stating a national minerals policy, in very general terms. The President was asked to survey the functions of Government agencies and redirect them where feasible to come to the aid of depressed industries and communities. A report to Congress was requested. The report has been promised by the President's office, but has not been received.

The House has passed important legislation affecting mineral leasing on Federal lands. The legislation saves money by simplifying procedures and raises revenues by increasing the minimum rentals for oil and gas leases.

Of closer interest to the coal industry is a measure, passed in the first session of this Congress, raising the acreage of coal leases in Alaska to the same limit that applies in the other States.

I recently attended the first anniversary dinner of the National Coal Policy Conference, in Washington. The operators, owners, workers, railroads, utilities, and consuming industries making up the conference are to be congratulated on their unique organization. Like the American Mining Congress and the National Coal Association, it is doing a fine job keeping the public informed and advising those of us in Congress on legislation.

It is clear, I think, that the three great fuel industries—coal, oil, and gas—are fundamentally in agreement on one thing. That is that the ultimate consumer is really the king. The consumer should have free choice of the fuel that he wants to purchase.

No one could seriously disagree that each of the fuel and energy resources should make their proper contribution toward the public interest. The question is, In which direction is the public interest?

In our rapidly growing economy, the forces of government have become increasingly significant. It is not surprising, I am sure, when I remark that competition between fuels is marked by efforts to influence the course of government. I use the term "influence" in its general sense, with no criticism intended.

Let me give you an example.

In its report to its stockholders, a major oil company states its public relations policy. It says: "During 1959, as in previous years, we reported to the public our views on issues affecting the company's operations." The statement goes on: "We warned of the dangers of a national fuels policy, that, if adopted, would penalize consumers by reducing competition."

The writer of this statement interprets the movement for a study of national fuels policy as an effort to undermine the freedom of choice of the American public. I take it from the information that I have, however, that the Coal Policy Conference and other advocates are not wedded to any preconceived results of a fuels policy study. On the contrary, the resolution now before Congress calls for an objective study taking into consideration conservation measures and efficient uses, rather than a preconceived finding that consumer controls are needed.

My information is that the coal industry, and the industries linked with coal, are merely asking for a study which would look into the possibility of a set of rules whereby each fuel source may have a fair chance to compete with the others, with due regard to the wise use of resources. Insistence merely on the status quo—whatever it may be—sometimes does not lead to the best results.

At the dinner of the National Coal Policy Conference an address on the coal industry was given by Dr. Joseph Fisher, president of the Resources for the Future Foundation. Dr. Fisher praised what he called the objective attitude of the coal industry toward pending legislation. He said, and I agree, that coal people realize that legislative requests should point to a gain for the people generally, not just a private gain for one firm or one industry.

I would hope that this interfuel rivalry

I would hope that this interfuel rivalry will be exhibited to the public on an honest basis. Exeggerated statements building up one fuel or tearing down another should be avoided. Malicious or distorted statements have no place in honest advertising. They usually come back to haunt the one who thought he would gain the advantage.

On April 27 my colleague on this panel, Representative Saylor, addressed the House of Representatives on the recent increase in the quota for residual oil imports, placed in effect by the Department of the Interior. This is an incident that I shall leave for his discussion with you. I will say, however, that I have conferred with coal industry people on the matter, and I have suggested to them that an examination be made of the procedure used in setting the quotas. Frankly, I was surprised to find that the quotas are set without advance notice, without open hearing, and without appeal of any kind within administrative process.

A major inconsistency in the economic policy of our Government is evident. Reports received from Government departments consistently oppose financial relief to domestic mines and mining industries. The grounds cited are that financial aid is uneconomic since it would prolong or create submarginal industry. Yet tremendous sums have been spent to aid foreign minerals production, and these same departments strongly advocate a new system of financial aid to exporters to make their financing problems simpler.

It has been truthfully said that our country has deliberately exported its know-how to other lands, and has given away or loaned these countries the funds to establish great raw material exporting industries. We have lowered our tariffs to these countries. The number of U.S. industries that are being hurt or ruined is mounting yearly. The mining industry is not alone in its plight or in its plea for readjustment of the policy.

The revised version of the fuels policy resolution makes it clear that the objective of the study is to determine whether there is a need for an overall national fuels policy, and if so, whether there is a need for legislation to adopt or implement a policy. The joint congressional committee to be set up under the resolution would submit its report and recommendations within 2 years to Congress. Thereafter any proposed legislation would have to be considered by the Congress in the usual manner.

This seems to me to be a fair procedure. I do not think that it would be unfair to any particular industry or group.

These considerations have convinced me of the need for the study, and I think that the method of conducting it is feasible. Accordingly, I have joined with my colleague from Pennsylvania in introducing the revised resolution. The numbers of the Aspinall-Saylor bills are House Concurrent Resolution 661 and House Concurrent Resolution 662.

I am advised that the Chairman of the House Rules Committee, Judge Smith of Virginia, has promised an early hearing on the Aspinall-Saylor resolutions. This is favorable to the outlook for adoption of the resolution in the present session.

A source of some competition concerning the resolution is the existence of a measure to do a rather similar job as part of a larger venture. I refer here to the bill to authorize "Resources and Conservation Act of 1960." This bill is pending before the Committees on Interior and Insular Affairs of both Houses. It provides for the creation of two new permanent agencies-a Joint Congressional Committee on Resources and Conservation, and a Council of Resources and Conservation Advisers in the Office of the President. The resources and conservation bill covers a broader scope than fuel or energy resources. The advisory council contemplated in the resources and conservation bill is similar to the agency that was recommended in 1952 by the Materials Policy Commission as a means of correlating information and policy concerning materials re-

The coal industry and the coal organizations have done a good job of presenting a case for a study of national fuels policy. Industry spokesmen are prepared to document their case further at the appropriate time. You have many friends who will come to your support in committee and on the House floor. You are assured of my continued interest and support in this and other matters affecting the welfare of mines, mine workers, their families, and dependent industries and communities of America.

STATEMENT BY STEPHEN F. DUNN, PRESIDENT, NATIONAL COAL ASSOCIATION

I congratulate the distinguished panel members on their most interesting statements. The National Coal Association fully supports the view that Congress should initiate a comprehensive study of the fuel requirements of the United States. We are working closely with Joe Moody and his policy conference on this and other matters which we feel are essential to the national economy and security, and which, at the same time, would tend to correct inequities harmful to the coal linguistry.

ful to the coal industry.

It is no secret that chief opposition to the proposed fuels study has come from those fearing prohibition or restriction of dump gas sales. Numerous official pronouncements have been made against the practice of dumping gas into industrial markets at prices far below those charged residential customers. I should like to quote from just one of these documents. I think it is important to recall this statement from the report—issued in February 1955—of the Presidential Advisory Committee on Energy Supplies and Resources Policy. It is excerpted from the recommendation on sales below cost by interstate pipeline companies:

"Sales either for resale or direct consumption below actual cost plus a fair proportion of fixed charges which drive out competing fuels constitute unfair competition and are injuried to a sound fixed constitute."

inimical to a sound fuels economy.

"The committee recommends, therefore, that appropriate action be taken that will prohibit sales by interstate pipelines either for resale or for direct consumption, which drive out competing fuels because the charges are below actual cost plus a fair proportion of fixed charges."

Gentlomen, we believe that the proposed study would further emphasize the need for stopping this practice which is patently unfair which illicitly usurps coal markets.

I might add that I was extremely interested in Congressman Saylon's remarks about a continental fuels policy. In attempting to acquaint myself with the history of the Canadian gas cases, I observed that some 5 or 6

years ago—I believe that it was in 1954—the Federal Power Commission issued an opinion to the effect that Canadian natural gas should not be permitted to enter this country unless the American people were assured of supplies through an intergovernmental agreement. This observation seems to illustrate the possible need for a continental fuels policy so far as natural gas is concerned.

Current developments in the oil industry also seem to point up the need for such a policy. A member of the national coal staff spoke in Minneapolis this week. He sent me a copy of a current Minneapolis Tribune containing an article on plans for a series of pipelines to carry crude oil from Saskatchewan to the Midwest. The plans are most ambitious and would unquestionably have a heavy impact on U.S. energy supplies and resources. I shall send the article to Congressman Saylor for whatever use he might be able to make of it. Everything considered, a continental fuels policy may be necessary.

In closing, let me congratulate Julian Conover for arranging this important discussion as a part of an outstanding coal convention.

Historic Underwater Round-the-World Cruice of U.S.S. "Triton" Made Possible by Scientists and Engineers of the Knolls Atomic Power Laboratory in Schenectady, N.Y.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. SAMUEL S. STRATTON

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, May 18, 1960

Mr. STRATTON. Mr. Speaker, all of us were thrilled last week when the news of the history making submerged cruise of U.S.S. Triton around the world, was made public. This event demonstrated more dramatically than anything else could do the great progress that has been made in our nuclear submarine fleet and the tremendous power which the American Navy still continues to exert in patrolling the oceans of the world for peaceful purposes.

As the representative of the 32d Congressional District of New York, which includes the city and county of Schenectady, this news had special significance for me and a special thrill because of the fact that the twin nuclear reactors for the Triton were originally developed in my congressional district by scientists and engineers and other employees of the Knolls Atomic Power Laboratory of the Atomic Energy Commission, located in Schenectady, N.Y., and operated for the Atomic Energy Commission by the General Electric Co. The achievement of the Triton is not merely a great achievement from the point of view of military power; it is also a great achievement for American scientific development. For this progress all of the fine people at the Knolls deserve a major share of the overall credit.

In fact, there still is located at West Milton, N.Y., directly associated with the Knolls Atomic Power Laboratory although actually located a short distance outside the geographical borders of my own district, the prototype of the original *Triton* reactor. Last year, in company with Admiral Rickover and Navy Secretary Franke, it was my privilege to visit this installation and to try my own hand at the controls of the original *Triton* powerplant developed by the engineers and scientists and employees whom I have the honor to represent in this body.

On this occasion, therefore, as we extend our congratulations to the officers and men of *Triton*, I hope we will also remember to extend our congratulations and appreciation to the splendid individuals at the Knolls Atomic Power Laboratory from the General Manager, Mr. B. H. Caldwell on down through the whole fine list, since each and every one of them played an important and major part in this historic development.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I include articles from the Schenectady Union-Star the Schenectady Gazette of last week detailing more fully the role played by these individuals:

[From the Schenectady Union Star]

KAPL WORKERS SHARE IN TRITON FEAT

Credit for the successful globe circling voyage of the U.S.S. *Triton* was shared today by scientists and engineers at the Knolls Atomic Power Laboratory, who designed and developed the prototype propulsion plant for the atomic powered submarine.

The twin reactors were developed at KAPL's test site at West Milton, where the propulsion system for the original U.S.S. Sea Wolf also was designed and developed, using a prototype system.

The nuclear propulsion system for the Triton is the first twin-reactor propulsion system built for any submarine. The Triton reactors, designated S-3G, are pressurized water cooled units.

In this system, heat produced by nuclear fisson inside a reactor is carried by water to an exchange system where it in turn produces steam in another water system. The steam then operates a turbine, which turns the propellor shaft.

The new system embodies several outstanding advances in the nuclear propulsion field: (1) A higher shaft horsepower development by each of the two reactors than any other submarine propulsion unit; (2) a lower weight per shaft horsepower than any other nuclear unit; (3) a choice of using one or both reactors for operating the ship; and (4) a unit cell core construction system which permits refueling inside the ship's hull.

Refueling at sea figures to save at least 4 to 5 weeks of refueling time that would be required of earlier nuclear subs, thus providing the equivalent of at least one additional submarine in service per year.

[From the Schenectady Gazette]
SUB SKIPPER CONGRATULATED BY CALDWELL

B. H. Caldwell, general manager of Knolls Atomic Power Laboratory, yesterday telegraphed congratulations to Capt. Edward L. Beach, commander of the *Triton* submarine and his crew on the announcement the nuclear ship had made an underwater cruise around the world.

Caldwell sent the congratulations from local scientists, engineers, and other employees at KAPL who designed and developed the Triton's nuclear propulsion system and also cited the fact that the ship's crew was trained in Schenectady.

KAPL also is designing and developing a twin reactor power plant for the world's first nuclear powered destroyer-class ship—the guided missile frigate Bainbridge.

International Understanding Fostered by International Crossroads Breakfast

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. FRED SCHWENGEL

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, May 19, 1960

Mr. SCHWENGEL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to comment on one of the most unique and practical examples of citizen activities achieving person-to-person communication and developing greater friendship and understanding among peoples of the free world. I speak of the International Crossroads Sunday Morning Breakfast meetings, held in Washington, D.C.'s Central YMCA for students and other visitors from abroad. These are of especial interest to Members of the Congress, since about 100 Senators and House Members have appeared as speakers on this program during the past 14 years.

On Sunday, May 1, which was the 731st consecutive Sunday that this gathering has been held, its 14th anniversary was observed with a special program. This was devoted to a narration of over 100 letters and messages of appreciation and congratulations from former members of the Crossroads from nations all over the world. Each had attended one or more of the meetings and had been impressed by the fellowship and opportunity to reaffirm their faith in God, and in the free world and its free institutions, which are characteristic of these Sunday morning gatherings.

Speaker and narrator was Mr. W. L. Robinson, associate director, Traffic

Engineering and Safety Department of the American Automobile Association.

On that occasion, Mr. Robinson said:

It is a pleasure to have a part in this celebration of the 14th anniversary of this unique and practical demonstration of friendship and world brotherhood which is maintained on such a high order. The importance of these breakfast sessions in their person-to-person communication with forward-looking young men from all over the free world cannot be overestimated. It is noteworthy that during the 731 consecutive weekly sessions, 12,035 persons from 116 countries and geographical areas have signed the guest register and received life membership cards in this program. Of the many who have passed at the crossroads during the years, periodic contact has been maintained with hundreds of life members who have returned to their homes abroad.

When the 1959 activities report was mailed to these life members, they were invited to send a letter to be read at this anniversary session.

It is an honor to speak from the same platform as have so many distinguished and brilliant speakers and to be asked to narrate these delightful and cordial expressions of appreciation, congratulations, and well wishes for the continuation of this inspiring program. On the whole, they spell a glowing tribute to our chairman, Mr. Paul L. Brindle, who has, in addition to being the organizer and chairman during these long 14 years, managed to keep in contact with innumerable friendships around the world.

These letters literally shine with appreciation and good will, not only to the chairman and this committee in particular, but to the American people as well and indicate the depth of interest which the attention and hopes of those in the free world are fixed on Washington.

It would be nice, if it were possible, to present all of the many interesting homelles so affectionately and beautifully expressed in these letters, but necessity requires that this presentation be confined to those aspects of general interest, selecting and quoting only parts thereof as are fairly representative of the more than 100 received from abroad.

Excerpts from some of the letters fol-

Hugh Kimber, district engineer of water supply at Kent Town, Australia, writes:

"I wish to express my thanks to you and the YMCA in Washington, D.C., for the unique experience of several Sunday morning breakfasts when I was stationed in Washington. It was a joy for me, a man far from home, to share with other men of other nations, equally as far removed from their homes, the fellowship which existed around the International Crossroads Sunday morning breakfast talk. I trust that these breakfasts will be continued and will continue to

grow for many years to come."

Lt. C. H. Karamat Uliah, Pinddadankhan,
Pakistan, said:

"The fine opportunity provided by your organization to meet great people from all over the world is unique in its nature. Whenever I am reminded of that homely, informal, cordial atmosphere of May 5, 1956, when I was made a member, I am filled with a pleasure and joy which is at once complete and reassuring in itself. Here in this room people from all free nations meet and exchange their views and get to know better ways of life, and thus reaffirm their faith in the free world and its free institutions."

Borje Brannstrom, detective lieutenant, Bromma, Sweden, recalls:

"Yours is a very good idea, well formed through the years. In 1951 I stayed at the YMCA hotel as a U.N. fellow, and one day I saw a message about a special breakfast. Heartlly welcomed, I very soon found myself in the middle of new friends from all over the world. Long live the Crossroads."

Bangalore K. Shivalingappa, of Mysore, India, who did graduate work in engineering at the University of Connecticut, states:

"I am delighted to hear about the 14th anniversary of your organization on May 1, 1960. How I wish I could take part in your celebration. My heart and mind are with the activities and celebrations that take place on this memorable day. In India it is customary to use incense sticks on such occasions—social gatherings, worship of the Almighty. So I am herewith enclosing two incense sticks, especially gotten from my home in Mysore State, India. I hope you will use these incense sticks, each of which will burn for about 15 to 20 minutes. Its fragrance and delightful fumes will fill the hearts of the people with peace, friendship, and cordiality." (Including a message in sanskrit, "May humanity be blessed with happiness," and a sandalwood letter opener, which is known for its fragrance and is a rarity, even in India.)

Dr. P. N. Mehra, dean of the faculty of science and head of the botany department of Panjab University, writes:

"I visited the YMCA in May 1957 when I visited the States as a visiting professor under the educational exchange program. The second time I had the opportunity to visit again in 1959, when I was invited to preside over a section of the International Botannical Congress, held at Montreal and was on my way home. Let me assure you that I enjoyed both these occasions.

You have left on me a deep impression of your hospitality, humanity of mind, and deep understanding in the human affairs. One or two meetings I had the opportunity to attend, gave me an idea that there was a true world fellowship existing. I was very much impressed with the functions arranged in the YMCA.

Dr. Manuel G. Magboo, a physician and surgeon, and intercontinental vice president of the International Association of Y's Men's Clubs, Manila, Philippines, says:

"Greetings from the Philippines. Congratulations on the 14th anniversary of the International Crossroads Sunday Morning Breakfast, a pioneering organization that brings together men from different parts of the world to share with each other mutual traditions, experiences, and a better understanding of each other's country. Yours may be just a 'cry in the wilderness' in trying to make people understand each other and ultimately bring about permanent peace, but it is something which could be a start toward the right goal of making all peoples on earth brothers under the Fatherhood of God. I hope there will be more communications from you."

David Morrish, Exeter, United Kingdom, comments:

"I am delighted to share in your 14th anniversary celebration and forward my best wishes for the continuation of fellowship at the International Sunday Morning Breakfasts. Your International Breakfast is a splendid idea. It is even more encouraging to know that you have the concern to keep contact with your oversea friends. Your report is an annual reminder of the Christian care and hospitality of the American YMCA movement."

Walter Hanming Chen, former assistant editor of North China Daily News, editor of the Hong Kong Daily Press, editor-publisher of the Far Eastern Journal (now retired): "I often recall my world tour of 2 years ago and my visit to America's wonderful Capital, as well as the many friends I was

Totten recall my world tour of 2 years ago and my visit to America's wonderful Capital, as well as the many friends I was privileged to meet, including the members of your Sunday Breakfasts in 1958. Please convey my greetings to my fellow members of the Sunday Breakfasts and accept the same yourself. May God bless you and your work."

Georg Overkamp, Bonn, Germany, relates: "The most important thing from my last visit was to see how people in your country are living. This gives a much better understanding than to study books and newspapers. I think if it would be allowed for the population of all countries to go free to any other country they like, it would be the best way to understand each other and the best way for peace. I was very much impressed by the Sunday morning breakfast in 1956."

Dr. Sydney Chapman from England, formerly professor of mathematics at London and Oxford Universities, now visiting professor of geophysics, University of Alaska, member of the research staff, High Altitude Observatory, Boulder, Colo., senior research scientist, Institute of Science and Technology, University of Michigan, and was for nearly 7 years (1953–59) Chairman of the International Geophysical Year, and is the recipient of the T. A. Edison Foundation award (1959) for his book, "IGY Year of Discovery," states:

"My best wishes to your 14th Anniversary Crossroads Breakfast on May 1, 1960, which I cannot attend, as at that time I shall be at Fairbanks, Alaska. I renew my visit to the friendly "Y" at Washington occasionally, and I am sometimes there over Sunday and able to join you."

W. Verriest, Brussels, Belgium, recalls:
"I only once was so happy to attend the Crossroads, but I still have in memory this wonderful international atmosphere. Best wishes."

Capt. Luck Chang, Seoul, Korea, says:

"I have received with great delight the good news of your achievement of Crossroads activities for 1959 successfully, and also delighted to hear that Crossroads is prosperous year by year, increasing more life members from as many as 115 county of the county of tries, and thus promoting international friendship and understanding."

Pablo Fong, Mexico, D. F. writes:

"I sincerely appreciate your kindness and congratulate you. At this time it is luck to find a person like you, kind, Christian, trying always to help all fellow creatures, and so polite.

Roy Palmer of the Southwestern Electricity Board-Administration, Bristol, England (sent a 31-page report of his American trip) re-

calls:

"I well recollect the morning of June 1958 when I crept into the breakfast room, trying not to be observed. Needless to say, I didn't succeed. This meeting did make an impression on me, and I think it is very worthwhile, particularly for strangers like myself. I vividly remember some of the points which the speaker, Dr. Gopel Naidu, of Andhra University made. * * I shall not forget my meeting at the Crossroads, the pleasant memory of which will always re-

Don Jefferies, a young world traveler from Brisbane, Queensland, Australia, comments: "It is over 12 months since I was with you at International Crossroads. * * * But if Don Jefferies is forgotten, that doesn't really matter. What does matter is that the meet ing of my country with so many other countries is not forgotten, and it is your effort at the International Crossroads that has preserved that meeting. * * In India, they have a town called Varanasi, which means the meeting of the waters. In Washington, they have a place called Inter-national Crossroads, the meeting of the nations. As the waters meet and mingle at Varanasi, so may the nations meet and mingle at the Crossroads.

C. Gunter Merle, assistant professor in engineering, Technical University, Berlin,

Germany, writes:

"I like to remember the time I spent in the States. I saw so many interesting things and found very many friends * * * Friends for life wherever I was * * * Give my best regards to all the friends who meet at the Crossroads."

Hector L. D. Selvaratnam, head, Employees Provident Fund Department, Bank of

Ceylon, Colombo, Ceylon, states:

"There is something very unique about the U.S.A. and United Kingdom, and that is their respect of law and order, and the determination of the authorities to come to the rescue of the victim against the aggressor. If more firmness and justice is shown, things will be brighter.

"My memories of the States are those of the YMCA's, in particular of the Crossroads, and particularly of you (Paul Brindle), who always went out of your way to make visitors from the East feel at home. I wish the Crossroads every success. It goes out of its way to make visitors feel at home." (Mr. Selvaratnam also wrote about the un-happy conditions in Colombo, following assassination of the Prime Minister last fall on the eve of his departure to America).

Dr. K. H. Voss, lawyer and former diplomat, formerly mayor of Bad Nauheim, Germany, says:

"On the occasion of the 14th anniversary of your International Crossroads Sunday morning breakfasts, I cannot wish anything better than the uninterrupted continuation of this marvelous service you have rendered and still render to so many foreign guests. I still recollect most vividly my happy feeling during my visits with you in 1950 and 1954, to be included in such a community of so many people, meeting each other, mostly

for the first and this only time, but being privileged to share in prayer and in their outlook in and beyond this world. Wherever we come from and wherever we go, there is nothing more reassuring than meet other people striving for the same final goal. This, in my view, is the unique and so valuable service of your Crossroads.

"I am just sitting in an office in the Harz Mountains with the Iron Curtain facing my window across the street. In face of this frontier, dividing not only Germany but the whole world, it is good to know of some point in the world where people meet in united reverence to our Lord from so many countries. In this sense, go on with good

Robert M. H. Chen, an industrial personnel manager, of Taipei, Taiwan, recalls:

"Your hospitality always keeps me fresh in the memory of the wonderful trip I made in your country. There are two YMCA buildings in Taipei, and our church is located in one of the buildings. Our church, even not belonging to any denomination, is a Protestant church * * * We have more than 300 members."

Dr. Florencio Z. Cruz, M.D., and "Y" leader,

Manila, Philippines, writes:

"I still remember on October 20, 1957was a Sunday-when you invited me to the regular breakfast meeting of the Y.M.C.A. and even seated me next to the guest speaker, Professor Koenig. I am really very thankful that you can still remember a friend from a country 10,000 miles away. This is just to show how the 'Y' spirit binds men of all nations, irrespective of color, creed, religion, or political affiliation. We always love each other as brothers and sons of one Almighty

Gerhard Leckel, a native German with the U.S. Consulate General, Hamburg, Germany, states:

"Looking back to the personal experiences I had the opportunity to gain when I stayed in Washington during my visit to the United States, I can frankly say that the Interna-tional Crossroads Sunday Morning Breakfast is a marvelous, and I think unique chance to meet outstanding people of various fields. I wished I had the opportunity to attend regularly."

Pierce, Boy Scout Association,

England, recalls:

"It is my profound pleasure to have been in Washington on the morning of August 17, 1958, and to be invited to join such a friendly group as the International Cross-roads Sunday Morning Breakfast. On that particular morning, it was pleasing to listen to His Excellent, Henrik de Kauffmann, the Danish Ambassador, whose subject was 'Have We Improved Our World During the Last 50 years?' * * * Should the opportunity arise, I will certainly join you at the International

Crossroads Breakfast."
Chris Roechling, Vierson, Germany (student in mechanical engineering) comments:

"Being a member of the German YMCA, I spoke in quite a few YMCA locals about the way of living in Canada and the USA; about the way of getting things done; about the way they manage things in America; about the traditional American hospitality toward their own and foreign people, and last, not least, about the International Crossroads Sunday Morning Breakfast. It would be a good idea if that could be practiced in all big cities of the world: New York, London,

Paris, Berlin, New Delhi, Moscow, etc." Maj. G. M. Safdar, Pakistan, recalls:

"I, Maj. G. M. Safdar, a Pakistani Muslin, had the honor of attending the International Crossroads Sunday Morning Breakfast at the YMCA on March 9, 1958, and the honor of becoming a life member. My 6 months of duty and sojourn in your country are among the best months of my life. I am fortunate in leaving behind numbers of friends in United States of America with whom I am in

regular correspondence. As a Muslin, I believe in universal brotherhood for humanity. I am proud that I am a life member of this association which is striving for the same

Atie C. den Dulk, The Hague, Netherlands, writes:

"In 1951, I found my way to the Cross-roads Breakfast in Washington, D.C., as a member of a study group from the Netherlands to your country, and after that morning I had the pleasure of being your guest on many Sunday mornings before going to Church. Always I will remember the hearty and 'brindling' way of introductions by Mr. Paul Brindle. I felt home from the first moment, and you don't know what that meant for a man (44) far from home on a Sunday morning. The fine conversation (and a good meal) with your people and people from all over the world, the speeches of distinguished speakers, the community singing, and the prayer made a deep impression and were unforgetable.

"I hope you will have a fine session and I pray my God your work will be blessed. In our country, there are no such institutions like the Crossroads, but in thankful remembering of your hospitality for foreigners, my wife and I open our home and our hearts for everyone on Sunday morning after church. You know perhaps that our coffee-afterchurch is served in our homes in the family." R. N. Chawla, Deputy Director, Ministry of

Irrigation and Power, New Delhi, India, says: "How little the United States of America is understood in India. Believing and accepting a democratic way of life, how different our world is than life in the States where all aspects of life and business are so highly organized, where human dignity stands supreme, and where there is dignity of human labor. I am proud of the country in which I live, and enjoy what I am doing—working on the development of a hydroelectric project-but I am restless because I would like to spend more time helping India understand the United States of America. I would be happy devoting all my time to that which I am at present unable to do. God willing, I will be doing that a few years hence. that, I will need your blessing and the blessing of my other American friends. Wishing all the best to my friends that meet at the Crossroads."

Top-Ranking Newspaper Views Kennedy Prospects

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. NEWELL A. GEORGE

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, May 19, 1960

Mr. GEORGE. Mr. Speaker, many articles and editorials have been written with respect to the results of the West Virginia presidential primary on May 10. In that particular race Senator JOHN F. KENNEDY not only defeated an outstanding U.S. Senator in the person of HUBERT H. HUMPHREY, but won by a large majority over all of his opponents for the Democratic presidential nomination. It was admitted that the supporters of each were attempting to defeat Senator KENNEDY.

Because there are now but few narrowminded people in America, as demonstrated by the West Virginia election, it appears certain that Senator KENNEDY will be nominated by the Democratic National Convention in Los Angeles and that his victory in November will be of landslide proportions.

The absolute failure of the Republican policies and programs, both foreign and domestic, has made the American people aware of the necessity for again placing a man in the White House who possesses courage, foresight, wisdom, and integrity. Senator KENNEDY has all these qualities and would provide this country with the strong and fearless leadership which is so vital to our continued existence as a free Nation.

An editorial appeared in the Kansas City Star, an outstanding Midwest newspaper that, from habit or otherwise, frequently supports Republican candidates for public office. I ask, Mr. Speaker, that this editorial be included in the ex-

tension of my remarks:

FOR KENNEDY, GREEN LIGHT TO LOS ANGELES West Virginia may have been the big one. It's going to be tough to stop Senator John KENNEDY after the tremendous national buildup for this test of pulling power. The Other hopefuls who have been watching from the rail can see that he is clearly running strong on a fast track.

Of course it is easy to make too much of preferential primaries. Kennepy didn't win a single delegate vote yesterday. That is ironic. But he did prove that he can draw votes in a State with one of the smallest

Catholic populations.

KENNEDY has made his position on the separation of church and state perfectly clear. Undoubtedly the religious issue cut both ways. While there was no question of many votes being against Kennery because of his religion, many others voted for him With an evident sense of fairness. Aside from personalities, the vote was a slap at the political injection of the religious issue and should bury it. Of course, there is no way to know how much of the vote went to KENNEDY on principle and how much responded to his unusual personal appeal.

West Virginia seemed to be the natural spot for Senator HUBERT H. HUMPHREY. Of all the States, it has been hit the hardest economically. Both HUMPHREY and KEN-NEDY went all out with about the same extreme promises to the voters. But Hum-PHREY was a professional bleeder for the unfortunate pitted against a more reserved man of wealth. The poor man psychology may have kicked back. In the closing days of the campaign some observers suspected that West Virginia was beginning to resent all the talk about a downtrodden, backward area. Moreover, Kennedy was aided by the support of Representative Franklin D. ROOSEVELT, JR., who helped cast him in the F.D.R. image.

Throughout the campaign, John Kennedy played it smart. His supporters encouraged the role of Kenneuv as the underdog. In Wisconsin, the Kenneuv people started with the cautious line but overoptimism got out of control. KENNEDY became the one-sided betting favorite and his substantial Wisconsin victory was a psychological letdown. In West Virginia the Kennedy supporters continued their prophecies of gloom right up until election day. And they had plenty of help from the political analysts. Paradoxically, the one man who predicted the outcome was Vice President Nixon.

The result is a stunning upset and a psy chological victory. Kennedy's claims gain momentum by the evidence that other candidates ganged up on him by backing Hum-Phrey. This may have been the most im-portant issue of all. The people of West Virginia of their own Virginia are mavericks who go their own

So HURERT HUMPHREY is a former candidate for the nomination and can now return to the Senate floor. Supporters of Senators Johnson and Symington and Adlai Stevenson have new cause for concern. No one expects them to give up and the men who control big blocks of delegates are still very much in the picture.

But as of now it is apparent that for young JOHN KENNEDY, of Massachusetts, all signs point encouragingly to Los Angeles. From here on out the hills can't be any higher.

Unemployment Problems

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. JOSEPH S. CLARK

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES. Thursday, May 19, 1960

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that a statement by William D. Patton, attorney at law, Johnstown, Pa., before the Special Committee on Unemployment Problems, of the U.S. Senate in Altoona, Pa., on October 26, 1959, be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PREPARED STATEMENT OF WILLIAM D. PATTON

Mr. Chairman, I appreciate the opportunity to present this statement to the com-

My name is William D. Patton. I am an attorney at law from Johnstown, Pa., and a native and lifelong resident of Pennsylvania. I am presently employed as counsel to the Senate Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights, in Washington, D.C., but I would like to emphasize that I speak here only as a private citizen who is seriously conwith the chronic unemployment cerned which has beset my home community of Johnstown and other similar areas in Pennsylvania for a number of years, despite the fact that the country as a whole has been enjoying a period of relative prosperity.

My remarks today will be brief, and therefore necessarily of a general nature. I will not attempt to present any detailed statistics about the economic picture in the Johnstown area. The committee undoubtedly will receive these from the U.S. Department of Labor, the Department of Labor and Industry of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, and other appropriate Federal, State, and local agencies.

First, I would like to commend all of the members of this committee for undertaking this study of unemployment problems in the United States. Aside from the valuable information and data you will collect about unemployment, its causes, and how it might be prevented, I believe the committee can perform an invaluable service by awakening the American people and Congress to the urgent need for an effective Federal program to combat chronic unemployment in scattered areas throughout the country.

The need for such a Federal program is demonstrated, I believe, by the conditions which exist in the Johnstown, Pa., area The analysis of chronic labor surplus areas, published in July 1959 by the U.S. Department of Labor shows that the Johnstown area has been classified by the Department of Labor as an area of substantial labor surplus continuously since May 1953. The area's principal industrial activities are steel and bituminous coal production. The persistent unemployment suffered by the area has been due primarily to long-term declines, coupled with growing mechanization in coal mining.

Many communities in the area which once were thriving and prosperous now are practically ghost towns. Many people have simply packed up and left for more prosperous localities, literally abandoning their homes. Among those who remain, a few are able to find local employment. Others commute to jobs in larger communities, upward of 30 or 40 miles away. An appreciable number, as the statistics show, simply are withjobs and must eke out a substandard living, depending on public assistance and. the charity of others.

Perhaps one of the best ways this committee could dramatize some of the conditions which now exist in parts of the Johnstown area would be to obtain actual pictures of some of those ghost towns and include them in the record of these hear-

It should be emphasized, Mr. Chairman, that the people in the Johnstown area have not just sat back and waited for someone else to solve their unemployment problem for them. While this is a depressed area, and funds for redevelopment resultingly are limited, the people have done what they could to attempt to alleviate their unemployment plight. A number of local communities in the area have established industrial development groups, and in some cases have been successful in attracting new industry and business to their communities. Just recently a development organization called the Greater Johnstown Committee, Inc., was formed by a group of top-level in-dustrial and business leaders to serve as an action group in the field of community development.

But while these efforts by the people of the Johnstown area are helpful, they are not enough to solve the area's chronic unemployment problem. Outside help, at least in the form of loaned capital, is needed if the blight of chronic unemployment is to be eliminated in the foreseeable future.

There are a number of steps which the Federal Government could take to help all areas of chronic unemployment in the United States, including the Johnstown area. In addition, there are several other steps which would help particular areas such as Johnstown where chronic unemployment may be traced primarily to the declining coal industry. I would like to enumerate some of these steps for the record and urge the committee to give serious consideration to all of them when you formulate the recommendations you will make in your report to the Senate next January.

Among the steps which would help all depressed areas in the United States are:

(1) Speedy enactment into law of an area redevelopment bill providing for loans, grants, information, and technical assistance to depressed areas to enable such areas to plan and finance their development so as to create new jobs and thereby eliminate unemployment.

(2) Establishment of a uniform unemployment insurance benefits program providing for coverage of the entire period of unemployment at 75 percent of the average weekly wage.

(3) Reduction of the minimum age for social security to 60. This would give some workers the opportunity to retire several years earlier, and should to some extent les-

sen competition for existing jobs.

(4) Allocation of defense contracts to areas of chronic unemployment,

(5) Location of new Federal offices and

installations in areas of chronic unemploy-

(6) Allocation of Federal procurement, including purchasers under the foreign aid program, to areas of chronic unemployment. In addition to these steps, which would help alleviate and eliminate unemployment in all depressed areas, the following steps would help many areas, such as the Johnstown area, where unemployment stems mainly from the long-term decline of the coal industry:

(1) Establishment of a national fuel pol-

 Establishment of a national fuel policy with the aim of achieving the efficient utilization of all the Nation's fuel supplies,

including coal.

(2) Establishment of a Federal coal research program to develop and promote new

and wider uses for coal.

(3) Elimination of the competitive advantage the oil and gas industries now enjoy over the coal industry under the Federal tax laws. Either the 27½ percent depletion allowance now given to oil and gas should be eliminated altogether, or else the law should be amended to give this same allowance to coal.

Mr. Chairman, admittedly these steps, taken as a whole, constitute an ambitious program which might be difficult to achieve immediately. Chief among the hurdles such a program now faces is public and congressional apathy toward the problem of "spot" unemployment. When employment nationwide is at a high level, it is all too easy to forget or ignore scattered areas of chronic unemployment, despite the poverty, and hardships the people in such areas may be suffering. It is for this reason I think of the most constructive and helpful things this committee could do would be-to us the words of Senator Clark—to "shelter the national complacency" about unemployment and provide the basis for a "concerted national attack" upon the problem. Only if the American people, as well as their representatives in Congress and the White House, become fully aware of the tragic plight and problems facing many of our citizens who live in areas of chronic unemployment, can legislation aimed at alleviating and eventually eliminating such conditions be enacted into law.

Earlier this year the Senate passed a bill (S. 722) which would set up a program to alleviate chronic unemployment in economically depressed areas. The program of loans, grants, and assistance proposed in that bill would go far toward solving the problems of chronically depressed areas. However, unless public opinion is mobilized behind it, the bill's future looks dim indeed. Not only must the bill still move through the House of Representatives, but it must escape a veto when it reaches the White House.

In 1958, a similar bill was passed by both Houses of Congress, but was vetoed by the President.

Under these circumstances it seems safe to predict that the current Senate bill if and when it reaches the White House, will meet with a similar fate.

The bill's only salvation seems to be the force of public opinion. If the public and Congress become sufficiently aroused to the urgent need for legislation adequately dealing with the problems of chronic unemployment, not only will the probability of a veto be lessened, but the possibility of Congress overriding such a veto, if it does occur, will be materially increased.

Mr. Chairman, in closing let me say that in referring to a Presidential veto of depressed area legislation, I am not attempting to interject partisan politics into the work of this committee. That would be a disservice not only to the committee but to the people of my community as well. It is simply a fact that depressed area legislation was vetoed in 1958. As a result, a similar veto in the future is a possibility which must be taken into account in any realistic consideration of this subject.

Partisan politics already have played too big a part in the general treatment of the subject of aid-to-depressed areas. Not only has this been harmful to the chances of final enactment of effective legislation, but in many cases it has demonstrated considerable shortsightedness on the part of those who have played such a game.

The shortsightedness of the partisan approach was well illustrated, I believe, by an incident that occurred in my own community of Johnstown just last year. Early in the year, a local newspaper, referring to depressed area legislation then pending before the Congress, headlined an article "Democrats Must Act, Saylor Says." Representative Saylor is, as you know, a Republican. The five short words in that headline reduced depressed area legislation to a partisan political issue, and apparently sought to place the burden for failure to enact such legislation on the Democratic leadership in Congress. Yet, it was only a few months later that depressed area legislation was passed by Congress only to be vetoed by the President.

The record shows that both major political parties endorsed the principle of aid-to-depresesd areas in their 1956 platforms. Thus, in principle at least, this subject should be outside the realm of partisan politics. Of course, differences have arisen as to what kind of aid should be given and how much, but in many cases these seem to be differences in degree, not in kind.

Surely, under these circumstances it should not be unreasonable to hope for ultimate enactment into law of an effective legislative program to alleviate and prevent chronic unemployment. If the work of this committee can become the stimulus toward the realization of such a program, you will have rendered a great service not only to the unemployed but to the Nation as a whole.

Polish Constitution Day Marks Thousand Years of Travail

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. CHARLES C. DIGGS, JR.

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 19, 1960

Mr. DIGGS. Mr. Speaker, the commemoration of Poland's Constitution Day, May 3, 1960, proffers an opportunity for introspective thinking as well as a chance to join other Members of Congress in giving accolades to the valiant, patiently courageous people of what might now well be called re-Stalinized Poland.

Some of us, who in dark moments of frustration decry the absence of light shining upon our own personal freedoms, civil rights and liberties, can then look to the bloody history of Poland for hope; and to its heroes for faith.

We can take heart in the dying words of the great Polish patriot, Ignace Jan Paderewski, whose 100th anniversary of birth coincides with Poland's millennium, in 1966. His words, as life slipped away were: "Polska powstanie." Acclaimed by the American public as the "King of pianists," Paderewski's greatest happiness came in contributing his time, his talents, and his resources, to the needy of his own and other lands. He will take his place in history with all the heroic sons of Poland. Significant then were his dying words, translated: "Poland will rise again."

These words give solace to the people of Poland, though now compelled to endure Soviet oppression and to live in the vacuum of Eastern tyranny and the insecurity and uncertainty of moral and economic aid from the West. The situation in Poland today remains fluid only because of the vigorous anti-Communist

resistance by intrepid Poles.

In keeping with a tradition of the past 20 years, the U.S. Congress has solemnized Poland's May 3 Constitution of 1791 with a twofold purpose: First, to remind the Polish people that Americans have not forgotten their pledge to help Poland restore her freedom and independence and to facilitate her return to the Western family of nations; second, to review and place in proper perspective Poland's contribution in the development of Western civilization and culture.

The 1960 convocation of Poland's Constitution is of special importance to the Polish people in my home State, Michigan, as well as to the 7 million Americans of Polish ancestry and those still fighting communism in the homeland.

Bearing as it does an analogy to our own celebration of July 4, the date of May 3, means more than a calendar date to the people of Poland and others of the free world—it draws foci to the indomitable spirit of the people of Poland; underscores the travail of a near-thousand years of glorious, though sometimes bloody history; namely, the valorous but sanguine insurrections of 1830 and 1848, as well as the millennium of the founding of Christianity by the Polish State.

The Polish May Constitution convocation might well serve as a rededicatory process for these compatriots who through no fault of their own have been forced to endure Communist enslavement. It might also remind those of us in America, of the consequence of rededicating our own lives to the kind of freedoms engendered by the signing of that famous companion document—the American Constitution.

The Polish Constitution was patterned after our own American Constitution and its creators were motivated by the same principles that fired the fighters for the independence of the United States. Now in 1960, the people of Poland have placed their entire hope and sympathy with the United States

The Poles were magnificent in defending Christendom against the onslaught of the barbarian East; in creating the first Commonwealth of Nations in Europe; in contributing to American freedom through the services of Pulaski and Kosciuszko, and other Polish immigrants.

To these dauntless people whose history has been stalked by tragedy due largely to geographic position, predatory and aggressive neighbors, we add our hope and our prayerful wish for full freedom in our time.

Medical Care for the Aged

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. THOMAS B. CURTIS

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, May 18, 1960

Mr. CURTIS of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Congressional Record, I wish to include the following column of Mr. Elmer Miller which appeared in the Journal of Commerce:

INSURANCE PERSPECTIVE-POLITICIANS CON-TINUE TO RIDE THE COATTAILS OF MEDICAL CARE FOR AGED

(By Elmer Miller)

Sorry to keep on bringing this up-about the little man who is there and won't go away. But before he can be dismissed from our consciences, it is important to understand the nature of certain needs. These are the needs for votes by politicos, in this the year of election, and the continuing needs thereafter of our little man, who could be you or me. Their needs are quite different

The issue, as you must have guessed, centers around medical care for the aged. This Was a dead duck, even in the House Ways and Means Committee of a Congress controlled by Democrats, until its vote-getting possibilities broke like a small dawn over Democrats and Republicans alike.

No less than six plans, plus variations, have been concocted to separate the older age voter from his vote. Not one of them gets at the heart of the inescapable problem of providing medical care for the aged in terms of the needs of the individual.

HAVE NO MEANING

The portion of our population 65 and over somehow has been lumped as deserving of special consideration, regardless of the individual's circumstances. Some roundhouse statistics have been drummed up in support and these are completely meaningless, except in terms of votes.

Distribution of health care involves the problem of cost, especially in relation to personal budgets—a complicated affair. But there it is, and no amount of scattershot legislation is going to kill this economic reality. In recognition of this, Congressman Tom Curris, of Missouri, makes more sense than anybody else when, from the personal budget standpoint, he separates the aged into several groups:

1. The indigent aged, which the Forand bill does nothing about because they are not covered by social security, to which the bill is is anchored.

2. The nonindigent aged retired group who have no unique budget problem.

3. The nonindigent group who are able and want to work and who, if they do work to some and who, if they do work to some and who, if they do work to some and the to supplement their social security payments, may solve potential budgetary problems.

4. The nonindigent group who might become indigent if confronted with the cost of a prolonged illness.

5. The near-indigent group who cannot fit the cost of the annual premium for their health insurance into their budget.

CANCEL OUT

A fair approach to the problem would in-volve determination of the consistency of these these groups, how best to protect them and at what cost.

At this point, Democratic and Republican proposals pretty well cancel out. So it would seem appropriate to drop them as campaign issues. They would have a better chance for impartial study at the White House Conference on Aging scheduled for next January. Is this likely to happen? Not at all.

Continental Fuels Policy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WAYNE N. ASPINALL

OF COLORADO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, May 16, 1960

Mr. ASPINALL. Mr. Speaker, last week the American Mining Congress at its coal convention in Pittsburgh featured a panel discussion on a national fuels policy. My observation is that the series of presentations provided emphatic evidence of the urgent necessity for a study to determine whether a national fuels policy is needed. If the answer is yes, then it must also be determined whether legislation is needed to adopt or implement a policy.

As one of the participants in the discussion, I was especially interested in the remarks of the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. SAYLOR], who suggested that the possibility of a continental fuels policy should be considered. With the development of Canada's rich mineral resources, and with increasing fuels traffic between the Dominion and the United States, I feel that the point raised by the ranking minority member of the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs should receive careful at-

From a selfish position, I might be inclined to stand pat on my resolution to confine the study to this Nation's energy resources, supplies, and requirements. Although already more than half a billion tons of bituminous coal have been extracted from Colorado's mines, at least 49 billion tons of minable reserves remain within our borders-enough to supply the entire Nation for more than a century at present rates of production. We have enough oil shale to provide through synthesis all the liquid and gaseous fuels that America could use in many, many years. Petroleum, natural gas, water power, and atomic energy are well represented in Colorado's soil.

Canada, and Mexico as well, have important fuel reserves. They are our good neighbors and we all want to encourage commerce among these great nations to whatever extent is mutually beneficial. I am interested in the idea of a continental fuels policy. I believe that it should be explored assiduously. I ask that Congressman Saylor's remarks to the American Mining Congress be inserted at this point:

AN ADDRESS TO THE AMERICAN MINING CON-GRESS, MAY 9, 1960, BY HON. JOHN P. SAY-

At the start I should like to congratulate Mr. Julian Conover and the American Mining Congress for making this forum possible. Discussions of this kind can go a long way toward developing a public awareness to the need for a fuels policy. Perhaps the idea will

also appeal to the oil and gas industries when they hold association meetings. When all considerations-pro and con-have been thoroughly threshed out, maybe we will find that we have a common meeting ground on this issue.

I will say at the start that I have no particular pride of authorship with respect to the fuels policy study that I have introduced in the House. If someone has a better approach to the problem-be he a Democrat or Republican—from Texas, Louisiana, West Virginia, or anywhere else—you may be sure that I will go along with it. Just keep religion out of it—that's all anyone can ask.

The first mention of a national fuels policy study produced tumultuous repercussions. I was reminded of the minister describing the Day of Judgment.

"Thunder will boom," he boomed. "Lightning will strike. Rivers will overflow. Flames will shoot down from the heavens. There will be storms, floods, earthquakes.

A little girl looked up eagerly at her parent. "Mommy," she whispered, "will we get out of school?

A representative of a competing fuels industry rushed up to my office protesting violently the idea of a fuels policy study. "We already have a fuels policy," he insisted. When I asked him if there was anything wrong in studying existing Government pro grams, he hesitated, then merely said that there was no necessity for it.

Acknowledging that we have a semblance of a fuels policy in the form of the various of a fuels pointy in the form to the same and agencies that effect energy production and supply, it appears that opposition to a study would come exclusively from industries, companies, or individuals fearful that the results of an investigation might serve to discomfort their own particular interests. There are three sound reasons why the proposed study should be under-taken as soon as possible. Any one of the reasons is enough to justify the project; in reasons is enough to justify the project; in the aggregate they make it a mandatory undertaking. Let us examine them, al-though the order in which they are listed does not necessarily indicate their degree of importance.

(1) Conservation: As an admirer of Ted-Roosevelt and Gifford Pinchot for many years, I have devoted considerable time in Congress to the matter of proper use of all natural resources. God was very generous in filling our cupboards with ample supplies of the raw materials that a people must have in order to make the most of human resources, inventiveness, and ambition. use our natural resources extravagantly without considering the needs of the generations to follow is immoral.

Is America exercising proper frugality in the production and utilization of energy deposits? I think it is time that we find Fight years ago the Preseident's Material Policy Commission, known as the Paley Commission, warned against extravagant use of natural gas. I have repeated this warning numerous times, because I believe that it would be unfair for us to deprive unnecessarily our children and their children of a supply of this special fuel.

Natural gas spokesmen raise a hue and cry when the suggestion is made that the principles of conservation should be applied to their relatively scarce product—natural gas. However, the Federal Government has alreday taken legislative steps to conserve the extremely scarce and valuable product, hellum, and this has been done without any implication of undue imposition of Federal controls * * * and without any allegations of damage to the free enterprise system. Natural gas is disappearing and should not be wasted. It is valuable and the same principles of conservation will eventuallywhy not now-have to be applied. It is my view that conservation should be exercised now, to use a metaphor, rather than in the future attempt to lock the distribution door when the natural gas horse has already been stolen.

(2) National security: Last Tuesday morning newspapers contained an item, "Dateline Tokyo," stating that Russia has 100 submarines operating in the Pacific. On many occasions we have been alerted to the fact that Red underwater craft infest Atlantic waters. Naval experts have warned us that major ports on both coasts could be demolished through coordinate enemy submarine action in the event of a major war. For that matter, ocean-going tankers would have little need for port facilities in an age when Russia has 400 submarines. Germany started World War II with only 60, yet was able to disrupt completely tanker traffic in the Gulf of Mexico as well as along the Atlantic seaboard.

So, in an emergency we could not depend upon foreign oil to help our domestic mobilization activities. To what extent the country can lean upon foreign fuel in peacetime merits close study. A Cabinet Committee looked into this phase of the defense structure and recommended the import restrictions that were the basis for the mandatory control program established by the President last year. This control order could be regarded as a phase of a national fuels policy. I see no reason why it should remain apart from the general study which we proceed.

(3) The general economy: The Natural Gas Act, another of the many Federal laws affecting the oil and gas industries, was adopted 22 years ago when the Nation was using just 20 percent of the amount of natural gas that is being consumed at the present time. Quite a few of us in Congress have asked repeatedly that this obsolete legislation be updated. From what has been appearing in the newspapers of late, a growing number of Americans agree that the Natural Gas Act should be revised to meet present day requirements.

The natural gas industry is protected by public utility status. Under present condi-tions, a gas transmission line may make its product available to industrial consumers at less than half the cost that residential patrons are charged. Pittsburghers are complaining about constantly increasing rates. I have some figures here which may be of interest. The last available tables are for 1958, but they are sufficiently recent to spotlight a despicable situation. The average cost of natural gas to homeowners in Pennsylvania was a little more than \$1 per thousand cubic feet in 1958. In the same year the same product was being sold to electric utilities in Pennsylvania for 31.2 cents-or less than one-third of what householders had to pay for it. Mainline industrial users were charged a little more * * * they paid 47.1 cent per thousand cubic feet, but still less that half of what we the people were charged.

This discrimination is reprehensible. I think that a national fuels study could result in its elimination.

Needless to say, the practice of dumping gas into industrial markets at whatever price is necessary to undersell coal is costing the bituminous coal industry many millions of tons per year. Although we have enough coal in America to last for more than 1,000 years, at present rates of production, and though the natural gas life index is set at less than a quarter of a century, this valuable product is flowing freely into whatever industrial and utility markets will take it. As a consequence, many mines are closed, mineworkers are idled, railroaders who depend upon coal traffic for a livelihood are laid off, and economic stagnation extends in communities up and down the line. Certainly we need a fuels study.

Gentlemen, I could cite 101 cases to support my proposal for a fuels study. I assure you that I shall continue to exert every effort to induce Congress to undertake this work. I repeat that I will not stand by my own resolution if a more logical one is advanced.

As a matter of fact, I have been giving serious thought to the possibility of recommending that the fuels study be extended so that it will be continental in scope rather than limited to our own boundary. For a number of years I protested the proposal to import natural gas from Canada into the Midwest. Among other reasons, I feel that it would place our consumers at the mercy of international gas interests. Within the past several months both the Canadian Energy Board and the U.S. Federal Power Commission have issued the necessary certificates for the line from the Dominion into and through Minnesota. I noticed about 10 days ago that the National Coal Association has asked that the case be reopened, so as yet the final decision must be considered uncertain.

Unless Congress or the tariffmaking authorities in the State Department do an abrupt about-face, any gas entering this country from Canada would be duty free. In contrast, Canada imposes a 50-cent-perton tariff on all U.S. coal that moves northward across the border.

If there is any reciprocity in this arrangement, I do not detect it. Perhaps a continental fuels policy could also bring about a solution to this inequity.

Gus S. Blankinship

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JOHN DOWDY

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, May 19, 1960

Mr. DOWDY. Mr. Speaker, I have received sad news of the passing of a dear friend of mine, Mr. Gus Blankinship, of Jacksonville, Tex. He was loved by everyone, and affectionately known in all circles, and over a wide area as Mr. Gus.

To Mrs. Blankinship and other survivors I join with his multitude of friends is extending deepest sympathy.

I request that the accompanying news story and editorial appearing in the Monday, May 16, 1960, Jacksonville (Tex.) Daily Progress, be incorporated in the Appendix of the Record:

Beloved Mr. Gus Dies From Illness Jacksonville's beloved Mr. Gus died at 4:30 this morning, after a lingering illness.

Gus S. Blankinship, 71-year-old banker, Sunday school teacher, civic worker, and friend to thousands, breathed his last in the early hours Monday. Although his passing had been anticipated for more than a month, the death saddened the community and all east Texas, for he was known to so many, active so long, and loved so much.

President and board chairman of the First National Bank, Mr. Blankinship was the dean of east Texas bankers. Besides his family, his three great loves were the bank, the Goodfellows Bible class of the Central Baptist Church, which always had him as teacher, and the Nan Travis Memorial Hospital, which he served as board member and constant advocate. It was in this hospital he helped found and direct that his last days were spent.

Born September 4, 1888, at Attoyac, in Nacogdoches County, he was the son of the Reverend E. B. Blankinship and Elizabeth Stephens Blankinship. He attended A. W. Orr's Summer Hill Select School for 3 years, moved to Troup in 1902, and was graduated from Troup High School in 1904. He attended Jacksonville Baptist College for years, graduating in 1907 to teach school for 2 years. After working in a Troup drugstore for 5 years, he started his banking career with the First National Bank of Troup in September 1913, moving to Jacksonville 5 years later to begin his career with the First National Bank on January 1, 1918. He was made vice president in 1920, and president in 1922. He remained the bank's chief executive officer since.

In his 42 years in Jacksonville, Gus Blankinship contributed much to east Texas and the banking business. He served as secretary and chairman of the road district committee for several years, an early advocate of improved highways.

Mr. Blankinship helped organize the Nan Travis Memorial Hospital, served as its president and has been continually a member of its board of directors since. He helped organize the Jacksonville Chamber of Commerce and served 2 years as its president. He has been active in its work since.

For the past 25 years Mr. Blankinship has served as a director of the Overton State Bank. One of his last business activities was attending that bank's board meeting.

Mr. Blankinship about 30 years ago organized the Goodfellows Bible Class of the Central Baptist Church and remained its teacher since. He served as a member of the board of deacons of the church.

During World War II, Mr. Gus, the late W. Y. Forrest and Sam A. Cobb served on the draft board, and Mr. Blankinship attended every meeting and was a member through the war.

Among organizations which felt the impact of Mr. Blankinship's leadership or association were the Jacksonville Building & Loan Association, of which he was a vice president and a director; the East Texas Chamber of Commerce, which he served as vice president and treasurer; the East Texas Area Girl Scouts, which he served as treasurer.

He was a member of the East Texas Tender Board for several years; served as chairman of the Cherokee County Savings Bond Committee; was district chairman of the USO during the war; and served on the board of trustees of the East Texas Boy Scout Founda-

In June 1949, the East Texas Chamber of Commerce magazine pictured Mr. Gus as "Man of the Month." He helped to organize and was the first president of the Jackson-ville Rotary Club.

The Rev. Dr. Marvin Vance, of Austin, and Dr. Bradford Curry, pastor of Central Baptist church, will conduct funeral services Tuesday at 2 p.m. at the church. The Rev. C. R. Meadows will assist. The body will lie in state in the sanctuary of the church from 10 a.m. until 2 p.m. Holmes Brothers Funeral Home will have charge of interment in Resthaven Cemetery.

Active pallbearers will be officers and employees of the First National Bank: F. D. Newton, Jeff Austin, John T. Lewis, Lee Ragsdale, Philip Bolton, J. P. Dixon, Frank Waggoner III, Ralph Toland, and Dexter Bloodworth.

Honorary pallbearers named by the family include directors of the bank, directors of the Building and Loan Association, A. B. Childs, and directors of the Overton State Bank; members of the board of deacons of Central Baptist Church; doctors and directors of Nan Travis Memorial Hospital; members of the Goodfellows Bible Class; close

friends of the family and banking fraternity throughout Texas.

Surviving are his wife, Louise Bolton Blankinship; one daughter, Mrs. Ray Ward; two grandchildren, Catharine and Stephens Ward; two sisters, Mrs. A. W. Riter, of Terrell; and Mrs. A. E. Garner, of Austin; several nieces and nephews.

The family requested memorials be made to the Gus Blankinship Memorial Fund at

Nan Travis Hospital.

The First National Bank announced that it would be closed Tuesday out of respect to the memory of its late president. The Texas Bank & Trust Co. will close at noon.

JACKSONVILLE A BETTER PLACE BECAUSE GUS BLANKINSHIP LIVED

Scores are honored, many men are respected but no man in Jacksonville's history was more beloved than Gus S. Blankinship. The very title, "Mr. Gus," so universally given the banker and civic leader, was a symbol of the affection in which he was held.

When Mr. Gus came to Jacksonville on January 1, 1918, he set about building a bank, a community and a friendship. He attained a high degree of success in every endeavor, and has left his mark for good in the community.

Mr. Gus once said he had three great loves in addition to his family: The bank, the Goodfellows Bible Class, and the Nan Travis Hospital. These, to him, were his outstanding contributions to the community.

The beloved Mr. Gus could go through a gathering of Jacksonville people, shake hands with both hands at the same time, calling nearly everybody by name. He was an institution himself, for in all of his activities he sought to take the kindly, neighborly attitude in everything. In his beloved Goodfellows Bible Class at the Central Baptist Church he enjoyed the fellowship, radiated brotherly love and kindness.

He loved his church without prejudice against any other; he radiated and promoted the kind of fellowship which makes all men brothers. In business he was firm but friendly, liberal with his money, his time, his energy, and his judgment in every walk of life. Mr. Gus was a builder of business, men, institutions, communities, and friendships. He was a lover of all mankind, beloved by all who knew him.

Jacksonville is a better place in which to live because Gus Blankinship lived here. He will live forever in the memory of his associates.

Secretary of Defense Thomas S. Gates, Jr., Makes Another Important Step Forward Toward Unification of Defense Department Procedures and the Reassertion of Civilian Control Over Our Military Establishment

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. SAMUEL S. STRATTON

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 18, 1960

Mr. STRATTON. Mr. Speaker, the Secretary of Defense issued orders on May 12 that our long-range defense communications are to be integrated into a single communication system. The organization of this worldwide system to replace those of several agencies which now all operate over the same area is a great step forward in increasing efficiency in our Defense Department. This personal action by the Secretary of Defense, Hon. Thomas S. Gates, Jr., will most certainly improve the security and safety of this Nation.

Again, Tom Gates has given us another example of the fact that there is no substitute for decisive action applied where and when it is required. The tremendous responsibility of the Secretary of Defense has made it even more imperative that problems be resolved with wisdom and dispatch. Thomas S. Gates, Jr., since his appointment, has given new meaning to the Office of the Secretary of Defense and has restored real luster to the constitutional principle of civilian control—giving it meaning and reality—by his willing acceptance of the tremendous responsibilities which are part of his office.

His order, issued shortly after becoming Secretary of Defense, which directed that possible divergencies of opinion between the several members of the Joint Chiefs of Staff be promptly brought to his attention, was in complete agreement with the words and intent of the Constitution and the laws passed by Congress for the direction and organization of our vast defense effort. No organization can work and survive on form alone—it takes competence and courage on the part of the responsible leaders to make any organization function properly—and Mr. Gates has shown this leadership.

I understand that he has not stopped with this development, but has made it practice to meet regularly with the Joint Chiefs so that he, as the civilian head of our Defense Establishment, will have an intimate and up-to-the-minute knowledge of the major problems of defense direction and, most important, the facts behind these issues.

The directives recently issued by Secretary Gates providing for an integrated communication system is a perfect example of actual, meaningful implementation of the earlier steps taken by him.

Almost since the invention of the telegraph, the military problem of duplicating and parallel communications systems has been evident. It has been increased in magnitude by the technological advancements and tremendous increases in volume brought about by the demands of modern war. Mr. Gates, by his action, is the first Secretary of Defense who has both recognized this problem and provided a solution.

By his action, we will at once save money and resources and acquire a communication system responsible to the needs of modern war far beyond anything we have had in the past. The United States is fortunate in having a man of such competence as Thomas S. Gates, Jr., at the head of the Department of Defense.

Watts New in Sussex

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. HARRISON A. WILLIAMS, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, May 19, 1960

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. Mr. President, we have heard much in recent months about the 25th anniversary of the Rural Electrification Administration. Representatives of many of our Western and Southern States have been eloquent in their descriptions of the effect that the REA has had on their home States. A writer for a New Jersey newspaper, John T. Cunningham, of the Newark Evening News, has written an article which reminds us that the REA has had its impact in the Garden State, too. In an article written in the May 8 issue of the Newark (N.J.) Sunday News he proves that rural electrification is "a very live wire in northwestern Sussex County."

The article vividly describes the positive good which can result from a well-planned Federal program. I ask unanimous consent that the article be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WATTS NEW IN SUSSEX—CURRENT EVENTS— OR WHAT POWER MEANS TO FARMLANDS ON REA'S 25TH ANNIVERSARY

(By John T. Cunningham)

Rural electrification, sponsored by Federal funds, is not alone something of the Midwestern plains or the Tennessee Valley. It is a very live wire in northwestern Sussex County, where farmers and nonfarmers alike join with delight in celebrating the 25th anniversary of the Rural Electrification Administration.

Twenty-five years ago the lot of most farmers in Sussex County (and elsewhere in the United States) was miserable at worst and hard at best. Those who lived in the seven townships north of Newton didn't even dream of electricity—and private companies showed little or no inclination to extend lines outside of well-populated towns and villages or main highways.

and villages or main highways.

Unable to summon electrical servants at the flick of a switch, farmers worked from dawn to dusk, and well into the night by the light of kerosene lanterns and worked on. Inside their homes, wives cooked on wood stoves, pumped water by hand, pressed clothes with irons heated on the kitchen range, scrubbed clothes in tin tubs and cooled butter and milk in the cold cellar or spring house.

The REA became a reality on May 11, 1935, the day President Franklin D. Roosevelt signed the establishing bill. Quickly the lights began to go on in rural areas and within less than 2 years the power-bearing lines stretched over the Sussex hills, bringing not only power but an economic and social revolution as well.

Sussex County's participation in the REA remains vigorous. The first Sussex loan, approved February 1, 1937, has grown to the extent that the Sussex Rural Electric Co-Op, Inc., has now borrowed \$760,000 (with another \$260,000 approved). Lest it be thought

that this is a gift, \$147,734 has been paid back plus \$100,240 interest. All of it will be repaid eventually.

Every one of the Sussex Co-Op's 2,600 customers is a stockholder. Horace I. Brink, co-op manager, expresses this stockholder-customer relationship simply: "This company is owned by those it serves."

Among those it serves is Judson Vaughan

Among those it serves is Judson Vaughan of Lafayette, one of the original movers who brought REA to Sussex and currently co-op president. He serves his fellow stockholders without salary, as do all directors.

Before REA, Mr. Vaughan used kerosene lanterns in his barn and his wife used a wood stove and oil lamps in the house. Today Mr. Vaughan's dairy barn is completely electrified. His cows are milked by electricity and the milk is cooled and refrig-

erated by electricity.

Across the street from the barn, Mrs.

Vaughan works in a completely electrified home. She is surrounded by an electric washer, drier, stove, freezer and refrigerator.

Her water is pumped and heated by electricity for kitchen and bathrooms. She has an electric frying pan, sewing machine, iron, toaster, heating pad, television set and radios.

"I have everything electric, I guess," says Mrs. Vaughan. "Just recently I even acquired an electric can opener."

Mr. Vaughan, who has lived in Sussex County all of his 77 years (except for a brief period in his youth when he worked in New York City), vividly remembers the pre-electric days. And, he says, "now if the current goes off we still use lanterns—but we wonder how we ever were able to see in those days."

The woman's view is Mrs. Vaughan's: "If I'd had electricity when I was raising my eight children, life would have been easier."

Rural electrification aided the farmer spectacularly but in the area served by the Sussex Co-op much of the demand now is from nonfarmers. These include hundreds of summer cottagers along the Sussex lakes and hundreds of year-round residents who have come to Sussex County not to farm but to enjoy the good life to be found on those highlands.

Sussex Rural Electric Co-op buys its power wholesale from the New Jersey Power & Light Co. and feeds it to rural users from a substation set on a farm hillside southeast of Sussex. The lines swing out over the countryside, swerving back and forth across roads and fields to serve the greatest possible number of consumers.

No electrical company stands still, and the Sussex Co-op is today energetically expanding and modernizing its 240 miles of lines. Many people remember the first lines—and bear in mind that a man who can remember back 23 years is not an ancient.

Albert Post of Hopkins Corner was 45 years old in 1937 when the lines first came through the rear of his property. He gladly put up the \$5 fee for membership in the Co-op.

"Sure I was pleased to join," he says.
"New Jersey Power & Light Co. wanted \$500 to bring power to me. For that I gladly went on reading by kerosene lamp."

He also willingly let the new cooperative venture place poles on his land. Not all farmers agreed so willingly. Some had Delco gas-operated home-power systems and couldn't see the value of the electrical line. Some feared giving up land for poles. But the opponents were few and work went on rapidly—and soon the auxiliary powerplants rusted on junk piles.

The first lines served well. However, poles were spaced as much as 300 feet apart and the two-wire system (one wire hot, the other neutral) sometimes caused trouble.

Mr. Post remembers bird trouble. "They would sit on the bottom line and make it sag way down," he says. "Then, most would fly away. The bottom line would snap up, hit the top line and we'd be shorted out. The birds that didn't get off were fried."

Electricity revolutionized the rural areas. Frank Davenport, who lives on the Wantage Township farm owned by his family since 1732, says, "We couldn't get along without electricity; we live so much busier now."

Mr. Davenport installed Sussex County's first Delco home electric plant in 1915 and put in a gasoline-powered milking machine in 1928, but he immediately backed the cooperative electric venture when proposed in 1936.

He was stimulated by three farmers who lived in Mt. Salem. "The light company asked \$10,000 to extend the line to their farms," recollects Mr. Davenport. "I was a township committeeman so they came to me in protest. We went right down to Sussex and called Washington long distance. REA people told us to organize.

"Then the county agricultural agent helped us get a meeting started—even though he felt we couldn't buck the light company. We went ahead and on meeting night we all filled up our cars and went down to Newton Courthouse to hear about the REA. Only one man opposed it. We made our surveys and signed up co-op members and we got our electricity."

Mr. Davenport firmly believes that "many a farmer, even right here in Sussex County, would be without electrical power today if it hadn't been for REA."

The Davenport farm is completely electrified and living is visibly enriched by the electrical servants in both house and barn. "We even have an electric hot water heater out in the barn," says Mr. Davenport matter-of-factly.

Elsewhere in the county, the nonfarm users rise. Mr. Brink reports the largest single users to be the consolidated elementary school in Vernon Township. Incidentally, the consolidated school might well be traced to the vastly stimulated standard of living in Sussex County. Twenty-five years ago the one-room or two-room school was good enough. Today, with the world brought into northwest Sussex living rooms by radio and TV, Sussex educational standards are rising rapidly.

To meet demands from new residents the work of straightening and remodernizing lines goes on. For example, on one windswept slope northeast of Sussex town new homes are rising on 1-acre plots. Off to the west are the handsome Kittatinny Mountains, topped by High Point's monument. People building these homes aren't farmers—but they want comfort to go along with the view.

Thus, Sussex Rural Electric Co-Op supplies them. It has had to move many poles to accommodate such new customers. In one case three poles had to be moved forward to the road; six new homes are to be built in the fields where poles were put 23 years ago.

"We've had more expansion of our company in the last 5 years than in the 18 years before," says Mr. Brink. "We must double the capacity of our substation in the next 2 years"

The rapid acceptance of electricity as a many-faced necessity is summed up by Mr. Brink:

"Then years ago, if the power went out, we worried about the milking machine. Now, if we should lose power when the Perry Mason TV program is on, we'd be in real trouble."

Are Farmers Getting Rich Off the High Cost of Food?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. ROBERT W. HEMPHILL

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, May 19, 1960

Mr. HEMPHILL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Con-GRESSIONAL RECORD, I want to point out and have inserted an article from the South Carolina Electric Co-Op News, the May 1960 edition, an article written by Joe B. Earle and Kirby Able and entitled "Are Farmers Getting Rich Off the High Cost of Food." I put this in because I have seen a growing concern over the high cost of food. Many of the Members of Congress from the big cities think the farmers are causing the prices to go up. I know better, and I know that the farmer is being squeezed tighter and gets less and less. I also know that certain rich warehousemen and friends of the administration have been given bonanzas in surplus storage, another form of payola.

I enclose this article and commend these people for their presentation:

ARE FARMERS GETTING RICH OFF THE HIGH COST OF FOOD?

(By Joe B. Earle and Kirby Able)

In this day of upward spiraling living costs, open season has been declared on the farmer and he has been blamed for much of the higher cost of living. Many well-intentioned but poorly informed people honestly believe that farmers are waxing wealthy at the cost of the household budget.

Very few things could be farther from the truth. Farmers are caught in a cost-price squeeze that is merciless in its pressure.

And to top that off, the great increase in your food bill in the past 10 or 12 years has gone to other sources than the farmer.

In 1945, the farmer received 53 cents of every retail dollar spent for food. But in 1958, the farmer was receiving only 40 cents of your retail food dollar. The difference has gone to pay for fancy packages, for freezing, for pre-preparation of foods, for increased transportation costs. Truth is, housewives today demand built-in maid service with their load of groceries from the swank supermarket.

To nail it down even closer, in 1946 the average family spent \$767 for food. By 1958 that food cost had soared to \$1,065. That's an increase of \$298. Out of that increase, the farmer got only \$30. Nonfarm produce handlers and processers got \$268.

Now who says the farmer is getting rich at the consumer's expense?

Again harking back to 1958 we find that labor received almost as much of the consumer's food dollar as did the farmer. In that year Americans spent \$57.7 billion for food. The farmer received \$20.8 billion; labor got \$17.5 billion. The remainder went for processing, transportation, taxes, and other costs.

Most all American homes today buy bread by the loaf. In 1958, you paid an overage of 19.3 cents for a loaf of bread. The retailer took 3.1 cents for his markup. The baker-wholesaler raked off 11.2 cents; the farmer got 3 cents. The other 2 cents went to transportation, handling, and processing-

Actually, the production record of American farmers is a modern miracle. And only because of this miracle can America maintain its high level of living. Farmers haven't just lucked up on the miracle that makes him the highest per capita producer in the world. It has taken work, science, conservation, education.

It means that food for the American worker is the best buy in the world. Only 7 years ago a factory employee had to work 51 hours to feed an average size family for a month. Today, he works less than 40 hours

to do the same.

Farmers are providing America's food at costs actually lower than 30 years ago. For instance, in 1958, 1 hour's factory work would buy 2 pounds of steak, 11 loaves of bread, 16.8 pints of milk, 2.9 pounds of butter, 2.7 pounds of bacon, 3.5 dozen eggs, or 2.8 dozen oranges.

Twenty-nine years ago, that same hour's factory work would only buy 1.2 pounds of steak, 6.4 loaves of bread, 7.8 pints of milk, 1 pound of butter, 1.3 pounds of bacon, 1.1

dozen eggs, or 1.3 dozen oranges.

If American farmers were no more efficient and productive than those of India or China, three out of every four workers in this Nation would be out in the field working for the first essential-food.

Today's American homemaker is no longer concerned with buy seasonal foods. Thanks to improved farming methods and better marketing, perishable fruits and vegetables are available from the neighborhood supermarket year-round.

To maintain America's high standard diet, our farmers by 1975 must produce 36 percent more eggs, 61 percent more brollers, 56 percent more meat animals, 60 percent more fruit and vegetables, 48 percent more dairy products, and 26 percent more grain and

All this means is that your food dollar is probably the best dollar you spend in your budget—food is a good buy—and will con-tinue that way so long as America's farmers continue their economical, high rate of production.

In our modern America, each farmer provides food for himself and 22 others, thus freeing that 22 for production of autos, refrigerators, TV sets, and other goods and services of today's life. Less than 80 years ago, half the population was required on farms to feed themselves and the other half.

Thank about these things when you fuss about your food budget being out of balance. The farmer gets the minor share of your food dollar.

Christian Endeavor's Citizenship Contest for 1960

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. PAUL B. DAGUE

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, May 19, 1960

Mr. DAGUE. Mr. Speaker, it is with great pride and satisfaction that I am able to report to the Congress that the first place winner in the society division of Christian Endeavor's citizenship contest for 1960 comes from my congressional district.

The high school youth vespers group of the Trinity Evangelical Congregational Church, Lititz, Pa., will receive an award of \$150 to be presented at Christian Endeavor's Citizenship Convocation in Ottawa, Ontario, Canada, on July 1-3,

In this connection it seems appropriate to point out that the international society has conducted this contest for 9 years in which hundreds of young people have taken part, and the contests have inspired much interest in Christian citizenship. It is also noted that the society winners are decided on the basis of sponsoring and reporting a significant Christian citizenship project.

The high school youth vespers group of Trinity Evangelical Congregational Church includes 28 endeavorers between 12 and 17 years of age. Their winning citizenship project, under the direction of Doris Hess, began February 4 and concluded February 28, with 27 members participating. As a result of the project, about 10 new avenues of service were suggested and 6 have been officially adopted by the society. The Christian testimony through the window displays and essays made an impression upon the community and the society itself has recognized the importance of demonstrating Christian citizenship in every area of life. Rev. James K. Rapp is minister of the church.

REPORT OF CITIZENSHIP PROJECT SPONSORED BY WINNING SOCIETY

(This report describes the Christian citizenship project of the high school youth vespers group. Trinity Evangelical Congregational Church, Lititz, Pa., which won for them first place.)

Our project, Christian Citizenship-Unlimited was chosen to give opportunity to emphasize the meaning and importance of Christian citizenship to as many citizens in

as many ways as possible.

The 4 weeks' project was planned by a Christian citizenship committee of the so-ciety. The members were divided into four groups, each assigned to arrange a 1 week window display on an assigned theme in a prominent store, and a corresponding slogan on the outside church bulletin board. The president was assigned to write four essays for the local newspaper emphasizing the display themes.

The project began on February 4 with the simultaneous appearance of a window display, newspaper essay, and bulletin board slogan.

Note.—Each week's procedure follows this outline:

1. Evil combated.

- 2. Display theme, always prefaced-We Stand For: 3. Objects used.
 - 4. Newspaper essay.
 - 5. Slogan.

 - 6. Special.

FIRST WEEK

Juvenile delinquency.
 "Virtue That Builds the Soul."

- 3. Twenty-four 10-inch dolls depicting 10 virtues: "Faith"—family reading Bible; "Obedience"—driver stopping at red light; and so forth.
- 4. "Our Spiritual Heritage"-urging youth to reevaluate, maintain and propagate it.
- 5. "Reputation Is Precious But Character Is Priceless." 6. Pastor's Christian Citizenship, sermon.

SECOND WEEK

1. Obscene literature.

- 2. "Reading That Builds the Mind."
- 3. Library-"Open Bible," books on Christian life, biography, travel, arts, and so forth.
- 4. "Our Literary Heritage"—emphasizing compensations of good reading; urging youth to read only the best.

- 5. "Good Citizens Read Good Books."
- 6. Distributed several hundred tracts, "The Satisfied Life," by Governor Hatfield.

THIRD WEEK

1. Liquor traffic.

2. "Beverage that builds the body."

3. Gardencart, patio table, milk, fruit and vegetable drinks, fountain, lifesize doll holding glass of juice, open Bible, plaque—"Daniel purposed in his heart."

4. "Our Social Heritage"—appraisal of modern society; urging youth to drink only

that which builds the body.

5. "Alcoholism Destroys Patriotism."

6. Signed "Proud To Abstain" roll.

1. Communism.

2. "Citizenship That Builds the Nation."
3. Community depicting 10 aspects of Christian citizenship; "Church"—freedom of

FOURTH WEEK

worship; "Voting booth"-vote wisely; "Revenue office"-pay taxes, etc.

4. "Our National Heritage"-urging youth to maintain Christian principles upon which Nation was founded.

5. "Want a Better Nation? Be a Better Christian '

6. Twenty-seven youth interviewed presidents of community organizations and clubs; to gather information on their citizenship activities, to solicit suggestions for service, and to impress the importance of Christian citizenshin.

After we evaluated the interview reports, 35 letters were written, commending good citizenship activities and volunteering our services. We urged the recreation center to consider a library and reading lounge in their current expansion program.

Our project cost approximately \$35.

As a result of our findings the society presented a citation to an "outstanding Christian citizen" and adopted the following projects:

1. Fifteen dollar membership to International Society of Christian Endeavor.

- 2. Picnic and gifts for "fresh air children." 3. Spiritual program for "senior citizens"
- 4. Special feature for "aged folks home."
- 5. Volunteer reading and writing for "lonely shut-ins."
- 6. Custodianship of chancel paraments and outside bulletin board.

Our project brought commendation from the clergymen, businessmen, educators, and organizations. The society has been challenged and inspired to Christian citizenship—unlimited.

In supplementing this detailed description of a truly outstanding program I fell that I can speak for the Members of this body by expressing great satisfaction in the emphasis that is thus placed on Christian citizenship and the duties devolving upon all those who feel called upon to meet the challenge of this materialistic age and this threat of godless communism. Atheistic ideologies are predicated on the philosophy that given a nation's youth in the formative years their adult life will invariably follow the tortuous pain of disbelief in a Supreme Being. Indeed, it is both reassuring and refreshing to discover that here is a great group of young people, under inspired leadership, who are determined to lend new significance to the phrase "this Nation under God" and then to go on to apply it in practical fashion to the day-to-day call of public responsibility. My warmest congratulations to the Lititz vespers group and all those who have had part in this program.

Preliminary Tabulation of Replies From Questionnaire in the 32d Congressional District of New York

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, SAMUEL S. STRATTON

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 19, 1960

Mr. STRATTON. Mr. Speaker, last nonth I sent out to some 55,000 residents of my congressional district, embracing five upstate counties in New York State, a questionnaire dealing with some of the major items of legislation pending before this 2d session of the 86th Congress. These questionnaires were sent out on a purely random basis to telephone subscribers within these five counties. By way of background in interpreting the results I might add that these five counties are traditionally recognized as a conservative area. Republican Party enrollment outnumbers Democratic enrollment by 3 to 1. President Eisenhower carried the district over Governor Stevenson in 1956 by 119,000 to 44,000; Governor Rockefeller carried the district in 1958

by 37,000. As Members are aware, I am

the first member of my party to have the honor to serve this district in the House of Representatives in 42 years.

I mention these facts only by way of background for a tabulation of the answers I have received. Out of 55,000 questionnaires mailed out we have received 9,337 replies, or a return of 17 percent, which, I am told, is an amazingly high percentage. In addition I have also had the privilege of receiving a great number of letters and communications expanding on the yes-or-no replies provided by the tabulated questionnaire itself.

While a Congressman must, of course, make up his mind on legislation on the basis of many factors, certainly the desires and wishes of his constituents, expressed in many ways, particularly through the means of a questionnaire like this, should be a most important factor in his final decision.

I want to express to all of the people of my district who took the trouble to answer our questionnaire and particularly to those who went to the added trouble of sending me their amplified comments, my sincere appreciation for all the great help which they have given to me in my effort to be an effective and responsive representative of their wishes and interests in this body. I am hopeful

that those who have written to me will forgive me, incidentally, for the delay that has been encountered in replying to their letters. So many individual letters have been received with these questionnaires that it has been physically impossible for my office staff to answer all of them as yet and still keep up with our other work. However, we do anticipate answering all of them soon, and in the meantime all are being read and pondered carefully.

In general, the replies we have received seem to indicate that our district overwhelmingly supports restrictions on foreign imports, Federal assistance for unemployment areas, elimination of the telephone tax, civil rights, the Forand approach to health insurance for retired citizens, a youth conservation corps, and a balanced budget. Aid to education and an increase in the minimum wage are also supported, though by less substantial majorities. Legislation to promote milk consumption loses by a small edge. The soil bank and a ban on nuclear weapons testing which does not include effective inspection and control procedures are opposed by substantial majorities.

The detailed results are summarized below:

[In percent]

Question	Yes	No	No opinion	Question	Yes	No	No opinion
Do you favor legislation to protect American job op- portunities by increased restrictions on foreign im- ports? Would you oppose President Fisenhower's preposal	74. 6	19.3	6.1	9. Do you favor an increase in the present \$1 Federal minimum wage? 10. Do you favor expanding the Federal social security program to include some form of health insurance	57.3	36, 5	6.5
for a major increase in the soil bank program? 3. Would you favor Federal legislation to promote the	52.3	25, 1	22.6	for retired persons?	72.4	19, 8	7.
consumption of fluid milk? 4. Do you favor some measure of Federal assistance to help local communities hard hit by unemployment	40.3	40. 6	19.1	before agreement is reached on effective inspection and control procedures? 12. Do you favor promoting conservation and combating	22.2	67.8	10.
in attracting new industry? 5. Do you favor continuing the Federal telephone tax beyond June 30, 1900, the date on which it is now	76, 2	18, 1	5.7	juvenile delinquency by establishing a voluntary Youth Conservation Corps?	74. 7 80. 9	14.6	10. 12.
scheduled by law to expire? 6. Do you favor some Federal tax concessions for industries which move into areas of serious unemploy-	16.3	76	7.7	14. Which of the following do you now favor for President in 1960:	1		94.5
ment or expand in such areas?	66, 1	25	8.9	Nixon 39.9 Kennedy 35.4		1	
insure the right to vote regardless of race, creed, or color? 8. Would you oppose legislation to improve our educa-	88. 6	5.7	5, 7	Stevenson 9.7 Rockefoller 5.0 Humphrey 4.0			
tional program by extending Federal grants to States to help build new schools or classrooms?	36, 4	55. 3	8.3	Symington		1 949	

1 Write-in.

"Jobs for the Handicapped—Passports to Dignity" Essay by Allen Slusher, Lexington, Mo.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. WILLIAM J. RANDALL

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, May 19, 1960

Mr. RANDALL. Mr. Speaker, it is my pleasure to be able to offer for inclusion in the Record the prize-winning essay for the State of Missouri on the subject "Jobs for the Handicapped—Passports to Dignity."

This contest came about following reports on the President's committee on employment of the physically handicapped. Both the AFL-CIO and the Disabled American Veterans—DAV—thought that interest could be increased by an essay contest. It was left to the AFL-CIO to set up the conditions of such a contest throughout the high schools of the United States and to provide the prizes for the winners. The prize for the winner in each State was a trip to the Nation's Capital with all expenses paid. Thirty-seven winners were visitors in the city of Washington from May 4 through May 8, 1960.

The winner for the State of Missouri was Allen Slusher, a senior at Lexington High School in Lafayette County, which is one of the counties comprising the Fourth Missouri Congressional District. As the State winner, Allen has brought distinction to himself, his teachers, his school his home city, and his congressional district. The quality of his win-

ning essay proves the value of this project so generously sponsored by the AFL-CIO. The essay in full is as follows:

The past 50 years have marked a period of enormous scientific and technological advancement in the United States. Yet, surrounded by all this progress, our concepts of human relations remain woefully outmoded. Nowhere is the problem of human understanding more clearly evident than in the status accorded the handicapped individual. Today, through birth, war, and accidents, there are thousands of persons in the United States who suffer physical impairment.

Public attitude toward the handicapped ranges from sympathetic assistance to utter disregard. While these views represent two distinct poles of thought, they have one important aspect in common. They are equally at fault in their approach toward relationship with the handicapped.

The person possessing a physical defect does not desire the pity of others. Rather,

he wishes the respect accorded any human being and the opportunity to achieve a happy, useful existence. He realizes, how-ever, that his goal in life cannot be accom-plished entirely through personal effort. The handicapped individual needs and welcomes the type of constructive aid that will enable

him to become self-sufficient.

Our country was founded on basic principles of moral responsibility and duty to the people. Consistent with the American creed professed by our Founding Fathers, it is the clear-cut duty of the U.S. Government and all the people in these 50 States to strive for the welfare of each and every citizen. This is doubly true in the case of the handicapped, since many physical injuries were incurred in defense of our Nation and its tenets.

Government ald to the handicapped would produce no additional cost to the taxpayer. Rather, it would be a relief of this load, since Government assistance would enable the handicapped person to support himself and his family when otherwise they might have become public burdens. The augmentation of productive citizens would also enhance our efforts to retain world leadership.

To enable the handlcapped person to become self-dependent, aid must culminate in employment at a job within the intellectual and physical limitations of that particular individual. Therefore, preliminary help should be directed toward this objective. Because the handicapped person will have a smaller field of occupations from which to choose than does the normal worker, it is necessary that proper facilities be offered in which physically handicapped persons may obtain counseling and training in a job best suited to their needs and qualifications. These training centers could be provided by the Government much as other public service offices are operated. Private organiza-tions functioning under the same spirit of constructive help can also exert tremendous influence for improving the lives of the handicapped.

Within the training centers themselves we must deal with two types of handicapped persons. One is the individual who has been afflicted from birth or childhood. For this person early guidance, in most cases, is desirable. The other subject is the man who is injured later in life. This person must be shown that his ability to lead a useful life has not been terminated, and he should be trained to resume his earning duties as soon as possible. These ideas are necessarily very general, and, while they will apply in a great number of cases, they are by no means offered as methods of treating the rehabilitation of all handicapped. The problem is largely an individual one and should be con-

sidered as such. The handicapped person with public sup-Port has prepared himself to become a productive citizen. It is now in the hands of a relatively small group to determine whether these efforts have been to any avail. The employer must now hire the handicapped worker.

A man retaining the service of an employee must do so from a business point of view. He must consider the ability, conscientiousness, and productivity of the pros-Pective worker. Through the years employ-ers have been constantly impressed by the almost perfect record of handicapped workers, whose ranking is high in all these requirements. The absentee percentage rate for handicapped workers is the smallest for any group of employees in the country.

The handicapped person has often trudged a long and difficult road in preparing himself to become a capable worker in his field. The desire to attain a purposeful life has become a conscious motivating factor in determining the path of existence a handi-capped person follows. He is aware of the huge part a job plays in accomplishing his goals and would seldom risk his position by careless work.

Campaigns to advise employers about handicapped workers are good because they help dispel doubts as to the performance of the handicapped by providing authoritative and enlightening statistics concerning the physically disabled.

Achievements of notable handicapped people should serve to illustrate the heights to which the physically impaired can rise. Franklin D. Roosevelt was stricken in middle age by a crippling disease, yet he overcame his handicap to become President of the United States. Helen Keller conquered seemingly insurmountable obstacles from birth become one of the most loved and respected women in our age. More recently Roy Campanella has ignored paralysis to engage in inspirational public appearances. The list is great and lengthens with each passing year.

Although we distinguish people at first glance by their physical characteristics, the body is not a determining factor in evaluating an individual. Rather it is the indom-itable human spirit, the mind, the immortal soul, that sets each human being apart from another. Even though a man's body be crippled, his mind still functions. Man's ability to be useful and productive is limited only by his own will to succeed. Give the handicapped a chance, they will meet the challenge.

The Impact of Foreign Competition

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. ALVIN M. BENTLEY

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, May 19, 1960

Mr. BENTLEY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Rec-ORD, I include the following text of testimony presented by Mr. Walter J. Campbell, editor of Steel, the Metalworking Weekly, before the House Appropriations Subcommittee on Foreign Operations on April 25. Due to the seriousness of this situation, I would recommend that all Members of the Congress study carefully Mr. Campbell's excellent analysis of this grave problem:

THE IMPACT OF FOREIGN COMPETITION

(Walter J. Campbell, editor of Steel, the Metalworking Weekly, testified before the House Appropriations Subcommittee on Foreign Operations, April 25. Mr. Campbell's testimony was requested by the Citizens For-eign Aid Committee, Washington, and was prompted by this magazine's recognition of the growing threat of low wage foreign competition to the metalworking industries. Because the editors believe foreign competition is now and will continue to be one of metalworking's gravest problems, we reproduce Mr. Campbell's testimony below.)

There is a deep and growing concern among metalworking managers over the inroads being made in the metalworking and metal producing industries by foreign manufacturers in the last decade and par-ticularly within the last several years.

Not only are we importing much larger quantities of metalworking products into this country, but our manufacturers are losing export sales which formerly constituted a substantial part of their market.

The result is not only a serious loss in business for our manufacturers, but a loss

of employment possibilities for our workers and a loss of taxes to our Government.

UNITED STATES A "HAS BEEN" NATION?

We believe the problem is the gravest yet faced by American industry. We believe that, unless checked, the rising tide of imports and loss of exports can make the United States a "have not" and a "has been" Nation. We believe this country could experience a decline comparable to that of Spain in the 17th century and that of Eng-land in the early part of the 20th century. The enormity of the problem is not yet

fully recognized, even by the companies and

industries most affected.

For example, much has been said about the increase in imports of finished steel products. Finished steel products are the most important raw materials of the metalworking industries. Traditionally, we have exported much more than we have imported.

That tide has turned.

Three years ago, in 1957, we imported 1.1 million tons of steel mill products. Last year, 1959, we imported 4.4 million tons. just 3 years, our imports increased by 3.3 million tons.

But looking at the steel import figures is like watching a baseball game through a knothole, where your view is limited to the pitcher's mound and the pitcher's activities. You don't know what's going on unless you can see the batsman, the catcher, the infield, and the outfield.

Let's glance at homeplate.

In 1957, we exported 5.2 million tons of steel mill products. Last year, our exports dropped to 1.5 million tons, a decline of 3.7 million tons in 2 years.

That increase in imports and decrease in exports means that 7 million tons of finished steel products were not produced in American mills, or by American labor. Seven mil-lion tons of finished steel products are equal to 10 million tons of steel ingots, or about 11 percent of our 1959 production.

STEELWORKERS LOSE

Had that 7 million tons of steel been produced in this country, it would have provided employment for 56,000 more people in the steel industry. That calculation is based on the industry experience of 16 manhours required to produce a ton of finished

But the increased imports and decreased exports of steel mill products still represent only a knothole view of what is happening to the steel producing industry.

Let's look at first base.

There are important further losses to the steel producing industry in the increase in imports and decrease in exports of end products which are made of steel.

For example, last year we imported 625,000 foreign-built passenger cars. That was 580,-000 more than we brought in in 1955. At the same time, our exports of Americanbuilt passenger cars dropped to only 115,000, less than half what they were in 1955. In other words, we are losing the production of more than 700,000 passenger cars annually. That production is being lost to foreign competitors.

Now the average automobile requires 134 tons of finished steel in its manufacture. The automobiles lost to foreign competitors would have required an additional 14 mil-lion tons of finished steel annually.

That amount of steel production would have provided employment in the steel industry for an additional 10,000 workers.

Statisticians in the American automobile industry figure that 187 man-hours in direct labor go into the production of each passenger car. Thus, the loss of 700,000 automo-biles to foreign competitors means that job opportunities were denied to 65,000 AmeriGONE: 130,000 JOBS

Those computations are based on direct labor only. Such direct job losses in steel mills and auto plants alone total more than 130,000.

If it were possible to compute such job losses among all the suppliers of goods and services to the steel and automotive industries, the employment loss would be much more frightening.

Now let's take a look at fasteners bolts, nuts, rivets, screws.

Back in 1953, we imported 16 million pounds of fasteners.

By 1957, imports had more than doubled

to about 34 million pounds.

By 1959, imports again had doubled to nearly 70 million pounds, and throughout the year there was a sharp and steady

increase in imports.

Statistics available for the early part of 1960 show that we are importing fasteners at an annual rate of 218 million pounds. Mr. William E. Ward, president of Russell, Burdsall & Ward, Bolt & Nut Co. of Port Chester, N.Y., believes 1960 imports will be at least that high. That would be triple the 1959 imports and would be three times the output of the largest independent fastener company in the United States, according to Mr. Ward.

Now bolts, nuts, screws, and rivets use steel as their raw material. The indicated imports in 1960 would require more than 130,000 tons of steel to produce. That amount of steel, lost to American mills, would provide jobs for another 1,000 workers.

The loss of jobs to American workers in fastener plants will be between 2,500 and 3,000 since the production of fasteners requires 45 to 50 man-hours per ton.

SCORES OF INDUSTRIES DAMAGED

I wish that statistics were available to permit a similar detailed analysis and tabulation of the total amount of steel that is lost to American mills and the number of jobs that are denied Americans by the increased imports and lowered exports of such end products as machine tools, sewing machines, typewriters, bicycles, tableware, electrical generating equipment, electronic components, radios, optical equipment, twist drills, hand tools, surgical instruments, and scores of other products of the metalworking industry.

However, statistics on imports and exports of those products are not amenable to such analysis—at least not in the time and to the facilities I have available.

But market analysts for steel producers tell me they are much more concerned over the loss of steel markets resulting from the inroads of foreign competitors on metalworking end products than they are with the direct loss of steel mill products to foreign steelmakers.

But, of course, the big pinch comes in the particular segment of the metalworking industry involved.

Let's take a look at what is happening in sewing machines. In 1949, we imported 37,-800 according to the Singer Manufacturing Co. In 1950, imports more than quadrupled to 153,000 units. Last year, we imported 1,229,400 units, Japan alone now ships more than a million units a year to this country.

This development is rough on the people who are, or who were, in the domestic sewing machine industry. It is rough on the workers in the domestic sewing machine industry, just as it is rough on the auto workers, the steel workers, the workers in fastener plants.

PINCH IN MACHINE TOOLS

Let's turn now to an industry that has not only economic but national security implications. I refer, or course, to the machine tool industry.

Machine tools often are called the "master tools of industry." They are the basic machines which cut and form metal and without which nothing made of metal could be manufactured in significant quantities. Our standard of living and the defense posture of the country rest on machine tools.

In the reconstruction that followed World War II, western European countries, often with American financial aid, built many modern machine tool plants. As the capacity of those new and modern plants grew, they filled the demand from their own industries and then started looking abroad for markets. They made terriffic inroads on markets formerly held by American machine tool builders, in foreign lands and here in America.

In the thirties and forties, 25 to 30 percent of the output of U.S. machine tool plants was sold abroad. Some years, it ran as high as 40 percent of total output.

In the last few years, only about 10 percent of American machine tool production has been sold abroad. Markets formerly held by the U.S. builders have been taken over by Germany, England, France, Italy, and other European countries.

Foreign machine tools are invading our domestic market in ever increasing numbers. The National Machine Tool Builders' Association, a trade association representing 90 percent of the American industry, estimates that the percentage of the domestic market for general purpose machine tools increased from 6.3 percent in 1955 to 17.5 percent in 1959.

BUILDERS MOVE OVERSEAS

In an attempt at self-preservation, many machine tool builders have built, bought, or otherwise acquired manufacturing capacity in Europe to take advantage of the much cheaper labor available there. Added incentives to having manufacturing capacity abroad are supplied in more favorable tax policies in some cases and in avoiding restrictions which European countries place on imports of machine tools built in America.

Surveys by our editors and by the National Machine Tool Builders' Association indicate that half of all the companies building machine tools now have or are in process of acquiring manufacturing facilities abroad.

Gentlemen, as I watch the exodus of machine tool builders to foreign lands, I have to shudder at the thought of what would happen to us in a national emergency such as we faced in 1941 and 1942, or in 1950. I shudder to think what would happen if Russia should decide to send her armies out over Europe to the Atlantic.

To say that the move of U.S. capacity to Europe represents a serious threat to national security is an understatement.

BRASS MILLS HURT

What has been happening in steel mill products and end products made of ferrous materials has also been happening to non-ferrous metals.

Imports of brass mill products increased from 21 million pounds in 1949 to 199 million pounds in 1959—an almost tenfold increase.

Those imports are cutting into a market already sorely hit by a decline in demand for some of their products and by competition from other materials.

Domestic brass mill shipments dropped from 3.6 billion pounds in 1943 to 1.9 billion pounds in 1959. A mild increase is expected this year but that is small comfort to domestic brass people who are sitting on more than 2 billion pounds of idle capacity while their overseas competitors are operating at capacity.

Domestic brass mill products people find they just can't compete in price with foreign producers. They are underbid by as much

as 20 cents a pound. Lately, American companies have been trying to beat overseas competitors by cutting domestic prices. But they are unable to reduce their costs as much as they cut prices. Price cutting without cost reduction is no solution to their problem.

I could outline the problems of other segments of the metalworking and metal producing industries as a result of the rising tide of foreign competition. But the facts would be much the same.

WHY WE'RE VULNERABLE

Let me turn now to some observations as to why we are so vulnerable to competition from foreign manufacturers.

1. We have aided financially the establishment of modern industrial plants in our foreign-aid programs.

We have shared our technological knowhow with the politically friendly countries that now are our industrial competitors.

3. In our preoccupation with foreign aid, we have neglected domestic aid which other governments have granted their industries. For example, the U.S. depreciation rules and regulations are among the most archaic in the world. The countries which are offering us strong competition have modernized their depreciation regulations to encourage modernization and efficiency of industry. Too often, our depreciation rules penalize the company that wants to modernize.

And, as you know, many foreign governments have aided their industries seeking export markets by extending or guaranteeing credit. They have protected their home markets through various devices we have abandoned—import quotas and restrictions, subsidies.

4. Our industries pay wage rates which are fantastically higher than those paid by our foreign competitors.

The last reason—the disparity in labor costs—is the most important. I am confident that American metalworking and metal producing companies could hold their own against any competition in the world were wage raises more nearly comparable. I believe we could even pay our workers a substantial premium and still compete.

WE'RE "SITTING DUCKS"

But the differential in wage rates has grown so great that we are just "sitting ducks" for foreign competitors, and some other means of equalizing the situation will have to be found.

A few minutes ago we were talking about the machine tool industry. Generally speaking, half the cost of a machine tool is in direct wages.

The average rate for production workers in the American machine tool industry, exclusive of fringe benefits, is \$2.40 an hour. That compares with Western European rates as follows: England, 85 cents an hour; Germany, 60 cents an hour; Italy, 35 cents an hour. Our labor costs in the machine tool industry are four times greater than those in Germany, seven times greater than those in Italy, and three times greater than those in England.

This means that in a machine tool costing \$10,000 in the United States the labor cost is \$5,000. The labor cost on the same machine in Germany is only \$1,250.

The German manufacturer has other cost

The German manufacturer has other cost advantages arising from the difference in wage scales. A considerable portion of the cost of the machine tool is represented by components such as motors and electrical systems. The lower wage scales in Germany mean that those components also cost less than they do in this country.

THEY UNDERSELL US

That explains why Western European machine tool builders can manufacture products in their modern plants, ship them to this country, paying freight, insurance, and tariff, and still undersell domestic builders

In some other categories of metalworking, the disparity in wage costs is even more pronounced.

During the 1959 steel strike we collected the best data available on average hourly earnings in the leading steel-producing countries. To get comparable figures we had to use the year 1957, because data were not available from some countries for more recent years. The American Iron & Steel Institute had the same experience we had and came up with almost identical figures.

Our figures show average hourly earnings In the United States were \$2.92 an hour.

In Germany they were 67 cents.

In the United Kingdom they were 80 cents an hour

In Belgium, they were 77½ cents an hour. And in Japan, they were 41 cents an hour.

In other words, gentlemen, American steel producers were paying their workers more than seven times as much as were Japanese steelmakers, more than four times as much as German steelmakers, and more than three and a half times as much as British steelmakers.

NO END IN SIGHT

The disparity in wage rates, of course, has been increased by the wage contract signed by American steelmakers and the United Steelworkers in January. That contract will raise the employment costs for American steelmakers by 10 cents an hour over the term of the contract. Meanwhile, foreign steelworkers are glad to settle for increases approximating 5 cents an hour.

It takes about 16 man-hours to produce a ton of finished steel. Under present wage rates, that means the cost of labor input per ton of steel in this country now is about \$60 a ton. In Western Europe, the labor input cost is around \$12 to \$14 a ton, and in Japan, it is in the neighborhood of \$7 to \$8.

The steelmaking facilities of those countries are just as modern, and in some cases more modern, than the facilities in this country. With a labor saving of \$50 a ton, it is no wonder that foreign steelmakers can flood world and American markets with material at prices \$30 to \$40 a ton under the costs of American mills.

The narrowing margin of American technological superiority can no longer overcome

so enormous a cost disadvantage.

What we have said about wages in the machine tool and the steel industries is, of course, true of other segments of metalworking with only minor variations. In France, a year ago, I visited an extremely modern modern auto plant in which a substantial share of output was earmarked for export to America. The workers in this plant received the equivalent of \$90 a month, less than what a Detroit autoworker gets for 1 week.

OUR GRAVEST PRODLEM

The rising tide of metalworking imports into this country and the diminution of our metals metalworking exports pose one of the gravest problems our metalworking industry ever est problems our metalworking industry even has faced. And metalworking has made possible the standard of living which made us the envy of the world. If it is weakened, so our standard of living will be lowered. Our world leadership will be impossible to maintain

We think the problem is exceedingly grave day. We think it will get worse before it

gets better.

Some of our people say hopefully that in time the standard of living among our political. ically friendly competitors will rise and that their wage rates will be forced up. I hope that is true. But to date, our wage costs have been rising much more rapidly than in any other country.

WHAT WE MUST DO

I believe that foreign competition's inroads on the metalworking industries have

become a national problem and should be recognized as such.

I believe that we must modernize our depreciation system to encourage increasing our production efficiency.

I believe that our Government must take all proper steps to help American industry maintain a position in world trade.

I personally dislike artificial restraints on trade and doubt that they can prove effective in a world grown suddenly small.

But I also dislike the idea of handicapping American industry through artificial restraints and through policies which give an unfair advantage to foreign competitors.

Export Markets

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. CLARK W. THOMPSON

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, May 19, 1960

THOMPSON of Texas. Mr. Speaker, one of the principal objectives of the Agricultural Trade and Development Act. Public Law 480, was the creation and building of export markets for American agricultural commodities. From time to time I have been informed that an effective job was being done. Recently the administration announced an export promotion campaign and called on industry and agriculture for their complete cooperation. This, too, seemed like a good idea.

However, one of our Texas rice mills has anticipated the administration's program by at least 4 years. They produce and market a high-quality parboiled rice, which is not generally available in foreign markets. In one country, Greecetruly one of our real friends among nations-they had developed a business of approximately 2,000 tons annually, or less than 5 percent of the Greek domestic production. In so doing they expended approximately \$100,000 in advertising and promotion. Their sales do not interfere with sales of Greek rice, having been largely to hotels, tourist resorts, and the carriage trade. Greece does not produce a parboiled rice and their rice is hardly of comparable quality. Pricewise, U.S. rice in Greece sells far better than 50 percent more than Greek rice.

Last November all imports of rice were embargoed by the Greek Government. After a protest by our State Department, a clarifying regulation was promised. Late in February one was issued permitting imports on license where the importer could show he had exported twice the quantity of Greek rice for currency acceptable to the Greek Government. This tied things up tighter than ever.

Among such good friends as the Greeks and ourselves, such a situation will undoubtedly be straightened out without undue delay. The tonnage and exchange is small, but the impact can be great. I trust that the State Department, through the exercise of a high order of sound, practical diplomacy, will resolve the differences of opinion in ample time so that it will not sound a

sour note just as the administration's export promotion program is about to get underway.

Foreign Aid and Mr. K.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. WILLIAM B. WIDNALL

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 19, 1960

Mr. WIDNALL. Mr. Speaker, the free world stands in shock and in anger at the recent developments in Paris. Now unmasked for all to behold and ponder is the shameless cynicism of Mr. Khrushchev who sought to lull the world into accepting his allegedly peaceful blandishments as a sincere effort to ease East-West tensions.

The free world-whether it be France or England or the smaller countries of Laos, Korea, and Pakistan on the periphery of the Soviet Union-have their eyes on the United States-its Government and its people. Will calm consideration of all these developments in our foreign policy give way in anger to rash acts by the Congress-the consequences of which may contribute to a further deterioration of this unfortunate situation?

The free world will soon have an opportunity to gage the reaction of the Congress to these serious developments. I refer to the approaching debate on appropriations for the vital mutual security program. I am sure that the Members of the House must appreciate the fateful consequences of indiscriminate wielding of the pruning knife for the sole purpose of reducing the amount which our President feels is necessary to support our collective security arrangements throughout the free world.

A slash in appropriations below the level requested by the President will be construed as a lack of united and popular support of the President at a most difficult time in our history. A slash in appropriations will be construed as a lack of confidence in our military and civilian leaders, our Secretary of State, our Secretary of Defense, and the Joint Chiefs of Staff, all of whom have endorsed the President's request for the mutual security program, as representing the minimum requirements of our national defense.

Now is the time for both parties-for all the people-to close ranks and show the free world as well as the slave world that we are 100 percent behind the President-and that we accept his leadership and his estimate of our needs for this vital adjunct of our defense effort—the mutual security program.

Let us prepare now for any eventuality. Let us in the debate which will soon be on us to raise a standard that will be an inspiration to the free world-and a bulwark for our President in these diffi-

I ask unanimous consent to insert in the Record at this point an editorial from

today's issue of the Washington Post entitled "Foregin Aid and Mr. K." I commend it to the careful reading of the Members of the House:

FOREIGN AID AND MR. K.

Almost to a man, the leadership and rankand-file of Congress have rallied to President Eisenhower's support in the face of Nikita Khrushchev's incredibly arrogant attacks. If the Congress wishes now to demonstrate that it means what its Members have been saying, there is a perfect opportunity in the pending mutual security appropriation bill. Not only are foreign economic and military assistance keystones of the Eisenhower program, they are also a means of demonstrating to the Soviet Union that this country and its allies cannot be divided by bluster and threat and that American purposes overseas are not the selfish or aggressive ones that Mr. Khrushchev says they are.

When Congress recently passed the foreign ald authorization bill it seemed little more than the annual gesture of general consent usually afforded to the program. Now these measures are cloaked with a grave new urgency, and in passing upon the actual appropriations Congress has a chance to recognize this. No doubt the House Appropriations Committee may still wish to report on the inadequacies, the waste and the miscalculations which its subcommittee claims to have found. No doubt there are opportunities for legislative improvements—even in an appropriation bill. But if Congress allowed the emphasis to become mainly or entirely negative, carping and critical, it would be giving Mr. Khrushchev more fuel for his campaign. It would undercut the President grievously at a time of serious crisis.

If, however, Congress seizes its opportunity, it can express through an adequately funded assistance program a national resolve not to be intimidated by the prospect of new danger and tension in the months ahead. It can say to the world in a concrete and meaningful way that this Nation is fully prepared to help sustain the free world alliance for as long as the Soviet threat remains. It can say that the Nation is ready to help underdeveloped countries find their way in freedom to material progress and stable independence. It can show again that American purposes in the world are more than self-serving and that the Nation's strength has its roots deep in the abiding idealism of the American people.

Oldest Inhabitants, Inc., Laud "Sit-In Students"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. CHARLES C. DIGGS, JR.

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, May 19, 1960

Mr. DIGGS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include a timely resolution proposed by the Oldest Inhabitants, Inc., of Washington, D.C.

As you know Negro students all over the South are engaging in peaceful demonstrations, now labeled "Sit-In."

These young people emerging with militance from family situations steeped of necessity in the fears and ugly traditions of the rabid South, are the voice and protest of the new Negro. The Negro is no longer satisfied to be separate but equal, even if perchance such status were a reality.

These students have not "winced nor cried aloud," but patiently and ploddingly pursued the ideal of full equality under the law, and have vowed they will continue to do so until the bastions of bigotry and intolerance diminish, fade, and die.

They have been beaten, jailed, sprayed with water hose, herded into restricted areas and humiliated, but they have not relented, nor will they until human dignity and equal opportunity has been achieved.

I would like to put in the RECORD the resolution by the Oldest Inhabitants, Inc., of Washington, D.C.

The resolution follows:

We the Oldest Inhabitants, Inc., believing in the dignity of man to aspire to achieve the highest ideals of citizenship, commend the peaceful manner in which the southern college students have conducted themselves in their effort to obtain the rights due every American citizen.

We endorse and applaud these young men and women willing to endure scholastic, financial hardships, mental and physical anguish suffered as the result of their courageous fight for full citizenship for Americans all.

We submit to the public for its appraisal, the spectacle of law enforcement officers and judges seemingly using their authority as a club to browbeat, humiliate and punish those who seek to walk with dignity and security along the American way of life in a free world.

The unreasonable jail sentences and fines far in excess of the alleged offenses committed are plainly intended to crush the spirit of youth whose only desire is to aspire to become first-class citizens in a land where equal rights should be guaranteed to all of its citizens.

Then and only then will the wavering nations of the world have confidence in this great country of ours and be willing to accept our form of democracy as a symbol of justice, peace, and equality for all in a free, united, happy world.

WILLIAM D. NIXON,
President, Oldest Inhabitants, Inc.

Elimination of Foreign Restrictions Against U.S. Exports

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. HALE BOGGS

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, May 19, 1960

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. Speaker, I have recently received a press release, issued jointly by the Departments of State, Commerce, and Agriculture, giving a detailed report on the good progress that has been made in the elimination of foreign restrictions against U.S. exports. This release and the important information that it contains deserve the most careful attention of the Members of the U.S. Congress.

In the past few years our Government has been actively engaged in working for the elimination of the restrictions against U.S. exports that had been imposed during the war and postwar period. These restrictions were imposed to conserve scarce dollar exchange and to protect the balance of payments; they are no longer justified today.

Our Government deserves a vote of thanks for the excellent progress that has been made. In particular, I want to offer my compliments for the conscientious and effective work of the Under Secretary of State, the Honorable C. Douglas Dillon, and the former Assistant Secretary of Commerce, the Honorable Henry A. Kearns.

We have seen profound changes take place in the postwar period, and particularly in the last decade, in the world trade situation. Due in no small part to the Marshall plan, as well as to their own efforts, the major industrial countries of the world have enjoyed a dramatic improvement in their economies. With economic growth has come the expansion of their foreign trade and an improvement in their balance of payments and foreign reserve positions. This new and healthy condition that characterizes the trade and general economic circumstances of these countries has permitted a widening of the area of freedom in trade and international financial transactions. This is a result that we in the United States have long sought. We have worked for this result in the general agreements on tariffs and trade, in the international monetary fund, through the Organization for European Economic Cooperation and in our bilateral discussions with these countries.

We have emphasized in particular the importance of eliminating discriminatory restrictions against dollar imports into these countries and, in addition, we have sought to eliminate all quotas that had been imposed to protect the balance of payments. For a large part of world trade, excepting the situation of the underdeveloped countries, balance has been restored and there is no longer the justification of balance of payments disequilibrium for the maintenance of restrictions that have been imposed on trade.

On September 8 last year I inserted into the Congressional Record a statement strongly urging the elimination of restrictions against U.S. exports and providing detailed information on the restrictions that then existed. At the 15th session of the GATT which took place in October-November of last year the subject of trade liberalization occupied the center of the discussions. think it is fair to say that the work of the 15th session of the GATT marked a major breakthrough in trade liberalization. The GATT adopted a report which concluded that discrimination in trade on balance of payments grounds should be quickly ended. A number of countries that are members of the GATT announced important steps toward further liberalization at the 15th session. Prior to the GATT session the International Monetary Fund on October 23 adopted a decision that there was no further balance of payments justification for trade

discrimination and, indeed, that there was need for progress in the elimination of all quantitative restrictions—quotas—including nondiscriminatory restrictions.

The Organization for European Economic Cooperation, in its 11th annual report which was recently issued, pointedly advised the western European nations that are its members that they were duty bound to reduce trade barriers and to stop discriminating against United States and Canadian imports.

These decisions and statements along with the hard work of our governmental officials has produced important results. Discrimination against United States exports have been, to a large extent, eliminated. New markets have been opened up for U.S. exports and the press release notes that "since 1958 the removal of quantitative restrictions which discriminated against the United States increased the potential market for American goods in western Europe alone by an estimated half billion dollars per year."

Progress in trade liberalization means greater reciprocity for the United States. We have heard complaints that the trade agreements program was not sufficiently reciprocal because the tariff concessions that we got in return for our tariff cuts were not permitted to operate because of the existence of quota restrictions. This was true and was bound to be the case so long as our trade partners were be-deviled by balance-of-payments problems and inconvertible currencies. The improvements that I described earlier have not only made possible, but also have made essential, the elimination of such restrictions. This has been done to a large extent. Even more needs to be done and the prospects for complete success are very heartening.

Through progress in trade liberalization, by increased sharing with our western European partners of the responsibilities for economic assistance to the less-developed countries, through eco-nomic growth generally, the free world nations can make tangible progress to ward the development of the kind of economic system in the free world that has been the goal of the U.S. foreign trade policy for a quarter of a century. The advantages of expanding and liberalizing trade and of increased investment accrue to all free world countries. It is through these instruments that we can grow and prosper together and succeed in proving that free societies operating in an atmosphere of economic freedom are superior to the regimented economic system of the Sino-Soviet bloc.

The text of the joint State, Commerce, Agriculture press release on trade liberalization follows:

JOINT STATE, COMMERCE, AGRICULTURE PRESS
RELEASE ON TRADE LIBERALIZATION

The liquidation of many of the restrictions on foreign trade which have persisted since World War II has been accelerating in the past 2 years. More specifically, foreign countries have been dropping those quantitative import controls which discriminate against goods from the United States. The major exception has been a number of agricultural commodities. This year we expect to see the virtual elimination of discriminatory treatment including that affecting agricultural products. We also expect that

there will continue to be a sharp reduction in the use of quantitative controls over trade generally.

The immediate spark of the current movement toward trade liberalization was the establishment of external currency convertibility in December 1958, by the major trading countries of Western Europe. This removed the financial basis for the application of discriminatory controls over imports from the doilar area. The International Monetary Fund and the contracting parties to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) have called upon member countries generally to eliminate discriminatory restrictions with all feasible speed. In addition, a number of important countries have reached a point where they no longer require quantitative restrictions previously justified on financial grounds.

The basic reason for the return to conditions of greater freedom in world trade is to be found in the health and vigor of the world economy. The postwar economic recovery and growth of Western Europe and Japan have been phenomenal. The vigor which these economies have shown could not have been foreseen a decade ago. Many factors, including Marshall plan aid, have contributed to this. But the resourcefulness, imagination and vitality of the people was the essential ingredient for success.

The U.S. balance-of-payments deficit, which has been the subject of much recent attention, has been in large part the reverse side of this picture. The recovery of Western Europe and Japan has made them stronger competitors at home as well as abroad. This strength has been reflected in increases in their gold and dollar holdings. These increases provided the basis for the movement we are now witnessing—a return to a healthler and freer world economy. As American producers take advantage of trade liberalization abroad, added exports will tend to reduce the balance-of-payments deficit.

Since 1958 the removal of quantitative restrictions which discriminated against the United States increased the potential market for American goods in Western Europe alone by an estimated half billion dollars per year. If American exporters perform only as well as they have in recent years, they should be able to enlarge their exports to Western Europe by roughly this amount. Similar measures taken by the overseas sterling area countries, Japan and elsewhere have also improved U.S. export prospects in those areas. As_U.S. exporters improve their efforts and as oversea markets grow, U.S. exports will also grow.

With government licensing of imports (except in the case of a number of farm products) rapidly disappearing as a major factor in limiting U.S. business opportunities abroad, tariffs are becoming the most important barriers to our export trade. Concessions which have been granted by forcign countries in the form of tariff reductions or bindings on products imported from the United States are achieving enhanced significance. We hope to see these tariff barriers reduced further through the multi-lateral tariff conference beginning in September 1960, in which the United States will again be negotiating for reductions in forcign tariffs in return for reductions in U.S. tariffs.

Attached is a detailed statement of the trade liberalization actions taken by foreign countries during the past year. The high-lights of these movements are as follows:

The United Kingdom announced liberalization moves in August and November, 1959, and in January 1960, freeing such commodities as butter, textiles and clothing, tobacco. machinery, and photographic equipment from controls. By these actions the United Kingdom has eliminated

discriminatory restrictions on most commodities and has greatly reduced the number of commodities under quantitative restrictions.

During 1959 France freed more goods from quantitative import restrictions than at any time since the war. With liberalization announcements in September, November, and December, 1959, and April, 1960, France reduced the gap between the OEEC and dollar liberalization lists to 21 items. Such U.S. commodities as outboard motors, cotton textiles, nylon, and synthetic fabrics, and automobiles may now be exported to France more easily as a result of these moves.

The following other countries have taken steps in recent months to remove some quantitative and other restrictions which have hampered the flow of U.S. exports: the Netherlands, Sweden, Denmark, Norway, Germany, Italy, Finland, Austria, Portugal, Spain, Tunisla, Australia, New Zealand, India, the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, the Union of South Africa, Kenya, Malaya, Singapore, British East Africa, Japan, Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Peru, and Uruguay. Many of these countries have either eliminated discrimination or have reduced it to a small number of commodities,

In general the restrictions which are still applied by European countries have their most restrictive effect on imports of agricultural products. Such important U.S. products as fresh and processed fruit, wheat, tobacco, canned meats, poultry, barley, and corn are still under import controls in many European countries. Quantitative restrictions are also still applied by many countries in Africa, Asia and South America on a wide variety of "luxury" products in order to conserve foreign exchange for most essential imports; however, most of these restrictions are applied on a nondiscriminatory basis.

In the coming months the U.S. Government will, through such forums as those provided by the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade and the International Monetary Fund and through bilateral discussions, continue its vigorous efforts to bring about the rapid elimination of quantitative restrictions still in force and thus to increase the potential foreign market for U.S. exports.

RECLAMATION OF QUANTITATIVE RESTRICTIONS
AGAINST UNITED STATES EXPORTS COUNTRY
SUMMARIES

Argentina 1

Until the end of 1958, Argentina maintained a rigid import control system. Effective December 30, 1958, a new foreign trade and exchange system was inaugurated which abolished the prohibitions and area discriminations formerly in force.

Under the new arrangement, imports were made subject to exchange surcharges ranging from 20 to 300 percent of their c. & f. value, and advance deposits ranging from 50 to 500 percent were required. Toward the end of 1959, however, Argentina took steps to relax this system, eliminating the high surcharges on certain agricultural machinery and equipment, drastically reducing certain other surcharges and entirely abolishing the prior deposit requirement. This section is expected to result in a moderate increase in the volume of imports into Argentina.

Australia 2

A series of trade liberalization measures introduced by Australia on April 1, August 1 and December 1, 1959, and February 23, 1960, removed import licensing discrimination on all dollar imports except motor vehicles. The Australian Minister of Trade stated on November 29, 1959, that discriminations

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nation on motor vehicles would be ended by October 1, 1960.

While Australia in 1959 continued to exercise control over the general level of Imports by the use of global quotas for some products and of nondiscriminatory individual licensing for others, later in the year many raw materials, components and equipment for industry were either exempted from licensing or were placed under an import replacement system whereby licenses are obtainable up to the level of current consumption. On February 23, 1960, all goods imported into Australia, except motor vehicles of dollar origin and about 200 other items, mainly consumer goods, were exempted from import licensing. Licensing controls and global quotas were continued temporarily on these 200 items, and quotas were increased by 20 percent.

At the beginning of 1959, controls were designed to limit global imports to an annual level equivalent to \$1.8 billion. However, on August 1, 1959, the annual global program was raised by \$112 million and on December 1, 1959, by an additional \$56 million, so that at the beginning of 1960, global imports were being programed at an annual rate of about \$2 billion. With the further liberalization of February 23, 1960, total imports are expected to increase to an annual rate of about \$2.2 billion.

Austria

Austrian imports fall into three general categories: (1) goods not requiring individ-ually validated import licenses, including all commodities which enter duty free or which are not listed in annexes to the foreign exchange law; (2) goods listed in an appendix to the exchange law which requires an individually validated import license regardless of source; and (3) commodities listed in annexes to the exchange law which are liberalized, depending on source, and which may be imported with a few exceptions, under a general license. There is discrimination in the Austrian system, since in the latter category the list of "liberalized" commodities applicable to the dollar area is smaller than that applicable to the OEEC.

In the first liberalization move since 1956, the Austrian Government on October 15, 1959, put into effect an expanded dollar liberalization list which eliminated virtually all discrimination in the liberalized sector between the licensing of industral imports from the OEEC area on one hand and the United States and Canada on the other. Certain textiles, however, still remain subject to licensing when imported from the United States and Canada, though liberalized for OEEC countries. In the agricultural sector, discrimination in import licensing remains for corn (maize), barley, rye and poultry.

Among the more important items added to the liberalization list by the October 15 action are figs, legumes, dehydrated vegetables, oil fruits and seeds, marine fish, beer, liqueurs, cocoa butter and powder, chocolate, canned fruit, cheese sponges, motor vehicles, vehicle motors, pneumatic tools, perfumes, mirror and plate glass, wax cloth, unexposed films, cotton linters, hemp, jute, felt, silk, yarns, velvet fabrics and ribbons, tulle, lace curtains, bituminous coal, coke, bituminous coal and lignite briquettes, certain wood products, a variety of chemicals, glycerin, X-ray barium and synthetic tanning extracts.

Belgian Congo

The Congo has a single column tariff, and although licenses are required, imports enter freely regardless of country of origin. Exchange control is a mere formality and dollar exchange is readily available.

Footnotes at end of speech.

Belgium-Luxembourg *

Most commodities imported into Belgium-Luxembourg (BLEU) are subject only to ordinary customs documentation. BLEU controls over imports from both dollar and nondollar sources are identical. At present only 160 tariff classifications out of several thousand tariff positions and subpositions are wholly or partly subject to import licensing including the items under the so-called Benelux global quotas and the commodities included in the GATT waivers for these two countries. Except in the case of a number of agricultural commodities, requests for licenses are usually granted.

Global quotas for the whole of Benelux—i.e., Belgium, Netherlands, and Luxembourg—exist on a small number of items. These quotas are subdivided into two parts, one applying to imports from the other Common Market countries and the other to imports from third countries, including the United States. The commodities concerned are: Castor oil other than crude, certain fatty acids, methyl chloride, penicillin, wooden packing cases, fish nets, and new and used automobiles. The United States has a trade interest in several of these commodities but the quotas apparently have no appreciable restrictive effect on U.S. goods.

Import quotas on some agricultural products are maintained by the BLEU countries under the waivers granted by the contracting parties to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) in 1955. These products include: Fruits and vegetables (subject to seasonal controls), meat and meat products, dairy products and eggs, potatoes, and seed grain. In the 1959-60 season, Belgium opened its market to apples and pears almost 4 months earlier than usual. Wheat is effectively controlled by a requirement that imports be only a stated percentage of domestic production.

Brazil 1

With a few limited exceptions, Brazil does not impose quantitative restrictions, as such, on imports. Imported goods, however, are subject to control through an exchange mechanism under which importers are required to bid at public auctions for the foreign exchange required to pay for imports. For this purpose merchandise imports are classified into two categories: "General" covering raw materials, industrial equipment, and essential consumer goods, and "Special"—covering nonessential or luxury goods. Only a small percentage of available exchange is allocated for auction in the "Special" category. Purchases for the account of the Government and its agencies, as well as certain imports considered essential, such as wheat, newsprint, oil-well equipment, petroleum and derivatives, rubber, aviation equipment, and equipment for electric power development, fall outside of these categories and are granted foreign exchange at preferential rates.

Exchange auctions for imports in the private sector are held in 10 commercial exchanges. Amounts of foreign exchange allocated for auction are based upon a foreign exchange budget, prepared on the basis of anticipated exchange receipts and the needs of the Government and other sectors not required to purchase exchange at the auction.

Exchange certificates supplied on the basis of auction are valid for imports from specified sources, that is, (1) countries having convertible currencies, and (2) those with nonconvertible currencies, the latter including a number of countries with which Brazil has negotiated bilateral trade and payments agreements. Under this system imports from the United States compete on an equal basis with those from other countries with convertible currencies. However, in some cases the United States is at a disadvantage when competing against countries which

have bilateral trade agreements with Brazil. Dried fruit and fresh deciduous fruit are United States exports which are at a disadvantage under this system.

Burmuda *

The only import controls employed by Bermuda in 1959 were on 13 commodities, whose importation from the dollar area was prohibited. On November 21, 1959, this list was reduced to two items, motorcycles and bicycle propulsion units. The Government of Bermuda has announced that even these prohibitions will be lifted and that, from May 1, 1960, no import controls will be imposed.

Burma 1

Burma's import licensing policy continues to be highly restrictive in view of the country's continuing adverse balance of payments. Many categories of goods require specific import licenses and the importation of less essential goods is severely limited or prohibited.

During 1959, Burma liberalized considerably its treatment of dollar imports by making the dollar area a permissible source of many commodities under open general license. Some of the remaining discrimination against the dollar area arises from the reservation of certain types of imports for procurement under the Japanese reparations program. Since Burma is now tending to abandon barter sales, prospects for further liberalization of dollar imports in the near future may improve.

Cambodia

Cambodia restricts imports mainly through licensing and exchange controls. The Ministry of National Economy prepares an import budget each year, earmarking specific amounts for various categories of imports, including both those financed by the International Cooperation Administration (under the commercial import program) and by Cambodia from its own foreign exchange reserves. Foreign exchange is allocated semi-annually by the National Bank of Cambodia to the Ministry of National Economy. The latter delegates authority to process applications for import licenses and for exchange to the Committee for Foreign Exchange Allocation (Commission de Repartition des Devises).

Some imports are financed outside the import budget, principally those financed under the so-called EFAC system. Under this arrangement, an exporter of selected products is allowed to retain a certain percentage of exchange proceeds from exportseither 10 or 13 percent for most commodities—which he may sell or use himself for importing approved imports. The retention of 13 percent is allowed for exports in dollars and other currencies freely convertible into dollars; the added premium is designed to encourage sales in hard currencies. Imports involving no allocation of foreign exchange, with minor exceptions, are no longer permitted.

With respect to imports financed from Cambodia's own foreign exchange holdings, more French francs than dollars are allocated. The French franc-riel rate (10 French francs equals 1 riel) fosters Cambodian exports to France, but tends to discourage Cambodian imports from France. Cambodian earnings from exports to France are in resident francs which are not convertible and therefore ordinarily must be used to purchase French goods.

There was no significant tightening or relaxing of Cambodian import controls during the year.

Canada *

Canada eliminated foreign exchange licensing in 1951 and has only a few items subject to quantitative controls. Some of these controls are associated with Canadian subsidies on domestic production; some are imposed for strategic purposes; while others represent permanent statutory prohibitions under the tariff and customs law to protect Canadian production of certain products.

The Export and Import Permits Act provides for the control of imports for specified purposes. The most important of these is authority to control imports of any commodity which is under price support in Can-ada. At the present time this applies to butter, butter fat, cheddar cheese, dried skim milk, and turkeys. These require special import permits. An import quota of 1 million pounds per quarter was established in 1959 for U.S. turkeys, but this total of 4 million pounds a year is considerably below the 13 million pounds imported from the United States in 1956, the last complete year during which imports were unrestricted. The restrictions affect only the United States as the United States has been Canada's sole foreign supplier of turkeys. Canada's import prohibition on swine and uncooked pork and pork products from the United States in effect since 1953 was removed in January 1960 following notifica-tion from the U.S. Government that the United States is now free of vesicular exanthema.

Under the Canadian Wheat Board Act, wheat, wheat flour, and wheat starch; oats, including ground, crimped, crushed, rolled, and meal; and barley, including ground, crimped meal, and flour, are subject to import licensing by the Canadian Wheat Board which is the government marketing agency. Imports are small. Despite the competitive strength of Canadian production, there are some years when the restriction directly reduces imports from the United States. In 1959, for example, oats from the United States would have entered Canada in substantial quantities because of the price relationship, had not Canada maintained control over imports.

Under the Export and Import Permits Act Canada can also control imports (1) of a commodity by arrangement with the supplying country and (2) of a commodity which is subject to international allocation. The import control on tin, effective from October 1, 1958 in order to prevent importation of that commodity from the Soviet Bloc was removed effective March 12, 1959 after Russia reached an agreement with the International Tin Council in January to limit its exports to tin.

The Customs Tariff Act prohibits the import of oleomargarine, butterine, and other butter substitutes, although the ingredients of butter substitutes, may be imported. This is a long-standing restriction antedating GATT and handicaps imports even into those provinces where the manufacture and sale of oleomargarine is permitted.

The Customs Tariff Act also prohibits the importation of used motor vehicles of all kinds manufactured prior to the year in which importation is sought. Second-hand aircraft imports regardless of the year of manufacture, are also embargoed. This control also antedates GATT.

Under Canada's Atomic Energy Control Act, import permits are required for the importation of fissionable materials and radioactive isotopes or any equipment which may be used for the production, use, or application of atomic energy. This control is for strategic rather than for commercial purposes.

During 1959 control over import and export of gas in Canada, including hydrocarbons and export of electric power, passed to the National Energy Board, a new advisory and regulatory body. The Board took over the gas and power controls formerly vested in the Minister of Trade and Commerce and the Board of Transport Commissioners. The Board has reserve power to regulate oil import and export. This authority will not be exercised until an order-in-council is issued, placing the trade under control.

The Provinces have a monopoly of the sale of alcoholic beverages, and Provincial licenses are necessary to admit shipments. Most Provinces are willing to give hotels and clubs permits to import for private stock but will not carry U.S. products in the government-operated liquor stores. This Provincial licensing antedates GATT.

Ceylon 2

While most commodities may be imported freely without an individual import license, a substantial number of consumer goods still require an individual license when imported from the dollar area. In October 1959, the Government of Ceylon relaxed restrictions on imports of some goods from the dollar area.

All commodities under individual license from the dollar area may now be imported freely by registered Ceylonese traders or indent agents. For non-Ceylonese firms, the license quota on textiles was raised from 10 percent to 20 percent of their 1951 imports, and the quota for all other items under license from the dollar area raised from 50 percent to 100 percent of their 1951 imports.

Chile 2

Chile took steps in 1959 further to liberalize imports. On April 29, 1959, a decree was promulgated that permitted the importation of all merchandise into Chile. Previously only goods appearing on the list of permitted imports were allowed entry.

The significance of the step was diminished, however, because of institution of a requirement of high prior import deposits made the cost of import some consumer goods, and some goods produced in sufficient quantities domestically, virtually prohibi-tive. Prior import deposit system, under which importers were required to deposit from 5 to 5,000 percent of the c.i.f. value (depending on the essentiality of the import) with an authorized bank in Chile. The deposit was returned to the importer 30 to 90 days (also depending on the essentiality of the import) after the date of deposit. The Government later announced its intention to replace the prior import deposit system with surcharges on imports ranging from 10 to 200 percent of c.i.f. value. In June 1959 Chile took a first major step in implementing this plan when it reduced substantially the prior import deposits on a large list of merchandise to the levels of newly established surcharges. The reduced deposit is applied against the surcharge so this system amounts to the collection of surcharges in advance of importation of the goods. Subsequent decrees have broadened the amount of merchandise now subject to import duty surcharges and the prior deposits have accordingly been reduced to the levels of the new surcharges for many items. However, there remain many goods that are still subject to the

old prior import deposit system.

On December 30, 1959, the 5,000 percent prior import deposit category was reduced to 3,500 percent, and the Government has again stated that it intends to eliminate the prior deposit system in 1961.

Colombia

Colombia maintained its import austerity program during 1959 through a system of import licensing and prohibitions. This program was initiated in mid-1956 when it became evident that measures would have to be taken to conserve foreign exchange.

Colombia maintains a list of commodities the importation of which is prohibited and a list of products subject to quantitative import licensing restrictions. All imports into Colombia require prior registration which, except in the case of books, magazines, and shipments valued at \$20 or less, must be applied for by the importer prior to placing

Footnotes at end of speech.

the order abroad. Import licenses are issued subject in each instance to the discretionary approval of the National Superintendency of Imports. These imports are also subject to advance deposit requirements. In July 1959 these advance deposits were increased, for the largest group of imports, from 100 to 130 percent of the value of the order and at the same time the period for which these advance deposits are retained was extended from 60 to 90 days after clearance of commodities through customs.

Coffee, from which Colombia receives about 80 percent of her foreign exchange, fell almost 45 percent in price in the 2 years 1957 and 1958. However, under the recent coffee agreement with other Latin American and African producers Colombia now has an export quota equivalent to about 90 percent of her exportable coffee production. Barring any further drastic decline in the price of coffee, Colombia's payments situation is not expected to deteriorate further in 1960. Imports may even be allowed to increase as much as 20 percent from the 1959 level of \$31.4 million per month, to permit imports of capital goods and raw materials needed by industry.

Cuba

Cuba, which had previously employed import restrictions only in a few cases, intensified the control system during 1959. Import licensing controls on some 200 nonessential commodities were established in early February 1959. While licensing requirements were not a restrictive factor in limiting imports during the first 5 or 6 months, the mandatory mode of payment for the controlled items (letter of credit) had a restrictive effect on imports of those specific commodities. Exchange registration procedures estab-

Exchange registration procedures established in late August in connection with the payment for all imports had a restrictive effect. Foreign suppliers tightened credit terms and many importers found it difficult to finance peso deposit requirements.

Exchange surcharges, ranging from 30 to 100 percent, were imposed in September on the 200 nonessential commodities then requiring import licenses.

In mid-December, a new regulation placed most remaining imports under licensing control. This regulation was supplemental to the import control regulation of early February, and the two together now cover all mechandise trade.

In summary, virtually all commercial imports now require prior import licenses from the Cuban Monetary Stabilization Fund. All foreign exchange transfers in payment for imports also must be approved by the fund. There is no evidence that the Cuban Government discriminated against imports from the United States in 1959.

Indirect trade restrictions included the imposition of internal taxes on such imported foodstuffs as potatoes, flour, and rice. In addition to the internal taxes, the Cuban Government established tle-in conditions on imports of rice and flour, requiring importers to purchase one bag of domestic rice for each two bags imported and one bag of domestic flour for each bag imported. The tle-in requirement on domestic flour purchases was abolished in early 1960. Packaged rice in containers weighing less than 100 pounds is now prohibited.

Denmark 1

Denmark maintains import controls on a very limited number of consumer goods and agricultural products. Except in the case of agricultural products, licenses are granted freely, depending upon the availability of foreign exchange and needs of the national economy.

On January 1, 1959, Denmark increased its dollar liberalization from 66 to 70 percent (based on 1953 imports). On April 1, 1959 the Danish Government removed licensing controls on a further substantial number of

dollar imports. This move brought the dollar liberalization percentage to 86 percent and eliminated all discrimination against dollar goods in the liberalized sector of Danish import trade. On November 10, 1959 the Danish Government proposed an extensive liberalization of imports from the OEEC and dollar area to take effect simultaneously with a proposed tariff revision; this was effected on March 1, 1960. This step increases the percentage of goods which may be imported freely from the OEEC and dollar area from 86 to 96 percent of 1948 imports. Among the items of interest to the United States liberalized on March 1, 1960 are films, tobacco products, canned pineapple, citrus fruits, apricots and peaches, tolletries and cosmetics, textile goods, glassware, metal products, special machinery including agri-cultural and electrical, vehicles, musical instruments, and leather goods.

Effective December 15, 1959, Danish regional import quotas were made applicable to imports from the dollar area. This extension applied also to import licenses already issued but not yet utilized. With this step Denmark has erased the last significant area of dollar discrimination.

Dominican Republic

Import licenses are not required except for wheat, wheat flour and several other commodities whose import value is not significant.

In January 1959 the Dominican Government removed several commodities from Import licensing requirements, including: glass bottles, empty sacks, barbed wire, staples and treated wood posts. Later in the year, import licensing requirements were established for heavy highway construction machinery, milk and milk products, and centrifugal cast iron pipe, and were reestablished on barbed wire. Imports of automobiles are being limited to 50 percent of the value of a past representative period.

a past representative period.

Technically, formal exchange permits have not been required but each individual foreign exchange transfer requires the administrative approval of the Central Bank. Informally, deferrals of exchange remittances have been effected, and in the last quarter of 1959, approvals for exchange transfers in payment of imports were being granted with considerable delay; however there was some improvement in early 1960.

Internal consumption taxes on 58 import commodities, ranging from 5 to 15 percent ad valorem, and some specific taxes were established in June 1959.

There was no discrimination against U.S. imports in 1959.

El Salvador 1

El Salvador ordinarily does not impose quantitative restrictions on imports from any source.

Finland 2

Under present Finnish import control procedures, which were announced on December 31, 1959, goods subject to import licensing requirements may be divided into two main categories: (1) imports which are licensed automatically or without quantitative restrictions, (2) goods which are licensed under a global quota system.

Import licenses are issued automatically

Import licenses are issued automatically for certain specified goods which may be imported from: (1) countries with which Finland still has bilateral trade agreements, (2) the dollar area, (3) those sterling area countries which remain outside the free list system. Under global quota licensing participation is open to all except bilateral agreement countries.

Restrictions on dollar imports were progressively liberalized in 1959. On April 10, 1959, additional quotas were opened to dollar area imports and licensing of dollar area

goods without quantitative restrictions was administratively extended to a broad range of commodities. According to the Finnish Government calculations, in April 1959 73 percent of dollar imports (based on 1954 imports) were automatically licensed or licensed without quantitative restrictions as compared with 40-42 percent previously.

Imports from the United States and Canada were put on the same basis as those from Western Europe effective January 1, 1960. With this move the list of goods which could be imported without license from Western European countries participating in multilateral trade arrangements with Finland was applied to the United States and Canada and the global import quotas available to the participating countries were made fully available to the whole dollar area. The automatic licensing list previously applicable to the dollar area remains applicable to the dollar area other than the United States and Canada. Under this most recent liberalization the Finnish authorities state that the free list constitutes an 82 percent liberalization calculated on the basis of 1954 imports.

France 2

During 1959 France made significant progress in the liberalization of its dollar imports and in narrowing the difference in treatment of imports from the dollar area and the OEEC. Since December 28, 1958, when dollar liberalization stood at zero, about 88 percent of French imports from the United States (based on 1953 trade) have been freed from quantitative import restrictions. In addition, French authorities have taken a series of measures to remove the differences between the dollar and the OEEC liberalization lists. At present liberalization of only about 20 items has been limited to the OEEC area, and most of these are expected to be liberalized for the dollar area within the next 18 months.

Commodities liberalized for the United States cover a wide range of American products, the most important of which include, in addition to raw materials and semimanufactured products, cotton textiles, wool and rayon clothing, nylon and other synthetic fabrics, acrylic fibers and threads, tires, many chemicals, certain machine tools, all automobiles, wheeled tractors, whisky, honey, low-alcohol-content beer, dried and smoked fish, fatty acids, etc. The removal of quantitative restrictions has also improved the market opportunities for other American goods such as washing machines, hand tools, absorption refrigerating equipment, electric water heaters, space-heating electric apparatus, electric irons and numerous other goods. However, many agricultural commodities are still under quantitative restrictions, regardless of the area of origin.

Further trade liberalization measures are expected, and the French Government has emphasized that henceforth such measures will automatically apply both to the dollar and OEEC areas. The French authorities have stated they intend to abolish all quota restrictions on industrial imports by the end of 1961.

French Caribbean Territories :

A long list of commodities freed from import licensing control by France on July 23, 1959 (with the exceptions of beer, most types of heavy timber and sawn lumber) were also freed by French Guiana, Guadeloupe and Martinique on August 5, 1959. Many products that could be imported only from European suppliers, or which could be obtained from North America only under strict licensing control may now be imported from the United States and Canada without such controls.

Liberalization actions taken by France on July 30, September 26, November 5 and December 24, 1959 are not yet in effect for the French Caribbean. Issuance of licenses for nonliberalized goods depends upon internal considerations and the availability of exchange allotments.

Federal Republic of Germany

The Federal Republic by January 1958 had liberalized 95 percent of private dollar imports (based on such imports in 1953), reimposed some restrictions in late 1958, but freed further commodities from restrictions during 1959.

During 1958, excessive accumulation of unmarketed coal in the Federal Republic threatened to cause serious unemployment in the domestic mining industry, and in September the Government placed coal under import restrictions from all countries except members of the European Coal and Steel Community. In February 1959, a \$4.78 per ton tariff with provision for a duty-free quota, was imposed on all imports of coal. This arrangement is scheduled to run through 1980, although the Federal Government can increase the duty-free quota (which is based on average annual coal imports from non-ECSC countries during the period 1955 through 1958) by 20 percent if overall economic conditions warrant such action. The temporary reimposition of licensing of coal imports reduced the German dollar liberalization percentage from 95 to 86.7 at the end of 1958.

In May 1959, the entire problem of remaining German import restrictions was reviewed by the contracting parties to the GATT. The GATT decision arising from this review sets forth the Federal Republic's commitment to liberalize about half by value of those commodities then subject to quantitative restrictions; commodities not specifically scheduled for liberalization by certain dates during the following 3 years were made subject to continuing consultations, with a full review of the problem scheduled to take place at the end of the 3-year period. Germany was permitted, however, to continue restrictions on imports of jute fabrics, imitation pearls and neat leather for a 5-year period, with progressively increased import quotas to become effective each year during that period.

Under the terms of the 1959 GATT decision, 160 industrial and agricultural items were liberalized on July 1, 1959 for importation from all currency areas. Effective January 1, 1960, an additional 77 industrial and agricultural items were added to the liberalization list. There still remains, however, some discrimination on imports from the dollar area. Licensing controls still applied by Germany on imports from the dollar area weigh most heavily on agricultural imports.

Among the more important items added to the dollar liberalization list during 1959 were various seeds, fruit juices, various vegetable products, chemicals and chemical products, some machinery items and parts, plastic household articles, tubes and tires for bicycles, motor scooters and motor cars, several types of leather, kraft paper and cardboard, some types of textiles, eyeglasses and buttons. Also included were poultry (except chicken), fish, plants, fresh vegetables, fresh fruits (except apples and pears) milling products, edible oils, sugar and chocolate confectionery, milk albumen, bakery products and flax.

Products not specifically scheduled for liberalization in the near future under the 1959 GATT decision are the subject of continuing consultations with the Federal Republic. These are mainly products subject to German agricultural marketing laws.

Ghana

The Government of Ghana maintains a system of import and exchange controls which requires the issuance of a specific import license for a few dollar goods. Such licenses are freely issued, however, and generally do not prevent the importation of any U.S. goods.

Effective March 19, 1960, the Government of Ghana removed licensing requirements for all dollar goods except motion picture films, petroleum products, gold, unmanufactured tobacco, tobacco manufactures, arms and ammunition, and explosives.

Greece :

From April 1953 through 1958, imports into Greece were generally free of import restrictions. Except for nine items of a luxury nature and certain tools and machinery subject to licensing controls, and for a few items under State Trading programs (chiefly wheat, flour, fertilizers, and kerosene), applications to the Bank of Greece to import were approved automatically—provided importers made the necessary deposits of local currency when filing applications. The amounts of the deposits varied with the commodity and were increased generally from a level ranging from 15 to 100 percent to a level ranging from 70 to 140 percent of the estimated cost of foreign purchase in 1958.

In 1957 and 1958, reserves dropped by about 25 percent. To halt this decline, Greece in April 1959 established global quotas, not applicable to imports from bilateral trading partners (and therefore discriminatory against the United States and many other nations) on imports of frozen meat, lumber, coal, iron and steel products, sewing machines, electrical equipment, woodpulp, and tires and tubes. At the same time, imports of textiles, passenger cars, trucks, buses, and chassis were subjected to licensing controls. Previously, the list of machinery and tool items subject to licensing had been increased from 38 to 54 groups items in January. Sugar was subjected to licensing in July and in August the deposit on applications for licenses to import textiles was increased to 280 percent. In September eight more types of agricultural machines were added to licensing controls and imports of kerosene for all areas placed under State trading.

On October 1, a regulation limiting the size of replacements or additions to the taxicab fleet in the Athens-Piraeus area to vehicles of not more than 4.5 meters in length and 13 statutory horsepower became effective, thereby prohibiting use of any American-made car as a taxi. This removed the chief market for U.S. cars in Greece. Later in October, rice, which had been embargoed in September, was placed under licensing controls. Quota control on frozen meat was lifted in October because of the inability of Greek importers to purchase required supplies from Soviet bloc nations.

In January 1980 Greece announced import quotas for the first 6 months of 1980 for the items under quota control, reserving a special quota of \$175,000 for U.S. pitch pine and Oregon pine lumber. Quotas for tires and tubes, coal and lumber are to be allocated on a historical import basis while other quotas will be distributed on a first-come first-served basis. The latter system applied to all quotas in 1959.

Haiti 2

No general system of import licensing has been established in Haiti. A Presidential decree, imposing sweeping restrictions on imports and dated January 27, 1959, was made public on February 23, 1959, and set aside on March 12, 1959, never having gone into effect. The original action was taken to improve Haiti's dangerously low exchange reserves position due to the fall in world coffee prices and the substantial reduction in domestic coffee production. In view of a subsequent \$6 million emergency grant by the International Cooperation Administration for balance-of-payments and budget support, the restrictive measures were no longer necessary and set aside.

Indonesia
Imports are under strict control and may be effected only by officially recognized importers. All commercial imports require prior licenses from the Government's Exchange Bureau in the form of combined

Shortly after the foregoing restrictions were recalled, the Haitian authorities became concerned by reports that there might be difficulties in marketing the full crop of indigenous rice. The Ministry of Commerce and Industry informally notified rice importers that, pending further measures, they should obtain authorization from the Minister of Commerce and Industry for each import shipment. These authorizations have been issued in the form of brief typewritten letters signed by the Minister of Commerce and Industry. On December 16, 1959, the Haitian Government issued a communique warning importers to fulfill certain formalities at the Department of Commerce and Industry before placing any import orders for fertilizer. The Haitian authorities state that the current informal import controls are provisional pending further study.

Honduras 2

Honduras ordinarily does not impose quantitative restrictions on imports from any source.

Iceland 1

Under the Icelandic system of import restrictions all items not included in free lists are subject to import licensing requirements. Before any imports, whether liberalized or not, may be effected, importers must have exchange coverage from a government authorized foreign exchange bank.

The import free list (list A) for the OEEC countries and dollar area covers approximately 33 percent of Iceland's imports from the countries concerned, based on 1953 statistics. Another and overlapping list (list B) covers items freely importable from countries with which Iceland has both trade and payments agreements.

No measures to relax import restrictions were taken in 1959.

India 3

India's import licensing policy continues to be highly restrictive, reflecting an adverse balance of payments. Quota limitations are placed on a wide range of goods, with less essential goods severely limited or prohibited. Special considerations such as credit or investment arrangements govern the import of capital goods costing more than \$42,000.

A change in import licensing policy was announced on December 17, 1959, removing discrimination against imports from the dollar area. Importers in India may now select any country as the source of an ap-proved import (other than more expensive capital goods) where foreign exchange freely usable by India is involved. Under the new policy, oustanding licenses issued for imports from the soft-currency area also will be valid for imports from the dollar area up to the full amount of the value of the license. Movement in the direction of removal of discrimination had been noted for more than a year prior to the December announcement. During that period, licenses for imports from the soft-currency area were valid for imports from the dollar area up to 50 percent of their face value or 5,000 rupees (about \$1,000), whichever was more, licenses up to 5,000 rupees were usable to the full extent from soft-currency or dollar areas.

The new policy will permit U.S. products to compete more effectively on an equitable basis with products from other countries for the market in India. It removes the element of discrimination that existed because of the distinction between dollar and soft-currency licenses.

import-exchange permits, License applications must be accompanied by evidence that the required amount of prior deposit has been deposited with an authorized foreign exchange bank. Since mid-September 1959 this requirement, which for private, non-Government agencies has amounted to 100 percent of the import's entrepot C. & F. value, has been waived entirely for imports by Government agencies. (Between April and August 1959 it had amounted to 230 percent for all imports, both Government and non-Government, and from January to April 1959 to 133½ percent.) In addition, imports are classified into six categories according to essentiality and are subject to exchange surcharges ranging from nil to 200 percent.

Although Indonesia's licensing controls do not provide for formal discrimination, license applications are screened with a view toward fulfilling bilateral trade agreement aims and toward limiting the overall expenditure of foreign exchange.

A definite trend toward increased state trading picked up momentum in 1959. In June 1959 monopoly responsibility for importing nine of the country's most essential and largest import commodities (i.e., newsprint, tin plate, raw cotton, cotton and rayon yarns, textiles, flour, cement, jute bags, and reinforcing steel) was given to a group of Government-owned and/or controlled trading houses. As of September 1959 these "Big Ten" trade agencies reportedly carried on 70 to 80 percent of the country's entire import trade, with indications that this portion has since further increased. This trade is in no way restricted as to origin of commodities.

Some of the factors which made 1958 Indonesia's poorest year in export earnings since independence were still present throughout 1959 and are continuing into 1960. The 1959 trade balance was considerably improved over that of 1958 and exchange holdings have risen quite steadily since September 1959. This improvement has resulted from an increase in the value of exports (largely due to the high price of rubber on the world market) and from a low level of imports continuing from 1958.

Iran

Except for a variety of items included on a prohibited import list and for a few commodities subject to special regulations, importation of goods into Iran is free of import restrictions. Exchange transfer and import authority are granted automatically and on a nondiscriminatory basis for all nonrestricted imports upon application. This liberal import system has been renewed each year since its adoption in 1957 with the issuance each March of new import regulations for the year beginning that month. Though the annual import regulations prescribe a total import quota for the year in accordance with law, the quota can be increased if necessary by the Minister of Commerce and is therefore administrative in nature. Iranian imports from the U.S.S.R. and several other countries are regulated through provisions of bilateral trade agreements. Special regulations apply to imports from Japan.

Imports are limited to some extent, however, by the commercial profits taxes applied to items removed from the prohibited import list in 1957 and subsequent years. These taxes are applied mostly to types of goods made in Iran and to luxury goods and range from very small amounts to over \$1 per pound for some textiles and to 100 percent for such items as metal furniture, cigarette holders, and canes.

In December 1959 the Bank Melli Iran, which has authority over exchange transfers, decreed that imports of nine categories of goods shipped after January 15, 1960, can be made only against procurement authorization of the International Cooperation Administration. Imports of these goods will be

Footnotes at end of speech.

financed, at least until new regulations are issued for the fiscal year beginning in March, from a recent ICA grant of over \$30 million in defense support funds. Affected goods include motor vehicles, tires and tubes, tractors, iron and steel, yarns and piece goods, refrigerators, radios, TV sets and drugs and medicines.

Imports from Soviet bloc nations were exempted from the regulation.

Israel 2

Israel controls all foreign trade through foreign exchange and import and export licensing arrangements. The controls are designed primarily to conserve foreign exchange for essential expenditures and to prevent the export of items in short supply.

Import licenses normally are issued in accordance with a system of priorities in which imports under the reparations agreement with Western Germany or imports carried out under bilateral trade agreements are given first priority. Next in priority are imports financed by loans. Imports to be financed from other sources generally are licensed only if it is impossible or impracticable to obtain imports from the above sources. The needs of the prospective importer, the prices of the commodities from alternative sources of supply, their availability from local resources, size of stocks, and the like are taken into consideration in the issuance of licenses.

Since October 1957, a large number of items have been subject to an open import license system under which licenses are issued to private importers provided they undertake to import certain minimum quantities of the commodity concerned. Under this license system, each commodity is subject to a surcharge to keep the internal price at an established level.

Italy 2

Quantitative restrictions on imports from the dollar area were reduced in 1959. Effective June 9 the number of Italian tariff items or subitems liberalized was increased to 3,779 or 55 percent of the 6,785 separate tariff positions under the new schedule. Prior to that date only 20 percent of the classifications were on the free list, which consisted of certain basic raw materials, a carefully selected group of capital goods, and virtually no consumer goods.

Products liberalized in the 1959 action include numerous organic and inorganic chemicals, certain chemical industry products, rubber goods, hides, tanned leather, cosmetics, iron and steel products, industrial equipment and many additional types of machinery as well as measuring and control equipment. Discrimination against dollar goods was further lessened in January 1960 when some 200 products were removed from quantitative restrictions. Items freed include dried prunes, meat extracts, and juices, brandies, and liquors, some natural and synthetic rubber products, various paper and cardboard products, paints, varnishes, and transmission shafts and gears. However, at the same time controls were reimposed on some commodities.

After allowing for the most recent measures, there remain 2,070 statistical tariff classifications subject to license when imported from the dollar area, whereas the comparable list for the OEEC area includes only 133 tariff classifications. Among the principal dollar items remaining subject to license are almost all agricultural products and foodstuffs, explosives, film, paper and paper products, textiles, copper, aluminum, lead, and zinc products, many consumer goods, unassembled machine parts, motor vehicles, spark plugs and all other automobile parts.

Footnotes at end of speech.

Japan

All commercial imports are subject to license. Two basic systems of import licensing are in general use-the automatic approval system and the fund allocation system. Approximatley one-third of the semiannual foreign exchange budget is set aside for import of specified items on the automatic approval list and licenses are granted automatically on a first-come-first-served basis. Under the fund allocation system, the Ministry of International Trade and Industry (MITI) issues import notices announcing opening and closing dates for filing import license applications, currency to be used in payment, and other matters in regard to delivery prices, etc. MITI may not necessarily allocate the amount of foreign exchange applied for and may designate source of supply.

Japan continued in 1959 to liberalize its import trade. The most important development came in November during the 15th session of the GATT in Tokyo when the Japanese Government announced (a) removal of discrimination against the dollar area on certain items; (b) expansion of the list of items under the automatic approval system; (c) the establishment of a new more liberal system for certain machinery imports; and (d) the liberalization of certain consumer goods.

This announcement followed other actions earlier in the year by the Japanese Government which included an increase in the amount of foreign exchange made available for imports and, under this, the larger portion set aside for purchases under the automatic approval system, an increase in the number of commodities placed on the automatic approval list, the abolition in most cases of the distinction between dollars and most other currencies; the reduction in the number of bilateral open-account agreements, and the significant reduction in the amount of deposit required of importers and in the use of the retention and link systems

In early January another liberalization step was announced. Effective April 1, 1960, more items were transferred to both the automatic approval list and the newly established automatic exchange allocation system, and there was a further reduction in discrimination against the dollar area. Concurrent with the announcement of these measures, the Japanese Government stated that additional action further reducing discrimination may be expected late in 1960 and at some unspecified date there will take place various relaxations on foreign ex-In this connection it was worthy that during 1959 a special Cabinet level group was established to review the country's trade and exchange control sys-tem with the announced purpose of setting up a program for liberalization of the control mechanism.

Federation of Malaya *

Previous discriminatory regulations of the Federation against dollar area goods (involving restrictions on direct imports, the requirement of specific import licenses when direct import was permissible, the necessity of importing via Hong Kong, etc.) were almost entirely abolished by liberalization measures of August 1, 1959. Under present regulations almost all dollar goods can be imported into the Federation under open general license. Even in the case of a limited number of items, particularly motor vehicles, watches, and radios, which still require specific import licenses, dollar exchange is made freely available.

Mexico

Slightly over one-third of Mexico's import classifications, accounting for about one-half of its annual imports, are subject to import control by the Ministry of In-

dustry and Commerce. To import these items, the importer must obtain a permit from the Ministry before placing firm orders. All agricultural, livestock and forestry products, whether or not requiring a license from the Ministry of Industry and Commerce, are subject to prior import licensing by the Ministry of Agriculture.

Though intended primarily to protect national producers, import control has balance-of-payments aspects. The control system does not discriminate against dollar goods. The trend in Mexico in 1959, as in earlier years, was toward expansion of the list of items subject to control by the Ministry of Industry and Commerce. Import controls were also more stringently applied during the year. A minor relaxation occurred at mid-year, when the maximum value of any controlled commodity which can be imported without a prior permit from the Ministry of Industry and Commerce was raised from US\$8.00 to US\$16.00 to facilitate clearance of small imports by individuals.

Netherlands 2

The Netherlands requires import licenses for only about 120 products out of several thousand tariff items. This requirement is applicable to all countries including the United States. Import licenses, where still required, are usually granted liberally. Wheat imports are effectively controlled by mixing regulations, which specify the amount of domestic wheat to be used in the production of flour.

Most of the products for which import licenses are required are subject to Netherlands or Beneiux global quotas. The quotas appear sufficient to accommodate U.S. ex-

porters of most products.

In February 1959 the Netherlands extended to all GATT countries, including the United States, the same degree of trade liberalization that existed for imports from OEEC countries. Effective July 15, 1959, the Netherlands removed the import licensing requirements for the overwhelming majority of products imported from most sources, including the United States. Previously, import licenses had been required for all goods imported from most sources outside the OEEC, although these documents were issued automatically for most products from the dollar area.

The Netherlands employs seasonal restrictions on apples and pears, permitting entry of these fruits only after a certain date each year. In the 1959-60 season the Netherlands opened their market to apples and pears from all sources almost 4 months earli-

er than customary.

In December 1959 it was announced that quantitative restrictions would be removed from the following products as of January I, 1960: Seed rye, rice; margarine, beet, cane, and like sugars, invert sugars and artificial sugar, hydrochloric acid, certain salts of hypochlorous acid; various soaps; various coopers' wares, and certain types of blown or pressed glassware.

New Zealand 1

Because of an improving balance-of-payments situation. New Zealand in 1959 changed its import licensing policy and relaxed import controls. In April and June 1959, many quotas were increased and a number of commodities, for which licensing applications are considered individually, are now licensed more liberally. The New Zealand Import Licensing Schedule for 1960 released in October calls for the virtual elimination of discriminatory licensing of dollar goods. On March 10, 1960, the schedule was amended to liberalize global import licensing and to remove timber from discriminatory control. Only motor vehicles and timber are still subject to discriminatory licensing. The 1960 schedule as amended also provides for additional licensing categories and new

procedures which introduce more flexibility in the licensing system.

Nicaragua 2

While Nicaragua has an import licensing system in connection with its exchange controls, licenses are granted for any and all products, provided importers meet deposit requirements. There is no discrimination against dollar imports.

Briefly, Nicaragua classifies imports into three categories or lists: list 1—essentials; list 2-lesser essentials; and list 3-nonessentials. There is no deposit requirement for items in list 1. In order to obtain necessary permits for commodities on lists 2 and 3, importers must deposit in a Nicaraguan

bank 100 percent of the c.i.f. value of the proposed import. In the case of list 2 goods, licenses are issued within 48 hours of making the deposits; for list 3 items, licenses are issued 30 days after deposit is made.

An effort was made during 1959 to liberalize exchange restrictions. On April 20, the Government placed 21 items on list 1, thus freeing them from deposit requirements. Items affected included certain tires, sandpaper, microscopes and other scientific instruments, special sands, barrels and casks, laminated foil, electrical parts for aircraft, and electrical equipment for repairing aircraft. On the other hand, restrictions tightened on cotton gin imports. In August this item, formerly on list 1, was placed on

Norway 2

Norway continued its progressive liberalization of imports during 1959 and, following action taken at the middle of the year, 91.7 percent of Norway's import (base-1953 private import trade) with the United States was exempt from import license.

On November 19, 1959, the Norwegian Ministry of Commerce announced that the passenger automobile quota for the first half of 1960 would be opened to automobiles from the United States and Canada. This removed the only remaining significant discrimination against imports from the dollar area. At the same time the Ministry announced that import controls and rationing of automobiles would be removed October 1, 1960.

Among the products of interest of American exporters still subject to import controls are: fresh and canned fruit, coal and coke, cosmetics, paints, synthetic resins, refrigerators, certain machinery, television sets, phonographs, and phonograph records.

In operating the license control system the Norwegian authorities have tended to license goods liberally.

Pakistan 3

All imports into Pakistan, other than government purchases, are subject to licensing. However, since 1955, Pakistan has followed a nondiscriminatory import policy, licenses with few exceptions being valid for

any country in the world.

As a result of a deteriorating balance of payments, a severely restricted import pro-gram for the January-June 1959 shipping period was instituted by the Government of Pakistan. Exchange allocations were reduced and the number of items permitted to be imported was cut from 207 to 174. However, with the improvement in the payments position, there was a relaxation of restrictions for the July-December 1959 period. The number of items which could be imported was increased during the period from 174 to 201 and quotas were raised. While the number of items to be licensed in the January-June 1960 period remained practically the same as in the previous perlod, quotas were increased as a result of

continued improvement in the country's foreign earnings, for the following items: iron, steel, and other metals, tools and workshop equipment, machinery and parts, wood and timber, hardware, chemicals, dyes, raw rub-ber and tires, motor vehicles and parts, cycles and parts, vessels and equipment, scientific instruments, books and magazines, milk food for infants, coconut oil, and finecount cotton yarn. In addition, restrictions on imports of drugs and medicines and of raw materials for their local production have been very substantially relaxed.

Paraguay 1

No quantitative licensing restrictions are maintained on imports. However, most imports require advance deposits ranging from 10 to 400 percent. Deposits are retained for a minimum of 120 days.

Peru 2

On October 1, 1959, Peru abolished its quota limitation on imports of automobiles, thus removing the only quantitative restrictions on imports into Peru. The automobile quota, which limited imports of automobiles for the year beginning October 1, 1958, to 4,500 units, was originally established in 1954 in an effort to conserve the nation's reserves of foreign exchange. High import duty surcharges and internal consumption taxes (collected at the custom houses) established in the interval are now relied upon to keep automobile imports within the nation's capacity to import.

At the present time, apart from the usual documentation, consular fees, import duties and surcharges, there are no restrictions on the importation of goods into Peru.

Philippines a

The Republic of the Philippines has employed import restrictions, primarily for balance-of-payments reasons, since 1949. Import restrictions are effected through a Central Bank foreign exchange licensing system. This system imposes an embargo on trade with the Soviet bloc, including Communist China, but does not discriminate among other exporting countries.

Allocations of foreign exchange from the Central Bank are made either through regular quarterly recurring quotas or through special nonrecurring quotas on a case-bycase basis.

The regular quarterly quota allocations are apportioned by commodity categories and by types of importers (government entities, producers and other qualified im-The seven categories of controlled items and the one category of "decontrolled" items, denoting the degree of essentiality accorded each commodity by the Ceneral Bank, are used in determining the amount of exchange for imports under the regular quar-

terly recurring quotas.

Because of large balance-of-payments Because of large balance-of-payments deficits in 1957 and 1958, and a low level of foreign exchange reserves, imports severely restricted in 1959. Individual quota allocations for importers were held considerably below their 1957 levels, and allocations for manufacturers were limited to their 1957 quarterly participation. Nonrecurring or special allocations of foreign exchange for imports to establish new enterprises or to expand existing facilities were also curtailed.

Many imports previously exempted from the special import tax (levied at 15.3 percent of c.i.f. value in 1959, at 10.2 percent in 1960) were during 1959 made subject to this charge, and small shipments and goods accompanying returning residents were made subject to compensating taxes (similar to sales taxes).

In addition, since July 16, 1959, a margin fee of 25 percent has been levied on sales of foreign exchange for most purposes, including payment for the great majority of import items.

Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland

Imports from the sterling area are freely permitted without licensing restrictions or requirements. Excepted from this general rule are a few items which require a specific license regardless of country of origin.

Almost all U.S. nonagricultural goods may now be imported freely under open general license. However, there are several for which exchange quotas are provided and one item, industrial fish nets, which is under of administrative licensing. For the majority of agricultural products, import permits must be obtained from the Ministry of Agriculture. These are issued usually on the basis of the availability of local supplies.

Prior to 1959 a "prohibited list" of over 100 items was maintained. This was a list of products for which licenses to import from the dollar area were not ordinarily granted. In late 1959, however, the Federation reduced the list to 10 items and established exchange quotas for several of these.

In January 1960, the "prohibited list" was further reduced to only five items. month exchange quotas were established for four of these: clothing (£100,000); piece goods-cotton (£200,000); television receiving sets, electrical record players, (£10,000); gramophones (£40,000). The fifth item for which no exchange quotas was set is nets and netting, except sporting goods.

Spain

The Spanish Government maintained import license requirements for imports from

all sources up until July 1959.

On July 20, 1959, Spain became a full member of the Organization for European Economic Cooperation (OEEC). At the same time, Spain freed from license control a list of products which accounted for approximately 50 percent of private imports, based on 1950 statistics. This liberalization list applies to all countries with convertible currencies which do not have bilateral trade and payment agreements with Spain. As a part of a trade liberalization program, Spain is planning to discontinue bilateral agreements with the OEEC countries. For an important part of the remainder of Spain's private trade, global quotas are to replace bilateral quotas. Imports under these global quotas remain subject to license, but licenses are issued on a nondiscriminatory basis, The first list of global quotas for a total amount of \$75 million was announced in August 1959. Early in 1960 global quotas totaling \$225 million were announced for the year 1960.

State of Singapore *

In 1959 Singapore took steps identical with those described in the section on the Federation of Malaya toward relaxation of import restrictions applicable to dollar-area goods.

Sweden 2

Sweden requires import licenses for a relatively small group of commodities. In general these commodities are licensed liberally. During 1959 Sweden simplified import control procedures and took further steps to liberalize imports of dollar goods. There is now little discrimination between imports from the dollar area and from other countries.

The major action in 1959 was the removal from the import license list of coal, synthetic and natural fibers, textile fabrics, except cotton fabrics, and certain textile products. License requirements were removed for cotton textiles and a few other commodities on April 1, 1960.

Goods still subject to license which are of significance to U.S. trade are certain agricultural products such as apples and pears (which are seasonally controlled), passenger automobiles, chassis, and special motor vehicles such as fire trucks and crane trucks.

Footnotes at end of speech.

and ships. These goods are licensed on a nondiscriminatory basis. However, some agricultural commodities, such as poultry, only require a license when imported from the dollar area.

Switzerland 4

Traditionally Switzerland has held to a free nondiscriminatory import policy with generally low customs duties. There have The importabeen no currency restrictions. tion of dollar goods into Switzerland is almost entirely free and in the great majority of cases imports take place without the formality of import licenses.

A few commodities (mostly agricultural products and special trucks) are subject to import licenses and quota limitations. In practice, except for some agricultural commodities, import licenses have been granted

automatically as requested.

At the end of 1959 Swiss imports of cereals, feed, and bread grains, previously handled by a state monopoly, were returned to the private sector. This change in import policy improved prospects for higher wheat imports from the United States.

Thailand

Thailand in 1959 introduced a complete ban against imports from Communist China. Imports from all other sources, including the United States, are free from quantitative import restrictions, with the exception of certain goods of types manufactured in Thailand. About 70 types of goods are subject to individual import license because their importation is considered unduly competitive with locally produced items. None of the items so restricted is of significance in U.S.-None of the Thai trade.

Thailand's exchange rate is free and stable, and importers may freely convert local currency into foreign exchange, including U.S. dollars, for the settlement of bona fide commitments.

Tunisia 2

All goods imported into Tunisia are subject to import licenses or import permits. Prior to 1959 import licenses were granted on an individual basis for goods deemed necessary for the economic development of the country, and for other goods which could be obtained from France or other countries where exchange was readily avail-

able. In October 1959 Tunisia published a long list of commodities, mostly capital goods, for which all quantitative restrictions, if imported from specified countries (includthe United States) were removed. All such imports are now covered by automatic import permits though in some cases spare parts remain subject to license.

Automatic import permits also cover im-ports paid by EFAC accounts (specified per-centages of traders' export proceeds which

can be used for imports).

Some products, not covered by the liberalization measure, can be imported under the system of global quotas, which was expanded in 1959. These quotas were previ-ously reserved for the former EPU countries, but are now open to all suppliers.

Other commodities are licensed in accordance with bilateral trade agreements concluded by Tunisia with a number of Western and Soviet bloc countries. While no such agreement exists between the United States and Tunisia, the Tunisian Government announced the establishment of a dollar import quota program which is now being implemented.

Turkey 2

Turkey's import system established as a part of the economic stabilization and exchange rate reform programs of August 1958 provides for regulation if imports by global

import quotas issued in accordance with available exchange resources and priority

Four import quota programs have been announced since August 1958. quota released in September 1958 provided for \$150 million of imports of raw materials, essential goods, machinery and spares, with a specific quota for each item. Each individual importer was limited to a maximum of 15 percent of each commodity quota and imports were subject to price controls. The second quota, also of \$150 million, announced in February 1959 and was similar to the first except that applications to import from clearing agreement countries (i.e., mainly U.S.S.R. and eastern Europe) were not limited to 15 percent of commodity quotas and received priority treatment. Turkey thus hoped to use its large balances with clearing countries. Pricing regulations were eased by requiring price registration of imported goods rather than advance approval. In May 1959, 160 items, mostly raw materials and spare parts, on the second quota list were freed from quota control making import procedure virtually automatic. The third quota of August 1959 provided for \$240 million of goods consisting of \$170 million of goods subject to quotas, \$45 million of essential goods under an automatic allocation system, and \$25 million of liberalized items which were expanded from 160 to 270 commodity groups. The \$170 million of quota items was subdivided into \$115 million for dollar and west European countries and \$55 million for clearing countries. The third quota included many items of a consumer nature not on previous lists, including about \$3 million for automobiles, the first authorized auto imports in a very long time. The fourth 6-month quota, issued in March 1960, further increased the automatic and liberalized lists.

Turkey controls imports almost entirely for balance-of-payments reasons and is expected to free many items from controls when exchange reserves permit. Items controlled for other than balance-of-payments reasons are mostly those under traditional State monopoly control (chiefly tobacco and some alcoholic beverages) and those reserved to State trading, mainly grains and sugar. In general quota controls are administered on a nondiscriminatory basis, though imports from the clearing countries where Turkey has funds receive special attention and a

specific allocation.

United Kingdom 1

The United Kingdom made further substantial progress in 1959 in carrying out its program of progressively relaxing restrictions on its dollar trade, and with the latest dollar liberalization move on January 18, 1960, virtually eliminated all its remaining controls on dollar area goods. More than 90 percent of Britain's dollar trade, based on 1953 import patterns, has now been freed of restrictions.

By the end of 1958, controls had been removed on nearly all raw materials and foodstuffs, industrial chemicals and allied products, most industrial, office, and agricultural machinery, and other equipment for industry. During 1959, two major moves were made which substantially lessened the scope of discrimination against dollar imports. Licensing restrictions on a wide range of dollar goods were removed in June and the import quotas which had been open only to goods from Western Europe were increased and opened to dollar goods beginning in 1960. In November a further large group of consumer goods, including foodstuffs, was liberalized. In January 1960 import con-trols on tobacco and manufactures, syn-thetic rubber, and transistors were removed.

As a result of these measures the following goods are subject to control when imported from the dollar area, but have been liberalized from other areas: Large aircraft; alcoholic beverages other than whisky; canned fruit; bananas, fresh grapefruit; orange and grapefruit juice; pharmaceutical products; pork and pork products; and

While imports of these items continue to be restricted, quotas are available for most of them and licenses are freely issued within the total quantities permitted under the quotas. There is, for example, a yearly quota of more than \$15 million for imports of canned fruit from North America, as well as a dollar allocation for 25,000 tons of fresh, chilled, or frozen pork, and a dollar quota of \$560,000 for pharmaceuticals.

In addition to the discriminatory controls applied only to dollar imports, the following restrictions remain on United Kingdom imports from sources other than the Sino-Soviet bloc and Japan (to which more ex-

tensive restrictions apply):
(a) On imports from all areas, including the sterling area: Dyes and dyestuffs, potatoes, seeds, sugar, jute manufactures, arms and ammunition, radioactive substances, and feathers.

(b) On imports from all areas, except the sterling area: Baskets and basketware, coal and coke, apples and pears, whole hams, and milk and milk products. Out of this group. U.S. exporters are permitted to participate in quotas for Northern Hemisphere fresh apples valued at about \$20 million, and for quotas of over \$5 million for fresh pears.

Union of South Africa :

Since 1954 import restrictions in most cases have been applied in a nondiscriminatory manner. The South African import control system has been progressively liberalized since 1954, although a temporary balance-of-payments setback in 1958 caused the Government to retrench somewhat during 1958-59. A moderate relaxation of the restrictions was promulgated for 1960.

Under the revised regulations issued in May 1958, assembled passenger cars with an f.o.b. cost of over £800 (\$2,240) continue to be prohibited and certain less essential consumer goods are subject to stricter exchange licensing quotas. Otherwise, the South African import system is relatively liberal. Many goods are decontrolled entirely, while other classes of goods used in industry are licensed on a basis of meeting "full reason-able requirements." Automobiles and parts (except for assembled passenger cars over £800) are licensed freely on a basis of re-placement of retail sales. Most consumer goods, however, remain under import quota-

Uruguay 2

Uruguay's austerity program, the con-sequence of a serious foreign exchange shortage, was initiated by a decree on March 28, Considered at the time a temporary expedient, the program continued in effect until December 1959. All through this period Uruguayan imports were limited to the barest essentials and preferential treatment was accorded to nations having bilateral trade agreements with Uruguay. This did not include the United States. During 1959 the Uruguayan Export-Import Office was permitted to grant exchange permits for goods from hard currency areas only upon written proof that the same article was not available from other markets.

Uruguay established a new exchange and monetary reform law effective December 21, 1959. Under this law the buying and selling rates of foreign currency are to be determined by the supply and demand of the market. Further, the law states that re-strictions are removed on all imports except nonessentials, luxuries, or products competiwith certain domestically produced articles. According to government circles, it is intended to free foreign trade as rapidly

Footnotes at end of speech.

as possible from all artificial restrictions and in particular to remove quantitative controls on trade.

Although Uruguay, at least for the present, maintains bilateral payments agreements with certain European and Latin American countries, these are expected to play a diminishing role in Uruguay's trade relations.

The West Indies and other British Caribbean territories =

In the early part of 1959, and again from July to October, the Federation of the West Indies and other British territories in the Caribbean approved measures liberalizing trade with United States and other dollar area countries. These steps were in keeping With the decisions made at the Common-Wealth Conference at Montreal in September 1958, and followed similar actions taken by the United Kingdom throughout 1959.

The liberalization measures permit all goods from the United States and other dollar area countries to be imported under open general license, unless they are among the few items that appear in schedules of exceptions. Bahamian importers must still obtain individually validated import licenses for all shipments, but their issuance is now a formality, except for those goods still subject to quota restrictions. For most of those goods still under quotas, however, im-Port licenses will be made available liberally on an ad hoc basis, according to the Bahamas Import Control Office.

The Federation, composed of 10 major island groups, has not yet formed a customs union, therefore, the island governments at varying times individually approved the liberalization measures, which differ in content from island to island, depending on the need to protect local industry. Included in the schedules of exception of all of the unit territories of the Federation (except Barbados, Jamaica and St. Kitts, Nevis and Anguilla) is a group of commodities on Which discriminatory restrictions, imposed earlier at the request of the United Kingdom, have not been removed as yet. This group includes such products as air-conditioning and refrigerating equipment, lifting, hauling and transporting equipment, steel tubes, oil mining machinery and pumps, taps, traps and valves. Prospects for removal in 1960 of these items from the islands' schedules of exceptions should be good, in view of their liberalization by the United Kingdom on November 9, 1959. additional items, rice and fats and oils, remain under control in all of the islands because of regional agreements between the West Indies and British Guiana that prohibit the importation of these items from Outside the area unless local supplies are insufficient to meet needs.

Progress in liberalization during 1959 removed the need for continued operation of the British West Indies trade liberalization plan (token import plan), under which, since 1950, a number of imports from the United States and Canada had been admitted on a token basis and a few other imports under open general license by British Caribbean territories. In October 1959 the Governments of the United Kingdom, Canada and the United States agreed to termination of the plan on January 1, 1960, and consultation "about licensing are rangements for products previously covered by the plan which are not yet liberalized on the understanding that access generally to West Indian markets for Canadian and United States exports of these products will be on terms no less favorable than in the past."

Subsequent liberalization actions were cubsequent liberalization actions taken on January 2, 1960, by Jamaica and on January 9, 1960 by British Honduras. The Jamaica measure reduces to 43 the number of commodity groups for which

issuance of specific import licenses are required and substitutes a single open general license for the 2 licenses—one applicable to imports from the sterling area and the other to the nonsterling area—that were in effect prior to this action. The British Honduras measure removed import controls from goods in all but 10 commodity groups.

Venezuela 1

Venezuelan import controls are effected through import duties and import licensing. The licensing system was limited to a mod-erate list of items until new regulations were issued on July 7, 1959 adding several agricultural items and certain goods covered the United States-Venezuela bilateral trade agreement, including cigarettes, wheat flour, hams, prepared milk, dietetic foods, podded vegetables, fruit juices and copper

On November 20, 1959, the Venezuelan Government added an extensive list of manufactured commodities, considered to be luxury or semiluxury goods, to the pre-licensing requirement, including several additional items which were covered by the trade agreement with the United States (including whisky, radios, television sets, pas-senger automobiles, cameras, unexposed films, phonographs, and records). Venezuela is presently experiencing an unusual balance-of-payments deficit, and the Government has announced that import licensing is necessary for the better use of national income, to further economic development, and to limit the excessive expenditures on nonessential products that have been draining dollar reserves.

On December 10, 1959 the Venezuelan Government decreed heavy increases in import duties, as high as 100 bolivares (US \$30) per gross kilogram plus 100 percent ad valorem for some items, on a large number of luxury and semiluxury goods. The greater part of this list consisted of the same items that had been placed under license on July 7 and November 20, and it was announced that the increased duties replaced the licensing requirement. The items covered in the U.S.-Venezuela Trade Agreement were not included in this tariff increase, and remain subject to the prelicensing requirement previously imposed by the resolutions of July 7 and November 20.

Since September 1959, the Venezuelan Government has implemented drastic restrictions on the importation of cigarettes, in support of the local industry. Imports of this commodity, which is covered by the trade agreement with the United States, are being progressively reduced so that imports are expected to cease in the near future. Wheat flour importation is subject to licenses, and this has been justified by Venezuela as necessary for adherence to the International Wheat Agreement. However, in a move to protect the growing domestic industry, flour imports into Venezuela have been drastically reduced through a syste-matic reduction of the number of licenses granted. The views of the U.S. Government with respect to restrictive measures affecting commodities covered by the U.S.-Venezuelan Trade Agreement have been made known to the Government of Venezuela. Consultations were held in Caracas during the latter part of March 1960. The consultations did not involve any revision or modification of the existing bilateral trade agreement, but were limited to discussion of the possibilities of relaxing Venezuelan import restrictions on goods traditionally exported by the United States to Venezuela.

* A special trade agreement governs U.S. trade with the Philippines.

⁴ Switzerland has provisionally acceded to the GATT: the United States also maintains a bilateral agreement with Switzerland.

Birmingham's National Counterattack

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. GEORGE HUDDLESTON, JR.

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 10, 1960

Mr. HUDDLESTON. Mr. Speaker, I am sure my colleagues are aware of the efforts of many individual citizens and public officials of the State of Alabama and my city of Birmingham to counteract the harmful efforts of recent slanderous articles and advertisements appearing in the New York Times about our community and State. These efforts by our citizens were not, as an editorial of the Birmingham News of May 17, 1960, correctly points out, directed toward any other cause than that of truthful journalism and the reporting of all the facts.

I am pleased to call the attention of my colleagues to this fine editorial, which reports on the considerable success of our work in this connection, and insert it herewith in the RECORD under leave heretofore granted:

BIRMINGHAM'S NATIONAL COUNTERATTACK

Protests emanating from Birmingham in connection with the Harrison Salisbury articles and the official State protests about an advertisement in the New York Times in connection with a "defense" of Martin Luther King, have signally paid off.

The New York Times is by no means "in full retreat." You cannot expect a major national daily to tuck tail; it just isn't done.

But Turner Catledge, managing editor of the Times, and the paper's publishers have, we think, made an honorable effort to provide some redress, at least.

is not everything Birmingham and Alabama people wanted. But it has been no inconsiderable concession which has been made. The Times, as it had promised, printed a Birmingham statement which, although it was less than detailed in refutation, was a clear expression of Birmingham resentment.

Further, the Times in a public statement yesterday retracted two paragraphs from the full-page King advertisement. Said a Times

statement, in part:

"Since publication of the advertisement. the Times has made an investigation, and consistent with its policy of retracting and correcting any errors which may appear in its columns, herewith retracts the two paragraphs complained of by the (Alabama) Governor (Mr. Patterson)."

Time magazine, notoriously critical of much in the South, in the May 16 issue re-ported on "The Birmingham Story." It reported as a preface the extreme estimate of Birmingham as offered by Harrison Salisbury of the Times, gave reasonable attention to the Birmingham reaction, stated without qualification that many in Birmingham, who presumably might have been inter-viewed, didn't know Mr. Salisbury was moving about in their city, and noted that Tur-Catledge's two published statements about the story were rare.

The Time magazine article, further, reported that moderate business leaders of

¹ Countries not adhering to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), but with which the United States maintains bilateral trade agreements.

² Countries adhering to the GATT.

this community pointed up omission in the Times' story, and the magazine said "these were precisely the omissions which disturbed Birmingham."

The Salisbury reference to Admiral Crommelin was adequately dealt with as Time quoted the small number of votes Crommelin got in his most recent gubernatorial

campaign.

These are concrete evidences of tangible benefit obtained from prompt protest which the Birmingham News was quick to help develop through its immediate coverage of the Salisbury original reports and its further detailed outlining of half-truths and distortions contained in the New York writer's report on Birmingham.

The News is pleased to see such results and commends all who have participated in the effort, not to claim complete purity, but to call for facts and accuracy in summarizing conditions in our city. To have won such reaction from the New York Times and from Time magazine represents a very unusual accomplishment for any southern community.

Consultation With TV Booster Communities

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. DON MAGNUSON

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 18, 1960

Mr. MAGNUSON. Mr. Speaker, today I have introduced a bill, H.R. 12297, to make a very small addition to the Federal Communications Act directing the Federal Communications Commission to consult with interested persons in small communities and rural and isolated areas on the technical and other problems involved in bringing television programs to these areas at a reasonable cost.

For 5 years now I have been endeavoring to assist the small and isolated communities of our country, particularly in the West, in their efforts to provide themselves with even a part of the television service which those of us in the large metropolitan areas take so much for granted.

The residents of these communities first turned to the FCC for assistance, but were given no help. Undaunted, in typical American fashion, they set about to solve the problem for themselves by designing and installing the relatively simple television booster stations or repeater stations. These facilities, installed and maintained at a very reasonable cost through voluntary community action, have provided a decent television service to thousands of families.

At every stage of the game the local people have had to contend with the stubborn opposition of most of the members of the Federal Communications Commission and its staff. It is my firm conviction that much of this opposition stemmed from some of the worst features of the bureaucratic mind-redtape, lack of imagination, more concern for the administrator's problems than those of the people, insufficient information, delay, and timidity.

But above all, I have felt that the long and needless struggle could have been avoided if there were better communication between the residents of the isolated areas and the agency staff in Washington, D.C., a greater mutual understanding of each other's problems and points of view.

I feel that this communications gap could be bridged if the Commission would appoint five, or even three, field consultants on the television problems of the isolated communities. These specialists could operate out of scattered field offices at, for example, Denver, Colo.; Spokane, Wash.; Douglas, Ariz.; Grand Island, Nebr.; and Fairbanks, Alaska. They could travel around to the small towns to meet with the community leaders interested in television, inspect the terrain, look over the local television repeater facilities and pass on information on what other communities and the FCC itself are doing.

From time to time the field specialists would report back to Washington, D.C., on what they had learned, could pass on suggestions for improvements in the equipment or for changes in licensing procedures, and also could submit recommendations on specific license application.

With these field specialists doing their job conscientiously, I am confident that almost overnight the present feelings of mutual suspicion and mutual antagonism would dissolve.

Heretofore, with but few exceptions, every representative of the FCC who has visited these small towns has done so as an enforcement officer, a policeman, seeking only to find law violations and to close down the community-sponsored television repeater facility which offers the only means the residents have to enjoy television.

By contrast, the field specialists I envision would be welcomed as friends, not antagonists, who are trying to help, not hinder. They would work in mutual cooperation with the local residents to help work out a system for providing good television service within the framework of the administrative responsibilities of the Commission. The local people are more than ready and willing to cooperate with the Commission if only the Commission, in turn, will demonstrate it is willing to cooperate with them. I believe the field consultants quickly can bring about this much desired spirit of mutual cooperation.

There is no doubt in my mind that the Federal Communications Commission could employ these field consultants now, without any nudge from Congress, if only it decided to do so. But when I informally have suggested this course in the past, the response has consisted of a series of typical bureaucratic reasons why it can't be done: They do not have the money, they do not have the authority, they already are studying the problem and there is no need for these additional personnel, anyway. So unless the new chairman of the Commission and the men he has brought with him are motivated by the desire to solve problems and accomplish results rather than

to spend their time thinking up reasons why something cannot be done, then I am afraid that some congressional action is necessary.

Last year I introduced a bill, H.R. 3737, designed to spur the Commission through creating a Community Television Bureau. Both the Commission and the Bureau of the Budget have filed the ex-

pected adverse reports.

The principal objection raised to that bill is a procedural one, namely, that it is unwise from an administrative point of view for Congress by law to create a specific bureau with statutory powers within a larger agency. Recognizing that this argument has some validity, I have taken a new approach in the bill introduced today, H.R. 12297, which consists of adding to the list of powers and duties of the Commission under section 303 of the Communication Act the simple statement that it-

(s) Consult with interested persons in small communities and in rural and isolated areas on the technical and other problems involved in providing adequate television service at a reasonable cost.

I hope that action can be taken on this simplified bill before adjournment.

Jobs After 40

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. CRAIG HOSMER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, May 12, 1960

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Speaker, Columnist Roscoe Drummond one time dispelled many of the myths which are responsible for the unwarranted discrimination by employers against hiring older workers. His excellent article read as follows:

WASTING OUR WORKERS (By Roscoe Drummond)

Is there any valid reason why industry should instinctively turn from employing older workers? The answer is to be found in a study by the Labor Department, which provides the first unbiased, comprehensive research into the skills, education, capabilities, performance, stability, adaptability, and health of workers 40 and over. Here are the principal findings:

Myth: The hiring of older workers unduly

increases pension costs.

Fact: It is not true that employment of older workers unduly increases the costs of private pension plans. These pension plans are mostly based on a percentage of average earnings multiplied by the number of years of service. Under this system, a man hired when young automatically qualifies for a bigger pension because of longer service.

Myth: That older workers are unskilled.

Fact: The opposite is the truth. Of the workers sampled in seven cities, twice as many older jobseekers had held skilled jobs.

Myth: That older workers are not as flexi-

ble, won't accept change. Fact: This is theory, not experience. Research shows that one in four older job applicants changed jobs in order to get work.

Myth: That they are unstable, or they wouldn't be unemployed that late in life.

Fact: This is misinformation. The fact is that more than one-half of the older jobseekers had held the same job for the previous 3 years, compared with one-third of the younger applicants.

Myth: That older workers are less produc-

tive than younger workers.

Fact: In eight clothing and shoe plants studied by the Bureau of Labor Statistics, average output per man-hour of piece-rate Workers remained stable through age 54.

Myth: Older workers are absent more

often than younger workers.

Fact: There is no visible difference in regu-

larity on the job.

Conclusion: Most of the unfavorable things we've heard so long about older workers simply have no basis in fact and experience. A healthy industry and an expanding economy urgently need their skills.

The Fraternal Order of Eagles has, for some time, conducted an effective national campaign to educate employers and eradicate the scourge of discrimination against older workers. Its campaign has brought much favorable comment from persons prominent in public life. Here are samples:

George M. Leader, Governor of Pennsyl-

"I am more than happy to have this oppor-tunity to participate in the Eagles jobs after 40 program. Countless men and women who are qualified are rejected for jobs simply because they have reached an arbitary age limit that steadily becomes lower."

CHARLES E. POTTER, U.S. Senator from

Michigan:

"May I commend the Fraternal Order of Eagles for its vision in undertaking its jobs after 40 campaign looking toward ending job discrimination based on age. I consider arbitrary hiring-age barriers now put up by many employers in the United States as un-Wise and economically unsound."

Abraham Ribicoff, Governor of Connecti-

"Concerning the jobs after 40 campaign of the Fraternal Order of Eagles, Connecticut will make every effort to increase the employment opportunities for our older people so they can be productive and self-support-

Robert E. Smylle, Governor of Idaho:
"I wish to take this opportunity to commend the Fraternal Order of Eagles in their undertaking of the jobs after 40 campaign and to lend my wholehearted support to this worthwhile cause. It is work that gives life meaning. Work gives a sense of personal worth and status among fellow men. The denial of work pulls the pin out of living and the structure of living collapses in a

JOHN SPARKMAN, U.S. Senator from

Alabama:

"I am continually amazed that many employers throughout the Nation still tend to refuse to hire people who are over 40 years old. I want to congratulate the Fraternal Order of Eagles on the order's jobs after 40 campaign. I hope and I pray that the publicity accompanying this program will help turn the tide of employer opinion toward taking advantage of those fruitful years

Joe Foss, Governor of South Dakota: "I certainly can heartly endorse the jobs after 40' campaign, which has been undertaken by the Fraternal Order of Eagles. The over-40 Worker who is willing and able to learn should be given an opportunity to do so. Discrimination based on age is not sensible nor practical."

CHARLES RAPER JONAS, Member of Con-

gress, 10th District, North Carolina:

"You are to be commended upon this worthwhile undertaking, the 'jobs after 40' campaign which the Eagles are undertaking as a project. I have a dep interest in this subject and feel very strongly about this

Lane Dwinell, Governor of New Hampshire:

"To summarize my attitude toward the Eagles 'jobs after 40' campaign to end job discrimination based on age, I heartily agree that the problem of providing useful employment on a nationwide basis for our older citizens is a most important one, deserving of our best efforts at the Federal, State, and local level."

GORDON H. SCHERER, Member of Congress, First District, Ohio:

"As a member of the Fraternal Order of Eagles, I was pleased to learn of the Eagles Jobs after 40' campaign. The Eagles are giving the cogent arguments in favor of this fine program.

G. Mennen Williams, Governor of Michi-

gan:

"The Eagles are doing a great and needed work in getting behind the movement to provide jobs for older workers, and use their skills and experience to the utmost. The Nation needs the services of these experienced men and women, and it cannot be economically healthy as long as those over 40 suffer discrimination in finding jobs."

WINFIELD K. DENTON, Member of Congress,

Eighth District, State of Indiana:

"It seems to me that we have reached a point where investigation and education about the value of older workers is not enough. For that reason, I introduced a bill to prohibit discrimination against older workers by employers who operate or produce goods in Interstate commerce."

Address by Carl Fenichel

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. FRANCIS E. DORN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 11, 1960

Mr. DORN of New York. Mr. Speaker, I wish to call the attention of my colleagues to the excellent address given by Carl Fenichel, Ed. D., director of the League School, at the annual luncheon commemorating the seventh anniversary of the League School for Seriously Disturbed Children.

ANNUAL LUNCHEON COMMEMORATING SEVENTH ANNIVERSARY, LEAGUE SCHOOL FOR SERIOUSLY DISTURBED CHILDREN, SATURDAY, APRIL 30, 1960, NEW YORK CITY

(By Carl Fenichel, Ed. D., director of League School)

Dr. Rees, our guest speaker, comes to us today as director of a world federation that is trying to mobilize every sector of the globe for total war against mental illness. League School in Brooklyn, whose seventh birthday we celebrate today, is proud to be recognized as one small beachhead on that global battlefield.

In fitting prelude to World Mental Health Year, the United Nations General Assembly on November 20, 1959, unanimously adopted and proclaimed the Declaration of the Rights of the Child. The preamble of that declaration affirms that "mankind owes to the child the best it has to give." I know of no human being anywhere in the world who would take issue with this declaration and its sentiments. And yet, parents of seriously dis-turbed children learned long ago that all that boards of education owe their sick children is a medical discharge, and that, with few

exceptions, the best mankind has to give these children is an uncertain diagnosis that excludes them from school and community as uneducable, untreatable, and untouchable.

Here is one of the painful paradoxes of our time. Although we live in an age of streamlined and supersonic superlatives—an age of supermarkets, superthroughways and supermissiles-we still carry a sad and shabby pack of 18th century legends on our backs and in our minds.

True, we have emerged from the dark centuries when society insisted that all handicapped children be destroyed. We have removed the chains and the dungeons that once contained our mentally sick. But we still treat mental illness with all the stigma, horror, and fear of contagion attached to leprosy and insist that those who suffer from it be isolated in hospitals far removed from our consciousness and our conscience.

The League School grew out of a big need and a simple idea—the idea that a State hospital is not the only place that can help a mentally sick child. True, our State hos-pitals today are losing their snake-pit repu-tation and becoming effective treatment centers rather than custodial storage bins. But our parents, like all parents, want the best for their children and, rightly or wrongly, they couldn't accept the State hospital as always the best answer.

And so, in the spring of 1953, a school was born in Brooklyn, a school that swept away legend and superstition by starting a new kind of treatment program—one that didn't involve the drastic surgery of separation of

child and family.

The League School was the first attempt to keep deeply disturbed children in the community by substituting the day school and the home for the mental hospital.

The prognosis for survival was certainly not a very good one when we started in 1953 in a shabby four-room brownstone furnished only with a heavy mortgage, a debt of \$5,000, two mentally sick children, and no funds, no fanfare, no resources, and no community support. Any sane and sound businessman assessing a project which lacked everything fiscal but debts and deficits would have recommended immediate liquidation of this mad venture and wild dream.

And yet we did have some hidden capital that no balance sheet could reveal-not money, unfortunately-but people and atti-We were rich in nothing but hope, and the deep desire of a handful of people to break through some of the doom and despair that surrounded mental illness.

When we take annual inventory at this time it is heartening to recall how far we have come. Although so much of our efforts must still go into the long hard struggle for existence, our growth has been impressive when charted graphically in terms of number of students, size of staff, expan-sion of services, and a budget that has jumped from \$19,000 to \$152,000.

The significance of these statistics, however, would have to be multiplied many times by the pioneering power and historical impact of our project, our demonstration through the day school idea-of what can be done to break some of the barriers that separate the mentally ill from life itself.

When the League School started 7 years ago, we didn't know that we had powerful allies building another beachhead thousands of miles away. Within the past few years, a psychiatric trend has moved across the Atlantic from Dr. Rees' homeland, England, bringing with it the day hospital and the open hospital idea—both closely linked to our day school idea.

These demonstrations, here and abroad, are beginning to teach us a few simple truths. We are learning that locking the mentally ill out of society, while often necessary, is not the best way to resocialize and restore them to society. We are learning that while restraints of the human spirit are not as cruel as straitjackets and iron bars, they can be almost as degrading and damaging. We are finding out that much of the disability of mental illness is not part of the illness but is the result of the isolated way of life imposed by society on the mentally sick.

We now recognize that segregation of the mentally ill cuts off opportunities to develop and use skills and capacities for growth and thus perpetuates the disability. This is certainly true of our children. A mentally ill child—excluded from school—the only organized learning experience open to children—is bound to be more disabled than he might otherwise be.

Today our demonstration project—the day school idea—is beginning to win acceptance as a new and vitally important treatment facility. During the past 2 years a number of studies have been completed of children's in-patient services in New York State. These studies condemn the inadequate and disorganized attempts to treat the seriously disturbed child. They call for the return of most of these children to the community through a wide range of services—the core of which would be day treatment centers like the League School.

With each year that passes, the school's historical role becomes more evident. Since last year's luncheon, phychiatrists and educators, eager to observe and study the day school idea—have come to us from England, Portugal, Canada, Italy, Spain, France, and Sweden as well as from California, Texas, Oregon, Tennessee, Utah, and other points east, west, north, and south.

Judging by our visitor's book, World Mental Health Year began long before 1960. Of even greater value than our ploneering role has been our faith and belief in the worth of every mentally ill child—no matter how sick. Over the years, the League School has won admiration and respect for its unique policy of accepting children who have been turned down by every school, agency, and institution except the State hospital.

In a study of the State's outpatient services completed in 1959 for the New York State Interdepartmental Health Resources Board it is revealed that "only one of the day services studied, the League School, deliberately addresses itself to children who would otherwise have to be institutionalized. It cannot be emphasized too much that the children at the League School are as sick as those at any hospital. The League School is the most conspicuous instance of seriously disturbed children being maintained in the community by dint of outpatient service."

There are those who take issue with this policy. They tell us that ours is too costly a program for children whose illness is so severe and whose prognosis is so grim. It has been suggested that we concentrate on the less disturbed whose chances for improvement are surer and faster. All this is certainly true if success is measured by merchandising standards of fast turnover and price tags.

We at the League School believe that every child—no matter how sick, is entitled to a chance. At our school is a core of people who treat these children not as a foreign species of life—but as human beings suffering from an illness that is as real, as painful and as crippling as pollo—an illness diagnosed by most psychiatrists as childhood schizophrenia.

Let us for a few moments forget the diagnosis with all the confusion and controversy it arouses. Let us instead take a look at our children who have lost identity with themselves, their parents and the world. What are they like? How do they behave?

There are the gentle, tender and quiet ones, and the wild, explosive ones; the chlidren who have never spoken and those who never stop talking. There are children who once had speech but who have returned to the babbling of infancy.

There are some who have the coordination and agility of a mountain goat and others whose awkward and helpless fingers can't turn a door knob or hold a pencil.

There are those who wander aimlessly back and forth in perpetual motion, making strange and inappropriate laughing or moaning sounds.

There are the children who relate to no one and those who try to relate to everyone in a strange, indiscriminate sort of way.

There are those who try to break through their lonely lives and to find in it some order and meaning, and others who curl up, in remote corners or on empty shelves, to hide from life.

There are the children whose only hold on life is to clutch a key, suck a piece of string or twirl a stick. Others seek safety in a faraway world of fantasy, complicated numbers and strange rituals.

There are those who hide their eyes or bury their faces to blot out the world and others whose contact with the world is so frantic and disorganized that they can't shut any of the confusion out.

There are some who try desperately hard to make contact but who fall time and again because they are weak, disorganized and afraid—children who have had big doses of failure and of frustration that cuts deep because of failure.

There are those who function like helpless little infants and others whose weaknesses and strengths are blended in such strange and baffling proportions—children who show amazing skills, phenomenal memories and superior intelligence in some areas, and defective functioning in others.

Although all of our children suffer from supposedly the same illness, we must never forget that each of them is a unique human being with a mind, a body, an intelligence, and a personality affecting and affected by that illness.

We at the school must live with the tortured behavior, the unpredictability and the terrible confusion of these children. Like any pioneering project we live not only with the uncertainty born of deficits and insufficient funds but with the greater deficit of insufficient knowledge.

After all, we are dealing with the most elusive thing in all the world—the human mind. We still know very little about childhood schizophrenia. We don't know whether it is one illness or a wastebasket variety of illnesses all lumped together. We aren't sure of the relationship between childhood and adult schizophrenia. And we don't have the answer to the biggest mystery of all—how and why it happens. Is is psychological, organic, or both?

Unfortunately, the whole field of mental disorders is still cluttered with an overabundance of untested theories, dogma and speculation supported more strongly by emotions than by evidence. What we need desperately are new facts and approaches in the field of psychiatry, pediatrics, biochemistry, genetics, psychology, and special education that will bring answers and solutions to the mysteries of mental illness.

At the League School we recognize that all the dedication in the world is no substitute for knowledge. We live with the humility that comes from knowing how little we really know. We know that our wish to help each child will always be greater than our skill and wisdom in how to help. We know that as yet we cannot cure schizophrenia. But we do know that we can break through to many of our children, reduce the inten-

sity of their illness and help them return to a world in which they can live more comfortably and effectively.

Unfortunately, we don't always succeed. No matter how hard we try and what we do, we can't always reach a child. Techniques and theories that work with some fall with others.

This year we have the agonizing job of trying to learn why six of our children are making no progress at all. Out of their tragic failure is born the challenge to find new answers.

We also live with the little pleasures that come from small victories and break-throughs. After an infinite amount of work and patience we have our moments of triumph watching a child's first gesture toward avoiding loneliness when he begins to emerge from his twilight existence and dares to explore a tiny fragment of our world—playing with clay—working a peg board—building with blocks—banging a drum—or coming close and touching the face of a teacher or the hand of another child.

We live with the gratification that comes from scores of heartening experiences watching the small victories grow bigger.

There are the disorganized, incoherent children of last year who now speak and use language to communicate.

The once completely dependent and helpless ones, now proud in the discovery of their own powers of achievement in toileting, feeding, and dressing themselves.

The wild, explosive children who are now beginning to know the quiet, the peace, and the comfort of controlling their own bodies. The timid, fragile, and remote children who once flew wildly across a room when anyone came close and who now find safety in people.

The growing appetite for life of children who have given up part of their autistic, unreal world and who now enjoy playing with other children, skating, swimming, dancing, baseball, going on trips, and taking their first big steps to meet the world.

And then there are the children whose awakened interest in the world around them has made it possible for them to master the magic world of symbols and learn to read.

This year we had the satisfaction of watching four more of our children begin to read. This brings to 16 the number of children now in the school, once labeled "uneducable," who are reading and doing some form of academic work.

Since last year's luncheon, three more of our children made sufficient progress to graduate from our school. Two of them are now in Brooklyn public schools and one in a good private day school in Queens. Four days ago we learned that another child, still at our school, was interviewed and accepted by the public schools.

And now, our alumni are beginning to enter the adult world of work. Within the past few months, two of the school's first graduates, once disorganized and uncontrollable, have been accepted in the New York State Vocational Rehabilitation Program, and are on their way to become productive wage earners and functioning members of society.

bers of society.

Experiences like these give us the glow of fulfillment that helps us live through the heartbreak of failure. They impel us to go on trying to find the infinite possibilities that may be locked within each of our children.

And now, a few closing words of gratitude to all of you who made this possible—all the wonderful organizations and friends represented here and on our Honor Roll who are helping to give our children a chance to make the most of their lives. Thanks to you and to the devotion of our staff and parents, these 7 years have been years of achievement and promise.

You here today have watched the League School grow up during the fevered fiftlesa decade in which mankind fought hot and cold wars, conquered polio and TB, gave us and our children better "gadgets," bigger bombs, smaller cars, and the questionable heritage of living within 10 minutes of world destruction.

World Mental Health Year 1960 marks the start of a new decade. It is a decade of de-cision for all of us—one that can be dedicated to the dignity of human life or to its doom. Let us here today dedicate it to life. Let us use our energies and the splendor of our capacities to make life kinder, more livable, and more meaningful for all the world's children. And when mankind is ready to give each child the best it has to give, let us make certain that some of that best goes to our troubled and tormented, mentally ill children, the voiceless, lonely, and disin-herited ones who have lost their own child-

A Thoughtful Proposal for Shorter Cam-

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. CHESTER BOWLES

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, May 18, 1960

Mr. BOWLES. Mr. Speaker, my good friend and able colleague from Connecticut, the Honorable John S. Monagan, has advanced a proposal to shorten our national election campaigns. I think his suggestion makes excellent sense. I commend to the careful attention of my colleagues his article from the May 8, 1960, issue of the New York Times magazine, entitled "Campaign for Short Campaigns."

The text of the article follows:

CAMPAIGN FOR SHORT CAMPAIGNS—A CON-GRESSMAN CONTENDS THAT MANY ILLS OF OUR PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION SYSTEM COULD BE REMEDIED SIMPLY BY CUTTING THE TIME BETWEEN CONVENTIONS AND ELECTION DAY

(By JOHN S. MONAGAN)

Washington.—Any thoughtful American must admit that our presidential campaigns have got completely out of hand. When it comes to the method of choosing our principal administrative officer, we rank at the bottom of the list of democratic coun-

I find myself looking enviously at the efficient, brief, and effective maner in which England and Israel, for example, select their national governments. The contrast with our quadrennial Roman circus is no compliment to our political maturity.

Our campaigns are objectionable for many reasons.

They are overelaborate. Is there any real need for the pageantry and pomp? Do they really contribute to our understanding of the basic requirements of the country? it necessary that we have not only buttons and posters and newspaper advertising but also the live elephants and the prancing donkeys, the squads of winsome models and the helicopter rides? Is the apathy of the voting public so abject that it can be dissipated only by this sort of emotional shock treatment?

Our campaigns generate more heat than What begins as a sober discussion of national problems degenerates into an exchange of epithets and limping, laboratory-created catch phrases. Frenetic politicians shout about "glave-labor laws" and "red herrings" and "traitors to democratic principles," and "20 years of treason,"

In the "give 'em hell" slambang campaign, candidates of stature often are pressed into positions that are not representative of their real thinking and that are not at all conducive to the enlightenment of the public, the objective of any campaign. One thinks, as an example, of the subsequent rueful apology of the late Wendell Willkie for his assurances during the 1940 campaign of American nonintervention in the European war. He justified his promises as campaign exuberance.

Campaigns are unduly expensive. No one can say how much is really spent for a presi-dential election, but estimates run as high as \$33 million. Democrats and Republicans spent over \$7 million for radio and television alone in 1956. The Democratic National Committee as of this date is still \$250,000 in debt as a result of the 1956 contest, and no one who has read of the pathetic weekend hat passing to which the Truman emissaries were forced by opposition expenditures in the 1948 campaign can be happy about a custom which requires this unseemly scramble for funds.

Inevitably, too, as the devices become more elaborate and the demands more extreme, the fundraising becomes more dubious and the resort to questionable sources and means becomes more common. The temptations inherent in this helter-skelter collection and distribution of vast sums have led to legislation like the imperfectly enforced Hatch Act and to laws limiting contributions.

They have also resulted in various sugges tions—that private campaign contributions be eliminated entirely, that reasonable election expenses be paid for by the Government, or even that radio and TV networks, as public monopolies, be required to allocate regu-lar program time to presidential hopefuls. Senator Hubert H. Humphrey, always fertile in ideas, has come up with the suggestion that we inaugurate what I have called a "political community chest" which would finance campaigns by donations from millions of small contributors.

Our campaigns emphasize the unimportant. They consume time and energy with silly ceremonies—with donning Indian headdress, milking cows and laying wreaths. They require candidates to perform end-lessly before audience after audience of sworn supporters instead of allowing them to preach to the unconverted or to persuade the unconvinced.

They also interrupt our dealing with the problems of the country and of the world. Once the election machinery starts grinding, the chancelleries of other nations lock up their files on American affairs and declare an unwilling recess in the discussion of vitally important international issues.

The most regrettable aspect of our campaigns is their physical effect upon the candidates themselves. Most of us can recall Wendell Willkie stumbling through the final days of the 1940 contest, his eyes heavy with fatigue and his voice reduced to a hoarse croak. And I well remember seeing Adlai Stevenson, in New Haven in 1956, so tired that he could not have said whether he was in Connecticut or Illinois, losing his train of thought during his speech through sheer fatigue, and then, after the meeting, being stood up against a wall by party wheelhorses to pump the hands of the faithful.

In spite of improved communications, the trend today is toward more traveling and more speaking, instead of less. In Franklin Roosevelt traveled about 15,000 miles and made about 100 speeches. In 1956, Adlai Stevenson traveled 75,000 miles and made 300 speeches.

It is obvious, therefore, that there are many ways in whch our campaigns can be made more effective and I suggest that it would be a distinct public service to provide some measure of improvement.

I believe that the principal place to attack the abuses which I have described is on the point that can most easily be adjusted—the length of our campaigns. If the campaigns could be shortened, I am confident that many of the other objectionable features

would be reduced and possibly eliminated.
Under our present system, the Democratic convention will open at Los Angeles on July 11 with the nomination coming on or about July 14, while the Republican convention will open at Chicago on July 25 with the nomination coming on or about July 29.

Since election day will be November 8, there will be nearly 4 full months between nomination and balloting for the Democrats and almost 31/2 for the Republicans. And, candidates being competitive, and campaign managers being insistent, this means that the candidates will begin peddling their wares as soon as they decently can after the close of the convention.

Surely, these contests are now too long; undoubtedly their prolongation beyond a certain stage yields no dividends for the country or for the candidates themselves. What that stage is no one can say exactly, but that it exists is certain.

My own boiling point may be abnormally low, but I feel that all the amenities and necessities of an election debate could easily be satisfied in 2 months. The British, whose campaigns used to run on for several months now hold them to approximately 20 days from the time of the issuance of the original writ to the day of election. (Churchill posted a 17-day period in the crucial postwar election of 1945). No one has ever suggested that English candidates suffer as a result

Certainly I would not want to choke off any presidential aspirant so long as his labor served a good purpose, but when he begins to talk more and more to himself. and his audience resolutely switches to "What's My Line?" or "Gun Smoke" through sheer boredom, I submit that the time has come to ring the bell.

(It should be noted that the deadening

effect of too much campaigning upon the candidate and upon the public results in part from the time involved in primaries, which must be added to the presidential campaign itself. But primaries are regu-lated by State law and their limitation on a national basis would run into technical and practical difficulties that would not be involved in the regulation of national elec-

As a start toward solving critical campaign problem, therefore, I have introduced two bills in Congress to limit our presiden-tial campaigns to 60 days from nomination to election.

House Resolution 9584 provides that no erson nominated over 60 days before the election date shall run for the office of President. House Joint Resolution 547, which is calculated to eliminate constitutional objections, proposes an amendment to the Constitution that would place in the qualifications for the Presidency a requirement that the presidential candidate be named within 60 days of election day. These bills would have no effect on the 1960 campaign.

There is, of course, no magic in the 60-day It simply seems to be a reasonable period. outside limit. (Laos nominates 45 days be-fore the actual balloting date; the Israelis average 60 days for their canvass.) A short-er period than 60 days would be perfectly acceptable to me and I believe that 6 or 7 weeks would be entirely adequate.

In considering the advisability of shorter campaigns, it is illuminating to hear what the experts have to say. Surely no more reliable testimony could be elicited than that from men who have been through the campaign mill themselves.

Senator THOMAS J. Dodd, who in 1958 battled his way through a combined primary and election campaign in Connecticut, wholeheartedly agrees that presidential campaigns should be shortened.

"Campaigns are much too long," he says, "and also much too costly. The British have real controls and enforce them and I think we've got to come to it here, too. It's the only way it can be fairly done because nowadays the amount of money spent is just shocking and unnecessary."

Senator Dopp adds his opinion that the campaign should really not be of more than

4 weeks' duration.

Representative CHESTER Bowles, who was Dopp's main opponent in the Connecticut senatorial primary contest, not only would limit Presidential campaigns to 60 days but would extend the limitation to all contests involving candidates for Congress and State

"This is not a question merely of ever-growing financial costs, many of which are far greater than our political parties, the candidates or their supporters can be ex-"It is also pected to meet," Bowles says. a serious question of the wear and tear on the candidates themselves, the nervous exhaustion, the endless speechmaking and the sleepless nights of travel and talk.'

Senator Hubber Humphrey, when he paused temporarily in the midst of the recent Wisconsin primary, expressed the fer-vent hope that the limitation might be extended to primary campaigns as well as regu-

lar elections.

Senator Estes Kefauver, who slogged his lonely way through mile after mile of primary contests and then went through a Presidential campaign as candidate for second place on the ticket in 1956, believes that some restriction is advisable.

"I certainly can understand," he says, "how a long campaign can be a drain on the physical and emotional resources of candidates. No one knows this better than I and I would be in favor of doing anything possible, within constitutional limits, to shorten the campaign period."

Jim Farley, not unacquainted with Presidential campaigns, agrees with the objectives of shortening them, as does Paul Butler, chairman of the Democratic National Committee. Senator Thauston B. Morton, chairman of the Republican National Committee, also approves the purpose of the

All three, however, have some reserva-tions—natural enough in those concerned with the mechanics of campaigns and bound

by tradition.

Farley feels that "the idea is all right," but that there might be a time problem in getting the national campaign machinery underway in a shorter period. Butler says that "long campaigns impose an unconscionable physical drain on the candidates," but he is chary of any limitation "that might prevent the American public from fully knowing the candidates or understanding the issues."

Morton says, "I certainly agree that a long campaign is tough on the physical and emotional resources of the candidates and party managers." He would move warily, however, on any limitation of the time which might be available to establish customary campaign apparatus. He has some feeling that the size of our country makes our problem different from that of the British. He also believes that the primary is a greater drain on candidates than final election, but he asserts that these qualifications in no way lessen his sympathy for the "end objective" of limitation.

I concur with everything that these professionals say, but I submit that the 2-month period, properly used, provides adequate time to accomplish the purposes they

set forth.

Of course, there have been objections to my proposal. It is pointed out that the presidential nominee is the head of a ticket on which many others, including Senators and Representatives are running, and that their demands for a personal appearance by him to help them necessarily make for a long and grueling campaign. It is my opin-ion that the value of such appearances is overrated and that they can be largely eliminated with profit to the candidates and without injury to the ticket. Even now, offyear and special electons do not enjoy the presence of presidential candidates they have adequately served their traditional purpose.

Some also feel that my proposal flies in the face of the American tradition of giving free rein to political discussion. Others bethat any such limitation would prove beneficial to the party that was better financed. Still others point to specific campaigns-such as the Truman 1948 electionand argue that they would have resulted otherwise but for the length of the canvass.

I find none of these arguments convincing. Proper organization can adjust itself to a different time schedule. To the Trumanites I would say that a 12-month campaign would probably have several shifts of voter sentiment depending on economic or political developments, but that is no reason to make our campaigns longer than they are.

Apathy and an unwarranted regard for tradition will suggest reasons against change. But the full realization of our democratic potentialities requires that we suppress our native exuberance, cut out the unnecessary horseplay, and get back to the real purpose of campaigns-the discussion of the issues affecting our national destiny and the selection of the candidate offering the greater evidence that he will meet those issues with courage and vision.

Members of the Schenectady County Board of Supervisors, a Governmental Body With a Sizable Republican Majority, Unanimously Act To Urge the President of the United States To Sign the Distressed Areas Bill, S. 722

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. SAMUEL S. STRATTON

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, May 18, 1960

Mr. STRATTON. Mr. Speaker, one of the most tragic aspects of the President's decision last week to veto the distressed areas bill was that in so doing he not only ignored the urgent needs of hundreds of thousands of Americans who are out of work in isolated pockets of unemployment across the land, but, as the leader of the Republican Party, also acted directly contrary to the wishes of those responsible members of his own party who are most directly concerned with these unemployment conditions and who are best situated to appreciate most fully the need for corrective legislation.

One of these bodies is the board of supervisors of the county of Schenectady, a community included in my congressional district and a community, which, as I had occasion to point out on

the floor in connection with the debate on this bill, holds the dubious distinction of having lost more factory-type jobs-18,000 in the past 6 years-than any other community in the whole United States. This board, in spite of an overwhelming majority of Republican members, exhibited the same kind of nonpartisanship on this vital issue that has been exhibited by so many of us who have fought so hard in this body to get this bill enacted into law. Although their resolution failed to carry any weight with the President, I believe it should be incorporated into the Rec-ORD so that the Members of this body may realize the depth of feeling of the people in my congressional district, without regard to narrow partisan considerations, in support of this legislation.

Under leave to extend my remarks, the resolution follows:

RESOLUTION 84—SUPPORT OF FEDERAL LEGISLA-TION AID TO DISTRESSED AREAS

Supervisor Rogowicz offered and moved the adoption of the following resolution: seconded by Supervisor McGrath:

Whereas Schenectady County is one of the areas in the Nation still suffering from chronic unemployment with all the attendant influences on the economic life, stability, and future growth of our community: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Schenectady County Board of Supervisors urge the President of the United States to sign the \$251 million aid to distressed areas bill approved by the U.S. Senate and House of Representatives; and be it further

Resolved, That copies of this resolution be transmitted to the President of the United States, Senators Kenneth B. Keating, and JACOB K. JAVITS, and Congressman SAMUEL S. STRATTON.

Farm Bureaus of 11 States Urge Soil Bank

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. E. ROSS ADAIR

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, May 19, 1960

Mr. ADAIR. Mr. Speaker, before we decide what is to be done about our crisis in wheat at this session of the Congress-and I join with the President and Secretary Benson in saying that I certainly hope a sound and economic wheat bill is passed shortly—we should not overlook the fact that good wheat legislation should be coupled with an expansion of our conservation reserve.

A reminder is provided by an article from the Kansas City Star which reports on a recent meeting held in Indianapolis and, under leave to extend my remarks, I include it herewith:

[From the Kansas City (Mo.) Star, Apr. 13, 1960]

FARM BUREAUS IN 11 STATES URGE SOIL BANK-MIDWEST PRESIDENTS INSIST PRO-DUCTION MUST BE ADJUSTED

Indianapolis.—Farm Bureau officials of 11 Midwestern States last week demanded that Congress take swift action to abolish crop surpluses which have reached "near-scandal proportions."

Charles B. Shuman, president of the Amer-Ican Farm Bureau Federation, said farmers today are being threatened "by the same Public attitude that has been aroused by certain labor practices."

FOUR WAYS TO GO

A third of the \$9 billion in Governmentheld farm surplus is wheat, Shuman said, and there are only four ways to get rid of it-eat it, feed it, export it and store it.

"We've about reached the end of the rope in storing it," he said. "We're eating about all we can eat, we're forcing all we can into

exports.

The only alternative is to find a way to bring about an adjustment in production." Shuman said Congress will feel Farm Bureau pressure within the next month or two

to adopt a wheat program which would: Eliminate all Government controls on wheat-production and marketing.

Base the 1961 wheat-support price on the

corn-support level.

Prohibit the Government from selling stored wheat at less than 150 percent of the support price, plus carrying charges.

Expand the soil bank program to idle more

farm acreage.

LOOK TO SOIL BANK

A joint statement issued by the Mid-Western Farm Bureau chiefs urged placing 60 million acres in the soil bank's conservation reserve by 1963. About 28 million acres is in the reserve now, taking the land out of crop production for a 5-year period.

Asked whether he thought Congress would enact major farm legislation in an election

year, Shuman replied:

"The situation in wheat is so bad I don't believe the farmers can afford to wait 1 more year. Nor will the general public be happy to wait 1 more year."

The 11 State farm bureau executives here

claimed to represent more than 780,000 farm

families,

State organizations on hand were Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Ohio, Missouri, Iowa, Minnesota, Wisconsin, Kansas, North Dakota and Nebraska.

It's Your Government

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. WRIGHT PATMAN

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 17, 1960

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, there came to me this morning a most timely pamphlet dealing with the meaning of representative government and our individual responsibilities under representative government.

Those people who find the writings of Tom Paine exciting will also, I think,

find this pamphlet exciting.

In saying that the pamphlet is timely, I am not overlooking the fact that it deals with a fundamental problem which is timeless. It deals with problems which have been with us from the beginning of our Republic and before,

It does seem to me, however, that mistrust of representative government is more widespread and is expressed in many implicit ways more today than at previous times. Hardly a day goes by without an editorial in some prominent newspaper or magazine pleading for government by some uncontrolled bureaucracy, some allegedly independent board or commission, or some private commission of prominent citizens. The bureaus of the Federal Government keep more and more secrets from the public, and more and more assume the attitude that the public has no right to know what goes on in their own Government. Over the years, more and more of the powers and responsibilities assigned to the Congress by the Constitution are transferred to the executive branch of the Government. Yet, as we know, the framers of our Constitution made a very careful division of the powers and duties for the very purpose of providing the checks and balances which would prevent any usurpation of the powers of the people.

The pamphlet to which I wish to call attention is published by The Christo-phers, Inc., and was written by Father James Keller, M.M., director of this organization. The pamphlet states that organization. the aim of the Christophers is to encourage individuals to apply divine values to the running of human affairs, especially the great spheres of influence. It is further stated that this organization has no meetings, no membership, and no dues. All expenses are met by voluntary donations.

The Christopher pamphlet, titled "Christophers Notes No. 105," dated May 1960, is as follows:

CHRISTOPHER NOTES No. 105-IT'S YOUR GOVERNMENT

Do you remember the story of the Paris housewife who helped bring out a recordbreaking vote in France a few years ago by coining this dynamic slogan: "You are the State, Prove it."

Her simple challenge reminded countless apathetic people that in the last analysis the very survival of free government depends on how each of them fulfills their individual

responsibilities as citizens.

Once enough persons like you also realize that good government is your responsibility as much as anyone's, your God-given imagi-nation and initiative are bound to find ways to promote efficient, honest and economic policies in government.

Just remember "To whom much has been given, much will be required." (Luke 12:48)
Part of the answer to the great problems of running government-local, State, and

Federal, is in your hands.

The following considerations may help you assume the role that you alone can play in renewing and refreshing every facet of government.

1. GOVERNMENT IS YOUR BUSINESS

Self-government necessitates self-participation. William Penn emphasized this point nearly 150 years ago when he said:

"Governments, like clocks, go from the motion men give them, and governments are made and moved by men, so by them they are ruled also. Therefore, governments depend upon men rather than men upon governments."

At home, at work, in school, and every other place, keep emphasizing this simple fact: either you run your government, or government runs you.

2. PENALTY OF NEGLECT

"The punishment of wise men who refuse to take part in the affairs of government is to live under the government of unwise

This terse warning, made by Plato 2,400 years ago, carries a strong lesson today when hundreds of millions have been deprived of the precious blessings of freedom.

When those who enjoy the benefits of freedom tire of governing themselves and abandon their duties as free citizens to the incompetent or malicious, they become unwitting accomplices in promoting the very tyranny they dread.

A cursory glance at history reveals over and over again that free governments have been weakened or eliminated because of

neglect.

3. POLITICS-GOOD OR BAD? YOU HELP DECIDE

A young lawyer in the Philippines recently wrote: "Many well-intentioned individuals warn us young aspirants to stay away from politics. 'Politics are dirty,' they say and we should not soil our hands."

But he went on to say that the Christopher emphasis on personal responsibility was "my principal reason for going into politics and trying to raise the tone of public life."

Another young man in Connecticut ran

into much of the same reaction.

"I have been told I'm being naive in thinking that politics can be run by decent, moral men and women," he said. "My father, my friends and especially my wife are against 1t."

It is a strange paradox that often those who might be best fitted to right the wrongs in public life simply bemoan inefficiency, graft or corruption-yet fail to do anything constructive themselves.

4. POPULARIZE THE TRUE MEANING OF POLITICS

The dictionary defines "politics" as "the science dealing with the organization, regulation and administration of a state in both its internal and external affairs."

Three centuries before Christ, Aristotle stressed its high aim when he said: "The good of man must be the purpose of the science of politics."

However, politics by its very nature, presents many temptations for those who would use it as a selfish steppingstone to power, prestige, or worse still, as a means of fraud and corruption.

Yet it invariably falters and decays when deprived of the moral and spiritual force that only persons like you can inject.

John Morley, the great English statesman, wisely said: "Those who would treat politics and morality apart will never understand the one or the other."

5. EXAMINE YOUR OWN CONSCIENCE

Because the strength or weakness of government is partly in your hands, you might care to do a little soul-searching on these points:

1. Are you a registered voter? Do you vote in every election? Primaries, too? Do you encourage others to do the same?

2. Do you study issues? Candidates?

3. Do you know the names and voting records of the Congressmen, Senators and other officials who represent you? Do you let them know your convictions?

4. Do you support loyal and honest public servants? Do you remind them that the higher their dedication and purpose, the greater good they will accomplish? Or do you focus attention only on the few who betray the trust placed in them?

5. Do you serve on a jury when called? (At one important criminal trial not long ago, 637 men and women asked to be ex-

cused.)

6. Do you help the party of your choice to "get out the vote" by ringing doorbells, typing, distributing literature, giving talks, correcting misunderstandings, or raising funds?

7. What are you doing to improve the methods of selecting candidates? To correct outmoded election laws? To insure efficiency and honesty at the polls?

8. Do you impress on young people that they should prepare for a practical participation in self-government by discussing present issues and helping to get out the vote?

9. Are you doing anything to correct the false impression that, as Robert Louis Stevenson well put it: "Politics is perhaps the only profession for which no preparation is thought necessary."

10. How many persons with high ideals and competence have you encouraged to take up

a career in government?

11. Are you highlighting the true and noble meaning of politics and thus offsetting the harm caused by those who take a despairing, cynical attitude?

12. Do you promote a respect for just laws on the principle that "there is no power but

from God." (Romans 13: 1.)

13. Do you know the important distinction between State and Federal government and what steps can be taken to maintain a balance that will prevent extremes on either

14. Could you explain to others why the Founding Fathers put four references to God in the Declaration of Independence?

15. Do you pray for those in low or high government positions? If they are already doing a good job, they need your prayers. If not, they need them all the more.

6. RECOGNIZE THE PRIVILEGE OF VOTING

The word "vote" comes from the Latin term "votum" signifying "vow, wish, or will." The dictionary defines it as "a formal ex-

pression of will or opinion in regard to some question submitted for decision.

It took centuries of tireless effort to make it possible for individuals like you to exercise the human right to vote.

Your conscientious, intelligent, and continued use of this blessing will show that you appreciate it and are anxious to protect it for others.

Hundreds of millions now deprived of the freedom of choice would be the first to urge you never to miss an opportunity to vote.

7. STIR UP OTHERS TO VOTE

You can do a valuable missionary service in the following ways:

1. Remind individuals that they have a God-given power to exercise their freedom of choice, wisely and in every election.

- 2. Point out what a mighty howl would go up if only 1 out of every 10 eligible voters were allowed to vote at primary elections. This is the actual numerical proportion who do.
- 3. Impress on everybody that bad politicians are elected by good people who don't vote.
- 4. Stimulate one and all to put true welfare of the country above the interest of a particular party, group, or individual.

B. ONE IN SIX HAS GOVERNMENT JOB

Nearly 11 million men and women (or 1 in 6 employed Americans) staff all phases of local, State, and Federal Government, including the Armed Forces.

Take an intelligent, sympathetic interest in both the number and quality of the people who staff your government. Make sure they are neither too many nor too few. Support those intent on doing a capable, conscientious job.

9. YOU PAY FOR EVERY SERVICE

The average citizen constantly demands bigger and better services from government. It seldom occurs to him that sooner or later he and others like him must pay for those advantages.

When members of a school board proposed building a swimming pool on the grounds of a new school, only one woman was against the project.

"But why," they asked her. "After all the State will pay for it."

"And who is the State?" she demanded.

"Everybody, of course." "And that everybody includes you and the woman retorted. "And I for one will not be able to afford the additional individual citizen either makes his contributaxes.

She won her point. The idea was dropped. 10. TAKE AN INTEREST IN COSTS

The following considerations may remind you why the spending practices in all aspects of government should be a concern for you:

1. Enormous bill: It's costing taxpayers over \$130 billion a year (or about \$11 billion a month) to run the Federal, State, and local government. Equally divided, it would cost every man, woman, and child \$722 annually.

2. Quarter of your earnings: The average taxpayer earns \$5,183 a year. About onefourth or \$1,296 goes to the Government. In 40 working years, this would total over \$50,000—or 10 years of a worker's earnings.

3. It's your debt: It is now nearing the \$300 billion mark. This means a debt of \$1,700 hangs over the head of yourself and every other individual in the U.S.A.

4. It's your money: Government has no inexhaustible bank account. The money comes out of your pockets just as sure as the butcher's or milkman's bills.

In making government finance your business, avoid extremes. Seek sensible ways to keep costs down, but take care not to advocate superficial economies which can cripple, instead of strengthen essential functions.

11. KEEP IT "THIS NATION UNDER GOD"

In the Declaration of Independence, our Founding Fathers deliberately specified why

we, as individuals, have rights:

We hold these truths to be self-evident. that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."

Based on the concept that rights of every individual man, woman, and child over the earth come from God, not from the state, they enunciated that the purpose of government is to protect the God-given rights of the human being.

The totalitarian theory is diametrically opposed to this. It claims that the individual has no rights except those parceled out by the state. And even these few can be revoked at the slightest nod of a tyrant.

The Hebrew Psalmist still reminds us: "Unless the Lord keep the city, he watcheth in vain that keepeth it." (Psalms 126:1)

12. YOU HAVE PART OF THE ANSWER

Shortly after the Constitution was signed in Independence Hall, Philadelphia, on September 17, 1787, a woman asked Benjamin Franklin:

"What have we got, Dr. Franklin?"
"Madame," he replied, "we have a repub-

lic, if we can keep it."

Nearly a hundred years later a somewhat similar question was put to James Russell Lowell, then American Minister in Great Britain:

"How long," Lowell was asked, "will the

American Republic endure?"

Lowell's answer, like Franklin's, was crisp and to the point: "As long as the ideas of the men who made it continue to be dominant.

The very survival of our Nation depends on what you personally do to see that those "ideas" are respected in theory and prac-

START WHERE YOU ARE

No matter who or where you are, you are in one of the 145.723 election districts or precincts in the United States.

Yes, one of them is yours. It belongs to you and you belong to it.

These divisions are purposely kept small so that individuals like yourself can participate in the running of your government.

The roots of freedom reach into the tiniest community in the same proportion as the tion to good government or withholds it.

As a country grows and prospers there is a human tendency to show less and less interest in local affairs. Slowly but surely this neglect opens the way to the abuse and consequent loss of freedom on an ever larger

Wherever and whenever good citizens abdicate their responsibilities, there are always numerous others of evil intent ready to jump into the gap.

CONSCIENTIOUS WORKERS CAN DO GREAT GOOD

On July 11, 1958, the Congress of the United States adopted this 10-point code for all Government employees, both elected and appointed.

It emphasizes how each of them can apply the principles of conscience to their work and thus contribute to the advantage of everyone.

The code reads as follows: "Any person in Government service should:

"Put loyalty to the highest moral principles and to country above loyalty to per-

sons, party, or Government department.
2. "Uphold the Constitution, laws, and legal regulations of the United States and of all governments therein and never be a

party to their evasion.
3. "Give a full day's labor for a full day's pay, giving to the performance of his duties his earnest effort and best thought.

4. "Seek to find and employ more efficient and economical ways of getting tasks accomplished.

5. "Never discriminate unfairly dispensing of special favors or privileges to anyone, whether for remuneration or not; and never accept for himself or his family. favors or benefits under circumstances which might be construed by reasonable persons as influencing the performance of his governmental duties.

6. "Make no private promises of any kind binding upon the duties of office, since a Government employee has no private word which can be binding upon public duty.

7. "Engage in no business with the Government, either directly or indifectly, which is inconsistent with the conscientious performance of his governmental duties.

8. "Never use any information coming to him confidentially in the performance governmental duties as a means for making private profit.

9. "Expose corruption wherever covered.

10. "Uphold these principles, ever conscious that public office is a public trust."

Subsidizing Health

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON, JOHN D. DINGELL

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, May 19, 1960

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, pursuant to permission granted I am inserting into the Appendix of the Congressional RECORD an editorial appearing in the Washington (D.C.) Post of May 7, 1960:

SUBSIDIZING HEALTH

The most significant fact about the administration's plan to provide health and medical care for the aged is that it fully acknowledges the need for such care recognizes Federal responsibility for helping to provide it. The difference between the administration approach to the problem and the approach made by Democrats in Congress is, therefore, a difference of route, not of destination.

The difference in route is, nevertheless, great. It is difficult to see how the destination can be reached by choosing the direction indicated on Wednesday by Secretary Flemming in his closed-door testimony before the House Ways and Means Committee. The Secretary stipulated that any old-age health program undertaken by the Federal Government should make individual participation voluntary and should provide for a Federal-State partnership in dealing with the problem.

The voluntariness of the administration plan strikes us somewhat illusory. Participation in the benefits would be optional, of course; but this would also be optional under the Forand or McNamara bills. The costs of the Forand or McNamara bills would be paid through enlargement of the social security tax and would fall exclusively and involuntarily on those who would, in old age, become eligible for health benefits. The costs of the administration program would be paid in small part by an annual \$24 charge to participants and in large part out of general Federal and State revenues obtained, as usual, through taxes levied involuntarily upon the general public.

The Federal-State partnership proposed by Secretary Flemming strikes us as cumbersome, perhaps unworkable. It would take a long time for the 50 States of the Union to develop and legislate health programs making them eligible for Federal grants; some of the States might not participate at all. It would be a great deal simpler and more effective, it seems to us, for the Federal Government directly to enable all Americans to provide for the care of their health in old age just as they now provide for retirement income and survivors' benefits—through a uniformly levied social security tax. Payments of insurance costs through such a tax seems to us at once more equitable, more consonant with fiscal responsibility and more conducive to budget balancing than payment through general taxes levied by Federal and State governments.

The benefits provided under the administration proposal look larger than those that would be provided by the Forand or Mc-Namara bills. It must be remembered, however, that they would be avaliable, under the terms outlined by Secretary Flemming, only to persons 65 years of age and over who paid no income tax and whose adjusted gross income did not exceed \$2,500 (\$3,800 for a couple). And they would be subject, as Senator McNamara has pointed out, to a "double deductible clause." The first \$250 of medical expenses would have to be borne by the beneficiary; and he would also have to pay 20 percent of the remainder of his expenses—in addition to the annual \$24 enrollment fee. Voluntariness may be a virtue but in this situation the enrollment fee might keep out of the program many who greatly need its protection.

The most serious defect of the administration plan lies, we think, in its imposition of an income test for participation. Coverage would be free for public assistance recipients—who would receive charitable care anyway. It would be available at a price for those under the \$2,500-a-year cutoff. But it would be wholly lacking for all those retired workers who, through energy and thrift, managed to provide for their declining years an income in excess of \$2,500. For most of these people, the medical care and hospitalization involved in the inevitable ilinesses of old age would still impose a crushing burden, falling upon their children if not upon themselves.

Why should a Federal health insurance plan not enable such people to provide for their health needs in old age through prepayment during their working years—so that

in retirement they can claim the care they require as a matter of earned right, without proof of poverty? This is an essential element of social security.

National Science Foundation: 10th Anniversary

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. OVERTON BROOKS

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 4, 1960

BROOKS of Louisiana. Mr. Speaker, 10 years ago, the Congress took cognizance of the increasing importance of science and technology to the national interest and established the National Science Foundation as the successor to the emergency World War II Office of Scientific Research and Development. Seldom has there been a more important action taken by the Congress. In the intervening years, advances in science and technology have run the whole gamut of our national lives and throughout all this time, the National Science Foundation has played a fundamental role in our scientific effort. As the importance of the work increases year by year, the Foundation, in my opinion, merits the full cooperation of the Congress to the extent that when necessary, encouragement should be given by increases in needed funds.

The Foundation is meeting the challenge of the scientific and technologic revolution through which we are passing by supporting programs designed to stimulate improved scientific training and by encouraging young men and women to choose careers in science. It supports basic scientific research without which our country would soon reach an impasse in new scientific discoveries. The scholarship and fellowship grants each year to high school and college students promote interest in an area vital to our national security. Equally important are the institutes the Foundation sponsors for the training of teachers in science and mathematics. Under its jurisdiction, also, are made research grants in all the fields of science with which the Foundation deals-biology, medicine, physics, mathematics and engineering, as well as the social sciences. Abroad, National Science Foundation activities are directed toward general purpose basic research and the support of those programs which strengthen the scientific effort of the United States.

Much of the credit for the magnificent work the Foundation is doing must go to Dr. Alan T. Waterman who has been its director since its establishment. Those who have followed the hearings of the Committee on Science and Astronautics have heard witnesses testify many times in praise of the competence, the vision and the high level of leadership displayed by Dr. Waterman and his staff.

In this age of space, we have become acutely aware of how important to our very existence are the developments in

the field of science. To the National Science Foundation—one of the most important Federal agencies to contribute to our progress in this field—on its 10th birthday, I want to add my congratulations for a job well done and to voice my confidence that the accomplishments of the next 10 years will be equally praiseworthy.

Address by Gen. W. B. Palmer

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. CHESTER E. MERROW

OF NEW HAMPSHIRE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, May 18, 1960

Mr. MERROW. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the Record, I include therein an address by Williston B. Palmer, general, U.S. Army, Director of Military Assistance, Department of Defense, before the Daughters of the American Revolution in Washington, D.C., on April 21, 1960:

Address by Gen. W. B. Palmer, U.S. Army, Director of Military Assistance, Before THE DAUGHTERS OF THE AMERICAN REVOLU-TION, CONSTITUTION HALL, WASHINGTON, D.C., THURSDAY, APRIL 21, 1960

Madam President General, honored guests, Daughters of the 69th Continental Congress, this opportunity to address the Continental Congress of the Daughters of the American Revolution I regard as a great honor. The singlehearted dedication of your organization to the preservation and protection of our great American heritage is known and respected throughout the Nation. I welcome this opportunity to discuss the military assistance program in a forum of such commanding prestige.

Everybody recognizes that this is not a popular program; and yet, as Sentor Fulbrich Program; and yet, as Sentor Fulbrich Program; and yet, as Sentor Fulbrich Program; and Democratic Program and Democratic, every President, Republican and Democratic, every Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, and every Congress has endorsed (it) as essential to the national interests of this Nation * * *." Senator Fulbrich observed that despite this non-partisan support "many Americans believe that these programs are a waste of money."

So it is my purpose here—and my conviction—to support the case which has proven convincing to both Republican and Democratic administations, and to the last seven Congresses of the United States—the side of the hard-facts.

PART OF OUR DEFENSE COST

The first fact I want to emphasize is that the funds appropriated for military assistance are just as much a part of our national defense expenditures as are those appropriated for our Army, Navy, and Air Force, the Central Intelligence Agency, and the Atomic Energy Commission. Every penny of our national defense expenditures is directed toward a single purpose: that the United States and its allies my deter Communist aggression, contain Soviet-Communist expansion, and lead from strength in negotiations with the Soviet-Communist bloc. The military assistance program is not an end in itself; it is a tool, a means to deter Communist aggression and contain Communist expansion.

The second fact I want to emphasize is this: The considered professional opinion of those who direct the national defense is that as long as it is necessary to maintain overall defense expenditures at approximately their present level we should plan to devote at least \$2 billion per year to military assistance. The Joint Chiefs of Staff, speaking of the budget request now before the Congress, have said that they would not take one dollar away from military assistance in order to augment the appropriations for their own services. They said the same thing last year. Can you imagine stronger or more convincing evidence that the military assistance program is an integral part of our total national defense effort?

WHAT SHOULD WE SPEND FOR MILITARY ASSISTANCE?

For the past 6 years the military assistance appropriations granted annually by the Congress have averaged \$1.4 billion. This year the Executive requested in the budget an appropriation of \$2 billion, which appears to be requesting a huge increase in an election year. The real facts are quite different than they look.

Back in the Korean war days very large appropriations were made for military assistance, which built up a huge backlog of unexpended funds. At the end of the war it was decided to spread these expenditures over a number of years, and so it results that over these 6 years in which the annual appropriation has averaged \$1.4 billion the expenditure from the U.S. Treasury has been \$2.3 billion annually, the difference having been drawn from that barrelful of old appropriations. All of this has been explained to the Congress year by year-there were no tricks about it. But the point is that now the barrel of old appropriations has just about gone dry. To keep up the program we have been pursuing for years would take an annual appropriation of \$2.3 billion, and what the administration actually proposes is to decrease the program of recent years by \$300 million.

WHERE WOULD WE USE ALL THAT MONEY?

Probably three-quarters of it would go to strengthen NATO, Korea, and Nationalist China.

Another 10 percent would go to strengthen and hold steadfast certain other countries which are right under the Communist gun-Iran, Pakistan, Thailand, and Vietnam and some others. None of this last group has great military strength, although all are developing greater combat potential as our training takes hold; and in the meantime, they are defending themselves against Communist subversion, and exerting a stabilzing influence throughout their region. These are countries which are strong against communism. They want to keep their inde-pendence. In short, they are on our side. The very people who accuse us of wasting money when we give military assistance to countries like these would be the first to demand our heads if any of them should be lost to communism.

When we add this group to NATO, Korea, and Nationalist China, we have accounted for 85 percent of our military assistance program in 15 countries.

Still another very important use for military assistance is to obtain satisfactory arrangements regarding bases and other military advantages we want for ourselves. There are certain countries where we get in this way indispensable military facilities which we could not possibly get otherwise. Spain, for example, has granted us base rights of tremendous value. I know you will understand why I do not publicly advertise them all.

Probably the greatest return on our military assistance investment dollar for dollar comes from the training of selected officers and key specialists at our U.S. military schools and training centers. These men are handpicked by their own countries to become instructors when they return home. They are the coming leaders, the men that will have the know-how and impart it to their own forces. I need not dwell upon the immeasurable value of having in positions of leadership men who have firsthand knowledge of how Americans do things, and how they think about things.

WE CHOSE A FORWARD STRATEGY YEARS AGO

How did all this begin? It was soon after World War II that the United States—the people of the United States—had to choose between a forward strategy, in which we would join our allies in drawing the line at which the Soviet-Communist expansion must stop, or alternatively a Fortress America strategy, in which we would have taken our first stand in the last ditch while abandoning the other free countries to be taken over one by one by communism.

It would be convenient right here to consider where we would be had we adopted the Fortess America strategy in the beginning.

Of course the Russians would have occupied West Berlin at once. Italy and Greece would unquestionably have gone to the Communists. The Russians would unquestionably have taken the Turkish Straits. The Russians would certainly have converted Iran into a puppet state, establishing themselves on the Persian Gulf and controlling the Middle East oil fields. The Communists would have complete possession of all of Indochina, including the present states of Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos.

All of that having happened, nothing could have stopped the Communists from domination before now of India, Burma, Thailand, and a vast part of Africa. The fate of Western Europe would have been less certain, but certainly we would not have the air, naval and electronic bases we now have in Portugal, Spain, Morocco, England, France, Italy, Germany, and Turkey. Such would have been the result of choosing the "Fortress America" alternative. But of course it would not have gone that far before we would have been forced into World War III, with costs in American lives and American money infinitely greater than we have actually had.

The reason we did not find ouselves in such a position is that back in 1947 the decision was make to backstop Greece and Turkey in their sturdy resistance to Communist aggression. Up to that moment, every nation had to go it alone. Only the United States could provide leadership, cohesion and strength.

It was the enunciation of the Truman doctrine, and the military assistance and economic aid we furnished to Greece and Turkey, that told the world the United States had decided to draw the line, to make common cause with those who wished to be free, and to stand with them against further Communist encroachment. Consciously and coldly, in our own self-interest, we adopted the forward strategy. In effect we said, "Come on, boys, we'll stand with you, and we'll give you guns so you can stand with us." That in a nutshell is the theory of military assistance.

It reflects a deep and profundly true instinct of the American people, that the way to meet aggression is to place the line of defense so far forward that all possible strength can be mobilized behind it, and there to mobilize all possible strength in the best balanced array that is possible.

DRAMATIC PART IN FOREIGN POLICY

It is frequently charged against the military assistance program that it is used by the State Department for political—that is to say, diplomatic—reasons instead of being left to the military. Ladies and gentlemen, a moment's reflection will show that the military assistance program has never been a private matter for military men, and never

could be; it has ever been a very dramatic expression of U.S. foreign policy.

The Truman Doctrine, when we went in to support the Greeks and the Turks, had a tremendous impact on world politics. It was, in fact, a turning point in history. The NATO alliance followed with another terrific impact on world politics, its force and effect deriving from the military assistance which gave it substance. The same has been true in Korea, in Formosa, in Vietnam; in each case our military assistance has been the expression of a dramatic decision of U.S. foreign policy. And I have not even mentioned other cases—Spain, Iran, Thailand, Laos, and others—in which our assistance would have had an earthshaking impact at any time when the world was not shaking so badly already.

These were all tremendous moves of U.S. foreign policy, and it is essential that every important decision in the military assistance business shall be considered in that light. The State Department and the Defense Department work in concert, they discuss, they consult, they agree upon a solution—but the determining factor every time must be the foreign policy objectives of the United States, and the ultimate decision must be approved at the very highest level. It has been that way from the beginning and neither I nor any other military man would for an instant wish it otherwise.

MUCH HAS BEEN ACCOMPLISHED

Now how has all this been working out? Has it been worth all the cost and effort? The answer certainly would appear to be affirmative. All around the perimeter of the Soviet bloc, allied forces, encouraged by American leadership and strengthened by the military assistance program, stand ready to repel those probes by which the Communists test the free world's ability and will to resist. These forces are far better trained and much better equipped than when we started, their self-confidence is strong and their determination to resist has become steadily firmer. Knowing that the United States stands with them, they do not falter or fall back when the going gets tough.

Consider the inflexible courage with which Norway and Denmark, both right under the gun, have invariably rebuffed Soviet threats.

Consider the stanch replies of Greece and Turkey whenever they are threatened—and it is not infrequently.

Consider the unfailing evidences of NATO unity in the face of Soviet threats, especially the threatening moves against Berlin a year ago.

Consider Mr. Khrushchev's efforts only last month to drive a wedge between France and Germany. The Soviets have endeavored most persistently to split the NATO alliance asunder. They are always full of slogans about liquidation of foreign bases. They have never been able to open up even a small crack in the bonds which our military assistance program has nourished.

Consider the effective responses of the Chinese Nationalists to the Communist Chinese aggressions against the offshore islands and in the Taiwan Strait in the summer of 1958, a response made possible only through equipment and training provided by our military assistance program.

I say to you, that in the coldest calculation of our own self-interest, the military assistance program has been a wise and profitable investment.

We embarked on this program over 10 years ago in a time of extreme danger and emergency, and like all emergency programs, in the early years it had to be executed before it could be well planned. Our allies desperately needed weapons, and we tried desperately to get the weapons to them. Neither they, nor we on the American side, could know without years of investigation and analysis exactly what each country was

best able to do as its share in a common The crisis would not wait for us to spend those years investigating and analyzing. The crisis was right then. We had to go ahead as best we could.

From those hasty and impromptu beginnings a decade ago, has evolved a carefully considered and carefully managed operation

which we have today.

Thousands of dedicated Americans—military officers and civilians-have worked their hearts out pulling the programs into shape against all handicaps. I have seen them doing this pretty much around the world, and I take off my hat to them. There has been steady improvement in the military assistance operation everywhere, and in no place has there been serious maladministration or mismanagement. Few of our allies, of course, started out with supply systems which were ready to support and keep in good operating order the modern equip-ment we gave them. Their struggles to develop such supply and repair systems have been difficult and arduous, as anyone can understand who has witnesses the many false steps taken by our own armed forces in the past 25 years in learning to deal with exactly the same problems.

HIGH COST OF MODERN DEFENSE

Why then, if we have accomplished so much, does the cost of military assistance remain so high?

To begin with, let me say that each of the countries to whom we give military assistance has a large military budget of its own, and as far as possible it feeds, pays, clothes and trains its own forces, and furnishes them with military equipment to the extent its resources permit. As the economy of each country recuperates and becomes capable of doing more we ask it to take up a larger share of the burden, and this is

being done.

In the case of NATO, for example, our military assistance has declined steadily year by year from \$3.2 billion in 1953 to about \$1 billion in the present year; but last summer the President's Committee to Study the U.S. Military Assistance Program re-ported as a matter for serious concern, that if the NATO countries raised their defense expenditures to the highest level one could reasonably expect, and if the United States continued its military assistance at about the same rate as a year ago, the collective military strength of NATO would still fall dangerously below what the NATO commanders consider necessary. This Committee, by the way, was a nonpartisan group of nationally known citizens all of whom have distinguished themselves not only in business life but in high posts of public service. Under the chairmanship of William H. Draper, Jr. (of New York and California), the members were Dillon Anderson (of Texas), Joseph M. Dodge (of Michigan), Alfred M. Gruenther (of Nebraska, NATO and Washington), Marx Leva (of Alabama), John J. McCloy (of New York), George Mc-Ghee (of Texas), Joseph T. McNarney (of California), Adm. Arthur W. Radford, and James E. Webb (of Oklahoma), with Tracy Voorhees (of New Jersey) as Counsel. This distinguished Committee felt that after every allowance for the increasing pros-perity and the increasing defense expenditures of the NATO countries, the level of our military assistance to NATO was dangerously

At the other extreme, some of our sturdlest allies, like the Turks and the Koreans, are entirely willing to maintain large forces, and are immensely valuable to the United States and to the whole free world for that reason, but simply do not have the financial resources to arm, equip, and train such forces and keep them on the payroll, without our

assistance both military and economic.
In other words, as I said earlier the conclusion must be that so long as the Soviet-

Communist threat forces the United States to keep its overall defense expenditures at their present high levels, the portion we should plan to devote to military assistance will remain not less than \$2 billion per year.

If we allow the military assistance program to fall precipitously to a far lower level than in the past, the meaning to friend and foe alike will be that the United States is drawing back from its forward strategy. You can eeasily see why. All these lines upon which we have all agreed to stand are drawn on other people's territory, not on ours. We invited them to join us in withstanding communism on their territory, we have given the leadership in forming these alliances and making them strong; and it is indeed a point for nice judgment, how far we can go in demonstrating a loss of enthusiasm for the common effort before our allies will begin to hint that perhaps we had better go home. One thing is certain: any such indication by the United States will encourage many of our allies to slack off their own defense efforts. We are the leader. They are going to follow our lead.

Of all times, this is probably the worst time to have any such ideas arise. The Communists have not made the slightest change in their ultimate goals. To promote the cause of world communism by all feasible means continues to be their objective. At the same time they are giving some, but only some, indication that they may perhaps be willing to negotiate more seriously on at least a few of the issues causing international tension. We are faced immediately with the summit meeting next month, and possibly with a long, protracted period of negotiations Nobody expects that quick rethereafter. sults will be reached at the summit meeting on May 16, or soon after it. The period of negotiations is likely to be a very long one. It is a crucial period when we must be at our strongest, our most confident, our most

I suggest that this is not just a simple question of strengthening the hand of President Eisenhower at Paris next month, but extends to his successor of whatever party. This is the time for the United States to speak strongly and in unison, giving confidence to its friends and causing hesitation among its enemies.

I have held my remarks within the field of military assistance, which is the field of my personal responsibility, and the subject upon which I was invited to speak this evening; but in closing I would like to bring the subject of military assistance into its proper focus in our affairs by quoting from the strong and authoritative speech made by Undersecretary Douglas Dillon less than 24 hours ago:

"Soviet power and determination to expand Communist influence throughout the world pose grave and continuing threats to peace. Despite constant talk of 'peaceful coexistence, there is no evidence that Communist expansionist ambitions have altered in the slightest. It is true that Soviet rulers now appear anxious to pursue their unchanging goals through nonmilitary tactics—through diplomacy, trade, economic aid, propaganda, and internal subversion. However, they re-main confident that the totalitarian system shall prevail. Their present emphasis on nonmilitary measures does not mean that the struggle will be less intense nor the stakes less important. The primary issue today is nothing less than the survival of free men in a free civilization.

"Meanwhile, the Sino-Soviet bloc maintains enormous military power, which reinforces its constant pressure upon the free world. The risk of armed conflict is always with us. We must mount a vigorous and continuing effort to contain that risk if peace is to be kept."

The Promotion of International Investment

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, May 19, 1960

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I com-mend to the attention of our colleagues the following address delivered by the Right Honorable Lord Shawcross, Q.C., LLD, before the Societe Royale d'Economie Politique de Belgique, Brussels, on December 14, 1959. The role of international investment and the benefits of a new investment convention are discussed in the address:

THE PROMOTION OF INTERNATIONAL INVESTMENT

(Paper submitted by the Right Honorable Lord Shawcross, Q.C., LL.D., to Societe Royale d'Economie Politique de Belgique, Brussels, Dec. 14, 1959)

First of all, perhaps, I should explain to you the angle from which I approach this problem. By profession, I am a lawyer. By occupation, I am concerned in industry. inclination, I still have an interest in politics although no longer a party one. But although I am a lawyer and greatly interested in the progressive development of International Law, I am not one of those who take the oversimplified view that all the problems of the world can be resolved by merely legal solutions; there are many great political and practical difficulties to be overcome first. And although I am now engaged in industry. I do not imagine that a selfish profit motive alone, making as much profit where one can whilst one can, is in future enough to insure the progressive economic development of the world we live in: industry itself usually recognizes fully the serious economic and social responsibilities it owes to the countries in which it operates. I must confess that it is in the end rather as a politician—a dilettante politician if you like for I have deserted the pursuit of party politics—that I have become convinced that the steady promotion of foreign investment across the frontiers of the separate states must become one of the most important ways of promoting a real international society, which remains based on our ideas, I should say ideals, of democracy, personal initiative and individual

Although the formation of the European Common Market and the eventual construction, as many of us continue to hope, of a European free-trade area will do much to stimulate the continued economic growth of the western European countries, it is obvious that in the long run not only the peace but the industrial progress of Europe is closely linked to the economic advance of the underdeveloped territories of the world. The world has become much too narrow and contracted a place for the free countries to tolerate anywhere within it the poverty and misery in which so many millions continue to live. Not only is poverty an invitation to subversion and the most potent ally of the Communists, but it acts as a brake on economic progress everywhere. The forward march of both the industrialized and the underdeveloped countries is in fact linked together in mutual interdependence.

Without continuing progress in the more highly industrailized nations the low-income countries will lack an adequate outlet for their primary products on which, in spite of the advance some have made towards industrial activity, their ability to provide

rising standards for their growing populations largely depends. And whilst we must help the industrialization of other countries, world economic growth is not simply universal industrialization. For many years the complementary nature of the economies of the highly industrialized and the primary producing countries will remain a most important basis of economic progress. On the other hand, of course, the increasing capital intensity of industrial production calls for everwidening markets; unless markets are worldwide and growing, the stagnation and saturation theories which have been suggested as dangers to the advanced countries may become practical realities. Economic interdependence is not just a question of trade: it involves the increasing interchange of the other factors in efficient production. In the Common Market, for instance, increased markets following the removal of internal tariffs may in the end have less effect in increasing Europe's productivity than the increased internal flow and movement of capital, labor, and technical skills and know-how. All this in time may apply to the development territories. They need our capital, our skills, and our markets, but equally we need to promote theirs.

What then is required to achieve these things is a steady flow of capital to build up the economic activity of the present underdeveloped or undeveloped territories of the world. And it is quite certain that this means a flow of foreign capital for there are countries whose present economic position renders them quite incapable of generating sufficient internal capital even to maintain their existing standards in the face of steadily expanding populations. How then is a sufficient international movement of capital

to be secured?

Much must, of course, continue to come in the form of bilateral or multilateral State aid. Apart from loans from the Communist countries which in the past have perhaps been of more propaganda than economic importance, but which are rightly called the trouble offensive and may greatly increase in significance, the occasions for direct State loans are probably diminishing. Although we must all be glad to see that, despite the prophets, President Eisenhower has asked Congress for increased foreign aid next year. And here it is appropriate to pay tribute to the late General Marshall. His name will remain in history for a plan far more imaginative than any military strategy and which was a most important factor in saving the peace and promoting the progress of the free world in the difficult postwar years.

But nobody can doubt that in the field of multilateral finance the continued activities of the World Bank, the International Finance Corporation, the proposed International Development Association, and other such organizations in providing finance to the low income and underdeveloped countries will remain, as they have been, of incalculable advantage to the free world. form of multilateral aid is descrying of the fullest support by governments and industry: it will meet needs, particularly in regard to what is, I believe, called the infra structure nowadays, which can never be wholly satisfied by private enterprise. But these official loans and grants already a significant burden on the budgets of the contributing countries; since 1945 the various foreign aid programs of the United States have cost each adult about \$675 can never be sufficient to cover all the capital investment required, or indeed be available for some of the projects which ought to be financed. Much must come from private sources. And this also must be remembered. The need of the underdeveloped countries is not simply for monetary aid but for a combination of monetary capital, capital goods and, in particular, the technical and administrative skills which are their essential complement. The shortage of experienced administrators of itself imposes a limit to the volume of official economic aid that can be absorbed for the more essential and appropriate productive enterprises. Without these complementary factors, much of the aid which these underdeveloped territories receive can be rendered sterile or may be dissipated in correcting current foreign exchange deficiencies. The burden of loan repayment and interest could then easily mount substantially faster than the country's ability, through increased production, to pay for it. In these circumstances, to adopt any policy of priority for official loans over direct investment, on the assumption that they are substitutes for private enterprise, is quite unrealistic.

The fact is that new private capital and reinvestment has been increasing in recent years and is now on a scale forming about 40 percent of the total flow of capital to the underdeveloped countries. If you take all the capital exported by the major capital exporting countries between 1955 and 1958 on a long-term basis, the figure is over \$17,000 million. That is a significant figure. None-theless, the outflow of private capital is not as great as it needs to be nor is that outflow attracted to the countries where its assistance could be most important both economically and politically. Much, for instance, goes to Canada and Austrlia, but some of the Latin American and Afro-Asian countries are severely short of capital finance. Broadly speaking, the reasons are twofold: they lie both in the capital importing and the capital exporting countries, and they are closely interrelated.

Let the matter be considered first from the point of view of the receiving countries, the new, the emerging territories suspicious sometimes of the great powers, jealous of any suggestion of economic imperialism. One of the most intractable problems which they have to resolve is that of framing economic policies, in a climate of strong political nationalism and suspicion, which will in the long run secure the best interests of their own countries.

There are two aspects to be recognized here. One is that there are a number of countries, some under Communist influence, some not, which for doctrinal reasons prefer state enterprise, although lacking the finance to develop it with the necessary speed and efficiency. Now, having been a member once of the English Labor Party myself, I understand this attitude although I no longer agree with it. We must learn here by experience, and it is not surprising that certain governments have become more doubtful of the alleged superior efficiency of state as compared with private enterprise. The lesson of the United Kingdom, where after much experience of state monopoly enterprise, the electorate-and indeed many in the Labor Party-have decisively recorded their objection to any increase in state activity, may help to confirm these doubts. But the truth is that, however interesting the doctrines, the developing countries simply cannot afford to indulge exclusively in state enterprise. They cannot hope to raise externally, or generate internally, the volume of finance required. This is especially true in the case of the extractive industries (where also the availability of the technical skills is a highly important factor). An investment of £50 million was required before the very modest present production of oil in Nigeria was ob-A similar investment in Netherlands New Guinea produced no economic return for the investor. Developing countries simply cannot afford to risk their own domestic capital to this extent, and, at the best, a doctrinal insistence upon state enterprise can only slow down the rate of advance.

But there is a more troublesome aspect which must be recognized, and that is that it is not unnatural for such countries, in the early years of independence, to identify foreign enterprises with the vestiges of colonial dependence and to feel that complete freedom can only be achieved if foreign interests in economic activity come to have at the most a subordinate and closely circumscribed role. Of course, to frame policies in that view is to ignore the very real difference between foreign political and foreign economic influence. Nowadays, at least, industrial enterprises are usually at the greatest pains to avoid any kind of political involvement. Undue pressure by governments upon existing foreign enterprises, and legislation to limit their activities or to exclude them may well retard the rate of growth of the whole economy without promoting any independent political strength; it will restrain the flow of much needed capital and other factors when natural economic growth would itself achieve the object of limiting any feared foreign influence without the need for any pressure of legislation or discrimination against it.

That last proposition should be examined in a little more detail. It is, no doubt, increasingly recognized that adequate rates of economic growth in the underdeveloped countries can only be achieved by the effective use of all the productive factors available to them. And a more realistic view is being taken now, at least in some countries, of the part that private direct investment can play in supplying the risk capital, administrative and technical skills, and progressive entrepreneurship which they so urgently need. But even so, the full eco-nomic significance of the economic changes which have taken place since the colonial era are not in all countries adequately understood. The fact is that the gains in production that are achieved as a result of foreign investment are accruing increasingly to the benefit of the capital receiving countries. And more significantly, these gains are being spread widely throughout their economies by generally rising wage standards, growing employment of nationals in managerial, technical, and administrative posts, the increasing use of local enterprises for ancillary services and supplies and, of course, the incidence of local taxation. It is in fact this very process of disseminating the productive gains from foreign investment throughout the economic system that will inevitably lead to an eventual and steady reduction in the relative share and influence of foreign enterprise in the country's economic activity even if its absolute contribution seems to expand rapidly.

No doubt, in the early years of economic development, the growth potential of the foreign sector will be realized more rapidly than that of the domestic sector. That need cause no misgiving. It is because the foreign enterprises will at first have the most ready access to the major supply of those factors on which future growth depends-education, skills, expertise, and, above all, capital. But by achieving their own growth potential, because of their own immediate advantages. the foreign enterprises will be creating conditions in which the very much greater potential of the whole economy, of which they are only the fringe, will begin to become effective. As their production expands, as its benefits are transmitted throughout the country in the form of higher real incomes from which the savings for domestic capital investment can be generated, and as the local population acquires the education and expertise necessary for productive activity. the latent economic activity of the country begins to be realized. The marginal but intensive activity of the foreign sector is the fuse which fires the greater but more inert charge of the country's own economic power.

Once this process has begun to gather momentum, the relative importance and advantage of the foreign sector is eroded away. and even if the foreign enterprises continue to increase in number their share of the total productive effort will tend to become progressively less significant. In time, as has, after all, happened in the United States, in Canada, and Australia, indeed in the rest of the industrialized world, the distinction between home an foreign interests ceases to matter although such interests may remain very large, as they do in Canada, in absolute terms. But in spite of the large amount of foreign capital in Canada nobody suggests that Canada is not completely independent

both economically and politically.

No doubt it is not surprising that concern at the size of the foreign sector in the domestic economy should often arise most acutely-and be exploited by the Communists—at the stage when it is probably about to begin its relative decline. It is often diffito understand that those very foreign enterprises which seem to be barriers to local progress in fact, partly and often, largely created the conditions which are giving rise to new opportunities for local economic growth, and that if they are allowed to con-tinue to add to the stream of productive experience and opportunity they will, in fact, themselves assist in shifting the balance of economic activity and influence still more toward domestic interests. But so, in fact, it has been in the case of all the industrial countries in which, in the first place, great reliance has had to be placed on foreign

Some study has already been given to this question of the pattern of ownership in a developing economy: there is respectable evidence to support the general thesis which has been indicated. But it would be useful if more economic research could be given to the matter for the emerging and development; countries would then see that whilst the pattern shows that foreign capital is es sential to their progress, in the long run it does not hinder, but on the contrary helps, to promote the strength of the domestic sector which, indeed, would otherwise continue to stagnate.

But the corollary to an appreciation by the receiving countries of the advantage of securing foreign capital is, of course, the creation of conditions likely to secure it. And as has been said, private capital is not being sufficiently attracted to those areas in which economic growth might do most to help in promoting political stability and, at the same time, in increasing world economic activity.

The reasons are not far to seek. Private cepital, whether in the form of direct or portfolio investment has always been conto accept the normal—although often considerable—commercial risks involved in the establishment of new enterprises in foreign territory. Two typical cases of oil explora-tion were mentioned earlier—but bitter experience in the past has made it shy of going to those countries in which there are, added to the commercial risks, the dangers of political ones, such as discrimination once an enterprise is established or confiscation once it has become valuable. What is mainly required—and what will only happen when the capital-receiving countries realize the importance to them of private capital—is the assurance of reasonable security. Where that exists, experience in Canada and Australia tralia, as well as in the capital movements between the European countries show that private capital will flow toward any activity which presents a reasonable prospect of economic return and indeed, some would think think, to many that do not. Security would, no doubt, best be provided by the assurance that all countries would adhere to the rules of international law. It is of that aspect of the matter that some examination can now be made.

No doubt it is true enough to say that a world which has at least pretended to re-

nounce war as an instrument for resolving international disputes ought to be prepared to accept the arbitrament of international law. As Lord Attlee said only the other day:

"If the nations of the world are seriously to consider universal disarmament, then at the same time they must give their urgent thought to the consolidation of a body of international law to which all would sub-

As a general principle most people would agree with that, and in many countries influential legal organizations and individual lawyers are pointing the way to "world peace through world law." But, ideal as it is in principle, the statement is something of an oversimplification. Festina lente—we must hurry slowly. If there must be a slogan and this is an age of slogans—the more accurate slogan would be "world law through world peace." For historically order precedes law. There must be an orderly organization of society to secure a universal acceptance of And the reason for that is plain enough. Stability and the protection of acquired rights are the necessary and characteristic incidents of any legal system. But no system, national or international, can function or protect itself against revolution unless there exists adequate machinery for ordinary and evolutionary change. Many of the nations of the world today, especially the new and developing nations, are quite unwilling to submit to the general arbitrament of international law, because they regard it as a device of the Western world to perpetuate the status quo without regard to the politinational, social, and economic forces which have so much changed the face of the world we live in. The very reasons which have led to the great powers insisting and it must be remembered that the United States of America and the United Kingdom as well as the U.S.S.R. did insist on the veto provision in the Charter of the United Nations, will continue to make less powerful nations refuse to submit generally to international law unless and until there exists some international legislative machinery enabling the rules of law to be changed and adapted to the changing needs of the modern world. After all, law can never be a static and immutable thing-the reason why citizens submit to it in their own municipal systems is that they play their part in legislatures which can alter the law when the application of its existing rules becomes unjust or inex-

We may rejoice at the fact that France has and the United States of America proposes to modify the conditions in favor of domestic jurisdiction by which their acceptance of the compulsory jurisdiction of the International Court is qualified. It is to be hoped that gradually the number of countries which will accept the jurisdiction unreservedly will increase; certainly in our own countries all our efforts must be directed to that end. But it must be recognized that far less than half the countries of the world do so adhere, at present, and whilst the rules of law themselves remain uncertain and unalterable, it is not realistic to expect dramatic advance in this direction.

But where international law can advance, and sometimes even dramatically, is in the institutional field and by securing the adherence of a large number of countries to statements or restatements of international law in regard to particular matters in which the fact of interdependence and the necessity for cooperation has become manifest. It is not generally realized that since the establishment of the International Postal Union nearly 100 years ago, no less than 116 international organizations have been set up ad hoc, each dealing with some particular matter that has become generally recognized as the necessary subject of international cooperation. The World Health Organization, the International Civil Aviation Organiza-

tion, the Food and Agriculture Organization. and here, in Europe, the organization of the Six, Euratom, and the European Coal and Steel Community, are examples. The Antarctica Treaty is the latest and not undramatic case. All of these have contributed to the establishment of a body of international rules in relation to the matters with which they deal; some have set up real interna-tional communities with recourse to their own international courts. And beyond and outside these actual institutional arrangements are a large number of cases where rules dealing with this or that matter have been established by conventions, not involving the creation of actual institutions, to which a greater or lesser number of nations have adhered. A recent case in point is the Geneva Conference which led to the convention on the law of the sea.

A surprisingly large field has already been covered by ad hoc institutional or conventional arrangements of this kind. It is on these lines by a process of selection both in regard to subject matter and area of obligation that the general progress of interna-tional law can best be promoted, so that in the end there will be a wide network of accepted rules covering a large part of the field of international relations, and at least a large number of the countries of the world.

That general commentary leads on to the specific problem of providing the assurance of security in this matter of foreign private investment. Here is a subject which is now ripe for selection as a concern of conventional international law, at least for a selected area of obligation.

Some countries have, commendably enough, attempted to give assurances by passing internal statutes purporting to give varying degrees and periods of security to the foreign investor and some have made official declarations to the like effect. These measures, whilst encouraging as far as they go (and they have certainly helped) are always liable to unilateral amendment or revocation-as for instance following political changes—and usually they contain other restrictive provisions which cut down their apparent attraction. Something more than this is needed to give any real security. The United States has to some extent

succeeded in securing this "something more"

for its own investors by the conclusion of bi-

lateral treaties of trade and commerce with some 17 different countries. These treaties contain inter alia provisions against expropriation without compensation and provide for the submission of disputes to the International Court. There is no doubt these treaties have helped to improve the investment climate in a number of countries, and indeed the development of international law. The United States is manifestly in a specially advantageous position to negotiate a network of treaties of this kind, but even so it is significant that they have failed to conclude so far any treaty with the new nations of Afro-Asia or with the Arab States. Outside of the United States very few full-scale treaties of friendship and commerce have been made in recent years. The U.K. has one such with Iran; Germany has such treaties with France, Italy, the Dominican Republic and Pakistan. Others are being discussed with Ghana and Liberia, Another is still the subject of very dilatory negotiation with the U.K. Norway has such a treaty with Japan. But the generality and variety of these treaties may lead to difficulties in interpretation, and none of them provides for any direct remedy by the private investor: He must persuade the government to espouse his cause, and this government may sometimes find it politically embarrassing to do. There remains, in this context of bilateral arrangements, the fact that the U.S. Government has under its mutual security program established a system of insurance for U.S. investors against political risks: This is available in the case of some 38 States (only one in Africa and one Arab) with which the United States has concluded investment guarantee agreements. A similar form of guarantee scheme exists in Japan, and one has recently been introduced in Germany. In France, proposals are being discussed for a similar system.

But useful as these bilateral arrangements are, they afford no protection at all except to the nationals of the countries which make them, and in the territories for which they are concluded. A broader approach than this is necessary and it is here that there is some real opportunity of extending the conventional progress of international law by

multilateral agreement.

There is a long history to this approach. Efforts to secure some multilateral convention on investment problems in the Havana Charter for an international trade organization and at the 1948 and 1957 conferences of the Organization of American States met with failure mainly because they at-tempted to cover too wide a field. The provisos and exceptions proposed by a number of capital importing countries would have made the intended guarantees largely meaningless, and they were thus unacceptable to capital exporting countries. On the other hand, a draft International Code of Fair Treatment submitted to the United Nations in 1949 by the International Chamber of Commerce, and often reverted to since, demanded too much protection for the private investor and has evoked a disappointing re-Thus it calls for general equality sponse. of treatment between foreigners and nationals in such respects as the establishment, managing and staffing of enterprises, and provides for the virtual abolition of restrictions on transfer of capital dividends and profits. Even in bilateral treaties no capital receiving country has gone as far as this. A similar criticism—that it asked too much for the private investor-was leveled against the first draft International Convention for the Protection of Private Investment put out by a Cologne society under the auspices of Herr Abs, chairman of the Deutsche Bank.

But for the general principle of an International Convention dealing with these matters, there has been significant support. Early in 1958 the Malayan Government at the South East Asia Economic Conference put forward a proposal of the kind. In the same year the Interparliamentary Union Conference meeting in Brazil, and the International Bar Association in Cologne, passed resolutions supporting a multilateral arrangement, and this year a British Parliamentary Group—on the whole, curiously enough, rather a left wing group—suggested the desirability of a World Investment Convention. In September 1959, the Assembly of the Council of Europe proposed unanimously that an Investment Statute and a Guarantee Fund should be established after a conference between the European and African countries. Thus there has been a notable increase in general interest and support.

But matters have become more concrete and particular. In 1958 a group of distinguished Continental and British international lawyers and businessmen met together to study how best these matters could be dealt with. Their conclusion was that the course giving most hope of practical progress in the near future was to promote a multilateral convention which, whilst not pretending to establish any elaborate or fully protective code for the private investor, would at least establish beyond argument the more basic and elementary principles of international law and would secure submission to an international tribunal by those States which were prepared to adhere to the convention. What were the

basic principles? They were only three in number. That Governments should carry out their specific engagements-pacta sunt servanda; that there should be no dis-crimination and that any expropriation should be accomplished by prompt adequate and effective compensation. It may be that these rules are not universally accepted: Very few of the rules of customary international law are. But certainly there is a very substantial weight of juristic opinion and of case law in their favor and they do provide the minimum security which the international investor may reasonably require. And few statesmen, after all, who wished to assert the good faith of their countries could wax very eloquent in objecting to these elementary principles at least in this limited The draft convention also contains context. a provision for submission to the International Court and, as an optional annex, machinery for establishing an arbitral tri-bunal to which individuals could have access without involving their Governments. There is also, and perhaps more controversially, an optional provision for the imposition of sanctions. Before dealing with the further history of

these proposals, something should be said in broad terms about certain of the criticisms which have been made of them. Criticisms have come from three quarters. Those representing the views of some pri-vate investors say that the safeguards do not go far enough: That there should be a wider range of protection, more explicit and specific in its application. To that it may be answered that often before the better has been the enemy of the good. It has proved quite impracticable to secure any significant common agreement on more far reaching proposals. It is unrealistic to think, for instance, that sovereign States will compel themselves to admit foreigners to every activity which is open to its own nationals. No State does so in fact. Nor can States be expected in these days of shortage of foreign currency to abrogate altogether in favor of the private investor their exchange control arrangements. From the point of view of

promoting private investment it is better to

press for what appear really vital requirements and not to seek unattainable objec-

tives which themselves would provide little additional protection.

Then, it is said by some that from the point of view of the capital-importing countries the draft is one-sided since all the obligations would be cast upon them. This is in a sense inevitable from the nature of the exercise. The convention is one which seeks protection from acts of state not act of individuals. The borrowing state can protect itself in whatsoever way it likes from the acts of the private investor in the contracts it makes with him at the time of his investment-and on the other hand it needs no protection against the capital-exporting state which is not itself involved in the action. But the broader answer is that the quid pro quo for the borrowing states' undertakings is in fact, in the English vernacular the provision of the "quids," that the capital-importing countries in return for agreeing to abide by the generally recognized procedure of international law will receive move private investment and with the capital, the benefits of the technical and commercial skills which go with them than would otherwise be the case.

Yet the possibility of some more obviously reciprocal provisions need not be excluded. No doubt this aspect will be further studied. If necessary, capital-exporting states should give some assurance that the economic interests of the borrowing states will be recognized. Thus, where a recipient country makes tax concessions—and this is a common device for attracting investment—this should not result simply in a transfer from their own to the state exchequers of the

wealthy countries. Here the tax treaty recently signed between India and the United States of America is a useful example: its key feature is that income earned as a result of a special tax concession or exemption granted by India to encourage investment shall be treated in the United States as taxfree income. Otherwise, what the Indian exchequer gave, the U.S. exchequer would take, and the encouragement to the private investor would be lost. Again, capital-exporting countries should not respond to the removal of barriers against Western capital by arbitrary tariff adjustments against the developing countries or buying discrimination against their products. And some may think, although this is not a matter for treaty provision, that it may be necessary to face the cost of higher equilibrium prices for commodities if by so doing the problems associated with the dependence of the underdeveloped countries upon unstable com-modity markets can be diminished. Certainly an insistence on the obligations of countries receiving capital aid must not be understood as ignoring the reciprocal obligations of the lending countries. Indeed. interdependence is the basis of this coopera-

The third criticism is not at all as to the content of the draft convention-although many think it would be better if it contained no provision as to sanctions-but as to the method of multilateral negotiation. The governments of the United States and the United Kingdom have been inclined to say that if a matter of this kind is submitted to negotiation between a large number of countries with a view to a multilateral convention, the principles embodied in the original draft will be so whittled away by provisos and exceptions that at the end of the day nothing of value will remain. That, it is said, was the experience at Havana. But this seems rather a counsel of despair and its validity depends upon what is put into the original draft, what countries are brought into negotiation in the first instance and what, if any, alternatives there may be for securing the admittedly desirable objective. That is why those who framed the convention now before OEEC thought it better to proceed with proposals of a modest, but minimal kind, embodying principles which can justly be put forward as existing rules, which could not be whittled away, and which could in the first instance be negotiated between a comparatively small group of like-minded nations, with provision for accession by others. No doubt a project of this kind is unsuitable for present discussion in so large a forum as the United Nations, where the Communist states would be certain to attack and exploit it. But we must agree with those with whom we can agree and so create a respectable example. On the other hand, it is clear that the process of the mere bilateral treaty has, to say the least, greatly slowed up and that it has hardly penetrated the most significant

The German Government recently adopted a proposal broadly similar to the draft promulgated by the group already referred to and submitted it to the OEEC, where the Swiss Government had also made proposals differing in method but to the same end.

These proposals have received careful and by no means unfavorable consideration in a committee of the OEEC and it is understood that the position now is that that committee will shortly report to the council of the organization. The council will then have to consider its own attitude. There are various courses it might adopt. It might conceivabley reject the whole proposal. It can hardly be thought that responsible governments would adopt such a negative position; in face of the unanimous recommendation of the Council of Europe in a somewhat similar sense, the OEEC may

be likely to adopt some positive action. It might-although it is to be hoped it will do no such thing—say that instead of estab-lishing a multilateral convention, binding on the countries which adhered to it, the OEEC should adopt a declaration, a statement, a code of fair principles. This would be the course of least resistance but the road to international anarchy has already been well paved with international declarations which particular nations have disregarded when it suited them. It might, again, convention among the countries concerned, leaving it to those countries to work out drafts of their own. Not much progress would be likely to come of such a method. Or it might decide, as one may hope it will, to work out a draft convention of its own and then to submit it to governments for approval. This would be the most responsible and satisfactory course. The OEEC is how fully familiar with the subject and the various arguments. It could proceed quite rapidly from its present studies, and take an initiative which might be sadly lacking if the matter were returned to individual governments. I hope all here who may be able to make representations to their own governments will urge them to agree, in the OEEC, that the German proposal should be accepted in principal, and that the secretariat should be instructed to prepare a suitable draft.

It may, of course, be said that whilst this is all very well, a multilateral treaty between European countries would be of little practical advantage since these countries can be relied upon to adhere to proper standards of behavior, and capital investment already takes place freely between them. This is true enough, but such a treaty would nonetheless establish a firm basis for a standard state practice which would form a respectable precedent to which development countries might adhere. Clearly, it would, at least initially, be difficult to negotiate such a treaty between a larger group of states Without the risk of dangerous ideological controversies and an attempt at watering down its provisions. Moreover, should the proposal of the European Assembly for the adherence of African as well as European countries be adopted without any such weakening in the convention's provisions, this Would constitute a most significant advance.

Apart from the possibility of concluding such a multilateral convention providing the minimum substantive rules for protecting private investment, a treaty merely establishing a system of arbitration to which pri-Vate investors could have recourse in the event of dispute with the governments of capital-receiving countries would be a measure of the greatest practical importance. Arbitration between a national of one country and the government of another has, of course, always been possible provided that the government concerned agrees to it. In practice, governments generally only so agree when this is in furtherance of an arbitration clause contained in a contract with the foreign investor. It is more rare for a government to accept arbitration when there is no such contractual obligation, unless indeed in a particular case they believe they are certain to win. Thus an investor whowithout any contract with government builds a factory or establishes a business in some foreign country, which is later expropriated without compensation by the state concerned, will have no remedy, for although the measures taken against him were contrary to international law, there is no arbitral machinery to which he can have recourse. What is required ideally is a system under which, in such a case, the injured investor can apply to some international arbitral body to arbitrate between him and the foreign government. This would involve the acceptance of some organization,

which need not be at all elaborate, which would be regarded by all concerned as com-pletely impartial and detached and able to appoint appropriate persons to act as arbitrators in particular cases. It would also require the prior agreement of governments that they would accept the jurisdiction of arbitrators so appointed, at least in certain categories of claim, and would abide by the decisions given. Such a system might be estalished by a multilateral convention or by a series of special bilateral treaties. In the meantime, suitable provisions might be embodied in any new treatles of friendship and commerce. Properly qualified and impartial arbitrators would have little difficulty in arriving at just decisions by drawing on the customary rules of international law and on the general principles of justice accepted by civilized nations. Nor would the absence of sanctions for the enforcement of awards be a serious weakness. Experience has shown that, once an international court or arbitral tribunal has given a decision, it is most unusual for governments to fall to carry it out. The force of world opinion must for a long time continue to be the most effective sanction in this field.

At the moment a number of different bodies (in addition to the Secretariat of the United Nations) including the International Chamber of Commerce, the International Law Association and the International Bar Association, are independently studying how best to establish some such system as has been described. The danger of these inde-pendent studies, apart from the dissipation of effort which they involve, is that each may evolve some system in which it will tend to have something of a vested interest, and that the proposals of each may be incon-sistent with, if not inimical to, those of the others. It is the present concern of the International Association for the Study of the Promotion and Protection of Foreign Investments (which was recently established in Geneva and consists of bankers, businessmen and international lawyers, including such persons as Monsieur Smets, Ambassador Massigli, Mr. Spofford, Mr. Arthur Dean, Sir Jeremy Raisman, Professor Carli and Herr Abs), which is itself actively interested in the problem, to bring together these various independent studies as well as the proposals for an investment statute, so that they may be coordinated.

In conclusion, reference must be made to an important suggestion thrown out by Mr. Eugene Black at the meeting of the World Bank in Washington last September. The President of the World Bank wondered whether:

"There was not a place now for an entity made up exclusively of private international investors from all countries * * * which could publicize what is being done and the conditions that attract investment. * * * This entity, if it were truly international, might help in finding solutions to differences which have actually arisen between investors and foreign Governments. * * It could serve to broaden areas of agreement and increase the awareness of the very great opportunities which exist for the expansion of private investment."

This may seem a comparatively modest proposal, but if implemented it might prove most valuable. What is required is a new and small group of persons whose own standing and experience would at once command international respect. Its sole concern should be the promotion and protection of private investment. It should not be compromised by association with any other body working in a wider field. Here again is a matter which the International Association established in Geneva, to which reference has just been made, might well pursue as one of urgency. Indeed, the association might itself form the nucleus of such a group.

In this matter, those who believe that the best hope for the future lies in the steady increase of international trade and commerce will support arrangements which will stimulate the voluntary flow of capital to those areas most needing it and will at the same time insure that, once invested in such areas, private capital will be fairly treated and will thus be able to promote the development of the country concerned and assist the commerce of the world

It is in this way, first by ad hoc agreement in one field, then by a similar process in another, that we may gradually build up that confident international cooperation which will produce international order, the possibility of conventional adaptations of existing rules and procedures, and so the conditions for the general rule of law in international affairs.

Abraham Lincoln

SPEECH

OF

HON. CLYDE DOYLE

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 18, 1960

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Speaker, if I could be permitted to repeat everything said by my distinguished colleagues, who have spoken so inspiringly and informatively of Abraham Lincoln on this 100th anniversary of his nomination for the Presidency of the United States, I would feel I would not be saying a bit too much about Abraham Lincoln and his influence on the life and destiny of our Nation; yes, Mr. Speaker, on the life and destiny of the whole world. In several nations where I have traveled officially as a member of the House Armed Services Committee, I could observe very attractive statues, lifesize, of this illustrious Civil War President.

For many years prior to my first coming to this great legislative body 14 years ago, I had the great privilege of being president of the Abraham Lincoln Club at Long Beach, Calif. I am sure that there are many thousands of Californians who are appreciative of his place in history for understanding between people of the human race which was the policy and practice of President Lincoln—both in and out of office.

One of the paragraphs in his message to Congress in 1861 which I always remember and emphasize as very, very appropriate always, is as follows:

The prudent, penniless beginner in the world labors for wages awhile, saves a surplus with which to buy tools or land for himself, and at length hires another new beginner to help him. This is the just and generous and prosperous system which opens the way to all—gives hope to all, and consequent energy and progress and improvement of condition to all.

I love to read and reread this statement by him during the debates with Stephen Douglas in 1858:

When I was a boy, I spent considerable time along the Sangamon River. An old steamboat plied on the river, the boiler of which was so small that when they blew the whistle, there wasn't enough steam to turn the paddlewheel. When the paddlewheel went around, they couldn't blow the

whistle. My friend Douglas reminds me of that old steamboat, for it is evident when he talks he can't think, and when he thinks, he can't talk.

Senator Douglas is of worldwide renown. All the anxious politicians of his party have been looking upon him as certainly at no distant day to be President of the United States. They have seen in his round, jolly, fruitful face post offices, land offices, marshalships and Cabinet appointments, chargeships and foreign missions, bursting and sprouting out in wonderful exuberance ready to be laid hold of by their greedy hands. And as they have been gazing upon this attractive picture so long, they cannot bring themselves to give up the charming hope. On the contrary, nobody has ever expected me to be President. In my poor, lean, lank face, nobody has ever seen that any cabbages were sprouting out. These are disadvantages all taken together, that the Republicans labor under. We have to fight this battle upon principle, and principle alone.

I recall the following quotations of his:

With malice toward none; with charity for all;

With firmness in the right, as God gives us to see the right,

Let us strive on to finish the work we are in; To bind up the Nation's wounds;

To care for him who shall have borne the battle,

And for his widow and orphan—
To do all which may achieve and cherish,
A just and lasting peace among ourselves
And with all nations.

Stand with anyone that stands right. Stand with him while he is right and part with him when he goes wrong.

Mr. Speaker, lastly, we Members of this great legislative body should not be remiss in remembering that Abraham Lincoln was a duly elected Member of the House of Representatives in his day and was a member of the Illinois delegation in the House from March 4, 1847, until March 4, 1849; and while he and his wife were here in Washington during that period they lived at Mrs. Spriggs boarding house here on the Hill where the Library of Congress now stands. In checking through my reference file about him, I find that on Tuesday, April 26, 1949, I made remarks in the House of Representatives entitled "Lincoln, Martyred Friend of the South." Every year since that it has been an inspiration to me to participate in doing something to remember him.

Steuben Society's Founders' Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 4, 1960

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, Saturday, May 21, we celebrate the Steuben Society's Founders' Day, when we pay tribute to Friedrich Wilhelm Von Steuben, who contributed so much to our American independence, and the organization that proudly bears his name, the

Steuben Society, a truly outstanding American group.

Baron Von Steuben, because of his influence in converting the American Army into an effective and highly disciplined military force during the Revolution, was an indispensable figure in the achievement of American independence. History teaches us that he performed an essential service that none of his contemporaries at that time was qualified to perform.

Certainly, it is fitting for a man who contributed so much to the formative years of our Nation to be remembered in many ways. The Steuben Society, which bears his name, has contributed much in the way of cultural, fraternal, social, and patriotic activities to its members and the communities they serve. I am especially proud to have within the area of the district I represent active members of the Steuben Society of America, who always evidence a keen interest in the affairs of Government and continuously exhibit the sound attitude that reflects their fundamental beliefs in the American way of life, in our traditions of free enterprise and opportunity for all.

In these troubled times, it is well for us to remember the contributions that citizens of foreign extraction have made to the greatness of America and certainly the example set by Baron Von Steuben, one of the first to set a pattern for many in the years that have followed.

A Domestic Barricade Won't Win

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. HOWARD W. ROBISON

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Friday, May 6, 1960

Mr. ROBISON. Mr. Speaker, the problems raised by the historic rise America witnessed in foreign imports during 1959 when there was a relatively static situation in the flow of merchandise exports are still unanswered. According to my information, a growing domestic demand for foreign goods caused merchandise imports to soar to a record total of \$15.2 billion last year, a 19 percent jump over the previous year's total of \$12.8 billion. At the same time, nonmilitary merchandise exports, amounting to \$16.3 billion, were virtually unchanged from their 1958 total. Thus, our merchandise export surplus gap narrowed to \$1.1 billion, and the various foreign countries doing business with the United States added a record total of \$3.7 billion to their gold and dollar holdings here.

The fact that finished consumer goods, other than foodstuffs, had a major share of such increased imports seems to pretty clearly indicate that what we are experiencing is much more than a recovery by foreign industry of its prewar American markets. More likely it is further evidence of the steadily narrowing

technological gap that formerly existed between domestic and foreign producers.

I am sure that we all applaud the recently announced administration effort to encourage exports by expanding such governmental services as are now available to American business. This can help, but what really seems needed is a rebirth here at home of the old-fashioned type of American ingenuity and "hard-sell" technique. Government can help to motivate such a mood, but only business itself can generate it.

Since last year's unlamented steel strike added to the unfavorable trade-balance picture, it is hopefully encouraging, I think, to learn what the American steel industry is proving able to do by way of recapturing a goodly share of the business it lost during that period. The following editorial from the Wall Street Journal of April 25, 1960, tells that story:

OUT FROM THE BARRICADES

"We're confident of the ability of the American steel industry to meet the threat of foreign competition. We're not so unrealistic as to think we'll come up with some magic solution that will stop imports as if somebody turned off a faucet, but they're not going to overwhelm us, either."

they're not going to overwhelm us, either."

The speaker is the marketing vice president of U.S. Steel Corp., and his attitude is as instructive as it is encouraging. For only a few weeks ago many in the steel industry were among the strongest pleaders for "protectionism" against foreign steel imports.

Now we ourselves are not so unrealistic as to think that the problem of foreign steel competition has been banished merely because the high rate of imports that prevailed during the steel strike has diminished. The fundamental problem—the high cost of producing steel in the United States—remains; and since labor is the main reason for that high cost, nothing short of a new attitude by the labor unions will resolve the problem.

The point is, however, that the industry is proving that something can be done to meet this threat on economic grounds, which is the only place it can be met. The recapture of American markets for American steel has not come from emotional appeals to "Buy American" or from the application of higher tariffs or from slapping on quotas. The market is being recaptured because the American industry is showing that it can serve that market better.

For one example, U.S. mills can offer the customers steel rolled and cut to the customer's own specifications; the buyer of foreign steel is generally limited to a choice of standard sizes and specifications.

For another, U.S. mills can offer a steady source of supply; foreign supplies are undependable. In cases where there are special metallurgical requirements, U.S. mills are also better able to provide the quality needed.

All these things have proven to be strong selling points, and the industry has buckled down to the job of making them stronger. As this newspaper's survey of the steel industry showed the other day, American steelmen faced with tough price competition are making better use of their other economically competitive strengths.

This is highly encouraging for this industry's outlook. But it is also instructive, we think, to those in other industries faced with foreign competition. For despite all the troubles the steel industry has left, it is still better off fighting back than in falling back on restrictionist measures that would only disguise the problem.

Nobody can be sure in any industry that a competitive fight will be won. But you can be pretty certain that no industry will win the fight for world markets hiding behind a domestic barricade.

Memorandum Decision-Khrushchev Versus Powers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. THOMAS M. PELLY

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, May 18, 1960

Mr. PELLY. Mr. Speaker, last night as I watched television and listened to the irresponsible and unstable ravings of the egomaniac. Khrushchev, during his unbelievable press conference in Paris, I was carried back 20 years into the past to the height of Adolph Hitler's bid for World domination. Only the physical appearance of the two speakers was different.

I witnessed the same hysterical and Vitriolic name calling and saber rattling and I said to myself. Here again the peace of the world and the very future of mankind is at the mercy of a phycho-

pathic dictator.

His repeated references to the U-2 flight as a spy mission and his announced intention of trying its courageous pilot, Lieutenant Powers, as a spy prompts me to include with my remarks the following legal opinion prepared by Judge Raymond Royal of the Superior Court of the State of Washington.

Judge Royal is one of the most highly regarded jurists in my State and is an authority on international law. He tells me that this memorandum decision is a joint effort of the entire class of international law which he teaches at the Naval Reserve Officers School at Sand Point Naval Air Station in Seattle, Wash .:

IN THE SUPERIOR COURT OF WORLD OPINION FOR KING COUNTY-KHRUSHCHEV v. POW-FRS-No. 1-MEMORANDUM DECISION-MAY 13, 1960

Raymond Royal, judge:

The headline writers and the columnists, together with the man on the street, seem to assume without equivocation or question that we were caught redhanded in acts
which make us guilty of the crime of spying. The small voices of the wife and the father of the pilot who fiew the plane cry out that our husband and son is not guilty of being a spy. Has no one thought to look up the law and to see what is the law with regard to spying?

"As a lawyer and judge trained and experienced in the common law approach, and also as a student and teacher of international law, I have researched this question. My ultimate conclusions follow in a form typical of a trial judge's informal memo-

randum decision."

It is contended by the Russian Communists that the free independent and sovereign people of the United States have committed the offense of spying and have also broken international law because one of its citizens flew in the stratosphere above the surface of the sovereign nation without the consent of its government. Let us take a look at what the law of nations says about espionage and about the law of territory.

There is no simple clear-cut document codifying international law such as one would find with reference to the ordinances of a city or the statutes of a State. International law arises out of custom and usage over a long period of time or by mutual agreement and consent, and has been defined in various ways by the legal scholars throughout the ages. Among the definitions which have been generally and widely accepted by the persons dealing with international law is that of Sir Henry Maine:

The law of nations is a complex system, composed of various ingredients. It consists of general principles of right and justice, equally suited to the conduct of individuals in a state of natural equity, and to the relations and conduct of nations; of a collection of usages, customs and opinions, the growth of civilization and commerce; and a code of positive law" (International Law, 1883, p. 33).

Another is Black's definition of the term,

as follows:

"International law. The law which regulates the intercourse of nations; the law of nations. The customary law which determines the rights and regulates the intercourse of independent states in peace and

"The system of rules and principles, founded on treaty, custom, precedent, and the consensus of opinion as to justice and moral obligation, which civilized nations recognize as binding upon them in their mutual dealings and relations."

As a corollary to the definition itself, Commander Brittin, in his book "Inter-national Law for Seagoing Officers," at page 43, makes this statement with regard to the

process of international law:

"As is so often the case in the development of international law, the insistence of so many nations upon a similar right and their vigorous measures to enforce the claimed right evolve into a rule of customary international law."

There are many authorities who have commented upon the rule of law among the nations with regard to spying. There has been a general agreement and concurrence among the family of nations and the scholars in this field that The Hague regulations of 1899 expresses the customary law in this regard. The essence of article 29 which deals with this subject is that spying consists in acting "clandestinely or on false pretenses", having the objective of obtaining information in the zone of operations of a belligerent, and of communicating it to the enemy. It is a further part of this customary law that soldiers not in disguise, properly known as "scouts", might penetrate the enemy lines to obtain information without being considered spies. Dispatch bearers, whether soldiers or civilians, have not been considered spies if they carried out their missions openly. The occupants of balloons who might find themselves over enemy territory for the purpose of delivering dispatches or maintaining communications came within the same class.

Where is the cloak and dagger? The clear undisputed facts are outside the definition of a spy. It is clear that the wife and father of this American pilot are correct when they contend that Pilot Powers has not engaged

in the crime of being a spy.

The evaluation of whether or not we have offended the territorial rights of a nation is more complex. We cannot dismiss this latter charge by simply citing the definition. The rule of law regarding the extraterritorial rights of nations is far more complex and currently in a state of flux. There is no clear-cut agreement among the experts as to where it is or where it is finally going to develop.

There had been a general concurrence among the nations that the air space above a nation's territory is subject to the exclusive sovereignty of that nation. This general and uniform insistence upon such a right by the various nations, of course, was in light of the facts with regard to the use of the air in existence at the tme of the general concurrence. It also took into account the hard, cold, practical fact of international life that the nation over which the airspace lies had an effective method of controlling those who might desire to use that airspace. The antiaircraft defenses generally had been able to give some substantial enforcement in that the range of aircraft did not exceed the range of antiaircraft defense. Undoubtedly this contributed to fixing of the rule just as the 3-mile rule of territorial extension into the high seas grew out of the range of a cannon ball. Prior to the 3-mile rule evolving, many nations asserted sovereign rights offshore without limit. Due to lack of agreement or uniform acquiescence by custom and usage, these claims ultimately failed.

However, in the past few years the space above a nation's territory has been invaded by manmade objects at a far greater alti-tude than can be controlled by the nations whose territory is under the particular airspace. We know today that there is a concurrence among the nations of the world that nations have the right to put satellites into space. Various nations have done so, thereby asserting their rights in that regard. There has been no voice raised against the assertion of this right. While this use of outer space cannot be said to be a custom of long standing, it nevertheless has all the earmarks of a custom except antiquity.

The law with regard to extension of territorial sovereign rights into airspace must be limited to the actual use and ability to control which existed at the time the customary rule evolved. This generally follows the practice employed in the development of the extension of territorial rights which infringe upon the freedom of the seas. nations of the world for a number of years have been whittling away at the long-established customary 3-mile rule to the point now where the rule is regarded as uncertain. But this does not mean that none of the seas are free and open. Similarly at some height above a nation's territory, the exclusive territorial sovereign right over space ends. The fact that the nations have not agreed as to where it ends does not mean that the rule of law is that the nations below have the right to airspace ad infinitum. Nor do they have it above that which they can control and is currently used by all na-

Even though there exists no concurrence as to the boundary between free airspace and territorial airspace, there in fact is a portion which is free and open to all. clear that the altitude at which this American plane was flying was above that which was current practice when custom and usage established the present rule of the sovereignty of airspace. It is also clear that the altitude at which this plane was flying was above the practical ability of every nation to effect significant control. Therefore, because of the vacuum of positive law hibiting the flying at this altitude, the freedom of the airspace applies to the altitude at which this plane was being flown before it was either forced to seek a lower level by reason of either being shot down or suffering mechanical difficulty. The United States and the pilot of this plans were no The United more violating a rule of international law than do the Russian submarines when they lie outside of the 3-mile limit of the coast of continental United States and engage in peacetime reconnaissance and scouting. had the right to use the freedom of the airspace above that which was fixed by positive custom and usage in international law just as we have the right to exercise freedom of the seas. The general concurrence about the use and projection of satellites clearly indicates that there is a limit to this doctrine of absolute sovereignty of the space above the territory. Where that limit lies we do not know, but we can safely say that it is somewhere lower than the elevation at which this plane was flying. The legal ceiling to the airspace subject to territorial control was fixed by (1) the then current usage and (2) ability to control the occupancy of airspace.

There is another area in which the rules of international law relative to airspace rapidly are being modified. Even within the recognized territorial sovereignty control upon airspace, virtually all of the major nations of the world involved in air travel have by treaty agreed to a limit. There exists by treaty among these major nations the privilege of flying across territory of the country without landing. There also is the privilege of landing for nontraffic purposes. The International Air Service Transit Agreement arising out of the 1944 Chicago conference so provides.

While this cannot be considered a rule of law it does give evidence of a substantial and growing dissatisfaction with the rule. It is such dissatisfaction and resultant treaties which give rise to new customary law and define areas of uncertainties in the old.

define areas of uncertainties in the old.

In summary, it is clear that the flight of the U-2 single-engine jet piloted by Francis Powers was not spying. The undisputed facts cry out against bringing the case within the definition of a spy as customarily fixed by international law.

There was no illegal invasion of the customary sovereign territorial rights because the territorial airspace could only be established by custom and usage under international law:

1. The scheduled operating altitude was above the air customarily used.

2. The scheduled operating altitude was beyond the ability of the sovereign territory to effect any semblance of control.

3. The rule relating to exclusive sovereign territorial rights of airspace related only to the airspace to which a continued used could establish a custom, and of necessity this customary rule of law had to fix the exclusive airspace at an altitude below that intended to be maintained by this plane.

If Khrushchev Wants It That Way

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. ALBERT H. BOSCH

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 17, 1960

Mr. BOSCH. Mr. Speaker, the spectacle in Paris this week put on by Nikita Khrushchev has appalled all self-respecting Americans. I think that anyone who had confidence in the good faith of this man has now seen his true colors—people of good faith cannot deal with him.

The United States must be ever vigilant so that another Pearl Harbor cannot happen. We must remember that at the very moment of Pearl Harbor negotiations were allegedly going on in this country supposedly to iron out the differences between Japan and the United States—negotiations are no assurance against aggression.

This is indeed a dangerous period in the history of our country and the world and every precaution should be taken to see that we are prepared for all eventualities. No appeasement, please—appeasement wherever and whenever practiced holds for the world only a catastrophic nightmare.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I include an editorial from the New York Daily News of May 19, 1960, which gives a good summation of the situation:

IF KHRUSHCHEV WANTS IT THAT WAY

For reasons best known to himself, N. S. Khrushchev this week renewed the East-West cold war by torpedoing the Paris summit conference which had been set up chiefly because Khrushchev had insisted on it.

because Khrushchev had insisted on it.

Speculation as to why he wrecked the parley is interesting but not overly useful, it seems to us.

What matters in this ugly situation is that the cold war is on again at full blast, and that Khrushchev wants it that way.

Since that is the Red czar's wish, the Western Allies can choose one of two courses.

They can knuckle under to this tyrant, beg him for another summit, hand him some more concessions, and thereby push communism a long way toward the world conquest which the Communists never have ceased to intend.

Or the West can stand up to Khrushchev, as it did at Paris this week, go on calling his bluffs, and defy him to do his worst. Such a position, of course, calls for intensified Western preparation to fight in case Khrushchev, by accident or design, triggers a war.

Judging from the disgust and indignation Khrushchev's wrecking of the summit has kicked up all over the free world, the West—except perhaps for a few weak-kneed neutral nations—will accept Khrushchev's challenge and take up the cold war with renewed vigor and determination.

Khrushchev's obvious effort to divide Americans has flopped on its face, at least for the time being. Yesterday four leading Democrats cabled to President Eisenhower in Paris a message for the Red Czar, snubbing his demand that the summit conference be postponed until after our 1960 Presidential election.

The four were Adlai Stevenson, Senators Lyndon B. Johnson, of Texas, and J. William Fulbright, of Arkansas, and House Speaker Sam Rayburn, of Texas.

PATRIOTIC CABLEGRAM

These gentlemen thus made it clear that U.S. political differences, as always, stop at our shorelines whenever we are threatened by outsiders. We think they deserve nationwide applause for a patriotic and realistic gesture.

As for various smaller-minded Democrats who hope to make political capital by a Congressional investigation of the spy-plane incident, we think Vice President RICHARD M. NIXON answered them adequately at a news conference yesterday in Syracuse, N.Y.

Go ahead and investigate, Nixon told these politicos in effect—if they think Eisenhower should have yielded to Khrushchev's insulting demand for an apology for the spyplane affair, and if they think the administration should have left a gap in our intelligence operations. We'll be interested in hearing what these would-be investigators have to answer to that Nixon challenge.

Now that the cold war is on again, let's make our next move at Geneva by pulling out of the long palaver with the Russians about stopping nuclear weapon tests.

Khrushchev is willing to keep this conference going—and for an obvious reason. He hopes to stop our nuclear weapon development while his goes right on, and

eventually to trick the West into scrapping all its nuclear arms under an agreement containing no safeguards against Red cheating.

We've been suckered at Geneva these 18 months. That's 18 months too long. Now that Khrushchev has renewed the cold war, we should call off this particular sucker operation of his as fast as we can get our Geneva representatives back home. What with jet planes cruising at just under 600 miles per hour, that can be a fast pull-out indeed.

Central American Economic Integration

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. CHESTER E. MERROW

OF NEW HAMPSHIRE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 18, 1960

Mr. MERROW. Mr. Speaker, as a member of the Subcommittee on Inter-American Affairs of the House Foreign Affairs Committee and as one who feels that Central American peace and security is a crucial link in the chain of an effective inter-American system, I have for some time followed developments in that area with great interest.

The movement toward Central American economic integration, which is taking place under the leadership of Guatemala's courageous and forward-looking President, Gen. Miguel Ydigoras Fuentes, is most encouraging and worthy of our support. The recent consolidation of anti-Communist forces in that country has strengthened free forces not only in Guatemala but in the other Central American countries as well at a critical time in Latin American history.

Another great and enlightened Latin American leader is Dr. Ramon Villeda Morales, President of Honduras. Dr. Villeda previously served as his country's Ambassador to the United States, during which assignment he gained many friends in the United States. As President of Honduras, he is working hard for his people. Much progress has been made, but much remains to be done.

The progress and problems of Honduras are described in the following article by Virginia Prewell entitled "Honduras New Regime Progresses," which appeared in the April 11, 1960, issue of the Washington Daily News:

A young democracy now getting underway in Honduras is a hemispheric bright spot.

In a little over 2 years, a hard-working constitutional regime there has cleared away a great deal of the underbrush that has hindered national growth for generations, and has taken concrete steps toward Central American economic union.

Honduras is a mountainous country that lives by exporting tropical products grown on narrow coastal plains.

The size of Pennsylvania, it has about 1.7 million inhabitants, mostly of mixed Spanish and Indian descent. In the decade 1947–57, Honduras made the stormy passage from dictatorship to constitutional government.

President Ramon Villeda Morales, the Honduran physician who took office in late 1957 with moderate liberal backing, had to start building from the constitution up.

WIFE HELPS

Aided by his accomplished wife, Dona Alejandrina, who helped him run his Tegucigalpa hospital and now is Honduras' unofficial assistant president, Dr. Villeda Morales has given his country a labor code, a social security system, and started it on the long climb toward a better fed as well as a freer life for its people.

Dr. Villeda Morales, in addition to being an inspiring orator, has the gift of simplifying, in slogans, his fairly complex attack on

Honduras backwardness.

In recent conversations with this writer on the dirt-road tour he and most of his Government made with the Government of Guatemala, he checked off the four big I's that he is fighting.

They are ignorance, indigence, insalubrity, and illegitimacy, staggering problems for a country with Honduras' limited budgetary resources.

Dr. Villeda Morales could have added an-

other—invasion.

Last July, Col. Armando Velazquez, once chief of staff for a former strongman, attacked unsuccessfully over the border from Nicaragua.

Alleged intercepted letters published in Tegucigalpa indicate this adventure was backed by Dominican Dictator Trujillo.

LABOR AGITATION

Yet another big trouble stalks Honduras.

Communism has an increasingly dangerous wedge in Honduras in the sympathy many young Honduran leftists feel for Cuba's Premier Fidel Castro. And Castro agents are agitating Honduran labor.

Thus a fifth big I now threatens Honduras' young democracy-indecision among hemisphere leaders in putting a stop to Cuba's Caribbean meddling.

Mr. Speaker, I am glad that the indecision referred to in this article is being dispelled, particularly in Central America. In the final analysis, the best answer to the menace of communism is the building and development of free institutions under which alone can there be fulfillment of man's great potentialities for a better way of life.

Rumanian Independence Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. MICHAEL A. FEIGHAN

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES. Tuesday, May 10, 1960

Mr. FEIGHAN. Mr. Speaker, under leave previously obtained, I insert in the RECORD an address I delivered at the Rumanian Independence Day rally in Cleveland, Sunday, May 15, under the auspices of the Carpatina Society and the American Legion, on "Rumanian Independence Day":

May 10 is a day of great importance to Rumanian people everywhere in the world because it is Rumanian Independence Day.

In these days it has special significance because the people of Rumania have been robbed of their national independence by the Russian imperialists.

It was 15 years last March 6 that the Russians destroyed the free government of that old and honored nation and imposed upon the Rumanian people a form of government which is completely alien to their rich culture, traditions, and love for human freedom.

In the darkness of those 15 years, the people of Rumania have never lost faith in the destiny of their nation.

They remain convinced that justice will triumph throughout the world-that the cause of freemen will prevail in the affairs of nations and that Rumania will rise once again in all the splendor and beauty of her ancient civilization.

It is this dedication, this unwavering conviction, which holds the people of Rumania in an unbreakable alliance with the people of the United States and all other free countries.

The people of Rumania will be prohibited from celebrating this memorable day by the alien government which has been imposed upon them by the masters of the new imperialism in Moscow.

No public observance of this day will be allowed because the Russians are dedicated to destroying all hope for a return of national independence and because such public manifestations carry the possibility of getting out of hand so far as the occupiers are concerned.

However, the Rumanian people will find ways to observe this historic day, despite the efforts to prevent them from doing so.

What rests firmly in the hearts of men cannot be wiped out by the order of a dictator. Rumanians in the free world will properly

celebrate this day. I am happy and proud that in my district one of the most significant of these celebra-

tions is taking place today.

Free Rumanians will carry high the hopes of the captive people of Rumania.

They will, as in the past, remind all those who love freedom that these past 15 years of darkness have strengthened the determination of the Rumanian people to regain their national independence.

In this they will be performing a service for their adopted country, the United States, because the cause of peace with justice requires the dedication of all our citizens.

Tomorrow the second summit conference will open in Paris.

There a contest will take place between men who represent the cause of human freedom and those who lead the cause of slavery for all mankind.

This will be a test of justice as the foundation for a lasting peace, that is, justice for all nations and all people.

The one paramount issue, the issue which rises above all others at the Paris Conference, is that of political status quo.

The spotlight of public attention has been focused upon such issues as disarmament, a ban on nuclear weapons, the future status of Berlin and a free and united Germany,

Important as these issues are, they avoid the critical question of human rights, the rights of nations and the unnatural division

of humanity by the Russian Communists. It is clear beyond any reasonable doubt that the Russians are going to Paris with but one objective in mind.

That objective is to force the free world leaders to accept a political status quo, that is, to put a stamp of finality upon their empire of captive nations.

Nor can there be any doubt that the Russion leaders desperately need this recogni-

A serious internal crisis grips the vast empire of the Russian Communists.

It is not an economic crisis, even though there is a critical shortage of food and consumer goods throughout the empire.

It is not a crisis at the top, resulting from the constant struggle for total power which is the common characteristic of the regime.

It is a political crisis brought on by the failure of the Communist regime to win the confidence and support of the people and the corresponding demand by the non-Russian peoples of the empire for a complete change in the order of things.

The old order of Russian imperial communism is bankrupt.

It is centuries behind the needs and aspirations of the common man.

Its failures are well known to those who are its captives.

The need for drastic change to avoid total collapse is evident to all who are confined behind the Iron Curtain, including Khrushchev and his crowd.

It is beyond the ability of Russian imperial communism to grant the changes necsary to avoid the great human explosion which is in the making.

If the Communist leaders

grant the changes demanded by the realities of life they will open the floodgates to their own destruction.

They cannot possibly accommodate their system to the changes needed to preserve the empire.

The leaders in Moscow recognize these hard facts of life and are accordingly going to use the Paris conference as a temporary remedy for their internal crisis.

They seek to cause the nations of the free world to associate with them in efforts to

preserve the empire.

The Russians insist that the captive peoples must be made to realize that there is a finality to their unhappy state of life, that there is no hope for their future, that they must make their peace with commu-nism and adjust to the imposed peace of Moscow.

The Russian leaders also need a legal license to employ whatever methods become necessary to hold the empire together.

They feel they must neutralize the conscience of the West so that there can be no public protest or legal proceedings in the United Nations against such future actions as they may find necessary, including genocide and the other crimes against humanity.

This is the insurance policy they want the leaders of the free world to underwrite at

So, to secure these objectives, the Russians propose a status quo and Khrushchev has announced that this will be his goal at the Paris meeting.

Now the question is: How will the leaders of the free world meet this challenge?

Up to this moment there is no evidence available to the public which would indicate what we might do or not do to prevent a Russian victory on this critical issue.

However, it is clear to all that if President Eisenhower fails to raise in principle the right of all nations to self-determination, to self-government, in the context of the Captive Nations Week resolution as defined in Public Law 86-90, the Russians will win their point by default.

Khrushchev has made it clear in public statements that he considers the basic question of the Paris meeting to be status quo.

By so doing he has established the as pertinent to all the discussions which will take place.

If our leaders fall to raise the issue and state our position on it, silence will be taken as assent to the demands made by Khrushchev.

This is a fundamental law of international diplomacy.

It is entirely possible that the Russians can leave the Paris meeting with sound precedent to believe that the United States

has accepted a status quo.

Nor is it necessary for the three Western Powers to have unanimity on this issue in order for our President to speak out. Rumors are rampant in Europe that the British are actively pushing for a status quo, even to the point of a permanently divided Ger-

It is unlikely that France could make herself party to such a deal.

In any case, it is imperative that the United States make its position clear on this issue regardless what great Britain and France elect do do about it.

The future of Rumania and all the other captive non-Russian nations hangs in the

balance at the Paris summit.

While Rumania as a nation will not be an agenda item, the future of Rumania is involved in the issue of status quo which has been created by Khrushchev.

Nor is status quo likely to become an agenda item, but it will hang over all the proceedings and discussions at Paris. It

is the unavoidable issue.

It is, in fact, the reason why Khrushchev forced the leaders of the free world into a

second summit meeting.

These are fitting thoughts for this Rumanian Independence Day commemoration. Those of us who have fought for the rights of the Rumanian nation, for justice for all the nations of the world, do not give lipservice to this cause. More than words are needed.

Political action must be given to this

cause.

I, therefore, have urged President Eisenhower to seize the initiative at Paris, to flush out into the open the issue of status quo, to disclaim any degree of acceptance of status quo for the American people, and to rekindle the hopes of suffering millions behind the Iron Curtain by a firm advocacy of the rights of all nations to self-government, to freedom, and to national independ-

Let us pray that President Eisenhower will lead all free nations of the world in a successful fight for the right of self-determination for all nations and people. Such positive, affirmative, political action will enable the great nation of Rumania to determine its own destiny and to take its proper place among the free nations of the world.

The Dangerous Trend in Foreign Imports in the Carpet Industry

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. SAMUEL S. STRATTON

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, May 18, 1960

Mr. STRATTON. Mr. Speaker, at a time when efforts are being made by some to adopt legislation which would encourage more American businesses to invest abroad rather than investing in expanded facilities here at home, I think it is especially important that Members of this House should be aware of just how substantial is the threat of foreign imports to many of our basic industries.

One such industry is the carpet industry, located in the great industrial city of Amsterdam, N.Y., long famous as a center of the carpet industry. Largely because of the devastating impact of foreign imports, however, the domestic carpet business has declined and Amsterdam has now been listed for many months as one of the two chronic unemployment areas in the Empire State.

Recently I received a letter from the secretary of the Mohasco Industries, Inc., the major carpet manufacturer in Amsterdam, detailing for me some of the latest figures as to the full extent of the threat which there imports represent to continued domestic business operations. I think it is especially noteworthy, particularly at a time when there is talk of encouraging American investment only in the so-called underdeveloped countries of the world, that the biggest threat of foreign imports in the carpet industry comes from Japan, certainly a country, which at least in terms of the comparison with living standards with the United States, could be considered as one of the most underdeveloped nations of the world.

I hope the day will not be far off. Mr. Speaker, when the Members of this body will recognize the serious situation which industries like the carpet industry face, and, in line with the suggestion of Mr. Kennedy, secretary of Mohasco Industries. Inc., do take steps, as I have often urged in this body, to provide appropriate remedial tariff or quota restrictions to save our domestic industries.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I include the letter referred to:

MOHASCO INDUSTRIES, INC. Amsterdam, N.Y., April 29, 1960.
Subject: Current status of carpet imports. Hon. Samuel S. Stratton, New House Office Building,

Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN STRATTON: We feel you should be apprised of the fact that carpet imports during the first 2 months of 1960 continued to show an alarming rate of increase. Comparative figures are shown be-

Total imports as a percentage of total domestic industry sales: January and February 1960; 18.1; January and February 1959, 9.9; January and February 1958, 9.5.

Imports of wilton and velvet carpets as a percent of domestic sales of wilton and velvet carpets: January and February 1960, 26.2; January and February 1959, 13.7; January and February 1958, 14.3.

Imports of wilton carpets as a percent of domestic sales of wilton carpets, January and February 1960, 47.0; January and February 1959, 18.5; January and February 1958, 26 6

This astonishing rate of increase stems primarily from the great upsurge in production of the Japanese carpet which began large-scale manufacturing op-erations only within the last few years. There appears to be no limit to the potential increase in volume of the Japanese carpet industry and thus it continues to pose continually increasing threat to our American industry. This fact certainly poses the need for remedial tariff or quota restrictions to safeguard our domestic industry.

We continue to solicit your assistance in this very serious matter.

Very truly yours,
WILLIAM J. KENNEDY, Secretary.

Lemming Fever

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON, EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, May 2, 1960

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, the following editorial from the May 9 issue of the Chicago Daily Calumet, an independent daily newspaper published in my district, is, I believe, a most thoughtprovoking commentary on a subject of grave concern to all of us, and I am including it in the RECORD for the consideration of the Members of Congress:

LEMMING FEVER

History proves that the Communists will use any conference or negotiation to serve Soviet interests and not to promote peace. The main purpose of Communist diplomacy, as well as any other arm of the Soviet Government, is to destroy the West.

Their principal purpose since 1917 has been world revolution and the destruction

of world freedom.

The United States of America and its allies have lost at every conference and summit meeting held with them regardless of whether it was held under the auspices of a Republican or a Democratic administration.

It seems that our political leaders and State Department bureaucrats have become imbued with "lemming fever." The lemmings are the small rodents of Scandinavia which periodically have the urge to rush to the sea in a mass suicidal urge of selfdestruction.

There seems to be a strange fascination about summit meetings, conferences, and Camp David retreats that infects American diplomats. The more we lose at each meeting the more the urge for newer and bigger meetings and for higher summits.

Like the lemmings they seem unable to learn or to resist the desire to destroy themselves and the free world with them.

International Cooperation-A Forward Look

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. DON MAGNUSON

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, May 18, 1960

Mr. MAGNUSON. Mr. Speaker, I recently had the privilege of listening to a thoughtfully provocative address by our colleague, Representative CHESTER Bowles, discussing the future challenge and direction of our foreign assistance programs, both bilateral and multilateral.

The address was delivered on April 27 to the evening session of the seventh National Conference on International Economic and Social Development at the Statler-Hilton Hotel in Washington,

It is axiomatic that if we forget where we are headed, we may never arrive. Representative Bowles, our former highly successful Ambassador to India and Nepal, here reminds us that "the purpose of economic assistance is to enable free peoples to remain free."

The speech follows:

INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION-A FORWARD LOOK

As we gather here in the interests of international economic and social development, another new nation is born. Yesterday, on the West Coast of Africa, the people of French Togo achieved their independence.

Never has the pace of history seemed quicker or more vivid.

Since the end of World War II, more than score of new nations with a total population of 900 million, have come into being-By the end of this year we shall be dealing

with 9 or 10 new fully independent states in sub-Saharan Africa alone. Ten years from now there may be twice that number. This Revolution of Rising Expectations, so

This Revolution of Rising Expectations, so dramatic and potentially so promising, is what brings us together in this conference.

Amid all the stress and confusion of our current political campaign at least one reassuring fact shines through: Our next President—whether he be a Democrat or a Republican—will almost certainly recognize the vital importance of this revolution and propose a more affirmative course of action to cope with it.

Messrs. Kennedy, Humphrey, Symington, Johnson, Stevenson, Nixon, and Rockefeller have each made it clear that our relations with the underdeveloped nations of Asia, Africa, and Latin America will be at the top

of his agenda next January.

Each has shown a keen awareness of the requirements and the possibilities. Some indeed have been in the forefront of new and constructive thinking about the policies and techniques which are most likely to enable us to play an effective role.

Yet despite this shared consensus among our leading presidential possibilities in both parties, the disturbing truth is that our oversea aid programs are receiving less and less support each year on Capitol Hill.

This year mutual security legislation has been under particularly vigorous attack.

What is the explanation? Why is such a vitally significant program increasingly treated as a legislative outcast, even by some of its erstwhile supporters?

The fault, I believe, does not lie with Congress. Instead, it lies with administration leaders who have failed to explain adequately the real purposes of economic assistance, who have failed to instill in Congress and the people any sense of the real motivation for foreign aid.

Our official explanations for foreign aid have been negative and narrow. They have failed to do justice to our real goals in world affairs

We have said that the purpose of foreign aid is solely to block communism. This argument has helped to make local Communist minorities abroad worth their weight in American dollars.

We have discreetly claimed that foreign aid will win military allies or support for us in the United Nations. This is a futile argument because it is no more possible to buy the long-term loyalty of a nation than it is to buy the endiving loyalty of a friend.

to buy the enduring loyalty of a friend.

We have cynically asserted that foreign aid will turn Asians, Africans, and Latin Americans into loyal supporters of the status quo simply by filling their empty stomachs. This is an equally mistaken argument because a landless laborer or a tenant farmer who lacks a sense of belonging and of justice will not be satisfied with marginal economic gains.

Until we shake loose from such sterile negativism in our official explanations, our economic assistance programs will continue to be in trouble with the Congress and the people.

The time is past due to give the American people the real reason and to repeat that reason again and again until it is rooted deep in the American consciousness:

The purpose of economic assistance is to enable free peoples to remain free, to create within the framework of their own cultures and beliefs independent societies which provide an increasing measure of literacy, good health, economic progress, individual dignity and justice. Our purpose, therefore, is to help assure the non-Communist peoples of Asia, Africa, and Latin America freedom of choice, in the knowledge that free peoples—whatever their disagreements with us—will never choose communism.

Before we examine some of the practical problems with which our new President must cope in getting this crucially impor-

tant effort back on the track, let us look quickly at what has gone before.

For well over a decade now our Nation has been involved in the problems of international economic development. In 1945 we vigorously supported the first steps to bind up the wartime wounds of Europe and Asia through UNRRA. In 1947 we made the momentous decision to prop up the embattled societies of Greece and Turkey.

In 1948 through the Marshall plan we plunged into the creative and massive programs to reconstruct the war-ravaged economies of Western Europe.

And in 1949 with point 4 came our imaginative decision to come to grips with the challenge of economic and technical assistance in the whole underdeveloped world.

Unhappliy we were diverted in 1950 from the high-minded but realistic objectives of the Marshal plan and point 4 by the ruthless invasion of South Korea by Communist forces and by the sudden utter necessity for counter military action by us and our United Nations associaties.

The Korean war which followed was a tragedy in more ways than one. Outside of the huge loss of life its most destructive effect was to narrow our view of world affairs.

Precisely at the time when new nations in Asia and Africa were dramatically emerging on the international stage, we began to regard the world largely as the arena for a vast and unending military struggle between the Soviet and American power blocs.

This diverted us from our budding concern with international economic and social development to an overriding obsession with military aid anywhere, and under any conditions.

Many American leaders began to test the bona fides of each new nation by its willingness to support our policies willy nilly. The doubtful or reluctant ones were written off as neutralists, as cowards, fellow travelers, or worse.

Today, 10 years after the outbreak of the Korean war we have come a long way from such narrow thinking. Our old polarized view of world affairs is increasingly accepted as out of date.

We now face the clear fact that a billion and a quarter people are alined with neither Moscow nor Washington, and we have a new understanding of why this is so.

Experience has given us a deeper understanding not only of the vital need for economic assistance but also of its limitations. We also have a clearer view of the shifting nature of the Soviet challenge under new Soviet leadership.

It is fair to say that we have arrived at a watershed in the history of the postwar era. In a very special sense it is also a watershed in the brief history of what we call foreign aid.

Behind us lie years of experimentation, of successes and disappointments. Before us lie years of unparalleled opportunity and danger.

It is a time generally for sober review and fresh thinking. And nowhere are these qualities more urgently needed than in the field of international economic and social development.

From the 1950's we have inherited policies and programs which often overlap, which often compete with one another, which sometimes hinder orderly political growth, and which are largely inadequate to the realities of the new decade.

Let us consider, therefore, some of the criteria on which a fresh approach may be based, and let us do so with particular reference to the need and the opportunity for the greater internationalization of aid.

DECISIONS FOR THE SIXTIES

I believe that most of us here tonight will agree on the following general principles:

1. Orderly political growth in non-Communist Asia, Africa, and Latin America is essential if we are to live in a peaceful and relatively free world. Continuing economic and technical assistance to the new underdeveloped nations is essential to that growth.

2. The capital needs are great and they will grow rapidly as the new nations are able to expand their efforts. In addition to responsible private investment, major government grants and loans, in both hard and soft currencies, will be required.

 To the maximum degree possible such assistance should be placed on a long-term foundation so that the recipient nations can plan the effective and economical use of all available resources.

4. There should be greater stress on regional development which necessarily goes beyond bilateral nation-to-nation relationships.

5. The excessive budgetary priorities we have given to fragile military allies and our often grudging approach to the so-called neutrals should be revised.

6. In the words of last year's amendments to the mutual security bill, highest priorities should be given to those countries "which show a responsiveness to the vital long-term economic, political, and social concerns of their people; demonstrate a clear willingness to take effective self-help measures; and effectively demonstrate that such assistance is consistent with and makes a contribution to workable long-term economic development objectives."

Having listed our areas of general agreement, let us move from generalities to the more specific courses of action which derive from our common outlook.

It is no longer sufficient to "be for foreign aid" and economic development. It is imperative that we spell out more precisely what we need to do and how best we can do

it, for history is moving fast. THE MANY INSTRUMENTS OF AID

Our economic assistance programs have assumed a wide variety of forms over the past decade. We are confronted today with a proliferation of agencies and organizations, each of which has grown up under its own set of circumstances.

To some extent, this variety is a sign of health. It means that more and more people and governments are caring about the explosive gap between the very rich and the very poor of our world. It also means that people and governments are experimenting with different approaches to the problems of economic development.

Out of such variety—and the competition it implies—can come better techniques and institutions.

But too great multiplicity of approaches can also lead to inadequate planning, piecemeal development, and dangerously uneven distribution of resources.

Of particular importance in the 1960's will be our ability to coordinate and give proper degrees of emphasis to bilateral aid and multilateral aid—to the aid given directly from one country to another, and the aid channeled through an international body.

Let us briefly consider some of the agencies now operating within each of these two categories.

Today U.S. assistance to underdeveloped nations is given bilaterally through the International Cooperation Administration, the Development Loan Fund, the Export-Import Bank, and the Department of Agriculture.

U.S. assistance is also channeled through such multilateral agencies as the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund, the U.N. technical assistance program, and the U.N. Special Fund, the World Health Organization, Food and Agriculture Organization, UNICEF, the International Finance Corporation, and the newly formed International Development Association.

Most of these institutions and programs were established to meet specific needs. Each is performing an important function. And yet inevitably the beginnings of tension between the two forms of approach have emerged.

To a degree the administrators of nationto-nation development and those who work through international agencies have come to view each other as competitors rather than collaborators.

Now there are many substantial reasons for the continuation of our nation-to-nation bilateral assistance. The Development Loan Fund, which deals largely in soft currencies, the Export-Import Bank, which finances American exports into underdeveloped countries, have a continuing major role to play. Other bilateral programs, like those in Korea, Formosa, Turkey, and Vietnam, have special relevance for military, political, and strategic reasons.

Having taken these factors into account, let us examine the advantages of an increasingly multilateral international ap-

Multilateral aid gives all the nations, givers and receivers alike, a vitally important sense of partnership. The psychological advantages are substantial.

Such aid often results in more for our money, both from contributors, and recipients. In next year's budget it is predicted that the United Nations Special Fund will achieve a ratio of nearly 1 to 3 in terms of matching by the recipient governments.

Multilateral aid usually assures that the underdeveloped nations receive funds only for programs rather than projects—and for programs to which their own governments attach importance.

Multilateral aid also means that technical assistance experts can be recruited over a wider area by international bodies at considerably lower salaries than are required to recruit American experts.

Finally, multilateral aid means that the United States need not bear alone the psychological reaction against the donor which frequently occurs in recipient countries when difficult, adverse decisions must be made or when the results of an aid program fall to meet expectations. Here as elsewhere the World Bank has operated with extraordinary competence.

Thus, the advantages of multilateralism are clear. But let us not overlook two formidable drawbacks to the multilateral approach.

In the first place, there has been considerable administrative confusion, overlapping authority, and bureaucratic conflict in the operations of many of the U.N. agencies.

Second, it is extremely difficult to persuade other prosperous nations to contribute their proper share to multination programs of economic aid. All too often, such programs must be largely underwritten by America.

In the absence of larger contributions from others, Congress will continue to take a dim view of bolder international concepts, which offer such promise.

Although these drawbacks are in no sense insurmountable, they must be taken into account by those of us who favor increased ald through international agencies.

I believe a fresh; imaginative review of the coordination or lack of it among the U.N. specialized agencies is long-overdue. Such stocktaking would also encourage these agencies to think in bolder terms about their own functions and potentialities.

As for increased help for other nations to balance a greater effort by ourselves, this too is largely a matter of abler dramatization and persuasion, not only by high officials but by American leaders.

Another factor in a revitalized program of foreign economic assistance must be a much bolder and more imaginative approach to the problem of food distribution.

Ours is the first nation in history to solve its food problem. Yet we continue to view our extraordinary agricultural productivity, and so-called farm surplus that flow from it as a curse.

The irony of such views in a world of hungry people is abundantly clear. This year we are spending more money—\$1 billion—just to store our surplus wheat than we will spend on our entire economic aid program for all of Asia and Africa.

The effective and imaginative use of our agricultural productivity to establish a system of "food banks" in areas now subject to frequent shortage will require careful international planning. Public Law 480 is a step in the right direction. I am convinced that a new administration, however, must seek techniques for putting our surpluses to work on a much broader scale. And we should learn how to make more imaginative use of the local currencies generated by this effort in education, public health, road building, and so on.

A new approach to the problems of economic development abroad should also take into account the need for more stable trade conditions. The economies of underdeveloped nations are largely based on the sale of raw materials to industrially advanced countries and downward speculative swings in the market can completely wreck the best-laid development plan by disrupting the flow of foreign exchange.

This situation is further complicated and embittered by the fact that these trade relations between developed and backward regions were largely formed under the institutions of colonialism. As a result, precarious single-crop economies which can be badly hurt by a relatively modest drop in the price of cocoa, tea, copper, tin, or rubber are sitting ducks for nationalist outbursts against the former imperialist powers.

A thoroughgoing effort is therefore needed to achieve greater stability in the international commodity markets. One means may be the establishment of minimum prices for basic raw materials which guarantee a reasonable return and some stability to the producers.

The establishment of maximum prices may be included in such agreements to discourage the kind of massive speculation which drove prices sky-high after the outbreak of the Korean war.

Finally, let us maintain a balanced view of the role of private capital investment in Asia, Africa, and Latin America. In the early stages of a new nation's development, two major obstacles to substantial private investment, by American, Canadian, or West European interests are apparent.

First, the primary individual needs are for the building of an economic infrastructure—roads, railroads, bridges, docks and multipurpose river projects. These developments are seldom self-liquidating.

Second, in the early stages of economic growth, political instability is likely to be great. Foreign investors therefore are reluctant to move ahead unless their immediate profit expectations are extremely high, and new governments are often unable or reluctant to accept such profits for fear of giving more ammunition to local Communist attacks on the capitalist exploiters.

What we must do, therefore, is circumvent these obstacles and to create new techniques, perhaps through management contracts and other devices, to bring America's industrial know-how to bear on the critical problems of Asia, Africa, and Latin American on acceptable terms.

As political stability grows, the opportunities for private investment in these enormously promising continents will multiply.

One of the greatest virtues of this conference is its concern with specifics. The panel discussions of today and tomorrow are

geared to problems of approach, finance, techniques, and administration in various countries and regions.

To give specific illustrations of the general proposals which I have outlined, I shall refer to the development of Africa.

THE EXAMPLE OF AFRICA

The African continent presents American policymakers today with a dramatic opportunity for creative, sensitive long-term planning and decisive action.

It is a relatively underpopulated continent of enormous undetermined natural wealth. The relation between land, resources, and people is generally favorable to the use of modern technology which permits higher wages and more rapidly rising living standards. It is still largely removed from the pressures of the cold war.

And aside from the major exceptions posed by Algeria and the Union of South Africa on its northern and southern rim, it offers virtually limitless long-range possibilities for the evolution of free peoples toward selfgovernment and economic viability.

Yet we have been tragically slow to sense the importance of Africa.

In the spring of 1960, we still have no effective policy toward Africa. Indeed, it is fair to say that we have not even reacted to Africa as Africa. Rather, our response has been to Russia's new interest in Africa or to the African attitudes of our NATO allies whom most Africans view as keepers of the colonial past.

The establishment of Guinea, for instance found the United States without even a consular agent in its capital, and we required over a month even to recognize its new government. As might be expected, the Soviet Union promptly moved in to fill the political and economic vacuum. Today 80 percent of Guinea's foreign trade is with the Communist dominated nations.

A realistic political policy in regard to the emerging new nations of Africa must be grounded in a coherent policy toward economic and technical development. And that, I am convinced, calls for much more of an international approach than we have used elsewhere.

The achievement of independence is only a beginning. It is a means, not an end.

If a new nation is to make a go of independence, it must have access to able planners, administrators, and technicians.

It must also have access to grants and longterm loans and to foreign trade that respects the long-term interests of the two parties and breaks clearly with the unequal conditions imposed by the old despised colonial relationships.

We have no desire to run Africa. We want no African satellites. Our sole objective is an independent, free Africa, developing in line with the aspirations of the African people.

If we could look forward to an Africa willing and able to remain independent and even aloof from both the United States and the Soviet Union in the years ahead, it would be a handsome bargain.

THE CASE FOR INTERNATIONAL AID TO AFRICA

Our objective of an independent self-sufficient Africa can best be achieved by avoiding to the maximum possible extent the sterile habits and approaches of the cold war. Let us hope therefore that the new administration will press for the maximum channeling of our aid effort to Africa through the multi-lateral agencies of the United Nations.

Meanwhile, it is encouraging to note that the Secretary-General himself is pressing for increased U.N. attention to the specific problems of Africa.

In this regard I would like to make a special plea for the strengthening of one of our most promising international agencies, the new United Nations special fund under Mr. Paul Hoffman, who served so brilliantly as administrator of the Marshall plan.

The most critical African need lies in creating the economic foundation on which a modern society can be built. As someone has put it, you cannot draw water from a tap without first building a cistern. As I have previously noted, the first order of business is the creation of the foundations of economic development: that is, transportation, roads, bridges, power, irrigation, schools, and hospitals.

The United Nations is particularly well qualified to undertake the preinvestment surveys and plans. With an increased budget, the United Nations special fund could effectively underwrite this basic task.

With Africa as well as Asia in mind, I would also make a special plea for increased American support to the International Development Association. This new agency—the brain child of Senator Mike Monrower of Oklahoma—is geared to make long-term loans payable in local currencies under multilateral administration and in close cooperation with the skilled staff of the World Bank.

However, if the United Nations is to play the expanded role which all this implies, there must be improved coordination among the U.N. agencies themselves. Although criticism of interagency rivalries is somewhat less valid than it was a few years ago, the 33 U.N. resident representatives in the countries, in which multilateral programs are being undertaken should, I believe, be given greater authority. If he is to become the essential direct link between the U.N. and the local government, each representative should become the U.N.'s mission chief responsible for all international operations in the nation of his assignment.

As I have already suggested, the role of the specialized agencies, such as WHO, FAO, and UNESCO, should be carefully reviewed. Some experienced observers believe that their functions may increasingly lie in the realm of policymaking and standard setting within a more coordinated international effort rather than in direct program administration.

Yet the political realities of Africa assure that bilateral aid will continue in some form for many years to come.

The United Kingdom, for instance, will continue to channel a sizable amount of aid to former African colonies that remain within the Commonwealth. Continued economic tles to France will result in similar relations between Paris and former French colonies.

However, our national interests and those of the new African nations will best be served by the use of international agencies serving as a worldwide clearinghouse for bilateral programs, in conducting preinvestment surveys, in providing specialized and technically trained personnel, and in fostering a regional approach.

The coordinated regional efforts of the United Nations in developing the Mekong River project in southeast Asia, and the recent success of the World Bank in dealing with the Indus Valley development suggest the possibilities.

THE VITAL CORE: PERSONNEL

This brings us to the question which in Africa may turn out to be the most decisive of all. I refer to the extraordinary dearth of administrative and technical personnel available in the new nations of Africa.

In contrast to India and the former British colonies, such Asian countries as Indonesia suffered greatly from the failure of the colonial powers to provide adequate training of administrators, engineers, and technicians for self-rule.

But how much more difficult are the prospects for the Belgian Congo, now on its precipitous way to independence, with less than 40 college graduates in the entire country? What can we say of the many areas where there are no mathematics teachers, let alone tax experts?

Africa's simple, overriding, urgent need today is trained personnel. Unless able, dedicated men and women are made available in the next decade by the tens of thousands, economic development and orderly political growth in Africa will be impossible.

Where will the teachers, engineers, technicians, and administrators be found?

Will they come largely from the two superpowers—the United States and the Soviet Union—in a massive contest for political influence? Do the urgent demands for African development require that Africa become a new battleground in the cold-war power struggle?

Right here the United Nations and its agencies may find their most decisive role—that of recruiting a major reservoir of trained administrators and technical experts available for the use of new nations everywhere; in short, an international recruitment agency leading to an international civil service.

In the decade of the 1960's Africa will largely be ruled by black men, but to a considerable extent administered by white foreigners. That must be the case until the Africans themselves can create the new generation of leadership.

The needs vary all the way from school-teachers to nurses, from extension workers to men of Cabinet ability who can operate ministries of agriculture, industrial development, education and public health until competent national administrators and technicians become available.

Two years ago the General Assembly approved an experimental program of technical assistance in public administration. This program, called OPEX, is operating on a very small budget, and the Secretary-General has received far more requests than he can fill.

Some such approach, greatly expanded, is, I believe, essential to the success of international economic and social development everywhere, but most particularly in Africa.

Salaries would be paid partly in the currency of the country to which the new international civil servants have been assigned, with the difference between local salaries and international salaries, together with pension allowances, made up from an international

The long-term administrative requirements will ultimately, of course, be met by Africans. American and European universities can do much to hurry the day by vastly increasing their scholarship programs for Africans.

In the interval, which will last at least a generation, the one way to fill the gap-with-out turning Africa into a cold war battlefield lies in the creation on a bold and adequate basis, of an internationalized civil service, open to men and women of all nationalities recruited by and responsible to the U.N.

The problems which Africa poses to us in the crucial 1960's are many and complex. Some are unique to that vast continent, and some are common to all underdeveloped nations.

There will remain for some time, for example, extreme sensitivity to all forms of imperialism—including what may be considered, justly or unjustly, as attempts at economic domination by the former colonial powers and their American ally.

The many-sided challenge of African development as a prerequisite of orderly political growth underscores the urgent need for a new global approach to the problems of international economic and social development.

Such a new approach can only come through effective American leadership by a new administration—Republican or Democratic—in the early months of 1961. It cannot be delayed, watered down, or sidestepped any longer.

Let me conclude, then, by restating the chief lines which I hope such leadership will follow next year and in the decade to come:

1. I hope we will approach oversea economic development with a broad creative view that takes into account the need for increased international trade; for fair, stable prices for raw materials produced in Asia, Africa, and Latin America; for new techniques to encourage responsible private investments; for the more effective use abroad of our enormous capacity to grow food; and for greatly expanded facilities to train development specialists.

2. I hope that our aid efforts will be increased in size, direction, scope and duration to meet the needs of long-term national and regional development programs and to encourage large-scale planning.

 I hope that we will make increased use of United Nations multilateral aid as a supervisory and coordinating umbrella for bilateral programs.

4. I hope that we will press for the formation and use of a vast corps of able and dedicated international administrators and technical experts in the form of an international civil service.

The colonial powers did things to the peoples of Asia, Africa, and Latin America.

In recent years, however inadequately, we have been doing things for them.

In the 1960's we must learn to do things with them

An approach both direct and through the United Nations must be flexible, imaginative, and positive.

It must be attuned to the varying needs, cultures, and political backgrounds of specific nations.

It must be rooted in an understanding of the full significance and challenge of international economic development as a vast new frontier for our Nation and its people.

Only if the new administration which takes office next January senses the opportunity and acts in these terms can we restore the partnership atmosphere of the Marshall plan and of Point 4. And only through such a relationship can we work effectively toward the ultimate abolition of poverty, hunger, ignorance, and disease from the face of this earth.

Aftermath at Geneva-Mr. Khrushchev's Adieu

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JOHN V. LINDSAY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, May 4, 1960

Mr. LINDSAY. Mr. Speaker, I call the attention of my colleagues to two editorials which appear in today's issue of the New York Times.

The first, "Aftermath at Geneva," expresses the hope that the Geneva conferences will be resumed on June 7, in spite of reports that they face a complete breakdown following the sabotage of the summit by Khrushchev, and that patient effort will be made to reach agreements with the Russians. The editorial concludes with this comment relative to the nuclear test treaty:

If the nuclear test conference is to collapse along with the summit, let the fault rest, here too, with the other side. The second editorial, "Mr. Khrushchev's Adieu," underscores the chilling knowledge that a country whose broken pledges and promises to Hungary, Poland, and Rumania—to name but a few betrayed countries—is hardly in the best position to question the value of the promises of other nations.

Under unanimous consent I include the two articles, as follows:

[From the New York Times, May 19, 1960] AFTERMATH AT GENEVA

The willful destruction of the summit conference in Paris by Premier Khrushchev may portend, as reports already indicate, a complete breakdown of the two other more limited parleys that have been going on in Geneva, the one on disarmament, and the second on a ban to nuclear testing. We hope the reports are wrong.

While logic suggests that Mr. Khruschehev's aggressive tactics at the summit have cut the ground from under any hope of agreement at Geneva, logic is not always an infallible guide to diplomacy. In any event, It is very much to the interest of the free world, as it is also to the interest of the Soviet world, that the Geneva talks resume where they left off, despite the setback at Paris. So far as the 10-nation disarmament conference goes, the gap between the two sides was still vast when a recess was called on April 29. When the conference is resumed on June 7, as we trust it will be, the respective positions will be as far apart as ever; but it is certainly worth a patient effort to see if some progress cannot be made.

The situation is somewhat more hopeful in respect to the proposed treaty on cessation of nuclear weapons testing. Here considerable areas of agreement have already been achieved after many months of painful negotiation. Substantial differences remain, notably over the number of inspections the Russians will allow annually on their territory, the composition of the inspection teams and of the international control commission, and the length of the present moratorium on underground nuclear weapons tests. These are formidable differences, but they are not insurmountable.

While the risks of any agreement on stopping atomic weapons tests are great for the United States, we believe the risks of not going ahead in a sincere effort to find an agreement are far greater. No control system can be perfect; and as a matter of fact any control system practical enough to be agreed on at Geneva would be able to detect with certainty only a small proportion of the possible explosions. In this conection it is worth stressing that the resumption of nuclear blasts announced by President Eisenhower on May 7 had nothing at all to do with military devices, and referred solely to experiments for the improvement of detection methods. The British and Russians had already agreed on such nuclear tests; the only disagreement was whether they should be conducted jointly or by each nation sepa-rately, with representatives of the other nations present. The timing of this announce-ment in conjunction with the U-2 incident, plus confused language on the part of the President's press secretary in explaining it, gave an unfortunate but quite erroneous impression that somehow the United States was resuming nuclear testing with military im-

Even without the summit flasco it would have been exceedingly difficult to reach agreement with the Soviet Union on an acceptable nuclear test treaty. It will now be harder than ever; but we must not show ourselves unwilling to reach a reasonably protected treaty with the Russians on this issue. If the nuclear test conference is to collapse along with the summit, let the fault rest, here too, with the other side.

[From the New York Times, May 19, 1960] Mr. Khrushchev's Adieu

At his final press conference in Paris yesterday Premier Khrushchev renewed his accusations against the United States. Essentially his argument fell into two parts: a complaint that President Eisenhower has promised the ending of the espionage flights only until the end of his own tenure in office next January, and a complaint that this country's promises cannot be respected since they can be changed from administration to administration.

On the first point it may be noted that neither Mr. Khrushchev nor any of his subbordinates have even promised to halt for I day—let alone the remainder of Mr. Khrushchev's stay in office—the glgantic espionage effort his country maintains constantly against the free world. And Mr. Khrushchev surely knows that if he really wants the end of aerial espionage for all time he need only accept President Eisenhower's "open skies" proposal and formalize that plan in an international treaty which would be binding upon all American administrations once it had been duly ratified.

On the second issue it may be suggested that Premier Khrushchev is the last man in the world who is entitled to raise questions about the value of the promises of others. Has he forgotten how many Soviet promises have been betrayed under his own and earlier Soviet administrations?

In Hungary in November 1956, for example, were not all kinds of promises and pledges made to the Hungarian people and their legal government and were not all betrayed? Premier Nagy and General Maleter have long since already paid with their lives for having believed Soviet promises. Has Premier Khrushchev forgotten Poland, where Stalin once promised that a representative democratic government would be installed? Has he forgotten Molotov's long-since violated pledge that the institutions of Rumania would be respected, a pledge made as Soviet troops entered that country during World War II? Has he forgotten Soviet promises about Western access to West Berlin, promises that Stalin broke in the era of the Berlin blockade and which Mr. Khrushchev himself now threatens almost daily to break again? We of the free world know that on the issue of broken promises Mr. Khrushchev lives in a very glassy house

Health Care for the Aged

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. THOMAS B. CURTIS

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, May 19, 1960

Mr. CURTIS of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, the Ways and Means Committee has been meeting in executive session for over 2 months considering various proposals to amend the laws which determine the position the Federal Government plays in the health program our society has for the aged.

These meetings in my judgment should have been open to the public instead of being held in executive sessions closed to the public.

One basic fact has become obvious as these executive sessions continued, that the Ways and Means Committee does not have the information we need in order to act intelligently on this subject. We need to call before us in public hearing the many people in our society who are knowledgeable on this broad subject, people whom we have not heard.

I am inserting into the Record with these remarks a letter I recently received from Dr. Joseph P. Costello, one of the most knowledgeable persons on this subject in the St. Louis community; indeed I would say in the Nation. This letter poses questions on which the Ways and Means Committee largely has no information and, strangely enough, to date has sought no information.

Just what pressure groups are there in our society who would urge the Ways and Means Committee and the Congress to act in this vital area without adequate study?

The letter follows:

St. Louis, Mo., May 18, 1960.

The speech presented by Missouri's Representative Curis covers a number of very valid reasons why the Forand bill is not the answer.

From my experience in annually dealing with 2,700 institutionalized patients and a Senior Citizens Center with over 23,000 visits, the following two major questions with their minor points arise:

1. Who stands to benefit from such insurance legislation?

(a) Is there a demonstrable percentage of aged individuals not receiving institutional care today because of lack of personal finances?

(b) Will the American city be relieved of financial responsibility for the health of its citizens through Federal payment for its "city hospital tradition" of service?

(c) What are the estimated payments that will be made to the municipalities?

(d) Will private charitable "united fund" type nursing homes receive Federal payments for their charity?

(e) To what extent will Federal funds subsidize church, fraternal and other benevolent organizations for their aged care?

 (f) What are the union and corporation health commitments to their retired workers?
 (g) Will union health and hospital obliga-

tions to their older workers be eliminated?

(h) Is there any connection between the union health plans with their excessive costs for the younger workers and the Union demands for Federal Old Age Health Insurance for retired workers in relation to a desire to avoid present commitments or future criticism for poor protection?

(i) In dollars and cents what is the future financial saving this bill will mean to the unions of this country?

2. What does the older person need?

(a) Will our aim be to place all older pcople in an institution?

(b) Is not preventive medicine designed to keep them out of institutions a better solution for the individual?

(c) Do the aged have adequate social security payments to get preventive medical care?

(d) Can the aged purchase adequate housing, nutrition, clothing, recreation, and preventive medicine on current social security payments?

(e) Will social security payments of \$65-\$75 or \$85 per month permit the older person to obtain these essentials?

(f) Will not these inadequate payments promote disability, and physical and mental breakdown through lack of essentials?

(g) Once again, are we to use Federal moneys to encourage good health and preventive medicine, or deterioration and institutionalization in our older citizens?

These questions and personal observation convince me that universal Federal health

insurance is not the answer because of almost incredible reduplication.

Additional Federal funds should be raised and should be channeled to people still in the community in order to help them preserve their health and defer institutionalization through preventive medicine.

Your comments and answers to these questions would be appreciated.

Sincerely yours,

JOSEPH P. COSTELLO, Jr., M.D.

(Copy to the Honorable Thomas B. Curtis, House of Representatives, Washington, D.C.)

Alaska Protests Defense Cutback

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 16, 1960

Mr. FLOOD, Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the REC-ORD, I include the following article from the New York Times:

ALASKA PROTESTS DEFENSE CUTBACK-GOVER-NOR EGAN DEPLORES DECISION TO DEACTIVATE AIR FIGHTER GROUP NEAR FAIRBANKS

SEATTLE, MAY 17.—Gov. William A. Egan, of Alaska, has protested to the Defense Department against "a policy of steady retreat" in Alaska's defense program.

Governor Egan, attending a western Governors' conference here, made public today a letter he sent several days ago to Secretary of Defense Thomas S. Gates, Jr.

The letter concerned "the recently disclosed decision of the Air Force to deactivate the 449th Interceptor Squadron at the Ladd Air Force Base," just outside Fairbanks.

Mr. Egan called the decision "foolhardy, if not irresponsible."

"It is my understanding," the Governor wrote, "that the 449th represents more than 40 percent of the existing fighter strength in Alaska. With its departure, Alaska—the first line of resistance in event of attack— Would be left with a defending force of 33 fighter planes."

NOTES RUSSIAN MISSILES

Mr. Egan said it had long been public knowledge that the Russians had more than two dozen bases along the coast that could easily be reached by intermediate-range ballistic missiles. Military officials, he declared, have implored that offensive ballistic missile sites be constructed in Alaska.

The Governor wrote that it was contrary to all reason that the role of the Air Force could be conducted as well from the West Coast as from Alaska. He said this theory had been attributed to Gen. Curtis E. LeMay, Vice Chief of Staff of the Air Force.

Governor Egan noted too the undeniably crippling effect that the interceptor-plane curtailment would have on the economy of Fairbanks.

"I know I speak for the majority of Alaskans," he wrote, "when I say we are ap-Palled at the apparent disregard reflected by this decision not only for the safety of Alaska but of the United States. light of the present condition of those defenses, as well as world tensions, such a course of action appears foolhardy, if not irresponsible."

Governor Egan asked Secretary Gates to revoke the Air Force decision, if it had not yet come to his attention, or to reconsider it if it had.

CUTBACK PLAN CONFIRMED

WASHINGTON, May 17 .- The Air Force confirmed today plans to deactivate the 449th Fighter Interceptor Squadron.

A spokesman said there was no comment on complaints against this action by Alaskan officials. Senator Ernest Gruening, Democrat, of Alaska, charged in a Senate speech that it was a shocking abandonment of a vital sector of our first line of defense in an area of maximum strategic importance.

Both Senator GRUENING and his fellow Alaskan, Senator E. L. BARTLETT, also a Democrat, called for a congressional investigation of the Air Force decision.

SENATORS ASK INQUIRY

Washington, May 17-Alaska's Senators called for congressional investigation today into the reported plan to abolish the 449th Fighter Interceptor Squadron. Senators ERNEST GRUENING and E. L. BARTLETT, both Democrats, asked inquiries by both the Senate and House Armed Services Committees.

Airlift Modernization

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. THOMAS J. LANE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 16, 1960

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include an interview with Representative L. MENDEL RIVERS, of South Carolina, chairman of a Special Subcommittee on the National Military Airlift, as it appeared in the Christian Science Monitor;

AIRLEST MODERNIZATION-A CAPITAL INTER-VIEW WITH REPRESENTATIVE RIVERS

(By Courtney Sheldon)

WASHINGTON .- Representative L. MENDELL RIVERS, Democrat, of South Carolina, vet-eran member of the House Armed Services Committee, with airplanes a special personal interest, and chairman of an influential Special Subcommittee on the National Military Airlift, says: "Everybody has been going hog wild on pushbutton warfare and forgetting what the Army has been say-ing. * * Everybody else has overlooked the possibility of a limited war."

He estimates "It will take a billion dollars" to modernize the Military Air Transport Service.

Question. Sir, in your report you state that "within the first 20 days of either a general war without warning or limited war under any current assumptions for planning purposes, strategic airlift capabilities are seriously inadequate." Could you elaborate on what you mean by "seriously inadequate"?

Answer. The source of this information is classified. I'll just have to say it is inadequate for the reason that we would have terrific difficulty in getting people of highest priority to the right place at the right time.

Those people would have to be carried in military aircraft because of the classified nature of their positions and of the equipment that they would have to operate. Transportation of them would tax every single thing that MATS now has. And there would be a deficiency.

Question. What has happened to MATS's

capability?

Answer. They have only 31 airplanes that are modern out of 400-odd planes. I don't want to minimize what MATS is doing with their inventories. They have done a monumental job. Their exercise Big Slam-Puerto

Pine was fantastic for the inventories they have. Most of their planes are from 7 to 10 years old; yet they carried out that operation without one serious casualty.

I just don't understand why we spend \$42 billion a year for defense and only possess second-class planes to do a first-class job.

Question. Well, how did we arrive at this

situation of such obsolescence?

Answer. I think that everybody has been going hog-wild on push-button warfare and forgetting what the Army has been saying. The Army has been like a voice crying in the wilderness. Everybody else has overlooked the possibility of a limited war, and they have all thought that airplanes would phase out and missiles would take their place. This is the situation in a nutshell.

Question. In respect to the Army needs you just mentioned, you said in your report that STRAC (Strategic Army Corps) is one of a very few major commands in all the services that has not acquired its own air-lift. Do you feel that they should have one or that some part of MATS should be predesignated for Army airlift?

Answer. Our report says it should be MATS on equal priority with the other services. Now we have recommended that MATS' name be changed to MAC—Military Air Command. People have been shooting at MATS so long MATS has become anathema to certain ones. MATS is a command. It is part of a weapons system. People have been sniping at MATS a competing airline. It is ridiculous. MATS is no airline.

Question. You are talking now about the complaints of the civilian aviation transport industry that MATS is unfair competition? Answer. Yes.

Question. Now can Congress order the Pentagon to predesignate MATS planes for Army

Answer. The Joint Chiefs of the Armed Services can do it.

Question. There is no way you can force them to?

Answer. Well, I feel confident that the Joint Chiefs will do this. Our hearings were held for the purpose of helping. This is the first time the subject of airlift has ever been heard in Congress. And the informa-tion we have obtained has been helpful to the military. The Joint Chiefs are fine men. We are all in the same business—survival.

Question. In regard to your recommendations for funds for modernizing MATS, is Congress going to support you?

Answer. The House Appropriations Committee made available \$300 million for immediate off-the-shelf procurement of planes of the type the Army has requested, the 130-B with extended range. That plane is already in production. The House has approved and the bill has gone to the Senate.

Question. What was the administration's request concerning airlift modernization?

Answer. The administration requested only \$50 million to begin development of an uncompromised cargo plane. It recommended nothing to modernize MATS at this time. This would only be the beginning of a devel-

We, too, have recommended development of the plane. It takes from 4 to 5 years to develop a plane. We need planes now. will take many more hundreds of millions to bring MATS up to what it should be. would venture the assertion that it would take a billion dollars to do the job.

Question. Has there been any significant opposition within Congress itself or without Congress to your recommendations so far?

Answer. I haven't found a single opponent

Answer. I haven't found a single opponent in the Congress, not a single one. It has been remarkable how people who have been fighting MATS have joined with us and sponsored our program. I know people who have been fighting MATS terriffically, called it an airline, now they have joined us and it demonstrates a bigness of men in Congress after the foots have been obtained. gress after the facts have been obtained.

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REPRESENTATIVES WITH

CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

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Diggs, Charles C., Jr., Mich. Dingell, John D., Mich. Dixon, Henry Aldous, Utah.	
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Donohue, Harold D., Mass Dooley, Edwin B., N. Y Dorn, Francis E., N. Y Dorn, W. J. Bryan, S. C	
Dorn, W. J. Bryan, S. C	
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Hull, W. R., Jr., Mo Ikard, Frank, Tex	
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Appendix

Is Washington, D.C., Really a Hick Town?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. HARRIS B. McDOWELL, JR.

OF DELAWARE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 23, 1960

Mr. McDOWELL. Mr. Speaker, the New York Times magazine, December 27, 1959, in a provocative article by its music critic, Howard Taubman, titled "In Culture, Is Washington a Hick Town?" said any comparison with other world capital cities such as London, Paris, and Moscow, as well as Brussels, and Rome "is to our discredit." Washington, D.C., the Capital City of the richest Nation in history, was, in the judgment of the New York Times, epen behind Tiflis, U.S.S.R., in cultural matters.

Recently a more balanced article was written for the New York Times by one of the ablest members of its Washington bureau, Alvin Shuster, who makes his home in the metropolitan area of the Nation's Capital and is free of much of the cant and provincialism which is the hallmark of the art critics of the New York Times.

The article by Mr. Shuster is a hopeful article, and reports factually on the many proposals in the Congress and elsewhere designed to make it possible for the Nation's Capital to assume its proper role in the fine arts which, in the moving words of President Elsenhower, "make our civilization endure and flourish."

Unfortunately, the New York Times, which carries on its masthead the powerful phrase, "All the News That's Fit To Print," failed to print Mr. Shuster's fine article.

Feeling, as I do, that the thousands of loyal subscribers to the New York Times who live in or near the Nation's Gapital will be deeply interested in a balanced appraisal of its cultural life—including Members of the Congress—I include part of the text of Mr. Shuster's article as part of my remarks:

In his article, "In Culture, Is Washington Hick Town?" Howard Taubman, Times music critic, felt the cultural pulse of the city and completed the best much too slowly.

city and concluded it beat much too slowly.

"I get annoyed at the too-ready attitude of everybody to take a crack at Washington. They like to compare its cultural life to that of Vienna. What's there in Austria but throughout its country. And the same goes for Brussels"—David B. Karrick, a District of Columbia Commissioner.

"I feel almost ashamed everytime I see the Italian Ambassador attending an opera in this town"—A Washington operagoer who's seen a few in Italy, too.

"Twe been a resident of Washington off and on for 32 years and I take offense at

implications this is a hick town. It is wide open with cultural opportunities and this community takes advantage of everything it has to offer. I don't think any community reaches the optimum of culture"—Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare Arthur S. Flemming.

"The sad fact is that the Capital is laggard in its provisions for the arts, and its backwardness invites criticism, however annoying"—The Washington Post and Times

And so it went. In summary there is agreement that much has to be done to erase the international image that this town suffers from cultural poverty. But there is nevertheless some indignation—often among the same Washingtonians—that what has been done, what is being done, and what is being planned are too easily and conveniently overlooked by critics. The general concensus briefly is that while this city may be no great national showcase of culture, it is no cultural backwater either. Somewhere in between lies the real cultural Washington.

Washingtonians like to illustrate their cultural life by pointing with pride to their improving national symphony; to the art galleries like the National, the Corcoran, and the Phillips; to their opera society, considered by many as first-rate though hampered like most operas by lack of funds; to its infant Washington Ballet, which has just acquired Frederic Franklin as its codirector and should show steady improvement; to the excellent chamber music at the Library of Congress and its crowded music calendar of many other events; to the Arena Stage, the local professional theater, and to the elaborate plans for the National Cultural Center with its opera, symphony, ballet and theater halls.

At the same time, of course, they do acknowledge a very serious lack of good facilities. Constitution Hall is the convention hall of the Daughters of the American Revolution and was built just for that. serves as the home of the National Symphony and is viewed by many as an acoustical horror. To put on an opera or ballet at George Washington University's Lisner auditorium, where most are performed, half the musicians have to sit outside the orchestra pit on many occasions. The National Theater is the only place in town for Broadway shows. The Arena Stage operates in an old brewery, soon to be torn down. And the Metropolitan Opera has decided to hold off on all future appearances here because of the difficulties of operating out of the Capitol Theater where it has performeda large movie house with a too-small stage and a too-high rent.

Also acknowledged is the fact that the auditoriums in our Government buildings here are inadequate. In many ways they are some of the finest halls in the city, but there seems to be one major fault. Their stages can't sustain the weight of a plano. Nadia Boulanger, one of France's most famous musicians, found her piano in the aisle at the Interior Department's audi-

Mr. Karrick, one of the three city commissioners, thinks that any consideraion of the adequacy of the culture here cannot rule out the beauties of Washington's architecture.

These are dismissed often as consisting of building after building. Anyone who can so casually dismiss the Lincoln Memorial, the Jefferson Memorial, the Archives Building, the Library of Congress, among others, is so obviously unable to discriminate and appreciate architectural beauty that little can be said to convince him. The Folger Shakespearean Library is often overlooked. It is unique in the world, for in all probability, nowhere outside of Stratford-on-Avon, if there, is there as fine a collection of Shakespeareana and works on the Elizabethan Theater.

"Admittedly we do not have everything, but we have such an abundance of cultural opportunity and such good attendance that it is ridiculous to contend that we are not a cultural city. A part of the contention seems to be based upon the fact that the expenditure by the municipal government is small. This is irrevalent. The opportunities are here, Washingtonians enjoy them. If visitors do not, that does not justify deprecating Washington's cultural standards.

"Many of the people who sit around and moan at the lack of culture in Washington have never bothered to go to an art gallery or to a concert. They would rather sit home and gripe about the fact that there is no such opportunity in the city."

This may be true, but there are certainly many, many other Washingtonians who do not sit home and gripe. One day recently, the writer tried to get tickets to four Washington events only to find all four sold out: the Boston Symphony, the National Theater's presentation of the Lunts in "The Visit," Chekhov's "Cherry Orchard" at the Arena Stage, and Catholic University's pro-duction of "Romeo and Juliet." National Symphony attendance is at an alltime high. And Washington's music calendar for March is most impressive with an event of some kind every night except two, including concerts at the National Gallery and the Phillips Gallery, string quartets and chamber music at the Library, chamber music at American University, and much more. Even the Natural Museum of History came up with a musical program the other day-early bareque music played on early bareque keyboard instruments.

There is then little evidence of native insouclance when the public contributions to the symphony total \$250,000, to the opera, \$50,000, and to the local ballet, \$25,000, all in addition to the sums given to sustain the private galleries and other cultural efforts.

Indeed, Washingtonians retort, much of what is done here is often overlooked by others. For example, Glenn Gould, the Canadian pianist and one of the hottest properties today, gave his American debut at the National Gallery. Violinist Christian Ferras made his American debut in a small auditorium in nearby Silver Spring, Md. Yet, music critics here point out, when both these artists went to New York several days later, their performances were described as their "American debuts" and New York, in effect, took credit for the achievement.

What needs to be done? Washington's real hopes are resting on the elaborate plans for the National Cultural Center. The Government has provided some 10 acres of good waterfront property, but the more than \$70 million needed for construction must be ralsed from private sources. This may not prove to be an easy task.

"I feel ashamed about this sometimes," one Member of Congress commented. "Look at what we're building on Capitol Hill here. We're spending nearly \$200 million extending the East Front and Portico, building a new House Office Building and a new Senate Office Building. We should and can afford to do more to advance culture here by providing additional funds."

Is Congress really the answer to the enhancement of Washington's cultural life? Representative Frank Thompson, Jr., New Jarsey Democrat, who has been in the forefront of congressional efforts to encourage the arts, thinks it may well be.

"It is up to Congress as the City Council of Washington, a city lacking home rule, to end these charges that the city is a hick

town," he says.

"But I sometimes get the feeling that jockeying for political position and party giving help substitute for culture here. And in Congress there often seems to be a massive apathy toward anything cultural. If it is not a pork barrel issue or a bread and butter issue, they seem to be against it. We've got a few guys up here who call ballerinas toe dancers, and that kind of thing. There simply are no votes in promoting culture in Washington."

If this is true, and from what hasn't been done in Congress all these years indicates that it is true, then looking to Congress to help elevate substantially the cultural life here may well be in vain. To some this would not necessify be a disappointment.

For there is among that group of residents who have the civic pride and the money to actively support cultural activities here some real division ever whether Government support would be wise. Those who are for it say that without it Washington's status as a center of culture may never be achieved. But there are others fearful of possible political interference and control over programs and activities once the door is opened. illustrate their argument they like to tell the reported story of the city controller, who because the city helped finance the symphony there, signed the paychecks along with a symphony representative. Some years ago the symphony played Beethoven's Ninth which called at one point for four very able soloists. When it came time to pay them the controller balked, saying: "Those four only stepped out of the chorus and sang a

Those who favor Government financial help, however, hear few complaints stemming from agriculture, aviation, or shipping subsidies, or from the tax relief to business, or from the tax on fishing and hunting equipment that makes sure our sportsmen will have something to hunt and fish.

But there is also a fear among supporters of the National Symphony, however, that any token Government support might well be worst than no support. They argue that a contribution of only \$25,000 might dry up much more than that in private funds from contributors who might tend to feel their money was no longer needed.

Another less basic issue in the way of congressional financial support is the image many Members of Congress like to create back home of being just corn-fed, homegrown, log-cabin boys who don't know nothing about this here culture thing. "All of us have been just a bit guilty of that," says Representative James C. Wricht, Jr., of Texas. "But I think we have reached the state of maturity in this Nation when that kind of attitude no longer becomes us. Sooner or later we have to grow up and stop poking fun at things intellectual and cultural."

Nevertheless, there are those in Congress who agree with men like Representative H.R. Gross, Iowa Republican, who argued against the cultural center bill. He noted that we were being criticized by diplomats in some 80-odd embassies in Washington because of no such center.

"My answer is that if these people do not like our culture, they know what to do about it. I would say further that if we had just a few of the billions of dollars that we have given to foreign freeloaders over the years we could build a cultural center every 15 feet in the District of Columbia. I don't care how many cultural centers the people of Washington want to build on land they buy with their own money. I want them to get off the backs of my taxpayers."

Of course, Washingtonians have very little control over their own tax dollars, which go direct to the Federal Government. Each year the city's Commissioners have to go hat in hand at budget time to get congressional approval for every dollar they hope to spend. Here, too, because of other public needs, culture comes last. Only \$16,000 is being spent a year out of a local budget of around \$200 million. This compares with local cultural outlays in New York of about \$2.6 million; \$817,000 in San Francisco; \$790,000 in Chicago and \$543,000 in Detroit. Even Hagerstown, Md. spends almost as much as the Nation's Capital in municipal funds for the arts. And Evansville, Ind. spends more, setting aside almost \$37,000.

The Commissioners tried 7 years ago to get Congress to authorize a subsidy of up to \$25,000 for the National Symphony, but the

proposal bogged down.

Accordingly, one of the ideas is to give the city—if not home rule—at least some discretion over how it is to use its funds. Senator J. W. Fulbright, Democrat, of Arkansas, and chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, feels that "control of its own affairs is definitely part of the answer." The National Gallery of Art—now maintained by the Federal Government—might never have been built, he says, if it were not given by Andrew Mellon.

In this connection, Representative Thompson; and Representative Harris B. McDowell, Jr., Delaware, Democrat and another champion of Washington culture, are sponsoring along with others a bill to set aside one-tenth of 1 cent of every tax dollar in Washington for cultural work. At the current tax yield, this would come to about \$180,000, to be matched by Federal funds for a total of \$360,000.

Other ideas from Members of Congress interested in cultural advancement here have included a "national showcase program;" to creation of the Federal Advisory Council on the Arts, which has been before Congress for years; the establishment of a national portrait gallery in the old Patent Office Building, and even the appointment of a "master of the President's music."

"master of the President's music."

The "showcase" proposal—a similar bill was passed by the House several years ago—would encourage the development and growth of the arts in colleges and universities. One of the proposals in the bill now pending would be to present in Washington a series of international fine arts festivals and competitions.

"Through such a program," Representative McDowell believes, "an international music competition could be held in Washington annually with so impressive an international aggregation of judges that the winners would be launched in their professional careers as Van Cliburn was launched by Moscow."

As for the national portrait gallery of famous Americans, Senator Hubert Humphrey and Representative George W. Rhodes, who are sponsoring this plan, believe it would "make a major contribution to our national life, foster patriotism and educate the coming generations in the high ideals which distinguish us as a Nation."

The administration had been planning to tear down the building, which was designed by Robert Mills, who also designed the Washington Monument and the Treasury Building. And some here like to cite this among other things, in complaining that Washington could use something more than a "lackadaisical" attitude on culture on the part of the administration.

"A little strong leadership from the White House wouldn't hurt," one Democrat in Congress put it. "The President said back in 1955 that the 'Federal Government should do more to give official recognition to the importance of the arts and other cultural activities." But his recognition has been to come to only three concerts since taking office."

In this connection, Representative Mc-Dowell is giving his support to the idea of a "master of the President's music," who would be consulted from time to time on the music to play at ceremonial occasions. It seems the proposal stems from the criticism of the selection of songs like Zippety-doo-dah—a wonderful ditty in its place—that was played at the White House dinner for Premier Khrushchev. The feeling was this was perhaps misleadingly illustrative of the city's cultural status.

A National Conservatory of Music or a U.S. Academy of Music have also been proposed. Paul Hume, a music critic here, has urged this and suggested that the new cultural center might well serve as the residence of the conservatory.

Just what is to go into that cultural center, when and if it is built, is also creating some discussion among those Washingtonians who are looking ahead. The emphasis has been on getting it built. But some basic questions are being raised. Should it be the home of the National Symphony, for example? Should it have resident companies like the Washington Opera and Ballet? The arena stage, which wasn't consulted by the center officials, has apparently been lost to it because it plans to go ahead with its own new building. Shouldn't there be intensified efforts now to strengthen existing performing companies and to create new ones of a truly first-rate, national character?

Secretary Flemming, chairman of the center's board of trustees, believes that once the center is up, increased incentives will be provided for improving the city's cultural groups. And he believes it can be done through private contributions.

"I'm not at all convinced Federal funds are yet needed for any of this now," he says. "The curve is definitely up in Washington culture. It has made tremendous strides. Community support is increasing, not decreasing. I'm confindent it will continue.

"Once the center has been built, we hope to attract groups of great caliber. I think what we have to keep in mind is that they will be performing before a national audience here in the Nation's Capital. People from all across the country will get the chance to see what we are doing. In this way. Washington will really begin to emanals culture."

Washington then seems to be on its way. To many here its cultural life in some respects is quite admirable. But there is no doubt about all these proposals including the cultural center generating artistic endeavor; a concert-going President, a contemporary art gallery are two, a significant series of international competitions, intensified community efforts, a ban on zippety doo-dah, some self-government, much more money, both private and Government—just these "few" things—would do absolute wonders for our pulse rate.

Resolutions of International Relations Study Group, Wausau Branch, American Association of University Women

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. ALEXANDER WILEY

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Monday, May 23, 1960

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, in a world—comprised of different nations with a wide variety of political systems, cultures, economies, and other differing aspects-there are naturally "cross-Winds" that make establishing peace and stability an extremely difficult and complex challenge.

If there is ultimately to be peace, however, we recognize that nations of the World must somehow find a way to resolve differences with due consideration for the interests of the involved nations.

As we strive to find the answers, we naturally need the benefit of the best

thinking in the world.

As a leader of the free nations, the United States has a particular responsibility for so conducting its policies as to promote peace, opportunity and a spirit of cooperation among nations. A major problem, of course, is to develop the machinery by which such solution can be obtained, accommodations not only bilateral, but also multilateral, efforts to resolve international problems.

Recently, I was privileged to receive from Ethel Ziebell, chairman, International Relations Study Group, Wausau Branch, American Association of University Women, a series of resolutions for U.S. policy in the Far East. In a public-spirited program, this splendid group of university women undertook an intensive study of India and Pakistan, delving into the geography, religion, history and structure of economy, and other aspects of the two countries. Out of the study emerged a series of recommendations on U.S. policy relating to these particular countries.

Overall, these resolutions reflect the kind of universal study and thought needed—and to which civic-minded groups can contribute much—if we are to deal effectively with complex world challenges. I ask unanimous consent to have the letter from Miss Ziebell containing the resolutions—which, in large part, merit the consideration of Congress—printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Hon. ALEXANDER WILEY, WAUSAU, WIS., May 16, 1960. U.S. Senate, Washington, D.C. Hon. WILLIAM PROXMIRE, U.S. Senate, Washington, D.C. Hon. MELVIN LARRD. House of Representatives, Washington, D.C.

GENTLEMEN: According to Barbara Ward, the noted British economist, the next 10 Years will be a period of challenge and change

unequalled in human history, and the democratic form of government will be put to its most crucial test.

The fate of democracy in Asia will be determined by the outcome of the economic development race now underway between democratic India and Communist China. Wishing to become better informed on developments in this part of the world, 18 members of the International Relations Study Group of our Wausau branch of the American Association of University Women have spent the past year studying India and Pakistan. We delved into the geography, people, religions, history, government, education, leaders, Kashmir dispute, economics, and the relations of the United States with both countries.

Our national organization is one of study, then action, so having completed this very rewarding study, our group feels the action responsibility lies in recommending to our Congressmen various areas of legislation to improve the relations between our countries.

Following are a few of the conclusions we reached. Some require legislation, or strengthening of existing instruments; others require the education or alerting of

the American public.

1. Develop an awareness and understanding of these Asian peoples. By studying their history, religions, and various aspects of their background, one is better able to interpret the needs and desires of these people who are desperately trying to transform old world societies into modern industrial states.

2. Expand cultural, informational, and educational relations between our countries. The introduction of departments of Indian studies in some of our major universities is a healthful sign. We recommend the extension of this practice, and also the de-velopment of similar departments of American studies into their universities. Indians and Pakistanis need to know more about us than the false impressions many gain from second- and third-rate movies.

3. Extend financial assistance to India so that she may accomplish the goals of her third plan and provide an economic base for future self-sustaining growth. Pakistan has not advanced as rapidly in economic development as India, and we recommend that while aiding in the development of India's full potential, Pakistan be encouraged to develop to its own full capacity. Our economic assistance should be coupled with expanded trade, for without trade, aid can die on the

4. Develop a more ambitious and long-term approach to these problems, rather than enacting emergency measures or expending effort to strengthen our allies for primarily military reasons. One of these long-term goals might be an atempt to effect a mutual defense and disarmament agreeement between these two countries, so that funds now directed toward military preparedness against one another could be directed into more constructive channels,

5. Emphasize the multilateral approach in this program of economic and technical cooperation. Other western countries are now in a position to join in providing aid, and the United Nations offers a means of in-creasing the total effort while avoiding the difficulties inherent in the bilateral method. We realize bilateral programs will be useful in certain instances, but the emphasis in the future should be on the multilateral ap-

In order to attain these and other foreign policy objectives in this rapidly changing world, the American people may be required to make sacrifices. When they are fully apprised of the crucial problems facing our country, we believe they will cooperate as they have in other times of crisis. In your position as an elected representative of the

people of Wisconsin, we urge you to enlighten and guide public opinion in this critical field of foreign policy.

Yours very truly,

ETHEL ZIEBELL, Chairman, International Relations Study Group, Wausau Branch, American As-sociation of University Women.

A Waste of White House Time and Money

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. CHARLES O. PORTER

OF OREGON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, May 19, 1960

Mr. PORTER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the REC-ORD, I include the following exchange of correspondence between Mr. Bryce N. Harlow, Deputy Assistant to the President, and me. It speaks for itself:

MAY 17, 1960.

The Honorable CHARLES O. PORTER, House of Representatives, Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. PORTER: On Saturday last, as he completed preparations for the summit conference in Paris, President Eisenhower requested me to send to you, in his behalf, this note of gratification and appreciation for your support of the mutual security authorization bill. He stressed once again his profound conviction that this program is indispensable to our own and free world de-fense against Communist imperialism, and indispensable also in encouraging struggling millions in less fortunate nations in their effort to live their lives in freedom. It is a program requiring, he said, un eserved sup-port by all of our informed citizens and officials, and he feels it would be the height of folly to allow isolated administrative shortcomings and disappointments, or local considerations, political or otherwise, to tempt anyone to jettlson or cripple the entire undertaking.

Especially the President voiced this hope, and asked that it be communicated to you in his behalf, that your responsible act of support for the mutual security authorization be matched by a determined resistance to any effort to effect massive reductions in the mutual security appropriations soon to be considered by the House. Massive reductions, he pointed out, can be accomplished only by undermining our own security, free world security, and the cause of human freedom everywhere in the world.

The President asked me to explain that he would have advised you himself of these views had his time permitted before leaving for Paris.

With best wishes.

Sincerely,

BRYCE N. HARLOW, Deputy Assistant to the President.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES. Washington, D.C., May 19, 1960.

Mr. BRYCE N. HARLOW. Deputy Assistant to the President,

The White House.

DEAR MR. HARLOW: I have just received your letter telling me that the President told you to tell me that he approved of my approval of the mutual security authorization bill. I note you say that the President him-self would have advised me but that he was busy preparing for the summit conference.

In all frankness, however, I do believe that the White House automatic typewriters, clerical staff, and your own services could

be more usefully employed than in getting out these letters to me and my colleagues. Such transparent and artificial devices as your form letter are a waste of time and money.

Of course I am pleased to know that the President is seeking to lend his support to the mutual security program, but I do be-lieve there are better ways.

Sincerely,

CHARLES O. PORTER, Member of Congress.

Washington, D.C., International Race

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. J. GLENN BEALL

OF MARYLAND

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, May 23, 1960

Mr. BEALL. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD, a statement which I have prepared on the Washington, D.C., International Race, the "Olympic of Racing," held on Veterans Day at the Laurel, Md., racetrack.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the

RECORD. as follows:

WASHINGTON, D.C., INTERNATIONAL RACE-THE OLYMPIC OF RACING

On November 11, Veterans Day in the United States, the unique Washington, D.C., International Horserace will be presented to the sporting people of the world for the ninth time. As each year becomes history, global interest shows a decided increase, not only among the peoples of the world who breed, own, and race thoroughbreds, but also by racing's millions who thoroughly enjoy keen competition anywhere.

By its very nature, the Washington, D.C. International is an "Olympic of Racing." adding a sound sporting idea to modern air transportation, the Laurel Racecourse has developed an international spectacle already the equal, if not surpassing, other worldwide contests featuring representatives of various countries in a struggle for global

supremacy.

The Washington, D.C., International, with its Olympic overtones, is especially significant this year, a year in which the United States engages the nations of the world in

athletic prowess.

Horse racing is not included on the official Olympic agenda at Rome, but what could be more fitting than for this great Maryland racing classic to serve as an Olympic vehicle? Understandably, it would be unofficial. But it isn't too far-fetched to see this sporting equine test, involving all the skill, speed, and stamina connected with the ancient Olympics, as a part of the games every 4 years, albeit not counted officially.

The race, begun in 1952 by Laurel president John D. Schapiro, was planned with this very idea in mind, that the best horses in each country, meeting on grass, the natural footing for a thoroughbred, and at the classic distance of a mile and a half, should have the opportunity of competing for the world championship of racing, in the same manner the various nations battle for su-premacy in other sports. This certainly parallels the Olympic pattern.

Present-day air travel, with its speed and up-to-date equipment, has been largely responsible for this new era of international racing, but it remained for Laurel to do the pioneering and earn the success. It has

meant work-hard work-and a lot of time, but the sporting people of the world now have a race of worldwide importance: a race in which the various champions of each nation can meet on equal footing in a battle for the bluest of all blue ribbons-a world championship.

It is especially fitting that this "Olympics of Racing" is held on Maryland soil. A small State in size and population, Maryland is nevertheless one of the Nation's leading producers of the thoroughbred horse. Over 55,000 acres are devoted to this industry, and farms range from the 2,500-acre Holly Beach farm near Annapolis to the half-acre lot near Timonium where the fabulous Maryland-bred horse, Yes You Will, was raised.

The area comprising Baltimore, Howard, Hartford, Prince Georges, and Montgomery counties, produces 13 percent of all the thoroughbreds foaled yearly in the United States. And yet, with all this production, all but a small minority of breeders retain their produce for racing purposes, as compared to the commercial breeding establishments of Kentucky and Virginia.

So it is with a great deal of pride that I am able to point out that Maryland is the scene of the Washington, D.C., International. Despite the name of the race, it is Maryland's own, being staged by Marylanders on It carries the name of Mary-Maryland soil. land all over the world, something no other sporting event in the State does, because racing, unlike other American sports, is known far and wide. And the Washington, D.C. International, by its very name, is of prime importance to the vast amount of people all over the globe who have a strong affinity for the sport of horse racing.

Jobs After 40

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. CRAIG HOSMER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, April 26, 1960

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Speaker, some time ago Journalist Sam Crowther wrote persuasive article entitled "Are We Junking Our Mature Brains?" It appeared in the November 1956 issue of Coronet magazine. The following excerpts from the article are still very good reasons why discrimination against persons over 40 by employers is a wasteful. unreasoned practice which should stop for the benefit of the country:

WORKERS ON THE SCRAP HEAP (By Sam Crowther)

The Iron Curtain of job opportunity has dropped on all levels of employment. many industries, 45 has become the end of the road for an experienced man who is unemployed or is looking for another job.

Employers give these most common reasons for not hiring older workers:

Poorer productivity with resulting increased production costs. All studies, however, indicate the contrary.

Greater absenteeism: Yet a study by the Bureau of Labor Statistics showed that the mature workers possessed a 20-percent better attendance record.

Accident proneness: The highest accident rate is among workers under 21.

Lower dependability: However, long experience points up the value and stability of older workers.

Pension costs: In the case of pension costs, measures must be taken on a broad scale in order to remove the present hiring barriers.

The Iron Curtain against men and women past 40 is being attacked on a number of fronts.

Nationwide, Secretary of Labor Mitchell has launched a six-point "Bill of Rights" pro-gram to benefit the older worker. Its recommendations include:

1. A guarantee that workers be selected on the basis of qualifications for the job, regardless of age.

2. That workers reaching retirement age be permitted to continue working if they wish.

3. A complete analysis, incorporating local studies, on the performance, productivity, absenteelsm and faithfulness of older work-

4. Incorporation of clauses against age discrimination in collective bargaining contracts.

5. Expansion of Government placement services for older workers.

6. Tapping the vast resources of mature women to meet pressing shortages as in the nursing and teaching fields.

The Fraternal Order of Eagles has, for long, run an effective campaign to ban job discrimination based on age. It carries on through education, persuasion, and seeking of nondiscrimination legislation. Labor has supported the Eagles campaign, as witnessed by the following testimonials:

Walter P. Reuther, president, International Union, United Automobile, Aircraft, and Agricultural Implement Workers of America: "It would appear that the best way to get action (on the Fraternal Order of Eagles national campaign on 'jobs after 40') will be through collective bargaining and legisla-tion. Your organization is to be congratulated for its recognition of this important problem and the need for national action to deal with it."

August Scholle, president, Michigan CIO Council: "In many instances we now have people being laid off due to new automated production methods who are in the age category of from 40-65 years, and in many instances these people are obviously unable to find employment anywhere. We therefore wish the Eagles success and we will do everything we can against any discrimination in employment of workers."

William L. McFetridge, general president, Bullding Service Employees International Union: "We congratulate the Fraternal Order of Eagles upon its 'jobs after 40' activities and assure you that we will support them in every way we can. The denial of jobs to men and women simply because they have attained a certain age is of the gravest concern to our entire society."

Joseph A. Kinch, director, education and research, Indiana CIO Council: "The Indiana State Industrial Union Council was very happy to learn of the activities of the Fraternal Order of Eagles on behalf of workingmen and women over 40 years of age. You may be sure that we will lend every support. The Eagles are to be commended."

Lee W. Minton, international president, Glass Bottle Blowers Association: "Persons 40 years and over still have many years of productive life ahead of them and our economic society, if it is to continue expanding, requires participation by this potential labor force. Eagle efforts in this crusade on behalf of wage earners over 40 are commendable."

president, Iowa Federation of Ray Mills, Labor, AFL-CIO: "Our organization is willing and happy to work with the Engles in this drive to eliminate the discrimination against men and women past 40. Your orgenization and ours are interested in a common cause.

Jesse Clark, president, Brotherhood of Railway Signalmen of America: "You may be assured that we are in full sympathy With the Eagles in your actions regarding the practice of many employers in invoking Job discriminations against men and women Over 40 years of age."

Ray Ross, president, Ohio CIO Council: "We are very much interested and highly elated that the Fraternal Order of Eagles is turning its attention toward eliminating Job discrimination in the hiring of men and Women over 40."

T. C. Carroll, president, Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employees: "You are to be complimented on this endeavor—an all-out Eagle campaign to enact State and Federal legislation barring discrimination

age. We will be glad to cooperate in any Way we can to make the campaign a success. Mitchell Sviridoff, president, Connecticut State Labor Council: "It is most gratifying to learn of the Eagle concern with the problem of discrimination in hiring against men and women over 40. Our State organization Will cooperate with your local chapters with

against men and women over 40 years of

respect to this program." Ed S. Miller, president, Hotel and Restaurant Employees and Bartenders International Union: "I am familiar with the long history of support on the part of the Eagles for social security. The order is certainly to be congratulated for its present campaign on behalf of workers over 40."

Statement of the Honorable James F. Byrnes on Summit Conference

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. STROM THURMOND

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Monday, May 23, 1960

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, on May 19, one of the most outstanding South Carolinians of all times, the Hon-Orable James F. Byrnes, delivered an address before the annual South Carolina Medical Association Convention at Myrtle Beach, S.C. Governor Byrnes' record of exemplary public service is proudly remembered, not only by South Carolinians, but by Americans everywhere. His dedicated service to our Nation includes top positions in all three branches of our Federal Government and to his beloved State.

With his background in every branch of our National Government and in the Position as chief executive of his beloved State of South Carolina, the observations of Governor Byrnes command the attention of all Americans. In his role as Secretary of State, James Byrnes' contributions to the cause of peace will always be remembered by grateful Americans. He has had great opportunity to Observe the sincerity of the Russians as to their alleged desire to effectuate a genuine and lasting peace. He is, therefore, well qualified to speak on the subject which he chose as the text of his speech to the convention to which I have previously referred. His comments on the recent disastrous summit conference should be read by all and should serve as the basis for sober reflection for everyone who desires a lasting peace with honor and dignity.

I ask unanimous consent that this speech be printed in the Appendix of the

There being no objection, the speech was ordered to be printed in the RECORD. as follows:

[From the State, May 20, 1960] TEXT OF BYRNES SPEECH BEFORE MEDICAL ASSOCIATION

(Following is the text of an address which Gov. James F. Byrnes, formerly Secretary of State, Supreme Court Justice, and Assistant President during World War II delivered before the South Carolina Medical Association convention at Myrtle Beach Thursday night.)

Nikita Khrushchev sabotaged the summit meeting. In doing so he brought sorrow and fear to millions of people who are more interested in having war tensions lessened

than any other question.

For 5 years Khrushchev expressed the desire for a summit meeting. The President doubled his sincerity and showed little interest. About 2 years ago the British Prime Minister, Mr. Macmillan, became an enthusiastic advocate of a meeting at the summit to lessen tensions, and other European allies expressed the hope we would agree. Because we have bases within the territory of our European allies and they are on the firing line, we finally agreed to go along with them.

My personal opinion was that even though we had little hope that any good would be accomplished, we should confer. We could not refuse even to talk with the Soviets and it would do no harm provided we stood firm and realized that they would not keep their promises and provided we maintained and increased our military defenses.

Khrushchev after his visit to this country stopped jamming our radio broadcasts to Russia in the Russian language, and gave other evidence of a conciliatory attitude toward the Western powers. But a few months ago there was a change of attitude. Khrushchev for the first time in many months repeated his threat that if the Western Powers adhered to their position of not withdrawing from West Berlin, the Soviets would make a separate treaty with East Germany and would insist upon the withdrawal of our

He threatened that if we failed to with-draw, war would follow. We cannot be sure of what caused this change of attitude. do know in a general way, that Red China was bringing pressure upon Khrushchev fearing he had become too friendly with the West. There was evidence of unrest among his people and also evidence of some dissension in the Soviet high command. recent removal of several men holding important positions in the Government, gave

proof of this.

Then Khrushchev learned that recently there had been complete agreement among the United States, Great Britain, France, and West Germany, that there would be no modification of our position as to West Berlin. In view of his continued threats, this unanimity of the West as to Berlin posed a serious problem for him. He did not know how to retreat gracefully, and was not prepared for the consequences of carrying out his threat. He saw little evidence of accomplishing anything at the summit and feared that if the President made his promised visit to Russia and in his sincere and earnest manner assured the Russian people that we want only to live in peace, they might be convinced and that might cause trouble for Mr. Khrushchev.

Unfortunately for us, the Powers incident occurred just at this time, and it gave Khru-

shchev an excuse to sabotage the summit meeting. Having thousands of Soviet spies all over the world, it was certainly not the reason for his action. It was only his excuse.

If Mr. Khrushchev did not intend to conwith the Western leaders unless the United States apologized for the Powers mission, why did he go to Paris?

He was the first to arrive in Paris. He asked to call on President deGaulle and Prime Minister Macmillan. He deliberately refrained from asking to see President Eisenhower.

For propaganda purposes, he wished in a formal meeting to demand a formal apology from the United States. He knew full well or he should have known-he would receive no apology, but decided it would give him an excuse to blast the meeting. If, to his surprise, the President should have apologized, then Khrushchev would have made no agreement as to West Berlin or disarmament, but would return to Moscow with the prestige of having humiliated the United States

In his mind and heart there is no gratitude for the \$11 billion loaned them during the last war and they have not repaid. There is only the hatred born of the knowledge that our economic and military strength prevents them from dominating the world.

Because the work of our Intelligence Serv ice necessarily has not been made public, it is understandable that many were unaware of our spying, and it accounts for some of the criticisms of our Government. However, I have been surprised at the criticisms by some Members of Congress. If any Senator or Congressman did not know for what purpose he was appropriating vast sums of money for intelligence, he could have learned by making inquiry of the chairman of the Appropriation Committees.

A few days after Khrushchev announced the capture of Powers, when some petty partisans criticized the President for permitting a plane to fly over Soviet territory without the knowledge or authority of Congress, Congressman Cannon, of Missouri, a Democrat, and chairman of the House Appropriations Committee, told the House that Allen Dulles, director of the Central Intelligence Agency, had kept the proper appropriations subcommittee advised of the spy program. He said that program met with the approval of both Democrats and Republicans on the committee, who at times had prodded Dulles to make even greater efforts to secure information on military installations in the Soviet Republic. He said they knew of the reconnaisance missions of the U-2 planes over Soviet territory and felt the information obtained would be effective in deterring the Soviets from making a surprise attack against the United States or its allies in Europe. The House gave him a hearty ovation. His statement was candid and courageous, but Clarence Cannon always places the welfare of his country above political partisanship.

Unfortunately, all politicians are not like Congressman Cannon. Some think only of the coming election. They say we must do some spying and the reconnaisance program is justified by the secrecy of the Soviets, but the timing was bad.

The only thing wrong about the Powers mission was that Powers was caught. For 4 years we have sent similar planes over Soviet territory. If Powers had not been caught, there would now be no criticism of the timing. It was just our misfortune that he should have been caught. That was bad

We have had only limited experience in spying, but during World War II we came to realize the extent to which governments engaged in spying and we resorted to it ourselves. I recall accompanying Gen. Bill Donovan, who was in charge of the Office of Strategic Services, to a camp where recruits were being trained by a former chief of police of Shanghai. It was an amazing show. It was referred to as the "Cloak and Dagger" service. Men volunteered for the work, not for the compensation, but for love of country, and sometimes for love of adventure.

Later when President Roosevelt advised me of our efforts to develop the atomic bomb, he told me that Germany was engaged in a similar effort and through our intelligence service we were employing people to spy upon the German project and had information as to their progress. They had started first. The race was close, and our fear was that if Germany won the race, we would lose the war.

Now it is difficult to recall conditions existing at the close of the war. Most of us thought the peoples of the world would be so weary of war that no government would take steps calculated to bring about another world conflict and we could look forward to a half century of peace.

Three months after the surrender of Japan we joined Great Britain and Canada in announcing to the world that we would voluntarily surrender the military advantage of our exclusive possession of the "know-how" to produce atomic weapons. We agreed to ask that the United Nations establish an International Commission having the power to see that the atomic bombs in existence were destroyed; that all nations renounced the right to produce bombs and that atomic energy should be used solely for peaceful purposes under the supervision of the International Commission.

At the meeting of the Foreign Ministers in Moscow, in December 1945, I introduced a resolution asking for the appointment of such a Commission and providing that the use of atomic energy should be subject to inspection by the International Commission, with safeguards to guarantee there would be no violation by any government. The Soviets agreed to this resolution. The Commission was appointed but when it met a few months later, the Soviet objected to the provision for international inspection.

Between December 1945 when they had agreed to the resolution and the meeting of the Commission in early 1946, Soviet ambitions had changed. This change probably was due to information gained through their spies in the United States and Great Britain, which would enable them to produce atomic bombs. They decided international inspection would interfere with their policy of secrecy.

Early in 1946 several Soviet spies were arrested in Canada. From that time on, in this country and in Britain, there have been thousands of Soviet spies. We do not forget Judith Coplon, who was tried for spying, nor Klaus Fuchs, who was sentenced to prison for giving atomic secrets to Russia, and is now in East Germany, after being re-leased from prison. Later Harry Gold was arrested as a Soviet spy. In June 1950 David Greenglass confessed to giving certain military secrets to Russia. Pontecorco secured atomic secrets from the British and then disappeared behind the Iron Curtain. So did Burgess and Maclean. The Soviet spies, Julius and Ethel Rosenberg, were sentenced to death for spying in the United States. Several employees of the Soviet Embassy in Washington who were found to be spies, were forced to leave this country. Another Soviet spy, Col. Rudolph Abel, was sentenced to 30 years for espionage. Only a few weeks ago that sentence was upheld by the U.S. Supreme Court.

All Soviet spying was not done in the long ago. Just a few weeks ago a Soviet trawler was off the coast of Connecticut spying on the experimental tests of a new submarine. And on the very day Khrushchev was criti-

cizing the United States about the Powers case, two Russian officials were expelled from Switzerland for spying on Swiss military activities and rocket bases in West Germany.

SOVIET THREATS

Stalin first, and later Krushchev, have continuously threatened to make war upon the United States, while erecting an iron curtain around the Soviet Republic and her satellites. They have made progress in the development of new weapons of war and have succeeded in keeping secret, detailed knowledge of those weapons. With their secret weapons and bellicose threats, they menace the peace of the world.

In spying, the Soviets have an advantage. They do not have to spend much time or money spying on the United States. Their agents in Washington can learn from official maps the location of our military installations and from the daily press can read even the confidential statements made to congressional committees.

Because of Soviet secrecy, President Eisenhower at Geneva in 1955, pleaded for what was called an "open skies" agreement. He offered to grant permission for Russian planes to fly over the United States, taking pictures wherever they wished, if the Soviets would grant the same privilege to the United States. The Soviets refused and have continued to refuse. In the light of this history, what is the duty of our Government to its people? Should we sit idly by and await a surprise attack that would destroy our lives and our freedom?

We can never forget December 7, 1941, when the Japanese by a surprise attack destroyed our fleet at Pearl Harbor and caused the death of hundreds of American boys. Thereafter we succeeded in breaking the Japanese code and by intercepting naval messages, were able to destroy most of the Japanese fleet. It was retaliation for that surprise attack.

Nor can we forget the surprise attack in Korea directed by the Soviets, which caused the death of thousands of Americans. We know that if the Soviets ever carry out their threats to make war on us, they will do it by surprise.

There was a time when by ordinary espionage, a government could learn of the mobilization of an army in the territory of a government threatening war. But in this day of atomic weapons, missiles and rockets, the situation is different. A missile fired from Soviet territory, in less than 30 minutes, can hit a target in the United States and utterly destroy that target and the inhabitants of the area. The only thing that deters the Soviets is the fear of immediate and massive retailation.

To retaliate successfully, we not only must have bases in Europe, but we must know the location of Soviet military installations. We cannot wait until a missile has devastated a great area and then make a reconnaissance to locate military installations. That would be too late. Because of this, our intelligence service for 4 years has been sending unarmed planes over Soviet territory, solely for the purpose of securing information.

Regardless of the information we secure, the Soviets are in no danger of attack from us. But Khrushchev now howls with rage because he learns that in his Iron Curtain there is some glass, and 65,000 feet in the air a pilot has taken pictures which he believes has lessened the secrecy with which he has surrounded the Soviet Republic.

Khrushchev makes no apology for sending to the United States countless Soviet spies. But in Paris he demanded that the President apologize and promise to punish those responsible for the Powers mission. That would include the Republican President and the Democratic congressional leaders, who

provided the money, knowing how it was to be used.

President Eisenhower refused even to discuss the demand. I am proud of the manner in which he represented our country, with dignity and courage under trying circumstances. He was subjected to intolerable insults by the bragging bully from Moscow-A man of less stature might have lost his temper and walked out of the conference room. The President preferred to suffer the insults rather than give excuse for the charge that he had broken up the conference. Time and again he agreed to return to the conference to discuss with Khrushchev the subjects that had been agreed upon prior to meeting. He thus prevented Khrushchev from shifting to the United States the responsibility for failure of the meeting.

He left unnoticed and unanswered Khruschchev's contemptible insult that he would be willing to confer only when there was a new President. Every loyal American resents that insult. It was an inexcusable effort to interfere in our election. It was stupid of Khrushchev' to think the American people will elect as President any man approved by him. His crude insults in Paris Wednesday only serve to unite our people. He will learn as did the Kaiser and Hitler, that while we divide politically on domestic affairs, we are truly united in foreign affairs.

Heartening indeed was the news report this morning that several influential Democratic leaders wired President Eisenhower assurance of their support.

While that was comforting, I hope the President and the Democratic congressional leaders, in a practical way, can prove our unity by diverting to our defense programs some of the billions of dollars now earmarked or recommended for controversial social programs. In this crisis we can postpone even meritorious social reforms but we should not postpone even for a day, any expenditure that will contribute to the defense of our lives and liberties.

The Times of Havana—A Brave Newspaper Cries Out

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. CHARLES O. PORTER

OF OREGON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 19, 1960

Mr. PORTER. Mr. Speaker, freedom of the press is essential in a democracy.

as is the freedom to elect those we wish to govern us and the freedom to worship and speak as we please.

Today in Cuba the essential freedoms of a democracy are being stifled. We who

Today in Cuba the essential freedoms of a democracy are being stifled. We who are friends of the people of Cuba regret these confiscations of democracy, because they leave only fear, confusion, and oppression.

There is today in Havana a brave newspaper publisher who twice weekly prints his English-language tabloid, the Times of Havana. Publisher Clarence "Pappy" Moore is a friend of mine. His courage in printing the truth gives hope to those Cubans who see too well what can happen when democracy gets side-tracked.

An article describing Pappy Moore's work appeared in the Wednesday, May 18, 1960, issue of the Washington Daily News. Under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include it:

"Pappy" Moore's Times of Havana-A Brave PAPER CRIES OUT

(By Milton Guss)

Seizure of the independent newspapers Diario de la Marina and Prensa Libre by progovernment unions in Cuba has failed to silence absolutely all the editorial critics of Fidel Castro.

One voice still cries, and sometimes

laughs, out loud.

Twice weekly the English language tabloid, Times of Havana, ridicules and lambastes many of Dr. Castro's policies, espe-cially when he tees off on the United States.

Owner-publisher is Clarence "Pappy Moore, former FBI agent from Jackson, Mich. When he could no longer stomach the pro-Batista Havana Post, Pappy launched his own paper in February 1957.

HARD WAY

Admittedly a novice at publishing, he blunged blindly ahead, learning about newspaper economics the hard way. He turned out a highly readable paper but discovered that building circulation was slow and costly.

At first he distributed papers free, yet had touble giving them away. Today the Times ranks just behind the Embassy and the American Club as leading institutions in the American colony. And hundreds of Cubans, who have always admired a sense of humor and courage, look forward to their "Tee-mes" (Times) on Mondays and Thursdays.

There is little for Americans to laugh about in Cuba these days, but the Times

usually can find a smile.

When Dr. Castro announced another rally to denounce "the Yankees," the Times headlined: "Here We Go Again."

After Batista's announcement of partial elections, the Times said: "What this counby needs are impartial elections."

STAFFERS LOYAL

Pappy's naive but sincere approach to publishing inspires tremendous loyalty from staffers, and his popularity in the colony has Sained him a string of contributing columhists, whose writing indicates they enjoy their work.

Most widely read feature is a hard-hitting Political column by Carlos Todd, a bilingual Cuban, who regularly fires salvos at Dr. Castro. Outspoken and fearless, Mr. Todd Pulls no punches. Back in February 1959, when the rest of the press dared not speak out the rest of the Ped handwriting on out, Mr. Todd saw the Red handwriting on the wall and said so.

It was an item in Mr. Todd's column, reporting the price President Manuel Urrutia haid for his home, that was seized upon by Dr. Castro to precipitate a cabinet crisis and dump his junior partner.

When the president was ousted, the Times proclaimed in descending type: "Urrutia's house comes tumbling down."

For a while, though, things looked grim for Mr. Todd. He was sued for criminal libel by the president of the republic.

SUPPORTS HIM

As usual, Pappy backed him up. He proved he was no fair weather publisher with an editorial entitled: "Mr. Todd Does Not Stand Alone."

The publisher was sticking his neck out even before Dr. Castro took over. While other papers were paid off by Batista, Pappy took took no subsidy money from the dictator, and gets none from the present one.

Oftentimes he defied censorship. Once he slipped an especially hot edition out the back door, just one step ahead of the censor. Bitterly anti-Batista, Mr. Moore welcomed or. Castro with wide-open pages. But when pidel turned on the United States, the Times, paced by Mr. Todd, challenged him.

CONTINUOUS CRITICISM

Despite anonymous threats and vitriolic attacks on TV and the Government press, the Times continues to criticize and satirize revolutionary propaganda and actions.

Pappy insists the Times is not an opposition paper; it just prints the truth-not a very popular pastime in Cuba these days.

The U.S. Merchant Marine and World Trade

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. ANDREW F. SCHOEPPEL

OF KANSAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Monday, May 23, 1960

Mr. SCHOEPPEL. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an address entitled "The U.S. Merchant Marine and World Trade," delivered by the Honorable Frederick H. Mueller, Secretary of Commerce, before the Port of Washington Propeller Club, in celebration of National Maritime Day, at the Statler Hotel, in this city, on May 20, 1960.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE U.S. MERCHANT MARINE AND WORLD TRADE

(Text of address by the Honorable Frederick H. Mueller, Secretary of Commerce, pre pared for delivery before the Port of Washington Propeller Club in celebration of National Maritime Day, Statler Hotel, Washington, D.C., Friday, May 20, 1960)

It was just 27 years ago today that the Congress, by joint resolution, established May 22 as National Maritime Day and provided for its annual proclamation by the President. It provides an occasion to commemorate the first transoceanic voyage of any ship powered by steam. For on May 22, 1819, the SS Savannah started the voyage which ushered in a new era in merchant shipping.

This year another chapter in maritime history will be written. As President Eisen-hower noted in his Maritime Day proclamation, "This year will witness the harnessing of the atom for the benefit of mankind as the world's first nuclear-powered merchant ship, the NS Savannah, sails out upon the high seas."

But, as the President also noted, National Maritime Day each year also provides an occasion to honor the U.S. merchant marine and all who help to maintain an industry and service so essential to the economy and security of the free world.

In all of our proper celebrations all over the country, however, it behooves all of us to remember another anniversary-for it points a moral. A century ago last month the famous Pony Express began operating between St. Joseph, Mo., and Sacramento, Calif

You might be interested in the kinds of ads used to recruit the boys who manned this wild and woolly route to carry messages at the rate of \$5 a half ounce-later reduced to a dollar. One was reproduced in the Washington Evening Star for April 9:

"Wanted—young, skinny, wiry fellows not over 18. Must be expert riders willing to risk death daily. Orphans preferred. Wages \$25 a week."

In its short life the Pony Express sure had glamor. Buffalo Bill Cody and Wild Bill Hickok were in the select company of riders. and Mark Twain penned their praises. They astonished the world with their record of 7 days and 17 hours carrying Lincoln's first inaugural address.

But the enterprise went broke, for a variety of causes, in about 18 months. It was given the final blow when the first transcontinental telegraph line, building from both coasts, was finally joined and completed at Salt Lake City in October 1861. Technological prog-ress, which within the lifetime of men and women still living has seen the world move from the Pony Express days to jet planes that can cross the entire continent between breakfast and lunch, has been inexorable. However glamorous the good old days, competition in new and improved methods of transportation and communication have sounded their knell.

I say this not to play the specter at the feast on this occasion, but to note another purpose of Maritime Day celebrations. Past accomplishments inspire them-but we must look ahead, reflect upon our problems, and plan a better future for the maritime in-

dustry.

I say "we" advisedly. The Department of Commerce, the U.S. Government, in fact the people of the United States and the whole free world, have a vital stake in your economic health and growth. Before getting into some specifics, let me spell that out as a step in enlisting the kind of help we shall need to do what sorely needs to be done.

We have survived two world wars and were able to end the bloody stalemate in Korea, aiding our allies in all of these struggles, in great measure because we could stay in business on the world's sea lanes. Today, with an even greater threat, U.S.-flag ships must be available to deliver U.S. economic and military aid to nations whose strength and growth are vital to our own.

On the strictly commercial side, we need your help. As you know, the President re-cently intiated a national export expansion program-a partnership by the Federal Government and private industry to sell more American goods abroad. The Departments of State and Commerce are stepping up services to help business to do more business overseas.

We urge the maritime industry to take a fresh look at the trade and tourist picture. I am sure that your great industry will join with other American business enterprises in seeking new markets for American products and new traffic for American shipping.

As our foreign trade expands-and expand it must—we have a job to convince both exporters and importers that they should move a substantial portion of their cargoes on fine American ships.

Now for those specifics. What is plaguing your industry? We don't have all the answers, but we've been learning fast.

Recently, I submitted to the President the report which he requested me to make, as Secretary of Commerce, on Federal transportation policy and program. The problems of the merchant marine were identified in the light of general problems of public policy in transportation. The general recommendations we made were stated in summary form, and require further elaboration in detail

As the decade opens, the strategic position of the United States has undergone a transformation. In former years we felt as a nation that we faced but a single acute threat to our national security. The response to it was specific and decisive: specific plans for defending the security of the free world.

This specific, decisive policy had all the virtues of a simple issue which could be stated in term easily understood. It had its influ-

ence on our merchant marine policy. our objective was specific our merchant marine policy could be equally specific; we could say that our defense plans and assumptions required a civilian merchant marine of X number of tons or X numbers of ships to augment our logistical plans. Merchant marine planners could look to the military authorities for their specific logistical requirements and could attempt to build a merchant marine policy on the assumptions presented to them.

Under today's conditions in international affairs, this simple, black and white way of planning a national merchant marine is no longer possible, let alone desirable. We have a whole economy to think about. What was once a simple issue of military power between the free world and the Soviet bloc has become a problem of more uncertainty and more complexity. We face continuous threat

and tension in many areas.

This evolving situation has introduced great uncertainties into military planning, and consequently into the national defens aspects of our merchant marine policy. can no longer plan merchant marine policy on the basis of a specific set of figures on national defense requirements. While defense plans must recognize that a backlog of merchant ships is of great potential value, this value must be measured against a great variety of other military problems.

Furthermore, our economic policies in this coming decade will have important impacts on our political relationships. Like world strategic situation, the world economic situation is evolving from the severe simplicity of the past to increasing complexity. Our foreign trade and balance of payments have reflected this changing picture. We know that we must be competitive if our economy is to survive in a world of growing

productivity.

The growing competitiveness of world trade has made a profound impact on our shipping industry. Our national merchant marine now carries less than 20 percent of our foreign trade tonnage, a lesser rate than any time since before the First World War. Furthermore, wide cost differentials exist between our maritime industry and those of other countries in the construction and

operation of ships.
Historically the Government has sought to meet this particular competitive disadvantage with a variety of subsidies. Construction and operating differential sub-sidies have been granted, and such subsidy costs have increased. Under cargo preference laws, reserving to privately owned and operated American flag merchant ships at least 50 percent of Government-financed cargoes, the unsubsidized part of our foreign

trade fleet is also being aided.

One of the major policy goals recommended in our transportation report is to improve the efficiency of shipbuilding and ship operation to meet foreign competition and reduce the need for Federal subsidy. The research and development programs of the Department of Commerce have been greatly expanded over the past 5 years. The NS Savannah is one result, and otherssuch as the hydrofoil vessel and the automation of ship operations-are on the way.

These measures looking toward industry and Government cooperation toward greater efficiency, obviously require the full co-

operation of American labor.

Here I feel we all-and again I say "all" advisedly-have done very little. I refer to the fact that the connection between the worker's job and the safety and security of his home and family has not been emphasized.

On the face of it labor has been a major beneficiary of our merchant marine subsidy policy. And no one would argue with the fact that labor and management in your industry have a common interest in the continued existence of American ships and shipyards. But are the implications of these facts sufficiently known on both sides of the bargaining table?

American labor has learned, in many industries that mechanization and automation make and keep lobs, and make a higher standard of living possible. American management has learned that labor has a right to a measure of protection and a voice in decisions affecting their livelihood. And great progress has been made.

But it is later than we think. New means of labor-management cooperation must be found to improve the competitive position of our merchant marine. We need new machinery where automation does not applyhuman machinery to provide flexibility and rapid change in service to meet the changing

demands for service.

The least that the public has a right to demand is that those who are the beneficiaries of subsidies as well as the payments of customers should work together to give value received. I have high hopes that transportation report, emphasizing competition and deemphasizing subsidies, can gradually permit the Government to concentrate our tax money upon those programs which the Government alone can undertake and carry through.

Maritime management and labor surely have the know-how to do the job. Our foreign trade and domestic commerce are growing, as is our population and the world's population. Subsidies should operate as an incentive to greater initiative and efficiency on the part of the American Merchant Marine. No one knows better than you in the industry that subsidies do not guarantee a profit to the operator.

That happy solution to your difficulties depends, in the final analysis on your ability to secure cargoes at remunerative The Maritime Administrator, imrates. plementing section 212 of the Merchant Marine Act of 1936, has appointed a committee to study and develop ways and means to induce importers and exporters to give preference to vessels under U.S. registry. preference to

It is not unreasonable to shoot for a goal of at least half of our export and import traffic to move in American-flag bottoms. Yet in 1958 only a third of such traffic moving liner ships over essential foreign trade routes moved in U.S.-flag ships. If bulk cargoes are included, this proportion drops to 16 percent.

All of us can do a better job than that. We can bring home to those controlling selection of carriers that U.S.-flag carriers usually—and subsidized operators must purchase and use U.S. products except under emergency conditions. Your serviceunlike foreign shipping operators who come and go as they please—is stable and regular. Our shipyard workers and seamen benefit from use of American-flag ships and in turn increase purchase of American goods and

These are but elements of good salesmanship, and we need the hard sell in your industry as much as we need it to better

our whole export position.

Meanwhile we in Government are going ahead with further proposals for merchant marine construction and operation, based upon our evaluation of shipping needs and such strategic assumptions as seem reasonable. But our concentrated attention will increasingly be on means of increasing the competitive quality of our merchant marine to assist in the improvement of the competitive position of your industry in world

This effort will involve hard decisions and the solution of difficult problems. For many it will require a new outlook. Industry and labor must make their own constructive suggestions to the Government on means of improving the value of the merchant marine to American business in foreign trade. And much more emphasis must be given to research and development.

The program I have described, based upon the findings and recommendations in our transportation report, will be a major experiment in industry-labor-government partnership. The stakes are high. They involve our national survival as well as that of your industry. Upon its success rests not merely our own prosperity. The peoples of the world of the 1960's will grow even closer together in time-and we hope in freedomthrough progress in science and the exchange of goods made possible by peaceful trade.

The pony express beat the then world's record for carrying messages 2,000 miles at about 250 miles a day a century ago. Yet with all its gallantry it couldn't beat the competition of technological ad-

But the spirit of those young men, whose exploits have enchanted several generations It is that of Americans, is still with us. spirit which will yet carry the message of freemen and free enterprise around the world and perhaps to the unexplored reaches of the universe.

Problems of the Aging

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. CHARLES O. PORTER

OF OREGON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, May 19, 1960

Mr. PORTER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include an editorial which appeared in the May 12, 1960, edition of the Catholic Sentinel which is published in Portland, Oreg. I should like to call special attention to the following para-

This problem involves several aspects: nation's moral obligation to those who have contributed much to society and now are in need; the political pressures of groups whose interests are mutually contradictory; the need of preserving the traditional free relationship between doctor, hospital, and pa-tient. Whatever decision the Nation's leaders make should be made in a spirit of respect for the individual and with due regard for the common good.

I agree. I hope this Congress will meet and solve one of the major problems before it. As stated in the editorial it is "a nation's moral obligation to those who contributed much to society and now are in need."

The editorial follows:

PROBLEMS OF THE AGING

In 1900 there were 3.1 million Americans over 65 years of age. Today there are 15.5 It is estimated that America's senmillion ior citizens will number over 24 million in another 20 years. The medical care which makes this increased longevity possible is itself increasing in cost, as the savings of the aging shrink in value. The current debate in Congress over the Forand bill has brought this problem to the attention of the Nation

Congressman Forand's plan would provide funds to finance surgical costs and up to 120 days' combined hospital and nursing Lome care per year for people over 65. The bill would raise the money through the social security system. It would boost social security taxes one-fourth of 1 percent for employees and one-fourth of 1 percent for

employers.

The American Medical Association, the National Association of Manufacturers, the Chambers of Commerce of the United States. and the National Grange have joined private insurance companies in opposing the Forand measure. Supporting Congressman Forand are the AFL-CIO and large numbers of the Nation's citizens over 65. A large volume of mail, some of it obviously of the massproduced variety, but much bearing marks of reason and conviction is flooding the White House and Congress. (Many of the letters are written in painfully lettered longhand.)

Those who were at first simply opposed to the Forand bill, impressed by the wide support it has received, are busy drafting counter-proposals which purport to accomplish the same goals without the direct intervention of Government. Perhaps they are impressed with the fact that Americans Over 65 now makes up 20 percent of the

electorate.

This problem involves several aspects: A nation's moral obligation to those who have contributed much to society and now are in heed; the political pressures of groups whose Interests are mutually contradictory; the heed of preserving the traditional free relationship between doctor, hospital, and patient. Whatever decision the Nation's leaders make should be made in a spirit of respect for the individual and with due regard for the common good.

This is but one of the problems of the aging, although a most urgent one.

Discretionary Power for the President To Withhold Aid From Nations Engaged in Economic Warfare

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. PHILIP A. HART

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Monday, May 23, 1960

Mr. HART. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled, "For United States To Decide," Which was published on April 30 in the Lansing State Journal, of Lansing, Mich.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD,

as follows:

FOR UNITED STATES TO DECIDE

By a vote of 45 to 25, the U.S. Senate Thursday wrote into the foreign aid bill an amendment giving President Eisenhower discretionary power to withhold aid from any nation engaged in economic warfare against any other nation which benefits from the as-Sistance program.

The amendment, sponsored by a Republican Senator and a Democratic Senator, is almillar to one previously passed by the House, and was described as being aimed at the United Arab Republic's blockade of Israeli

shipping.

Senator J. WILLIAM FULBRIGHT, Democrat, of Arkansas, chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, was among the opponents of the move. He contended the Senate was intervening in one of the most delicate and explosive situations in the world, in a reference to the tense animosity between Israel and the Arabs in the Middle East.

The amendment expresses the sense of Congress that the purposes of the foreign aid program are defeated when a nation benefiting under it acts to wage economic warfare against other nations assisted under this act.

Many Americans are not likely to regard an amendment authorizing the President to use his discretion in applying this principle in the administration of the aid program as intervention in the Middle East or any other area.

The United States certainly should not be obligated to supply American tax dollars and other resources to countries regardless of the

policies of their governments.

To do so would in some cases support policies which conflict diametrically with principles supported by the United States, if the United States were to send millions of dollars to the United Arab Republic, Israel might understandably regard it as intervention in support of the U.A.R. policy of barring Israeli shipping from the Suez Canal.

No nation has a right to expect a continued flow of American aid regardless of the policies it chooses to pursue. It is difficult to discern a real basis for objection to the amendment authorizing the President to administer the foreign aid program in accordance with what he believes to be in the best interests of this country and the nations which receive the aid.

There Are Treasures in Our Forests

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. AL ULLMAN

OF OREGON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, May 23, 1960

Mr. ULLMAN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I want to call the attention of other Members to the following editorial from the East Oregonian newspaper. It emphasizes the importance of continued wise development of our forest resources and points to the growing variety of uses being found for this valuable heritage:

[From the East Oregonian, Pendleton, Oreg., May 11, 1960]

THERE ARE TREASURES IN OUR FORESTS

With the largest stand of merchantable timber in any of the States, Oregon's economy will depend heavily upon the utilization of that wood. How, then, is an industry that has not been noted for its vision doing with this resource Much better than many probably realize.

There is growing realization that timber must be treated as a crop and that it is a tremendously valuable resource because it is a renewable resource. More important, large sums of money are being spent in this State to get new products from wood. Numerous companies and research groups are active in "silvichemicals" research, the field of discovering and producing chemical

products from wood.

An example of the wide variety of uses into which new chemical products of the tree are finding their way is furnished by Crown Zellerbach Corp., which says its silvichemicals are going into asphalt emulsions, briquets, eeramics, cleaning compounds, gypsum board, softboard, insecticides, linoleum paste, road binders, concrete admixtures, oil well drilling compounds, paint, paint solvents and strippers, agricultural chemicals, synthetic fibers, rubber, camphor, wetting agents, resins, solvents, plasticizers and a host of other products.

Weyerhaeuser Co. is shooting for a full line of silvichemicals and is presently marketing quercetin, a brilliant yellow chemical derived from Douglas-fir bark which protects certain products, such as rubber, plastics, vegetable and animal oils, feeds, and other commodities, from spoiling or deteriorating. Company scientists are continuing their extensive research on bark components and

whole wood-fiber products.

In Portland, Georgia-Pacific Corp. soon start production of 200,000 to 300,000 pounds a month of cyanide chemicals in a major new chemical pilot plant which will use bark and sawdust. The new plant will turn out glycerin, copper cyanide, ferric ferrocyanide, copper sulfate, and nickel sulfate worth an estimated \$2 million to \$3 million a year.

A new research and development center of Evans Products Co. at Corvallis is pushing research on chemical utilization of wood residues. The center is presently turning wood fiber from nearby mills into plastic-

impregnated battery separators.

Western Pine Association's laboratory in Portland has developed methods for extracting arabogalactan, a sugar from larch which is useful as a pill binder and an ingredient for such products as ink and glue. The pine industry researchers have also improved extractive techniques for resin, a source of turpentine and rosin. Resin, which makes up some 5 percent of pine trees, can be obtained from stumps or even from lumber.

At Corvallis, the Oregon Forest Research Center, an industry-supported State organization, has isolated major chemical constituents from western trees and has developed uses for extractives from Douglas-fir bark such as tannins, waxes, and dihydro-quercetin. Scientists there are also studying lignin structure and are working with wood residues.

All this should be most encouraging to the citizens of a State that depends to the extent that Oregon does upon wood-products manufacturing. But it very well may be that we "ain't seen nothin' yet."

Approximately 30 percent of every tree in the forest consists of lignin-the glue which nature uses to hold the fibers of the tree together. Researchers have not yet fathomed its exact structure, despite their progress in obtaining a growing range of chemicals from it. Most of them believe that once they achieve the breakthrough in pinning down lignin's structure completely they will then have the framework with which to create a silvichemical industry comparable to the diverse petrochemical field.

When the mysteries of lignin are no longer mysterious, the door will be opened to in-dustrial expansion in this State of a magnitude that few can measure today. And it may not be far off.

Save that tree. In a few years mills will not only want it, but any bark, limbs, knots, and pitch pockets you have.

Daily Texan Reports Some Facts and Figures About Padre Island Seashore Park and the Battle To Establish It

> EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. RALPH W. YARBOROUGH

OF TEXAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Monday, May 23, 1960

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President. as interest in the proposal to establish a national seashore recreation area on Padre Island continues to grow, additional articles and editorials on the subject are published almost daily.

I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD excerpts from the full page of articles on Padre Island National Seashore Park which was published on May 8 in the University of Texas outstanding student newspaper, the Daily Texan.

There being no objection, the articles were ordered to be printed in the RECORD,

as follows:

PADRE PARK BATTLE STARTED IN 1958

When Fred Seaton, Secretary of the Interior, recommended recently that Padre Island-the lizard-shaped island stretching lazily down the Texas coast-be made a national seashore, his okay marked real progress in a fight to save Texas' coast.

The battle began June 13, 1958, when Ronnie Dugger, former Texan editor, commented

in his paper, the Texas Observer:

"Texas has but the one national park, Big Bend; yet we are the largest of the States. Cannot our potent (alas sometimes too potent) Texans in Washington persuade the Congress to make Padre Island our second national natural shrine? Gentlemen, before it becomes too late, and honkey tonks and shacks and litter make the matter moot, let us the people have this for the long quiet future."

Soon after, on June 27, 1958, Senator RALPH YARBOROUGH introduced his bill calling for a

national park at Padre.

According to the Observer, in its April 22, 1960, issue, Senator Lyndon Johnson then contacted the National Park Service. that time, the Park Service Director, Conrad Wirth, told the Observer that Service studies were expected to lead to making a Department objective of the Padre issue.

Three Texas newspapers—the Houston Press, the Observer, and the Corpus Christi Caller-Times have supported the park move-ment. The Caller wrote in April, "* * * the Padre Island plan as viewed by most people is dedicated to the preservation of one of the last few wilderness seashore areas in the United States. It would be this generation's legacy to the children and adults of the future * * *. There are enough tourist courts, enough hamburgher and hot-dog stands, and enough penny arcades in other locations to satisfy the population. An access road, perhaps a few shelters and a central park headquarters are all the improvement needed."

The Texas Legislature has consented to the park, after a lengthy fight in the 56th session. Senator YARBOROUGH has called Representative Roger Daily's passage of the Padre Island consent bill "a great step" in the project.

Perhaps the Caller summed up the situation best in its April editorial:

"Tourist cottages, restaurants, and other services for tourists can be provided adequately in areas adjacent to the seashore But the central wilderness must be kept intact, inimproved, as nearly as possible, so that with the breaking surf, with wheeling gulls overhead and the sandpipers and other shore birds hurrying up and down the sand, men, women, and children may sit for a time and perhaps recreate an image of this great country of ours as it was when men first visited its shores."

JIMMY HYATT.

FACTS AND FIGURES

Some facts and figures about Padre Island: The island was named for Padre Nicolas Balli, Spanish priest who obtained sovereign rights to the island (in 1800). He carried on grazing operations, specializing in long-horn cattle and mustangs,

A surfaced road at the north end of the island terminates at the Nueces County Park, although passenger cars may proceed (at their own risks and the possible cost of a tow car) down the beach for about 25 miles.

At the south end, a surfaced road extends up the island for approximately 5 miles from Isla Blanca Park, which is operated by Cameron County. Travel beyond this point is along the beach; and, by passenger car, such travel is unpredictable at best.

In the event that Padre Island does become a national seashore, the Park Service visualizes retaining the island's primitive character by keeping "the central section of the island roadless, but in other portions, road system behind the barrier dunes would provide access to the beach without intruding on the natural scene. Other developments would consist principally of camping and picnic areas and centers at the north and south entrances to the area where visitors could obtain information."

ISLAND CHARM

But supposing, just supposing, you want to get away from a chamber of commerce approach. What else would you find at Padre? Rusty beer cans, boarded nails, broken glass for the unguarded toe, and the unwelcome Portuguese man-of-war.

Yet, when Padre is left behind, it's the island's charm that feeds the memory:

Putting up the tent at 1 a.m., with the help of a generous moon, swim-induced appetites, the bearable semi-isolation, the primitive light of a two-mantled lantern, the wind creating anchor dunes around the tent, the commanding surf, salt spray, which becomes as permanent as a native arm and leg, hovering sea gulls in the early morning, the trailing sunbeam, the frightened jig with a sand crab, man's desire to caress his own unity away from the neighboring eye of civilization.

Such memories make you hasten to join hands with those who would protect our beach heritage for our children, their children: the future.

BILL MCREYNOLDS.

Academic Excellence

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. A. S. HERLONG, JR.

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 23, 1960

Mr. HERLONG. Mr. Speaker, we have been hearing a good deal about quality in education these last months. Down in my district the other day, the Center for Practical Politics selected John Henriksen, Jr., captain of the tennis team, to receive the annual Wall Street Journal Award. Around the big conference table in the center, which occupies Carnegie Hall, Mr. Henriksen's fellow students took time out to hear Sally Olson, one of the most popular junior students, say a few words about academic excellence. Her remarks were so much in the everyday ways of Rollins College that I would not mention them except for the fact that she said something in such an emphatic way that I think the whole incident of student speaking to student deserves to be made a matter of record.

Here is what Miss Olson said:

Academic excellence—the word excellence is a superlative of the highest degree; it means the very best, the highest of attainments, not to be excelled. Combined with academic, it implies top-ranking scholastic merit and achievement. Academic excellence is not come by lightly or easily; it is won through earnest and thorough pursuit and conscientious endeavor. Academic excellence is that goal which all students, in theory, strive for and pursue, and which few attain. A student of academic excel-lence is one of high grade and intellectual caliber. He is marked by this token as & thinker, a learner, a striver, a scholar.

Academic excellence is not a goal per se-It connotes a readiness and ability to match wits with life's problems and oppositions; it connotes the maturity so needed to take one's place in the world today. The ties of the phrase academic excellence spread far beyond school; they reach out to the life one

must live after schooling is past.

Academic excellence is a proud possession and a milestone too. It is a challenge, and a challenge which, well met, will grant the receiver his working part in a complex growing world.

Mr. Speaker, I have no worry about American youth when spontaneous incidents like this take place. Miss Olsen expresses concisely an ideal of her generation.

It is perhaps not by accident that the director of this same Center for Practical Politics. Miss Alice McMahon, is going to be the youngest elected member of the Florida delegation to the Democratic National Convention in Los Angeles in July. That is the kind of young citizens we are developing in my Fifth District.

Crossing Congo Is Experience of Lifetime

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, EDMUND S. MUSKIE

OF MAINE

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Monday, May 23, 1960

Mr. MUSKIE. Mr. President, on March 10, 11, and 12, 1960, Mrs. May Craig published in her daily column three more articles of interest to our readers

In the column published on March 10 Mrs. Craig crossed the great Congo Leopoldville, deep in the heart of equatorial Africa.

In the second, she analyzed the kind of world one finds in equatorial Africa-

In the third, she suggested that there are substantial reasons for the fact that the people of the Congo are not yet ready for complete independence.

I ask unanimous consent that these three articles be printed in the Appen dix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the articles were ordered to be printed in the RECORP. as follows:

[Africa on the Move, Mar. 10, 1960] CROSSING CONGO IS EXPERIENCE OF LIPETIME

(By May Craig)

LEOPOLDVILLE.—Crossing the great Congo River is an experience of a lifetime. On one side of it lies Brazzaville, French; on the other Leopoldville, British in nature. They belong to the French community and the

(British) Commonwealth, respectively. are staying in a hotel in Leopoldville, though our plane landed in Brazzaville. We crossed the great river, second only to the Amazon in volume of water discharged into the sea, and fifth longest in the world. From Brazzaville we could look across and glimpse the tall new hotel where we would stay. crossed in a little gas engined boat, with our luggage tugged behind. It was terrifically hot and humid-"stay out of the sun," our consul in Brazzaville and consul general in Leopoldville besought us. Equatorial Africa is made up of four small republics, and since they belong respectively to the community and the commonwealth, they do not have presidents, and we do not send them ambassadors. De Gaulle is the President of the French Community and is a hero-since he fled France with the Free French when the Nazis blitzkrieged into France. There is a park with a statue of De Gaulle here, and the house where the high commissioner, the ranking French official has his offices is called Casa de Gaulle.

The voyage from Accra, Ghana, to Brazzaville was a long one—8 hours by Air France. It was an old plane, with lots of leg room between seats, the staff was anxious to please and the heck with the system. When I waked early and asked for a cup of coffee I got it.

We had left the hotel in Accra at 2 a.m., after restless napping, and a hurried breakfast. Draped with typewriters, flight bags, cameras, coats, sound equipment, and one lady who brought a fur coat because it was snowy in her home and cold in Paris. It is a torment to her in this heat, carried in a plastic bag. We left the airport at 3 a.m. and tried to catch up on sleep on the plane and tried to catch up on sleep on the plane. Minor calamities have happened to me—one handle of my expensive and beloved travel handbag was torn off in a crowd in Acora, and it is tied on with a piece of string—hope to get it fixed by a cobbler here but fear the worst.

Most popular man in group is the one with an electric razor that runs from the airport, after a horrible night on a little battery. Day we went right from the airport, after a horrible night flight and we were all frowzy, to see President Toure of Guinea, the men took turns shaving in the bus, to the intense interest of the Airicans peering into the bus. One man, after shaving, took a picture of the next man shaving the left side of his face, developed it right there, and showed it to the man, just shaving the right side of his face. What a world—when you see the people along the roads, almost naked, though some draped in elaborate colored robes.

There are no camels or donkeys here, most of the carrying is done by people. A "load," a common measure of weight, for trade, is a "load," which is 60 pounds.

Strong man of Equatorial Africa, one of the four new republics, joined by a customs union, is a priest named Abbe Fulbert Youlon, who is prime minister and nobody knows whether he can still be a priest or not. He received us dressed in pure white clothes, striking against his black face. We got good advice from our consul at Brazzaville, seconded by our consul from Leopold-ville—who said he had come to greet us but not properly until 2 more days when he received us at his consulate across the river.

Eat anything at the hotel, we were told, even butter, which is imported. But don't drink anything except from a bottle, and then, only if you pour it yourself, or see it poured. The tap water comes from the Congo, and about every 10,000 gallons an amoeba creeps in—that is the devilish intestinal parasite from which you can never be cured. You can get better, but there he lives, as long as you do, sallying forth into a spell of dysentery every now and then.

The hotel here in Leopoldville is new and nice-but all sorts of odd failures to provide comforts the Americans have. The elevators are tiny and there are never enough hooks and bars in the bath—fortunately we have one bath to each pair of the group-in Guinea we had to go down the hall to what the British call the W.C., in stygian darkness--they never have the amount of electric light we do. But everybody is so glad to see us, hurries to help, wants us to come in with foreign capital. The abbe said that they "welcome it with all our hearts"—meaning the foreign capital they need to develop their country. They are so anxious to get on, to get education, to be free, to learn engineering and the other technology to lift themselves up to a better life. "But from anybody," the abbe said, and we knew he meant that if he could not get it from the West, from France, the U.N., the World Bankfrom the Communists. He said their ties, in Brazzaville and Equatorial Africa were increasingly firm-so unlike situation in Guinea. Heads of these small French countries are in Paris now with De Gaulle, talking progress.

[Africa on the Move, Mar. 11, 1960] DIVERSE PEOPLE MAKE TERRIBLE TRIBAL WARS (By May Craig)

BRAZZAVILLE, EQUATORIAL AFRICA.-This is a great area running from the Sahara, through a rain forest belt, to the ocean. Thus, you have the Mohammedan-Arab influence on the north, down to the various tribes of blacks. The European explorers of Africa put different tribes and ethnic groups together hodge-podge and now that the Africans are trying to make nations of contiguous lands, put diverse people together, they have terrible tribal wars and dissensions. The nomads of the north have no real affinity with the farmers of the south, which is onethird the size of the United States, great parts of it empty and poor, the southern part rich in uranium, iron, manganese ore, palm oil, wood.

Maine might think its future is not related to the future of this Equatorial Africa, but from here comes a good deal of the plywood that competes with Maine. We have great manganese-bearing ore in Maine, but it is low grade and so far it has not paid to unlock it from the curious ores in which the manganese is bound. Here the ore runs from 49 to 60 percent pure. The United States Steel Company and Bethlehem Steel are in here and across the Congo River in Belgian Congo, and are going to build long railroads to the Atlantic to get the ore out, refining it in the United States.

There is a peaceful relationship with France, though this area is free except for the central administration in France of defense, foreign relations, communications. The question is whether to continue in the French community or not-there are not the riots and violence that they have across the river in Leopoldville, in the Belgian Congo, where there was a small tribal fracas, with spears one day while we were there. The Republic of Gabon which is one of the four in this equatorial Africa is the richest and does not want to have to support the poorer. The country is already part of the Sahara development movement in the north, to which equatorial Africa stretches. Gabon wants to stay close to France; there is considerable socialism here; as Catholics they are anti-Communist. They know the need of trained administrators and public servants to run this country. Eventually they dream of a Union of Central Africa. They have fine city schools, a fine new hospital. There has never been segregation here, as across the river in Belgian Congo.

This river, the Congo, is inconceivably mighty. Some places it is 7 miles wide. Between Brazzaville and Leopoldville, it runs wide and flat, with floating islands of water hyacinths, that beautiful devil that chokes so many of the tributaries as well as the main bodies of African rivers. Sometimes the matted islands of hyacinth and other grasses and flowers are so large they support birds and even small animals that somehow get aboard. The water laps the shores in ripples, the little boys stand on the sparse brown beaches and fish. But the current is swift, because 10 miles away there are the great rapids of the Congo, pulling. rapids are caused by a steep drop in the bed of the river and the rapids crash against great rock and small islands and throw clouds of brown spray into the air. They say that in the rainy season, which is about to begin, the rapids are inconceivably terrible.

In the cities they have narrow concrete gutters, 2 feet deep, to carry off the water when the rains come. The cities would be flooded with shallow gutters such as we have, but these deep gutters are fine traps for unwary travelers to break their legs in, because we do not expect them to be there.

The Belgian Congo will be free June 30, and the example may stir up the presently rather calm Equatorial Africa. There is no special fear here of the French atomic bomb. The French told them in advance and said there would be no danger and they are proud that the French community belongs to the atomic club. There is none of that passionate denunciation we ran across in Guinea and Ghana and I am obliged to think that some of it is stirred up there politically. Knowledgable people think this country will stay in a loose relationship with France. They want a choice of what outside help they can get in development, they may come to the U.N. and the United States for investment capital. If they remain tranquil and stable they will get it. Lever Brothers is in here for palm oil, and other American companies. They don't bother-much about the Khrushchev visit to the United States. They do bother about what they have been told of the "degradation" of the Negro in America, regarding them as Africans, not as Americans. Illiteracy is high, but the French have an expanded education program.

There is great respect for women among Africans, in a special feminine place in the scheme of things. In the Moslem north they are secluded, not in the south. They still remember how the French built the first railroad with forced labor, and many Africans died under the whip. The United States is in a dilemma; we cannot stay entirely with French colonial policy any longer. "The fate of Africa is no longer in French hands," one official said. "The Africans have taken it into their own hands, the future is for them to decide, wisely or not."

[Africa on the Move, Mar. 12, 1960]
Congo Isn't Ready for Complete
Independence
(By May Craig)

LEOPOLDVILLE, BELGIAN CONGO.—This country is not ready for the hard, long road to complete independence, but the Belgians panicked when there were riots in late 1959 and the Belgian Congo will decide June 30 whether or not they will retain any ties with Belgium, or cut off completely. In any case they will be free. They have three front-line contenders for political leadership: Patrice Lumumba of the Mouvement National Congolese; Joseph Kasavubu of the Abako, and Jean Bolikango of the Front Unite Bangala. Ask anybody here which will emerge as the big shot and they laugh and ask us who will get the Democratic nomination for the American Presidency.

One morning we spent at the American consulate with eight Belgian officials telling

us about their side of the situation, political, economic, social. When we asked how come the Bolgians had been here so long and had not set up such friendly relations that the Congolese want them to stay, they said they were caught up in a great wave of nationalism and black determination to take back their continent from the white people.

Maine may think our Grand Coulee and the possible Quoddy tidal power project are big, but they take your breath away here when they speak of the power project at Inga, between here and the ocean, on the Congo. It can be done in small units as they get in industries to use the power, but the total power development, if ever, will be 25 million kilowatts; Grand Coulee is 2 million, the Volga River in Russia, they said, is 2.1 million; the proposed Volta River project in Ghana 600,000.

Cooler heads told us this great Congo River development, to cost a total for dams and installations more than \$3 billion, is just a dream. Where to get the money? industries to use the power? They have bauxite for aluminum, not very high grade, but there is too much aluminum made now and the Soviet Union trade policy is to undersell the free world, no matter what their own production cost, and destroy us and get the world aluminum market. Congo would have to export the aluminumand to where? They hope to sell to India, but this is years in the future, and first they have to establish a stable government favorable to private investment and foreign government assistance.

Right now, a competent Belgian told us, nobody knows what will happen after June 30. Many projects here have stopped, because nobody knows the future. The hotels and shops are almost empty; Belgian capital is fleeing, and while some big companies of foreign countries want to stay and there are foreign businessmen with briefcases here in this hotel, ready to do business if they can, there is complete lack of confidence. Cracks will begin to show in the African Government when the rival ambitions and plans collide, one said to me. There will have to be an authoritarian government at first, to bind this country into a nation. The Belgians hope to stay in a friendly, business relationship, help with administration, since the Congolese have few trained civil servants. But the Congolese are suspicious that this is just colonialism under another dress. The one big issue-independence being assuredis whether they will federate, fall apart into small units with tribal base, continue tie with Belgium. In the shadows are the Russians, with ready purse, and promises of "no strings." American Lever Bros. have a new, big tea plantation.

This country is 50 percent Christian, 50 percent pagan—but the pagans are monothe-istic, they believe in one God. We saw the first Protestant chapel near here, set up in 1891, Baptist, a mud hut with a corrugated roof, which was originally thatched.

To the shame of Washington, D.C., the capital of the United States be it told, that in Leopoldville there is not a mosquito or a screen, in an area of 40 miles diameter. They have done this by insecticides sprayed by helicopters. I can't go out into my garden in Washington in the evening because of the mosquitoes, which are not malarial of course, and formal garden parties in Washington burn the antimosquito candles and pass around spray.

So sudden has been the capitulation of the Belgians that one huge administration building stands unfinished, no workers, yawning windows. What will the Congolese do with a per capita income of \$41 a year? They have uranium and other minerals, but there are other sources. When we asked Belgian officials why in all their stay here they did not get on with the Congo river hydro project,

he asked why, in all our 150 years in the United States we only just now developed the St. Lawrence,

The population is exploding, sanitation encouraging it. They say they have pienty of open spaces to move into and do not plan any birth control—but the rural population is flocking to the cities. Belgian Government for 10 years has been building housing, some apartments, three stories high, 12 families to each building, and many one-family houses, but they cannot keep up with the influx and cannot get them to go away. They come and roost on their families or clans already here, with overcrowding and unemployment. Belgians should get credit for housing, water, schools, hospitals here, but it's colonial.

Thank You for Listening to an Old Lady— Worried by Fears of Hospital and Medical Bills

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. LEONARD G. WOLF

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 23, 1960

Mr. WOLF. Mr. Speaker, I have received many letters from our senior citizens, since I have been a member of this body, pointing out the difficulties which they are experiencing in meeting the high cost of living.

Many of them have worked hard all their lives, only to meet with an accident or illness of some kind when they were within a quarter or two of meeting the requirements for social security benefits. Others were forced to guit work because of physical disability before the type of work which they did was covered by social security. Many other factors, beyond the control of these people, most of whom are deeply conscientious and who cringe at the thought of accepting charity, have worked together to force those who have contributed so much to our country to become objects of charity-of the community or of their chil-

A great deal has been said and written lately on the subject of medical and hospital aid for our senior citizens. The fact that none of the proposals which have been advanced come to grips with the whole problem is pointed up by a letter which I have just received from a constituent of mine. This letter is written with such clarity—and its sincerity cannot be questioned—that I would like the Members of this body to give serious thought to its content as we continue to study the problem of hospital, medical and surgical aid for our older people.

CEDAR RAPIDS, IOWA,
May 18, 1960.
Representative Leonard G. Wolf,

Washington, D.C.

My Dear Mr. Wolf: I'm one of those aged—or nearly there—at 62. The bills in Congress for aid to aged give me a wry smile. Perhaps those on social security need aid, but what about those folks who are trying to get along on small savings—have no social security—or are being helped by children who cannot pay hospital and medical expenses? Many are unable to secure social

security. President Eisenhower's bill would aid after a certain sum is paid—how are the near needy to secure \$250 for first payment?

The specter that frightens me is hospital and medical bills (I know what these past 2½ years have cost). I have no insurance—as insurance companies would not take me due to heart attacks and after a while all my savings will be gone.

The aid for aged should include help for persons who most need such aid. The near needy who are not receiving social security, or old-age assistance.

In this day, doctors think they are contributing a great service by prolonging the life of the aged; I'm supposed to feel most grateful to the doctors who pulled me back from the grave in order that I might exist as I now do. I wonder how many aged folks feel the same as I.

Neither bill as offered to Congress, as I see it, is of aid to the ones who most need it.

Thank you for listening to an old lady. Sincerely,

Great Lakes Water Level Study

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. ALEXANDER WILEY

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, May 23, 1960

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, the Great Lakes—the greatest inland waterway system in the world—is becoming increasingly important to the commerce, not only of the Midwest, but of all America.

Particularly, the completion of the St. Lawrence Seaway—allowing opportunity for deep-draft shipping to flow into the lakes—marked the opening of a new economic era.

In the light of this new significance of the lakes for trade and commercial as well as travel, residential, industrial, agricultural, and other interests have an ever greater stake in maximum development and utilization of this tremendous resource.

We recall that in 1952, the Corps of Engineers undertook a comprehensive study of the lakes generally to determine:

First, the feasibility of a plan of regulation of the water levels of the Great Lakes which would best serve the interests of all water users; and

Second, the advisability of undertaking local protective flood control projects for areas along the shore of the Great Lakes subject to fluctuation levels of the Great Lakes,

Unfortunately, the study was started; then progress was interrupted and postponed.

Today, I was pleased to receive from Marvin Fast, Executive Director of the Great Lakes Commission, a resolution urging that the study of water level problems of the lakes be resumed, and that adequate appropriations be provided for

carrying out the study.

Representing the thinking of this fine Organization on a major problem of interest to the Great Lakes region and the country-the resolution, I believe, deserves the consideration of Congress. I ask unanimous consent to have the resolution printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the resolution was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

GREAT LAKES WATER LEVEL STUDY-RESOLU-TION OF THE GREAT LAKES COMMISSION MAY 11, 1960

Whereas the water levels of the Great Lakes fluctuate in irregular long-range cycles in a range of approximately 5 feet; and

Whereas extreme high levels result in inundation of shore lands and beach erosion, difficulties in the docking and loading of vessels and damage to dock facilities, interference with land drainage, and aggravation of floods on tributary streams to the Great Lakes; and

Whereas extreme low levels reduce the cargo-carrying capacity of vessels on the lakes, require extensive harbor and dock improvements, expose unsightly flats, de-crease the area of waterfowl nesting grounds, and cause excessive shoaling; and

Whereas following extensive damage from high water levels to Great Lakes shoreline Properties officially estimated by the U.S. Corps of Engineers at \$61 million in the single year 1951-52, the Committee on Public Works of the House of Representatives on June 26, 1952, directed the U.S. Corps of Engineers to make a comprehensive study of survey scope to determine:

1. The feasibility of a plan of regulation of the levels of the Great Lakes which would best serve the interests of all water uses, including the reduction of damages to shore properties, the use of the Great Lakes for navigation, and the use of the storage and outflow from the Great Lakes

for power development;

The advisability of adopting local protection flood control projects for areas along the shores of the Great Lakes and tributary streams that are subject to inundation as a result of fluctuations in the levels of the lakes where such projects are found to

be feasible and economically justified; and Whereas the report on this survey, originally scheduled for completion in fiscal year 1957, still has not been completed because

of lack of funds; and

Whereas the great significance and importance of the report and its findings to the further development and optimum utilization of the waters of the Great Lakes underscore the desirability of its completion at the earliest possible date: Now,

therefore, be it

Resolved by the Great Lakes Commission

Resolved by the Great Lakes Commission

the Commission of the on May 11, 1950. That it strongly urge the Congress, the President, and the Bureau of Budget to provide sufficient funds to meet the capabilities of the U.S. Corps of Engineers in fiscal year 1961, stated to be \$65,000, for furthering work on this survey; and be it further

Resolved, That the Commission urge the President, the Bureau of the Budget, and the Congress to provide the additional funds which will be required after June 30, 1961, in order that the report will be completed without further delays; and be it further

Resolved, That copies of this resolution be transmitted to the President, the Bureau of the Budget and the Great Lakes States' delegations in the Congress.

GREAT LAKES COMMISSION. ANN ARBOR, MICH.

America Could Use More Patriotism

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. JOHN DOWDY

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 23, 1960

Mr. DOWDY. Mr. Speaker, Charles Walton Evans, son of Dr. and Mrs. C. W. Evans, of Lufkin, Tex., is the owner of a large U.S. flag, a gift to him last year from his grandmother. Since becoming the flag's owner, he has flown it each national holiday during the year. This young American is living proof that patriotism is not dead in the United States by any means.

The Lufkin (Tex.) News, for May 17, 1960, had a story about this young Texan who is proud to fly his U.S. flag, and the next day an editorial, each of which I request be incorporated in the Appendix of the RECORD:

YOUTH FLIES FLAG, AND PROUDLY, TOO (By John W. Moody)

"It's the Star-Spangled Banner. Long may it wave, o'er the land of the free and the home of the brave."

These words are part of our national an-The man who penned them would be mighty proud today of a Lufkin lad on Southwood Drive.

The lad is Charles Walton Evans. He is the son of Dr. and Mrs. C. W. Evans of 1010 Southwood Drive.

He is also one living example that patriotism in the United States is not dead-yet.

For the last year, he has been the owner of an Old Glory almost as big as he is. And he hasn't missed a chance to display it.

He has seen to it personally the Nation's symbol flies proudly from a staff in his front

yard each national holiday.
"Well, I did miss San Jacinto Day," he said. "But that is a State holiday instead of a national one." Federally, he hasn't missed

In Lufkin, you may be certain of seeing the U.S. flag on Veteran's Day, Abraham Lincoln's birthday, Armed Forces Day, George Washington's birthday and other national holidays.

"The day that everyone forgets is Mother's Day," he said. "The flag is supposed to fly that day, too."

Young Evans is particularly proud of the flag he flies. It is large and looks like one owned by a school, government or large corporation rather than a private individual. However, it is easily handled.

The staff is about 10 to 12 feet long, about 2 feet of which is stuck in the ground, according to young Evans.

"The flag is a gift from my grandmother in Apple Springs," he said. "She gave it to me about a year ago."

NATION COULD USE MORE PATRIOTISM, FLAG FLYING

Heart-warming indeed was the story published on the front page of the Lufkin News

Tuesday about the youth who is proud to fly the U.S. flag.

Charles Walton Evans, son of Dr. and Mrs. C. W. Evans of Lufkin, places the U.S. flag in the front yard of his home on every na-

tional holiday.

Sometimes the very young show the way.

With each passing year it seems that Americans have become less aware for the need of proudly displaying Old Glory, the symbol of freedom in the world.

Such organizations as the DAR have conducted drives in recent years in Lufkin in an endeavor to get business firms and individuals to fly their flags on designated national holidays. Only scattered response is usually obtained.

Certain elements in this Nation have continually pooh-poohed anything that smacks of patriotism. Perhaps this attitude by many people who live off the fat of the land, yet condemn it with word and action, has had some effect on a dying patriotism. Apathy among American citizens has been another factor.

There is no doubt that what this Nation needs and needs badly is a resurgence of patriotic spirit-the kind of spirit which brought pioneers to this country in the face of dangers, the kind of patriotism that the early colony settlers exhibited in fighting for this country's freedom from England.

We face one of the most crucial periods in the long and storied history of the United States at this moment. Khrushchev has sabotaged the summit meeting and insulted our President. There is now no doubt that compromise with the Communists is virtually impossible, and Americans must be prepared to back the principles which they hold to be true and upon which this Nation was

Patrietism, which is just another word for love of country, is an element we need more of in this day and time. We need more people like the Evans youth who are proud of his Nation and proudly displays the U.S. flag at every opportunity.

Let's Trade Quemoy and Matsu for Bishop Walsh

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. J. GLENN BEALL

OF MARYLAND

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Monday, May 23, 1960

Mr. BEALL. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article appearing in the May 13, 1960, issue of Labor Herald, a weekly labor union paper published in Baltimore, the article being entitled, "Let's Trade Quemoy and Matsu for Bishop Walsh," and written by Charles S. Bernstein.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD. as follows:

LET'S TRADE QUEMOY AND MATSU FOR BISHOP WALSH

(By Charles S. Bernstein)

President Eisenhower at Wednesday's press conference was asked by Holmes Alexander of the McNaughton Syndicate-"Mr. President, Sir, this is a question about Quemoy and Matsu; and two of the Democratic candidates have said that if elected they would try to get rid of that responsibility."

The President's answer is open to all who want to read it. But the issue this writer wishes to point to is that of humanity. Even a lowly scribe can understand such an elementary subject, although he may not understand the military importance of the two islands.

One should be willing to sacrifice political prestige for human values. If by giving the Communists in China an opportunity to get satisfaction in having the two islands returned to them, we can secure the release of Americans from torture and life imprisonment, it is worth our try. If the United States could accomplish this exchange of a little real estate for human beings, we will have done an act of mercy and justice.

According to the New York Times of March 19, 1960, there are in Red China prisons, besides our own Marylander, Bishop James Edward Walsh, a group of other Amer-

icans. This is the account:

The charge against Bishop Walsh, Hong Kong, reported March 18 was: Bishop James Edward Walsh, of Cumberland, Md., was convicted today in Shanghai having directed a group of Chinese Roman Catholic priests in plots, espionage, and other counterrevolutionary activities against Communist China. Of course, there is not a man, woman, or child in America, other than a Commie or fellow traveler who believes this charge. Yet Bishop Walsh and other Americans are kept in prison.

Since the Communists took control of China in 1949, they have imprisoned or held

158 Americans under arrest.

Five died in prison from maltreatment. The rest have been released, except for Bishop Walsh and the following four:

Robert Ezra McCann, of Pasadena, Calif., arrested in 1951 and sentenced to 15 years; John Thomas Downey, of New Britain, Conn., arrested in 1954 and given a 20-year sentence; Richard George Fecteau, of Lynn, Mass., arrested in 1954, and sentenced to life imprisonment; and Hugh Francis Redmond, Jr., of Yonkers, N. Y., arrested in 1951 and given a life sentence.

All were charged with espionage.

Therefore, we Americans have all to gain and nothing to lose, by trading some real estate for these lives mentioned above. Not only that, but, if we are forced to defend these islands, with our fleet and our Air Force, it will mean many thousands more lives of Americans. All that can be avoided by a graceful offer by the President to exchange a little real estate for human beings.

change a little real estate for human beings.
Right now, when there is a lull in the international situation in the Far East, let us try to test our scheme of trade. Surely we will get the best of the bargain—Labor

Herald.

Inactivation of 449th Fighter-Interceptor Squadron, at Ladd Field

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. RALPH J. RIVERS

OF ALASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, May 23, 1960

Mr. RIVERS of Alaska. Mr. Speaker, I consider it my duty to call to the attention of my colleagues in the House an alarming development with regard to our national defense. I refer to the incredible decision of the Air Force, recently announced, that it will inactivate and phase out the 449th Fighter-Interceptor Squadron at Ladd Field, near Fairbanks, Alaska, in August 1960. This unit, which is the only one of its kind in

Alaska north of the Brooks Range—the only other fighter-inceptor squadron in Alaska being at Elmendorf Air Force Field near Anchorage, Alaska-has for many years been regarded by the highest military authorities as an indispensable shield against potential aggression by the Russians. Ladd Field, only 600 miles from Siberia, is a part of our northwest bastion of defense; a vital link in our perimeter of national defense, which includes Alaska as the corridor between Asia and North America, being an area once characterized by the late great Army officer, William "Billy" Mitchell, as "the most important strategic place in the world."

As recently as last March the Air Force programed replacement of its 25 F-89 aircraft at Ladd AFB for F-101Bs, in line with strengthening the defensive power of the 449th Fighter-Interceptor Squadron. This occurred at a time when international tensions appeared to be relaxing. Now in the midst of a worsened world situation stemming from our U-2 observation flights over Russia, we are confronted with the Air Force's sudden plan to withdraw from Ladd Field, soundly established on American soil in the shadow of the Iron Curtain, as contrasted with many of our foreign airbases which are built on political quick-

On July 4th last, at Auburn, N.Y., I had the privilege of speaking at a ceremony honoring our 49th State, in which I extolled the foresight and wisdom of former Secretary of State, William Henry Seward, in effectuating the purchase of Alaska from Russia, and noted the disadvantage the rest of North America would now be suffering if Alaska were yet in the hands of the Russians. Both the audience and I visualized the idea of Russian bombers and missiles being located in Alaska pointed toward the great industrial centers of the older States and Canada, and we did not like what we saw, which lent enhanced meaning to the memory of William Henry Seward.

Now we are told by Gen. Curtis LeMay, who requested the construction of Eielson AFB a decade ago as a launching ground for SAC bombers just 26 miles from Fairbanks, that Alaska is now of subordinate strategic importance and that for economy reasons the risk of phasing out the 449th Fighter Interceptor Squadron may be taken. This, in the face of the fact that said squadron has been on the alert for years to defend not only Ladd Field and environs against the possibility of a Russian paratrooper attack or destructive bombing mission, but to likewise defend the great SAC installation and runway at Eielson AFB with resultant protection of our whole

Since long-range missiles presently under development are presumably not yet operational, the Russian airpower according to Gen. Thomas D. White, Chief of Staff of the Air Force, is still Russia's most dangerous weapon. To my mind this makes the problem elementary and the answer apparent—this is no time to inactivate any part of

our manned fighter-interceptor forces. Comes the day when East and West will have each other thoroughly pinpointed with adequate arrays of ICBM's, there may be no further use for Air Force bases as we know them today, but the time is not now, any more than it is time to phase out the Air Force itself.

I realize that the Air Force is hurting because of the recent congressional appropriation cutback on Bomarc widely regarded as an extravagant fifth wheel in our overall missile program, but do not think this justifies the economy reaction displayed in the plan to chop down our manned fighter strength. This reaction is equivalent to saying to the Congress, "You want economy so we will give it to you-where it hurts." Instead. the money saved on Bomarc should be made available to strengthen our manned fighter defenses. Such approach would be consistent with the fact that the top stratum of the Air Force has turned down the request of Lt. Gen. Frank A. Armstrong, Jr., Commanding General of the Alaskan Command, for intermediate range missile installations in Alaska to offset the 27 Russian missile installations in Siberia across the Bering Strait. If Alaska is not an area usable for exchanging missile blows with the Russians, it must be regarded as an area vulnerable to attack and attempted occupancy by the Russians for use against the rest of our country as a nearby launching platform.

An excellent and more complete treatment of this whole subject is found in the remarks of Senators Bartlett and Gruening of Alaska set forth in the Congressional Record of May 17, 1960, beginning on page 9665 with the speech of Senator Gruening. I invite all of you to read the able presentations of the two Senators, for the vital interest of all the people of the United States is at stake.

World Refugee Year—Resolution of National Council of Protestant Episcopal Church

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. PHILIP A. HART

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, May 23, 1960

Mr. HART. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the Record a resolution on World Refugee Year, adopted at the Greenwich, Conn., meeting of the National Council of the Protestant Episcopal Church.

There being no objection, the resolution was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WORLD REPUGEE YEAR—RESOLUTION ADOPTED BY THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF THE PROTES-TANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH APRIL 26-28, 1960 Whereas World Refugee Year, as established by the United Nations and cospon-

sored by the United States of America, comes to an end on June 30, 1960; and

Whereas no new legislation to replace the Refugee Acts which have expired, has been enacted by the present session of the Con-

gress: Therefore be it

Resolved, That the National Council of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America urges the immediate enactment of fair and generous legislation, permitting the admission to the United States of a substantial number of refugees in 1960 and 1961; and be it further

Resolved, That the secretary of the national council send copies of this resolution to the President, the Secretary of State, and to each Member of the Senate of the United

States.

Hon. Leonard G. Wolf Discusses Role of Congress in Space Age

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. B. F. SISK

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, May 23, 1960

Mr. SISK. Mr. Speaker, my good friend and able colleague from Iowa, the Honorable Leonard G. Wolf, of Iowa, was selected as the guest speaker at the National Aeronautical Electronics Conference at Dayton, Ohio. Congressman Wolf is a distinguished member of the Committee on Science and Astronautics, upon which I also have the honor of serving. I have had an opportunity to observe his fine work on the committee, and I think every Member will want to study Congressman Wolf's description of the work of the committee and his pertinent comments on America's position in the space age, which formed the theme of his speech at the Conference on

The text of Congressman Wolf's address follows:

I am indeed flattered to have this opportunity to speak to you tonight. It is always a stimulating experience to address an audience of well-informed and highly professional people such as you. By the way, I stand here, as a one-time Navy electrician, World War II vintage and I know the difference between an ohm and a watt, or a resistor and a condenser, and especially the difference between a hot line and a ground. I find this very inadequate after today's experiences at Wright Patterson.

But I think that if I were now pursuing a career in the field of electronics I would be greatly excited and stimulated by the great events that are taking place in the programs of rocket research and space exploration currently being pursued by the Department of Defense and the National Aeronautics and Space Administration. These events have a significance to developments in electronics research that stretches out into the future far beyond our ability to envision. The implications in the single fact of being able to communicate with and receive information from a space vehicle-Pioneer V-out to 50 million miles or more are to me simply staggering. We are only now approaching the threshold of achieving manned flight through space to the moon and to the planets, which could not be possibly accomplished without the unceasing drive toward progressive development that has been demonstrated over the past years not only by you and your colleagues, but also by our great national industrial complex that

has made possible the comparatively recent growth of the electronics industry. Today I met a man who is still working, yet worked with the Wright brothers just a few short years ago.

Now, let me go into the role of Congress in the development of our space programs, and in a much larger sense, its interest in all aspects of scientific research and development.

For many years, perhaps more positively since World War II, there has been a growing awareness in Congress, particularly in the House of Representatives, of the increasing importance of scientific research and development in the everyday life of our people and, equally important, as a very important part of our defense and national resources.

If we reflect upon the historical significance of our great economic and social advances that followed World War I, of the roaring twenties, of the depression, of the thirties, and of another great industrial and economic upsurge coming out of World War II, we can then perceive more clearly the recent emergence into early maturity of a vigorous approach, nationally, to scientific research and development as the root-source of future security and economic prosperity. Congress and the executive branch, including the military departments, have been keenly aware of this fact, and nowhere has this awareness been more pointedly expressed than by the Department of Defense in its requests for steadily increasing appropriations to pursue military research and development programs submitted to Congress

every year.

For instance, the budget for research, development, and engineering submitted by the DOD for the coming fiscal year is almost \$6 billion. And the National Aeronautics and Space Administration has almost doubled its budget in its 2 years of existence from \$500 million to more than \$300 million. Congress has expressed its awareness of the importance of R. & D., by appropriating almost all the funds re-

quested.

Of course, we have had outstanding scientific organizations within the many Departments of the Government for many years. I need only point to the National Bureau of Standards and the National Science Foundation, as examples. But, in comparison to the DOD, the funds required by these organizations have been very small indeed.

My committee, the Committee on Science and Astronautics as well as the Senate Committee on Aeronautical and Space Sciences, is the latest and perhaps the most significant expression of Congress of its awareness that productive research and development, both basic and applied, has become a factor of major importance to our national community. Incidentally, my committee is the first standing committee that has been created by the House of Representatives since 1900. During the 2d session of the 85th Congress, the Select (that means temporary) Committee on Astronautics and Space Exploration, working with great energy and drive, created the National Aeronautics and Space Administration and dedicated it to the peaceful exploration of space for the benefit of mankind everywhere.

My committee is the direct descendant of that select committee and has functioned with even greater vigor and action. My committee has a record of having held more hearings in its first year than any committee in the history of Congress. To give you an idea of the extent of our interests and jurisdiction, aside from our legislative responsibilities, we have held definitive hearings on the international control of outer space, ground-cushion phenomena, satellites for world communication, missile development and space science, space propulsion, nuclear explosions in space, to name only a few. Yes, and in earth sciences, oceanography, social sciences, too.

But, you may ask why does a congressional committee take the time and expend the energy to make such detailed investigations? doesn't it just concern itself with enacting legislation and acting as a watchdog over the executive branch? The answers to such seemingly innocuous questions are really quite complex.

Ladies and gentlemen, it has been my continuing mission since being elected to Congress, to point out as emphatically and as often as I can, that within our country there is no longer existing a clear division between civilian and military. We no longer live during times of peace and of war.

We are, and have been for many years, continually and unceasingly at war-with only the shooting suspended and not always is this true. Now, no one doubts that Western civilization is faced, in the form of the Communist philosophy, with its most deadly threat since Genghis Khan stormed out of Mongolia with his "golden horde" brought Europe almost to the brink of complete political and social disintegration in the 12th century. To quote Gen. John B. Medaris, who appeared before our committee on February 18 of this year, "Fundamentally [the United States-Soviet competition] is a clash between different philosophies as to the position of the individual in society. The field of conflict is so broad, so profound, that it encompasses every element of international power—military, economic, diplo-matic, political, psychological, and spiritual."

Coupling my first premise that scientific research and development is assuming a paramount importance to the lives of all our people, with the realization and acceptance of the fact that we are engaged in a universal conflict, which can result only in unconditional surrender either by the West or the East, Khrushchev's "We will bury you" was no figure of speech, then it should become clear that each and every one of you, and your colleagues in the other scientific disciplines, hold presently, to a major degree, the responsibility for our continued existence as free people. It therefore becomes the objective of Congress and my committee to support and foster, as a principal national resource, the scientific mission in every field of endeavor.

In this connection, let us consider the education of our young people. We have held considerable hearings on this subject and received testimony from many outstanding educators and educational administrators. And I am sure that many of you have a deep interest in this field. In this very basic, fundamental area, we are, right now, seeing the Soviet Union turning out scientists and engineers at a rate far surpassing our own. The Red bosses recognized years ago that the success of their mission to communize the world would depend upon excelling all other nations, particularly the United States, in science and technology. Such success would depend totally on the quality and quantity of trained scientists that would be available to their research and engineering programs, and ultimately making world dominion possible. We must come to grips with the great needs in the field of education and quit arguing over who has the responsibility to do it and get the education program going.

You can see why we in Congress and in my committee are concerned with the education of scientists in our country, and also for the material well-being of much of the

Let me speak now about the interest of our committee in the space program.

During the International Geophysical Year recently terminated, the United States as-sumed the responsibility for placing a satellite in orbit around the earth to explore the

regions beyond our atmosphere. The Navy, and the Naval Research Laboratory assigned the Vanguard mission and proceeded with the necessary design, engineering and tests, despite the fact that the Army's Ballistic Missile Agency at Huntsville, Ala., by slightly modifying the exist-ing Redstone missile, was ready to place a satellite in orbit almost a year before the scheduled Vanguard. Then, as we all know, came the great awakening; inaugurated by Sputnik I. Our complacency had been joited. False illusions regarding the Soviet Union's technological capabilities were thoroughly dissipated. And we stood before the world, figuratively, with our scientific halo down around our ears. We learned there was no longer room for complacency. Russia just a few days before Sputnik I, when, in my first speeches, I suggested Russia had some scientific surprises for us my audiences laughed with pompous selfesteem. And then sputnik—then my audiences would say, "Now how come? What happened to American leadership?"

Between Sputnik I and now has evolved gradually, grimly, and often painfully, the comprehensive space research program now underway in NASA. And there is no question that in the last few years, our satellite and deep probe projects have paid off handsomely. It is an established fact that our space vehicles have contributed data to the scientific communities of the world that quantitatively and qualitatively exceeds that of the Soviet Union by several orders of

magnitude.

I'd like to read two significant comments from Mr. Baldwin of the New York Times. Baldwin says the reason for this is that we Americans have not recognized sufficiently the psychological and political aspects of the space race. "The nation's space program," he writes, "has been too much under the authority of the mathematical scientists—the 'pure' researchers to whom scientific facts and findings are ends in themselves—and the budget planners, economists and cost accountants."

However, in awareness of the political and psychological importance of space achievements Moscow has been far more perceptive than Washington. Our greater proficiency in the accumulation of scientific data has been more than offset in world opinion by the Russian "firsts"; first sputnik; first deep-space probe; first picture of the "dark side" of the moon; first rocket to hit the moon. Moreover, the Soviet space program excels our own in the greatly superior thrust of the Soviet booster rockets.

And a comment of Dr. Eberhardt Rechtin, the Chief of the Telecommunications Division, states this in the following manner: "At the present time, one of the most remarkable features of the U.S. position is the almost complete lack of urgency in the space program. Our space program costs less than \$10 per year per U.S. adult or roughly, one evening's entertainment per year."

evening's entertainment per year."
Yes, insofar as booster thrust and weight
lifting capabilities are concerned our rocket
development is still several years behind that
of the U.S.S.R., whose Sputnik III exceeded
in weight, the total sum of the payload
of every satellite and space probe we have

sent up, to date.

However, in many long hours of hearings our committee has heard from Dr. T. Keith Glennan, Administrator of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration, and his associates, regarding the progress of current NASA satellite launching programs, the development of large and superlarge boosters, and the plans for a continuously productive program leading to an ever-growing space capability. And I can assure you tonight that our future in space looks very promising indeed, particularly with regard to the development of large boosters such as the Saturn and the Nova. However, I cannot equate our relationship with Russian

progress. They are not standing still. But despite our successes so far the history of the management process that have characterized our missile and space programs has left much to be desired. To put it bluntly, they were delayed by an almost pathological inability to choose our objectives and to make management decisions on the top level, to organize Government resources for the job needed to be done.

And I say this despite the brilliant success of our Armed Forces in bringing their ballistic missiles to operational status in record time. To quote Dr. Simon Ramo, outstanding scientist and industrial organizer of our day, who appeared before our committee: "We have become bogged down again with the real bottleneck—not the limited technical and physical resources available in this Nation, but instead, the slow process of decisionmaking, organization, and arrangementmaking.

"Today, years after complete demonstrations of our technical capability and years after the unprecedented simultaneous implementation of all of the production tools and facilities and operational military planning for the full utilization of these technical accomplishments, we still seem to be involved in major debates as to how many should be the numbers of missiles that we provide to insure inevitable retaliationthis, even though a substantial part of America's capacity for competitive hardware production stands unused." I might say at this point, that most of the rivalry and friction between the services has been caused by this decisionmaking problem at the top. The individual chiefs have had to fight to maintain their programs. And they hoped that the rival chiefs would do the same. But all of this should have been unnecessary, had proper decisions been made and on time at the summit.

This is where Congress and my committee has made the largest contribution—the continuous insistence and polite prodding that all the responsible Government agencies develop, by every means available, the most efficient organizations possible, obtain the best scientific talent available, and provide leadership to American industry which, in the final analysis, is the only instrumentality by which our national scientific objectives can be achieved.

I have tried in these few brief moments to give you an idea of the depth and breadth of my committee's responsibilities and areas of action. We Americans are living in a period of fateful decisions made by men who are motivated either by a belief in moral law and the inherent dignity of man, or in the supremacy of the state. These decisions will inevitably and permanently effect our lives as free people, surrounded by an incredible plentitude that has been the product of our science, our technology, our industires and hard work, a plentitude that is experienced nowhere else in the world. We are richer far beyond what our fathers ever envisioned we could be. And our material wealth is the envy of all peoples. Our danger lies in the complacency bred by plenty.

I have had an opportunity to travel extensively in the world, only recently returning from southeast Asia and the Orient. There I saw human degradation of a fantastic order that beggars description. I have seen people who are struggling to survive without even the basic human needs of food, clothing and shelter, living in the midst of squalor that makes our worst city slums look like the hanging gardens of Babylon. I have been in places where a cupful of rancid, spoiled food is worth more than a human life. And yet, these people live in hope, striving as best they may for a better future for their children. And they have before them two avenues that they could travel toward that future—one posted with the hypocrisy and blandishments of com-

munism, the other with the promise and truth of democracy. I say to you that we are competing with the Soviet Union, not for space, not for the marketplace, but for the minds and trust of uncommitted peoples all over the world.

How is American science, research, technology a part of this competition? We have made it irrefutably evident that the products of hard work, the exploitation of our natural gifts and the unceasing development of our scientific and technical aptitudes have been combined to give America what it has today. And this, the most important point of all, has been done within a society of free men and women in less than 200 years. And, the same is possible for all peoples. This is the message we must bring to those struggling people. This is the bright hope we must give them. Material and spiritual progress is possible without destroying the basic freedoms.

I think, ladies and gentlemen, that perhaps our greatest virtue is not solely in our abilities to produce, but rather too, in our willingness to give. I think that most of us believe that we are our brother's keeper, and have acted that way over the years. I do not mean to imply that in helping to feed the hungry, cloth the naked, and shelter the homeless of the world that each one of us were self-conscious in doing so. Nor do I believe we have sent our bounty overseas like the ostentatious philanthropist.

No. Because I have seen in these countries American shovels, tractors, combines, looms, all types of machinery along with American scientists, technicians, engineers, doctors—there to teach and instruct those people how to help themselves, and to have pride in their own accomplishments. We must increase this area even more. We must lead in this area, not as a military power, but as a free nation whose only desire is to help raise up mankind.

I need only point to our enormous contributions to the rebuilding of war—devastated nations, particularly Japan, now a thriving, vigorous commercial country 15 years after almost complete economic disaster.

These are the things that American science has made possible. And thus through our technology have we affirmed our principles of morality and humanity. We must be sure that those countries which have not as yet finally chosen the road down which they will march toward the future, have an opportunity to respond to those same eternal principles and hopefully create a better life for their people through the democratic process.

Therefore, you and I, as participants in this great outpouring of scientific discovery, energy, and accomplishment, in our own humble way, strive for the common goal so earnestly desired by everyone. You, more directly than I, can be part of translating concept into reality.

The goal of my committee, as the instru-ment of the greatest form of human government the world has ever known, guides and attempts to give to our national research and development programs a positive and constructive emphasis. It is the firm belief of my colleagues that the results achieved through our national and scientific efforts should benefit all mankind. As an instrument of the Government that stands as a symbol of intellectual fredeom for everyone, the Committee on Science and Astronautics has the incomparable opportunity to play a major role in assuring to ourselves and the free world the security and tranquility that is sought and dreamed of by so many. And with God's help, that opportunity will lead man ever closer to realizing the promise that was given to him 2,000 years ago in Bethelhem, "Peace on earth, to men of good will."

Social Justice To End Arms Race

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JOSEPH S. CLARK

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Monday, May 23, 1960

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a letter directed, under date of May 13, 1960, to President Eisenhower by Mrs. A. Powell Davies, president of the Unitarian Fellowship for Social Justice. The letter relates to the submission to the President of 5,000 signatures on a petition to end the arms

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

> UNITARIAN FELLOWSHIP FOR SOCIAL JUSTICE,

Washington, D.C., May 14, 1960. Hon, DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER,

The White House, Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: We present to you today, on the eve of your departure for the Summit Conference in Paris, 5,000 signatures on a petition to end the arms race.

These petitions have come to us from 25 States, from Alaska to Florida. They contain the signatures of members of Unitarian Churches, Friends Meetings, Congregationalist, Methodists, Episcopalians, members of the American Humanist Society, and many others. The petition originated in the Unitarian Fellowship for Social Justice Chapter In Los Angeles. It is co-sponsored by the Southern California Council of the American Humanist Society, the Peace and Social Action Committee of the Santa Monica Friends Meeting, and the Board of Directors for the Pageant for Peace.

Had there been time, Mr. President, millions of signatures could have been secured, assuring you of the confidence of the American people of all parties and all walks of life that you will present to the Summit Conference the hopes we have for peace. As the petition says, "The Summit Conference in petition says, "The Summit Conference in Paris is the focus of these hopes. We ask you, Mr. President, to act for us there. Use the time that is still ours. End the arms race. Limit armaments now as a step toward total disarmament." These petitions have come from Pennsylvania, California, New Jersey, Massachusetts, Florida, Ohio, Connecticut, Kansas, Vermont, New Mexico, North Carolina, New York, Maryland, Alaska, Illinois, Wisconsin, Arizona, Kentucky, Pennsylvania, Oregon, Texas, Washington, Ten-nessee, Alabama, and Louisiana.

In presenting these petitions to you, we believe that you will be strengthened in your desire to bring a conclusion to the Summit talks with definite plans for world disarmament. This is our only hope to escape as our petition says, from "a world paralyzed by fear, a world in which half of mankind suffers hunger, disease, poverty, and ignorance while the wealth and talent of the other half is wasted on weapons which cannot defend those who make them, and which can destroy life on our planet."

Sincerely, Mrs. A. Powell Davies, Presid President.

Petition by Unitarian Fellowship for Paul Nagle Explains His Views on Postal Salary Increases

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JAMES H. MORRISON

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, May 23, 1960

Mr. MORRISON. Mr. Speaker, Federal employee leaders have completed their pay increase presentation to the House Committee on Post Office and Civil Service. Much of the material which has been presented to the committee has been extremely well done and most convincing.

On March 24 testimony was presented by a person whom I consider to be the most promising of the younger postal leaders in Washington.

I am referring to Paul A. Nagle, president of the National Postal Transport Association. The statement by Mr. Nagle is of such high quality and such general interest that under leave to extend my remarks, I ask that Mr. Nagle's statement be inserted at this point in the RECORD:

Mr. Chairman, my name is Paul A. Nagle. I am president of the National Postal Transport Association representing 25,000 employees of the Post Office Department engaged in the distribution and transportation of the U.S. mail in railway post offices, highway post offices, air mail facilities, and post

I appear before you this morning in support of H.R. 9883 sponsored by Hon. James H. Morrison, H.R. 9950 sponsored by Hon. JOHN R. FOLEY, H.R. 9954 sponsored by Hon. JAMES C. OLIVER, H.R. 9974 sponsored by Hon. JOEL T. BROYHILL, H.R. 9980 sponsored by Hon. Kathryn E. Granahan, H.R. 10132 sponsored by Hon. RANDALL S. HARMON, H.R. 10206 sponsored by Hon. John Lesinski, H.R. 10865 sponsored by Hon. STANLEY A. PROKOP, H.R. 11085 sponsored by Hon. JACOB H. GIL-BERT and in support of the 60 other salary bills which have been introduced by Members of the House of Representatives.

Allow me to thank you, Mr. Chairman, and also the Honorable EDWARD H. REES, the Honorable James C. Davis, the Honorable Ros-ERT J. CORBETT and the Honorable H. R. GROSS for having sponsored bills which are designed to insure that there will be no lapse in postal pay increases enacted in 1958. Also we extend grateful thanks to the Honorable GLENN CUNNINGHAM for having sponsored legislation providing a 10-percent postal pay increase.

PROVISIONS OF H.R. 9883

The basic salary increase provided by H.R. 9883 will be the main topic of this testimony. Let me declare immediately however the support of NPTA for two subsidiary features of H.R. 9883 and companion legislation.

It is gratifying that H.R. 9883 affords protection against legislative delays by including an effective date of January 1, 1960. This feature is particularly important be-cause postal employees are losing ground on

cause postal employees are losing ground on the economic highway and retroactivity ac-cordingly becomes an essential safeguard. Another extremely important feature of H.R. 9883 is section 104 which provides longevity adjustments. Fifteen years have elapsed since the longevity concept was first included in postal pay statutes. In all the

intervening period there has been no change in the initial placement of the longevity steps at \$100 each.

When the longevity idea was first adopted it took the form of meritorious grades in recognition of "good and faithful service." When Public Law 500 was enacted in 1950, the additional or "meritorious" grades were converted to straight longevity grades to be awarded after 13, 18, and 25 years of service. Conversion brought with it some irregularities and inequities which continue to this day. The changed economic national structure plus the continuing inconsistencies in the longevity law combine to justify approval of this feature of H.R. 9883.

ECONOMIC CHANGES

It is more than 2 years since the effective date of the last salary increase for postal workers. What is even more significant these employees have received only two wage adjustments since 1952. During the 1950-59 period the average hourly pay for factory workers increased 76.5 cents per hour. During the same period the average hourly wage of postal workers rose only 58.8 cents per hour. In further contrast the hourly raise negotiated for members of the International Association of Machinists was 97.1 cents.

Mr. Chairman, more than 60 percent of the postal employees in the United States are in the \$4,000 to \$4,999 bracket. people cannot raise a family and educate their children on an income grossly inadequate in this age of economic enlightenment.

Consider, for example, the changes in tax impact in recent years. Before World War II, the average postal clerk had a top automatic pay grade of \$44.27 weekly and paid no income tax. Today the equivalent em-ployee with two children receives a maximum of \$93.75 but pays \$11.22 in national income This is a \$11.22 deficit in spendable dollars which are themselves worth only 47.3 percent of their 1939 value. The costof-living market basket does not include National, State, and local taxes which because of basic salary deficiency take a heavier bite from postal employees' salaries than from the average U.S. citizen.

One of the yardsticks frequently used to measure the material well-being of families in the United States is the annual report of the Heller Committee for Research in Social Economics of the University of California.

It is generally recognized that the budgets reported by the Heller Committee reflect only a modest standard of living. The latest report of the Committee issued on March 3, 1960, reveals that the budget for the family of a salaried person consisting of a man, a woman, a boy of 13, and a girl of 8 requires an income of \$9,476.43. Even in this budget, which is slightly under \$10,000, there is an amount of only \$1,378.62 allowed for housing and just \$65.03 for education.

The budget for a wage earner with a family of four requires an annual income of \$6,-633.28 The wage earner budget is \$1,000 greater than the maximum contemplated for clerks and carriers by H.R. 9883. The wage earner budget allows only \$1,110.95 for housing and the incredible figure of \$8.34 for education.

What kind of housing and what level of education can be provided for his children by a postal worker having an annual wage between \$4,600 and \$4,700?

EDUCATION COSTS

The Nation is properly becoming increasingly conscious of the need to provide adequate educational facilities for our youth. We have pointed out that on an income \$1,000 higher than the maximum contemplated for clerks and carriers by H.R. 9883 there is available only \$8.34 for education.

In an interview appearing in the magazine U.S. News & World Report (Feb. 1, 1980) Mr. John F. Morse, head of the Federal school loan program, reported that the current cost of a college education in a State supported institution is \$1,200 annually if there are no tuition fees. Three thousand dollars is the annual cost at expensive private institutions. College education is out of the question for the child of today's average postal worker.

Mr. Morse is vice president of Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute, an educational institution offering the highest type of learning in today's much needed technical skills. Mr. Morse reports that at Rensselaer even though a student were to receive an \$800 loan annually, "the father would have to put up at least \$1,400 a year." How would such an astronomical figure be available to a parent who has spent a 20-year career on the tail of the economic kite in the U.S. postal

service?

Student loans fortunately are interest free during the period that the student is in fulltime attendance at a college, and the interest rate during repayment is only 3 percent per year. In other areas, however, the high cost of money is taking its toll from postal

employee pockets.

Other witnesses have testified that most postal employees do not even earn the required \$5,384 to qualify for a Federal Housing Authority loan. To make matters even less tolerable for this hard pressed group the cost of FHA loans has risen 1½ percent since 1952. The 1952 rate was 4½ percent and in that year the total cost of today's modest \$12,800 FHA loan was \$20,556. For 1960 the rate has risen to 5¾ percent and the total cost becomes \$23,760. The increased cost amounts to \$3,204 or nearly 8 months total pay from the income of a person who does not earn enough to begin with to qualify for the loan.

EXECUTIVE COSTS RISE

Mr. Chairman you have introduced into the record of these hearings a letter from Budget Director Maurice H. Stans in which it was reported that the executive branch of the U.S. Government finds "no basis for a general increase in Federal statutory salary rates."

On March 17, 1960, writing in the Washington Daily News, Mr. Ed Korterba commented that the budget of the Bureau of the Budget had risen from \$220,000 in 1938 to \$5,100,000 this year. If a member of the National Postal Transport Association in the railway post office service was receiving a top salary of \$2,450 in 1938 and if his budget had increased by an amount similar to that needed to sustain the Bureau of the Budget, he would now require more than \$55,000 annually.

It is interesting also to apply the budget approach to the Post Office Department. In the postal appropriation for fiscal 1938 there was included an amount of \$2.859,039 to cover administrative salaries. By fiscal 1960 the comparable costs had risen to \$58,159,000. If individual road service employee-incomes had risen by a like amount, these employees would now be budgeting at the rate of \$48,000 per year.

OTHER SALARIES HAVE INCREASED

During 1959, upward wage adjustments were received by 7 million workers in the United States. During 1960 half of all major collective bargaining agreements expire. Certainly the agreements reached during 1960 will reflect the liberal settlement contained in the Steelworkers' contract.

Postal employees have received no increase since January 1, 1958. In the intervening period tens of millions of workers have received or will receive favorable wage adjustments. Unless Congress adjusts postal salaries this year, postal workers will slip deeper into the economic morass which drives them into accepting supplemental employment, and their wives will be pressured into jobs that take them away from the home and children.

Allow me, Mr. Chairman, to advance one very graphic place of evidence of the way in which pay to laborers far exceeds the salaries received by the vast bulk of postal employees.

The San Jose (Calif.) Mercury on March 15, 1960, carried an advertisement for bids on the construction of Santa Clara Hospital. The advertisement declared that "Workmen employed on said work must be paid in accordance with the prevailing scale of wages adopted by the Board of Supervisors of Santa Clara County."

The advertisement lists all types of construction jobs. Remembering that clerks and carriers receive a top automatic salary of \$2.34 per hour, it is highly interesting that the salary scale announced for laborers is a current rate of \$3.115 per hour, advancing to \$3.295 on May 1, 1960, and to \$3.475 on May 1, 1961.

The increases contemplated for postal clerks and carriers by H.R. 9883 would need almost to be doubled if such postal employees were to be afforded salaries equivalent to those currently received by laborers on the Santa Clara propect. The increases of H.R. 9883 would need to be higher still if the future increases scheduled at Santa Clara were to be met.

POSTAL INCREASES IN BRITAIN

The Postal Telegraph and Telephone International which is the international organization representing postal and telecommunications workers throughout the free world, has recently published information regarding the economic gains achieved by post-office workers in Great Britain since the end of World War II. A London postman's pay has increased 153 percent since 1946 while the pay of members of the National Postal Transport Association has advanced only 80 percent in the same period.

Postal wage increases in England have exceeded, by a considerable extent, the rise in the cost of living, which is estimated to be 77 percent. Compare with the United States the startling fact that postal wage adjustments in Great Britain have exceeded the 89 percent rise in the average wages in pri-

vate employment.

The tragic truth is that the comparative standard of living among postal employees has deteriorated since the thirties. The United States now stands on the threshold of an economic era which will increase its gross national product by \$300 billion in the next 15 years. In such a dynamic economy, traditional standards of Government employee wage adjustment must be reevaluated. The new atmosphere of national growth demands an improved standard of living for families of postal employees.

PRODUCTIVITY

Postal workers are contributing to the essential economic growth of the Nation. This is evidenced by Post Office Department testimony before the subcommittee holding hearings on postal appropriations for fiscal 1961. A chart submitted by the Post Office Department indicates that in the 5-year period from 1954 to 1959, piece handlings per man hour had increased from 524.3 to 662.3 pieces. This is an average increase of nearly 30 percent.

In term of 1954 postage rates on letter mail, the quantity of mall handled in 1 hour had a revenue value of \$15.73. Output in 1959 had a relative revenue value of \$26.49. In contrast with a difference of \$10.76 per hour in revenue, the postal employee who accomplished the improvement received only 23 cents per hour in increased pay.

GUIDE LINES

A controversial aspect of productivity has been the Guide Lines system recently instituted by the Post Office Department. We have criticized the program as a thinly veiled speedup and we are unhappy over Post Office claims that we were consulted in the planning of the program. A more appropriate way to put it would have been for the Department to say that it announced its plans to employee leaders rather than that the leaders were consulted in the formulation of those plans.

It has also variously been claimed that employees themselves requested the Guides system and that morale of the affected employees has never been better. I dissent totally from any such viewpoint and declare that partially as a direct result of the Guides system, the morale lag is second only to the pay lag in the service lag of the Post Office

Department.

EMPLOYEE TURNOVER

Mr. Chairman, it is in the pay level of the clerk and carrier that maximum turnover occurs. Again recently Budget Director Stans testified that recruitment is difficult at the higher pay levels of Government service. Retention of high level personnel is a negligible problem in postal employment but recruitment of the people who make up the productive postal work force continues to be a very real problem.

The Chicago Sun Times reported on October 15, 1959, that at the heart of the problem of postal service lies "the difficulty of attracting and keeping competent postal

workers."

Postmaster Orr, at Wilmette, Ill., is quoted as saying "Our help problem is so acute it's painful." Mr. Orr adds that "The changeover is so fast it makes your head swim."

Assistant Postmaster Williamson, at Skokie, Ill., is quoted as saying, "The trouble is our salary rate. All the industry around us pays higher. The retirement program and vacations are good, but that still doesn't interest men too much. They have to make a living."

In the sharp differences of opinion between the National Postal Transport Association and the Post Office Department in regard to the discontinuance of terminals and airport mail facilities, one of the things upon which we have insisted is statewide recruitment for postal positions. This is essential if we are to avoid having access to postal positions concentrated in population centers. The Post Office Department has stubbornly resisted virtually every attempt by the National Postal Transport Association to soften the shock the changes are having on persons formerly assigned to terminals and airport mail facilities. However, postal administrators admit that they will be forced by recruitment difficulties to yield on the matter of statewide apportionment to postal jobs.

METROPOLITAN AREA PLAN

Mr. Chairman, the National Postal Transport Association has had occasion to point out the flaws in the metropolitan area program for mail processing. In addition to the defects which are built into the metro plan, the system places added burdens on the shoulders of postal employees. In States where the metro system has been inaugurated, new scheme examinations have been imposed at rapid-fire intervals. Postal employees richly deserve to have their salaries increased to reflect the additional knowledge and skills which are required.

Another and even more serious aspect of the metropolitan area plan is the nation-wide integrated postal service plan which threatens to impose an actual pay cut upon those members of the National Postal Transport Association who are assigned to duty in railway and highway post offices. If the Post Office Department persists in inaugurating the first phase of this plan next month in Washington State, most of the mobile unit employees in that State will

actually suffer pay cuts of \$20 per month. Under the new nationwide plan this condition will be repeated throughout the coun-Any pay adjustment to be enacted should take into consideration the pay cuts confronting this most unfortunate group of postal people.

It is interesting that both the metro plan and the nationwide integrated postal service plan are variations of an antiquated system which was discarded 100 years ago in favor of distribution in rallway post office cars

Mr. Chairman, I am an elected officer of the National Postal Transport Association on leave of absence from a position as dis-tributor, level 5 on the New York and Pittsburgh Railway Post Office. During more than 20 years of active service I performed in the Post Office Department I have worked frequently with employees of the Railway Express Agency. The duties of the Railway Express messengers are far less complex than those of postal transportation clerks. No scheme study is required and the general obligations of the position are less demanding. Nevertheless, it has been my experi-ence that such employees consistenly re-ceive more than a level 5 postal salary. The ceive more than a level 5 postal salary. typical current wage for Railway Express messengers on railroad duty is \$460 monthly. This amounts to \$800 per year more than the amount of salary paid to a railway post office distributor. In addition, the Broth-erhood of Railway Clerks is currently negotiating a wage increase designed to produce an additional \$500 annually. Approval of H.R. 9883 is warranted by the currently existing wage spreads in comparable jobs in railroad service.

TERMINAL PROBLEMS

Prior to January 9, 1960 there existed a network of postal terminals and airport mail facilities. We have already referred to the way in which, by administrative decree, the installations were merged with local post offices. As one result, the transfer rights of personnel were sharply circumscribed. Many people assigned to such fa-cilities have been living away from home in the expectation of transfer to more conveniently situated mobile or stationary installations. With the discontinuance of terminals and curtailment of mobile units. these employees face limited transfer prospects and are deprived of the opportunity either to return to their homes or to advance to mobile unit positions. With-drawal of the prospect for anticipated promotion is itself a severe economic hardship to this substantial group of postal em-

Another complication of the merging of terminals has been changed in the administrative workweek for Postal Transportation Service employees. The sick and annual leave law specifically excludes Saturdays and Sundays for purposes of granting leave. In some terminal installations the flow of mail is heaviest on weekends. Under the Postal Transportation Service administrative workweek, Saturdays and Sundays were treated as any other days for leave purposes. City post offices however operate under the fiction that they are closed on weekends and that even persons scheduled to perform service on those days are ineligible to receive paid leave. Accordingly the leave lag becomes another element in the overall pay lag problem of postal employees.

NO PAY STUDY NEEDED

Mr. Chairman, we associate ourselves with earlier witnesses who feel that there is no need to have a further study of Federal pay systems to determine what increases are justified. More than 90 percent of all full-time Federal employees are covered by the Classification Act, the Postal Field Service Compensation Act or by statutes covering wage board employees.

The Post Office Department has expressed great pride in the Postal Field Service Compensation Act as a triumph of modern scientific allocation of positions to salary levels. We do not agree. We believe that there are many inequities in what is commonly identified as Public Law 68. think the positions are graded too low; that promotion increases are too narrow; and that all service for acting in higher levels should be compensated at the pay grades set for those levels. Nevertheless, we recognize that the immediate need is for a pay adjustment as contemplated by H.R. 9883. Immediately after that has been accomplished, this distinguished committee may confidently rely upon our enthusiastic cotoward removal of inequities operation from Public Law 68. We offer our earnest gratitude for having been invited by you, Mr. Chairman, to submit our views on the changes which might properly be made in Public Law 68. We are grateful also for the work already done in this regard by the committee staff.

In connection with pay studies it is in-teresting that the International Cooperation Administration is asking Congress for \$350,000 to develop in Cuba what it calls a modern civil service and personnel system.

We have no idea what is planned for Cuba and we have no objections. We do know that after years of engineering studies right here in the United States, the conditions of Federal employment have declined dangerously. Postal changes have confronted members of the National Postal Transport Association with economic problems more severe than those facing any other group of Government workers. In view of the general need of the Federal employees for wage adjustments and in light of the special plight of our membership, the National Postal Transport Association asks your early favorable consideration of H.R. 9883.

Mr. Chairman, we thank you for the action your distinguished committee is taking on pay legislation. Again we thank the sponsors of the several bills and we offer our very real appreciation for the opportunity to appear before you this morn-

The Late John A. Reilly

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. ANDREW F. SCHOEPPEL

OF KANSAS *

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Monday, May 23, 1960

Mr. SCHOEPPEL. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the Record an editorial entitled "John A. Reilly," published in the Washington Evening Star of May 21.

The editorial relates to a distinguished Washingtonian who recently passed away. The editorial speaks of Mr. Reilly's great influence for good in the Capital City.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

JOHN A. REILLY

Washington has lost a distinguished native son-one who had an important part in making it a better city-with the death at 58 of John A. Reilly. His efforts in behalf of the Nation's Capital went beyond what might have been expected from a leader in the financial and business community. He

had a boundless pride in his city and this led him, as a labor of love, to devote a great deal of his time and energy to civic advancement

Thus, despite the press of his duties as bank president and as officer in numerous civic, trade, religious, and other organiza-tions, Mr. Reilly readily accepted the Com-missioners' invitation to head a citizens group assigned to the difficult task of "sellto Congress the District's \$319 million public works program. The Reilly committee was given a large measure of credit for the final approval of the program in 1954, including a method to finance it. Mr. Reilly did not live to see the completion of the farreaching improvements. But the structures which eventually will mark the final realization of the program will stand as a lasting monument to his persuasiveness, zealousness and tact in pressing for congressional approval of the epochal enterprise.

International Rescue and First Aid Association

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON, JOEL T. BROYHILL

OF UTUGINTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 4, 1960

Mr. BROYHILL. Mr. Speaker, I would like to take this opportunity to insert into the RECORD a brief statement about an organization of which I am particularly proud, and to which all of us owe a debt of gratitude. This is the International Rescue and First Aid Association, which has its national headquarters in neighboring Alexandria.

The Commonwealth of Virginia will honor the members of the organized rescue and lifesaving squads and crews throughout the State during Rescue Squad Week, May 22-28, 1960, by proclamation of Gov. J. Lindsay Almond, Jr.

Virginia is the only State in the Union which annually pays tribute to the humanitarian round-the-clock service of the hundreds of dedicated men and women who provide trained, helping hands to their neighbors in emergency situations: respond to the ever-increasing number of highway accidents; and are constantly alert and ready to work with civil defense and other local agencies in event of major disaster.

Rescue Squad Week is our Commonwealth's way of saying "Thank you" to the rescue squads and lifesaving crews, the Virginia Association of Rescue Squads and their ladies auxiliaries-to the individuals who, as members of these organized units, give so freely of their time, their talents and of their own financial resources and undergo training and more training so that they may be prepared to aid the sick and injured.

Virginia is a pioneer in the organized rescue and first aid movement and organizers of the initial units in the Commonwealth have assisted in forming comparable units in other States.

Virginia, too, is the headquarters State of the International Rescue & First Aid Association with its executive office located in the heart of historic Alexandria,

This association was organized in 1948 at its first annual convention in Atlantic City, N.J., and is incorporated under the code of the Commonwealth of Virginia.

The dedicated service of the many thousands of men and women in the organized rescue and first aid movement in the United States and around the world is exemplified in the masthead of the association's official magazine, the International Rescuer:

And a certain Samaritan * * * going up to him bound up his wounds, pouring in oil and wine; and setting him on his own beast, brought him to an inn and took care of him—Luke 10: 33-34.

The International Rescue and First Aid Association is an association of organized volunteer, paid and industrial rescue squads, ambulance and first-aid crews, fire departments, and other comparable units equipped with all types of rescue and first-aid apparatus and devices which can be carried in mobile units, either by vehicular, water or air transport; county, State, and other associations; and individuals, both men and women, active or interested in the rescue and first-aid movement.

The IRFAA membership thus is composed of individuals, organized units and associations, and associate members in the United States, Canada, and other countries. All of the association's elected and appointed officers, with the exception of the executive director, are volunteers in this voluntary nonprofit

organization.
The objectives

The objectives of the International Rescue and First Aid Association are: First. To promote the ideas of organized rescue and first-aid work throughout the world.

Second. To promote and assist in the establishment and training of rescue and

first-aid organizations.

Third. To cooperate to the fullest possible extent with other organizations whose objectives are accident prevention, safety education, rescue and first-aid work.

Fourth. To cooperate in, foster, and conduct research designed to advance the science and art of rescue and first-aid work, and to encourage the desirable standardization of practice and equipment.

Fifth. To establish a system of mutual assistance both within the association and with other organizations to be used in the event of large-scale disaster.

Sixth. To develop and maintain a code of high ethical standards among rescue and first-aid personnel.

Seventh. To promote the general good and welfare of the members of the association.

Eight. To aid in bringing about and maintaining world harmony by developing a spirit of kinship among the people who are devoted to the cause of saving life and aiding the sick and injured.

Nine. To bring together in a common association all organizations and individuals interested in the aforementioned objectives.

The International Rescue and First Aid Association encourages plans of cooperative action and mutual assistance among its members; and on local, county, State, provincial, and other levels; but it does not itself become operational in any emergency or disaster situation on any level. It does not order, dispatch, or request any member unit or individual member to the scene of any emergency or disaster of any type and so any unit, individual, or organization does not lose any autonomy or freedom of action through membership in this association.

The IRFAA constantly advocates basic and advanced training, practice—and more training—in the techniques and skills of rescue and first-aid work; and emphasizes that first-aid training is only the basic foundation of the training and skills needed by the members of squads and crews organized to cope with all types of emergency situations.

The IRFAA firmly emphasizes that all drivers, attendants, and other personnel of ambulances or other emergency vehicles transporting sick or injured persons should have had first aid training and carry current first-aid cards—American Red Cross or Bureau of Mines in the United States. The association advocates that each and every State should have a law requiring such first aid training for ambulance personnel.

The Virginia Association of Rescue Squads is an association member of the International Rescue and First Aid Association, as are other State and county

associations of rescue squads.

We are proud that our Commonwealth annually pays tribute to the members of Virginia's rescue and first-aid squads and crews. We are proud that the International Rescue and First Aid Association has its headquarters in historic Alexandria and that it is incorporated under the Code of Virginia. We are proud that the ideas of organized rescue and first aid work and the spirit of kinship among the people who are devoted to the cause of saving life and aiding the sick and injured are being promoted by the IRFAA, around the globe, from historic Virginia.

Medical Aid for Our Senior Citizens

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. THADDEUS J. DULSKI

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, May 18, 1960

Mr. DULSKI. Mr. Speaker, I wish to call attention to a resolution adopted by the Erie County Board of Supervisors at Buffalo, N.Y., on May 10, 1960, in favor of medical aid for our senior citizens. I ask unanimous consent that this resolution be included at this point in the RECORD.

The resolution follows:

Whereas the agricultural productivity of America has resulted in an abundance of healthful and nutritious foods; and

Whereas medical science has made tremendous progress in the development of surgical methods and drugs which strengthen and prolong life; and Whereas as a result we can all look forward to a healthier and longer life; and

Whereas since life expectancy has increased, we have in our midst a large number of senior citizens without whose efforts our recent situation would not be possible; and

Whereas the cost and frequency of medical care increases as a person reaches the age of 65 which is the mandatory retirement

age for most persons, and

Whereas medical aid to senior citizens could be financed in a manner similar to or in conjunction with social security by spreading the cost over the productive years in which a person is gainfully employed; and

Whereas the benefits of medical aid to senior citizens would far outwelch the very small cost to each individual: Now, there-

fore, be it

Resolved. That this honorable board go on record as strongly in favor of medical aid to senior citizens.

Fabulous Mine in the Sea

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. HALE BOGGS

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 17, 1960

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. Speaker, off the coast of my State of Louisiana, in the Gulf of Mexico, the world's first offshore sulfur mine is beginning production. This pioneering \$30 million venture, which required the construction of the world's largest permanent steel island, is an outstanding example of the lengths to which our domestic mining industry must go to insure for the Nation a continued supply of vital raw materials. And "vital" is the word for sulfur—an element indispensable to fertilizer, steel, rubber, textiles, paper, petroleum refining, pharmaceuticals, and a host of chemical products.

The risks involved in this undertaking are of particular relevance today when questions are being raised about the merits of the percentage depletion allowance under our tax laws. Percentage depletion serves as a powerful incentive for companies and individuals to assume such risks and to find and develop our mineral resources. It is my firm belief that, without the incentive supplied by percentage depletion, the United States could not reasonably expect to enjoy the long-term abundance of sulfur or of other minerals which are now guaranteed to us by such projects as this one.

The time and treasure that must be dedicated to the discovery and development of mineral deposits run to very large amounts, and the chances of failure are very great. Time, treasure, and risk and multiplied many times over when—as is the case with our new Louisiana sulfur mine—the deposit lies 2,000 feet below the floor of the sea in 50 feet of water periodically whipped by hurricane winds and waves.

The story of this Louisiana mine—called Grand Isle—was told in the Satur-day Evening Post of April 23, 1960, under

the title, "Fabulous Mine in the Sea." Because the article dramatically illustrates the financial gamble inherent in resources development and the consequent need for the incentive offered by percentage depletion, I submit it herewith for the RECORD:

FABULOUS MINE IN THE SEA (By Arthur W. Baum)

The sign is a little larger than the top of a ping-pong table. It is bolted in place and may or may not remain secure through the next hurricane, which is a matter that will affect hardly anyone. Few people ever will see this sign. Yet it marks something unique in the world. It is the new and only

outpost of an American frontier.

The sign reads: "Freeport Sulphur Company—Grand Isle Mine—Jefferson Parish—Louislana." This information is ridiculous to anyone not acquainted with that peculiar element sulfur, without which our everyday life would quickly fall apart. For this mine is 7 miles out in the Gulf of Mexico. There are no miners anywhere, no mine shafts, no ore cars, tailings piles or mules. All that is visible is the largest steel island that man has ever erected. Its legs disappear into the water below. It carries large buildings, sheds, a heliport, cranes and a tall drilling rig.

Today the Grand Isle Mine is a little less than a haif mile long. This is long enough to provide a plank-paved boulevard, complete with speed limits, for the motorized carts that zip along 75 feet above the sea. In time the linear surface will more than double, but even today the long platform is larger than any other offshore rig from which we are exploring the gulf floor for

raw materials.

The Grand Isle Mine, even though it is out of sight of land on a mildly hazy day, is the World's third largest sulfur-mining installation and sits above an underground salt dome whose cap-it is hoped-contains the country's third largest sulfur deposit. may exceed this promise. "It had better be a good one," the engineer said, "or we are standing on the most expensive fishing tleup in history." The sulfur is a half mile down, and the first 50 feet is sea waterand trouble. The sea will, under full hurricane conditions, tear at the island's legs With 45-foot waves. The lowest deck level, therefore, is 60 feet above mean gulf level, allowing considerably greater margin for stormy seas than has been known among previous offshore structures, which have heretofore all been oil rigs or military installations.

Grand Isle Mine is a \$30 million island Which is expected to live its working life in a slow dance. It will sink and it will tilt. It is a peculiarity of this kind of sulfur mining that the land surface collapses as sulfur is withdrawn. Although the collapse here will be unseen, it will ultimately form a basin about 2 miles across and 43 feet deep in the center. The mine structure cannot escape some of this subsidence, although it is built as far toward the edge as is feasible. Part of the structure will sink 23 feet and slide sideways. Sometime in the future this movement will require rebuilding of the affected sections. Other parts will merely extend their legs, which are built to be lengthened where they stand.

If this seems an odd sort of mining, consider the element itself, sulfur, which is a pretty silly substance. It is a stone, brimstone, and it burns. It also helps produce burning and explosion in other materials. But a mass of sulfur alone will quench its own fire as the burning area heats the surrounding stone, melting it into a liquid which then drowns and douses the fire. Molten sulfur will revert to stone when it

is cooled below 240° F., or it will become thick and unmanageable, like cold molasses, if it is heated another 100° above its melting point.

This 100° temperature span within which sulfur is a liquid, once inspired an ingenious American named Herman Frasch to invent a new way of mining brimstone, which had always been mined in a normal pick-and-shovel manner. Frasch believed that if he could introduce heated water into an ore body containing sulfur, the sulfur would melt and could be withdrawn as a liquid. He tried it in a Louisiana backwoods in 1895, and he was right, a fact which helped break a world monopoly held by Sicily. Now almost half the world's production is produced by the Frasch method.

Grand Isle Mine is possible only because of Frasch. But even this sort of mining is not simple, 7 miles from shore. The island must carry on its steel back a plant that will heat 5 million gallons of water daily to a temperature of 330°, so hot it would flash into steam if it were not held under pressure. The structure must also shoulder huge compressors for sending air bubbles down to lift the molten sulfur, miles of pipes, a hotel for employees, a helicopter station, boat docks, and drilling platforms.

The goal of all these things is to drive three concentric pipes a half mile down so that the hot water and compressed air can reach the sulfur-bearing rock, melt the sulfur and then bring it up. It emerges as a stream of water-thin, tea-colored liquid flowing from a faucet. Ideally, once this process starts it continues without interruption for the life of the mine, perhaps 30 years, at a rate of several thousand tons a day. In Grand Isle's case it will not do so. Hurricanes will almost certainly cause expensive shutdowns from time to time.

It would be futile to heat water and send just anywhere underground where it might possibly keep going to China. Hence the geologists had to determine that the brimstone under the Grand Isle Mine lies in a limestone formation which is enveloped by harder rocks and thus constitutes a sort of natural tank, capped by the arched cap rock of the salt dome and floored by anhydrite just above the solid salt. Within this envelope lies the sulfur ore, and a few sur-There are caves in the formation, the largest discovered thus far having a height of 18 feet. Drillers hate these holes because when they are penetrated, the drill and all its following string drop into the cave with a wham that shakes platforms. Sudden violence always reminds the plat-

form crews that there is nowhere to run. Grand Isle Mine has cost about one-third more than similar facilities on land. Although it is a pioneer structure in sulfur mining, it is also a part of a wider move into the sea to find resources we need. The oil drillers were the first to pry into the formations, largely salt domes, which exist under the Gulf of Mexico as well as on land. In the few years of their search they have significantly altered the horizon in areas like that off Grand Isle. In these waters, where pirate Jean Lafitte once sailed through the pass between Grand Isle and Grand Terre, perhaps to bury treasure on some low island, a far greater treasure hunt is visible miles out in the gulf. The area off Grand Isle is speckled with platforms where drilling has occurred and in some cases where oil or gas is now flowing. Seventeen are visible from the sulfur mine. On a fine night the view from shore is that of a populated rural countryside, with lights and flares sprinkled through the dark. In this panorama the sulfur mine's long string looks like a distant Main Street.

An engineer pointed out one of the apparent effects of this seaward civilization. "You notice," he said, "there aren't any pelicans any more? Got too civilized for 'em,

I guess." The solemn, slow-flapping "box-cars" with the undershot chins were missing. They have been the only loss. Gulls still wheel over the platforms and boats. Schools of dolphin still are lazily into view as they dive for food, and it is rare that a few minutes' watching from the mine structure fails to produce a view of fish below.

fails to produce a view of fish below. If it is the new sulfur structure that has caused the pelicans to leave, they will not return for a long time. The salt dome off Grand Isle is definitely a commercial producer of sulfur, something that happens only once in 20 times among these geological salt fingers squeezed up from ancient buried seas. The dome was discovered in a search for oil by the Humble Co. of Houston, and was outlined by test drilling in 1953. Humble at first considered undertaking its own mining of the deposit, but subscquently thought better of it and turned the mining job over to specialists. Humble, however, still owns the lease on that area of open water called Block 9, and will split the profits with Freeport.

Freeport is not our largest sulfur com-It is outranked by Texas Gulf Sulphur, which owns the giant boling Dome in Texas and has in the last 30 years taken more than 50 million long tons from this largest of all deposits. Freeport was selected because it has had long experience in semimarine mining locations and because it owns and has successfully operated a small and unusual sulfur mine at Bay St. Elaine, on the watery fringe of Louisiana a few miles below the jumping-off town of Cocodrie. The Bay St. Elaine mine, recently exhausted, was a double experiment. Its mining plant sat on a floating barge, and for the first time it used sea water, instead of fresh, to melt and

lift underground sulfur.

At Bay St. Elaine, Freeport learned to live with salty, corrosive water, an experience which made Grand Isle Mine possible because at Grand Isle there is no economic possibility of obtaining anything but sea water in the great quantities necessary. Grand Isle Mine is the first offshore sea-water operation in history. There must be some fresh water available, of course, for the big boilers and for the 10 dozen men who will split residence time abroad the steel stork. But the quantity is negligible compared with the necessary volume of mining water.

Landlord Humble gets a little more out of its partnership with Freeport than appears in the mining agreement. "You see that flare out there?" the engineer asked. "We are going to put that light out." The flare was gas, burning endlessly near a Humble platform a mile and a half away. It marked a supply of gas totaling 9 million cubic feet per day, enough to operate all the cookstoves in a sizable city. This will be piped to Grand Isle mine for fuel to heat water, and it will not be enough. More than half as much again is being brought from unseen platforms 10 miles west in the gulf.

forms 10 miles west in the gulf.
Grand Isle mine began what should be a generation or more of sulfur production in mid-March 1960. But already it has hung up a list of records. It has, for example, established Edward J. McNamara as the luckiest "raccoon" the Gulf Coast has ever seen. McNamara is a large bundle of Cajun from Thibodaux, La., a town that sits on mossdraped Bayou Lafourche, which, centuries ago, was the Mississippi's channel to the sea. He is a highly educated and skilled sulfur engineer, a jovial man who still manages to cling to faint traces of liquid Cajun speech. McNamara is half Irish and half French, and his wife not only is all French but also, to Mac's good fortune, is related to those most excellent New Orleans restaurateurs, the Galatoires.

Planting the Grand Isle mine at a precise spot in the Gulf of Mexico was McNamara's project, carried out by a combination of nine marine contractors, engineering firms, weather consultants and oceanographers, plus the advice of gulf-wise Humble Oil. The gulf had never seen such a project. As far as possible and in as large pieces as possible, the half mile of island was fabricated ashore in plants which had river access to the gulf necessarily free from bridge crossings. Half of a powerplant was floated out and dropped accurately on the correct bolt holes by giant cranes. The piece weighed 645 tons, a new record lift for the gulf.

Theoretically the work of placing the basic skeleton, allowing for no interruptions, should have taken 2 months. This was theory. In practice the movements of the construction fleet would be absolutely subservient to weather. Obviously floating cranes could not dangle hundreds of tons in midair if strong winds or big waves were going to toss the barges around. All hands would have been happy to settle beforehand for 2 weeks of weather delay. But the weatherman and the marine contractors made a hero out of McNamara. The job was finished in 59 days. "Should have been 58," McNamara said. "The only day we lost was not from weather, but because of a holiday."

Once under way, sulfur mining is a qulet, largely invisible operation. The drill platforms produce some bustle, because one well will remove sulfur from less than a single underground acre; new holes must thus be drilled continually. But aside from this activity there is little stir. The drama of Grand Isle Mine was in its construction. Every move was breathtaking, beginning with the placement on the gulf floor of glant spider webs of steel for spacing and guiding the 30-inch steel legs which then were driven a couple of hundred feet into the gulf floor. All of this underpinning was then locked together, not only to bear the weight of the little city above but also to cope with the bending strains that were bound to come later.

This is a structure that will be pushed around by winds and waves above water level and nudged below the sea floor by the inevitable sinking and sliding. The buildings on top will sway only 4 inches in a gale, which is not bad at all. Each section of the boulevard traversing the island is equipped to slide 3 feet horizontally before rebuilding will be necessary. The hotel will move a few feet, but this movement will never compare with the airlift it enjoyed as it reached its position in the first place. The hotel was carried out in four pieces, each complete. As each quarter of the 60-room, 30-bath structure hung on the cranes, it was actually livable. There were blankets on the beds, lamps on tables, pool and ping-pong tables stood in position, and medicines lined the cabinets of the miniature hospital aboard.

The first pier to be completed was at a Y, where ultimately a traffic light will control two roadways. The heliport followed as soon as possible so construction crews could get onto and off the island. Then the piers were pushed out to the drill platform, 1,400 feet from the heliport, because this was the spot where production work would first begin.

The present Grand Isle drilling platform, and a second one to come, will be more versatile than oil rigs. Each platform will push down 108 separate wells, many times the number that an oil platform can drill. The triple tubes will curve underground in all directions, reaching out a half mile, with some of them bent so far that at their tips they will be nearly horizontal.

When these wells force superheated water into the envelope in the cap rock of the dome, more water goes in than sulfur comes out. Hence there must be additional wells whose function is merely to pump out excess water. They are called bleed-water wells, and in Grand Isle's case they have bred a satellite

for the big island. A separate bleed-water platform has been erected a quarter mile from the main mine. No one will live or work there. Its withdrawal of several million gallons of waste water a day will be automatic. In the event of trouble, signal lights will flash the news to the main platform, and the satellite can then be reached by boat or helicopter.

The mine itself will have a continual residential colony big enough to fill the 60 rooms of the \$1,375,000 platform hotel. Normally each man will have a room of his own, with a complete tile bath shared with the next-door occupant. The room itself will also be used by a second man who rotates jobs with the occupant. Shifts are 5 days on and 5 days off. During their 5-day stints on the Island, the men work 12-hour days, picking up overtime after 8 hours. They also enjoy a bargain. Each pays \$1 a day for his offshore room and board, which cost the company seven times that amount per man.

Living quarters are roomier and more elaborate than the average oil rig can afford, but otherwise the life is approximately the same. There are television, pool, table tennis and card playing, with gambling limited by company rule and liquor banned completely. There is also a small library, and for those who want further education a school will be maintained. Schoolmaster is Raymond Gilbert Bryant Jr., of New Orleans, who is also alternate superintendent of the operation with Bob Rawlinson, Freeport has conducted school classes at other remote mines. and the results are good. Volunteers pinpoint their school standing by tests and then continue from that point through high school. One volunteer at another mine was tested as seventh grade. He had not been in school for 35 years, but picked up and went on to achieve a highschool diploma issued by the State of Louisiana in the name of the high school he would have attended if he had remained in school as a boy. Oddly enough, that particular high school had burned down 20 years earlier.

As with most isolated industrial operations, the path to good humor is believed to lie through the dining room. Freeport operates a cafeteria with unstinted menus, and coffee and fruit are on tap around the clock. There are three cold rooms, from freezing to fresh-vegetable cool, and the kitchen is modern and highly electrified, complete with city-type waste-disposal machines. Louisiana requires that offshore platforms police their premises as if they were on land, so the gulf cannot be used as a dumping ground.

The Freeport payroll will be thick with Louisianians, which means that the burning-hot sauces of the bayou country must be on hand. The fact that one of the chief cooks is named Ulgere Louis Hebert is sold assurance that pepper sauces will be in abundant supply. Ulgere is one of the kitchen crew who will be continually and annoyingly called on to wrap and freeze the interminable fish caught from the lower catwalks of the mine. Fishing is anybody's privilege, provided that fishermen clamber down the steel stairs in pairs, for safety. Once down there, the hooking of white trout or other gulf varieties is no task at all. Fish abound in the vicinity of all gulf structures.

Most employees like the 5-and-5 work shifts. The 5 out of every 10 days at home often means the off-duty employee can build a house, beachcomb, farm or pick up some secondary job and more money. The mine is, however, not universally acceptable. Even before regular production crews were chosen, there were a few requests for transfer. To anyone with a fear of heights, the tall island is no paradise. Except for the boulevard, living quarters and some plant areas, the structure's floor is of open-mesh steel grating, and stepping onto such an area above the 75 feet of understructure can present

peculiar illusions. Although the height is not very great, a downward look through the open grating can easily create the sensation that the grating has dropped to the heaving gulf surface and one is standing on nothing. One new arrival was suddenly attacked with so severe a case of acrophobia that he had to be blindfolded and carried the entire distance from where he froze, to the heliport and thence back to solid land.

Although Grand Isle makes no really unusual demands on its men, and only minor injuries occurred during its construction, it does make demands on itself that have hitherto been unknown to offshore structures. For one thing, great care is taken to eliminate vibrations. Then there are the manifestations of heat, and after all, this seagoing plant is quite largely a waterheating plant. Thermal expansion is irresistible, and Grand Isle, in addition to the jostling it must take from wave, wind and sinking of the gulf floor, must take into account the creeping of metal when it is heated. The well pipes, for example, when steam-hot water is first introduced, will jump 31/2 feet out of the drilling floor. And the pipeline which will carry molten sulfur mites to shore will, when it gets hot, grow longer by 55 feet. At least the two interior pipes will do so-those that carry hot sulfur and hot water-but the big pipe enclosing these two will be outside of the insulation and hence will not be subject to the same creep. Thus the outside pipe has been fitted with hundreds of internal rollers which will permit the hot inside pipes to wriggle like snakes.

The pipeline to shore was a spectacular engineering feat. It is not only a complex the three aforementioned concentric pipes, but it carries two other pipes strapped to its back and it was assembled in 2,000foot lengths on shore, on the tip of Grand Isle, where each piece was almost as long as the island is wide. Also it was a \$2 million afterthought. Original plans had called for sulfur vats and boat-loading facilities on the Grand Isle Mine offshore, But the potential interference of weather and high seas, which could force a shutdown of the sulfer flow, loomed so large that the pipeline was substituted. Liquid sulfur will will now flow to shore on Grand Isle and will be transported from that point through Barataria Bay and across backwater bayous to Port Sulphur, on the lower Mississippi. It will make the trip as a liquid in vacuum bottle barges and in so doing will reveal another of the element's peculiarities. Liquid sulpur produces its own insulating quilt. When it hits the cooler walls of the container barges, it reverts to stone and forms its own cocoon of very effective insula-

Nature is not quite through with Grand Isle Mine after shoving its underpinnings, pushing it by wind and wave and twisting its hot components. There is another and insidious attack—corrosion. Salt water and salt air corrode steel, and the island is all steel. Moreover, the corrosion comes in three separate zones, below the surface, in the splash zone at the surface, and the out-of-water upper structure. Of these the most easily dealt with is the below-surface water attack. The nibble of salt water is nullified by setting up an electric field between the island and anodes surrounding it. Protection of the upper structure is also straightforward. It is coated with a mantle of zinc silicate.

Protection of the splash zone is more complicated. For one thing, the sections of legs which are today just at the surface, tomorrow will be below it, and certain areas above that will sink into the zone. The solution here is outright surrender to the sea. Legs have simply been thickened by the amount that it can be calculated that the sea will chew away. On top of that the splash zone is also

covered by the inorganic mantle which other areas receive. And this is no mere matter of swinging a paintbrush. The cost of the protective application, at 50 cents a square foot,

was nearly \$500,000.

Is all this worth while? Granted that the Grand Isle Mine is a dramatic achievement, that it is a pioneer step in the offshore production of a raw material other than petroleum, is it necessary and will it pay off? In 20 or 30 years we may have an answer. Today the sulfur that will be mined 7 miles off the gulf coast not only is not needed, but pound for pound is worth less than almost anything you can imagine. Sulfur, an element that is basic to our civilization, is worth about a penny a pound, and while everything else has been going up for more than a decade, sulfur has been going down.

On a current market basis, Grand Isle Mine is a terrible mistake. Louisiana or the Federal Government will tax its product heavily, recently booming Mexican production will compete with it, oil refineries increasingly take sulfur out of sour gas and oll, and pyrite mining continues in Sicily and many other World areas. There is nothing stylish about it. There is no possibility of increasing sales by designing annual models of sulfur or Putting on sales-promotion drives. It is irrevocably tied to the rate of our industrial Welfare, to the amount of steel and fertilizer and chintz curtains and eyeglasses that the Nation consumes.

Thus, Grand Isle Mine is an investment not In today but in a future industrial growth, a day of more products and a broader life. It is also, and this is of more immediate con-cern, an investment in tomorrow's composure for sulfur customers. More than in most things, the big users of sulfur have their own long-term programs. They want to know that next year's sulfur supply or the next decade's supply is assured and available. This the Grand Isle Mine, the crazy-legs stork of the gulf, can promise.

Farley Critical of Stevenson's "Crowbar" Talk

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. CHARLES B. HOEVEN

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 23, 1960

Mr. HOEVEN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I include the following news story which appeared in the Washington Sunday Star on May 23, 1960:

FARLEY CRITAL OF STEVENSON'S "CROWBAR" TALK

New York, May 21.—James A. Farley today called upon the forthcoming Democratic Nation Convention to condemn and repudiate Adiai E. Stevenson's criticism of the Eisenhower administration over the U-2 spy plane incident.

Mr. Farley, former Democratic national chairman, accused Mr. Stevenson of "attempting to use the incident to 'sledgehammer and crowbar' another disastrous nomi-nation for himself as the apostle of appeasement out of the Democratic Party."

Mr. Farley supported and campaigned for Mr. Stevenson in both the 1952 and 1956 presidential campaigns.

Mr. Stevenson had said that Premier Khrushchev of Russia wrecked the summit conference but that the United States gave him the sledgehammer and crowbar to do it. UNWARRANTED ATTACK

Mr. Farley said, the unwarranted attack by Mr. Stevenson "on the President's conduct of the summit negotiations, in my opinion, in no way represents the thinking of the Democratic Party."

He called on Democrats "to keep the symbol of our party, the Democratic mule and not Mr. Stevenson's umbrella," and added:

"For Mr. Stevenson to state that the ad-ministration gave the Soviet a sledgehammer and a crowbar to wreck the summit conference indicates to me that Mr. Stevenson continues to be as misinformed on the facts as he is infatuated with his own writing style."

The Postmaster General in the late President Franklin D. Roosevelt's Cabinet said, "It has been my experience that adroit phrasemaking does not necessarily indicate sound policymaking, a view which I find fortified by the rejection of Mr. Stevenson on two occasions by the American electorate."

Mr. Farley continued:

"It is a pity that the course of history cannot be reversed by a well-turned phrase, in which case hundreds of millions of enslaved people and at least 13 captive countries, liberated by Mr. Stevenson's apt phrases, would have occasion to think profusely about this overpolished literary combination of Don Quixote, Pagliacci and Rip Van Winkle,"

My Duty as a Citizen

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. CLIFFORD G. McINTIRE

OF MAINE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, May 23, 1960

Mr. McINTIRE. Mr. Speaker, as American citizens we are indeed blessed with many privileges. We must not, however, become so absorbed in these privileges that we forget the responsibilities and duties that go with our citizenship.

In this regard Miss Kristine Marie Elizabeth Zethren wrote an essay entitled "My Duty as a Citizen," this composition winning first prize in the special Americanism Essay Contest sponsored by the American Legion Auxiliary.

Miss Zethren is 16 years of age, a sophomore at John Bapst High School at Bangor, Maine. She is the daughter of Colonel and Mrs. George W. R. Zethren, Colonel Zethren being commander of the 4038 Strategic Wing (SAC) at Dow Air Force Base in Bangor, Maine.

I feel that Miss Zethren's citizencharging piece is eminently deserving of RECORD insertion:

MY DUTY AS A CITIZEN

(By Kristine Marie Elizabeth Zethren)

All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside-14th amendment.

Being a citizen of the United States by birth, I, like most oblivious teenagers, did not fully realize how fortunate I was to be an American citizen and took for granted all the rights and freedoms thus given. However, when I sat down to ponder my duties, I could only then grasp the magnitude and complexity of the axis of American Government, the great privilege which is mine—the democratic way of life—in which, to help insure the security and unity of my

country, I must participate.

The United States, like the rich land that it is, must be socially, politically, and economically cultivated so that it might be bountiful. This is the task of its people. True to tradition, it has a government of the people, by the people, and I am but one star in a galaxy, I am still important, if only minutely so, in the voice and decision that will govern. Although as a minor I am not expected to wield any great influence or bear any heavy task, in knowing my Government and expected duties I shall become a better citizen in the future. My duties as a citizen are not absolutely compulsory, as in the dictatorial Communist nations—I am not compelled to do anything with the fear of severe punishment hanging over my head—but when patriotism and love for my country are realized, I am proud to serve as best I can,

Education and democracy go hand in hand. Without a certain amount of knowledge, no man can understand the principles of law, government, guaranteed rights, and the very elements that sustain a democracy. Uneducated citizens sow the seeds of decline-political, social, cultural, economicand the fate of their nation hangs on a slender thread, ready to be broken by aggressors. Thus, my first duty, the basis of all my goals, is a sound education. With this, I can face almost any threat to my freedom, and I can make a firm stand for

my country.

In making use of this education, I must endeavor to learn the more basic laws and the Constitution of the United States. When one knows these things, he can support and fight for them. He can help abolish the graft and corruption that might arise in his government if citizens were blithely unaware, or not bothering to learn, of their country's legal institutions and governmental procedure. He can follow the trend of current events, foreign relations, and world crises. He can help fight for the betterment of his country and his fellow men. So shall it be with me.

Voting is radically important, whether it be for one's town mayor, his senator, or the president. When one votes for a governing official, he is entrusting himself to that person's judgment, intelligence, and integrity, the official represents him in a phase of government which, however slight, still affects his life. Thus it is clear that voting is one of a citizen's basic and most essential duties. Yet many people just shrug their shoulders and let some Tom, Dick, or Harry bear the burden, saying that their vote is not important. This attitude, if shared by any great majority, could clearly lead to corruption within our government.

Although I shall not be able to vote for a number of years, it will be wise for me to study today's prominent politicians and learn to evaluate their intentions and motives, so that in the future I may be able to vote with a reasonable amount of good

judgment.

Each citizen has a civic obligation to his community. He should be aware of its problems and participate in his local government. A graphic example of such a duty is my participation in school. I should uphold its rules and set high standards, for any mode of behavior reflects upon both my school and home. I should contribute my share for the benefit of the school and community, and, in short, set a good example as a student and citizen.

The last, and probably the most important point to bring out, is my duty as a citizen of obeying the legal institutions of my State and country. However, as I have previously stated, one is more capable of obeying laws if he studies and understands them. This type of obedience is essential to the unity and strength of the State (as to the unity and strength of the State, for without it there would be anarchy, chaos,

and eventually subjugation. To acknowledge and obey these laws is not only politically essential, but the very basis of humani-

tarian existence depends on it.

In conjunction with the written laws, there exists an unwritten code of moral and ethical conduct that is necessary in our highly advanced civilization. In setting high moral standards, learning social courtesy, and acquiring a respect for tradition and my elders, I shall not only be a better citizen, but a better person.

but a better person.

In summation, my duties as a citizen create a better understanding of the American traditions and institutions and promote opportunities for a happier, more wholesome life. It is only right that I give this small share, for I have received the great American heritage, the profuse rights and privileges guaranteed by the Constitution—America—melting pot of nations, the land of promise, where each man has the supreme rights of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

Another Slippery Summit

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, HOWARD W. ROBISON

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Friday, May 6, 1960

Mr. ROBISON. Mr. Speaker, for some time I have been hopefully watching the development of a union-management summit conference, from which might stem a better mutual understanding by each group of the other's point of view regarding the great, unanswered questions which the economic offensive mounted by the forces of worldwide communism pose.

I have fully realized that the path to such a summit was as fraught with danger of disaster by reason of suspicion and selfishness as was the path to that recent other summit from which the leaders of the Four Powers descended so precipitously. I would hope, however, that from the mere observation of the collapse of that effort would come a renewed effort on the part of our domestic leaders of the forces of labor and management to make their conference an outstanding example of the awareness of Americans, from all walks of life, for the need of a sense of partnership.

For that reason, under leave to extend my remarks, I call to the attention of my colleagues the following editorial from the New York Times of May 23, 1960, bearing on this subject:

AN EMPLOYER-LABOR SUMMIT?

The first meeting of the union-management summit conference has not given as much promise as the soundness and urgency of its objectives deserve. The mere fact that it has taken about 6 months even to get the first meeting and to complete the conference personnel suggests a lack of enthusiasm on at least one side. This impression is reinforced by the postponement of another meeting for 6 weeks or 2 months on account of other commitments of the members—which presumably seem to them more important.

Then the proposed makeup of the two groups has already disclosed disturbing differences of views. AFL-CIO President Meany has appointed the top officials of two of the most important unions to serve with him—men with nationwide experience in labor-management negotiations. Mr. Meany doesn't feel that the management representatives chosen by President Bannow of the National Association of Manufacturers are of equal stature, with one a president of a company that has had a strike by the union headed by a Meany appointee. Regardless of the obvious general competence of Mr. Bannow's designees, Mr. Meany's reservations are not good omens for summit success. But Mr. Bannow has promised to add some others.

As for the agenda, it looks as if the conference hasn't got that far. But surely there must be genuine agreement in advance of a meeting schedule of what is to be discussed and how—with an emphasis on a better mutual understanding by each group of the other's point of view rather than agreement on specific policies. Anyway, we wish the undertaking well in spite of the difficulties and dangers that seem to lie ahead.

Letter From Mr. George Meany, President of the AFL-CIO

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. SILVIO O. CONTE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 23, 1960

Mr. CONTE. Mr. Speaker, this letter from Mr. George Meany clearly indicates the concern of American labor over attempts to cut foreign aid. Its well-reasoned arguments are forcefully and intelligently presented. Therefore, I feel that it merits the serious consideration of this body:

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR AND CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS, Washington, D.C., May 18, 1960.

Hon. Silvio O. Conte, House Office Building,

Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN: I am deeply disturbed about reports which have been appearing in the press that the Congress might cut as much as \$1.5 billion from the mutual security appropriations which have been recommended by the President. The possibility of such action is particularly distressing after the very welcome action by the Congress last week in approving an authorization bill for mutual security just slightly under the \$4.1 billion level requested.

As you may know, the AFL-CIO recently held in New York its conference on world affairs. Labor was joined in this conference by top spokesmen from our State Department, Defense Department, and other widely acknowledged authorities on foreign polley. As a result of these deliberations, American labor is more convinced than ever that Communist imperialism must be fought with every means at our command, in every possible way. Military preparation is crucial, but it will be to no avail if we do not help our allies and the uncommitted nations of the world continue economic and political resistance to Communist aggression.

I am keenly aware of and sympathetic to the problems faced by Members of the Congress who find it difficult to support foreign aid when the administration refuses to give adequate support to domestic measures such as aid to education, aid to depressed areas, and similar measures. We have urged passage of such bills and continue to do so. America needs such help, and can afford it. Our failures in these areas, however, must not be permitted to interfere with our obligations in the world area. There will be little value in protecting and extending the frontiers of security at home if communism is permitted to extend its frontiers throughout the world.

On behalf of American labor, I urge you to resist reckless slashing of mutual security appropriations. Our freedom and our future are involved.

Sincerely yours,

GEORGE MEANY,
President.

Repeal the Two-Term Limit

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. WILLIAM S. BROOMFIELD

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 23, 1960

Mr. BROOMFIELD. Mr. Speaker, just a few years ago, the 22d amendment to the Constitution was adopted, limiting the number of years a President could serve as Chief Executive of our Nation.

Since this amendment became a part of the supreme law of our land, there have been many criticisms of this provision.

There have been charges that it would seriously cripple the power of a President in his dealings with Congress. It has been said that this amendment even affects his role as titular head of his own political party and makes it extremely difficult to win support for his own programs among Members of Congress.

All these are valid criticisms, and we have seen the truth of these accusations during the past few years here in Washington.

But now we are faced with a much more serious effect of this amendment upon our Nation. We are faced with the very survival of civilization, with our existence as a nation.

The fact is that Premier Khrushchev has used our own Constitution against us. He has taken advantage of the 22d amendment to try to force his will upon us, to insult our President and the people of our Nation.

Mr. Khrushchev has said that he will not go to the summit for another conference until such time as President Eisenhower is out of office and a new President is elected.

We, as Americans, are prevented from returning President Eisenhower to office by a decisive margin to rebuke Premier Khrushchev, to show him that we oppose any such meddling in our internal affairs, particularly by one who has shown such a great disregard for truth, for honesty, for freedom and humanity.

What if Premier Khrushchev had not had the 22d amendment to lean on during his Paris outburst? Could he have successfully insulted our President and our people?

I do not believe so. The reason is that we, as Americans, would have had a means of showing up Premier Khrushchev in very short order.

We could have demonstrated to the world that we stand behind our President, and that we do not want to be pushed around by anyone. We could have returned President Eisenhower to

the White House for a third term.

Under such circumstances, I doubt very seriously if there would ever have been a walkout by Khrushchev at the Paris conference. I believe he would have had to tone down his remarks and his accusations about the U-2 flights. I believe he would have considered what a resounding vote of confidence by the American people in their President would do to his threats and insults.

Quite likely, there would have been no Paris walkout. There would have been no period of renewed tensions and

a dashing of hopes for peace.

The dangers in Russian prestige would have been too great. The odds would have been against Khrushchev.

President Eisenhower is the first President who has served under the terms of the 22d amendment. Already, this amendment has done great harm to our people, has caused serious damage to efforts to secure world peace, to end tensions and permit the world to live in some sense of security.

The weakness of this amendment has made itself readily apparent, and we should see to it that a President of the United States never again finds himself in this predicament.

Therefore, I urge repeal of the 22d amendment in the best interests of our

people and our future.

I am well aware of the fact that some members of my own political party were the strongest advocates of this amendment. However, it was not foreseen-it could not be foreseen-that this amendment would be turned against us.

If we are to give our President the responsibility for our foreign policy, for maintaining world peace, then we must give him the authority to cope with these

problems.

It is asking too much of any man to take on a dangerous and deadly foe with one hand tied behind his back, and that is exactly what we have asked our President to do.

A recent editorial in the Daily Tribune of Royal Oak, Mich., points out the dangers very clearly, and at this point I Would like to have this article inserted in the Congressional Record:

[From the Daily Tribune, May 18, 1960] REPEAL TWO-TERM LIMIT

When the Premier of Soviet Russia calls the President of the United States a "lameduck President, it is time we reconsider the 22d amendment.

This amendment was adopted in spite. It limits the terms of the President to two. It was urged by those whose sole intellectual gift was hindsight; men with little real understanding of the legitimate use of governmental power but with a vast greed for itif it is held by someone else.

By telling President Eisenhower that perhaps the Soviet Union will extend a new invitation for a Presidential visit-"in 6 or 8 months"-Premier Khrushchev automatically made the summit conference a 1960 cam-Paign issue. It is bald interference in our internal affairs.

The choice of paths to peace is, of course, a legitimate campaign issue. But an issue for Americans. We may disagree among ourselves as to which is the wisest course to pursue, and vote accordingly. But the point is that the discussion and decision will take place within a general agreement, as Americans, that our primary concern is with the security and future of the United States of America.

The danger in Mr. Khrushchev's gambit, for us as well as for the Soviet Union, is that he may misread the election returns as either for or against the Soviet Unionhe already has chosen to misunderstand the meaning of the U-2 flight.

Mr. Eisenhower, the first President to hold office under the 22d amendment, already has felt the effect of limitation on Presidential power in his relations with Congress.

It was well understood before the adoption of the 22d amendment, that a President in a position to succeed himself was in a more effective position to secure carrying out the decisions our Constitution requires him to make. Now Khrushchev has pointed up an even more dangerous limitation on the power to represent the United States effectively in foreign affairs.

The Problem of Germany: Willy Brandt's Story

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. JEFFERY COHELAN

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, May 4, 1960

Mr. COHELAN. Mr. Speaker, Willy Brandt, mayor of West Berlin, has just published his autobiography, "My Road to Berlin." As Mr. William Henry Chamberlain points out in the following review from the Wall Street Journal of May 19, 1960, Mayor Brandt is the symbol and voice of West Berlin, a German national figure and one who was a marked man after Hitler came into

Mr. Chamberlain also says that, with the breakdown of the summit conference bringing the problem of Berlin into even sharper focus:

It is a timely, if grim, moment for Willy Brandt * * * to bring forth his autobiog-

For this reason, I submit Mr. Chamberlain's review for the RECORD because it calls attention to a book that throws additional light on the situation in Germany and the city of Berlin:

BRANDT OF WEST BERLIN: HIS STORY RECORDS A CITY'S ORDEAL, A NATION'S HOPES

Premier Khrushchev, after blowing the lid off the summit conference, is meeting with East German Communist leaders in Berlin. Whether he will sign a peace treaty with the German Reds, as he has been threatening to do, is now a key questiona question that brings the problem of Berlin into even sharper focus. For if the West's rights to West Berlin are challenged by force, as the East Germans said they would be once a treaty with Russia was signed, the danger of world war would be extreme.

Thus it is a timely, if grim, moment for Willy Brandt, mayor of West Berlin, to bring forth his autobiography, "My Road to Berlin." That the free sector of the divided city is such a thorn in the Communist

side is no little of Brandt's doing. He has helped direct the molding of West Berlin into a showcase of prosperity and freedomto the enticement of defecting East Germans and to the despair of the commissars.

As a personality Brandt challenges interest on three counts.

First, he has succeeded his predecessor in office, Ernst Reuter, as the symbol and voice of West Berlin. He has traveled widely in the United States and in Europe and Asia to put the case of the Berliners for selfdetermination before the tribunal of international public opinion. His view on West Berlin, one which he stated to this writer in much the same words in Berlin last summer, is this:
"Whatever further negotiations may bring,

one thing is clear: Berlin must remain with Germany, and during the time of the di-vision West Berlin must remain with the Federal Republic. This is the will of the people, and this is what our Constitution explicitly states. This has also been solemnly proclaimed by the parliaments in Bonn and Berlin.

"Unfortunately, a perfect Berlin agreement is at present impossible. But it is not necessary that a change has to be made in a hurry-not until something better can replace the present status, unsatisfactory as

Mayor Brandt can cite facts and figures to show that West Berlin has made a very successful economic reconstruction, even thought it is a city with an older-thanaverage population and a predominance of women over men. Ten years ago there were 300,000 unemployed; now this figure has fallen to 38,000. Exports have risen tenfold. Berlin produces a wide variety of goods, "from the biggest dynamo to the finest wedding dress and the most exquisite china."

West Berlin cannot expand beyond the limits of the military demarcation line. But there have been impressive results in providing gardens, and plenty of air and light in the new housing developments. On a basis of peaceful coexistence, free West Berlin certainly has no reason to fear the economic and social competition of the Communist-ruled eastern sector.

Willy Brandt is also a German national figure. Under the leadership of the amiable and well-meaning but uninspired Erich Ollenhauer, the German Social Democratic Party, of which Brandt is a prominent member, went down twice to crushing defeats in national elections. Brandt is one of the young rebels, who carried out a face-lifting operation on the social democratic program, cutting out obsolete Marxist canons of class war, and trying to broaden the appeal of the party by such slogans as the following:

"Competition as far as possible-planning as far as necessary.

"The private ownership of the means of production must be protected and cultivated, insofar as it does not hamper the development of a just social order."

There will be another national election in Germany next year, and Willy Brandt may be put up as the Social Democratic standardbearer against the indefatigable Chancellor Adenauer. He seems much better qualified to win over middle-class voters than some of the exponents of the Marxian gospel.

Apart from his significance in the political life of West Berlin and Germany, Brandt's life story is worth telling on its merits. Born out of wedlock in the picturesque old Baltic seaport of Lubeck (scene of Thomas Mann's "Buddenbrooks") he grew up in a squalid social atmosphere that predisposed him to become a Socialist, although he won a scholarship in a good preparatory school.

As an active young Socialist, he was a marked man after Hitler came into power and found asylum in Norway. He learned the language so well that when he went back to Germany for underground work he

was able to adopt the disguise of a Norwegian student. He was a correspondent in Spain during the civil war in that country; he sympathized with the Republicans but abhorred the machinations of the Communists and describes with indignation the murder of the son of an old Russian non-Communist revolutionary by Communist goon squads.

When the Germans moved into Norway. Brandt was on the run again; he spent the war years in Sweden, keeping up contacts with German and other political exiles. He gives an interesting account of the German anti-Hitler underground which finally brought off the abortive assassination at-

tempt of July 20, 1944.

After the war Brandt returned to Germany, at first as a Norwegian citizen. He was a journalist and diplomat; then he decided to resume German citizenship and take part in the attempt to rebuild Germany on the basis of democracy and free institutions.

Under the storm and stress of a turbulent and active life Brandt shed some of his youthful pat Socialist formulas. He developed an attitude not uncommon today among members of European Socialist and labor parties: A feeling that both capitalism and socialism have changed so much during the last generation that the old attitude of class war ending in violent revolution no longer makes sense.

While his story is mainly one of personal experience and action, there are occasional thoughtful observations. Brandt remarks that Europe plunged into the first great war because no one foresaw its hororrs, while Hitler gained a head start in preparing for the second because the democracies were so shocked by the results of the First World War they fell into the trap of appeasement,

WILLIAM HENRY CHAMBERLIN.

Keep Colonel Olmstead

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. THADDEUS J. DULSKI

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 23, 1960

Mr. DULSKI. Mr. Speaker, just recently it has been brought to my attention that Col. Loren W. Olmstead of the Army Corps of Engineers, a former Buffalo district engineer, is facing retirement because an Army selection board has failed to recommend him for promotion.

Such action is very confusing to me. Time and again, as a member of the Subcommittee on Manpower and Utilization, Committee on Post Office and Civil Service, I have heard testimony from representatives of the armed services that it is necessary for them to hire consultants at an exorbitant fee because personnel with the needed skills and experience were not available within the departments.

Colonel Olmstead did an outstanding job in supervising the construction of the St. Lawrence Seaway, and certainly his vast experience and training could be well utilized. I join in the tribute paid to Colonel Olmstead in the following editorial which appeared in the Buffalo (N.Y.) Evening News on May 17, 1960:

KEEP COLONEL OLMSTEAD

The Buffalo Chamber of Commerce has joined several Members of Congress in urging President Elsenhower to promote Col. Loren W. Olmstead and keep him in the Army En-Colonel Olmstead, former Buffalo district engineer, faces retirement within a year because an Army selection board failed to recommend him for brigadier general.

Colonel Olmstead's distinguished career in the Army Engineers was climaxed by his outstanding work in supervising the design and construction of the St. Lawrence Seaway. For this and other achievements as Buffalo district engineer he received the Legion of Merit last year. The community came to know Coloncl Olmstead as an extremely capable and dedicated officer, engineer, and citizen. His promotion to general rank has been urged by Senators Javits, Keating, and WILEY, and Representatives PILLION, MILLER, and OSTERTAG.

Promotional decisions normally are the prerogative of military boards. But in this case it certainly appears strange that Colonel Olmstead's achievement in directing one of the greatest public works projects in history should not bring even the recognition of a general's star. The White House should give his case careful and sympathetic attention. Forced retirement of an officer of Colonel Olmstead's talents and experience would seem a significant loss to the Nation.

Address of Mr. Per Jacobsson, Managing Director of International Monetary

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. ALEXANDER WILEY

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Monday, May 23, 1960

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an address delivered by Mr. Per Jacobsson, Managing Director of the International Monetary Fund, when accepting the 1960 World Trade Award at a luncheon held at the Mayflower Hotel, Washington, D.C., on Tuesday, May 17, 1960.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ADDRESS BY MR. PER JACOBSSON, THE MANAG-ING DIRECTOR OF THE INTERNATIONAL MONE-TARY FUND WHEN ACCEPTING THE 1960 WORLD TRADE AWARD AT A LUNCHEON AT . THE MAYFLOWER HOTEL, WASHINGTON, D.C., MAY 17, 1960

Mr. President, excellencies, ladies, and gentlemen, I feel greatly honored to have been chosen to receive here today the 1960 World Trade Award, given by the Washington Board of Trade. Having worked for nearly 40 years in international institutions—the Economic and Financial Section of the League of Nations Secretariat, the Bank for International Settlements, and now the International Monetary Fund—it is naturally a matter of great satisfaction to me that the efforts with which I have thus been associated in the field of world finance and trade are, in a way, recognized by this award. It is also very satisfying for any man to receive recognition from those among whom he lives and works, and to receive this award here in the city of Washington, where I am now living, gives to me—and naturally to my

family-a very great pleasure, and I therefore want to thank you most sincerely for the honor bestowed upon me.

It was in May 1914-before the First World War-that I took my first examination in economics, and I thus studied this subject before economics had been affected by what happened in the two World Wars and in the interwars period. A few weeks ago I came again across a statement in which it was said that one of the main causes of the First World War was the trade rivalry between the great powers in Europe, especially between Great Britain and Germany. I believe that this so-called rivalry played little or no part; the main cause, in my opinion, being exag-gerated nationalistic feelings—which had become especially intense when it was aggravated by the age-long feud between Teutons and Slavs. After all, let us not forget that the First World War began in Sarajevo. which is in presentday Yugoslavia, and the Second World War in the Polish Corridor, both places where the Teutons and Slavs lived next door to each other. There were, I will admit, some difference in oversea areas; but these colonial difficulties were at the point of being settled, and in the spring of 1914 an agreement had been reached on the financing and building of the Baghdad Railway. It is also true that the merchants, bankers, and shipping magnets in Hamburg, and in the city of London, who were probably those who most keenly felt the competition between their two countries, worked most assiduously for the preservation of peace right up to the last moment in July and August 1914.

Also before the Second World War many influential persons that were connected with international trade and banking, whom I knew personally, did all they could to try to avert a conflict. There have been trade wars in the hisotry of mankind, but they have been relatively rare; trade has much more been a means of briging nations together, rather than separating them. Men of commerce want customers that are well off and able to meet payments when they fall due. I often quote a saying by Benjamin Franklin: "In transactions of trade, it is not to be supposed that, as in gaming, what one party gains the other must necessarily lose.

gain to each may be equal."

Let me add that I am not alone in holding these views about the causes of, especially. the First World War. Two American economists, among the very best-Prof. Jacob Viner in Princeton and Prof. Eugene Staley in Stanford-have expressed somewhat similar views after close investigation of the

After the First World War, great efforts were made to restore the prewar system of the gold standard and of international trade, and in the 1920's these efforts were crowned with so great a measure of success that there were those who talked about a new era of 'prosperity forever." I was then working in the Economic and Financial Section of the Secretariat of the League of Nations, but I must say, however, that even at that time there were some of us who were not so happy about the future. I was Secretary to the Agricultural Commission of the World Economic Conference convoked by the League in the spring of 1927; and then I became aware of certain difficulties arising from the decline in the prices of many foodstuffs and raw materials which had begun about a year or so before. There was at the same time a pronounced strain in world gold markets. and the reparations question remained un-settled. Sir Arthur Salter, now Lord Salter then the Director of the Economic and Financial Section of the Secretariat of the League—was planning in 1928 to set up a gold delegation of the League to examine, in particular, the question of the strain in the exchange and gold markets and the trend of prices. I remember a beautiful afternoon at Salter's villa on the outskirts of Geneva when he and I met Mr. Benjamin Strong, then Governor of the Federal Reserve Bank of New York, together with his secretary, Mr. George Moore. We talked about all these questions, and Mr. Strong, too, became convinced that there were dangers ahead, and he said he would arrange for American membership of the gold delegation—which he did before he died in the course of the following year.

The gold delegation was set up, but events moved precipitately; the New York Stock Exchange broke in the autumn of 1929; the business trend turned downward; the U.S. tariff was increased in 1930; the pound sterling and a number of other currencies were devalued, starting in 1931; in 1932, Great Britain abandoned free trade, while in 1933-34 the dollar, too, was devalued. The 1930's were the years of the great depression, with much unemployment and stagnant world trade. In view of the increased tension in international politics, little could be done to improve matters, but all efforts were not suspended. Here in the United States, the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act was adopted in 1934; and in 1936 the Governments of France, the United Kingdom, and the United States accepted the so-called Tripartite Monetary Agreement, to which there other governments subsequently adhered. These measures may not have played any great immediate role, but they were forerunners to subsequent more comprehensive innovations.

Thanks to the great foresight of the Allied Governments in the Second World War, they began at an early stage to prepare for the financial and economic system that they intended to establish after the war was over. There emerged from these preparations the International Monetary Fund, the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, and also a somewhat simplified trade agreement-the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade. However, it took some time before these institutions could get into full Working order. In the meantime the United States was preeminent in the field of trade and finance; that was the period, among other things, of Marshall aid. It will undoubtedly be the verdict of history that the United States used its preeminence with a magnanimity and generosity which, though it may well have been in its own enlightened interest, will stand out as an almost un-Precedented act of statesmanship.

As the Marshall aid period began to end, the World Bank and the Fund began to operate more actively. Each of these institutions has granted credits amounting to between \$3 and \$4 billion, and in the case of the Fund a considerable part, in fact two-thirds, of these credits has already been paid back, since they are repayable in not later than 3 to 5 years.

We all know that in the 15 years that have passed since the Second World War came to an end, production and trade have risen in a very remarkable way; that there has been no serious postwar depression; that currencles increasingly have been made convertible; and that in a great many countries trade restrictions and discrimination have been reduced to a minimum. Many factors have contributed to these satisfactory developments, but I am sure that they would not have been achieved to anything like the same extent had it not been for the act of statesmanship by the United States in the granting of foreign aid and the activities of the two world financial institutions, the Fund and the Bank, to which I have referred.

Only 3 or 4 years ago we were happy to be able to point to a few currencies that really seemed to be in good order. Since then many more countries have reestablished their position, and even introduced external

convertibility, so that really weak currencies are now almost an exception, particularly, in Europe. It is like a person learning to play golf: At first he is very happy when he can make a few good strokes—he remembers them and tells his wife about them. Then if he gets on and perhaps becomes a champion, he takes his good strokes for granted, and will remember only the bad ones—which worry him a great deal. So, in the currency field, we are now really worrying about only a relatively few currencies, but we are not without hope that they, too, will be put right within the not too distant future.

But in this world no sooner will some problems be solved than new problems will arise. The very fact that production has risen, that more budgets have been baland that better control has been established over the money supply, leads us to believe that the wartime infiation has come to an end-which is, of course, a highly desirable result. Now we have entered a period of intense competition in world markets, and in domestic markets, too. We seem to have witnessed the disappearance of the inflation mentality-for the last few months I don't think I have seen any reference in this country even to "creepinflation. The expectation is now that we have entered a period of more stable prices, and that means that we shall have to learn how to live without inflation. After so many years of rising prices, it will not always be easy for either businessmen or labor leaders, or holders of public offices, to adjust their attitudes and practices to the changed situation. But this adjustment is slowly taking place, and I think it is a good thing that it is happening at a time when there is still a boom in Europe, and business is quite good here in the United

Until the European countries had restored their productive capacity, and had overcome the difficulties preventing prompt deliveries, the United States had it more or less its own way in foreign trade. But today Europe is able to meet most orders without undue delay, and this has naturally affected U.S. exports. It so happened that the change in the export situation coincided with a recession here in the United States, which was accompanied by a deficit in the budget and credit expansion. But when business again turned upward, it was necessary, both for internal and external reasons, to take steps to balance the budget and to arrest the increase in the money supply. This was done, and the measures taken have helped to produce a more stable internal price level and to improve the balance of payments. In the first 4 months of this year, the outflow of gold from this country was not more than \$100 million, which is considerably less than in the corresponding periods of 1958 and 1959 and in itself is a clear sign of the improvement that has already taken place.

With the growing importance of Europe in the trade and payments field, the United States will have increasingly to take account of what happens across the Atlantic. At the same time it is only right that the European countries should be prepared to make an increased contribution to the assistance needed by underdeveloped countries. are therefore strong reasons for establishing a closer contact between western Europe, on the one hand, and the United States and Canada, on the other. At the time of Marshall aid, there was instituted in Paris the Organization for European Economic Cooperation-the OEEC. In this organization, America and Canada participated as assoclate members. On the initiative of Mr. C. Douglas Dillon, the Group of Four, under the chairmanship of Mr. Randolph Burgess, the U.S. Ambassador to NATO in Paris has proposed that the OEEC should be transformed into an organization, called the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development—the OECD—in which the United States and Canada would be full members. I sincerely hope that this proposal will lead to positive results.

I should also mention the Common Market of six countries in Europe, which has given an impetus to a reduction of trade barriers and close cooperation between the member countries. Recently another group, of seven countries—the European Free Trade Association-has been formed, also aiming at a reduction of trade barriers. These are, in the main, very healthy developments but, as with everything human, not without their disadvantages and dangers. What is needed is a forum in which these disadvantages and dangers can be thrashed out and minimized, if not fully eliminated. I think it is in the interests of Europe and North America that full use should be made of the opportunities for establishing closer contact in the new OECD.

I mentioned earlier that in the 1920's people talked about "prosperity forever." I remember also that after the First World War there were those who talked about "peace forever"-and for many years one heard a great deal about "cheap money forever." Not so long ago we were told that we could look forward to a long period of almost uninterrupted prosperity—the so-called roaring sixties. But things often turn out differently to what is expected. In a book I published last year I said that the most important conclusion of my experiences of nearly 40 years in international work was that one must always be "prepared for the unexpected." And to be prepared, one has to have the proper organizations. These organizations may not always be able to do all that one would want them to do, but they can be of great help in many situa-In finance and trade we have now the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank, and the GATT-and I hope we shall soon have a closer contact between the two sides of the Atlantic in the OECD. I should like to end what I have to say today by stressing the importance of this new body, and make a plea for your support of it when the time of decision approaches.

Thank you all again for the award given to me here today, and for your attention to what I have had to say. Thank you, Mr. President.

Threat of New Berlin Crisis Bares Nikita's Dirty Hands

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. J. CARLTON LOSER

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 23, 1960

Mr. LOSER, Mr. Speaker, leave having been obtained to extend my remarks in the Record, I call attention to an editorial appearing in the Nashville (Tenn.) Tennessean, a leading newspaper of the South. I believe the editorial bespeaks the overwhelming sentiment of the South. I commend it to Members of the House. It follows:

Threat of New Berlin Crisis Bares Nikita's Dirty Hands

Instead of a disciple of peace and understanding, Nikita Khrushchev now has begun to reflect the Stalin image.

Evidence increases that President Eisenhower was right in saying that the Soviet Premier came to Paris to wreck the summit meeting—in other words to repudiate all the hypocritical words at Camp David,

There was method in the Khrushchev madness, as is now revealed by his declared readiness to sign an immediate peace treaty with East Germany, thus creating a new Berlin crisis.

Of course, it is announced that Mr. Eisenhower can avert this emergency, temporarily at least, by making humiliating concessions to Russia which no American President could be expected to do.

Had he desired, the Soviet leader could have accepted the administration announcement that spy plane flights over Russia had been discontinued and would not be resumed. But this was the great chance to rub it in, he decided, so he called for abject apology and the punishment of all persons

involved in the U-2 overflight.

No U.S. President in history has ever been spoken to with as little respect and regard, and the Russian schemer knew in advance that his demands would be flatly rejected. If he suspected that the American people would not also be outraged, he did not know their mettle. And if he thought that France and Britain would show the white feather, he was also wrong.

To all intents and purposes the Berlin ultimatum, which was glossed over at Camp David, has now been renewed, which is a good indication that the semblance of reasonableness during the visit to the United

States was a complete sham.

When Khrushchev begins to talk like a Stalin or a Hitler, it is time for the free world to close ranks against the crudest kind

of dictatorship.

The mistakes made by our country in recent weeks are apparent, but they need not have precluded discussions at the summit if Russia had a desire for understanding. And they are small by comparison to the major blunder Khrushchev seems bent on making.

What a blasphemy was uttered when Russia's leader threw up his hands at the preliminary summit meeting and said, that as God was his witness, his hands were clean

and his heart pure.

Venom and hatred now consume him, and his threat of trying to end Western rights in Berlin represent a new high in brinksmanship.

Once before Russian designs on Berlin were frustrated by the great airlift. On that occasion they retreated at the threshold of war, but now Khrushchev seems to say that the issue will be decided by force if necessary.

What he has in mind, to quote from what he said at Baku on April 25, is that "the terms stemming from the surrender (of Germany) will lose their force * * * consequently, the rights which the Western Powers obtained as a result of the surrender of Hitler Germany, including the right for further preservation of the occupation status of Berlin, will lose their force with regard to this territory * * *."

Causes of this Soviet change of front are still obscure. "Political factors at home" are involved, according to the Premier, and one of them may be growing army opposition to talk about disarmament. China's influence on Russia can also have significance.

Regardless of the reasons, however, Khrushchev has reversed his course, with the spy plane incident as an excuse, and it seems probable that he welcomed this propaganda break.

By making impossible demands on the President of the United States in insulting terms he is at the same time challenging the free world to a showdown, as if he were possessed of a conqueror's strength. This calls for NATO's reaffirmation of steadfast principles and the attention of the United

Nations which is obligated to take notice when a threat to peace exists.

It does not, however, call for President Eisenhower to bend the knee before an uncouth dictator.

That has never been the way of American leaders or peoples, as Khrushchev well knows. And if that blustering Muscovite continues his reckless course he must accept full responsibility for the consequences.

Keenotes

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. ELIZABETH KEE

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 17, 1960

Mrs. KEE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the Record I include copy of my newsletter released today:

WASHINGTON, MAY 23, 1960.

KEENOTES BY REPRESENTATIVE ELIZABETH KEE

The collapse of the summit conference raises many grave problems for the United States and the rest of the free world. One thing appears to be certain—the cold war will be resumed with all of its dangerous implications.

The country is united behind the President. In view of Premier Khrushchev's violent and bitter attacks on Mr. Eisenhower, there is nothing else the country can do. A show of weakness at this point on our part or that of our allies could be

fatal.

The failure of the Summit negotiations to produce results is not surprising. But what is surprising is the violent manner in which Khrushchev chose to prevent them from even getting underway. The shooting down of the U-2 plane was the excuse he used. Obviously, he had made up his mind before coming to Paris to block any meaningful talks.

The important thing now is to present a united front to the world to meet an expected series of crises in the coming months. An inquiry into an unfortunate series of events preceding the Paris meeting can wait until a more appropriate time.

VETO BY PRESIDENT UNFORTUNATE

The veto by President Eisenhower of legislation to help in the economic rehabilitation of distressed areas is unfortunate. Twice Congress has passed this bill and each time the President has seen fit to kill it by veto.

In my opinion, the need for this legislation has been clearly established. There are thousands of people in various parts of the Nation who are at present leading hopeless lives. Their jobs are gone and the prospects of finding gainful employment are dim.

This legislation would have launched a cooperative program to rebuild these areas and create jobs for the unemployed. The President's six reasons for vetoing the bill did not seem to be very convincing to me.

Eventually, a program of this kind must be put into operation. The President's two vetoes have cost us valuable time in attacking a serious national economic problem.

WATERSHED PROTECTION PROGRAM STRENGTHENED

The House has voted an additional \$4.9 million for the watershed protection program.

The idea behind the program is this: By building dams and other water checking facilities on small streams, the danger of downstream flooding on larger streams is lessened without the need for large, expensive dams. Also, the damage to productive farm land is kept to a minimum.

This program has been a success. In West Virginia and other States, some projects are actually under construction and others have been completed. There have been so many requests by local interests for inclusion in the program that additional planning funds were essential.

Protection of soil is one of the major problems facing the Nation. Soil is one of our most precious assets. We must not

squander it.

I also strongly support the soil conservation program under which locally managed districts are formed to install soil conserving practices on a broad scale. Millions of acres are now included in soil conservation districts which are practicing the latest methods of conserving and preserving the soil.

This is a fine program which enjoys almost unanimous support in Congress,

Address by Senator Wiley Over Radio Liberty to People of the Soviet Union

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. ALEXANDER WILEY

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, May 23, 1960

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, in the light of recent events—particularly Mr. Khrushchev's new hard line at the Paris meetings—the free world, I believe, must make a renewed effort to get across the truth about world affairs to the people under Communist domination.

Now, how can this be accomplished? There are, of course, a number of ways:

We recognize, however, that the construction of the Bamboo and Iron Curtains make it exceedingly difficult to get through to the dominated peoples.

Recently, I was privileged to participate in a broadcast to the people of the Soviet Union over Radio Liberty.

Incidentally, I believe the splendid work carried out by Radio Liberty, Radio Free Europe, Voice of America, and other private and publicly sponsored efforts to get the truth to the people under Communist domination, are indeed most commendable, and deserve the gratitude of the Nation.

The purpose of my broadcast was to provide the people behind the Iron Curtain with a realistic picture of the significance of the summit, of the U-2 flight, of the conduct of Mr. Khrushchev. Too, the talk reiterates the dedication of the free world—despite Mr. Khrushchev's unwillingness to discuss differences at the Paris meeting—to continue, in a resolute, fearless, undaunted effort, to find peaceful ways to resolve the differences between the East and West, and to create a better world.

Despite the resumption of Soviet jamming of radio broadcasts, I am hopeful that this message will get through.

Such broadcasts, I believe, represent the kind of efforts which will need to be broadened, not only through radio and television, but also through other contacts, in the light of the new hardened

Soviet policy.

Reflecting further upon this need, I ask unanimous consent to have two items printed at this point in the RECORD:

First, a statement released today, stressing the need for "going over the heads" of the Communist leaders to the people behind the Iron and Bamboo Curtains with the truth of world affairs; and. second, excerpts of my address over Radio Liberty, scheduled to be broadcast early this week to the people within the Soviet Union

There being no objection, the statement and excerpts were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WILEY URGES GREATER EFFORTS TO GO OVER THE HEADS OF COMMUNIST LEADERS TO PEO-PLE BEHIND THE IRON AND BAMBOO CURTAINS WITH TRUTH OF WORLD AFFAIRS

Senator ALEXANDER WILEY, Republican, of Wisconsin, senior Republican of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, today urged a greater free world effort to go over the heads of the Communist leaders to dominated people with the truth on world affairs.

"Around the world, people of the globe find themselves alternately involved in hot and cold wars, because of Communist activity," Senator WILEY said.

Today, the hard core of Communists actually comprises only about 4 to 6 percent of the people in the Soviet Union; and about 2 percent in Red China, with additional scatterings of Communists elsewhere in the World—although fortunately a very, very small portion of the population.

"The question, then, arises: How long will the world tolerate the troublemaking of these perpetrators of discord, and advocates of a political-economic system of dictatorship contrary to the yearning, and will for freedom of all mankind? How long will we-as a world—allow such a minuscule minority to

keep us on the brink of war?

"We recognize, of course, that the hard-core Communists, particularly in Red China and the Soviet Union, have an iron grip of control on these countries. Insofar as pos-sible, however, I believe that we need a greater effort to go over their heads to reach the almost 1 billion people under domination, with: The truth about world affairs-for example, the real story of Khrushchev's tor-Pedoing the Paris meeting; and the dedicated efforts, outside the Communist orbit, to promote a real peace—based upon justice and order-by the non-Communist people and nations.

"In such efforts, of course, we must be careful not to drive the Communist leaders so tightly into a corner that they push the panic button and touch off a nuclear-missile

"Despite this need to tread carefully, however, I believe the United States and the free world can-and should-be far more effective in getting across the story of freedom.

"Last session, I introduced a bill, S. 2188, to provide a Citizens Council to make a reevaluation of our effectiveness-or lack of effectiveness—in getting the truth to the People behind the Iron-Bamboo Curtains. The purpose of the Council would be to: reevaluate the Communist global ideological challenge and reappraise our own efforts in the light of that challenge; increase public awareness of the importance of the battle of men's minds, and our efforts to (a) counter the Soviet offensive, and (b) lay a foundation of free ideas, translated into the language that people of other lands can more easily understand-upon which to build a better World; and, extremely important, to increase the use of ingenious know-how which our free enterprise system has developed for mass media, to a better freedom-spreading pro-

"Encouragingly, the idea of the Freedom Council has been endorsed by a number of outstanding individuals—well qualified to evaluate the need in the field, including the following:

"Former President Herbert Hoover: 'Your idea is magnificent.'

'David Sarnoff, chairman of the board, Radio Corp. of America: 'I heartily agree with your view that a greater United States and free world effort is needed to combat the Communist ideological offensive.'

"Howard K. Smith, CBS News: 'It's an excellent idea. One of our chief faultsan odd one for a nation that has produced so many fine speakers-is a recently acquired inability to articulate our case. It is most noticeable in our time when our chief adversary is a natural genius in public relations.

'I hope the bill is passed and the Council can become effective as soon as pos-

"Eric Johnston, president, Motion Picture Association of America: 'I like your idea to establish a Citizens Council for Advocacy of Freedom. It deserves the support of Congress.

"Dwavne Orton, president, Council for International Progress in Management; also editor of Think, published by International Business Machines Corp.: 'I am very much interested in your bill, S. 2188. This strikes me as a very sensitive and needed stroke on the ideological offensive.'

"Robert F. Hurleigh, president, Mutual Broadcasting System, Inc.: 'I am most grateful to you for contacting me regarding your proposed Citizens Council for Advocacy of Freedom, for the ideas outlined in your pending bill support the very philosophies on which the heavily accented news schedules of the Mutual Broadcasting System are now based. *

'If there is anything the Mutual Network or I can do to further your Council plans, please do not hesitate to call on us.'

"Julian Goodman, NBC News: 'The purposes of your plan for a Citizens Council for Advocacy of Freedom are highly laudatory, and I certainly endorse them wholeheartedly. Any move we can make in this direction would certainly be useful.'

"The proposal—providing a mechanism for improving our 'salesman's' techniques should, I believe, be enacted by Congress.

We can expect, of course, that the Communist leaders-through jamming of Western radio broadcasts; and through maintenance of the Iron-Bamboo Curtains-will continue to obstruct our efforts to get through to the dominated people. If we can achieve our objective-and I believe this is possible to a much greater degree than is now occurring-however, it would represent a major step toward reducing the power and threat of international communism and establishing ultimate peace in the world," Senator WILEY concluded.

EXCERPTS OF INTERVIEW WITH SENATOR ALEX-ANDER WILEY, SENIOR REPUBLICAN, SENATE FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMITTEE, FOR BROAD-CAST OVER RADIO LIBERTY, TO THE PEOPLE OF THE SOVIET UNION

Citizens of the Soviet Union: I welcome the opportunity to send warmest greetings to you from the people of the United States.

Historically, we have enjoyed friendship and mutual respect. Although people of different lands, we seek the same goals: Good homes for our families; freedom to go to the church of our choice; ever-better schools for our boys and girls—to enable them to grow intellectually, morally, and spiritually; jobs for our workers; an everhigher standard of living; and better and

better cities, farms, factories, roads, modes of travel-overall, a better way of living for all our people.

Although there are differences in the world, I do not believe any real difference exists between our people—who seek, and yearn for, a peaceful world in which to build what—to each of us—is the "Good Life."

Now, why can't we accomplish this objec-

As a nation, we are sorry that Mr. Khrushchev could not find it in his heart to sit down at the conference table with Prime Minister Macmillan, President de Gaulle, and our own beloved president, Mr. Eisenhower in Paris to discuss-reasonably and rationally—the issues troubling the world.

His excuse was the U-2 flight. However,

he has known for a long time-as we have known of counter activities-of air surveillance and other types of information-seeking activities. Had Mr. Khrushchev been willing to agree to an "open skies" proposalas recommended by President Eisenhower; or to work in a really constructive way to establish peace, the U-2 flight or, conversely, the spy activities directed by Mr. Khrushchev would not occur at all.

Realistically, there had been no great hopes for finding answers-magiclike-to all questions at the summit. However, we had thought that a pattern might be established for frank, open discussions on how to resolve some of the differences between our governments and create a more peaceful atmosphere.

We regret, too, that President Eisenhower will not be able to visit with you next month—as he had been invited to do—by Mr. Khrushchev. We had hoped that he could bring to you, personally, the warm greetings and "handshake of friendship" of the American people. A man devoted to peace, you will recall that he fought with your sons and daughters against a common enemy—nazism—in the Stalingrads of Europe—to free the world from fear of aggression.

If he could have visited you, we felt that across your great country-as throughout the world-would ring out resounding the familiar, warm, hearty greeting: "I like Ike."

Now the invitation has been withdrawn.

Why?

Mr. Khrushchev again says it was because of the flight of the U-2 over the Soviet Union. Was it really?

For years, both our Governments-even though Mr. Khrushchev has not as yet willingly admitted this-have tried to find out about each other's activities, particularly as

these relate to military power. Was the U-2 flight, then, really the basic cause of your Premier's refusal to contribute to world peace at the Paris Conference?

No. I don't think so; since it was only one small act, blown up out of proportion, indulged in for purposes of national interest by nearly all countries in the world, including the Soviet Union.

What, then, was the real reason for Mr. Khrushchev's refusal to sit down with the leaders of the Western Powers to try to find a road to peace?

Perhaps you, the people of the Soviet Union, best know the answer.

Any great guilt, however, and yes, condemnation, must be placed upon those who continue to thwart real progress toward

Unfortunately, we have listened much to Mr. Khrushchev "fiexing his missiles," threatening us, and others, with military destruction.

We don't like what we hear. We wish it had not been said. But we cannot ignore it. Like you, the Russian people, we, too, feel we have a great country with proud tradi-tions and real hopes for the future.

The objectives of U.S. policy-and this reflects the will of the people and leaders alike—are not to fight with you, but to be your friends.

In the face of warlike threats, however, we do not feel that we can go to sleep, then possibly be attacked, and one morning wake up to find ourselves slaves of another country.

Instead, we have found it necessary, against our will and traditions, to put more and more money, manpower, and brainpower into an effective, powerful, jet missile, atom space defense; incidentally, a strong, mighty force to be reckoned with carefully

by any would-be aggressor.

If we had our way, however, we would like to beat our swords into plowshares, to channel great resources, skill, and human ingenuity of our country and the world into farm machinery, hospitals, homes, schools, roads, food for the hungry, books and teachers for the millions in the world who cannot read or write; more electric and atomic power for factories, homes, and farms, and a million other uses for peaceful purposes.

In America, we are fortunate that most of our population enjoys a great many of these advantages. Yet we know that until the good things of life are brought to all people, at home and abroad, there can be no real peace.

We seek for other countries what we wish for ourselves, the right to create and live under a self-determined form of government. But our philosophy is more than live and let live; instead, we are willing to live and help live.

Unfortunately, this cannot be accomplished in a world of threat and counter-

threat by the great powers.

Recognizing the destructive power of modern weapons, we know that in a nuclear-missile war, both attacker and attacked would be largely, if not wholly, destroyed. Consequently, we shall continue to do all we can to establish a world of order, justice, and peace.

Despite the unwillingness of Mr. Khrushchev to negotiate at Paris, we as a nation, and our President, and other leaders are undaunted. We shall go ahead—relentless, fearless, in a dedicated way, to try to find ways and means—to create a more peaceful world.

In our efforts we shall depend also upon you—the people of a great country—to assist us in spirit, and as you can, in fact, to find the right road to a better world and a life of peace.

Mutual Savings Banks

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 23, 1960

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, the May 8, 1960, edition of the New York Herald Tribune carried a special section commemorating the establishment of the mutual savings bank system.

The first mutual savings bank was organized in Scotland 150 years ago. The first mutual savings bank appeared on the American scene 100 years ago. The National Association of Mutual Savings Banks was organized 40 years ago.

In the last session of Congress, and again in this session of Congress I introduced a bill to authorize Federal mutual savings banks in order to make it possible for every State in the Union and every one of our territories to avail them-

selves of the benefits that flow from the operation of these thrift institutions. I am sure that an earnest effort will soon be made to enact such a bill.

In order that our colleagues may be thoroughly acquainted with the history of the savings bank movement I have clipped from the special section of the New York Herald Tribune the following excerpts which I commend to the attention of our colleagues:

Possibility of U.S. Charter, Growth Share Spotlight

The problems of growth and possibilities of Federal charters for savings banks are expected to dominate private discussions at the National Association of Mutual Savings Banks 40th Annual Convention, which begins today in Washington.

The national association is expected to report on progress that has been made in developing a Federal mutual savings bank bill. The question of Federal charters has been under study by the association for more than

2 vears.

Speeches by national leaders and special discussion forums will also highlight the national association's 3-day conference. Speakers include Raymond J. Saulnier, Chairman of the President's Council of Economic Advisers, William McChesney Martin, Jr., Chairman, the Federal Reserve System's Board of Governors, and Maurice H. Stans, Director of the Budget Bureau.

While not included on the official agenda of the convention, the subject of Federal charters will probably come in for a good deal of attention from the 1,200 delegates attending the convention. A bill providing Federal charters for mutual savings banks was discussed on April 25 with President Eisenhower's top Senate adviser on money and fiscal matters. Present plans of the national association call for introduction of the bill in the current session of Congress.

Mutual savings banks now can be chartered only by individual States and are authorized in only 18. Federal charters would permit the industry to expand nationally without the necessity of getting permission.

MUTUALS SOON TO CELEBRATE 150TH BIRTHDAY IN SCOTLAND

Mutual savings banks throughout the world will celebrate on May 30-June 3 in Aberdeen, Scotland, 150 years of thrift promotion. In particular, they will pay homage to the man who first provided a banking facility where those of modest means could safely accumulate small funds for emergencies.

The man who conceived the idea of helping the small wage earners and small farmers of his parish was the Rev. Dr. Henry Duncan, of Ruthwell, in Dumfrieshire, Scotland. The system he devised is now known as mutual savings banking and is found today in 34 countries, from the Belgian Congo to the Virgin Islands and from Seattle to Helsinki.

The idea of mutual savings banking was an outgrowth of the humanitarianism of the early 19th century. Social reformers such as Defoe and Malthus were concerned with the pauperism and economic uncertainties that often accompanied the beginning of the industrial, money economy.

"FRIENDLY SOCIETIES" FORMED

From 1780 to 1810 a number of charitable institutions, many of them known as "Friendly Societies," were organized by wealthy, philanthropic sponsors among the small wage earners in the industrial communities of England and Europe. The members set aside small sums of money with the society, which were to be available to them at times of unemployment, sickness and death. Most of these societies were short-lived, and few were self-sustaining.

One such society had been in existence since 1796 in the village of Ruthwell, Scotland, when Dr. Duncan took up his post there. He found the Ruthwell Friendly Society incapable of providing emergency funds for those in need and believed that the element of charity in the organization did not contribute to the self-reliance and independence he considered essential to individual well-being.

Instead, he proposed a bank in which the savings of depositors would be entrusted to the management of leading citizens, some of whom would contribute an initial fund so that deposits could be guaranteed against loss and could begin to earn what Reverend Duncan called "premiums."

Duncan called "premiums."

Depositors were fined if they did not deposit regularly and could withdraw savings at the full interest rate only with the permission of the directors of the bank. In May 1810, the Ruthwell Savings Bank was opened. It has been in continuous operation since.

In December, 1813, a second savings bank was opened—in Edinburgh—which imposed no fines on the irregular saver and few restrictions on withdrawals. The principles of trusteeship of funds and mutual sharing of the earnings of the bank among the depositors, however, were retained.

positors, however, were retained.

By the end of 1815 Scotland was well covered with savings banks. In 1817 Parliament adopted a measure legalizing savings banking in England. Thereafter the savings bank idea spread throughout the United

Kingdom and into Europe.

In the 1800's in the United States conditions similar to those among the wage earners of England prevailed in the growing commercial and industrial centers. There were a few societies and charitable institutions, but they were considered inadequate to meet needs of factory workers in a period of financial instability, frequent bank failures, and long periods of unemployment.

PAMPHLET RECEIVED

In the spring of 1816 copies of a pamphlet describing the plan of a savings bank being formed in London came to the attention of individuals—all of them prominent in business and government—in Philadelphia, Boston, and New York.

ton, and New York.

In Philadelphia, it was Condy Raguet, a successful lawyer and philanthropist, who spearheaded the drive to develop a savings bank modeled on the English ones; in Boston, it was Thomas Eddy who brought together a committee of citizens for the purpose of applying to the State legislature for the incorporation of a savings bank; and in New York, it was DeWitt Clinton, later Governor of New York, who attended a meeting of the Society for the Prevention of Pauperism held to consider the feasibility of establishing a savings bank which could further the aims of the society.

The purpose of the three groups was the same—to establish a bank which would give positive encouragement to savings by those most in need of them. Their motives were also the same—to aid the growing numbers of individuals dependent upon money wages to provide for their future and avoid the stigma of charity. All members of the groups were public-spirited individuals with the time and the money to devote to aiding those less fortunate than themselves.

The Philadelphia group was first to begin operations. The bank was called the Philadelphia Saving Fund Society and received the first deposits on December 2, 1816. The Boston group was the first to receive a charter, on December 13, 1816, but it was not until the following spring that the bank, called the Provident Institution for Savings, began to accept deposits.

The New York group had to wait until 1819 before overcoming the opposition of the New York State Legislature for a bank charter. By then DeWitt Clinton was Governor of New York and with his enthusiastic endorsement of the bank it received its charter as the Bank for Savings in the city of New York.

The first deposits, totaling \$2,809, were received on July 3, 1819.

Governor Clinton was among the original trustees of the bank, some of whom served as the bank's first officers, receiving deposits personally on certain evenings of the week, and handling all details of investment, interest payments, and setting aside of reserves from earnings as protection for the depositora

A year earlier, the Savings Bank of Balti-more and the Salem Savings Bank of Salem, Mass., had been organized.

These first institutions have been in continuous existence since their founding. They set the pattern for the many that were to follow.

By 1850 the number of savings banks had risen to 108, of which 87 are still in existence, several of these representing merged institutions. Just prior to the Civil War there were nearly 300 mutual savings banks, With 700,000 depositors and deposits totaling \$150 million.

Very few banks were organized after World War I.

FIFTY THOUSAND IN RUSSIA-SAVINGS BANKS GOT START IN EUROPE, POPULAR STILL

The Soviet Union holds at least one economic belief in common with the capitalist nations: the need for thrift.

More than 50,000 savings banks are scattered throughout the Soviet Union (U.S. total: 517), reportedly paying a slim 2 percent interest on deposits. There are, how-ever, no commercial banks in Russia.

And while the Russian example may be unusual, it is not unique. Savings banks are located in most countries of Europe, includ-West Germany (880 banks, 6,424 branches), Italy 87 banks, 2,061 offices), and Spain where 80 banks operate 1,347 branches.

In fact, savings banks in the United States, as well as in other parts of the world, have historical roots in Europe. Savings banking in this country got a great deal of impetus from immigrants who arrived on our shores in the 19th century.

CATERED TO IRISH

For example, the Emigrant Industrial Savings Bank, New York, was formed after the great Irish movement here during the potato famine in the 1840's. It is now one of the largest savings banks in the Nation. When organized in 1850, it catered to the newly arrived Irishmen, and later to successive waves of Italian, Russian, and other immigrants.

Ties between savings banks here and overseas are more than a fact of history. From day to day there is a continuous flow of information between our banks and their counterparts in Europe. Officer-exchange programs also help banks to keep abreast of the latest developments, such as in machines and new techniques of accounting.

In addition, the U.S. National Association of Mutual Savings Banks is a member of the International Thrift Institution, located in Amsterdam, to which most European savings banks also belong.

Three conferences, scheduled for this summer, will highlight the international aspect of savings banks. On June 14-17 the 6th International Savings Banks Congress will be held in Stockholm, Sweden. About 20 U.S. savings banks will join hundreds from Europe at this meeting. Dr. Grover W. Ensley, executive vice president of the national association, will address the congress.

Bankers will also converge in Aberdeen, Scotland, to celebrate the 150th anniversary of savings banks. Activities of the weeklong session will include a visit to the birthplace of the first savings bank-Ruthwell Village, in Dumfrieshire, Scotland, where the

Reverend Henry Duncan formed the first mutual savings bank in 1810.

TO ATTEND MEETING

And at least one American savings banker will attend the 10th International Summer School for Savings Bankers at Oxford, England, July 3-9.

WELCOME IS PREPARED IN ALASKA-NEW STATE PAVES WAY FOR THRIFT

The first savings bank in Alaska may be located in Anchorage.

This was revealed recently by the National Association of Mutual Savings Banks in a statement halling passage of a law allowing establishment of these thrift institutions in the newest State.

Last month, Alaska's Gov. William A. Egan signed a bill permitting mutual savings banks to expand into that State.

In commenting on this development, the national association said several leading businessmen in Anchorage were interested in forming a mutual savings bank as a stabilizing factor in the community." It did not name any target date.

OREGON LAW PASSED

The Alaska legislation is the first since 1925 to extend the geographic limits within which mutual savings banks may operate. In that year, Oregon passed a law enabling these banks to open offices within its boundaries. Savings banks operate only under State charter.

The national association, in praising the new Alaska law, explained that it doubled the area in which these types of thrift institutions can operate. Now in 17 States comprising an area of 550,846 square miles, the new law opens up an additional 586,400 square miles.

The national association said there is a serious shortage of long-term financing in Alaska for housing and other con-struction. Since mutual savings banks have about 65 percent of their assets in long-term mortgage loans, it expects "mutual savings banks would be of major importance in developing this segment of the Alaskan economy in addition to promoting saving among the people."

The provisions of the Alaska law are similar to those governing mutual savings banking in other States. It authorizes the chartering of such banks on approval of the Department of Commerce.

MINIMUM CAPITAL SET

The law requires that banks requesting charters be reasonably certain of financial success, that its incorporators (founders) be of good character, and that it pass qualifications for insurance under the Federal Deposit Insurance Act. Alaska has stipulated that \$50,000 is the minimum capital with which a mutual savings bank may be estab-

Commenting on the extension of savings banks into Alaska, John deLaittre, president of the national association, said: "It is most gratifying to witness the eagerness and enthusiasm of Alaska business and government leaders to obtain the advantages of mutual savings banking for the citizens of their State."

The first mutual savings banks in the United States were chartered in 1816 in Boston and Philadelphia. The institutions are concentrated primarily in the New England and Middle Atlantic States with a few scat-tered through the Middle West and Pacific Northwest.

PEOPLE NOW SAVING FOR SPECIFIC GOALS

Has saving money gone out of style? This question is one bankers are asking themselves. But it is of importance to the general economy. Real industrial and eco-nomic growth can be financed only through savings-through money accumulated and

invested to earn a return for the individual and to pay for expansion.

"Has the instinct of the squirrel to store a supply of food been replaced by the instinct of the grasshopper to enjoy the feast of summer with no thought for the lean months of winter?" asks Dr. Grover W. Ensley, executive vice president of the National Association of Mutual Savings Banks.

Dr. Ensley's answer is one of cautious optimism: available evidence suggests people still save about the same percentage of their incomes as they did 60 years ago, but perhaps for different reasons. The ideal of thrift, Dr. Ensley says, "is a highly valued and important goal in life, and those who do not put aside savings greatly regret it."

CLEAR GOALS IN MIND

Yet, Dr. Ensley says, people no longer save for only a rainy day, and apparently "very few people save expressly for the purpose of earning income upon their savings." people evidently have a clear goal in mind, such as education of children, a vacation, a new motorboat, or perhaps a European trip.

Studies indicate, Dr. Ensley reports, that people save "not because they are under the same vagure moral pressure to practice thrift that may have motivated our great-grand-parents to practice thrift, but because they have in mind some specific material advancement in their standard of living."

He adds: "The average American wants a well-equipped home, a good car, an education for his children, and comfortable, secure retirement. He is willing to work for these things, and happily, he is willing to save for them."

The problem of savings has been magnified in recent years by growing competition for the thrift dollar-from traditional thrift institutions, from commerical banks, from the stock market, and even at times from Government securities.

Thus bankers are becoming increasingly concerned about the possibility that thrift is becoming outmoded. Some believe that the great emphasis in modern-day America on charge accounts, the easy availability of credit generally, has tended to undermine the traditional notion of what a prudent

man does with his money.

Not so, says Dr. Ensley. He saves for specific reasons, rather than for the vague, moralistic notion of a rainy day. But he still saves. A bank-particularly a savings bank-should take advantage of modern man's inclination toward having specific savings goals.

The basic approach is to provide additional services. First, this requires having a sufficient number of branches located in areas where people do their shopping or conduct other business.

Next, savings programs should be geared to the notion of specific goals. For instance, the Philadelphia Saving Fund has for more than 2 years provided their depositors with 10 different special purpose accounts. Other banks are following their lead.

STIMULATE NEW BUSINESS

"Not only have a great number of these special-purpose or convenience accounts been opened," Dr. Ensley reports, "but these accounts, according to the latest report from the bank, have been a psychological and promotional instrument in stimulating new business in many areas of the bank's operations."

"These convenience accounts have served as a stimulus to the incentive to save and have been a motivating force behind new business collectively. I think that such success calls for admiration for the innova-tor and for imitation by others."

Dr. Ensley does not agree with some bankers who contend social security payments and other pension funds have reduced the necessity to save in the traditional way. On the contrary, he says, while government and other pension funds increased in recent years by 40 percent, private insurance and private pension funds rose by 51.5 percent. "This substantiates my belief." he says,

"This substantiates my belief," he says,
"that the average American is willing to
work hard to raise his level of living, not
only for the next year but for periods of leisure and for his future years of retirement."

There is, however, one school of thought that contends people are becoming more selective in choosing a place to put surplus funds. Thus last fall when the Treasury issued notes carrying a 5 percent interest rate, people rushed to their local banks and withdrew substantial sums to purchase the new securities. Most banking institutions, at the time, were paying just over 3 percent interest.

Says the National Association of Mutual Savings Banks: "The individual is conscious of interest rates, and is willing to increase the risk elements if he can feel that the interest rates or yields are worth it."

There was, of course, no element of risk in buying the Treasury 5-percent notes. But there is no small element of risk in some investments, where people have tended to put their money—in mutual funds, for instance. Durin gthe recent 10-year bull market, when stock prices climbed ever higher ,there was little to remind investors that stock prices go down as well as up. It was in this period of almost constantly rising prices that mutual funds made their greatest gains.

Perhaps in recognition that people are taking a hard look around at investments, savings banks are trying to work out programs that enable them to pay higher dividends on savings accounts.

EXPLORE OTHER OUTLETS

Savings banks are looking into additional investment outlets that could make their overall investment programs more adjustable to changes in deposit inflows and also provide the basis for paying higher interest rates—while still maintaining historical standards of safety and availability, reports the NAMSB.

Thus savings banks have entered a decade in which people may not be impressed by the rainy day argument. The solution, as seen by Dr. Ensley, is to develop new techniques for guiding an dencouraging the instinct to save, an instict that is * * * (not) * * * outmoded * * *.

TWO-WAY PROTECTION GIVEN FOR THE DEPOSITOR'S MONEY

Mutual savings banks provide two-way protection for depositor's money—by the type of investments they make and through insurance corporations.

More than 500 of the Nation's savings banks provide deposit insurance. The majority are members of the Federal Deposit Insurance Corp., which insures savings accounts up to \$10,000. While some savings banks in Massachusetts and Connecticut are members of the FDIC, most are members of their own guaranty funds.

All of New York's 127 savings banks are FDIC members, as is the case in Delaware, Indiana, Minnesota, New Hampshire, New Jersey, Ohio, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Vermont, and Washington. Deposits insured with FDIC amount to 82 percent of all deposits held by all mutual savings banks.

Aside from insurance, the investments these banks make also provide depositors with protection, Most of the deposits they hold are put into mortgage loans, a majority of which are insured or guaranteed by the Federal Government, in Government securities, or in State, municipal, and corporate bonds.

RISE IN SAVINGS HELD VITAL NEED

A higher rate of savings is the key to financing sound economic growth in the new decade, Julian B. Baird, Under Secretary of the Treasury for monetary affairs, said in a statement to the Nation's mutual sayings banks, now celebrating their 150th year.

The additional funds will be needed, Mr. Baird said, to help "finance in a noninflationary manner the \$400 billion or so of new plant and equipment, homes, highways, schools and hospitals required to meet the needs of the 13 million new American job-holders and their families in the decade ahead.

"I am sure mutual savings banks will continue to share with us the fight for fiscal soundness as they perform their essential national function of stimulating thrift."

INSURANCE DRIVE LED BY BRANDEIS

Louis Dembitz Brandels, the former Chief Justice of the United States Supreme Court, originated the idea of savings bank life insurance more than a half-century ago.

He became interested while investigating operations of a big life insurance company for policyholders. This was before the Armstrong Committee's findings resulted in drastic insurance legislation in New York State and set the pattern for the Nation.

Judge Brandeis combined the theory of a mutual savings bank with that of a life insurance company. Enabling legislation was first passed in Massachusetts in 1907, after a hard-fought campaign led by Judge Brandeis. It is now offered by savings banks in three States, New York, Connecticut, Massachusetts.

ASSOCIATION ON ALERT FOR MEMBERS—VAST POOL OF SERVICES CONSTANTLY AVAILABLE TO ALL

Services of the National Association of Mutual Savings Banks to member institutions range from turning out statistical data to "selling" the industry in Washington.

These services, in general, are designed to improve operations of an individual bank and for "advancement of the industry nationally."

Member banks receive a steady stream of statistical data concerning deposit and investment activities, as well as economic analyses which can form the basis for decisions of management.

HELP PLAN SERVICES

These same studies are often used in developing policies on national issues, particularly those concerned with housing, home financing, Federal debt management and taxation. Trend studies on savings, investments and spending help banks plan new services.

Aside from studies, perhaps the greater effort of the national association is put into "selling" the savings bank industry on a national level in Washington and to State legislatures in cooperation with State Associations

A new office in Washington, opened in September 1959, and an annual conference with key legislative leaders in Congress and with Government officials are some of the ways the national association takes part in the national scene.

But, the association says, "perhaps of greatest significance to the growth of savings banking are programs to extend savings banking beyond its present geographical confines."

The attack is along two lines: The association supports and helps draft legislation allowing savings banks into more States. They can now operate in only 18. The enabling legislation passed last month by Alaska is perhaps the first major payoff of this portion of the program. The national association helped frame the new law and has promised to provide whatever help it can in organizing the first savings bank there.

In addition to work in States, the national association has recently completed a com-

prehensive study aimed at developing a Federal mutual savings bank bill. It will permit chartering of national savings banks by the Federal Government.

The association recently said it "is directing its research, public relations, and legislative drafting efforts toward effective extension of savings banks system through Federal charters."

In addition to research projects and its legislative efforts, the national association carries out a number of formal educational programs. These are intended to help work out the problems of recruiting, training, and promoting personnel.

Since the summer of 1957 the association has sponsored a Management Development Conference at Dartmouth College for potential savings bank officers. They study such topics as economics, monetary and fiscal policies, history, international relations, philosophy, and the arts.

FIRST CLASS IN JUNE

This June the first class of the Graduate School of Savings Banking at Brown University, will begin three 2-week summer courses to provide a better understanding of management in a savings bank and the economic setting in which the industry operates.

LOW RATES ATTRACTIVE IN POLICIES—INTEREST GROWING IN LIFE INSURANCE

New policies and low rates are attracting more and more people to savings bank life insurance.

In 1959, a record 41,443 policies were issued, amounting to \$113,900,000. This boosted the total insurance in force to well above the \$1 million mark, the National Association of Mutual Savings Banks reported. A previous record of 39,416 policies, totaling \$96,100,000, had been set in 1958.

The trend is clearly demonstrated by figures for Bowery Savings Bank, New York, largest mutual thrift institution in the Nation. In 1950, this bank sold policies totaling just over \$3 million; in 1954 this figure edged up to \$3,600,000. But in 1959 it shot up to \$7,380,000—doubling in 5 years, and a hefty \$1,200,000 above the 1958 level.

DOUBLED IN 5 YEARS

For all savings banks in New York State offering life insurance the same trend shows up. Their total sales in 1950 amounted to \$19 million; by 1954 it had increased to only \$22 million. But in 1959, they sold more than \$50 million of new policies—again doubling in 5 years.

Why this sudden spurt of interest in the last few years? For one thing, New York State boosted the maximum policy to \$10,000 in 1958 from the \$5,000 which prevailed since 1948.

This, of course, allowed the banks to rack up higher sales per individual policy. It also brought in a flow of new customers attracted by the higher figure.

COST IS LESS

But bascially people seem to turn to savings banks for life insurance because it sometimes costs less. How much an individual can save depends on many factors—his age type of policy etc.

his age, type of policy, etc.

As a rule of thumb, though, the prospective customer might expect to save \$4 or \$5 a year per \$1,000 of coverage on an endowment policy. Insurance experts, however, caution that such comparisons are of limited use. Dividends over the years and operating costs of a company would enter into the final cost. And a regular insurance company could offer straight life insurance in large amounts for less money than a savings bank. But, some insurance men say, for certain types of policies, the banks charge less in premiums.

While savings banks offer many of the

While savings banks offer many of the same policies as an insurance company, the bank insurance is unique in some ways. For one thing, it is sold in only three States—Connecticut, Massachusetts, and New York. And not all savings banks in these States offer it.

SALES OVER COUNTER

For another thing, savings banks can sell only over the counter. They cannot employ salesmen or agents. And while this might make it a bit more inconvenient to buy such a policy, it can hold down costs.

There are no agent fees to pay, and the saving is passed on in the form of lower premiums. It also means most people will want to keep their premiums paid up to date—they have to sell themselves on the idea of insurance and there is no danger they will fall under the spell of high-pressure salesmen.

This persistency rate, as insurance men call it, means added savings for policy-holders. A company usually starts breaking even on a policy after it has been in effect a number of years. Until that time, administrative costs more than equal premiums.

DROPOUT RATE DOWN

Regular insurance company experience shows that up to 6 or 7 percent of the policyholders may cancel their insurance. But for savings banks the dropout rate is down to about 1 or 2 percent.

Aside from lower costs people seem to be attracted to savings bank insurance because these institutions have been able to offer new types of policies in recent years. One of the most popular is a decreasing term policy which can be written up to \$30,000. Under this plan, the insurance in force is high initially, then gradually sinks to \$1,000 or \$5,000 over a span of 20 years. This allows the policyholder to have high protection when he needs it most—perhaps to protect a growing family.

Another type of policy covers all members of the family. It can carry a total of \$10,000 for the husband, \$2,500 for his wife and each child. In a family of six this would mean a total policy of \$22,500.

TREND STRESSES MORTGAGES, SELECTED CORPORATE BUYING

In the postwar period, savings banks of the Nation have sharply reduced their holdings of government securities, but have poured money into the mortgage market. They have also hiked holdings of selected corporate securities.

However, while the trend has been toward more mortgages and corporates and away from governments, the exact amount held in any one year year depends on the general state of the economy and relative yields available. In addition, a certain amount of funds is always kept in government bills for liquidity requirements, since these investments can be easily converted to cash.

Thus savings banks emerge as major buyers in the mortgage market. And their activities in the government sector are also important in assisting the Treasury in carrying out its financing requirements.

Expressed as percentages of total assets, mutual savings banks increased mortgages from 24.8 percent in 1945 to 63.6 percent of assets in 1959. In this same period their holdings of governments dropped from 62.8 percent of assets in 1945 to 17.6 percent last year

In prewar years savings banks were fairly heavy investors in corporates. For instance, in 1910 they had more than 25 percent of their assets tied up in these securities. But in 1945 they had less than 1 percent of assets in corporate securities. Last year it climbed to 12.4.

Savings banks are not major investors in tax-exempt bonds. Thrift institutions, in effect, pay little in Federal income taxes and there is little attraction for them to buy municipal securities.

In dollar amounts, as well as in percentage of assets, the same trends show up in where savings banks place their funds.

At the close of 1959 they had more than \$24 billion invested in mortgages, against \$20 billion 2 years before, and \$8 billion in 1950. Mortgage holdings totaled only a slim \$4 billion in 1945.

While mortgages were being bought in increasing amounts by the Nation's mutual savings banks, they were gradually reducing their holdings of governments. In 1945, for instance, they had \$10 billion invested in government securities. Five years later they were still at the \$10 billion level. But by 1957, the figure had dropped to around \$7,500 million and last year government holdings amounted to \$6,800 million.

Holdings of selected corporate securities have remained fairly constant in the 1950's—averaging between \$3 billion and \$4 billion. At the close of 1959, they stood at \$4,800 million.

THEY CAN'T EVEN GIVE MONEY AWAY—
SKEPTICISM AND DISTRUST GREET INVESTIGATIONS

The woman opened the door just a crack and looked out suspiciously at a young man on the steps of her Brooklyn brownstone. "Can you tell me the last known whereabouts of John R. D.——?" he asked.

"Never heard of him."

Slam.

This sort of investigator often meets such a reaction or its corollaries: Skepticism, disbelief, mistrust. And all he's trying to do is give money away.

The job of a savings bank investigator assigned to tracing long-dormant accounts is complicated by the tendency of the American public to question anything that smacks of something-for-nothing.

IN 15 YEARS

Under New York State law the savings banker must report to the State controller the names of all depositors who haven't shown any account activity in the last 15 years and who can't be located.

The controller designates how the bank should go about advertising for these missing persons. In the meantime, though, the banks conduct full-time searches for their long-lost customers.

What do people say when the man from the bank tells them they still hold \$2,639 in their savings account? According to the investigator for Bowery Savings Bank, 24year-old Samuel Feldman, the reaction is often a grateful smile and a raised eyebrow.

Most people contacted by the dark young man ask suspiciously: "Well how much do I owe you?" They assume that anyone who'd go to the trouble of looking them up is looking for trouble anyhow. Bill collectors, maybe. When they learn that the money is waiting for them the attitude usually changes.

It's something like the transition lawyers have noticed when they inform a young couple that a no-account old uncle is dying. "But don't worry about the funeral expenses," the lawyer adds, "he can be buried right next to his new uranium mine."

Coming up with a windfall often raises complications for the recipients. One investigator reported a situation where the deceased depositor's five daughters no longer talk to each other. In Mr. Feldman's case he spends a great deal of effort porting over telephone directories and tracking down business addresses of extinct firms. If the missing depositor appears to be over 65 there's always the Social Security Administration.

COVERS FIVE BOROUGHS

Then it's out into the field—a sprawling five boroughs with about 9 million highly individualistic residents. The city is a place where hundreds of detectives have a tough

time tracking down a criminal whose height, weight, race, aliases, and usual haunts are carefully recorded. The complexity of the bank's task is illustrated by the fact that dope peddlers, maffia leaders, and the like, have been able to escape detection for a while. What of the law-abiding depositor who nods to the patrolman on the beat but is unknown to the local precinct?

And in so many cases the target of the bank's search now uses a different name, whether through marriage or just individual preference.

While Mr. Feldman's probes take him all over the metropolitan area his correspondence has turned up missing depositors in such far-away places as Hawali, Miami, and Ireland. He sounds sort of wistful when he lists these spots, as if he wished his job permitted him to do long-range searches on the spot instead of via airmail.

Physical distance is not the only complicating factor. There often are great gaps right within the same family. A savings bank investigator points out that one patriarch insisted he knew nothing of his daughter. As it turned out she had married outside of her family's religion and to them she was indeed lost.

Even when the errant customer is pinned down he doesn't always come in to straighten out his account. Mr. Feldman tells of a dozen letters written to and answered by a Brooklyn woman. She's always coming in to the bank, she says, but to date still hasn't taken the subway ride to the cash awaiting her on the pot-o'-gold side of the East River.

AND THERE'S INTEREST

When the dormant account is activated the bank adds on the accrued interest, a neat sum for someone who forgot all about the \$500 he deposited when he got out of the infantry after the war. Some veterans go even farther back. Mr. Feldman located a man in Cuba who promptly sent back a yellowed Bowery bank book. He no doubt found it in his barracks bag from the days when he went up San Juan Hill with the Roughriders.

Adding up all the odd cases and the just plain forgetful ones, Mr. Feldman reported a successful 1959 as 208 accounts were cleared up. They totaled \$52,000 with "very few \$10,000 or larger."

But the Feldman private-eye days are over. After a year and half of investigating he's turned to a more bank-sounding title: Senior teller.

MUTUAL SAVINGS VERSUS COMMERCIAL: WHAT IS THE DIFFERENCE AND WHY?

A bright, young Wall Street executive, who daily treads in the canyons of the Nation's financial district, recently walked into a leading savings bank, asked to see an officer, and said he wished to arrange a personal loan.

"He was," the officer explained later, "somewhat indignant when I told him a mutual savings bank cannot make ordinary consumer loans."

The young executive is not alone in his confusion. Bankers are learning, to their surprise, that most people have great difficulty in telling one type of banking institution from another.

A BIG DIFFERENCE

"It is a bit discouraging," a savings banker complained recently, "no matter how much advertising we do, people still seem to think a bank is a bank is a bank."

Actually, though, there is a big difference between types of banking institutions, and perhaps a still bigger difference in the types of services they can offer.

For one thing, there is a matter of ownership. A mutual savings bank is actually owned by the people who use it. The bank was originally organized by kindhearted, public-spirited citizens of a community.

But the mutual savings bank has no stockholders. All profits from its operations go to depositors, as dividends on accounts, into reserve funds, or into the business itselfusually a combination of the three.

In contrast, a commercial bank is a chartered corporation, fully dedicated to helping the Nation and the community, but also dedicated to turning out a profit for its owners, the shareholders.

Shares of the Nation's major commercial banks, such as First National City Bank, Chase Manhattan Bank, or Bank of America, National Trust and Savings Association are traded over-the-counter and can be purchased almost as easily as the shares of General Motors, or International Business Machines.

Aside from ownership, mutual savings banks differ from regular or commercial banks by types of services they can offer.

Mutual savings banks are the specialty stores of the banking industry, while commercial banks are giant department stores, offering a full range of services and expert advice on anything from conditions in Europe -to likely spots for a new plant in Africa.

On the other hand, mutual savings banks deal in only one commodity-thrift. They were specifically organized to encourage savings among people of moderate means, which perhaps account for some of the names-

Bowery, Emigrant, Seamans, etc.

The matter of thrift is still their primary function. Some, however, have branched out a bit and offer special low-cost life insurance, money order checks (but not checking accounts), and safe-deposit facilities. Some savings banks will make passbook loans, that is they offer low-cost loans for amounts not exceeding what the individual has on deposits.

But a commercial bank will make all types of loans, ranging from billion-dollar transactions for the Federal Government, down to a \$500 advance for buying a new auto. And, it is also only the commercial banks that can offer checking accounts, both regular and special.

INVESTMENTS DIFFER

In addition to the matter of ownership and types of services, banks also differ in the way they invest money deposited with

Savings banks, which usually can depend on having funds on deposit for some time, place much of their funds in long-range investments. At the moment something more than 63 percent of their \$35 billion is invested in mortgages. During the 1950's, savings banks played a major role in financing the big housing boom. They also buy Government securities, ranging in maturity from those due in a few months, to those stretching out to many years.

Mutual savings banks also help finance a variety of community projects, such as new schools, churches, shopping centers, housing developments, industrial buildings, and in the case of one upstate New York savings bank, the local theater (which went out of business before paying off the mortgage).

Commercial banks, however, can't count on having deposits around too long. Much of their funds is in checking accounts, or demand deposits. Big commercial banks also deal in time deposits which is money given to them for a specified period of time on which they pay a fixed rate of interest.

RATE RISE IS CENTER OF DEBATE—MANY INSTITUTIONS OPPOSED TO BOOST

Major commercial banks are likely to step up efforts to lift the 3-percent maximum rate they can pay as interest on time and savings deposits. Yet there is little to in-dicate the Federal Reserve Board is willing to go along with such a change.

In recent months big commercial banks, particularly in New York City, have spoken

out sharply against the ceiling. They argue that higher rates are being paid by thrift institutions—savings banks and savings and loan associations.

In addition, they point to sharp deposits losses they took particularly in the latter half of 1959, as funds, some of them foreign, shifted into other investments, such as Government securities, where interest rates were more attractive.

DEMANDS MAY INCREASE

Demands for lifting the rate ceiling are likely to increase in the months ahead, particularly if money continues in relatively tight supply and the economy continues at a generally brisk pace.

For thrift institutions, a boost in the rate would undercut one of their biggest arguments for winning new deposits-the ability to pay more interest than commercial banks.

In recognition of this important advan-tage the National Association of Mutual Savings Banks recently reported its member banks are streamlining their operations to speed service and reduce costs and are seeking new investment outlets so that they can continue to reward depositors with the highest rates consistent with safety and the ready availability of funds.

COMPETITIVE DISADVANTAGE

The case for commercial banks is based on the simple fact they are not able to compete effectively for deposits with other types of investments and other types of banking institutions as long as they must operate under the 3-percent ceiling.

Despite the reasonableness of their case and though deposit losses last year were large, they were not widespread. Weighing against commercial banks arguments is that losses occurred mostly in major banks-and

mostly in New York City.

However, the Fed's 3-percent ceiling is Nationwide in application. The Federal Reserve is understood to think any increase in this ceiling might spark unhealthy competition among smaller banks in other parts of the country.

SHIFTING IN DEPOSITS

In addition, the most serious competition for commercial banks is not other banking institutions, even though they pay higher rates, but the money market itself. report most shifting last year was in time deposits, money left with the bank by big corporations or foreign customers. Some losses were taken in commercial bank savings accounts-which must compete directly with thrift institutions-but most of these reductions were attributed to the Treasury offering of 5-percent notes.

Time deposits shifted out of commercial banks to take advantage of the Treasury bill yields, which at times ranged to more than 41/2 percent and to 5 percent for notes of longer maturities.

These rates contrast with the 3-percent maximum interest commercial banks can pay on time deposits maturing in 6 months or more and a 21/2-percent ceiling on those falling due in 90 days to 6 months.

OPPOSITION TO RISE

The effect of this rate disparity, of course, was to reduce commercial bank time deposits. But it is this source of decline-in time deposits-which argues against a change by the Federal Reserve. Losses in such deposits means that only big banks-mostly in New York City-felt the pinch.

In addition there is considerable reason to think that many commercial banks of the Nation are not in the least interested in having the rate changed. A number of small commercial banks still pay no interest at all on savings accounts and many pay less than the 3 percent maximum allowed under the Fed's ceiling.

The opposition of many small commercial banks to lifting the ceiling was found at the annual convention of the American Bankers Association last fall in Miami Beach. The outgoing ABA president stated frankly the association had not and would not ask the Fed to boost the ceiling.

ILLOGICAL POSITION

Despite the opposition of small commercial banks there is a growing opinion if economic conditions continue on the upside the Fed might at least reconsider its policy.

For one thing, the big commercial banksjust by force of reason-are winning some powerful support to their cause. For instance, the influential and highly respected New York Superintendent of Banks, G. Russell Clark, has spoken out repeatedly against the illogic of present regulation.

New York, of course, finds itself in a particularly illogical position. Mr. Clark imposed a 31/4-percent ceiling on rates savings banks can pay on regular accounts; but, in effect, he is powerless to control savings and loan associations, even those with State charters.

AUTHORITY BY STATE LAW

Under New York State law he has authority to impose ceilings on such associations. But he apparently stays his hand, since there is little to prevent a State association from converting to a Federal charter and thus escaping the strict rules of Mr. Clark's department.

Thus in New York State the lineup rates are as follows: commercial banks, under Federal Reserve rules, can't pay more than 3 percent on time and savings deposits; State regulations hold savings banks to 31/4 percent on regular accounts (and extra 1/4 percent is allowed on so-called 2-year money); savings and loan associations operate virtually free of ceilings-and generally pay fractionally higher interest.

In small States and in areas where money is not such an important commodity the situation is not as strained as in the Empire Yet it is the major banks who are State. taking the major losses. And while there is little to show conditions for them will improve, there is at least, a growing awareness that they are being forced to operate at a competitive disadvantage.

ALL EYES IN NATION NOW ON NEW YORK FOR IMPACT OF REVISED BANKING LAW-INFLU-ENCE SEEN CERTAIN IN ALL PARTS OF UNION

In the early morning hours of March 22, Governor Rockefeller, of New York, signed a bill providing a major overhaul of the Empire State's long-antiquated banking law.

Thus ended a fight that spanned more than a decade and has echoed in the State's legislative chambers, hearing rooms and around board tables of leading banks.

No sooner had the bill been passed than bankers across the Nation began asking themselves: What significance does this bill have for the banking structure of my State?

New York State, containing New York City. financial capital of the Nation if not the world, is often looked to for leadership in fiscal matters.

At the turn of the century, for instance, the findings of a State committee on insurance set the pattern for insurance industry. In addition, its giant financial institutions, both savings and commercial banks, handle funds belonging to people throughout the country. Indeed, loans made by these banks finance many projects even in faraway California.

REASON TO WONDER

Thus there was good reason for bankers outside New York to wonder what that State's new banking law held in store for their own institutions.

There is, of course, no certain answer. The effect of New York's new banking law will

vary by State and by type of banking institution. Its greatest impact may be on commercial banks, rather than on savings banks.

Yet there are certain aspects of the New York law which will probably greatly influence most sections of the country in solving their own banking problems. In addition, the many public statements being made by New York's influential superintendent of banks, G. Russell Clark, and the guidelines he eventually establishes under provisions of the law will also be watched with interest by other banking supervisors.

Perhaps the most important single aspect of the new law is its emphasis on competition between banks and between the various types of banking institutions. The New York superintendent regards this concept as a key feature of law. He will not only permit competition, but he will deliberately promote it.

QUOTES LAW'S PREAMBLE

Mr. Clark is fond of quoting a portion of the law's preamble which says, in part: "* * * that healthy and nondestructive competition be fostered among all types of banking organizations."

He added: "I would stress that this is a positive mandate that competition be fostered, provided that it is nondestructive in character. I will seek in my branch policy

to attain this objective."

This attitude of the superintendent, if not the wording of the bill itself, represents a departure from the traditional attitude, in itself a "hangover" from the depression years of the 1930's: that competition between banks is somehow just a bit disrespectful, if not outright harmful; that, if anything, there should be less competition, rather than more—apparently out of fear the whole banking structure might collapse under pressure.

NEW YORK CAN SHOW WAY

The idea that competition between banks is not only to be tolerated but fostered particularly in the heartland of the Nation's financial institutions will certainly cause other bank supervisors to reexamine their traditional notions about the subject. At the very least, New York has the opportunity to demonstrate—with billions of dollars at stake—that healthy nondestructive competition will be in the public interest.

Mr. Clark's determination to enforce competition is clear from statements he has made recently. For instance, he has warned that the one or two big banks on Long Island will not simply be replaced with a couple of other institutions.

"I would not like to see the present domination of each of these two counties (on Long Island) by a couple of suburban banks merely replaced by the domination of these two counties by a couple of the big New York City banks," he says.

Mr. Clark adds: "I take a dynamic view of the role of competition in the field of banking and insofar as this new legislation permits a change in the banking structure of the State, this opportunity should be used for the purpose of increasing and enhancing competition."

ANOTHER MAJOR CONCEPT

Aside from the notion of competition, both explicit and implicit in the new law, there is one other major concept that will probably have far-reaching influence.

This is the idea of growth—the best method of growth for banking institutions in a complex economy without harming smaller banks, but without restricting operation of larger institutions.

New York's solution to this problem, under its new law, has been to permit additional branching of thrift institutions, and to authorize holding companies for statewide expansion of commercial banks.

CURBED IN LAST 3 YEARS

Bank holding companies are by no means unique to New York or other States, but they have been operating in the twilight zone of questionable virtue also occupied by competition.

In the Empire State itself holding companies have been banned from forming in the last 3 years. Many other States are also questioning the wisdom of allowing such organizations to form within their boundaries. The New York case was particularly illogical since one statewide company had been doing business for a quarter-century.

However, the New York law casts holding companies in a new, more respectable light. They will be permitted to form and do business throughout the State, under Mr. Clark's supervision. Thus they are recognized as a perfectly legitimate means of expansion in a State where banking and money rank as a leading industry. Certainly other States can be expected to re-evaluate the usefulness of holding companies in their banking structure.

Retrospect Prognostication

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. FRANK IKARD

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 23, 1960

Mr. IKARD. Mr. Speaker, recently I received a copy of an address entitled "Retrospect Prognostication" delivered by Mr. Oral Jones, before the Rotary Club in Wichita Falls, Tex. Mr. Jones was in the banking business practically all of his life until his voluntary retirement 3 years ago, and served for many years as vice president of the City National Bank in Wichita Falls. He is a past president of the Texas Bankers Association and one of the outstanding bankers of his time. In addition to his duties on his job, he devoted a great deal of his time to civic work, helping to build the city of Wichita Falls. I request that Mr. Jones' address be included in the RECORD as I feel that it will be an inspiration to all who read it, as it was to me.

The address follows:

RETROSPECT PROGNOSTICATION

(By Oral Jones, past president, the Texas Bankers Association, before Rotary Club, Wichita Falls, Tex.)

There is no magic by which we can automatically solve our problems, nor the world problems today, but we are not discouraged.

The puzzles which are before us can be untangled only by our own personal energy and initiative, we cannot delegate the work and thinking to someone else. Nor can we expect some great white father to take care of all our ills and needs.

The power that has lifted the world from savagery and chaos into a decent civilization where free men dare to breathe, even, has been the power of courageous men to assume leadership in the critical hours.

There was no great band of men who were gathered around the master at the foot of the cross, but the faithful few who stood the trial of that dangerous hour have spread their message across the world.

Today we can achieve progress if we have the energy and initiative that drove the pilgrims to establish a settlement on the bleak shores of America or compelled the heroes of Valley Forge to withstand the terror of winter.

We can compel the world to hear us only if we have the body and mental strength of those who established the original 13 United States.

An old song runs "Man's life's a vapor, full of woes. He cuts a caper and down he goes."

For centuries priests and sages and indeed history itself have been telling us that man and his earthly works will be destroyed by change and fall to dust.

But with a stubborness that frequently achieves greatness, man goes on working as if the monuments he raises, the governments he sets up, the art he painstakingly fashions could last forever.

Preeminent among those who have laid up treasures upon this earth, was J. P. Morgan. With consummate skill he built the House of Morgan into an institution so powerful it seemed impervious to change.

But, change, which has cut into the house over the years now reaches even the great name itself. Now it has become the Morgan Guaranty Trust Co. Though old "J. P.'s" most personal monument now takes new form, others he created live—his art collection, the big corporations he formed.

The closest man has ever come to scoring permanently over change and decay is illustrated by the essay on a 2,800-year-old golden bowl found in Iran. A soldier, whose skeleton was uncovered with the bowl, saved it in a holocaust. He was just doing his duty, not worrying about posterity. But his brave act preserved the record of a people and a culture buried and forgotten by history—thus he gave them a chance to survive in the minds of men.

The Russian and American rockets to the Moon which resulted in the first manmade orbits of the Sun, illustrate man's advances into the ageless void of space and are unfolding day by day.

Today we are interested in present problems and the immediate future—not the ageless traditions, nor the dim centuries ahead. What is before us in the remainder of

1959?

We firmly believe most American will live better. They will earn more money and spend more money.

Dollars will be tempted from easily replenished wallets by the greatest variety of things and services imaginative and enterprising man has yet conceived.

On paper, this will be America's most prosperous year.

Inflation will be the problem and recession is all but forgotten.

Prosperity, judged by the standards of the new economy, which is evolving in the 20th century's second half will hit a new peak, Inflation will attain a new peak, too, and those statisticians who measure from basics of 20 years ago, that postdepression, prewar year of 1939, will find less to cheer them than those who do not know of these matters.

As in other years of this decade, the automobile industry will power the economy. We will be moderately more prosperous or considerably more prosperous depending on success in Detroit.

Just out of reach of booming America is an almost unbelievable half-trillion dollar annual economy. The sale of new cars in 1959 and 1960 will determine whether we get a jet thrust toward this goal or whether we move toward it in a slower, more sedate fashion.

In this year, 1959, America will emerge from an economic phase to which we have become adjusted, a postwar economy, into a new one.

It is a natural growth, but its results will require their own specific adjustments on the

part of the public.

Perhaps for years to come economists will be debating the merits of the kind of prosperity with its creeping inflation which we are entering. It has its perils as well as rewards, most of all it requires greater responsibility to the economy on the part of America's leaders.

However, the view ahead for the rest of 1959 is better than the view analysts could

take a year ago.

We can be almost sure of these things:

Income will reach new records.

Prices will remain unchanged to slightly higher.

Spending will hit a new peak.

The gross national product, measure of total output of goods and services, will establish a new record.

Production will set a new high. Construction will set a new peak.

Savings will reach a new record. Business expenditures naturally will be at

a new high. In short, we will be prosperous, more prosperous than we have ever been before-

viding there are no unforeseen setbacks. Into this bright picture comes the annual

session of Congress. It has had all its usual noise and jockeying for position. What can we hope for out of Congress?

There definitely seems no change for tax cuts this year.

However, higher tax rates seem also as highly unlikely. We in the Wichita Falls area can take

comfort from the fact there is little chance the oil depletion allowance will be cut. It won't be changed this year.

Postal rates will not be raised. There will be a labor law passed in spite of all the investigations and noise about the

But a higher minimum wage law will be pushed hard.

Housing and construction is sure to get special help and the housing for elderly. for colleges and the military is being worked up by the Democrats who will use that heavy majority to the fullest.

We can almost be sure of greater Federal aid to schools, higher taxes on insurance companies and the continuing of the draft

While all this congressional twisting is taking place what about general retail business for the year?

There is a swift upsurge in detail sales that is rapidly approaching a boom. It started last fall, hit record levels in December and is still rising. In most cases, the retailers, who were scared this time last year, are ready to place bigger orders with the manufacturers.

There is only one bad note: Higher prices are sure to result.

Merchants are more optimistic than they have been in many years. They know the state of mind of their customers and why they are buying—the incomes are higher.

You can be sure of bigger sales in department stores, excellent clothing year plus more hard goods. Even appliances and furniture are making a comeback. For the supermarkets there is more volume.

Total sales are up 5 to 7 percent over last year in dollar volume. This means even an increase in physical volume in spite of higher

It will take hard selling to reach the heights this year but the merchants generally are planning more advertising, sales contests, special promotions, self-service and attractive credit terms.

The one big worry is prices. They are starting up already. Increases have been posted for appliances, TV, clothing, and shoes. Manufacturers are not as timid as they were a year ago about raising prices to meet their rising costs.

Most of these higher prices will be passed on to the customer. Thus there is another dose of inflation.

This trend for higher prices, this new threat of inflation will kick off a hot argument in Congress over what to do about it.

Eisenhower's insistence on a balanced budget is a part of the whole picture. His advisers, aware of probable price increase this year, argue that a Government deficit would only add to the inflationary spiral.

The liberals insist the Government should spend more money to further pep up the economy. They are suggesting such social benefits as education, housing, community benefits and facilities. This plus a strong defense might mean only deficit (10-cent dollar)

The liberals think they can hold down inflation—if it comes. They mean by tight restrictions and tighter Government controls.

We probably will wind up by seeing Government spending still high, and drugs, bread, autos, steel, insurance and other things essentially headed upward.

A typical illustration is that \$2 billion will be spent on new post offices. That will spread all over the country.

We no longer live alone in the world. must watch everything everywhere to be in a position to make intelligent decisions.

Money reforms abroad show the first sign of helping the U.S. exporters. They are getting inquiries from new foreign customers about prices and services. Heretofore, countries that sold their goods for pounds, francs, or marks, often couldn't convert the currencies into dollars-so they could not buy here. Now dollars are easier to get, opening up big markets for U.S. goods in such countries as France, Denmark, Sweden, Norway, Italy, Greece, and Argentina.

The methods of doing business abroad will

change rapidly in the future.

As for Russia. They do not want war with us. Despite all the bluster and talk from Khrushchev about Red military strength and about the damage they could do us here in the United States, he dreads the thought of stumbling into a war with the United States.

The Russians must have two major fears. 1. Our ring of strategic air bases from which the Russian heartland could be pulverized quickly.

2. A strongly militarized Germany. That might even attack as Hitler did.

It is possible that Berlin will heat up the cold war, but it is unlikely it will explode into global fury. We have drawn a line of no retreat and it is impossible to conceive the Reds dare cross it.

Russia is getting weary of the cold war. Its domestic economy is strained by heavy armament and at the expense of living standards in Russia.

The younger generation wants some of the wonderful luxuries that communism is supposed to have produced.

This doesn't mean the cold war is ended. But let us move back to the United States. The word debt needs some attention from all of us

From the dawn of man, we have been bombarded with the wise counsel about keeping out of debt. Yet today public and private debt in the United States is approaching the staggering and all but unbelievable total of \$1 trillion.

The debt of the U.S. Federal, State, and local governments, and of the people, was \$852.7 billion as of December 31.

In recent years this has been increasing at the rate of from 30 to 70 billions per year. There is no end in sight. However it must end somewhere or push us into unbelievable inflation.

This all produces talk about fiscal responsibility.

President Eisenhower's aim to get a balanced budget may get bipartisan help, but liberal elements in Congress may prevent such an event.

Reckless spending and debts can only add fuel to a flame of inflation which would rob all.

One thing is certain, if Congress passes any big spending measure not favored by the administration, Mr. Eisenhower will, forecast, make regular and persistent use of the veto.

Control must first: However, be exercised at local and State levels.

There is a great future in spite of all these cautious notes.

There will be 250 million Americans by 1976. February marked the 25th anniversary of the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation. The FDIC has been so universally accepted that it is hard to realize that It has only been in existence 25 years. As of today, it is insuring deposits in 13,383 of the 14,095 banks in the country and insures 96 percent of all bank deposits. They will take un-limited goods and services. This means 130 million motor vehicles with all their industrial demands, unlimited services and goods for the great increase.

Paris will be 2 hours by air and people will cross the Nation within an hour.

More than 100 million people will work at

gainful jobs and each job will create its

I envey those young men starting their business and professional careers at this time.

We are growing at both ends. There are more babies and more people are living to ripe old age. Each presents its own particular problem.

These needs will not be met by magic but by cool intelligent planning and working.

The challenge is to use all your intelli-

"Have you learned lessons only of those who admired you and were tender with you and stood aside for you?

"Have you not learned great lessons from those who reject you, and brace themselves against you, or who treat you with contempt,

or dispute the passage with you?"

It will not be easy, but trouble should sharpen us for the task ahead for each of us-

Too many people lose their grip on life even before they have tested the means to see what can be done.

The starts are everything. Never mind if you lose the lead as you press forward.

Often the winners of the race concentrates on the last few seconds, and wins the prize. No matter how discouraged you may be. As you wend your way through life, never

lose that grip of yours. Keep feeding it with courage, patience, and humility.

A cheerful outlook is something that needs to be planned.

We can all plan it. We all need it. We must take a firm grip on it.

It is so sorely needed in this world of fears, loss of faith and spiritual cast of mind.

How many times have we lost our cast of How many times have we lost our desire to perform and our determination to keep right on giving extra cheer to those who

most need encouragement? Don't lose your grip on the interests most enriching to you. Believe, look to God.

Do your best to keep a grip on life and its interests. Walk right past the failures. Do not refuse to make the start. Associate with those who inspire you, and who keep themselves on a high plane.

Follow out a plan of life that will keep influencing others.

Live out today, and all tomorrows will take care of themselves

If you want to be healthy morally, mentally, and physically, just let go.

Let go of the little bothers of everyday life, the irritations and the petty vexations that cross your path daily. Don't take them up and nurse them, pet them, and brood over them. They are not worthwhile. Let them go.

That little hurt you got from a friend, perhaps it wasn't intended; perhaps it was, but never mind, let it go. Refuse to think

about it.

Let go of that feeling of hatred you have for another, the jealousy, the envy, the malice, let go all such thoughts. Sweep them out of your mind and you will be surprised what a cleaning up and rejuvenating effect it will have upon you, both physically and mentally. Let them all go; you house them at deadly risk

But the big troubles, the bitter disappointments, the deep wrongs and hearbreaking sorrows, the tragedies of life, what about them? Why, just let them go, too. Drop them, softly maybe, but surely. Put away all regret and bitterness, and let sorrow be only a softening influence. Yes, let them go, too, and makes the most of the future.

Then that little pet ailment that you have been hanging on to and talking about, let it go. It will be a good riddance. You have treated it royally, but abandon it; let it go. Talk about health instead, and health will come. Quit nursing that pet ailment, and let it go.

American Credo

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. CHARLES E. CHAMBERLAIN

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 11, 1960

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. Mr. Speaker, the Post Office Department is to be highly complimented on its "American Credo" stamps which feature the sayings of great Americans.

It seems particularly significant that the third stamp in this series emphasizes Thomas Jefferson's immortal declaration I have sworn * * hostility against every form of tyranny over the mind of man.

Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to include in the Record the address by L. Rohe Walter, Special Assistant to the Postmaster General, dedicating the American Credo Thomas Jefferson stamp at Monticello at Charlottesville, Va., on May 18, 1960:

Address by L. Rohe Walter, Special Assistant to the Postmaster General, Dedicating the Thomas Jefferson "American Credo" Stamp, Monticello, Charlottesville, Va., May 18, 1960

It is fitting that we should gather here to honor Thomas Jefferson in the one place he loved best. This is indeed the one best place in all America for the dedication of the third in our "American Credo" stamp series.

For Jefferson was drawn to the land, to the peace and open of the country. His most treasured moments were those when he could sit in this house, which he designed, and look out over the valleys and distant mountains of his native Virginia.

Basically, Thomas Jefferson was a man of the frontier, who had an implicit trust in the honesty, good faith, and commonsense of the people. He was distrustful of any great concentration of power, be it in the hands of government or of any group.

The individual was, to him, the basic source of the Nation's strength in every area.

In his first annual message to Congress, in 1801, he declared: "Agriculture, manufacture, commerce, and navigation, the four pillars of our prosperity, are the most thriving when left most free to individual enterprise."

He also believed that the individual's contribution to good government was vital. This remarkable man, whose primary interests lay in scholarship, and in the culture of his home and lands here at Monticello, was drawn into Government service through almost 40 years of his life, earning the eternal gratitude of the Nation he did so much to build.

Through the years he served his people in the representative bodies and as Governor of his native State; in the Continental Congress; as a trusted diplomat; as Secretary of State and Vice President; and as one of the most towering figures ever to hold the office of President of the United States.

But to Thomas Jefferson his enduring achievements were set forth in the epitaph

he wrote for his own tomb:

"Here was buried Thomas Jefferson, author of the Declaration of American Indpendence, of the Statute of Virginia for religious freedom, and the father of the University of Virginia."

These symbolized to Jefferson his striving toward his highest ideals of justice, freedom, and knowledge for marking.

Throughout his life he sought to achieve these ideals for his countrymen as for himself

He established for all Americans many of the basic tenets by which our Nation is still governed.

His thirst for knowledge was unquenchable. It is significant of the man to note that, after the Library of Congress was destroyed in 1814, the Government turned to Thomas Jefferson to acquire, from his personal library, 13,000 volumes which would become the basis for what is today the world's greatest single storehouse of knowledge.

Yet the total spirit of this giant among Americans is summarized in the 13 words which appear on the American Credo stamp

we dedicate here today.

Centered between a hand holding aloft a flaming torch on the left, and the signature of the author of the Declaration of Independence on the right, are the words:

"I have sworn * * * hostility against every form of tyranny over the mind of man."

In this short credo is summed up the principle which guided Jefferson throughout his life. Never turning from it and never willing to compromise, Jefferson gave us as lasting monuments many of the basic documents that have guarded our liberties since 1776.

It is imperative that we today reaffirm—rededicate ourselves to—this oath by which he lived.

Through his lifetime he knew many forms of tyranny—the arbitrary autocracy of the British crown, the military despotism of Napoleon, the cruel colonial wars of the 18th century.

But in our time we are faced with an incredibly more sinister, enguising tyranny—one that surpasses, in its use of force over the minds and hearts of man, any that ever existed in Jefferson's age, or any age.

We need voices today to speak out as Jefferson spoke—to inspire freemen everywhere to stand firmly against the despots who seek to destroy freedom forever.

We must look to that kind of forthrightness and moral courage with which he denounced categorically the arbitrary powers of the English crown, and denied its right to rule over the American people.

Jefferson did not take the easy way out, as so many did, of attributing unjust actions to the agents of the crown and Parliament. He struck directly at the source. As free American citizens, who have inherited the traditions of Jefferson, we hold a trust to carry forward eternal hostility to the enslavement of the human mind, wherever it may exist.

We owe it to ourselves, to our children, and to the noble traditions of those who formed our country, to attack tyranny in whatever form it may take domestic or

foreign.

In this spirit, I am profoundly honored to dedicate this third in the series of American Credo stamps to the name of Thomas Jefferson, joining him once more with his illustrious colleagues, George Washington, who was memoralized in the first American Credo stamp, and Benjamin Franklin, whose wise counsel was carried on the second

The stamp, which is printed in red and gray, will have an initial printing of 120 million, and tomorrow will go on sale at 36,000 post offices. Like all the others in the series, it is of 4-cent denomination. It was designed by Frank Conley.

I feel certain that this stamp, carrying the words of one of the founders of American independence, will bring inspiration to millions, both in the United States and abroad, as the others in the American Credo series have done so well.

I know that the message it carries will stir renewed hope, renewed strength, and dedication to all devoted to the principles which have governed our Republic since its birth, when Thomas Jefferson penned the document beginning, "We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men are created equal."

Steuben Society of America Banquet

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, ALBERT H. BOSCH

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 17, 1960

Mr. BOSCH. Mr. Speaker, on Saturday evening, May 21, 1960, the Steuben Society of America held its 41st anniversary banquet in New York City. This society which bears the name of Baron Friedrich Wilhelm von Steuben of Revolutionary War fame lists under its policy and program:

1. This society aims to loyally support the Constitution of the United States of America, advocates the proper application of its provisions, and endeavors to inculcate the principles underlying government by a federal republic with limited, delegated powers.

This society is dedicated to maintaining the independence and sovereignty of the United States of America and its freedom

from all foreign influence.

The society was very fortunate in having for its speaker at the 41st anniversary banquet the Honorable Kenneth B. Keating, U.S. Senator from the State of New York. The Senator delivered a very timely and stirring address of tremendous interest to his audience and which I believe should be read by every citizen of the United States.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I include the text of the address to which I have referred:

STEUBEN SOCIETY, MAY 21, 1960

Mr. Chairman, members of the Steuben Society of America, it is a profound source of pleasure to me to have the opportunity to be with you here tonight. Your famous Steuben Society is more than an assemblage of outstanding and loyal American citizens. It is a part of the America that we love and -a symbol of the great stream of culture, of talent, of patriotism that has flown into our Nation from the great source of the German peoples, to strengthen and to ennoble this land we are proud to call our own.

Baron von Steuben can never be a mere name to Americans. He remains forever a part of our history, a part of our greatness,

a part of our pride as a nation.

This is a time to be proud to be an American. This is a moment in history when the spirit that has made us great—the spirit of freemen in a free society—is facing a challenge unique in the annals of our Nation.

And that challenge is being met-therein should lie our pride-by a massive and intense dedication to the principle that man is a creature of God, a creature of dignity-and that nothing we can strive for, nothing we can fight for represents a greater or more compelling cause.

We have known the face of danger here in America. It has surged before our eyes, cold and menacing, from the years of our

history.

It was the ugly face that Americans braved with men like Baron von Steuben at their

sides and in their vanguard.

It was the pitiless face we have seen on land and sea and in the air through all the wars of our birth, our growth and our maturity. A familiar face-but a foredoomed face-because the valor of American hearts, the strength of American arms crushed it to earth.

Now danger stalks the world again. It is not the danger dressed in uniform, the one we know only too well. It is rather the danger dressed in a garb of philosophy that is not only anti-God, but also anti-man. I here speak of man as a spirit, not as an animal, as an individual, not as a number. I speak of the mass operation to dehumanize man, to brutalize him, to legislate out of existence his soul, his conscience, his personality.

This is a new and ominous visage of danger. And it is not distant. It is not isolated in some remote land. It is pervasive. It is present. It is glaring at us on all sides. And you can read its identity card. It says, "communism."

Geography is no longer a lesson for children. It is a lesson for us all. The map of the world represents a study that should command far more attention than it does. For its blood-red areas are vast and growing.

The red stain has spread-is spreadingand as it seeps across new frontiers, as it trickles into new areas, the homeland of freedom undergoes a concurrent shrinkage, loses ground, loses strength, loses prestige.

This is the silent battleground upon which we fight this day. This is the threat to our way of life. This is the face of danger.

It is so often a well-masked face that we are prone to ignore its presence. As a nation we have been accustomed to fight conbattles ventional with conventional weapons.

Today the enemy may put on the very disguise of freedom in order better to fight reedom. In the name of liberation he practices enslavement. In the name of the people he oppresses the people. In the name of peace he would destroy peace.

This is a new pattern of conquest in the history of our world, new and ominous and deadly. As a symbol of its technique we have only to consider the ill-fated summit

conference.

It is apparent, grimly apparent, that Khrushchev went to Paris to obstruct, to confuse, to attempt to divide, rather than in the spirit of peace seeking or peace making.

And the pretext he has used to promote failure is in itself an affirmation of the

Soviet code of expediency, of total disregard for concepts of right and wrong.

Here we have the supreme frony of perhaps the greatest spymaster in history demanding an apology because his nation has been spied upon. Moral indignation is a mask that fits him poorly, yet he flaunts it before the world like an angel of innocence. Meanwhile, his espionage agents, scattered like termite colonies throughout the world, are eating away at the foundations of freedom wherever they are to be found.

And while those agents walk through our open doors, a great black expanse of secrecy marks the Communist areas on the strategic map of the world. It is a world hermetically sealed-in the military sense. Historically, our American cry of vigilance has been "on the ramparts we watch." And watch we must, so long as the shadow of an upraised fist falls across the sunlight of our freedom.

The resolve of the United States to live up to its role and responsibility as the leading Nation of the free world has been made unmistakably apparent to the Kremlin.

And if we must choose a symbol of this resolve it is to be found in Germany-in our unqualified support of the magnificent cita -. del of freedom that West Germany and West Berlin represent to this divided world.

Standing literally on the battleline of two opposing global forces, free Germany is an eloquent testimonial to human courage, the spiritual quest for freedom, for selfdetermination, no matter what the risks, no matter what the sacrifices.

It is one thing to be brave behind a wall of security; it is another and higher courage to face up boldly to danger, head high, heart high, firm in the sense and assurance that one is in the right, that there can be no compromise with principle, no dilution of the basic freedom that means more than life itself. Our support, our identification with the cause of free Germany is, to be sure, a great bulwark in their struggle. But we did not invent the raw courage of the German

We did not put the fire of patriotism, of dedication in the hearts of Chancellor Adenauer, of Mayor Willy Brandt, of all the millions of free Germans who stand solidly, steadfastly, and unafraid on the very rim of

In this regard, may I say a word or two about the matter of Khrushchev's threat to conclude a separate peace treaty with East Germany and turn over access to West Berlin to the Communist regime. It is seriously to be questioned whether the facts of lifefacts growing out of the very German character he has attempted to subjugate-will make such a move politically practicable.

By this I mean that the strong signs of instability in Germany—which is another way of saying the presence of the free spirit of Germany—may well make a peace pact with East Germany fraught with danger for the Kremlin. For it implies an Ulbrecht regime that will be on its own both in foreign affairs and in domestic state security, and such an eventuality may create more problems than it solves, so far as the Communist grand design is concerned.

It is especially appropriate, in these days when the fate of freedom is at stake in the world, that I should have the opportunity to speak before the Steuben Society. For in your charter, in your reason for existence, is typifled not only the spirit of a free America but the vigilance to keep it free.

Our strength, as a nation, must be measured by people, not by armaments. Our true strength is not in our military muscles, but in our citizens' hearts-in the spiritual dedication of people like yourself to the living honor of our great country, to the love it inspires in Americans, to the respect it inspires in all corners of the world.

Particularly is this spirit of dedication called for in an age of tremendous counterforces that press hard against our house of freedom, that chip away at its foundations, that would engulf it in the new, dehumanized society that communism seeks to create.

What is imperatively called for in this hour is an awareness of the presence of danger— and it is in this field that the mission of the Steuben Society becomes of paramount importance.

It is my feeling that too many Americans are prone to confuse their material wellbeing with a sense of security-to confuse their inalienable rights with permanent, impregnable liberty, to assume that labor-saving devices and freedom-preserving devices come in the same packages. The Steuben Society serves this Nation well when it raises its voice to remind us all that freedom is something that we can lose as well as win-and to keep it in our possession, cherished for the God-given attribute it is, we must have the eyes to keep watch on it, and the heart to fight for it in its hour of danger.

We live in a new and dangerous world, and we need Paul Reveres like yourselves to alert the country to the perils of indifference, of apathy, of the assumption that freedom is a birthmark that no power can removewhen it is actually an inheritance that can

be lost by default.

Above all, the struggle we are engaged in must be seen in the true perspective of our sense of survival as a nation, not in the false and twisted perspective of irrationality and blurred values. In this regard, let me say that I have been appalled at the number of letters I have received openly condemning our Nation for conducting spy flights over Russia. In the eyes of these citizens—yes clouded by a woeful misunderstanding of the facts of political life-we had no right to try to protect America and all freemen from the sudden fist that strikes out of the dark to smash our freedom, to smash all that we have fought and died to create, before and since the founding of the Republic.

These are honest, well-meaning citizens. Happily, they are a small minority. Yet it is symptomatic of the confused values of our time that such people are prone to plead the cause of the enemy of liberty by seeking to apologize for one manifestation of the very acts of intelligence-gathering which are employed against us unceasingly, night and day, year by year.

If we were the victims of a nuclear Pearl Harbor-and heaven grant that terrible visitation may never come-these same citizens would assail our Government for failure to have secured the intelligence that would have rendered such an attack impossible.

Patriotism, like charity begins at home. And that, too, is where vigilance begins— where security begins—in the minds and in the hearts of the American people.

We must be an aware people-an informed people-if we are to preserve intact and undiminished the precious gift of freedom that was handed down to us-that remains our sacred trust for so long as we live.

That is why I would wish to see the influence of your wonderful Steuben Society radiated throughout our land-why I would wish to see it galvanize to action a love of country, a devotion to country that too often slumbers in the soft featherbed of apathy, of indifference, of sheer unawareness of the tremendously meaningful hours and days we are living, in this world of hostility, of challenge, and of change.

In closing, may I leave with you this one observation. It has significance, I feel, in the light of what has been said here tonight. History has recorded for us the many ways in which human freedom has died-gloriously, cravenly, forlornly-but the saddest, most ignominious death of all is when freedom dies in its sleep.

Federal Power Commissioner Connole Is True Public Champion

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. LESTER R. JOHNSON

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, May 16, 1960

Mr. JOHNSON of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I would like to include in the Record two editorials that discuss the strange circumstances which surround the recent firing of Federal Power Commissioner William Connole. The first of the editorials appeared in the May 18, 1960, issue of the Capital Times, of Madison, Wis. The second editorial is from the May 20, 1960, issue of the Rural Electric Minuteman.

The editorials follow:

[From the Capital Times, Madison, Wis.]
IKE'S ASTOUNDING REASON FOR FIRING
CONNOLE

Before he left for Paris and the summit conference President Eisenhower issued a statement explaining why he refused to reappoint William R. Connole to the Federal Power Commission.

His explanation doesn't make much more sense than the way he has handled the spy incident.

Commissioner Connole is considered to be the one remaining member of the FPC who is consumerminded, who can be counted on, at least part of the time, to find in favor of the consumers as against the utility interests.

The President says he is replacing Connole because members of regulatory agencies should "not become identified as representing any point of view narrower than the broad public interest."

This is an astounding statement. It indicates that the President looks upon the consuming public as a narrow special interest.

But more astounding is the ignorance it reveals of his knowledge concerning regulatory agencies.

These agencies were set up originally to protect the public against arbitrary acts on the part of the industries regulated. In the case of the FPC the idea is to regulate utilities, recognizing that it is a noncompetitive business leaving the consumer without any protection except that provided by the Government.

Obviously, the President has been making his appointments to all these agencies without a thought to the purpose of the agencies. His appointments to the Federal Communications Commission have been notably lacking in any concern for the public's protection. The result has been a series of raw scandals and monumental frauds against the public, such as the crooked TV quiz shows.

[From the Minuteman] THE PRICE OF DISSENT

The strange case of Federal Power Commissioner William R. Connole continues to occupy much of the attention of official Washington. This week the circumstances surrounding the dropping of Connole lingered in the background of a House investigation of the conduct of FPC members.

To briefly review the facts, Connole was appointed to the FPC by President Eisenhower in 1955, for a term which expires next month. During his service on the Commission, Connole earned a reputation as a champion of the consumer in cases involving rate increases sought by the utility companies the FPC is charged with regulating.

In the process, the big natural gas companies came to dislike him intensely. It was widely known in Washington that they would strongly oppose his reappointment.

Most observers, however, felt he was sure to be reappointed. They pointed out that Connole had the solid support of consumer groups, and was widely regarded as having the keenest mind on the Commission.

In early spring, rumors began circulating that he would not be reappointed. The President confirmed this at a news conference on April 27. This is what Ike said:

"First why, this. Because it is my respon-

"First why, this. Because it is my responsibility to appoint people and to get the best people I can. This Mr. Connoie came to see one of my staff in December to ask about his reappointment, and they said they'd look into it. I think I can get a better man, that's all."

It was a curt, insulting way to fire a man. In the furor that followed, White House Press Secretary Jim Hagerty tried to take the edge off by saying the President did not believe an FPC Commissioner should represent "one segment of the economy." In other words, Connole was too much wedded to the consumer interest.

The President reiterated this view in a letter to Senator Thomas J. Dodd, of Connecticut, who had strongly protested the action. He wrote that Commission nominees should not "become identified as representing any view narrower than the broad public interest."

Dono replied in a public statement: "To regard the consuming public as merely a narrow interest or a particular point of view seems to me a misreading of the historical purpose of the Commission. Nor does the President take up the question on Connole's vastly superior qualifications and experience, as contrasted with the lack of those qualities in the man whom the President has nominated as Connole's successor."

This point is well taken. Except for such auxiliary functions as the granting of licenses on water power sites, the FPC's function is to see that the consumer is not exploited by the monopolies it is charged with regulating.

A public utility performs a function of the state and is created for public purposes. This is well established by court decisions. The utilities are given sweeping powers not available to other businesses, such as freedom from competition, the right of eminent domain, and virtually guaranteed profits. In return, the people have ifisisted upon public regulation of these monopolies—regulation to assure good service and reasonable rates.

Unfortunately, the effectiveness of regulation has been, at best, spotty. Too often the regulatory commissions seem more intent on protecting the interests of the companies than the interests of the public. A true public champion on a commission, such as Connole, is a rarity.

As NBC Commentator Martin Agronsky said in a recent broadcast, "None of this seems to have registered with the President. The price of dissent, like the price of gas, keeps going up."

An Election Year and the Middle East

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 23, 1960

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I commend to the attention of our colleagues the following editorial by Dr. Jacob L.

Bernstein as it appeared in the Bulletin of the East Midwood Jewish Center, May 13, 1960, issue

AN ELECTION YEAR AND THE MIDDLE EAST

In an election year it is especially appropriate that a citizen look critically at our Nation's foreign policy or lack of policy. It seems clear that, in the area of the Middle East, there has been a failure on the part of the United States to utilize its prestige and power for achieving peace between the Arab nations and Israel. We find little evidence of a definite and affirmative policy with respect to nearly all Middle East issues. One might say that our policy has been disappointingly negative and passive.

Although the hostile acts by Arab States against Israel have been publicly disapproved by the United States, nevertheless, in various Government departments and affiliated agencies, we find an outward appearance of acceptance of illegal actions. For example, the refusal of Arab nations to permit the loading or unloading of American cargo at an Arab port if the ship had stopped at an Israeli port is met with seeming complacency or acquiescence. Again, the World Bank made a grant of \$50 million to the United Arab Republic to improve the Suez Canal despite the refusal to open the canal to vessels of non-Israeli registry which had loaded at an Israeli port. In the face of increasing Soviet military aid to Arab countries, the United States has done nothing to offset the danger or resulting imbalance.

One must therefore conclude that there has been no unequivocal and vigorous reaction by those responsible for our foreign policy to Arab violators of international law and to Arab flaunting of resolutions of the United Nations. Expediency, appeasement, and the economics of oil and markets seems to have been the motivating forces in our policy. Even as this is written, our State Department admits concern about threatened Arab reprisals for the picketing of the Cleopatra.

In this election year it is our right and our duty as citizens to voice a challenge on these issues. We must insist that party platforms and candidates, seeking our suffrage, take a clear and unmistakable position. We must demand that foreign policy be based upon the moral principles which will bring to all nations of the world, peace with justice under international law. Whether our Nation will display positive, constructive, and ethical leadership in world affairs depends in part upon each one of us. To play an active role in bringing this about is not only in consonance with true Americanism, but also in the best tradition and practice of our faith.

Minnesota Farmers Receiving Only 69 Percent of Parity

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. LESTER R. JOHNSON

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, May 16, 1960

Mr. JOHNSON of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, it is an unfortunate fact that of the 17 leading farm commodities in my neighboring State of Minnesota, only calves and potatoes brought a price of better than 90 percent of parity in the month of April. Most of the other commodities did not even come close to 90 percent of parity, and chickens were selling at 31 percent of parity. The parity average of the 17 commodities was only 69 percent.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I would like to include in the Record an article from the May 12, 1960, issue of Minnesota Agriculture which shows the comparison between the parity price and the actual price brought by these commodities during the past month.

The article follows:

FARM COSTS SET NEW HIGH FOR SECOND MONTH IN ROW, PRICES LAG

While farm prices remained sluggish and falled to even make a normal spring upturn, farm costs moved up to a new all-time record for the second successive month.

Nationally, the parity ratio held at 80, two points below the level in the same month a year ago.

In Minnesota, increases in the prices for corn, eggs, flax, and potatoes moved the overall price average up sufficiently to register an increase in the parity average for the 17 leading commodities to 69 percent.

The index of prices paid by farmers revealed increases in both farm operating and household costs.

Food, clothing, building materials, autos and auto supplies, feed, seed and farm supplies all were up compared with a month ago.

How far from parity?
APR, 15, 1960

Crop or product	U.S. effec- tive parity price	Average price received by Minnesota farmers ¹	Short of parity per unit	Minnesota average price as a percent of parity
Corn bushels Hogs hundredweights Cattle do All milk, wholesale pounds Butterfat pounds Cats bushels Eggs dozens Soybeans bushels Calves hundredweights Flax bushels Flax bushels Turkeys pounds Wheat bushels Potatoes hundredweights Chickens pounds Meep hundredweights Wool pounds	\$1. 65 21. 60 23. 90 5. 04 7. 75 . 85 . 47 2. 94 26. 40 3. 87 1. 28 . 35 2. 39 2. 36 9. 78 . 75	\$0. 85 15. 60 21. 00 3. 05 63 61 .30 1. 92 26. 60 3. 04 84 .27 1. 96 2. 45 .08 6. 10	\$0.80 6.00 2.90 1.99 1.2 2.24 4.17 1.02 83 44 .08 .43	5.77 8.66 6.60 100 7.76 7.78 8.100 3.66

Parity price average-17 leading commodities-Minnesota, 69 percent

(Average according to relative importance of products)

*Prices are as received by farmers at the point of 1st sale out of the farmer's hands and should not be confused with prices of specific grades or classes at central terminal markets.

Washington Report

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. BRUCE ALGER

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 2, 1960

Mr. ALGER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I include the following newsletter of May 21, 1960:

WASHINGTON REPORT

(By Congressman BRUCE ALGER, Fifth District, Texas, May 21, 1960)

Future historical analysis of the summit may record that President Eisenhower's conduct scored a great victory for the free world. Meanwhile, we can all be "Monday morning quarterbacks." We all can expect, also, the bitterest, least-temperate appraisals to come from politically motivated office-seekers. At the moment, the nicely staged show of bipartisan support represented by the Democrat leadership's message to Ike at the summit has been rudely shattered by Presidential-Aspirant Stevenson's sharp attack on Eisenhower's administration. spirit of constructive criticism would be more apparent if Mr. Stevenson had not alleged that it will take a Democrat administration and himself to do the job. Of course, we all know each person's evaluation of him-self is high. That's human. But it's another thing to suggest against the background of the Yalta, Potsdam and Teheran Conferences that a Democrat administration can better handle or solve foreign problems.

Health care for the aged continues as the focal point of the social security bill being prepared for House debate. A move to hold hearings to get further information was To me it is inconceivable that a defeated. right solution can come from ignorance of the facts. We still have no comprehensive knowledge of medical services available or of medical needs and how they are being met, since we lack information on State and local programs. All we have, as data, is Health, Education, and Welfare Department information on Federal programs, which are only a part and not the major part at that. In my view, this is not responsible conduct, neither to other Members of Congress who look to the Ways and Means Committee for guidance in this field nor to the people of the Nation, including the aged and all tax-payers. Fortunately, the final page of this story has yet to be written. I hope politics will not dictate it.

The Small Business Investment Act of 1960 expands the Federal effort to make equity type capital and long-term credit more readily available for small business concerns. We thus add to the Federal bureaucracy and the tax load, so that we can turn around and lend businessmen money to replace that taken from them in taxes. Tax relief, I believe, would be the greatest and soundest aid that businessmen or anyone else could ask of the Federal Government.

Debt reduction: Can debt be reduced by borrowing money to pay on it? To me, that's hardly more sensible than setting up a savings account by getting a loan at the bank. Yet there is periodic and favorable mention of a bill which would force Federal debt reduction without compelling a balanced budget or limiting the power to borrow further, which would leave us in exactly that situation. A better solution, it seems to me, would be enactment of a constitu-

tional limitation on the Government's power to tax, spend, and borrow and which would require a yearly balanced budget.

H.R. 5, the Foreign Investment Incentive Act, passed narrowly 195 to 192. Earlier this year it was left hanging in midair after partial floor debate. Though aimed basically at according U.S. firms doing business abroad the same tax treatment given foreign-based subsidiaries of U.S. companies, the 61-page bill was complicated and technical. It was not understood by many, I am sure, among both the proponents and opponents. Originally a move to simplify and equalize tax treatment, the bill soon became one of concern to the State Department (to help develon officially designated underdeveloped countries); Labor Department (that wage levels and working conditions in these industries must not be substandard according to each country's standard); Commerce Department (only 10 percent of goods manufactured by U.S. industries located abroad can be shipped back into the United States); and so on. Thus a tax bill became the vehicle for a lot of social proposals in no way related to taxes.

Construction of a Federal Center Building in Dallas may have been delayed indefinitely by a strictly partisan move among Democrats on the Public Works Committee. The vote, I'm told, was 18 to 7 with all Republicans voting for approval of the project and all Democrats (including 10 proxies) against.

Controversial issues lie ahead in the short time left before adjournment and political conventions: (1) Federal aid to education; (2) Federal aid to depressed areas; (3) Federal aid to the housing industry; (4) Interest rate ceiling. These are some that will provoke bitter partisan arguments. This does not assure a proper solution for the problems, of course.

Random notes: The television series will continue on WFAA-TV Sundays at 10:30 a.m. * * * A preliminary tabulation of the questionnaire returns is complete, and I hope to finish a survey of this year's answers by June 1. Any who mean to reply to the current questionnaire and have not yet done so should send it to me this month.

Korea and Paris

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. W. J. BRYAN DORN

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 23, 1960

Mr. DORN of South Carolina. Mr. Speaker, when will our State Department and Presidents realize that summit conferences are often a cover-up for Communist aggression and strategy in an entirely different area of the world? The following by Kurt Lochmann in U.S. News & World Report is interesting:

Khrushchev's major aim has been, and remains, world revolution.

It is significant that the Soviet dictator's turn from flattery to abuse of the United States coincided precisely with the violent uprising in South Korea a few weeks ago. The events in Korea focused Communist attention once again on the utilization of revolutionary potentials anywhere in the non-Communist world.

Khrushchev will never overlook anything that he can interpret as a signal of capitalist decomposition. He so interpreted Korea. The Crisis of American Foreign Policy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. CHESTER BOWLES

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 23, 1960

Mr. BOWLES. Mr. Speaker, one of the most intelligent and persuasive voices we have in the field of the American foreign policy is that of my friend, Hans J. Morgenthau. Currently on leave from his chair as professor of political science at the University of Chicago, this distinguished author and teacher is a member of the Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton, N.J., and an associate of the Washington Center for Foreign Policy Research.

On February 22 this year, Dr. Morgenthau delivered the annual Brien Mc-Mahon lecture at the University of Connecticut, one of a praiseworthy series or lectures sponsored as a public service by former Senator William Benton.

In these days of crisis and reevaluation of American foreign policy, I do not recall reading anywhere a more concise and articulate statement of our predicament than this lecture contains. Under leave to extend my remarks, I include the text of Dr. Morgenthau's address as follows:

THE CRISIS OF AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY
(By Hans J. Morgenthau)

If one were to consider the objectives of American foreign policy exclusively in terms of the control of territory, it would be hard to see wherein the crisis of American policy could consist. If one looks at a map and compares the regions which constitute today what one might call the American sphere of influence with those of, say, a decade ago, one finds that American influence reaches about as far now as it reached then. Or, to put it the other way around, one can say that in strictly territorial terms the Communist powers and, more particularly, the Sovie Union have not been able to make substantial gains in the last decade. So the crisis of American foreign policy must obviously consist in something more profound than the mere loss of territory.

In order to understand what constitutes the crisis of American foreign policy on this more profound level, it is necessary to take a look at the situation which existed in the aftermath of the Second World War, when the present foreign policy of the United States was formed. And in order to appreciate the revolutionary transformation, which American foreign policy then underwent, the really amazing adaptability of which it proved capable, it is necessary to take a look at the traditional approach which the United States has taken toward foreign policy from the beginning of its history to the Second World War.

The United States has had two great, permanent interests in the world: the preservation of its hegemonical position in the Western Hemisphere, safeguarded by the policies implementing the Monroe Doctrine, and the maintenance of the balance of power in Europe. The balance of power in Europe was from the very beginning considered to be at the service of that hegemonical position of the United States. It was obvious, considering the distribution of power which existed and still exists in the Western Hemisphere, that the security and the predominance of the United States could not be

challenged from within this hemisphere. If and when it was challenged, such a challenge could come only from beyond the ocean, that is to say, from Europe. And as long as there existed in Europe a distribution of power which would put effective restraints upon the great European nations, there was no danger that any of those nations would feel secure enough in Europe to seek adventures beyond the ocean in the Western Hemisphere. So the maintenance and, if necessary, the restoration of the balance of power in Europe constituted for the United States an element of security which was indispensable for the implementation and the successful operation of the Monroe Doctrine.

It follows also from this fundamental conception of the relations between the United States and the rest of the world that the United States, following the advice which Washington had given in his Farewell Address, would not think of being permanently involved in the affairs of Europe. Insofar as the United States consented to be involved, this involvement took the form of certain isolated expeditions, extraordinary interventions for the sole purpose of restoring or protecting the European balance of power.

The classic example of this type of isolated intervention is provided by the intervention of the United States in the First World War. The balance of power in Europe was threatened by Germany. The Western Powers were faced with the possibility of defeat and the United States intervened for the purpose of restoring the European balance of power, that is, of preventing one European nation from gaining a hegemonical position which would then have enabled it to look beyond the seas for new conquests in the Western Hemisphere. Once this objective was accomplished, the United States retreated from Europe; it brought its troops back. It had done what it set out to do, and it went back into the isolation and security of its hemisphere.

At the end of the Second World War, the United States was tempted to repeat that pattern of action. To bring the boys home seemed to be the last chapter in that intervention which sought, as had the intervention of the First World War, to restore the balance of power, to do away with the danger that threatened it, and once that objective was accomplished, to come back home and, as it were, forget about it. The United States was exposed to this temptation, roughly speaking, during the year following the death of Franklin D. Roosevelt. Sir Winston Churchill has called this period the deadly hiatus. It was followed by the formulation of a new American foreign policy.

This formulation of a new American foreign policy was accomplished in the spring of 1947 in what has been called "The 15 Weeks." Within those weeks, a radical changed occurred in the foreign policy of the United States. The Truman doctrine and the Marshall plan are the landmarks of that radical transformation. Through those instruments of foreign policy the United States acknowledged, almost as a matter of course, its permanent involvement in the affairs of the world. The frontiers of the United States were no longer drawn at the boundaries of the Western Hemisphere. They were now permanently drawn wherever there was danger of a radical change, especially of a violent nature, in the world balance of power.

The policy of containment was the most spectacular expression of this new policy. It implied the permanent stationing of American troops and the permanent commitment of American resources around the perimeter of the Soviet empire. The Marshall plan, on the other hand, implied a permanent and active involvement of the United States in the affairs of the world in

an even more intimate way. The United States now recognized its responsibility to help other nations which were threatened with economic disaster and, beyond it, its responsibility for a functioning international economic system.

Those were the classic, the heroic days of the new American foreign policy and to me, at least, it is still in retrospect an occasion for wonderment and also for admiration how quickly the United States adapted itself to new circumstances; how thoroughly it divorced itself from a tradition which had been hallowed by the whole historic development of the United States and by the authority of its greatest early statesmen; with what foresight, determination, and success it devised new policies which were adapted to the exigencies of the hour.

The present crisis of American foreign policy consists exactly in the inability of the United States to adapt its foreign policies to the new circumstances of the hour; to revise the pattern of foreign policy which was established in 1947; to renew it through innovations commensurate with the novel problems which the Nation faces today.

today.

In what respects is the situation which confronts us today on the international scene fundamentally different from that which existed immediately after the Second World War and which persisted approximately for a decade? Four fundamental changes have occurred.

First of all, the balance of military power had radically changed. In the aftermath of the Second World War, the United States was unquestionably the most powerful nation on earth. Under the umbrella of its atomic monopoly the United States formed the alliance system and, more particularly, the European alliances, implementing the policy of containment. The atomic monopoly of the United States provided a virtually absolute protection for the nations which felt themselves threatened by Communist aggression. This protection has disappeared. It has been replaced by an atomic stale-mate or by what Sir Winston Churchill has called a "balance of terror," that is to say, the United States is able to destroy the Soviet Union and the Soviet Union is able to destroy the United States in an all-out nuclear war.

In view of this stark and simple situation, an alliance with the United States is no longer being regarded by the allies of the United States as an unmixed blessing. still provides a certain protection, but it also implies a certain liability. Can the United States be relied upon to come to the aid of an ally if by doing so it risks its own destruction? And would such aid, even if it should be provided, not seal the doom of the ally, since it would in all likelihood be in the nature of nuclear war to be countered in kind by the enemy? The allies of the United States are raising questions such as these, and they answer them by seeking safety in greater independence from the United States. Elther try to develop foreign and military policies of their own, especially in the nuclear field, or else they tend to move away from the United States into a neutral or at least a more detached position.

The second great transformation which has occurred in the political world in recent years is the restoration of the economic and, to a certain extent, the political health of most of the nations of Western Europe. Fifteen and even 10 years ago, the alliance with the United States was for nations such as Italy, France, and Great Britain a matter not of choice but of life and death. Without the economic, political, and military support of the United States, those nations could then not have survived as independent national entities and would have been in great danger of being subverted by communism or swallowed up by the Soviet Union. Today,

this dependence upon the United States has to a great extent disappeared, especially in the economic field. It has become rather ineffective in the political field. And in the military field, as we have seen, its ambivalence has become obvious.

Furthermore, and most importantly, the foreign policy of the Soviet Union has fundamentally changed. Ten years ago, the greatest asset upon which the foreign policy of the United States could bank was the foreign policy of Stalin. Whenever there was a slackening in the Western effort, whenever there appeared cracks in the fabric of the alliance system of the United States, Stalin could be counted upon to make a drastic move which demonstrated to everybody concerned how necessary for survival the American connection was.

The foreign policy of Khrushchev is of an enitrely different nature. His is not, at least for the time-being, a policy of direct military aggression or of direct military threats. Even the Berlin threat is quite different from the threats which Stalin would have uttered under similar conditions or would even have followed up by action. as he did in the case of the Berlin blockade in 1948. Khrushchev's policies are aimed not so much at the conquest of territories by diplomatic pressure or military threats as at the subversion of the whole non-Communist world through the impact which the power and the technological and economic accomplishments of the Soviet Union make upon that world. This is obviously a much more insidious, a much more subtle way of undermining the position of the United States and of the Western World in general.

To these three fundamental changes which have occurred in the world during the last 10 years must be added a fourth one, the rise of the former colonial nations in Africa and Asia. This enormous mass of land and populations no longer belong to any of the power blocs. They are no longer under the control of any of the great powers. But they will in all likelihood have to seek the support of stronger nations and to fashion their political, economic, and social life in the image of one or the other of the great systems competing for their allegiance. Hence, they have become the great prize in the struggle between East and West. Whoever can attract the loyalties of these so-called uncommitted nations, whoever can impress them with the excellence and superiority of his form of government, of his social and economic system, will in all probability win the struggle for the world. And Mr. Khrushchev has proclaimed that the Soviet Union. through the attractiveness and achievements of communism, will conquer the minds of the uncommitted peoples and thereby inherit the earth.

It is against the background of these great transformations that we must consider the foreign policy of the United States. crisis of American foreign policy lies in the inadequacy of its responses to those great transformations. In a sense, the great handicap of recent American foreign policy has been the success of the original policy of containment. That is to say, the policy of containment, which has been widely criticized as being ineffective, negative, and static and as not being dynamic enough, has been not only sound as a minimal foreign policycontainment of the Soviet Union and of communism being the very minimum objective to which American foreign policy had to be committed-it has also been eminently successful. What the policy of containment really means is this: it says to the Russians poised in the heart of Europe, "Thus far and not farther. If you take one step beyond the line of military demarcation which was established in 1945 between your conquests and the Western World, you will be at war with the United States." Upon this unam-biguous warning, implemented by the stationing in virtual permanence of American troops at the line of demarcation in Europe, and the retaliatory nuclear power of the United States, the safety and the very survival of Western Europe and, through it, of the United States has depended.

That this policy has been eminently successful is borne out by the fact that at no place in Europe or anywhere else, for that matter, do the Russlans stand west of the line of demarcation which was established in 1945. By and large, the line of demarcation of 1945 is still the borderline between the Soviet Empire and the Western World; and as far as Yugoslavia is concerned, the line of demarcation today runs farther east than it did 15 years ago, the boundary of the Soviet empire being the eastern rather than the western frontier of Yugoslavia.

It was this success of the policy of con-tainment which led the United States to incorporate it into a general principle of American foreign policy, especially as applied to Asia. The United States thought that what had worked so well in Europe was bound to work as well at the periphery of the Soviet and Chinese empires in Asia. It did not work as well. It could not work as well for the simple reason that the threat which the United States had to meet in Asia was essentially different from the threat with which it was faced in Europe. The threat in Europe was primarily the threat of military aggression. It was constituted by the fact that the Russian armies stood in the heart of Europe 100 miles east of the Rhine. It is this stark fact which still constitutes the major threat to Europe today, and against this threat Europe has to be protected.

The primary threat outside Europe, that is, to Asia, the Middle East, and increasingly also to Africa and to Latin America is not military; it is the much more subtle threat of psychological penetration, of political subversion, of economic conquest, of the use of foreign aid and foreign trade for political purposes. And against this subtle and insidious threat the policy of containment, of military alliances, of military barriers is entirely ineffective. One has only to look at the Middle East in order to see this most clearly. The Baghdad Pact was established by Great Britain and some of the Middle Eastern countries at the instigation of the United States in order to create a military barrier against Communist penetration. But this barrier did not prevent the Soviet Union from gaining a foothold in Egypt. It did not prevent the Iraqi revolution and the Communist gains attendant to it. For the Communist gains were not due to any threat of military aggression emanating from the Soviet Union. Even if there had been such a threat, the military measures taken would have been entirely insufficient to meet it.

Not only has this policy—of which more examples could be cited—been ineffective in its own terms; it has also been counterproductive; for it brought about the very evils which it was intended to prevent. It alienated many nations and many groups within many nations in Asia, the Middle East, and Africa, which tended to look upon the United States as a nation primarily interested in gaining, as it were, mercenaries among the indigenous peoples for its own military purposes. The United States was suspected of wanting to bring war to those regions, while the Soviet Union could pose as the champion of peace and the nation interested only in ending the cold war.

The classic example of the counterproductivity of the policy of containment and of alliances, as it was conceived in recent years, is the case of Pakistan. We have an alliance with Pakistan. It is difficult, if you take a look at the map, to know against whom this alliance could possibly be directed, except against India. But obviously we have no interest in supporting Pakistan against India. While we support Pakistan against

some imaginary enemy, we force India to divert a considerable amount of its scarce resources to military purposes in order to match the military preparations of Pakistan. Since, of course, we realize that India is infinitely more important than Pakistan in terms of the overall world situation, we must support India in order to make up the difference between its resources available for economic development and those which have been diverted for military purposes. So we are really engaged in an armaments race with ourselves. With the left hand we support Pakistan militarily, while with the right hand we support India economically in order to help her bear up under the weight of the armaments which our support of Pakistan had forced upon her.

We have been led to this disregard of our own interests by what amounts to a kind of obsession with military alliances. The Baghdad Pact, the Eisenhower doctrine and, more particularly, SEATO-The Southeast Asia Treaty Organization-were all what one might call open-ended alliances. That is to say, they were based on unilateral declarations on the part of the United States, inviting whoever wanted to join to come in and join. Of necessity, the nations which joined did so not on behalf of the interests of the United States, but on behalf of their own interests. I remember vividly a discussion I had a couple of years ago with the Foreign Minister of one of our allies about the American alliance. He made no bones about the fact that for him the main purpose of the American alliance was to establish a special claim for his country upon the American treasury. In other words, an ally can expect to get more money out of the United States than a nation which is not an ally. However, this is no longer completely true because certain nations are able to play the United States off against the Soviet Union, and vice versa, and get the best of both worlds; they get rubles and dollars at the same time.

In any case, the policy of not choosing one's allies in view of one's interests but inviting anybody who wishes to join is really what one might call a collector's approach to allies. You collect allies as you collect stamps. But certainly it is not possible to base successful military or political policy on the disregard for one's interests and for the usefulness of one's allies.

It is also worthy of note that quite a number of our allies have turned out to be handicaps for the United States in political as well as in financial terms. They have been able to dictate to the United States the policies we are supposed to pursue with regard to them. Where they have not been able to do that, they have, in many instances, been able to impose a veto upon the foreign policies of the United States. What has been generally noted in recent years as the sterility of American foreign policy—the lack of initiative and determination, the immersion in old and safe routines—is in good measure the result of the limitations which the alliances impose upon the United States. Wherever there is need for a new departure, there is also an ally pulling at our coattails and saying. "No. If you want to keep me as your ally, you can't do that."

Our alliances, which have tended to become an end in themselves and, hence, a burden and a handicap for the foreign policy of the United States, are in urgent need of being rethought and revised. That rethinking and revision must aim at coming to terms with three fundamental issues. What kind of relationship and order ought we to establish between ourselves and our allies, especially the European ones, which will reflect both the community of interests and the dominant position of the United States within the alliance? How must we reformulate the military purposes of our alliances in view of a radically changed mili-

tary situation which is likely to change drastically again when the intercontinental ballistic missile replaces the manned bomber? And finally, what new political purposes must we set for our alliances in view of the reassertion of their particular national interests by our European allies and in view of Khrushchev's new foreign policy?

The great challenge which faces the United States today is indeed the new foreign policy of the Soviet Union. This policy moves on entirely novel lines, at least for Russian foreign policy, in that it tries to exploit the prestige of the Soviet Union in the economic and technological fields and to gain converts through foreign aid and foreign trade. The United States has been unable to oppose this new expansionist move of the Soviet Union with anything approaching an adequate foreign policy because it has been unable to devise policies which take into account the novelty of the challenge which faces it.

The challenge of Russian foreign trade is instructive in this respect. When the Russians speak of foreign trade, they mean something quite different from what we mean by foreign trade. When we speak of foreign trade, we refer to commercial transactions engaged in by private enterprises or individuals with other private enterprises or individuals for private gain. Only in marginal cases is there a public interest involved Which requires the Government to intervene in one way or another. For the Soviet Union, foreign trade is a political matter of the first order. It is as political as diplomacy or propaganda; it is another arm of Russian foreign policy. The Soviet Union engages in foreign trade not for the purpose of private gain but for the purpose of public gain; that is to say, for the purpose of increasing the Power of the Soviet state.

Take, for instance, the propositions the Soviet Union has made to certain businessmen in the United States and elsewhere in the petro-chemical field: not to buy petrochemical products, but to buy whole petrochemical factories with which then to produce products and compete with the already established firms on the world market. Or take the deal which the Soviet Union has made with Cuba to buy sugar at more than 2 cents below the price the United States is paying, which economically is difficult to justiry from the Russian point of view, but which makes a lot of sense politically; for it gives the Soviet Union a lever of influence in a matter which is of vital importance for Cuba. Or take the deal which the Soviet Union made with Egypt to buy its whole cotton crop for a number of years. This again from the Russian point of view makes no sense economically, because the Soviet Union does not need to import any cotton and actually resells Egyptian cotton on the world market. But politically, it makes the Egyptian economy dependent upon the Soviet Union. It creates ties between the Soviet Union and Egypt which could hardly be firmer if the two countries were tied to each other by a formal alliance.

Against this all-out drive—which uses forelgn trade as a political weapon as a general uses an armyis it sufficient for us to respond with "business as usual"? Can we afford to let our foreign trade be conducted as if the Russian threat did not exist, and allow it to get in the way of our political interests and help the Russians in the pursuit of theirs? Or is it not necessary for us to realize, as we have realized in other fields of economic activity, that there are certain segments of the economic sphere which are affected by the public interest and which, therefore, must be controlled and regulated by the public power?

Take another branch of American foreign policy which has falled to respond adequately to the Russian's challenge: foreign aid. We have embarked upon a rather expensive program of foreign aid, most of which goes into the military support of our allies. is genuine economic and technological aid in our foreign aid policy is based upon a simple, or rather oversimplified, philosophy which assumes that there is a relatively easy way to transform an economically and politically underdeveloped nation into a modern industrial and democratic one. That is to say, the infusion of foreign money and foreign know-how, competently performed, somehow will transform a backward, sometimes prerational, society into a rational, modern, industrial one, and a society thus transformed will become stable, democratic, and peaceful as well. It is assumed that there exists a close correlation between the increase in the standard of living, on the one hand, and social stability, democracy, and a peaceful foreign policy, on the other.

This is not the place to examine these assumptions critically. It must suffice to point out that their soundness appears to be very much open to doubt. Successful foreign aid infused into a primitive society is, by the very nature of its success, a revolutionary and disruptive element, not at all a factor making for social stability. This being so and in view of your consistent support of the political and social status quo in foreign countries, it may well be considered a blessing in disguise that in many countries our policy of foreign ald has not been successful; for had it been, it might well have undermined the very status quo to whose support we are committed.

However, what is important for our argument is the contrast between our conception of foreign aid as a technically self-sufficient undertaking, divorced from political purposes, and the conception of the Soviet Union. The Russians have an entirely different, political conception of foreign aid. They pay very little attention to the objective factors which go into the making of an industrial, balanced, socially stable nation. They don't ask, as it were, "What is necessary for your happiness or your economic and social development?" They ask, first of all, "What is to our advantage? What can we give you to pull you over to our side?"

The classic example of this approach is the paving of the streets of Kabul by the Soviet Union. It is a safe assumption that one of the last things Afghanistan needed was paved streets in Kabul, and that while it may be more convenient for the Afghan camels to walk on paved streets than on sand, it is not vital for the development of the Afghan econ-But the fact that the Soviet Union has payed the streets of Kabul, and established a modern bakery in Kabul which every day advertises its Soviet origin, makes a lasting impression upon the inhabitants of Kabul. By way of contrast we have established somewhere in the mountains an irrigation project, which is a very honest and may be a worthwhile thing, but it has no impact, or at best a remote one, in the political arena in which we and the Russians compete.

This political orientation which permeates the foreign aid policy of the Soviet Union, as it does Russian foreign policy in all its manifestations, is lacking in ours. We debate every year the question. How much ought we to spend for foreign aid in view of the budget? instead of asking the really relevant question, What kind of foreign aid policy ought we to have in view of our political interests? It is only after that question has been answered that it makes sense to determine the amount of money to be spent. And we ought to appropriate whatever money is necessary to implement the policy of foreign aid which serves the overall purposes of our foreign policy.

Finally, another and perhaps the most critical failure of American foreign policy has its roots not in American foreign policy proper but rather in the very life of America as a nation. There is a lot of discussion in Washington today, both private and public, of the proposition that America has lost its purpose, that it does not know for what it lives, that it does not know for what purpose it conducts a foreign policy and for what purpose it conducts a domestic policy. There is suspicion in the minds of many that we have been enraptured by the prospect of an ever expanding economy, that we are overimpressed with an ever higher standard of living, an ever lower working week, ever higher wages, that, in other words, the purpose of the Nation appears to exhaust itself in a kind of hedonism of production, the worship of the standard of living for its own

Obviously, such a purpose is unworthy of a great nation. A nation which identified itself once and for all with this kind of hedonism would, by that very fact, have lost its greatness. However much its production might increase, however much its standard of living might improve, it would be nothing more than an ant-like conglomeration of people living only for the enjoyment of this day and the next. Its collective life would really be limited to preventing any interference with the enjoyment of an ever higher standard of living. If this were a true picture of what the United States stands for, then obviously its foreign policy would also be aimless and without purpose.

It is interesting to note, and it is encouraging in one respect and discouraging in another, that foreign nations have a much clearer picture of what the United States stands for, what it has been created for, and what the underlying purpose of its national life is than the United States has itself. It is encouraging for instance, to note the popular enthusiasm with which President Eisenhower has been greeted on his visits abroad and it is discouraging that we should have been unprepared for this reception. In part, to be sure, this was a personal tribute, but to a very great extent it was a tribute to the Nation which he represented. Throughout American history the United States, in the eyes of other nations and in its own, has stood for something distinct, the repository of a particular purpose and the example of a particular achievement.

The United States is the only nation which was created with a particular purpose in mind. Other nations became aware of their particular purpose after the event. Looking back on their history, they realized what they had achieved and deduced their purpose therefrom. The Biblical prophets knew from history that the purpose of Israel was to bear witness to the one God. Pericles, beholding in retrospect the achievements of his city, could say in his funeral oration of Athens that it was the school of Hellas. Virgil could look back on Roman history and realize that the purpose of Rome had been to bring order under law to the world. in the Federal Convention at Philadelphia, two men in their twenties, Pinckney and Hamilton, looking to the future, debated what the purpose of our Nation, which was not even yet created, ought to be.

So perhaps, on the most profound level, what dissatisfies us in American foreign policy and what we have a right to call the crisis of American foreign policy is, in a sense, the crisis of our national life itself. We know that we are no longer fully aware of what we stand for, what we as a nation have come into the world to achieve and that, therefore, our foreign policy has lost that sureness of touch, that direction toward a purpose clearly conceived which it still had during the 15 weeks of 1947. Perhaps of all the reforms which one might suggest for the renovation and restoration of American foreign policy, none is more important than the rediscovery of the purpose of America.

On U-2 and Its Summit Collapse Aftermath Let's Have the Inside Facts

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. WILLIAM S. MOORHEAD

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 23, 1960

Mr. MOORHEAD. Mr. Speaker, today at United Nations Headquarters in New York there opens another chapter in the U-2 incident and its summit collapse aftermath.

Again, for propaganda purposes, the American people and the American President are likely to be attacked by spokesmen for that same nation which came to the summit with the now all too apparent purpose of wrecking it.

Against such propaganda attacks and against efforts to intimidate the American people by fanatical saber rattling, we should demonstrate our unity as a nation.

For the past week this spirit of unity has prevailed as it should have. Very soon, however, Congress and the American people must take a critical look at events leading up to the summit collapse to determine why and how it was that the administration apparently gave Khrushchev the tools for his summit wrecking job.

Yesterday, the Pittsburgh Press, an influential newspaper in my district, said editorially: "Congress is entitled to know the 'inside baseball' of the events leading up to the Paris debacle and of all the incidents and policies which figure in the story."

Under leave heretofore granted to insert my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I include a copy of the editorial for I also believe that the "inside baseball" of this grim affair should be made known:

LET'S NOT FLIP A LID

Ike came home from his dismal experience in Paris to a warm and cheering welcome by thousands who turned out for his arrival in Washington, plus flag flying and other demonstrations around the country. All this was highly appropriate as evidence of

American unity.

The country shortly will hear a TV talk by Ike, centered on the summit collapse. We hope he will lay it on the line, as to just where we stand, and that his audience will be the biggest ever.

And then let us go about our business in dead earnestness—the everlasting business of staying strong. If Khrushchev pipes down temporarily, that is no excuse for another spasm of dreamy thinking that the cold war is over. No more than his explosive rantings should set us off on reckless and feverish crash programs.

This is a continuing problem and there is only way to deal with it—on a steady, continuing basis.

This is an election year, always a time for partisan excesess. There is no cause for muffling any issue, or gagging any platform

orator.

But there is such a thing as reasonable restraint, and our politicians can get across their messages and achieve their purposes by making use of it.

Congress is entitled to know the "inside baseball" of the events leading up to the

Paris debacle and of all the incidents and policies which figure in the story.

If there are differences in judgment, let's hear them. But let's not merely indulge in the old political game of all brag or all blame.

And let's not forget whose side we are on. The cold war has been taxing our resources for 13 years. It will be with us for an in-definite time to come. We will best live with it if we manage our strength consistently and with alert responsibility.

There is nothing like a level head, and a sensible tongue in it.

A Justified Veto

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JOHN J. RHODES

OF ARIZONA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 19, 1960

Mr. RHODES of Arizona. Speaker, under leave previously granted, I would like to bring to the attention of the Congress the following editorial from the North Adams Transcript which backs a courageous Congressman for a courageous vote.

A JUSTIFIED VETO

President Eisenhower's veto of the \$251million-area redevelopment bill last week came as no surprise to the Nation and no disappointment to Northern Berkshire, though it is among the areas the measure was allegedly designed to help.

Democrats, sensing a good campaign issue, have attacked the President for being more concerned about a balanced budget than the plight of people in economically de-pressed areas. There may, in fact, be some truth to the charge the administration is overly concerned at limiting Federal spend-ing, even in vital areas. The sum asked for redevelopment assistance by the administration was only \$50 million, probably too small a sum to do what should be done.

The key issue, however, is not the amount of money involved but the uses to which it will be put. The President cited several valid objections to the present bill in his veto message.

The President's stand was supported in advance by our own Congressman Silvio O. CONTE, who has a keen interest in seeing a sound program of assistance for the hardpressed communities in his district. Even the Northern Berkshire Development Corp., set up to deal with local redevelopment problems, found the bill passed by Congress objectionable.

The worst feature of the bill is that it would take away much if not all the local incentive in redevelopment. As the President said in his veto message, "The Federal Government can and should help, but the major role in the undertaking must be the local community's. Neither money alone nor the Federal Government alone can do the

The President rightly objected to provisions for outright grants to undeveloped areas for construction of new roads, sewers, water mains, and other local facilities. Federal Government in that way would be subsidizing added competition for the depressed communities it is supposed to be

Representative Conte strongly objected to that feature of the bill, which he feared would result in the "rape" of industries in Massachusetts and throughout the north-

Through the Federal flood control, highway, urban renewal and housing programs, North Adams has gotten or is due to get a good share of Federal redevelopment assistance. It has, however, contributed substantial amounts to its own rejuvenation through construction of the new hospital, the police and fire station, the local share of urban renewal and some major water main and road construction jobs. Along with other area communities it has also begun working on the industrial redevelopment problem through the work of the Northern Berkshire

The President has pledged his coopera-tion in passage of a bill that will provide new Federal assistance in the development field. Prospects of that now are pretty slim, but it is still possible. If a new measure is to be drawn up, however, it should recognize the importance of local initiative and help areas which are at present working to help them-

Economics, Ethics, and Mental Illness

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. JOHN E. FOGARTY

OF RHODE ISLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, May 23, 1960

Mr. FOGARTY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks I include an address which I delivered at the 11th Mental Hospital Institute, Buffalo, N.Y. on October 20, 1959:

ECONOMICS, ETHICS, AND MENTAL ILLNESS (Address of the Honorable John E. Fogarty, Member of Congress, second district, Rhode Island, at the 11th Mental Hospital Institute, at the Hotel Statler in Buffalo, N.Y., on October 20, 1959)

Distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen, I am greatly honored by your invitation to present the academic lecture at this 11th Annual Mental Hospital Institute. I have a sense of some temerity, however, in addressing a group such as this on the subject of ethics and mental illness. All of you have, in the most practically real and effective way. dedicated yourselves to improving the condi-tion of the mentally ill. The staffs of the outstanding hospitals that have received the Mental Hospital Service Achievement Awards here tonight are in the front echelons of an army of many thousands who work against tremendous odds. These people, despite the magnitude and seeming hopelessness of the task, have made substantial gains in the campaign to improve care and treatment for the mentally ill, to help them recover more rapidly and more fully. As a layman, I can add to your great effort only my indirect help. my understanding, and my support for your

I have been closely concerned for a long time, as many of you may know, with the problems of mental and emotional disorders. The prevalence of these illnesses, and the regularity with which they afflict a large proportion of our people in every class and condition of society put them in a critical category all by themselves. If mental illness were acutely contagious instead of causing chronic invalidism and disability. our country and all the countries of the civilized world would long ago have declared a state of emergency against this epidemic.

As a nation, we are painfully aware of the economic costs of mental illness; we have deep sympathy for the misery of those who suffer from mental illness and the hardships endured by their families; we want to do as much as we can to alleviate this suffering-but we are not sure how much we can afford to do; what limits we should set to our efforts in the light to what we know at present; in what directions we should exert

our efforts most vigorously.

The dilemma was posed most succinctly in the recent report on the economics of mental illness. This report is the second in a series being issued by the Joint Commission on Mental Illness and Health as part of a national mental health survey initiated by Congress. The purpose of the survey is to bring together a comprehensive body of findings and recommendations that will serve as the basis for planning a stepped up, comprehensive national mental program.

Dr. Rashi Fein, the economist who worked out methods for estimating the direct and indirect costs of mental illness in the United States, estimates them conservatively at a minimum of \$3 billion each year. This fig-ure obviously does not represent the full cost of mental illness. It includes direct Costs of caring for the mentally ill expended by public and private agencies, by the patients and their families, by public institutions and private foundations. It includes estimates of such indirect costs as loss of production and loss of earnings. It does not include the costs of private care outside the hospital, of public assistance to the mentally ill or the handling of the mentally ill by police, court, penal, social welfare and other public institutions. Nor does it include the costs of related problems such as drug addiction, alcoholism, juvenile delinquency, and mental retardation.

The \$3 billion figure includes \$100 million as an estimated minimum direct cost of care provided by psychiatrists in full-time practice. It does not include the cost of payments to psychiatrists in part-time practice, to general practitioners, or to internists for the care of the mentally ill. I am sure that you who work in the field are well aware of the difficulty of gathering accurate statistics on this subject. It has been estimated that Perhaps 50 percent of the patients consulting general practitioners are suffering from complaints of an emotional origin. If this cost were included, we would have to add another \$1 billion to our \$3 billion annual

We all are, of course, painfully aware that even though we pay out \$3 billion annually, we are not providing our mentally ill with anything like the best care presently possible. The average expenditure per patient in a public mental hospital is just a little better than \$4 a day. This compares with a daily cost of approximately \$25 in a general hospital. The staff of the Joint Commission raise some very provocative questions in their preface to Dr. Fein's report. They ask: "How much would it cost to provide the highest possible standard of care for the mentally ill? Can we afford these costs? More exactly, which can we better afford. afford—the cost in human misery caused by mental illness or the cost in dollars to provide the best care we know how to give?

As a people, we Americans are committed morally and ethically to the proposition that each man and woman is entitled to the opportunity to realize his best capabilities. This includes the opportunity to receive proper medical care, regardless of income, social class, or the nature of the illness. subscribe to the statement in the constitution of the World Health Organization that "the enjoyment of the highest attainable standard of health is one of the fundamental rights of every human being without distinction of race, religion, political belief, economic or social condition." However, we are a practical people. We also want to know whether large increases in the money spent to treat mental illness would be justified from an economic as well as a humanitarian viewpoint. Will increased expenditures tend to reduce the extent of the problem in the future? Where will the money come from? Should available increased funds be spent to step up research that hopefully will reduce the problem drastically at some future date-and, in the meantime, limp along with inadequate care for those who now are mentally ill or who become mentally ill in the

From an ethical point of view, I do not believe that we have any choice. not abandon one lota of the available potential for uncovering useful new knowledge through research. Equally, we cannot abandon the mentally ill. We are morally obliged to strive, to the limit of our abilities and resources, to improve the lot of the mentally ill, to make treatment more effective, to increase our efforts at cure and rehabilitation. Certainly people suffering from this illness are entitled to the same consideration as those with physical illness. As you know any person with acute appendicitis, can obtain a good surgeon to remove it regardless of his ability to pay. We do not provide similar services for the mentally Ill.

But because our resources are far from unlimited, we must make choices. What kinds of expanded services for the mentally ill are likely to be the most profitable? Where will our efforts be apt to bring the greatest payoff in terms of patient recovery?

Until fairly recently these were questions which could be answered almost solely on empirical evidence. And as a glance back over history will remind you, the answers that were accepted and applied in treatment were colored more often by the intellectual attitudes of the times than by detached Thus, little of constructive value was done to help the mentally ill in Western Europe until the age of enlightment at the end of the 18th century. Paradoxically, the period of the Renaissance, during which new emphasis was placed on the dignity and worth of the individual, was characterized by cruel and repressive treatment for the mentally ill.

As you know, it was not until the 1800's that a systematic approach to mental illness was predicated on the belief that the menill are entitled to the humane treatment that is the inalienable right of all human beings. This era of moral treatment, based on principles advocated by Pinel and Tuke, stressed the importance of attempting to influence the mentally ill by appealing to them with kindness and understanding rather than by regimenting them. Although it was believed that mental illness was caused by some unknown pathological process in the brain, the advocates of this type of treatment felt that their approach would do much to help their patients.

In that era, there were so few mental hospitals in the United States that only a small fraction of the people who needed hospital care would be admitted, but the hospitals that did exist were operated along excellent principles. They were small. superintendents were highly intelligent and well motivated. The atmosphere was friendly, comfortable, hopeful, and the superintendent was able to talk to each patient daily. Despite the paucity of treatment methods, the number of discharges and recoveries in these hospitals was substantial.

Further advances in care and treatment were made in the big mental hospitals that were established during the latter half of the 19th century. New discoveries made during the first half of the present century enabled us to conquer the psychoses due to pellagra and general paresis. The use of shock therapy changed the entire picture with respect to involutional melancholia. The various psychotherapies were developed, and much was learned about the anatomy, physiology, and pathology of the nervous In our own day, we have witnessed a period of remarkable progress which began shortly after World War II. Stimulated by the realization that mental and emotional disorders were a dangerous hazard to our safety as a nation, Congress, at that time, initiated our present ongoing program of support for research, training, and service in the field of mental health. In the short span of years since then, this activity has grown manyfold. Equally important, new work in the field of mental illness has been begun and stimulated by State and local government agencies, institutions, private founda-tions, citizens' organizations, universities and medical schools, training centers, and groups of all types throughout the country.

I have watched this campaign grow and spread, as you all have, and I must say the results have been impressive. New research findings have emerged—the tranquilizers and other psychoactive drugs have come into general use-we have developed new ways of training personnel and using people now available to treat patients-we have set up new kinds of treatment facilities and changed our uses of present facilities. growth in treatment resources and knowhow has been little short of phenomenal. Though we are still far from our goal, we have, I believe, what no previous period had. We have a handle with which to grasp the problem of mental illness. We have some tools that can help us decide, on a scientific basis, where our expanded efforts are most likely to bring results in terms of patient recovery.

Among the more useful tools, it seems to me are the epidemiological studies of mental illness. These studies have provided new knowledge about who becomes ill, how long they remain ill, what happens to the mental patient both in and out of the hospital, and the effects of new therapies and new kinds of domiciliary and outpatient care. This kind of information, obviously, is of first importance in long-range planning and in mak-ing critical decisions which will affect the patterns of caring for the mentally ill for decades to come. A great deal of this information has come from the many statistical studies of mental hospital populations sponsored and conducted by the States in the Model Reporting Area for Mental Hospital Statistics, with the guidance, cooperation, and assistance of the National Institute of Mental Health. Experts in this field have charted new ways of analyzing the problems of mental illness

To me, one of the most significant changes that has taken place in recent years is that communities are assuming more responsibility for the care of the mentally ill. ices and facilities that make it possible to keep people out of mental hospitals and still give them adequate care are being established throughout the Nation.

Of particular importance has been the increase of psychiatric facilities in general hospitals. The numbers of these hospitals accepting psychiatric patients rose from 43 in 1939 to almost 1,000 in 1958.

The increase in the number of outpatient clinics and the extent of their services has

been equally phenomenal.

New types of outpatient facilities and daycare and night-care centers have been opened.

Emergency psychiatric services are being developed which hopefully will obviate the need for hospitalization in some instances.

Nursing homes and chronic-disease hospitals are being used more and more for care of such groups as the aged mentally ill.

There has also been an increase in aftercare facilities in the community so that patients who have been released are less likely to relapse.

Within the mental hospitals, there have also been significant changes. In fact, from what I have read I would say that there has

been a virtual revolution in the way in which the hospital views and handles the mental patient, a revolution that has been reflected in the more hopeful attitude toward mental illness prevalent throughout our society to-The use of total push programs, begun about 10 years ago, have demonstrated that many backward patients—the ones for whom hope had long since been abandoned-could improve to the point where they can be returned to the community.

The open hospital has been another major

step forward in the attempt to prevent longterm hospitalization and its associated ill effects. The healthy activity and sense of purpose that characterize the modern mental hospital are a far cry from the atmosphere that surrounded the mental hospital even as recently as 25 years ago. The idea of the open hospital has come to our shores in recent years from England where it has worked out very successfully in a number of hospitals. As yet it is not so generally accepted here as abroad.

A number of commentators have pointed out an apparent difference in the amount of violence among British and American patients and have suggested that something in the British personality or the more uniform culture in Great Britain may make the open hospital more feasible there than here. the precedent for patient freedom in this country existed long ago. In 1842, Charles Dickens described, in his "American Notes," scenes in the Boston Lunatic Asylum that would do justice to the more enlightened of our present-day institutions. "Every patient in this asylum," Dickens wrote, "sits down to dinner every day with a knife and fork; . At every meal, moral influence alone restrains the more violent among thembut the effect of that influence-is found, even as a means of restraint, to say nothing of it as a means of cure, a hundred times more efficacious than all the strait-waiscots, fetters, and handcuffs. * * *"

One might logically conclude, therefore, that the success of the "open door" is dependent upon a real change in attitude toward the mentally ill. Opening locked doors and giving patients the social freedom that is rightfully theirs is not enough. There must be real conviction on the part of the entire hospital staff that the patient can improve. Patients must be given treatment; prove. Fatigues and the provided and organized on must be marshalled and organized on an individual basis so that each patient is given the benefit of all that is now known about treating mental illness.

More and more the hospital must take its place as part of a network of mental health services in the community. The treatment and rehabilitation programs of the hospital need to become more closely integrated with community health and social services, so that the patient can receive continuous psychiatric and social assistance that will change as his needs change-and so that he will be able to maintain his links to the community and to his family throughout the course of his illness.

Dr. Robert Felix, Director of the National Institute of Mental Health and president-elect of your American Psychlatric Association, pointed out this need at your meeting 2 years ago when he said: "I would envision the time when we would consider the hospital period not as a separate entity, but as an entity in the total therapeutic program of the individual." The hospital also must share its responsibilities in the total community forces available for fostering preventive programs and positive mental health Dr. Felix has also said: "* * * activities. members of our hospital staffs are going to be much more effective as a total therapeutic instrument in hospital programs if there are devices set up whereby they must spend some of their time in consultation with other agencies in the community.

This means that hospital staff would become involved in a whole array of community activities-such as industrial mental health, school mental health, the mental health aspects of law enforcement programs, and various community mental health activities in cooperation with civic leaders. Although these activities would, of course, burden the already overcrowded schedule of hospital staff, the benefits would far outweigh the difficulties—and the advantages would probably spur renewed and successful efforts at expanding hospital staff. Closer contact with the community would give the hospital physician, nurse, social worker, and psychologist a clearer understanding of the problems confronting the patient when he leaves the hospital. Such contacts would also stimulate professional personnel and other people working and living in the community to pro-vide services within the hospital and help the hospital staff.

Ideally, if we are to make the mental hospital an effective therapeutic instrument, it must be set within a larger community which itself is a healing communitywhich the general climate and the available services tend to minimize the unhealthy stresses which contribute to mental illness, and tend to promote mental health in a positive way. Recent research leaves no doubt that an individual's social environment has a tremendous influence on his mental health. In the hospital, a therapeutic environment means a climate in which the entire staff brings help to the patients and the patients help one anotherin which there is increased emphasis on patient self-government and the patient is given more responsibility for managing his own affairs-in which treatment and help and rehabilitation are dominant. In the community a situation conducive to mental health means ready and adequate help for families in trouble, before one of their members breaks down-it means helping families recognize the early signs of mental illness and seek the proper kind of help as soon as possible—it means halfway houses, sheltered workshops and social-therapeutic clubs for discharged patients-it means the establishment of mental health centers to serve as screening and referral agencies-it means psychiatric emergency services and fosterhome care and other measures to avoid longterm mental hospitalization.

The problem of avoiding long-term mental hospitalization is perhaps most acute with the aging-the group who are the particular focus of this Mental Hospital In-The problem represented by the disproportionately large number of persons 65 years and over being admitted to public mental hospitals will become an even more critical one in the years ahead. It is estimated that by 1980 the number of people 65 years and over in the general population will double. If the current trend remains fixed, the increased numbers of older people in our mental hospitals will be tremendous. This will pose additional problems, because older patients require a great deal of physical and medical care and special staff attention.

This emerging problem suggests increased emphasis on research in many directions. For example, we need to know more about the aging process itself, about the cause of mental illness in the aged, and about the cultural and economic factors that deter-mine choice of the hospital for needed care. Not all patients with mental diseases of the senium are cared for in mental hos-There are a variety of other facilities available—homes for the aged, nursing homes, chronic disease hospitals. We need more facts before we can decide which facility can furnish the most appropriate care.

Perhaps we should give more thought to foster home care of the aged patient whose condition does not necessitate hospitalization but who does not have a family able or willing to give him the help he needs. In thinking of such foster care, we should not ignore the contributions that might be made the increasing numbers of healthy and active older people in our populationple for whom the responsibility of providing a foster home for aged patients would mean the difference between aimlessness and a sense of purpose and being needed that are essential to everyone's mental health. Payments for providing such foster care might mean the difference between self-respecting independence for thousands of healthy elderly people and the economic dependency others that in itself can breed psychological problems for the aged. Perhaps this approach could help the older people to help themselves.

But the question of institutional or community or home care of the aged mentally ill, as of other types of mental patients, is only one aspect of the problem. The choice The choice of treatment and treatment facility will change with constantly changing medical knowledge about prevention, treatment, and rehabilitation. It will change as attitudes of the community toward mental illness keep changing. It will change as we learn more about the complex interactions of biological, psychological, economic, and social forces that influence mental health and mental ill-The mental hospital is in a strategic position to contribute to the accumulation of that knowledge as well as to test it out with patients. It can be a living laboratory for the study of mental illness. The establishment of research activity within the hospital itself would help to strengthen its ties with university and other research centers, and would make the hospital more attractive as a place to work and learn. In thus branching out into other activities, the mental hospital may help to solve the chronic problems of insufficient staff that has tended to keep it ingrown and isolated in the past-

I am aware that most of these thoughts have occurred to all of you, perhaps many times. I am also aware of the numerous practical problems and obstacles that daily frustrate your attempts to move ahead. But, as you carry on your deliberations at this Institute, and as you work in your respective hospitals throughout the coming year, you should know that there is broad and generous public support for your efforts. I believe I express the feelings of the vast majority of our people when I say that our country is committed to a full program of activity in the field of mental illness, up to the limit of our economic, and scientific

An Educator Says Now Is the Time To Ask Searching Questions

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. CHARLES O. PORTER

OF OREGON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 19, 1960

Mr. PORTER. Mr. Speaker, my able friend, Lucian C. Marquis, political science professor at the University of Oregon, asserts that now is the time for criticism and that now is the time for Congress to ask searching questions about administration policy. A number of us have just addressed such questions to the President. We await his replies.

Under a previous unanimous consent, I am including the entire text of the letter written to me by Professor Marquis on May 13, 1960:

EUGENE., OREG., May 13, 1960.

Representative CHARLES O. PORTER,

House Office Building, Washington, D.C.

DEAR REPRESENTATIVE PORTER: I am writing to you out of deep concern because of the U-2 plane incident and because of the administration's anouncement of the proposed resumption of underground nuclear testing.

As a teacher of political science I realize that intelligence activities are one of the hard facts of life. At the same time I wonder whether we can afford the luxury of this type of intelligence. General Powers of SAC tells us that the Russians have the capacity to strike at American targets and to destroy them. What assurance do we have that the Russians do not misread the incursion of a single plane? Are the gains of such an intelligence mission worth the risk of nuclear war?

When some years ago a Soviet spy was apprehended in Brooklyn, the Russian Government could and did completely dissociate itself from his activities. Aerial intelligence, on the other hand, directly and immediately implicates the sponsoring government.

Equally disturbing is the question of responsibility. While the administration in Washington acknowledges its general policy decisions on this kind of flight, it was not aware of the particular timing. The disturb-ing implication is that immediate decisions which could be of the most far-reaching consequences, viz the unleashing of nuclear War, are made at some lower echelon. Quite apart from this irresponsible delegation of Power what might be the tactical conse-Were our SAC bases alerted to the Possibility of a Soviet reprisal to the U-2 incursion? Would President Eisenhower have been available to make an urgent decision? On the basis of the evidence (including the unpreparedness of the administration to give any decent explanation of the incident) we were in no way prepared. This in the face of the administration's argument that through these flights we wish to avoid another Pearl Harbor.

As to the ramifications of this incidentthe impact on world opinion prior to the summit, the ace it places into the hands of Soviet negotiators, the distrust is engenders among allies who have not been consulted (witness Norway's protest to our State Department) - are these to be subordinated to

the possible gains to intelligence?

The administration's justification of its bolicy is couched in the most fanciful doubletalk. It is saying to the Russians in effect-If you weren't such bad boys, ringing down your Iron Curtain, we wouldn't have to fly over your territory. What would the administration's reaction after a Soviet plane had been shot down over Kansas and the Russians were to reply that they Were compelled to such illegal flights because We barred their diplomats from large parts of the United States?

And finally, in a kind of postscript to this sad affair, the administration announces the resumption of underground nuclear testing at a moment when some slight but hopeful progress had been made at Geneva-the Russians having agreed to holding joint technical tests. What justification can be given for this decision? May this not appear to the rest of the world as a desperately

spiteful act?

It has been argued that this is no time for criticism. But if we do not criticize now, if the Congress does not now ask searching questions about administration Policy then when else is the time? Are we blindly to accept administration decision to continue such flights? Are we entitled to

know who makes immediate policy decisions which can have such far-reaching consequences for us and for the world? What justifications are there for the resumption of nuclear testing? These are not carping questions. Unless they are asked now it may be too late. I should like respectfully to urge you to further bring these sentiments, which are not merely confined to myself, to your colleagues in Congress and to continue to exercise to your fullest power your constitutional prerogative of checking the executive branch.

Truly yours,

LUCIAN C. MARQUIS.

Iowa Citizen Praises Birmingham

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. GEORGE HUDDLESTON, JR.

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, May 10, 1960

Mr. HUDDLESTON. Mr. Speaker, recently there appeared in one of Birmingham's two daily newspapers a letter to the editor which was, in effect, a thank you note to the citizens of our fine community and a refutation of a widely publicized false impression of the city emanating from a New York newspaper. This letter was from a citizen of Waterloo, Iowa, Mr. Edward J. Jacobson, who in a time of crisis and in a strange city, found in Birmingham and her people what he calls a needed "warmth and comfort.'

In addition to his eloquent expression of commendation and appreciation of the people of Birmingham, Mr. Jacobson, in his letter, praises the facilities and personnel of an institution in which we in Birmingham and Alabama take great pride, the University Hospital & Hillman Clinic of the University of Alabama Medical Center.

I am pleased to insert a copy of Mr. Jacobson's letter in the Congressional RECORD, under leave heretofore granted, and earnestly commend it to the attention of my colleagues:

VOICE OF THE PEOPLE-IOWA MAN TELLS STORY OF BIRMINGHAM'S HELP

I read the article in the Birmingham News which appeared in the New York Times. If that reporter had come to Bir-mingham under the circumstances Mrs. Jacobson and I did, I am sure his version of Birmingham and the very good people there would be entirely different.

On Saturday, April 9, my wife, our daughter Jean and I were having our lunch when we were interrupted by a phone call. It was a long distance call from University Hospital in your city to inform us that our older daughter Joan was there and had been involved in an auto accident. She was thrown out of an overturning car and seriously injured. She was en route to Florida with friends for Easter vacation from Rockford College at Rockford, Ill.

Several of your kind citizens who were passers-by made it possible for her to be assisted and brought to the hospital. The doctor requested we come, and plane connections being poor, we started driving. I stayed behind the wheel for 20 hours while my wife studied road maps and signs. Three cups of coffee and one piece of pie was our limit on food, only to reach Bir-

mingham, a place we had never been or even had any idea of what it was like.

We arrived on Sunday, April 10, at 12:30, at the edge of Birmingham, asking our way around. Everyone went out of their way to help us find the hospital. We arrived there at 1 p.m. to see our daughter. We had not been there long when we could see she had the care and love of the best doctors and nurses available.

We were strangers in this big city but yet we felt like this was a sort of home. knew our daughter would be well again. Later, we rented an apartment and our landlady was just like a mother to us. The minister called on our daughter, and we attended the church of our faith on Easter Sunday. It was wonderful to be in church a thousand miles from home and feel the warmth and comfort that we so needed at that time.

When our daughter was out of danger, we went shopping, only to be treated royally again by the good people of Birmingham. We will never forget the fine meals we were so graciously served in the various eating establishments. The service stations and garages, too, afforded us the same courteous service.

Then the good word came that we could start home, taking our daughter with us. This meant a great deal to us knowing that in 5 or 6 weeks she will be able to walk again. As we stood on the 10th floor of the hospital the night before we left, we were somewhat saddened looking out at the beautiful lights of the city. It is a second home to us and there will always be a warm place in our hearts for the good people who made our life so wonderful while in that big and beautiful city.

Can this be Birmingham? It sure can. EDWARD J. JACOBSON.

WATERLOO, IOWA.

Being Intelligent About Intelligence

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. EMILIO Q. DADDARIO

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, May 2, 1960

Mr. DADDARIO. Mr. Speaker, a good many words have been spoken in recent days about this Nation's intelligence operations and their efficiency and effectiveness. When policy decisions may be made on the basis of secret intelligence material, there is a conflict which can be settled only by full and frank discussion of these policy matters by the responsible political authorities without disclosure of agencies, sources, or methods. When political authorities allow the impression to gain currency that they are not in full command of their decisions, or that their information may have been faulty, they encourage speculation and comment which is not in the national interest.

In that connection, I would like to submit for the RECORD an editorial which appeared in the Hartford Courant and which contains an authoritative understanding of the intelligence cycle. The editorial states that one reason why intelligence activities of this Nation often appear to be both inept and amateurish is that there has seldom been an adequate appreciation of the importance of intelligence on the part of responsible persons in the Government.

It seems to me that the recent events. when coupled with incidents that have occurred over more than a decade now. indicate a need for a continuing review and supervision of the national intelligence machinery. The article which is cited in the editorial, and which I have not included at this point, believes that CIA is far too large and the responsibilities assigned its Director are too great to permit effective control. These are technical matters which deserve congressional study and decision. The entire field, it is apparent, deserves continuing congressional supervision by a committee which might well be organized along the lines of the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy.

The editorial follows:

BEING INTELLIGENT ABOUT INTELLIGENCE

Elsewhere on this page today appear some penetrating comments on the organization of the Central Intelligence Agency, and perhaps more important, on our whole approach to the subject of military intelligence. The article, which appeared in the London Daily Telegraph, was written by Donald McLachlan, himself a British intelli-

gence officer during World War II.

Although Mr. McLachlan's article is reasonably comprehensive, it fails to mention the principal reason why our intelligence activities are often both inept and amateurish. That reason is that there is not now nor has there ever been an adequate appreciation of the importance of intelligence on the part of responsible persons in the government, whether in the armed forces or in high elective positions. During the entire period between World War I and World War II, aside from such routine tasks as were performed by the attachés, military intelligence received little attention from anyone. And the intelligence commanders the various corps area commands, the G-2 assistant chiefs of staff, were principally public relations officers and nothing more. Even today, in the Department of the Army, all of the top General Staff officers but one have the title of Deputy Chief of Staff and the rank of lieutenant general. The one officer who does not have this rank is the director of intelligence, who is only an Assistant Chief of Staff, with the grade of major general.

Perhaps Washington's failure really to understand and appreciate the importance of military intelligence is a reflection of the attitude of the American people who, generally, look with disfavor upon espionage of any kind. But in this world in which we live our national existence demands that we make every effort to learn all we can of what our potential enemies are up to. Whether we like it or not, we must have well-trained and efficient intelligence agencies, and the sooner we realize that fact the

better it will be for all of us.

It might be pertinent here also to suggest that all intelligence activities must of necessity be conducted with the utmost secrecy, and that all governmental agencies con-cerned give consideration to what they are to say or not to say should anything resembling the U-2 incident arise again. too, we can take a lesson from the British. After the U-2 incident had been discussed by Prime Minister Macmillan and Selwyn Lloyd, the Foreign Secretary, the British Foreign Office spokesman was asked for comment. He said: "It would appear to be an intelligence operation and it is not the habit of the British Government to comment on operations of that nature either of its own or of its friends."

That should be our policy, too.

Chances for Milk Sanitation Legislation Have Become Brighter

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. LESTER R. JOHNSON

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, May 16, 1960

Mr. JOHNSON of Wisconsin. Speaker, the Dairy Record, one of the Nation's leading publications in the dairy field, has commented editorially on the ever-increasing support for my national milk sanitation legislation. Under leave to extend by remarks, I would like to include this editorial from the May 4, 1960, issue of this magazine in the RECORD:

BEHIND THE NEWS

While the possibility of passage of the National Milk Sanitation bill did not change materially as a result of the House hearings last week, its chances are brighter today than they have ever been. The nominating convention of the two parties will call for an early adjournment of Congress which makes it appear doubtful at this time that the bill can be passed at this session. How-ever, there is the remote possibility that it could be brought up for action on the floor of both Houses before adjournment.

Last fall it appeared almost hopeless that the measure would receive much attention at this short session, but it is evident that proponents of the bill introduced by Representative Lesrer Johnson, of Wisconsin have been extremely busy in gaining supports for

the legislation.

A major victory was won by backers of the bill when Arthur S. Flemming, Secretary of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, in a letter to Representative OREN HARRIS, chairman, Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, reported favorably on the bill and Assistant Surgeon General, David E. Price of the HEW, at a commerce subcommittee meeting of the House endorsed the measure.

Secretary Flemming stated that the objections of the Department to previous sanita-tion bills had been eliminated in the Johnson measure and he pointed out that HEW has consistently held that health regulations should not be used as domestic trade barriers to the interstate shipment of milk and milk products of high sanitary quality.

He stated further that despite the vast

improvement that has been made in the sanitary quality of milk accruing from State and local milk sanitation programs, there still remain many areas where the sanitary quality of milk and milk sanitation practices do not meet presently accepted standards. For this reason, he declared that the bill would result in added health protection for a substantial segment of the Nation's pop-

Appearing at last week's hearing, speaking in favor of the bill, were representatives of consumers groups, State health boards, agricultural groups, Congressmen, Governors, and State agriculture departments from the Midwest, the East and the Southwest.

All presented strong arguments why the bill should be passed and one of the strongest offered was that in actuality the measure is for the protection of the consumer. It was pointed out that in many areas when there is a period of shortage milk is purchased from outside sources and it is in many cases of dubious quality.

Appearing in opposition to the Johnson bill were for the most part representatives of producer groups, principally from the East,

South, and Southwest. Philip Alampi, New Jersey Secretary of Agriculture, stated in his brief that the milk markets in the Northeast have very adequate milk sanitation regulations and that health standards can best be determined at the local or area level. He declared that enactment of the bill would tend to lower the quality of milk shipped into receiving States and that lowering of quality standards would be detrimental to the promotion and expansion of market outlets for milk. He also argued that the purpose of the bill is to permit the shipment of milk for fluid use from States of surplus production into distant markets but that goal would not be accomplished because the price differential between surplus States such as Wisconsin and Minnesota and northeastern importing States is not sufficient to induce the movement of a permanent supply of milk from the surplus producing areas.

Also appearing in opposition to the measure was Paul R. Jackson, executive officer, Milk Inspection Association of the Oranges and Maplewood, N.J., who represented the New Jersey Health Officer Association. He argued that the bill will give authority to the Surgeon General to promulgate and amend the Federal Milk Sanitation Code and that this would be an unwarranted delegation of authority. He also declared that the bill would abrogate the home rule

of local agencies.

Libraries, Education, and Society

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. JOHN E. FOGARTY

OF RHODE ISLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, May 23, 1960

Mr. FOGARTY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks I include an address which I delivered at the Drexel Institute of Technology, Philadelphia, Pa., on May 17, 1960:

LIBRARIES, EDUCATION, AND SOCIETY

(Remarks made by Representative John E. FOGARTY at Drexel Institute of Technology on May 17, 1960, on occasion of his receiving the Distinguished Achievement Award from the Graduate School of Library Science and the Library Alumni Association)

Today I saw for the first time the impressive new quarters of the library school here at Drexel. I am sure they bring to you a deep sense of pride and gratification-much as your Distinguished Achievement Award. and this opportunity to meet with you have given me. It is a fine thing to feel that one's efforts have played some part in strengthen-

ing the American heritage.

A library school—or legislation to aid 11braries—can do just that: It can enrich society and strengthen the Nation. It does this mainly through the enduring contribu-

tion of libraries to education.

America's strength was once felt to lie predominantly in her agricultural and geographic advantages. Since the turn of the century, industry and natural resources have been paramount. Both, of course, remain essential to our country's strength and her

¹ The Graduate School of Library Science (third oldest in the United States and among the first five in enrollment) and the Drexel Library are housed together in the Library Center, opened in the fall of 1959, and the latest addition to the physical plant in the current expansion program.

leadership among free peoples. But the close of World War II brought sharply into focus another basic resource—education; and recent years have commanded its critical appraisal. It is now clear to many that agriculture and industry, however prolific, cannot insure supremacy or even survival without a stronger fiber of education in the social fabric.

The modern concept of education is a broad one. Besides the schools at all levels, many institutions and media are recognized as educational—partly because of their mounting interest in the role. There are more and more educational uses of films and recordings, radio and television, magazines and newspapers, pamphlets, and books. There is an upward trend in the publication of all factual matter. I believe these changes reflect generally a felt need of people for a broader view of the world about them.

One institution with a growing educational mission is the library. It is axiomatic, of course, that libraries should serve scholarship; but I refer to a more active part in the educational process. Increasingly the progressive library is concerned with information—with collecting, lending, and promoting current reading matter, films, recordings, and other educational materials. Thus the library aligns itself with institutions and forces that are shaping our national destiny.

It is my conviction that this is the way in which libraries of all types can best serve the community in our dynamic times. Libraries are more than storehouses; their

broader function is to teach.

For many years I have given my best thought to certain needs and aspirations of our people. This has been basic to my responsibilities as a Representative to Congress from the Second District of Rhode Island, and as chairman of the subcommittee in the House of Representatives which is concerned with appropriations to the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. I am pleased to say that many libraries and library groups are closely allied with the Department in several of its programs. They collaborate in activities of the Office of Education and the National Library of Medcine. They share particularly the interests of the Public Health Service in aging, juvenile delinquency, and blindness.

As an interested layman, I should like to express briefly some views on the library's role in these tremendous problems.

One of the great paradoxes of the modern world is the problem of our aging population—the medical and social needs that have risen as a result of our longer life span, which is largely attributable to advances in medicine and public health. Since 1900, people over 50 have increased in our population from 13 percent to more than 22 percent. By 1970, nearly 25 percent of the American people will be over 50, and 10 percent will be over 65. This implies a continued increase in those burdens that weigh so heavily upon the aged—health problems, occupational difficulties, lowered income, unsatisfactory living conditions, loneliness.

In attempting to come to grips with such a problem one naturally turns to institutions and individuals that might be expected to help. A group that has outlined its objectives with regard to the aged is the National Library Association. It has spelled out in congressional testimony how the public library renders direct services to the elderly; supplies middle-age groups with literature on retirement plans, housing and income; coordinates interested civic groups and educational programs; and assists personnel who work with the aging through books, films, and exhibits.

These seem to me excellent, practical objectives that might well be extended to all libraries. In addition, I should like to see library schools expand the training of librarians to work with the elderly. Some studies should be undertaken to settle the question whether cultural and educational interests can actually retard mental decline, and to learn how libraries can help bring out and utilize the older person's best attributes. It would be a great credit to library science, and quite fitting, if some library group were to lead the way toward salvaging the elder population's vast resource of experience and skills.

The library's place in our culture is nu-clear: it offers literature, information, and recreation to many groups, the young as well as the old. I feel that its values to youth have barely been tapped. In many young people, there is a spirit that rebels against education-or rather, against being taught. This finds a terrible and ruinous expression in the juvenile delinquent, whose rebellion may lead to total loss of educational contact. And yet the delinquent or predelinquent does not necessarily resist learning. His indifference or hositility may embrace only the formal aspects of education-the classroom and its implication of discipline and conformity. The same individual may sometimes be reached through an appeal to his curiosity, his need to excell, or his natural love for reading, music, or some related pursuit. Every era has its Bohemian movement, which is essentially rebellious and yet intellectual or artistic.

The difficulty, of course, is to capture and old interest. The library has strong comhold interest. petition, and I can offer no formula. I only know that the mind of youth is capable of intense application in response to the right With no coercion whatever, youth can master difficult sports, jazz music, automotive mechanics, radio engineering. And we have all seen young people come to public libraries in underprivileged metropolitan sections, drawn by up-to-date material on invention, the space age, sports and recreation, career opportunities, and interesting lives. I have seen this in districts where crime and violence beckon constantly to every child. In light of these things, I am confident that ways can be found to enhance the appeal and effectiveness of libraries in helping the prospective citizen.

You may be interested in certain resolutions passed at the recent White House Conference on Children and Youth, which included nearly 100 librarians among the delegates.

One resolution called for adequately supported studies to determine the effects of reading books, magazines, and newspapers upon young people. Another recommended that much more extensive use be made of films and other instructional material in both formal and informal education. Several resolutions were aimed at augmenting the opportunities for training and participation in dramatics, theater arts, and film production.

With direct reference to libraries, it was resolved that action should be taken to extend the availability of public library service to every citizen; that libraries be established in schools, colleges and universities, with a view to helping them achieve higher standards; and that reading, training in the selection of literature, and recruitment of personnel trained in reading guidance be vigorously promoted.

One of the forums resolved that young

One of the forums resolved that young people should be encouraged to study the great ethical, moral and religious truths, and to use these to formulate codes of conduct for their guidance toward good citizenship.

I believe we shall soon see legislation and other efforts to implement these recommendations at local, State, and Federal levels.

Meanwhile, library workers will be able to draw on the resolutions in seeking interest and aid.

Another medical and social area in which libraries are making a valuable contribution is blindness. Despite public and private efforts over many years, the number of blind persons in this country is about 350,000 and is steadily increasing. The Public Health Service's National Institute of Neurological Diseases and Blindness is attacking the problem from the medical standpoint. On the social side, I believe there is need for a good study on problems related to blindness and the needs of the blind. One objective would be to help create a national atmosphere more favorable to the blind person and his role in society. This would call for studies of existing conditions, including the problem of providing books and recordings. The best library services now available for the blind should be augmented and extended.

Some of you may not know that the Library of Congress program to provide books for the blind is currently operating under an appropriation of \$1.6 million, which is a little more than ever before. To date, the Library has provided about 5,600 titles in Braille and Moon type and 4,000 talking books. Approximately 70,000 of the Library's

machines are now in use.

As I have indicated, many grave medical and social problems call strongly on libraries among other key groups. Assistance to libraries themselves has been made available through the Library Services Act. In fiscal year 1960 allotments are based on the maximum authorized appropriation, \$7.5 million. In this session of Congress, I have introduced a bill to extend the act for another 5 years beginning July 1.

This Office of Education program has helped to bring library services to 30 million people in rural America. It has provided trained personnel, 200 bookmobiles, and 5 million books and other materials. Fifty-two States and territories are now participating. Since the beginning of the program in 1957, the matching requirements have stimulated local governments to increase their library appropriations by 45 percent. One of the most encouraging results is the development of an effective system of libraries, with strong centers, cooperative processing, and so forth. And throughout the Nation there is a growing awareness of the meaning of libraries in education.

In my own State of Rhode Island, progress under the act has been typical. A special unit, Public Library Services in Rural Areas, was set up in the office of the secretary of state to administer the program. A director, assistant director, clerical staff, and a bookmobile were added and new quarters obtained. A book grant was made to rural libraries, with provisions for emphasis on reference materials. Books are ordered and processed by the State agency. A series of workshops has been held at headquarters, and State consultant and bookmobile services have steadily grown.

Another law that has much significance for libraries is the National Defense Education Act of 1958. This is primarily designed to strengthen, improve, and expand education in the United States at all levels. Libraries are specified as basic to the educational process. I should like to call attention to the fact that projects developed under the act may include books and other materials, and that these are not yet available in adequate quantity and quality. Library materials to aid both teachers and students are needed for a balanced program.

Of the 10 titles in the act, title III offers the most direct opportunities for libraries. This authorizes \$70 million a year until July 1962 for improved science, mathematics, and modern foreign language instruction in public schools. Federal funds are available for laboratory and other special equipment. By

³ Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, Aug. 4, 1959.

the language of the act, special equipment includes printed materials (except text-books) and audiovisual materials and equipment. Minor remodeling and special equipment needed by the library because of its necessary expansion may be included under projects approved by the State educational agency and the U.S. Office of Education.

Other titles also pertain to libraries and librarians. Title II, for example, which provides loans up to \$5,000 for college students. Persons training to become librarians are eligible, and 50 percent of the loan will be canceled for those who serve as school or teacher librarians for 5 years. Another example is title IV, which provides graduate fellowships aimed particularly at the preparation of teachers for colleges and universities.

I urge all of you to review the provisions of the National Defense Education Act (Public Law 85-864) and to be sure your students are familiar with the aspects pertaining to libraries. The ALA or the U.S. Office of Edu-

cation will gladly supply details.

While speaking of Federal aid to libraries, I will make a point that may seem to the older hands here a little obvious. I refer to the fact that a library in the modern sense, adequately stocked and staffed to pull its own weight in an educational program, requires strong support from many quar-ters—particularly in the form of funds. A school of library science would do well to train its advanced students in the practice of fund raising. You must have support at local, State and national levels. To this end, librarians should take steps to increase public awareness of the library-to make it felt as a part of the community. It is largely through trustees and friends of libraries that the trend toward a more educational role must be advanced.

Such a role is necessarily diversified, and I have mentioned only some aspects. I have merely alluded to the library's part in cultural enrichment. Society depends upon the library for many things, not the least of which is its capacity to deepen appreciation and stimulate interest in the arts and sciences, in our principles and traditions, and in the peoples of other lands. This is an intangible role, but nonetheless a real one. It evokes a vital spirit in every American—the spirit to see our country progress

and lead.

In this complex troubled world, the sciences loom in importance. Our prestige among nations depends largely upon our scientific preeminence. No amount of military preparedness could compensate for a lag in scientific knowledge or manpower. Nor can we ignore the value of the health sciences in a military and economic sense, for the cost of disease is the greatest burden any country can bear in war or peace. All this has direct bearing in the library field. You must continue, and I hope expand, your efforts to interest more people in the various sciences-in their support, their progress, and their application. Again the library is a powerful force for motivating, guiding and teaching.

It is a responsibility of libraries to help keep alive the spirit of culture and learning I know of no better way than to cherish and promote the freedom to read. As a nation we are not given to slogans or glib phrases for expressing our deeper values. is not easy to tell in a word or two what America stands for. Yet we can say that our country and its Constitution are flatly opposed to censorship-that anyone can go to a public library and read any book fit to print, whether or not the ideas it expresses are generally accepted. This is specific enough, and should be widely proclaimed as a basic fact. It is the librarians who make such freedom possible by seeing that all sides of a social issue are presented, trusting in the American way to speak for itself. Freedom to read is fundamental to true democracy.

I have rambled a good deal, but I believe I can sum up the main theme. The library in modern society is particularly important as an educational institution. To enhance its social value, it must strengthen its edu-cational role. This may be effected through the teaching of librarians, studies in the use of the library as an education instru-ment, promotion of science, and aid to special groups such as the young at critical ages and the elderly. Progress along these lines will require friends, funds, and a strong voice in the community. Finally, libraries of all types, in preserving the freedom to read, in the broadest sense, both serve and exemplify the American ideal.

Eleven Electric Co-ops and How They Grew

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. LESTER R. JOHNSON

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, May 16, 1960

Mr. JOHNSON of Wisconsin. Speaker, on the 25th anniversary of the rural electrification program, Fred Steffen, State editor for the Eau Claire (Wis.) Leader, wrote a review of the splendid accomplishments of 11 area electric cooperatives, 10 of which are in my district. Their success story is typical of the success stories of the more than 1,000 electric cooperatives across the Nation. Under leave to extend my remarks, I would like to include this article in the RECORD:

TWENTY-FIFTH ANNIVERSARY FOR REA-ELEVEN ELECTRIC CO-OPS, INCLUDING WORLD'S LARGEST, IN THIS AREA

(By Fred Steffen)

Twenty-five years ago today President Franklin D. Roosevelt signed his name on an Executive order and "turned on" the Rural Electrification Administration.

On May 11, 1960, the world's largest cooperatively owned power generating station is on the Mississippi River at Alma, 45 miles southwest of here. An 80,000-kilowatt unit now in final stages of testing will boost plant capacity to 190,000 kilowatts.

Since F.D.R. signed that order 11 cooperative electric companies have sprung into being in the area served by this news-

At the beginning of this year a total of \$21,330,653 was invested in these power distribution businesses. The 11 co-ops serve 39,270 families and other patrons around Eau Their 11,880 miles of line would extend almost half way around the world.

This is the result of efforts of 317 charter members of the 11 co-ops, 2 of which, Trempealeau and Jump River, were chartered with 9 members each. Over at Ellsworth, the Pierce-Pepin Co-op was started with 10. By the time they were ready to serve their first customers during the hectic formative years of 1936, 1937, and 1938 they had 2,580 patrons signed up.

The original investment totaled \$2,635,129 for all 11 firms. Today, the investment in each the Barron and Clark Co-ops exceeds that figure, and the membership of eight of them exceeds the original total for all.

Principal factor in the continuing growth of the cooperatives has been the availability of Federal funds at low-interest rates to permit construction of needed building

Today the average "equity" or member ownership of the 11 co-ops in the area is 33 percent. The St. Croix and the Clark Electric Co-ops top the list. St. Croix with 40-percent ownership and Clark with 39.62 percent. In the overall area the members own approximately \$7 million worth of the total investment of \$21,330,653. This membership-ownership is more than double the original Government investment in the area.

Ownership is figured by the co-ops in "capital credits" according to the use each member has made of the co-op and to the amount of income from year to year. Most co-ops retain the credits while they repay their Government loans but at least one in this region, the Barron co-op, is paying capital credits to the estates of deceased mem-

To date, according to Manager Otis Berger, the Barron co-op has paid out \$17,787.80 in settling the capital credits for the estates of 212 deceased members. The largest payment was for \$440.42 to the estate of a man who had been a member for 20 years.

To the question of why do the co-ops keep coming back for funds, Wisconsin Elec-Co-operative officials reply that rural demands for power have increased steadily over the years resulting in "heavying up" or revamping lines to carry heavier loads. In 1959, for instance, REA borrowers sold 83 percent more power than they did just 5 years before.

Gov. Gaylord Nelson joined with former Gov. Philip LaFollette and H. O. Melby, WEC president, recently to observe the anniversary. LaFollette, who was governor when the systems were started in Wisconsin said, "The things that seem important now are the things that proved to be of lasting and increasing value, such as con-servation and rural electrification * * * it's important to tie your efforts to something that will live on after you."

Nelson said that the contribution of the rural electric cooperative movement "is unexcelled by any other cooperative movement

of any kind."

Thumbnail sketches of the growth of the 11 co-ops bringing electricity to rural areas of Wisconsin follow

Barron: Largest in terms of membership with 6,836 and investment, with \$3,498,713 the Barron County Electric Co-op is headed up by Willis Jerome and managed by Otis Berger. It was chartered by 77 members in August of 1936 and today has 26 percent equity in the system.

Buffalo: Richard Dierauer is president of the Buffalo Electric Co-op and Eli J. Maule, manager. It has 2,269 members who own 32 percent of the co-op's \$1,448,978 investment. It has 823 miles of line and was organized in 1936 by 17 members.

Chippewa: Located at Cornell, the Chippewa Valley Electric Co-op has an investment of \$1,624,649 with 3,248 members and 871 miles of lines. President is Henry E. Grape and manager is Ray L. Cleaves. It was launched in 1938 with 21 members on a \$60,000 loan to put up 60 miles of line.

Clark: The Clark Electric Cooperative maneged by W. A. Dallman is located at Greenwood. Its president is David A. Krutsch. It began with a \$700,000 loan serv ing 250 original members. Today it serves 5,000 over 1,440 miles of line and a total investment of \$2,262,211.

Dunn: W. E. Owen is president and Anton J. Brensdal manager of the Dunn County Electric Co-op with headquarters in Menomonie. It began with 41 charter members in April of 1937 who borrowed \$50,000 to erect 26 miles of line. Its 3,885 members today own 39 percent of the \$1,950,399 investment in 1,265 miles of line.

Eau Claire: A loan of \$315,827 to build 97 miles of line for 71 users started the Eau Claire Electric Co-op in March of 1938. Walter Roach is president and Virgil Dufeck, manager, of today's \$1,653,738 plant that serves 3,334 members along 881 miles of line. Jackson: In October, 1937 there were 23 organizers of the Jackson Electric Cooperative which is managed by Arthur M. Larson and whose president is Donald J. Peasley. They built 148 miles of line. Today the co-

ops 2,553 patrons along 875 miles of line are

served by a \$1,654,250 systems.

Jump River: With headquarters at Lady Smith the Jump River Electric Co-op has an investment today of \$2.111,239 and serves 3,022 patrons along 1,090 miles of line. began with 100 miles of line and 80 members in November 1938. President is Vern Birong and manager is Harold J. Cleary. President is Vernon

Pierce-Pepin: Sidney Peterson is president and A. M. Anderson manager of the Pierce-Pepin Electric Co-op which has 3,400 members along 790 miles of line and an investment in plant of \$1,677,002. Member equity is one-third. Ten members started the co-op in April, 1936 on a loan of \$330,000 to build 150 miles of line serving 209 members.

St. Croix: There are 782 miles of line in the St. Croix Eelectric Co-op with headquarters at Baldwin where David Rodli is manager. William Rutzen is co-op president. There are 2,317 members who own 40 Percent of the co-op which has a plant investment of \$1,467,929 compared to the 35 charter members from November, 1937 who borrowed \$186,000 to start it.

Trempealeau: Located at Arcadia, the Trempealeau Electric Cooperative has 3,046 members along 1,187 miles of line and an investment today of \$1,981,541. E. R. Finner is president and E. F. Thornton manager of the co-op which started with nine charter members in February, 1937 with the largest initial loan in this area of \$426,538 to serve 554 patrons along 425 miles of line.

Mr. K. Overplays Hand

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. CHARLES E. CHAMBERLAIN

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, May 11, 1960

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. Mr. Speaker, the summit conference having been deliberately sabotaged by Khrushchev and since the cold war is on in earnest again, I wish to include in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial which appeared in the State Journal of Lansing, Mich., on May 18, entitled "Mr. K. Overplays Hand." I am pleased to call the editorial to the attention of my colleagues:

MR. K. OVERPLAYS HAND

Cold war tensions have been increased by events leading to collapse of the summit conference that was billed as an effort to Improve East-West relations.

Soviet Premier Khrushchev dashed hope for the long-awaited discussion of cold war problems by Big Four leaders that might have resulted in some progress in strengthening the foundations of world peace.

President Eisenhower sought to create an atmosphere favorable to the conference by announcing that United States reconnais sance flights over Russia had been suspended and would not be resumed.

This did not satisfy Premier Khrushchev who was determined to squeeze every drop of propaganda advantage out of the spyplane incident and who demanded, in insulting terms, that President Eisenhower admit aggression against the Soviet Union, apologize for the ill-fated flight of the U-2 and punish those responsible,

Mr. Eisenhower properly refused to bow to Khrushchev's demands that he humiliate himself and the American people before the

The Soviet Premier must bear sole responsibility for wrecking a conference that could have been held had he accepted the U.S. decision to discontinue its reconnaissance flights as the accomplishment of his purpose.

By greatly overplaying his hand, Khrushchev has committed a major tactical blunder which has drawn upon himself the denunciation he had hoped other countries would heap upon President Eisenhower.

If Khrushchev had hoped to divide the Western allies he is doomed to disappointment. Instead, he has united them more firmly in the face of the common danger emphasized by his shockingly reckless display of truculence in Paris.

Statement of Walter A. Stilley, Jr., for the Hardwood Plywood Institute

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. JOHN H. DENT

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 12, 1960

Mr. DENT. Mr. Speaker, although the following statement was introduced in our committee for the purpose of testimony against minimum wage advances, I cannot think of a more eloquent plea for a "stop, look, and listen" warning in our handling of foreign aid, trade, and af-

When I think of the years of abuse suffered by the Democrats from their Republican opponents because of our socalled giveaway programs and then to watch this administration pervert the whole sublime purpose of foreign aid to a profiteering, public gouging, and exploitation of friendly peoples, I cannot help but think of the U-2 incident and all its implications.

Simply put, Mr. Stilley asks one important question—"How do we raise standards elsewhere without lowering our own?"

STATEMENT OF WALTER A. STILLEY, JR., FOR THE HARDWOOD PLYWOOD INSTITUTE

Mr. Chairman, members of the committee, my name is Walter A. Stilley, Jr. I am president of the Stilley Plywood Co, of Conway, My company has manufactured hardwood plywood for many years. About 2 years ago we added water skis to our product lines. We were forced into the ski business due to a substantial part of our hardwood plywood business being taken over by imports of cheap Lauan plywood from Japan. Fortunately, we had a new press which we could use to make ski blanks at a time when water skis were coming into great demand. Our ski production has saved our business, at least for the time being. The Japanese, finding we have a good market for the skis will undoubtedly start shipping skis or ski blanks to the United States at prices less than our costs and our ski business will go down the same road taken by our plywood business.

I am appearing on behalf of my company and other southern hardwood plywood producers who are faced with problems similar to mine. We are forced to oppose an increase in the minimum wage, not because we would not like to be able to pay a higher wage to our workers, but because we are faced with a competitive price situation due to uncontrolled low-priced plywood imports where any additional costs may force us to discontinue our present production of hardwood plywood.

The hardwood plywood industry has been under the sustained attack of low-priced hardwood plywood from Japan for many years. Hardwood plywood imports have increased from 66.7 million square feet valued for duty at \$8.5 million in 1951, to 1.318 billion square feet valued for duty at \$98 million in 1959. Hardwood plywood imports in 1959 took over 57.3 percent of all the sales of hardwood plywood in the United States. Hardwood plywood imports in 1959 increased 411 million square feet over 1958. During this period, the domestic producers had shipments of approximately 945 million square feet. The 1959 increase in plywood imports represented nearly 50 percent of our total shipments in that year.

Plywood sales are lost to the domestic producers solely because of the low prices of the imports. The price of the imported plywood, duty paid, landed United States, is less than our costs of labor and material for comparable panels. We are able to sell our plywood by giving special services and because some Americans, knowing of our problem, believe that the United States is importing unemployment by not helping American industry which is under the assault of low-priced imports.

In the year 1959 the smaller southern hardwood plywood producers operated on a near break even basis. In almost every company costs were pared down to the very bottom and at the expense of sound management principles to achieve an "in the black" result at year's end.

It is now proposed to increase the minimum wage which will have a material effect in our labor costs which represent 25 percent or more of the total cost of production. I have been supplied with some information on what could result from such an increase. The situation in my company is about as

An increase in our company to \$1.25 would result in a payroll increase of \$173,000 plus \$14,000 payroll tax, a total of \$187,000, which would require a 10-percent increase in our hardwood plywood prices. I can assure you that my customers with low-priced imports available will not accept a 10-percent in-crease in my prices. A smaller increase would reduce our payroll increases proportionately, but any increase would bring an increase in our prices and reduce our com-

Another plant with an annual payroll of \$11/4 million states that its payroll would increase 12 percent and it would require at least a 4-percent increase in its prices.

A third mill estimates its increase in payroll at 25 percent because of the need to bring all wages in line with minimum rates. This would require a 10-percent price increase according to this producer.

Our companies have not been able to increase their production to meet normal increases in costs. The steady increase in imports at low prices has forced us to fight a defensive action to just keep operating, in hope that the policy of permitting the eventual destruction of our industry by imports would be changed. Any increase in cost now or at anytime that plywood imports are unrestrained will hasten the destruction of our

We have no recourse against the plywood imports except in Congress. Our industry has fought a losing battle in two escape clause cases. The latest decision in June 1959 found, of all things, that imported hardwood plywood was not like or directly competitive with American hardwood plywood although (1) the imported plywood is made by the same process; (2) similar woods being used; (3) was sold in the same form, sizes, thicknesses, and (4) for the same or similar uses. I cannot begin to explain this decision. I can say that the Japanese sent a delegation of seven to the State Department and this group also sat through our hearings at the Tariff Commission. Certainly, if we did such a thing in a foreign country we would be accused of attempting to intimidate. In any event, we have been denied consideration for our problem while the Japanese and other foreign countries have been encouraged by loans and grants to come into our markets.

Low-priced imports from countries paying wages a fraction of our minimum wage are unfair competition. If your committee deems it essential for the welfare of our country that there be some increase in the minimum wage, then we would like to propose that you attach a proviso to such authorization which would require the minimum wage not be increased above \$1 an hour in any industry producing a product where the imports of a like or similar product have increased since March 1, 1956, the date of the increase in the minimum wage to \$1 per hour, and such increase in imports has created a competitive burden for the domestic industry. It could be further provided that where administrative action had been taken to restrict the imports of such products, the increase could be allowed for such industry.

I am informed that our present \$1 minimum wage is higher than the hourly wages paid in European countries and is several times the going hourly wage in the Asian, African, and South American countries. I am sure your staff can obtain this information. Until the foreign countries reach a rate comparable to our minimum wage there will be no way for our industries to meet the low wage costs of most imported products. Therefore, any increase in the minimum wage in industries where imports of their products have increased will give an additional price differential to the foreign producers and increase the unfair competitive advantage such producers presently possess.

The Congressmen from the States where we have plants can tell you that this is a matter of the survival of our industry in the South. If Congress or the administration would grant us the protection from the unfair competition of cheap plywood made in low-wage foreign countries we could endorse a minimum wage increase and pay it willingly.

Thank you for hearing me; my industry appreciates your consideration.

Jobs After 40

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. CRAIG HOSMER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, May 12, 1960

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Speaker, the following excerpts from a talk on "Older Worker Placement" by Ewan Clague, Commissioner of Labor Statistics, U.S. Labor Department before the Older Worker Forum in Philadelphia on December 5, 1957, clearly illustrate why we must break the employment age barrier:

Middle-aged and older men and women today constitute a very considerable part of our manpower resources, and by 1965 they will constitute an even more important part. We expect a 10 million increase in labor force between 1955 and 1965, and half of the increase will be persons 45 years and over.

Only if we can make the best possible use of the skills, ability, and capacity for continuous work of all of these people, will we be able to produce the goods, both civilian and military, which are needed. * * *

By 1965 we expect our population in the United States to have reached 193.3 million persons. Our labor force is expected to increase from 68.9 million to 79.2 million in 1965. However, the age distribution will be different. We will have many more of the younger age groups (14-24) and a good many more of the older group (45 and over), but hardly any more in the middle age groups from 25-44, than now. * *

These projections point up for us * * * the great importance of the worker over 45 in our factories and service industries of the future. If we practice or introduce the right hiring and personnel policies now, then the gradual change in the composition of our labor force will not produce the waste, shortages, or unemployment which might otherwise occur. Since we shall not have a large reservoir of just the preferred age groups, it is all the more important that we learn to make the best possible use of the manpower resources that will be available.

These figures given by Mr. Clague illustrate the fact that our economy needs to learn how to use the productive skills of our older workers. But there are human needs in addition to economic needs. What about the individual who wants to continue working; who needs to work in order to be happy? Studies show that a great many people want to work after they reach 65, even though they are eligible for old-age pensions.

Unless our society can develop methods by which persons can continue to work as long as they are able to work, we shall be faced with an ever-growing number of discontented and unproductive older persons, who will have to be supported by younger persons economically, emotionally, and spiritually.

The problem becomes more acute in periods of depression or recession when there is a labor surplus. Those who do the hiring are more apt to insist on rigid age barriers during such periods because it is easier to find workers with characteristics precisely of the type specified. This makes it even harder to place older workers than is usually the case. Moreover, the increased failure of businesses in depression and recession periods throws more older workers on the labor market. The economy comes out of the recession eventually, but many of the older workers never reach full productivity again.

For those mature people who are able to work, the greatest emotional need they have is to be able to work, to be able to support themselves, to be able to think of themselves as economically useful people.

There are also tremendous social costs in denying employment to older workers under 65. There is the cost of supporting such workers, either through public assistance benefits or private help. There is the loss in taxes which would be paid by such workers if they were employed. And finally there are the numberless social services which are often required when families suffer financial reverses.

It is plain that we cannot continue to lengthen man's lifespan and at the same time lower the age at which he is allowed to continue as a productive member of

society. Sooner or later we will reach the point where the burden of supporting large numbers of older workers who are not fully productive will become too much for our economy to bear.

Therefore, there are at least three compelling reasons why all citizens of good will should work to break the age barrier to employment. One is economic—we must do it in order to keep our productivity high and our economy prosperous; a second is social—everyone in our society must help to bear the cost that arises when an individual is denied the opportunity to support himself and his family; a third is human—we must do it to keep our society stable.

The Federal Government and Higher Education—Final Report of the 17th American Assembly, May 5-8, 1960

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JOHN BRADEMAS

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, May 18, 1960

Mr. BRADEMAS. Mr. Speaker, I was privileged to be among the participants in the 17th American Assembly held at Arden House, Harriman, N.Y., from May 5 to 8, 1960, on the subject of "The Federal Government and Higher Education."

The American Assembly was established at Columbia University by Dwight D. Eisenhower in 1950. Its purpose is to supply background, define issues, stimulate discussion, and evoke conclusions in matters of large public interest.

Two national assemblies are held each year on subjects of importance and time-liness, and about 60 men and women, widely representative of American leadership from business and labor, education, and public life, meet for several days to discuss the assembly topic.

Following is the list of participants at the 17th American Assembly:

LIST OF PARTICIPANTS AT THE 17TH
AMERICAN ASSEMBLY

Robert C. Anderson, director, Southern Regional Education Board, Atlanta.

Norman P. Auburn, president, the University of Akron, Ohio.

Milo P. Bail, chairman, Commission on Colleges and Universities, North Central Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools, Omaha.

William Benton, publisher, Encyclopaedia Britannica, New York City.

Buford Boone, publisher, the Tusca-

loosa News, Alabama.

Maj. Gen. John W. Bowen, Assistant

Maj. Gen. John W. Bowen, Assistant Chief of Staff for Reserve Components, Department of the Army, Washington, D.C.

JOHN BRADEMAS, Representative from Indiana, Congress of the United States-Paul J. Braisted, president, the Edward W. Hazen Foundation, New Hayen.

Courtney C. Brown, dean, Graduate School of Business, Columbia University. William P. Bundy, staff director, the President's Commission on National Goals, Washington, D.C.

A. Boyd Campbell, president, Mississippi School Supply Co., Jackson.

JOSEPH S. CLARK, U.S. Senator from

Pennsylvania.

Catherine B. Cleary, vice president, First Wisconsin Trust Co., Milwaukee.

James S. Coles, president, Bowdoin College, Maine.

L. V. Collings, chairman, Standard-Vacuum Oil Co., White Plains, N.Y.

John D. Conners, director of education, AFL-CIO, Washington, D.C.

H. H. Dewar, member, Board of Governors, New York Stock Exchange, San Antonio.

Peter O. Dietz, Harriman scholar, Columbia University.

Theodore A. Distler, executive direc-Association of American Colleges, Washington, D.C.

Marriner S. Eccles, chairman, First Security Corp., Salt Lake City.

John R. Elliott, Harriman scholar, Columbia University.

Clarence H. Faust, president, the Fund for the Advancement of Education, New York City.

William C. Fels, president, Bennington College, Vermont.

Brig. Gen S. F. Giffin, U.S. Air Force, Director, Office of Armed Forces Information and Education, Department of Defense, Washington, D.C.

Mrs. Carl J. Gilbert, Dover, Mass.

A. Crawford Greene, McCutcheon, Thomas Matthew, Griffiths & Greene, San Francisco.

Reuben H. Gross, associate, a Study of the American High School, New York City.

Ralph S. Halford, vice provost, Columbia University.

Seymour E. Harris, professor of political economy, Harvard University.

Frank N. Hawkins, associate editor, Pittsburgh Post Gazette & Sun Telegraph, Pennsylvania.

Ernest V. Hollis, director, College and University Administration Branch, Division of Higher Education, Department of Realth, Education, and Welfare, Washington, D.C.

John C. Honey, executive associate, Carnegie Corporation of New York.

Morris Iushewitz, secretary, the New York City Central Labor Council, AFL-CIO.

John Erik Jonsson, chairman, Texas Instruments, Inc., Dallas.

Allan B. Kline, Western Springs, Ill. Douglas M. Knight, president, Law-rence College, Wisconsin.

J. Kenneth Little, director, Survey of Federal Programs in Higher Education, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Washington, D.C.

Herbert E. Longenecker, vice president, University of Illinois; presidentelect, Tulane University.

The Most Rev. J. M. Marling, bishop of Jefferson City, Mo.

John H. Martin, president, United Lumber Yards, Modesto, Calif.

James McCormack, Jr., vice president, Massachusetts Institute of Techhology.

Eugene McElvaney, senior vice president, First National Bank in Dallas, Tex. Frank E. McGinity, Harriman scholar, Columbia University.

John D. Millett, president, Miami University, Ohio.

John S. Millis, president, Western Reserve University, Cleveland.

Malcolm, Muir, chairman and pub-lisher, Newsweek, New York City.

Garrison, Norton, president, Institute for Defense Analyses, Washington, D.C. Thomas Parran, president, Avalon Foundation, New York City.

John A. Perkins, president, University of Delaware.

The Rev. Canon J. W. Pyle, the Cathedral Church of St. John the Divine, New York City.

Very Rev. P. C. Reinert, president, St. Louis University, Missouri.

John W. Rollins, chairman, Rollins Leasing Corp., Inc., Wilmington.

Harold S. Shefelman, Weter, Roberts & Shefelman, Seattle.

G. Kerry Smith, executive secretary, Association for Higher Education, Washington, D.C.

Frank H. Sparks, president, Council for Financial Aid to Education, Inc., New York City.

J. E. Wallace Sterling, president, Stanford University, California.

Maj. Gen. W. S. Stone, U.S. Air Force, Superintendent, U.S. Air Force Academy, Colorado.

Russell I. Thackrey, executive secretary, American Association of Land-Grant Colleges and State Universities, Washington, D.C.

Charles E. Thwaite, Jr., chairman, Trust Co. of Georgia, Atlanta.

Dennis N. Warters, president, Bankers

Life Co., Des Moines. Alan T. Waterman, director, National

Science Foundation, Washington, D.C. At the close of their discussions the participants reviewed as a group, under the chairmanship of the distinguished president of the American Assembly, Dr. Henry M. Wriston, the following state-Although there was general agreement on the final report, I should like to make very clear that it should not be assumed that every participant

mendation included in the statement. The statement follows:

THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT AND HIGHER EDU-CATION-FINAL REPORT OF THE 17TH AMERI-CAN ASSEMBLY-THE NEED AND THE CHAL-

necessarily subscribes to every recom-

This Nation has urgent need to know and understand the value and condition of higher education.

We Americans believe in education. But we must understand and appreciate as never before the goals, attainments and requirements of our colleges and universities.

As a people we must recognize the essential contributions of example and achievement provided by both privately and publicly sponsored institutions. We must recognize the necessary freedom of colleges and universities to pursue the goal of truth wherever it may lead. We must understand and accept the difference between equality of educational opportunity and variability of individual talent for higher education. recognize that expansion of educational opportunity means both the improvement of educational quality of many kinds and the growth of diverse educational institutions.

American society has achieved its present position of freedom and power through the interacting initiative, labor, and faith of individuals, groups, and governments. Each of these forces has an essential role in higher education. No one person or set of persons, no one organized body, no one level of government can be expected to sustain and expand the system of higher education which will be required for our national and individual well-being.

Higher education cannot attain its pur-

-the growth of the individual and the expansion of knowledge for the public goodunless students and their families take their responsibility seriously. Higher education is not a universal right. It must be available primarily on the basis of talent and interest. It must be considered a continuing challenge to the student's moral sensitivity and will to work. Students and their families must be expected to bear a part of the cost of higher education. Tuition and other fees should be increased in those institutions in which present fees are nominal or disproportionately low. A program of student aid should accompany increases in fees to assist those who cannot pay higher charges.

Equally, however, higher education needs a deep commitment from all Americans. Every citizen must realize that he shares a direct and individual responsibility not merely to sustain but actively to enhance the value in our society which only higher education can provide.

The discharge of the total responsibility for higher education requires persistently more effective management of all colleges and universities, and it calls for continued participation and increased support from individuals, corporations, foundations, and all levels of government. The whole enterprise will suffer seriously if supoprt of higher education by the Federal Government comes to be regarded as a substitute for other sources of support. Federal support should be only supplemental. To have it otherwise would endanger the idea of distributive responsibility which is the bedrock of effective democratic practice.

Hundreds of millions of dollars from the Federal Government are already flowing to colleges and universities. The amounts volved suggest great aid to higher education.
This suggestion is misleading and therefore calls for critical analysis.

PRESENT AND FUTURE PROGRAMS

There are four general categories of Federal participation in higher education. They do not have precise boundaries, but the activities within each have similar philosophical justification and therefore call for similar consideration as well as similar procedures and administrative treatment.

They are:

1. Services purchased from the colleges and universities by the Federal Government for example, the ROTC, the management of technological and scientific laboratories, technical assistance projects overseas, and the solution of specific problems through re-search and development. In these areas the Government is discharging its responsibility by using the universities as means.

2. Programs of higher education by the Federal Government to meet specific national needs. Examples are Federal encouragement for the education of scientists, engineers, physicians, nurses, or language specialists, through scholarships, fellowships, and loans to students. Such Federal participation constitutes deliberate intervention for impelling national purposes.

3. Research support by grants or contracts such as those awarded by many Federal agencies to colleges and universities engaged in graduate and professional education. These programs encourage and support research both as an end in itself and as an essential means to advanced education.

4. Programs directly supporting institutions of higher education such as the appropriations to the land-grant institutions, loans for student housing and other income-producing buildings, and construction grants of the National Science Foundation and the National Institutes of Health.

In its estimate of national needs for higher education in the next decade, the assembly gives emphasis to both quality and quantity. Our society demands highly educated people, in every field and in large numbers. At the same time there is an obligation to encourage the incentive of each individual, and to guarantee him the chance to develop to his full capacity. Each person, like each college or university, must have his necessary freedom of individual choice. Our colleges and universities are many and diverse, and fortunately so. They must have appropriate support without any restriction of their indispensable freedom.

In meeting its obligations to quantity, quality, and variety, higher education must as a result face these conditions: It must (a) keep its various fields and disciplines in a rational relationship with one another; (b) maintain responsibility both to the vast expansion of knowledge and the deepened moral consciousness of each educated person; (c) accomplish its ends without regimentation whether of students or teachers.

The serious difficulties which we face involve both people and money. Enrollments are expected to double in the next 10 years. Faculty salaries must be substantially increased; many kinds of education, including the costliest, must be extended; obsolescence and inadequacy of supplies, equipment and physical plant must be remedied. For these and many other reasons, the expenditure for higher education should treble.

The current shortage of competent faculty will become more acute. We must also greatly expand our facilities even with increased and more effective utilization of physical plant. Judgments and recommendations about present or future Federal programs must relate to this high level of national urgency and necessity.

In meeting these responsibilities, we should maintain the well-established Federal tradition of making no distinction between public and private institutions. But these institutions in turn must maintain individual responsibility for their own programs; and they must demonstrate capacity and will to join together freely to guard against unnecessary restrictions or centralized control.

We wish to comment about several specific phases of current Federal activities in higher education in the four categories mentioned above.

Category 1. Services purchased: In any purchase of services, the Government should pay the full costs of the services it requests. There is no justification for requiring the colleges and universities to provide services to accomplish governmental ends at a financial loss to the institutions. Hence the Government should negotiate contracts which include full direct and indirect costs. The colleges and universities expect no profit; they should take no loss.

Category 2. Programs of the Federal Government to meet specific national needs: We believe the National Defense Education Act is highly useful and should be continued beyond the expiration date of the present act. The act should be amended in connection with the student loan program, however, so that future teachers both in private schools and in institutions above the secondary level can have the same benefits of loan cancellation which now apply only to those who follow careers in public primary and secondary teaching.

The disclaimer affidavit required by this program is an example of unwarranted Gov-

ernment interference in institutional policy; it should be expunged from the student loan program and from all other Federal programs which involve higher education.

We distinguish between the positive oath of loyalty and the negative disclaimer affidavit. We condemn the latter as a direct inquiry into belief, and hence contrary to the principles upon which this Nation was founded. Further, this affidavit is required of college students and not of most other recipients of Federal funds. In particular, the act in no way defines or lists the subversive organizations which must be included in the affidavit; some students might in innocence join an organization which could at some future time be listed as subversive.

We must register one other objection: It is a hindrance to education to interfere with the policy of individual States, as recent National Defense Education Act legislation has done, by the direct allocation of graduate fellowships to specific institutions in violation of an agreed State plan. This is unwarranted Federal trespass from State functions.

Category 3. Support of research: Federal grants for research, which loom so large in many university budgets, should include the full indirect cost to the university of conducting the program. These grants further the purposes of the institution itself, and thus are not wholly parallel to the purchase of services for a Government purpose. However, such programs inevitably tend to create some imbalance and distortion in the operation of the institution, and if the institution is in addition compelled to divert its own funds to their support, these adverse effects become excessive. Only if Government assumes the full cost is the balance between benefit and interference an equitable one.

Category 4. Programs directly supporting institutions of higher education: We approve and endorse the practice of the National Science Foundation and the National Institutes of Health in making funds available for research facilities appropriate to undergraduate instruction, particularly in liberal arts colleges. Many scholar-teachers come from these colleges, and they must not be neglected. Therefore we urge the extension of such programs.

The program of loans for college housing and other self-liquidating facilities should be continued. It should be operated on the same formula as now prevails.

A serious issue of Federal action concerns the extension of direct Federal support beyond these existing programs. The best available projections of total need leave serious doubt whether the required financial resources can be obtained from State and local governments, from tuition fees, and from private sources, including corporations. We urge that funds from these sources be expanded to the maximum, and repeat that no Federal action should operate to discourage them. Nevertheless, in the last analysis the need must be met.

THE PROGRAMS

Of all the appropriate areas of increased Federal support, the assembly thinks that the one most worth stressing and posing the least threat to college and to university freedom is that of assisting with the provision of capital facilities.

We recommend that institutional aid be provided on a matching basis through a program of Federal grants for construction of facilities, including libraries, but excluding dormitories (which are otherwise provided for) and athletic facilities.

There is also some sentiment for direct aid to institutions for instructional purposes and direct assistance to students through Federal scholarships. Careful thought must

be given to both of these—the amounts of help which may be necessary and the ways in which both the colleges and the Government might administer such programs. Financial assistance to institutions for instructional purposes might best be established in proportion to enrollment and on a matching basis.

ORGANIZATIONS

There is a definite need for one organization to coordinate the efforts of spokesmen of American higher education to speak on the national level on the issues about which all institutions are concerned. The American Council on Education could serve this purpose. The colleges and universities of the country must, however, take the major initiative in guaranteeing the accomplishment of this essential job. First, they must take the responsibility of defending their own freedom, and this will make possible the fusing of their collective efforts for freedom within the structure of the American Council on Education.

There should be a private and unofficial body designed to keep constantly before the public the importance of maintaining vigorous institutions of higher education, and of encouraging the support of education by public opinion. This nongovernmental citizens' committee for higher education should take as its major function the interpretation to the country of the achievements and the urgent needs of its many and diverse institutions of higher education.

Education is a vast and a vital national concern. The President, the Congress, and the public should have up-to-date, frequent, regular, and authoritative official information. To these ends there is a need for a council of advisers on education in the Office of the President. It should be established by law and perform a function analogous to that of the Council of Economic Advisers. This Council should make an annual report to the President on education—its advances, its deficiencies, and its needs. It should lay adequate stress upon higher education. which is becoming increasingly important to the national welfare. The report of this council, like the report of the Council of Economic Advisers, should also be transmitted to a joint committee of the Congress which would hold hearings upon it, in order to reach conclusions and draft its own reports.

The New Suez Crisis

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. LEONARD FARBSTEIN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 12, 1960

Mr. FARBSTEIN. Mr. Speaker, a few weeks ago, the Congress of the United States approved an amendment to the state of policy of the Mutual Security Act, an amendment which has written a moral principle into our foreign aid legislation.

This amendment, which I drafted and introduced as a resolution into the Committee on Foreign Affairs, of which I am a member, was favorably recommended to the House of Representatives where it passed without any debate, thus reaffirming our traditional support for freedom of the seas and economic cooperation and registering our opposition to economic warfare, boycotts, blockades

and restrictions on international waterways, which some recipients of our aid use as instruments of aggression against other nations which also receive American dollars.

When the amendment was introduced on the floor of the Senate, it aroused tremendous interest throughout the country, partially because of the bitterness surrounding the debate and partially because of its implied call to our Government to establish a positive and firm policy in our Near East diplomacy. After the Senate vote, many newspapers presented their views on what had been accomplished. I would like to call the attention of the Members of the House of Representatives to the editorial which apeared in the New York Post on Monday, May 2, 1960:

THE NEW SUEZ CRISIS

For many long months Colonel Nasser has derisively flouted a resolution of the United Nations Security Council calling for free navigation by ships of all nations through the Suez Canal. He has barred the waterway to Israeli vessels and imposed a blacklist on American ships which touch at Israel's ports.

Time and again U.N. Secretary General Dag Hammarskjold has appealed to Nasser to end his lawless blockade. again Nasser has brushed him off.

Nasser's political life was saved when the U.N., with American support, challenged the Israeli attack of 1956 on the ground that it was a clear violation of international law and the basic principles of the U.N., no matter how grave the provocations. The Post supported that stand.

Now the issue arises anew: Is Nasser above that law and those principles? Do we have a double standard which obliges Israel to respect the rules but permits Nasser to defy them? The questions have come up again because significant groups of Americans are contesting the policy of surrender to Nasser's caprice.

On New York's waterfront spokesmen of the Seafarers and Longshoremen Unions have been picketing an Egyptian ship—the Cleopatra-to prevent its unloading here. This is their protest against the blacklist.

In Washington the Senate-by a vote of 42 to 25—has approved an amendment to the mutual security bill empowering the President to withhold aid from nations which restrict the use of international waterways. The amendment, sponsored by Senator Paul Douglas, Democrat, of Illinois, mentions no names; but it unmistakably challenges the view that we can buy stability in the Middle East by craven capitulation to Nasser. Cairo's ensuing cries of outrage and new

retaliation against U.S. shipping were predictable. Nasser long ago concluded that U.S. diplomacy runs to cover at the first sign of his wrath. Presumably he believes the formula will work again.

The Douglas amendment is an attempt to reestablish our national dignity in dealing with the U.A.R. ruler. It proposes that restrained retaliation replace the demonstrably

futile policy of massive retreat.

AND MR. FULBRIGHT'S CRUSADE

With pious posturings and scornful references to the "pro-Israel bloc," Senator Ful-BRIGHT, Democrat, of Arkansas, chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, has found only gloom and doom in the belated American reaction to Nasser's intransigence. He has gratuitously charged that Douglas and his cohorts are seeking to placate an "uninformed minority." He has condemned his Senate colleagues for "inflammatory"

FULBRIGHT accepts Nasser's explanation that the blockade is a reprisal for mistreatment of Arab refugees. He ignores the long record of Israel's effort to negotiate an overall peace settlement in which the fate of the refugees would be a major issue. He impugns the motives of Senator Douglas and others who disagree with him.

FULBRIGHT'S moral blindness has become one of the drearier exhibits of our time. In the South's racial crisis he has remained above the battle, finding equal merit in the claims of the oppressors and the victim. Now he can detect only sinister political craft in those who refuse to remain neutral when Nasser defies the U.N.

We do not minimize the complexities of the Middle Eastern conflict, nor do we disparage the problem of the Arab refugees. But neither do we have any reverence for the Fulbright form of realism. It manages to rationalize lawlessness when committed by the bully, in Little Rock and Cairo alike. It is neutrality in favor of injustice. It is conduct unbecoming the crucial offices he

Israel's 12th Birthday

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. JACOB H. GILBERT

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 19, 1960

Mr. GILBERT. Mr. Speaker, Israel is celebrating the 12th anniversary of its independence, and the people of Israel have our sincere congratulations and felicitations, and the good wishes of all free nations.

The people of Israel, because of their indomitable courage, unfailing industry, and strength of purpose, have accomplished magnificent results and reached incredible goals in the short period of 12 years. The new nation, surrounded by enemies who have sworn her destruction, has been attacked and has emerged victorious; it has successfully absorbed nearly a million immigrants: it has made the desert bloom and the reclaimed land now supports great numbers of people: it has made tremendous advances in its industrial and agricultural production; its ambitious building program has produced many new villages and towns; its program of aid and support to the new states of Asia and Africa is proving beneficial not only to them, but also to the cause of democracy.

The life of the State of Israel is one of constant struggle; Israeli villages are victims of the "fedayeen" or guerrilla attacks encouraged by Egypt; Israeli ships are barred from the Suez Canal; she suffers from the economic boycott imposed by all the Arab States; to maintain her defenses, a large portion of her resources must be channeled to defense, thereby retarding her advancement in productive and constructive fields of endeavor. Despite these almost insurmountable obstacles, her progress has been miraculous.

The Israelis are to be commended for their willingness to make the tremendous personal sacrifices necessary to Israel's progress and growth, as well as her freedom. They have not neglected their cultural and educational pursuits, and their already high standard of living is being steadily increased.

The encouragement and support given to Israel by the United States were well deserved and the faith Americans showed in the new democracy was well founded.

Although this is a time for rejoicing in the freedom and progress of the new State of Israel, it is also a time of stocktaking and rededication. Israel's enemies still begrudge her existence and threaten her downfall; the obstacles of the blockade and boycotts still remain. Vigilence is necessary and the personal sacrifices must continue until peace among Israel and the Arab nations is a

Israel has earned, and deserves, all the continued aid, encouragement, and support which our country can give her. She is our friend and ally; it is our duty to help Israel in all ways possible, so that she may continue to enjoy her freedom and statehood, and achieve the security and peace for which she strives.

Grover S. McLeod Addresses Coffeeville High School Graduating Class

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. GEORGE HUDDLESTON, JR.

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, May 10, 1960

Mr. HUDDLESTON. Mr. Speaker, on May 16, 1960, Mr. Grover S. McLeod, a prominent Birmingham attorney and citizen, delivered an address to the senior class of Coffeeville High School, Coffeeville, Ala. I had occasion to see a copy of Sam McLeod's speech and was most impressed with it, believing it to be one of the finest commencement addresses I have ever come across. Thus, I am taking the liberty to call it to the attention of my colleagues, by inserting it in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, under leave heretofore granted:

A CHALLENGE

(By Grover S. McLeod)

Mr. Kornegay, seniors, student body of Coffeeville High School, and parents, as we are assembled on this momentous occasion, I wish to thank Mr. Kornegay, your principal and my friend, for inviting me into your privacy so that I might partake of this cherished moment. And let me further thank the parents of the seniors for allowing me to share with them this their great moment of pleasure.

Let me issue a challenge to you on this day of matriculation. You buds that are to blossom into flowers of our community life, I challenge you to be our future leaders. I challenge you to be our doers and our makers of a better tomorrow.

CONTINUE YOUR EDUCATION

Let me challenge you to continue your education, whether it be in the endeavors of university training or whether it be in the art of agricultural and mechanical knowledge-continue. Continue to learn and grow in knowledge and wisdom. Your teachers have attempted to show you those subjects that merit study, those things that are worthy of pursuit; yet, your teachers will tell you, and no doubt have told you, that this knowledge is as a single star unto the universe. The knowledge you have is a trickle, let it become a steady stream. I challenge you to explore—seek knowledge, study, and cease not your education at this

plateau.

I will point out to you that the tortoise won the race from the hare, even though the hare was deft of speed. And you might, as a corollary, apply this fable to your lives. Though you possess brilliance, if you cease learning at this point, then you will be overtaken by one who is not so brilliant but continues to learn and grow.

RESPECT YOUR ELDERS

Let me challenge you, graduating seniors, who are rapidly unfolding into adulthood, to honor and respect your parents. Advisedly, it should be said that in your learning endeavors, do not lose sight of the fact that your parents wish for you to excel and grow to even greater heights than they, but in your growth do not lose the respect and warmth for your parents which nature has so warmly blessed you.

We know that in certain sections of this country it is considered a matter of community acceptance for children to be rude and disrespectful to their parents, but I challenge you to respect your parents, obey them, and do not embarrass them with untoward behavior. An outward sign of respect is indicative of good breeding, culture, and refinement. What you do or make of yourselves will be a reflection, not only unto yourselves, but also unto your family and community.

YOUR RACE

As a part and parcel of the same thought, much has been written on the racial problem, most of it sheer nonsense, and most should never have been published. The greater portion has been written by persons who, for a price, would be like the California hitch-hiker—go either way. Racial integrity should never have been an issue, except there were those who wished to disrupt your community; and yet, you should be apprised that always there are persons who are opposed to existing institutions. If it be accepted by the majority, then they readily oppose its existence and immediately seek its destruction.

I say to you and challenge you, be prideful of your Caucasian race. It is the greatest race that exists and needs no apology. Your race, in the narrowest sense, is your family. It is what you are. You can be nothing more than the genes in your body. You are a part of a race that has contributed to the ease, both mental and physical, of all races. So I say to you, with emphasis, be not of faint heart in defending your family and race. There are those who seek to inject sympathy, religion or morals into these issues so that we may more readily destroy ourselves; yet, I say to you, should not commonsense be used along with pride, social acceptance, good health, destruction of your kind, and visual observance. I say to you, use the latter as your guide and be caretakers of a great race.

WORK-SUCCESS

And, now, may I issue to you a challenge to work and work hard, no matter which way your turn your talents. It is the speaker's considered opinion that the secret to success, if there be one, to a person with a healthy mind and body, is work. And I say that if you work and work hard, yet have only mediocre talent, you will find success and you will be an attribute to your family and community.

With states one cannot find a better illustration to prove this point than that of Switzerland. There a people have used hard work to overcome the adversities of climate, inaccessibility to the sea, rough terrain, smallness of size and warlike neighbors. Of all the currencies throughout the world the highest value is placed upon the Swiss franc. And value of currency is symbolic of con-

fidence by others in the wealth and productivity of a nation.

And along with work, I challenge you to be honest in the handling of the funds of others. I say, take hard work, honesty, and a bit of ability and one has a triangle which promotes success. Placed together you will have a healthy mind, and a healthy mind naturally begets a healthy body. I challenge you to freely utilize this triangle in the building of your future.

THRIFT

In an era of commercial advertising that encourages the spending of not only your present earnings but your future earnings as well, I say to you, ignore this beckoning finger. And I advise you to do the opposite. Make thrift a part of your character. One should not obligate his future efforts even before his labor has been expended.

Saving is a fountainhead to wealth. As a matter of fact, without it one would not have the tools for the production of wealth. So I say to you, with emphasis, if you save, it will not only make you wealthy but it will make you a more stable person and it will make you free.

Study nature, for even she, in her flirty way, is thrifty. Without seed being saved through the cold of winter there would be no next year crops. So I challenge you to make thrift a part of your character.

CLEAN COMMUNICATIONS

We live in a world that is blessed with the ease of mental communications. We have a readily understandable written language so that something written today can be communicated to others at a future date. Written communications serve as a reservoir of knowledge, so that one can see knowledge is cumulative. This is done by transcribing the written word. We also have the art of communicating the melody by transcription, so that not merely a few may enjoy the great voices and great music. And, if you please, we have a marvelous language so that mental expressions or thought may be communicated from person to person and an understanding is readily had by the com-munication. This is the spoken word.

Yet, amidst this marvel of communication we have the written word which communicates filth and trash. At times one would think that sex is everything and one would think that such wordage is the norm. We also have the melody, if it may be called such, going out in the form of records that degrade us all. Such as, the low Negroid type of music. We also have the oral spoken language used commonly to utter the filthy side of our life.

I urge you and challenge you to read those works that are lofty in nature, read those works that are a credit to you as a people and those that will make your mind stretch and grow so that you will be a better person after experiencing the communication.

I urge and challenge you for the ease and betterment of your soul, to listen to the finest in music and avoid the low in melody. I challenge you to eliminate from your conversation the ugly and sordid that is so prevalent and discourage the use of same in conversation directed toward yourself. Let not your mind be a wastebasket for the language of others.

The following of this advice will enrich your lives and make your body a better place to house your soul.

EMULATE THE GREAT

In a day and age that is dominated with psychologists who are saying in loud tones that children should freely find their place in society and that they should avoid emulating others. I say to you, that this is sheer nonsense. I challenge you to emulate the good, emulate the great, copy the best of your predecessors and discard the bad. Do

not be affrightened to emulate the successful in life. We readily do the same with great deftness in the kingdom of plants. From the most successful plants we select seeds for future growth. Do likewise in your life. Select from your elders those parts that are the best and build unto yourself a character of good.

GOOD HEALTH

Heretofore I have mentioned the subject of a healthy body. To attain success, it is imperative that one's body or machine operate at a peak of efficiency. What nature has given is hard to improve upon; yet we can care for our bodies so that we can protect what nature has heretofore given, and this we should do. I challenge you to keep your bodies healthy, by continuing healthful eating habits, healthful living habits, and continue the use of your exercises. I say refrain from strong drink. Refrain from excesses of all kinds and more so, keep to a minimum the medical chemicals that enter your body.

SUMMATION

In summation, may I say that those who do not have goals in life obviously wander about and seldom get beyond the first rung on the ladder of success. In contrast, those who have attained the greatest success in The goal life have had the greatest of goals. is seldom written out as one would a blueprint or chart. However, it is indelibly written in the person's mind, in his hopes and aspirations. May each of you set a goal that you wish in life and proceed forthrightly toward attaining the same. Set your sights high so that if you only halfway attain your goal, you will have attained great success in the eyes of your family and community. Pursue your goal toward success, and I dare you to be adamant in reaching the same.

It is the opinion of most who have attained great success, that in retrospection, the greatest experience lay along the road traveled toward success, that this was the greatest experience of all; and the experience made the trip worthwhile.

May I challenge you once again to set your sights high—aim high, and may you grow as the pines of our woods—tall, straight, healthy, and upon maturity, a great asset to your community.

A Gold Medal Proposed for Dr. Thomas A. Dooley, Humanitarian

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JOHN BRADEMAS

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, May 18, 1960

Mr. BRADEMAS. Mr. Speaker, I have today introduced a joint resolution authorizing the President of the United States to confer a gold medal on Dr. Thomas Anthony Dooley III, the young American founder of two mountain hospitals in northern Laos.

The text of the resolution follows:

JOINT RESOLUTION TO AUTHORIZE THE PREST-DENT OF THE UNITED STATES TO CONFER A MEDAL ON DOCTOR THOMAS ANTHONY DOOLEY III

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That, in recognition of the gallant and unselfish public service rendered by Doctor Thomas Anthony Dooley III in serving the medical

needs of the people of Laos living in the remote areas of the Lao jungles, and of peoples in other newly developing countries, the President of the United States is authorized to present to Doctor Thomas Anthony Dooley III, in the name of Congress, an appropriate gold medal. For such purpose, the Secretary of the Treasury is authorized and directed to cause to be struck a gold medal with suitable emblems, devices, and inscriptions to be determined by the Secretary. There is hereby authorized to be appropriated the sum of \$2,500 for this purpose.

SEC. 2. The Secretary of the Treasury shall cause duplicates in bronze of such medal to be coined and sold, under such regulations as he may prescribe, at a price sufficient to cover the cost thereof (including labor), and the appropriations used for carrying out the provisions of this section shall be reimbursed out of the proceeds of such sale.

Mr. Speaker, the heroism of Dr. Dooley, unselfishly accomplished in the remote jungles of Laos, deserves the highest appreciation and recognition of the American people. This remarkable Young humanitarian is showing how the struggle for men's hearts can be waged with the life-giving weapons of medicine. SISTER MADELEVA CALLS DR. DOOLEY OUR GREATEST

During his visit to the campus of Saint Mary's College, the distinguished president of the college, Sister M. Madeleva, C.S.C., described this remarkable 33-Year-old physician as "our greatest Samaritan." Dr. Dooley's visit came only a few months after his emergency opera-

SAMARITAN

tion in New York for cancer of the chest. Mr. Speaker, at this point in the Rec-ORD I should like in insert an excellent article describing this visit. The article was written by Walton R. Collins, and Was published in the South Bend Tribune

on November 15, 1959:

DOOLEY DESCRIBES HIS WORK IN LAOS (By Walton R. Collins)

Dr. Thomas A. Dooley, boyish founder of two mountain hospitals in northern Laos a few miles from the Communist China border, brought the stench, the pain, and the compassion of his Asian clinics into O'Laughlin Auditorium Saturday.

It was a return appearance, possibly his last, at St. Mary's college where a dozen years ago, while a student at the University of Notre Dame, he played the piano for Sunday

afternoon tea dances.

Since then, he has served as a doctor in the Navy in the Far East, returned to Laos after leaving service to set up and stock two hospitals and train the native staffs to run them, and helped set up Medico to do similar chores throughout Asia and Africa.

Early this fall, he underwent an emer-

gency cancer operation in New York.

In an hour-long talk Saturday, the 32-Year-old physician held a capacity audience spellbound as he described his life in Laos, which he called "the cork which keeps the Poison of communism from running out into the rice bowl of Asia."

MUST KNOW AMERICA

Behind his work in Laos, he said, is the philosophy that "Asia must know America, and the state of t

"Governments can go only so far in seeking peace and order. Individual Americans must take it from there." And he warned:

"Asia possesses a potential for catastrophe which could alter the history of the world." The first of the Lao hospitals he founded in 1956, Dr. Dooley said. He moved to the second after building and stocking the hospital with medicines, and preparing native staffs to carry on treatments.

In helping found Medico (Medical In-ternational Cooperation), a private organization to which doctors and nurses give a year or 2 of their professional lives to set up similar clinics in the "15th century areas" of the world, the Notre Dame graduate described how he raised \$2 million worth of drugs and equipment and \$300,000 in cash in less than 6 months.

Medico teams are now working in Kenya, Burma, Jordan, Cambodia, and other African and Asian countries.

PARTY OF COMMUNITY LIFE

His newest hospital in Laos, Dr. Dooley said, is "5 miles from the Chinese frontierright on the rim of Red Hell." His team is "an intimate part of the community life," and operates on the belief that "to help create the image of America, we must work on a person-to-person level and use powerfully the tool of gentleness."

His 30-mat hospital processes 100 patients a day, 7 days a week, said Dr. Dooley, who

is assisted by two other Americans.

"In 1 year, one village hospital such as this one can take care of 36,000 persons at a cost of \$25,000.

"We perform three or four major surgical procedures a day, and have a training program for 27 students. We have no desire to make them into images of us."

People using his hospital are required to pay for services, Dr. Dooley said. "An operation for a pig, a delivery for a chicken, and pills for eggs or rice."

The people are proud to pay us," he said, "Endless giving away undermines adding: the self-respect of a people, or of a nation.'

Within a few months, the second Lao hospital he established will be turned over to its native staff and a third will be started, the physician said.

In Laos, he warned, the "dogs of war have been unchained again, and once again peo-

ple are dying in war."

Two Communist provinces in that nation have been "waging war since 1954," he reported. A coup in 1957 ended a coalition between the Lao Government and these Red provinces. Present aggressions are designed to "regain the control of the Communist provinces and again form a Communist coalition."

When the Lao Government asked for a United Nations army to stop aggressions by the Reds, Dr. Dooley said, "it worked on the fact that when you ask the U.N. for an army, you get a subcommittee; when you ask for a subcommittee, you get an observer; and when you ask for an observer, you get an argument."

Laos got its subcommittee, and as objective observers its members "came back without absolute proof of Communist aggression in the Lao territory," because the method of communism "is to get behind local movements and use them as fronts for its pur-

But individual members of the U.N. team, Dr. Dooley said, "like myself, are convinced that communism is" the aggressor in Laos.

GUEST AT LUNCHEON

Before his talk, Dr. Dooley was a guest at a luncheon with Sister M. Madeleya, C.S.C., St. Mary's president, and other college and community leaders.

He received the keys to a Lark station wagon for use in Laos from A. J. Porta, executive vice president of Studebaker-Packard

He received, on the O'Laughlin Auditorium stage, two scholarships to St. Mary's for Lao girls. One, for \$2,200, was presented by the college administration. The other, for \$2,000 came from the student body.

Dr. Dooley heard himself described as "one of the most outstanding humanitarians" in a note of greeting from absent Mayor Edward F. Voorde of South Bend; as "one of St. Mary's finest sons and a citizen of the world" by Mayor Albert L. Doyle of Misha-waka, and as "our greatest Samaritan" by Sister Madeleva.

The young physician, whose gaunt appearance shows the ravages of his recent bout with cancer, was to stay overnight in the Morris Inn before continuing today a monthlong speaking tour of the United States.

And after that, said Dr. Dooley Saturday: "I'll be back in Laos a month from today."

DR. DOOLEY SAYS ALBERT SCHWEITZER A "GREAT SAMARITAN"

On meeting Dr. Dooley, I was deeply impressed by his earnest conviction that individuals have a responsibility beyond that of governments to seek peace among nations. We can readily understand this attitude of unselfish public service when we read the following statement in his book, "The Edge of Tomorrow":

Since my earliest days in medical school the work of Dr. Albert Schweitzer has been one of the great inspirations of my life.

Mr. Speaker, the people of my district feel a close tie of affection with Dr. Dooley because he was a premedical student at the University of Notre Dame in South Bend, Ind., already preparing for a life that was to be devoted to helping

A fine example of the support of Dr. Dooley in my district is the story of Mrs. C. J. Steckel of Elkhart, Ind., set forth in this article which appeared in the Elkhart Truth of April 5, 1960:

ELKHART WOMAN SEEKS FUNDS FOR WORK OF DR. DOOLEY

An Elkhart woman hopes to organize financial support here for Dr. Tom Dooley, young American doctor who operates a jungle hospital in Lãos.

She is Mrs. C. J. Steckel, who has reviewed Dr. Dooley's books for a number of local organizations. Her audiences have frequently asked what they can do to help the doctor in his fight against disease and communism.

Three months ago Mrs. Steckel asked this question of Dr. Dooley in a letter, and Monday the answer came.

SPECIFIES NEED

"Many thanks for your offer to help and request for a project," he said.

'I am in need of sterile administration sets. In fact, I need 1,500 of these. I understand that back in the States they sell for 100 for \$150. Can you possibly do anything to keep me supplied with this item?

He added that he was instructing his New York office to supply her with the catalog number of the exact item needed.

WORKS IN LAOS

Dr. Dooley is the founder of Medico, a nonprofit American medical program for underdeveloped countries. Royalties from his best selling books go to this organization. It has offices in New York, but Dr. Dooley himself works in Laos, five miles from the border of Red China. The patient-doctor ratio in that area is about 2 million to one.

He returned to the United States for surgery last year, after having developed cancer, but is now back in Asia.

He is a Notre Dame alumnus.

Persons interested in helping with her project may contact Mrs. Steckel at JAckson

Mr. Speaker, I hope very much that Congress will indicate the appreciation of the American people for Dr. Dooley's great service by authorizing the President of the United States to confer on him the gold medal provided by my resolution.

Nasser, the Suez Canal, and Israel

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. BARRATT O'HARA

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 23, 1960

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, in the Mutual Security Act of 1960 is a statement of policy, originating in the House Committee on Foreign Affairs, that forthrightly sets forth the position of the United States that the Suez Canal, and all other international waterways, should be open for the free and unhampered passage by ships of all nations. This is our national policy and it conforms with the best American traditions since the beginning of our national history.

David Lawrence, the well known and respected columnist, in the New York Herald Tribune of May 2, 1960, refers to a Member of the other body who "castigates his colleagues because they voted against the use of American taxpayers' funds to help Nasser carry on his economic boycott against another country in the free world.

Mr. Lawrence continues.

The House of Representatives has adopted a similar provision advocating the principles of free navigation. For a majority derived from both political parties sees no reason why the U.S. Government should continue to send mutual security funds to Egypt if the latter seeks to destroy the economy of Israel, a country which also receives such funds from America.

EISENHOWER PLEA IGNORED

Nasser has ignored the pleas of President Eisenhower to reopen the Suez Canal to the ships of all nations, though diplomatic help toward that end was promised by Mr. Eisenhower after Britain and France intervened in 1956 in the Middle East war. At the least, it was a factor in placating Israel which early in 1957 withdrew its armed forces from the battle zones with that understanding.

The United Nations has tried repeatedly by its resolutions since 1948 to bring about a reconcillation between Israel and Egypt. But Nasser refuses to negotiate directly or indirectly. He says a state of was exists, and he uses that technical reason in trying to justify closing the Suez Canal to Israel's

shipping

If it be concluded that a state of war exists then why did the World Bank, which is part of the United Nations, organization, decide last December to make a loan of \$56 million to Egypt to widen and improve the Suez Canal. Cannot it be argued that the World Bank has thus taken sides in a war and has helped one of the so-called belligerents? Plainly Dictator Nasser cannot have it both ways.

NEW ANGLE IN BOYCOTT

Within the last few days another grave development has occurred. A maritime union in New York City decided not to help unload ships coming from Egypt. Immediately the maritime unions in Egypt and other Arab countries retallated by refusing to unload American ships in their ports. But the real reason for the boycott imposed in this country is the union's fear of damage to the jobs of American seamen in the future, because the Cairo government persists in refusing to let ships from any country go through the canal if, at any time previously,

they have carried any cargoes to Israel. This means that American companies with products destined for other countries in the world must maintain a fleet of ships solely for the Israel trade, and cannot even separate the voyages of their own ships. Once a vessel serves Israel, it goes on the blacklist imposed by Nasser not only against Americans but against the ships of all other countries.

Within the last 24 hours, Nasser has issued a bitter attack on President Eisenhower blaming him for the boycott by American seamen in New York City. He holds President Eisenhower responsible for what the unions are doing, though he himself disclaims any responsibility for what the Arab unions are doing.

Should American taxpayers' funds be used to support any regime which discriminates against American seamen in this manner? Although the Senate and House recorded an emphatic "No," one Member now accuses his fellow Members of Congress of playing politics and of being influenced by a pressure group. The veterans committee of the Jewish War Veterans called this remark an insult to the loyalty and patriotism of the members of this group who have served this country loyally in war and peace. It added:

"It is apparently the view that American organizations must abdicate their right to speak out on issues affecting the foreign policies of the United States."

PUTS BLAME ON NASSER

But it is the Nasser government which is trying to sabotage American foreign policy. Within the last few days the Vice Foreign Minister of the United Arab Republic (Egypt), on his visit to Chile, told a news conference there that the Cairo government "will resolutely help Cuba defend herself against aggression if Cuba requests it, and if it is within our possibilities." There was a time when such a pronouncement would have been regarded as a public insult to the United States because of the Monroe Doctrine, which warns nations outside this hemisphere to keep out of Latin-American affairs.

And yet this Member imputes improper motives to other Members of Congress who resent the pro-Communist tactics of Egypt's dictator.

Mr. Speaker, in proper observance of the rules of the House, and because the moral issue involved is of paramount interest, I have taken the liberty of deleting all three personal references, both critical and friendly, to Members of the other body in Mr. Lawrence's article.

Political Bickering No Sign of Divided Nation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. CHARLES E. CHAMBERLAIN

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, May 11, 1960

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I include an editorial from the Flint (Mich.) Journal, entitled "Political Bickering No Sign of Divided Nation, Mr. K." I believe the article graphically illustrates that while Americans can wage fierce political campaigns and openly express their political dif-

ferences, we are, nevertheless, completely united in our opposition against the Soviet threats and that we are determined to preserve our honor as leaders of the free world.

The editorial follows:

POLITICAL BICKERING NO SIGN OF DIVIDED NATION, MR. K.

Why did Soviet Premier Khrushchev deliberately sabotage the summit meeting?

There have been as many guesses as there are foreign correspondents and analysts. Their answers, more or less, all fall in one of four areas.

Khrushchev discarded his peaceful coexistence pitch in a fit of rage over being made to look bad when the U-2 operations were revealed.

Internal disorder in Russia called for an international incident around which to rekindle dedication to the cause of communism.

The Communist Central Committee is fed up with Khrushchev's sweet talk and has stripped him of his power. It is calling the shots now and the Premier is merely carrying out his orders.

Red China is dictating the new get tough Communist tactics.

Whatever the reason, the lid has been blown off, and the situation is one which must be taken seriously. If the West has learned anything about Khrushchev and his Red playmates, it should have been not to treat them lightly or with contempt. They don't play the diplomacy game according to Western rules.

We have been lulled into believing the Communists don't want to provoke a shooting war—not now, anyway. They're just blowing off steam.

But that's what the Western leaders thought about Khrushchev's threat to wreck the summit. His raving about the U.S. spy plane was interpreted as a play only to gain an advantage at the conference table in Paris. He wouldn't go far enough to endanger the summit.

Not much he wouldn't. He went—or was sent—to Paris for one purpose. He carried a diplomatic bomb which functioned perfectly. Hopes for a relaxing of international tension were blasted into small bits.

And while the West is reeling from this unexpected back stab and trying to anticlpate what Khrushchev's next move in East Berlin might be, Communist China is making a move.

Nationlist Chinese sources report that the Reds are massing ships and planes across from Formosa, defended by the U.S. 7th Fleet. It is a good guess that the Reds may revive assaults on Quemoy or other Nationalist islands in an effort to involve us in something just short of a major war.

Pelping newspapers, as might be expected, gave prominent displays to stories of the summit breakup and placed the blame on warlike United States. Even before the one and only meeting was held Monday in Paris, the Chinese Reds were attacking us on radio and in the press. With an air of "I told you so," Mao Tse-tung twitted Communists who called President Eisenhower a man of peace. He did not mention Khrushchev by name, but the Soviet Premier used that description of Mr. Eisenhower after his U.S. visit last fall.

Red China is being credited with at least a behind-the-scenes role in wrecking the summit because of its record of opposition to relaxation of East-West tensions.

In 1958 Khrushchev tried to arrange a summit meeting at the United Nations without Pelping's participation. Suddenly he made a trip to Pelping—and the proposed summit meeting was called off. In a matter of weeks, the Chinese Reds opened a bombardment of the Nationalists offshore islands,

and this country immediately rushed ships and planes into the Formosa area to meet

Apparently Mao feels the time is ripe to test us again.

While there is danger in underestimating the extent to which Khrushchev-whether he is power happy or running scared—might go to capitalize on what he feels is a diplomatic victory, he and Mao may be making just as serious a mistake.

They may be underestimating this coun-

Khrushchev made many references in Paris to the upcoming U.S. elections. He apparently feels this is a good time to get tough because our country is split down the middle by internal strife and political bitterness.

But his understanding of our political system is as faulty as is his belief that our high standard of living is an indication of

a weak, decaying society.

He will discover that Americans can wage fierce name-calling political campaigns and engage in petty bickering at local, State and national levels. But in time of crisis, when their Nation is challenged, they stand shoulder to shoulder in a unity that has made this country the strongest and most powerful in the world.

That such a crisis happens to coincide with a national election matters little. Like a closely-knit family group, we enjoy the right to argue among ourselves, but no outsider had better try to step in to cause

trouble.

This spirit-a burning love for our country that Khrushchev and other Communists will never understand-is already in evidence in support of Mr. Eisenhower in this

hour of peril.

The type of unity that has seen our country through its most trying days was best expressed by H. Roe Bartle, Kansas City mayor who spoke at the annual chamber of commerce meeting here Tuesday night.

"Let me say to you that I am a loyal Democrat. I am more than that. I am a died-in-the-wool southern-born Democrat.

And I am proud of it.

"But tonight my heart and my support is with President Eisenhower in Paris. He may be a Republican President, but he is my president and a representative of my country."

If Khrushchev is counting on a divided America, he needs some new spies over here. They've miscalculated and underestimated

the American people.

Northwest Fir Lumber Prices Continue To Fall

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES O. PORTER

OF OREGON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, May 23, 1960

Mr. PORTER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Rec-ORD, I include the following news story which appeared in the Wall Street Jour-

nal Monday, May 23, 1960.

It presents the story on the northwest fir lumber front. That story is not encouraging. Prices are down. Warehouse stocks are up. Production is running ahead of order. Mill inventories are more than 31 percent bigger than a year ago at this time.

One lumber wholesaler summed it up with "things are deathly quiet in the home building areas."

We will be needing the legislation to come in the omnibus housing bill.

We need the help proposed in the Emergency Home Ownership Act—H.R. 10212-which has been approved by this body and which now is pending before the Senate.

The Wall Street Journal news story follows. It sums up the danger signals now before us:

NORTHWEST FIR LUMBER PRICES CONTINUE TO FALL-DESPITE HOME BUILDING PICKUP IN APRIL, KEY PRICES ARE OFF \$2 IN PAST 2 WEEKS-PRODUCTION IS RUNNING HIGH

PORTLAND, OREG.-Despite optimistic talk about home construction picking up, fir lumber prices at mills in the Northwest continue to slide downward.

Prices on key grades of green fir have slumbed as much as \$2 a thousand board feet in the past 2 weeks. Most observers here are disturbed since there has been no price rise, which normally follows a seasonal upturn in homebuilding.

"It's been a sick market all spring and it looks like it's going to stay that way all summer," said one Northwest lumber wholesaler.

April housing starts did show a pickupto an annual rate of 1,135,000 units from 1,125,000 in March-but one Northwest lumberman said, "Maybe starts picked up in April, but that was only a makeup for the bad building weather that held starts down in February and March."

PRICE DOWN \$14 PROM 1959

Beliwether grade green 2 by 4's, sential items in home framing, now bring about \$66 a thousand board feet in carload lots at Northwest mills. This is down from \$68 a thousand early in May and nearly \$14 a thousand lower than a year ago. Prices on British Columbia lumber shipped into the United States are slightly lower, while prices on fir lumber bought in Oregon for California are slightly higher.

"It's a miserable situation. The price could go down another \$1 tomorrow a lot easier than it could go up," says an Oregon

lumber wholesaler.

Weak demand and too much production get equal blame for the soft lumber prices.

"Things are deathly quiet in the home building areas," said another Northwest lumber wholesaler. April's 1,135,000 seasonally adjusted annual rate of starts is well below the 1,434,000 rate in April 1959. Federal experts and homebuilding officials have predicted 1.2 million starts in 1960, which could be below 1959's 1.3 million.

Fir orders have echoed the wholesaler's claim that homebuilding is quiet compared to last year. Orders for fir lumber received Northwest mills for the first 19 weeks of 1960-through May 14-were down 9.5 percent from the same period last year, according to the West Coast Lumbermen's Association, an industry group representing 66 percent of the fir region capacity.

Orders climbed 6.5 percent over production in the latest reported week ended May 14. It was only the second week this year that orders have exceeded production. While the upturn was encouraging, lumbermen point out that only a very small portion of the upturn occurred in the important rail market, that accounts for nearly 70 percent of all lumber shipments. Most of the gain came in cargo-water shipment orders that traditionally are more spasmodic in nature than

PRODUCTION RUNNING AHEAD OF ORDERS

Production is running ahead of orders so far this year and is higher than output for

the comparative period during last year's building boom.

"There's just too much lumber being produced," conceded a sawmill operator. Output has exceeded demand by nearly 10 percent in the year ended May 14 and is 4.2 percent above production in the like 1959 period

Mill inventories, which have stacked up at alarming rate from the heavy production, are currently over 31 percent bigger than they were a year ago at this time, according to the WCLA. In the past month, inventories have declined slightly, but in April and May of a year ago, a much greater decline was registered.

Many see the giant stocks in mill warehouses as a deterrent to any price upturn before late summer or fall.

The figures on housing starts as presented by the May 1960 construction reports of the Bureau of the Census tells the same dismal story.

The article follows:

NONFARM HOUSING STARTS IN APRIL 1960

Nonfarm housing starts totaled 110,400 in April according to preliminary estimates of the Bureau of the Census, U.S. Department of Commerce. The April starts for privately and publicly owned units were 13 percent above March, but 22 percent below April

The 108,900 privately owned dwellings begun last month represented a seasonally adjusted annual rate of 1,135,000, compared with the estimated rate of 1,125,000 for February. When averaged for the first 4 months, the seasonally adjusted annual rate amounted to 1,147,750, 18 percent below the 1,401,000 for the same 1959 period.

Starts in publicly owned projects in the first 4 months of this year totaled 8,200 units compared with 11,600 in the same

period in 1959.

Needed: New Power Company Propaganda Probe

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. AL ULLMAN

OF OREGON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, May 23, 1960

Mr. ULLMAN. Mr. Speaker, I call the attention of my colleagues to the following article which appeared in the May issue of Public Power magazine. Mrs. Reid's story speaks for itself, as do the facts which she has brought together regarding the massive and continuing campaign of antipublic power propaganda:

[From Public Power magazine, May 1960] NEEDED: NEW POWER COMPANY PROPAGANDA PROBE

(By Virginia Reid)

"The record in this investigation establishes conclusively that the electric and gas utilities, since about 1919, have carried an aggressive countrywide propaganda campaign. In it they have made use not only of their own agencies, but have enlisted outside organizations in active, and often secret, aid. In it they have literally em-ployed all forms of publicity except 'sky writing,' and frequently engaged in efforts to block full expression of opposing views. The record shows that this propaganda has for its objective the disparagement of all forms of public ownership and operation of utilities and the preachment of economy, sufficiency, and general excellence of the privately owned utilities"-Federal Trade sion, summary report to the Senate of the United States on efforts by associations and agencies of electric and gas utilities to influence public opinion, 1934.

The Nation was shocked by revelations of privately owned utilities' propaganda brought to light in the Federal Trade Commission investigations of more than a quarter century ago. But the opinion-molding machinery of the holding company barons of the twenties was small and ineffective compared with the power companies' vast, modern and well-organized national public relations program of today.

Every day thousands of dollars of electric revenues are being expended by the power companies in a massive assault upon public opinion. Just how much is being spent in how many ways could only be answered by another thoroughgoing investigation into the operations of the present-day corporate descendents of the holding company empires.

Occasionally the heavyhanded tactics of the twenties are in evidence: utility money turned up in a State official's hands in Illinois; an ex-Governor of Arkansas has described how he was promised and threatened by utility officials; a Mississippi company official has told of lavish entertainment paid for by unsuspecting electric ratepayers.

But much of today's power company propaganda campaign is a far cry from the fre-quently crude ventures of the old utility State committees whose sordid histories were among the more dismal chapters of the Trade Commission investigation. Today's power trust employs the most advanced Madison Avenue techniques that its ever-growing revenues can finance.

Although many of the details of the power companies' efforts to shape and distort public opinion are well-kept secrets, some facets have been exposed to public view. Enough is on the record to suggest the existence of an all-out campaign against public power at the Federal, State, and local levels. Such warfare can have only one objective; a complete nationwide power company monopoly of electric service—aptly described by Theo-dore Roosevelt as "a monopoly far more powerful than anything known to our experience."

ECAP'S NATIONAL ADVERTISING

Best known of the weapons in the power companies' antipublic power arsenal is, of course, the display advertising of the electric companies advertising program (ECAP). ECAP was launched in 1941 by the large

advertising agency, N. W. Ayer & Son, Inc., with some 50 power companies' support. Since then, the number of participating companies, and the size of the budget have been greatly expanded.

nearly two decades, ECAP has employed newspapers, magazines, radio, television and films to boost the virtues of the power companies and assail public power. How ECAP uses modern polling techniques to develop its campaigns was first disclosed nearly 10 years ago in Public Power (July

A booklet issued by ECAP, "The Public and You," advised the power companies that they were making little headway in trying to convince the general public that the Tennessee Valley Authority was a bad idea (63 percent approved and only 10 percent disapproved of TVA, a small change after 2 years of intensive vilifying of TVA in ECAP ads). But the pollsters discovered that 69 percent of the people interviewed were opposed to socialism, and a power company battle cry was presented to subscribing companies with this logic:

"It is apparent that to link our fight to the TVA question would run us into a lot of opposition, most of it based on lack of knowledge. But to link our fight to socialism is something else again. The people do not want socialism.

"We're on favorable ground there, ECAP advertising in magazines and on the radio will stress the fight against the socialistic state more in the future. It should be stressed, too, on the local level in speeches, radio talks, interviews and other public expressions of management opinion.

And it was, too.

How effective have ECAP's ministrations to the public mind been? According to the New York Times of July 13, 1953, "One of the biggest shifts in public opinion in the United States is credited" to ECAP. Again opinion polls were cited to demonstrate a significant shift toward more support for private business and less for public operation after a dozen years of ECAP advertising.

One of the most revealing reports on ECAP's program has come from the Saturday Evening Post, which in 1957 reprinted ECAP ads in a booklet which contained this frank

"By the end of 1956, the Post had carried 169 ECAP advertisements-more than any other major publication. They are reprinted here to show how one industry, advertising its cause consistently and persistently, has been able to help shift the great weight of public opinion. ECAP advertising is designed to win public support for the independent electric light and power companies. Most people 15 years ago favored Federal public power. Today, the balance has swung in favor of the electric companies.

"In the August 19, 1950, issue, the Post warned editorially, 'we can't salvage free enterprise without a battle.' The advertisements which follow have been used in the battle along with the editorial comment to help turn the tide of public opinion."

The modern pretenders to Ben Franklin's editorial mantle may not have been pleased with the promotion booklet's linking their policies to advertising, but the Post's editorials in the power field have decried public power with a vigor at times rivaling ECAP.

After reprinting the 169 ECAP ads, the Post booklet bluntly concluded:

"This continuing campaign by the electric light and power companies is classic proof that advertising can mold public opinion as well as increase the sale of products and services.

How much has ECAP's advertising cost? No total cost figure has been made public, but the sum is known to be many millions. For example, while many readers are most familiar with the ads carried in national magazines such as the Saturday Evening Post, N. W. Ayer & Son estimated in 1958 that more than \$100 million had been spent by companies using ECAP ads in local newspapers in 16 years. This \$100 million is in addition to the multimillion-dollar expenditures made by ECAP in national media.

The Federal Power Commission in 1958 placed the cost of 26 ECAP ads at \$1,996,661. but just how many millions have been spent by ECAP to shift the great weight of public opinion could be developed only by an investigation such as that conducted by the Federal Trade Commission some 30 years ago.

Nor is this an idle question, since it relates to another vital query: who has paid the bill for this opinion molding? The shocking answer appears to be the electric consumers served by the participating companies for the most part.

In 1958, the staff of the Federal Power Commission recommended that the cost of nine ECAP advertisements—a total expense item of \$863,130-be excluded from company rate bases because the ads were held to be political in content. The companies have protested and the matter is pending at the Commission. Also in 1958, the Internal

Revenue Service ruled that the costs of ECAP ads held to be political in nature could not be deducted by the companies as business expense for purposes of computing their Federal income taxes.

But these belated efforts to relieve the ratepayer of the costs of ECAP advertising only emphasize that for nearly 20 years most of the cost has been paid for in electric bills of the companies' customers-plus, ironically, consumers of public power systems and cooperatives which purchase power from the private companies. As Senator Estes Ke-FAUVER has phrased it, these electric consumers have been paying for their own brainwashing.

PUBLIC INFORMATION PROGRAM (PIP)

Less well known-but not necessarily less active or effective in molding public opinion—is the power companies' national public relations organization, known as the public information program (PIP).

PIP was organized in 1949 by a group of 10 power company executives meeting in Chicago. "We had one thing in common the belief that the people should be told of the rapid growth of public power as a threat to the business-managed electric industry and the traditional ways of American business," wrote James W. Parker, then president of Detroit Edison Co. (Public Utilities Fortnightly, June 8, 1950).

Bozell & Jacobs, Inc., a public relations and advertising firm, was employed to coordinate the PIP program, and a little more than a year after the organizing meeting it was reported that more than half the industry was participating.

PIP was set up to operate at three levelslocal, regional, and national. Providing background speech material, press, and employee information is an important part of the program.

Regional groups were organized to hold monthly meetings to develop a coordinated program for each region. Employee programs utilizing forums, meetings, and pamphlets are a part of the program.

Booklets and brochures denouncing public power are another feature of PIP's program. The information program has included such titles as "Sixteen Myths of Public Power," "Socialism Is Not for United States," "Let's Guard Our Freedom," and "Is It Worth a

ECAP's advertising program and PIP's public relations campaign are the two leading national propaganda agencies of the private power companies but they receive potent support in their efforts from two other national power company organizations: the Edison Electric Institute (EEI), the companies' national trade association, based in New York; and the National Association of Electric Companies (NAEC), the companies' Washington lobby.

In addition to their own propaganda mills, the power companies have other allies workfor them less obviously. The classic example is the Industrial News Review, published by E. Hofer & Sons in Portland, Oreg.

"CANNED" EDITORIALS HIT PUBLIC POWER

Industrial News Review is a packet of editorial material sent each week without charge or obligation to newspaper editors throughout the country. It is frankly financed by power companies and other industries whose views are reflected in the "canned" editorials offered in the Industrial News Review. Editorials denouncing public power are a frequent feature.

Editors are urged to use material from the Hofer service "with or without credit, in whole or in part." That many do is testified to both by studies made of use of this material and by the fact that E. Hofer & Sons has been providing sponsored editorials to American newspapers since 1913. In fact,

Samuel Insull discussed arrangements for national coverage by the Hofer organization at a meeting of the National Electric Light Association in March 1923, and Mr. Hofer himself testified concerning his services in the Federal Trade Commission investigations.

The Hofer organization is only one of several which provide editorial material to newspapers, and it is probable that others may include power companies among their clients.

From what is on the record, it is clear that the private power companies' propaganda operations are vast and costly—utilizing both "hard sell" and "soft sell" to shape the opinions of the American people in an important area of public policy. It is equally clear that the American people are entitled to know the facts about the "underwater portion of this propaganda iceberg" which seeks to fasten a 100-percent monopoly of a vital service on them.

Annual Poll

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. WALTER NORBLAD

OF OREGON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, May 19, 1960

Mr. NORBLAD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks I include herewith the results of my annual poll of my constituents.

The answers to questions 5—farm supports—and 11—Federal aid to teachers salaries—were broken down and tabulated as to those giving their occupation as farmers in the first instance and teachers in the second instance.

[In percent]

	Yes	No	Unde- cided
Should labor unions be brought under antitrust laws? In an effort to combat juvenile delinquency, should the Federal Government at taxpayers'	87	9	4
expense establish a Youth Conservation Corps for boys 16 to 21 to work on reforestation and other conservation projects on publicly owned lands?	60	35	5
3. Do you favor diplomatic recognition of Communist China?	20	69	111
4. At present, persons drawing social security benefits are penalized if they earn more than \$1,200 a year. Do you believe they should be permitted to earn a greater amount without			
penalty?	76	18	6
5. Do you favor continuing agriculture price supports?	20	74	6
Those giving their occupations as farmers on this voted as follows. 6. Do you believe the Federal Government should have more authority to regulate radio and	31	65	4
TV programs?	38	56	6
7. In some areas in the South, certain people because of their race are reportedly not permitted to register to vote. Where this happens should the Federal Government provide Federal			
registrars on a temporary basis?	70	21	9
 Do you favor legislation to provide Federal aid for school construction? Should we make an all-out effort to surpass Russia in the exploration of outer space, regard- 	41	50	. 3
less of cost?	28	69	5
10. Sould Congress increase postal rates to help meet postal deficits?	50	47	3
11. Would you favor Federal aid to raise teachers salaries?	21	74	5
Those giving their occupation as teachers on this voted as follows.	23 84	74 10	3
12. Do you favor the proposed summit conference between the free world and the Soviets?			0
Strike affect a major sector of the national economy and/or national defense? 14. Do you believe merging our Army, Navy, and Air Force into a single Military Service would increase efficiency, reduce waste and duplication of effort and matericl, and remove	83	14	3
interservice rivalry?	77	18	5

PRINTING OF CONGRESSIONAL RECORD EXTRACTS

It shall be lawful for the Public Printer to print and deliver upon the order of any Senator, Representative, or Delegate, extracts from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, the person Ordering the same paying the cost thereof (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 185, p. 1942).

CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY

The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. No sale shall be made on credit (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p. 1939).

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board, or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

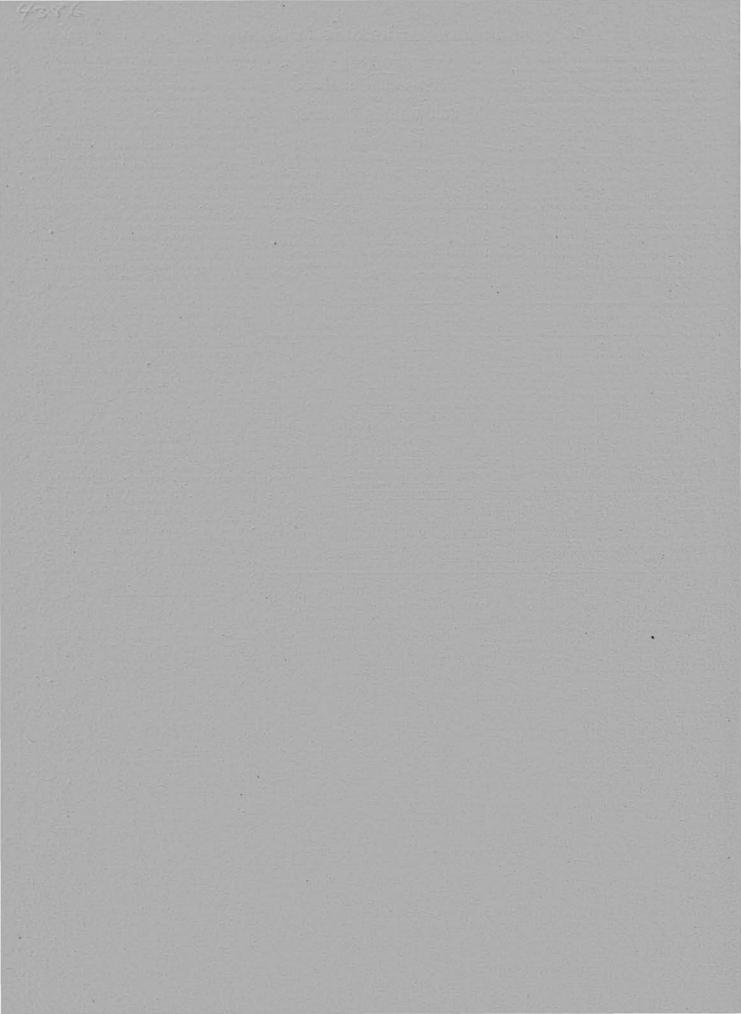
Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives or the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senste, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS FOR SALE

Additional copies of Government publications are offered for sale to the public by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D.C., at cost thereof as determined by the Public Printer plus 50 percent: Provided, That a discount of not to exceed 25 percent may be allowed to authorized bookdealers and quantity pur-chasers, but such printing shall not interfere with the prompt execution of work for the Government. The Superintendent of Documents shall prescribe the terms and conditions under which he may authorize the resale of Government publications by bookdealers, and he may designate any Government officer his agent for the sale of Government publications under such regulations as shall be agreed upon by the Superintendent of Documents and the head of the respective department or establishment of the Government (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 72a, Supp. 2).

CHANGE OF RESIDENCE

Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the Record.



Appendix

Address Delivered by Senator Smathers Before the Atlanta Bar Association

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, RICHARD B. RUSSELL

OF GEORGIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, May 24, 1960

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. President, last Friday the Bar Association of the City of Atlanta had the good fortune to hear a timely address by our distinguished and able colleague, the Senator from Florida [Mr. SMATHERS].

The Senator's remarks dealt with the crisis that is confronting our Nation as a result of the U-2 plane incident and the subsequent breakup of the summit conference in Paris.

Mr. President, I believe all of us can brofit from the calm and reasoned analysis that the Senator from Florida has made of these momentous events. Certainly all of us wholeheartedly support his conclusion, namely that this Nation must make it unmistakably clear to Khrushchev that we intend to stand firm in the face of his blusters and threats. As he has so well stated it:

We must show that we do mean business—that we will not abandon our rights nor shirk our duties. * * * This is the surest road to peace.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have the remarks of the Senator from Florida printed in the Appendix of the Record.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Let me turn now to a subject which has been dominating the world's front pages during all of the past fortnight.

I refer, of course, to the U-2 "spy-in-thesky" incident and the consequent breakdown in the summit meetings at Paris.

First of all, let me say this about the crisis atmosphere in which we now find ourselves: Basically, all that has happened is a dashing of expectations; nothing fundamental has changed at all.

Regardless of what might have happened at Paris in the way of relaxing world tensions, the Soviet Union would not have given up its intention of converting the world, by hook or crook, to communism. The tactics may change, but never the final strategy.

Accordingly, just as there was never any ground for wild anticipation, neither is there, in the current situation, any reason for panic

No doubt we will see, in the months ahead, a lowering of temperatures in the cold war. We must be prepared, again, for a series of challenges to Western solidarity and, again, we must meet them coolly—as we have met previous challenges.

Certainly, the danger of thermonuclear war has not been diminished by the developments of May 1960—but, neither, it seems to me, has this danger been much increased. Unless the Russians achieve military preponderance, they have nothing to gain from war.

No one wins a war of mutual annihilation. The Russians are realists, and they know this as well as we do.

One of our most important tasks is to see to it that the Soviet Union never obtains the military preponderance which will make the

risk of war seem attractive.

If the "spy-in-the-sky" incident has not in fact materially altered the reality of the world situation—as opposed to its appearance—what then has occurred? What is all the fuss about?

Personally, I think there is a certain amount of real comfort to be derived from the U-2 flight. It demonstrates, to our citizens and to the world at large, that the myth of Soviet impregnability is exactly that—a myth. If a single, unarmed, slow-moving spy plane can penetrate Soviet airspace to a distance of 1,300 miles, then obviously a mass flight of Strategic Air Command bombers can also penetrate to perform SAC's assigned tack of retaliation in event of surprise attack.

Nonetheless, while I take this consolation from the U-2 affair, I must say that the timing of the flight and our handling of its exposure were major blunders.

I say this for these reasons:

I have always believed in the positive value of conversation between East and West even though they cannot, in the nature of things, lead to a total resolution of differences. I think they could, in favorable circumstances, affect the nature of the competition between East and West, changing it from cold war competition to peaceful economic, political, and social competition.

Such a change would materially reduce the possibility of accidental war and the danger of limited but still quite deadly warfare such as we have experienced in Korea and Indochina.

Accordingly, I regret the timing of the U-2 flight insofar as that flight has become a factor in the interruption of conversations between Mr. Khrushchev and the Big Three.

Nonetheless, it must be clear from his performance in Paris that Mr. Khrushchev wanted the summit meeting to disintegrate, that the U-2 incident was the vehicle of the breakup but not its cause.

Had Mr. Khrushchev been disposed to continue the dialog between East and West he could have accepted, without damaging the world position of the Soviet Union, President Eisenhower's statement that U-2 flights had been canceled and would not be resumed.

Indeed he would have seemed magnanimous, and he would no doubt have won a considerable propaganda victory.

Instead, Khrushchev made a series of demands the United States could not meet under any considerable circumstances.

Why?

The answer, I think, crept out in Mr. Khrushchev's tirade Monday. The U-2 incident, he said, had become a factor in the internal politics of the Soviet Union.

We in the West have known for a long time of the behind-the-scenes jockeying in the Kremlin over the policy of peaceful coexistence. Arrayed against Mr. Khrushchev and his supporters have stood the Stalinist clique with its nostalgia for the old days of the malled fist, and, in tandem, the generals of the Red army and air force. Over Khrushchev's shoulder at all stages has loomed the menace of Red China and its Stalin-type leadership.

These groups have never had any confidence in the policy of peaceful coexistence. They have, according to our certain knowledge, sabotaged it every inch of the way and now, with a boost from the U-2 incident, they have stolen the initiative.

Mr. Khrushchev, in other words, is playing the simple cat-and-mouse game of political survival in the toughtest league there is—the Kremlin hierarchy.

Kremlin hierarchy.

Where does all of this leave the West?

Fortunately, I think, Mr. Khrushchev has overreached himself with world opinion.

His phony innocence deceives no one. "As

His phony innocence deceives no one. "As God is my witness," he said on Monday, "I come here with clean hands and a pure soul."

The only way I know to describe this statement is with the Yiddish word "Hutspeh" ("u" like the "oo" in "foot") which may be defined as the quality shown by the man who murdered his mother and father and then demanded mercy because he was an orphan.

The world surely recognizes Nikita Khrushchev for the sanctimonious hpyocrite he is.

And so I would judge that we have not lost much, if any, ground in our propaganda battle with the Soviet Union.

We will have to play our hand carefully with respect to the U-2 incident, but, for the moment at least, we do not seem to be at any great disadvantage. Happily, the Russians have done a very clumsy piece of work and have muffed their opportunity.

great disadvantage. Happily, the Russians have done a very clumsy piece of work and have muffed their opportunity.

More serious, I think, are the pressures the Soviet Union is certain to exert on the circle of countries which serve as U.S. airbases. Norway, Turkey, Pakistan, Japan, and others have already felt the hot breath of Kremlin displeasure and they are squirming under it

Given the delicate state of the political situation in many of these countries as it affects relations with the United States, we will have to exert the utmost dexterity to avoid the loss of our forward bases and at the same time prevent the raising of political issues which could do enormous damage to friendly governments with their own electorates.

This task will require cool and careful diplomacy on the part of the administration and great restraint on the part of all U.S. political leaders. We can afford no further blunders. Neither should criticism of the administration's handling of this episode be permitted to degenerate into a backbiting exchange of charge and countercharge. The country's interests are above personal or party interests. At all times we should strive to maintain bipartisan unity at the water's edge. It is the key to survival.

Now, let me add this further thought. We need as a people, in developing this bipartisan unity at the water's edge, to recognize that we are in for a long, hard pull.

The U-2 incident is merely an episode.

Those who were pinning all their hopes on a miracle at the summit were bound to be disappointed sooner or later. They have merely been disappointed sooner.

Let's remember that the springlike atmosphere of the 1955 summit meeting was subsequently dispelled by Hungary and by Suez—

and yet the Big Four managed once again to find its way to the summit.

Regardless of which phase we are in summit or contrasummit—we need to keep our vision as firmly fixed on our goal as the Soviet Union's vision is fixed on its goal.

Their cause is world revolution by whatever route; our cause is the spread of democratic methods and institutions as a means of checking communism and contributing to the economic progress of the free nations of the earth.

We dare not allow our glance to be diverted from our objective by scare tactics nor even by overt actions short of war.

If there is a nuclear stalemate in the world, if there is a balance of terror, then this stalemate and this balance affect the Russians as well as they affect us.

Cowardice in the face of danger will only cause us to give away what cannot be taken from us.

Regardless of what cards he draws, the man who does not know the value of his own hand will walk away from the poker table without his shirt. He will be bluffed into throwing away his winning hands and suckered into entering pots he cannot claim.

This metaphor, I think, holds except in three respects: The stakes are higher. The play of the hands is infinitely more complex. And this is no game.

We are in the deadly serious business of seeing to our survival as a nation, as a civilization, as a species.

The greatest danger, as I see it, to survival in all three of these categories is that our antagonist will miscalculate.

We must not in a moment of vacillation allow him to misjudge the point at which we will yield no further, as Hitler misread the intentions of the British in the aftermath of Munich.

We must show that we do mean business—that we will not abandon our rights nor shirk our duties. We must demonstrate that we shall stand firm in the face of threats—and, if we do this, then we shall make the men in the Kremlin realize that the line has been drawn and they cannot cross it without unleashing the fury of a war which no one can win.

This is the surest road to peace. It will not be an easy road—the Communists will put roadblocks every mile along the way and try to tempt us and our allies, with detours which they can make attractive looking indeed at the entrance, carefully camouflaging the beartraps to which they lead. But it is the road we must follow, whatever sacrifices it may require, if we as a nation are to survive—if Western civilization is to be preserved.

Afterthoughts on the Summit Conference

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JOE L. EVINS

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, May 24, 1960

Mr. EVINS. Mr. Speaker, we all agree with Stephen Decatur, the American patriot, who said:

Our country! In her intercourse with foreign nations may she always be in the right; but our country, right or wrong.

However, we would be derelict in our responsibility if we did not take precautions to see that errors are not repeated in the future. In this connection, in my newsletter this week I reported some

afterthoughts on the summit conference, and, under unanimous consent, I include this newsletter in the Appendix of the RECORD. The newsletter follows:

AFTERTHOUGHTS ON THE SUMMIT CONFERENCE

The tragic failure and collapse of the Paris summit conference this week has shocked the world. All Americans, and indeed the free world, had hopes that this conference might open the way to lessening the cold war and lead to a permanent and more lasting peace. Now the pathway toward peace is less clear. The cold war continues and the ways to solve it more difficult to determine.

In the midst of the blowup of the summit conference, our Nation and our President have been humillated as never before in our history. Our friends and our allies have been given great cause to doubt America's competence, our judgment and effectiveness as a leader in foreign affairs.

Despite these results and the blasting of our hopes and plans for some progress toward peace, we must, as a nation, remain united. It was Stephen Decatur, American patriot, who said: "Our country. In her intercourse with foreign nations may she always be in the right; but our country, right or wrong."

Democratic leaders have joined with others in sending a telegram to the President to acquaint the people of the world with the fact that we in this country stand united in matters of international affairs. Our leaders cabled the President:

"We feel that total failure of the summit conference and increasing mistrust on both sides will be serious and deeply disturbing to the world. All of the American people earnestly desire peace, an end to the arms race and ever better relations between our countries."

Others have publicly said that we should not try to brush under the rug our mistakes, fallings and shortcomings. It is known that Premier Khrushchev of the Soviet Union is difficult to deal with and having this knowledge our Nation should have fully and properly prepared for the summit conference. On the eve of a conference as important as this one—which carried with it the hopes of peace—the President should have required that all flights over the Soviet Union at this time be cleared with the White House. This was not done. It seems that one agency of the Government does not know what another agency is doing. Their work was not coordinated and most of all the President seemed not fully informed about the situation.

At first there was a denial that the plane had been ordered flown over Soviet Russia. Another report merely stated that the plane was on a weather observation mission. An additional report admitted that the plane was on a spying mission, and even at this point our leaders should have stated that the situation was being investigated and thus provide a cooling-off period. However, the President implied that reconnaissance flights or spy missions over Soviet territory would be continued. Later, at the opening of the Paris summit conference, he announced that such flights had been ordered discontinued.

In the face of these conflicting reports, the Soviet leader was given a wedge and an opportunity to sabotage and torpedo the conference, a device for which he was obviously looking.

While we must stand behind our country and behind our Nation's President, it seems only honest to admit that in our bureaucratic workings we are not infallible, and that administrative mistakes and mistakes in timing have been made; there has also been a lack of coordination in planning.

The miscalculations and unpreparedness which our country's leaders have displayed in its presummit and summit activities are

regrettable. The collapse of our plans at this crucial time has vividly pointed out the need for a reexamination and a reappraisal of our Nation's handling of foreign affairs.

The failure of the summit conference has thus demonstrated the failure of the President to come to grips with the vital details which are so very important in all matters and doubly important to this Nation and to the peace of the world.

Someone has said that there is no substitute for doing our homework and that there are some matters that cannot be delegated.

America will recover our position and its prestige, which has been shattered, but we must learn from the lessons of our bungling and failures. We must profit by our mistakes and, above all, we need to be ourselves, Americans at our best, and not flinch from facts, truth, and realities. In this hour we need to be fed not just good and pleasant words, but truth, however distasteful; then we can march forward together with new ideas and well-thought-out plans and policies in the field of foreign affairs and patiently continue to work for the promotion of peace.

An Act of Prudence

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Hon, EVERETT McKINLEY DIRKSEN

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, May 24, 1960

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the Record an article written by Arthur Krock and published in the New York Times of May 24, 1960.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

IN THE NATION—AN ACT OF "PRUDENCE" IN THE RIGHT PLACE

(By Arthur Krock)

Washington, May 23.—With the return to Washington of U.S. officials who were in Paris when Soviet Premier Khrushchev stifled the embryo of the 1960 summit conference, it is possible to assemble the background of the Sunday, May 15, order for the limited "alert" of the American Armed Forces. This action and its author, Secretary of Defense Gates, have been harshly criticized by Adlai E. Stevenson and others on these assumptions and conclusions:

- 1. The timing was a worse show of "incompetence" than the dispatch of the U-2 a few days before the summit conference was due to assemble, because it was an act of deliberation, whereas the sanction of pilot Powers' overflight was part of a routine operation which the Central Intelligence Agency had carelessly allowed to become uncoordinated with development of high policy.
- 2. Secretary Gates gave the order when Prime Minister Macmillan and President de Gaulle were still laboring to get the summit conference back on the track, when (in Stevenson's words) "there was still a chance to save the situation."
- The exercise also was executed "incompetently" because the Secretary "forgot to advise" the Pentagon press officials of the order.
- 4. This neglect was compounded by the fact that the order was issued on Sunday when these officials are off duty, and that added to its general atmosphere of emergency which assured the excessive interpretation made of it by some field commanders.

5. It was a conceivable impression in command areas that the President, being in Paris, was alerting the Armed Forces for a surprise attack on this country. And the whole incident supplied Premier Khrushchev with another item for his thesis that the President is controlled by warmongers whose design was to wreck the summit conference.

NO NOTICE TO ANYONE

The actual circumstances in which the order was issued greatly weaken this arraignment and support the view that the alert was an act of prudence in the Secretary's plain line of duty. Therefore it was deliberate, as a matter of course. And the Secretary did not advise Pentagon press officials of the order because of its basic purpose. That was to make a quiet test of command readiness, particularly with respect to communications. And the only effective method of testing is what the Pentagon calls a no-notice exercise. That necessarily covers press officials and most others.

The fundamental criticism of the timing, the order, rests on the premise that it was issued when, as Stevenson asserted to have been the fact, there was still a chance that Macmillan and De Gaulle could save the situation from collapse. But by Sunday midnigth, May 15, when Gates called for the limited alert, the judgment of the American delegation was to the contrary, and this was based on knowledge—which proved accurate—of what Premier Khrushchev would say to the other heads of state on Monday.

THE ADVANCE INFORMATION

During the course of Sunday he had given this summary to President De Gaulle, then to Prime Minister Macmillan, and by midnight they had reported to President Eisenhower the fallure of their efforts to induce him to modify his demands so that the summit conference would be possible. The only statement Khrushchev left out of his advance summary was the withdrawal Monday of his invitation to President Eisenhower to Wait Souter Pursident.

Visit Soviet Russia.
On May 12 the Secretary had consolidated all long-distance communications service of the Armed Forces in an agency under the Joint Chiefs of Staff. Convinced Mr. Khrushchev had come to Paris to wreck the conference, and in view of the custom of the Communist powers to probe certain borders in such circumstances (Berlin, Turkey, the Middle and Far East), he decided on the military communications test as an act of prudence, conveying no implication to the field commanders of preparation either for aggression or for defense against a possible surprise attack on the United States.

Gates then informed the President and Secretary of State Herter of his decision, to be taken on his statutory responsibility. There was no dissent, its basis and limited scope being known. After about 7 hours the notice exercise was pronounced a success, and it will be frequently repeated. This vigilance should be reassuring to the American people.

Our Federal Excise Tax Structure

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JOSEPH W. BARR

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 24, 1960

Mr. BARR. Mr. Speaker, today I introduced a resolution into the House of Representatives authorizing and direct-

ing the Ways and Means Committee to begin a study of our Federal excise tax structure. The purpose of this study is to determine which taxes the United States can give up and return to the States for educational and other purposes. We are estimating budget receipts of \$9,100 million from excise taxes in fiscal 1960, and from a preliminary check it would seem to me that about 5 percent of this total, or about \$500 million comes from taxes that could be collected efficiently by the States. All the taxes under the budget heading "Retailers Excise Taxes" and including the taxes on jewelry, furs, and so forth, could probably be efficiently collected by the States. The total under this budget heading comes to an estimated \$377 million for fiscal 1960. It also seems that about \$150 million from the budget heading "Miscellaneous Excise Taxes" and including taxes on admissions, club dues, billiard tables, and bowling alleys could be turned back to the States.

Because of the fact that our business is conducted more and more on a national level, it becomes increasingly difficult for the States to collect certain taxes. They simply cannot get the money stopped as it flows across the country. This is the reason I have asked for a study by Ways and Means to determine what excise taxes now collected by the Federal Government could be efficiently collected by the States. As I mentioned above, a preliminary check seems to indicate that taxes totaling about \$500 million would fit this test.

Since the collapse of the summit conference, the Congress has been besieged by new spending requests. The very next day the Department of Defense came to us and asked that we put back in the appropriation bill about \$300 million for an atomic aircraft carrier and about the same amount for Bomarc missiles. In my opinion this is foolish. I for one had no hopes of any results from the summit and voted for the defense budget assuming that the cold war would be around for quite a while. Khrushchev's belligerence came as no particular surprise to me, so I am not going to be stampeded into an enormous increase in military spending.

History has been telling us for several thousand years that nations are not murdered by an aggressor; they usually commit suicide by neglecting their internal problems. This is a good time to remember the lesson. If we are stampeded into diverting more and more of our national resources into military funds rather than facing the purely local problems of schools, teachers' salaries, sanitation, hospitals, libraries, police protection, and transportation, we can kill this Nation as effectively as the Communists could by aggression.

The solution of these local problems by local and State governments has become increasingly difficult because the United States has literally crowded them out of many fields of taxation. If local governments are going to solve local problems, they must get their hands on some money. The old standby of local government, the property tax, is just about "on the ropes." There is not much room

for additional revenue from this source. So the alternatives are simple. The Federal Government can try to solve local problems, or it can vacate certain fields of taxation and let the States go after this money. I would favor trying the last alternative first for the simple reason that it is so difficult to devise a national program to fit the diverse problems of all the States in this country.

The proposal that I am bringing forward could provide an initial \$500 million for local problems. This should mean about \$12½ million a year for our State of Indiana and about \$2½ million a year for my congressional district. It would at least be a start in facing up to our local problems of education, urban development, sanitation, and police and fire protection.

A Boycott Boomerangs

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. STEPHEN M. YOUNG

OF OHIO

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, May 24, 1960

Mr. YOUNG of Ohio. Mr. President, a recent editorial, "A Boycott Boomerangs," which was published in the Cleveland Plain Dealer, one of Ohio's great newspapers, on May 7, 1960, is worthy of careful study.

This editorial offers an exceedingly clear commentary on the situation faced by us in the Suez Canal controversy. It reiterates the fact that officials of our State Department seem to have disregarded our moral commitments made to Israel at the time of her withdrawal from the Sinai Peninsula.

I ask unanimous consent that this editorial be printed in the Appendix of the Record. I commend it to my colleagues in the Senate.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

A BOYCOTT BOOMERANGS

In New York harbor, a seaman's union picketed an Arab ship as a protest against the Arab boycott of American vessels that trade with Israel. The picketing was called off yesterday on assurances the union's grievances would be taken up by the U.S. Government with Arab governments.

At the same time there is a violent argument in the Senate over a provision in foreign aid legislation that would indirectly condemn the United Arab Republic's ban on Israeli shipping through the Suez Canal, thus bringing the Middle East problem back into Congress and into public debate.

The State Department holds it is embarrassed and chagrined over these recent developments, contending that the New York picketing and the Senate's directives which earlier had been accepted by the House, interfere with its conduct of foreign policy. The Department has the vocal and active support of Senator J. W. Fulbright, Democraft, of Arkansas, chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

A strange aspect is that the Arab boycott of Israel and Israeli products and shipping stirred but feeble protests. Even the U.S. Navy for a time cooperated in the boycott. Now that retaliatory action is taken and a

protest is registered in the U.S. Congress, a terrible hue and cry is raised. Why is that?

As noted in this space before, we are not endorsing or condoning boycotts, picketing, and blockades. To the contrary, we condemn them. We do say, however, that those who take up such weapons have no right to complain if similar weapons are used against them.

It might be timely and fair to recall to President Eisenhower and the State Department, the President's speech on the night of February 20, 1957, when he called on Israel to retire from Egyptian territory after the

Sinai invasion of 1956:

"We all hope that the Government of Israel will see that its best immediate and longterm interests lie in compliance with the United Nations and in the declarations of the United States with reference to the future.

"Egypt, by accepting the six principles adopted by the Security Council last October in relation to the Suez Canal bound itself to free and open transit through the canal without discrimination, and to the principle that operation of the canal should be insulated from the policies of the country.

"We should not assume that if Israel withdraws (from the Gaza Strip and the Straits of Aquaba) Egypt will prevent Israeli ship ping from using the Suez Canal and the Gulf of Aquaba. If, unhappily, Egypt does hereafter violate the armistice or other international obligations, then this should be dealt with firmly by the society of nations * * *."

The Senate and the union merely took up where Mr. Eisenhower left off, while the State Department ignored what Mr. Eisenhower

Mr. Frank Austin Bond

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. SILVIO O. CONTE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, May 24, 1960

Mr. CONTE. Mr. Speaker, the recent passing of Mr. Frank Austin Bond, native of North Adams, Mass., ended a career of distinguished service and unselfish dedication to civic activity which spanned more than 40 years. With the exception of his student days at Cornell University and honorable military service in World War I, Mr. Bond spent his entire life in the town of his birth

which he so dearly loved.

In the years of his career the posts he held were many and varied. He first undertook civic responsibilities as a member of the school committee in 1916 and later as city councilman, both elected positions. But far and above official positions, he gave his time and energy to those voluntary tasks of incalcuable community benefit. He was president of the YMCA, chamber of commerce, and Community Chest. During World War II and after, he served as a member of the North Adams Draft Board. In 1943 he was chairman of the war fund drive and in 1944 a director of the State war fund council of the National War Fund. The Governor appointed him a trustee of the soldiers' home in Chelsea.

In the wider field of politics, Mr. Bond was a member of the Republican State Committee and in 1944 attended the GOP national convention as a delegate.

His many offices of public service included membership in 1934 on the NRA committee for savings banks and advisory committee on civil defense for the State, in 1954.

His career as a businessman was varied and successful. He headed the North Adams Industrial Co.: president of the Richmond-Wellington Hotel Corp.; director of the former Blackinton Mills Corp.; and president of the Hoosac Savings Bank.

To all of these multiple activities, whether civic, public service, or business, he contributed his ability and energy, integrity of character, and humane dedication. His unselfish devotion merited the friendship and respect of the entire community which owes him so much

I know that this distinguished body joins me in expressing my profound sympathy and deep condolences to his family. The city of North Adams remains as his monument, the only one I am sure, he would have liked best. We join this community in paying reverent respect to the memory of this great American citizen.

The War That Can Be Won

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Tuesday, May 24, 1960

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that my address entitled "The War That Can Be Won" and describing the massive research effort that can defeat cancer be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD. I delivered these remarks on May 5 at Wheeling College, Wheeling, W. Va.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD. as follows:

THE WAR THAT CAN BE WON

(Remarks of Senator HUBERT H. HUMPHREY at Wheeling College, Wheeling, W. Va., Thursday, May 5, 1960)

I take my theme for today's talk from one of the youngest of living Americans-former President Harry S. Truman. He said on May 24, 1951: "The only kind

of war we seek is the good old fight against man's ancient enemies-poverty, disease, hunger, and illiteracy."

Poverty, disease, hunger, illiteracy.

Each of these ancient enemies could be the topic of many volumes, let alone a single speech.

Today I shall talk mainly about the worldwide fight against one disease—cancer.

And it is appropriate that I should talk

about it here in West Virginia.

During three decades, the late Senator Neely led the fight for cancer research on the floor of Congress-led it, with magnificent eloquence and determination, until he himself was cut down by this dread disease.

As long ago as 1928, he proposed an ap-propriation of \$100,000 to the National Academy of Science to make a thorough study of the incidence of cancer in this country. It was slashed to \$50,000.

In 1946, while a Member of the House of Representatives, he introduced a bill to appropriate \$100 million to be used over whatever period was needed for a large-scale research offensive against cancer.

Matt Neely's words and efforts were not in vain. Last year Congress voted \$90 million to the National Cancer Institute for 1 year's

research.

When Senator Neely began his fight, 125,-000 Americans were dying each year of can-Last year it was 260,000.

Because cancer has reached epidemic proportions in this country, we must mobilize

every resource to conquer it.

I, therefore, pledge to the American people that, if I am elected President, I will call a White House conference early in 1961 to bring together the best medical and scientific brains in this country to plan an accelerated attack upon this disease.

I earnestly hope that all other candidates for the Presidency will take the same posi-

Cancer strikes without regard to political party. It struck down Senator Taft and Secretary of State John Foster Dulles, just as it did Matt Neely and Senator Brien McMahon.

It pays no heed to the Iron Curtain, either. Almost a year ago a Senate Government Operations Subcommittee, of which I am chairman, issued a report entitled: "Cancer: A Worldwide Menace."

That document pointed out that cancer kills 2 million people a year in all parts of the world, that its incidence is rising in 33 countries, and that it is the second leading cause of death in the Soviet Union, as well as in the United States and most of Europe.

In transmitting this report to the Senate, I pointed out that this disease is one "whose ultimate conquest will undoubtedly involve an unparalleled effort of worldwide biomedical research."

American doctors who have visited the Soviet Union recently report that Russia has embarked upon a massive 15-year plan for medical research on cancer.

We keep secret—and the Soviet Union keeps secret—the research that goes into the development of ever more devastating weapons.

But we have no reason to keep secretand every reason to share—the research aimed at this deadly enemy, which spares neither American Senators nor Communist commissars.

That is why, when I had my 8-hour talk with Mr. Khrushchev a year ago, I spent much of it urging upon him a worldwide attack upon the killers and cripplers of mankind-cancer, heart disease, tuberculosis, malaria, and many others.

It made sense to him-even to this hard, cunning, and dedicated Communist. He liked the idea of what I call "Health for

Peace."

Indeed, I have long advocated a "Works of Peace" program aimed at poverty, hunger,

and illiteracy as well as disease. I have voted again and again for programs of oversea technical and economic aid. And

I have always maintained that the Americans of Cabin Creek are as fully entitled to help—the kind that helps people to help themselves—as the people of Afghanistan or Africa.

I have talked, too, about "Food for Peace"putting our God-given abundance of food to work providing balanced diets in West Virginia and wherever in the world people are hungry.

I have talked, too, of "Education for Peace"—a coordinated, worldwide attack upon illiteracy which would make use of the soft currencies we receive in repayment for development loans and for sales of surplus

These ideas-these "Works of Peace"-are not original with me. They draw upon a rich American tradition—and, may I say, a Jesuit tradition as well.

The great Jesuit missionaries preached the word of God-but they also healed the sick, fed the hungry, and taught the illiterate.

Indeed, in many places they gave the peo-ple among whom they worked the very gift of literacy—putting into writing languages that hitherto had been only spoken.

There are some people who say that wars among men will only end when we face the attack of a common enemy. Half cynically, half humorously, they have suggested that the world will unite only to repel invaders from Mars.

We don't need to wait for the little green men to launch their science fiction attack. Our common enemies—poverty, disease, hunger, and illiteracy—have always been with

Until day before yesterday, we lacked the knowledge and the resources to attack them effectively.

Now what we principally lack is the intelli-

gence and the will.

I pray that, within my lifetime and certainly within yours, this will be the only war that anyone in this world will seek.

Rev. John J. Lach, American Slovak Organizer

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON, RAY J. MADDEN

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, May 24, 1960

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Speaker, the people of Whiting, Ind., and throughout the Calumet region of northwest Indiana, mourn the passing of Father John J. Lach on May 9 of this year.

I have personally known Father Lach for over 30 years and sympathize with his relatives and parishioners in their bereavement. He was a great religious leader, humanitarian, and his services Were always generously given to his parish and also to charitable and civic

projects in the community.

I am submitting an article written by Mr. John C. Sciranka, American Slovak journalist of Passiac, N.J., which appeared in the Bethlehem, Pa., Bulletin and other Peerless publications. He reveals some of the accomplishments in the life of Father Lach. Mr. Sciranka was editor and also former publisher of Slovak Amerike newspaper, the oldest Slovak publication in America, founded in 1839.

[From the Bethlehem Bulletin, May 20, 1960] A TRIBUTE TO FATHER JOHN J. LACH, NOTED AMERICAN SLOVAK ORGANIZER

(By John C. Sciranka)

On May 9, the Slovaks of America, in particular, and their countrymen all over world in general, were shocked to hear the news that Father John J. Lach, of Whiting, Ind., one of the most popular American Slovak priests, organizer and publisher, passed

Father Lach was one of the most energetic Slovak leaders in America, who was constantly doing something for his fellow men. He loved to undertake things, sometimes even those which seemed impossible to accomplish. However, the bigger the projects the better he liked them. He put all his efforts into his work. But he always remained a devoted parish priest, who considered Whiting, Ind., and the parish of Immaculate Conception as his little domain.

His rectory was a sort of an unofficial Slovakian embassy in America. Every intelli-gent Slovak, no matter what part of the globe he lived in during the past quarter globe he lived in during the past quarter century, heard about Father Lach and his great work for the Slovak people, especially in religious and cultural fields.

BORN IN NEW JERSEY

He was born in Hibernia, N.J., June 9, 1894. as one of four sons and a daughter born to the parents of Mr. and Mrs. Joseph Lach, nee Mary Rekucsky. Hungering for higher education, he attended St. Johns University, Brooklyn, N.Y., anticipating to pursue law. But soon he changed his mind and transferred to St. Procopius College, Lisle, Ill., where he completed his education for priesthood and was ordained for the diocese of Fort Wayne, Ind., on June 10, 1922, by the late Bishop Alerding.

Even while a student at St. Procopius he showed great organization talents and ability, especially in sports and music, which he later put into great use. Among some of his many activities, Father Lach organized the Catholic Slovak Athletic Association of the Midwest; he was chosen first president of the Catholic Slovak educational campaign of the Midwest; organized Father Lach's Slovak symphonic band, which toured the United States, played for President Hoover on the lawn of the White House; later toured Eu-He later served, rope, including Slovakia. also, as president of the USO committee of the Slovak League of America and represented the same organization at the first United Nations Assembly in San Francisco.

HEADED BOND DRIVES

He headed the World War II American Slovak War Bond drives and sold over \$50 million worth of bonds, thus launching the Liberty ships of Gen. Milan R. Stefanik, noted French-Slovak scientist. Rev. Stephen Furdek, known as "Father of American Slovaks and Father Joseph Murgas, noted priest scientist. Sgt. Matej Kocak, distinguished World War I hero and recipient of two Congressional Medals of Honor was also honored by a bomber.

Father Lach was active in Lake County, Ind., where he was director and treasurer of the Calumet Park Cemetery Corp. and headed various charitable drives in the Calumet region such as the Lake County Tuberculosis and the Whiting-Robertsdale

Community Chest drives.

He was a pastor of the Whiting Parish of the Immaculate Conception since June 22, 1926. During this period he built the Immaculate Conception Junior High School and convent.

In 1951 he became publisher of the Slovak Amerike, oldest Slovakian newspaper in America founded on December 21, 1889, and moved it from New York to Chicago, Ill. a publisher he began to raise funds for the Slovakian refugees in various countries and established publishing houses in Buenos Aires, Argentine and Rome, Italy. He also established a publication for Slovak authors and poets in exile. He published "A Treasury of Slovak Folk Songs," which was compiled by Dr. Leonbard Deutsch, graduate of Vienna Institute of Technology, who also studied musicology, philosophy, and psychol-ogy as a pupil of Freud and Adler. Dr. Deutsch subsequently turned to the teaching of music, a profession with which he was occupied all his life in New York City. He is known as a compiler of "A Treasury of the World's Finest Folk Songs" and worked out a piano method for amateur students, based on Adlerian psychology; wrote an elementary

piano book, "For Sight Seeing" and wrote a text book on his piano-teaching method, "Guided Sight Reading, A New Approach to Piano Study" which attracted the attention of Father Lach and they became close friends.

Father Lach was a leading fraternalist and was a member of all the national and Catholic Slovak fraternal organizations in America. He attended many national conventions and served on important commit-

FUND RATSER

However, he liked to work singlehanded on various cultural projects which yielded great sums of moneys for various charitable and educational purposes, especially for the Amercan Slovaks. He raised money for scholarships, especially for the theological students in Rome which he visited in 1955 with his intimate friend, Monsignor Mylnarovich, national president of the Catholic Federation of America of Valparaiso. Ind., and a noted American Slovak author poet, who will celebrate his golden and jubilee of priesthood on June 12

Father Lach sided the Slovak Franciscan Fathers in establishing their monastery at

Valparaiso, Ind.

He published various religious books of which Monsignor Mlynarovich was author and which had the imprimatur of Most Rev. Andrew G. Grutka, D.D., bishop of Gary, Ind., who conducted the funeral services of Father Lach. He is survived by three brothers and a sister.

The Slovaks consider Father Lach's death an irreparable loss in their struggle for freedom from Communist oppression. He will be always remembered as an outstanding organizer and generous philanthropist who tried to make this world a better place than he found it.

Changing Times for Counties

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. JOHN F. KENNEDY

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Tuesday, May 24, 1960

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, I invite the attention of the Members of Congress to a recent article by Bernard F. Hillenbrand, executive director of the National Association of County Officials, the association representing all county officers throughout the Nation, entitled 'Changing Times for Counties.'

Mr. Hillenbrand has long dedicated himself to the improvement of our Government at the local level, and his views merit our attention. The article deals with one of our most important domestic problems-county government Eighty-three percent of our Nation is served by our 3,047 counties. No more difficult challenges confront us on the domestic scene than those with which these governments must deal. In community after community, the problems of public transportation, schools, hospitals, traffic, and public health are We achieving enormous proportions. find that there is danger from the pollution in the air we breathe and in the water we drink.

I know that the Congress is aware of these problems, but we are only beginning to grapple with them. I ask unanimous consent that the article by Mr. Hillenbrand be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

CHANGING TIMES FOR COUNTIES

(By Bernard F. Hillenbrand, executive director, National Association of County Officials)

Senator Theodore Green of Rhode Island is the oldest man to serve in the U.S. Senate. On the occasion of his recent birthday one of the reporters asked him how it felt to live to be 90 years old. He replied that it wasn't bad—particularly when he considered the alternative.

By the same token, when citizens in any metropolitan area consider the alternative answers to urbanization problems it is very likely that they will turn to the county as the last best hope.

Frankly, the word "county" conjures up a vision in many peoples minds of fat politicians sitting around a pot-bellied stove spraying tobacco juice into a copper spittoon—and plotting how to grease the political machine. The actual fact is that a typical county courthouse is more apt to be a modern, air-conditioned building with automated data processing machines in the basement, an ultra modern sheriff's transmitter on the roof and everything in between just as modern—and as symbolic—of the 20th century.

The following observations are drawn from nationwide trends and developments in county government. They are not based upon a study of any particular local situation and may or may not apply in any individual community. Our basic premise is that county government will become the dominant unit of local government in the United States in the next decade.

Here are some of the facts:

In the 6-year period from October 1951—October 1957, the U.S. census reports that county government (as reflected in the number of full-time employees) increased an incredible 36 percent—an average of 6 percent per year. For comparison purposes, municipal governments and the population generally increased only 3 percent per year.

Virtually every State in the Union reports that its county governments have been authorized to undertake a host of new governmental responsibilities.

One hundred thirty-three million three hundred sixty thousand Americans are served by our 3,047 counties who employ 668,000 people and spend about \$6.5 millions a year.

WHY THE NEW IMPORTANCE OF COUNTIES?

A portion of the increase in the importance of county government is the expansion of traditional State mandated county administered services, due both to population increase and the traditional American demand for improvement and expansion of existing services. This includes administration of justice, elections, roads and highways, vital statistics and record keeping, health and welfare, administration and administration of agricultural programs.

The really significant growth of county government has come in the urban areas where existing local units have demonstrated fairly conclusively that they are not capable of solving area-wide problems. Here we find counties entering in a massive way into providing municipal type services such as police and fire protection, planning and zoning, water supply, sewage disposal, civil defense, industrial development, refuse collection and disposal, air pollution control, airports, traffic and parking, parks and recreation, finance administration and even urban renewal.

CENTRAL CITY

St. Louis County is a typical metropolitan area. There are 100 local government units competing to provide local government services and to capture the elusive tax dollars.

It becomes quickly apparent that certain functions such as civil defense, transportation, planning, water and sewage, and others require either some general government or at least a degree of intergovernmental coordination of such a high degree that it is equal to a general government.

The problems as seen from the viewpoint of the various interests in a typical urban area are quite complex. Those in the central city find that the mass migration into the suburbs has actually resulted in a loss of big city population. Those who remain behind are often the very old, the very young, and the minority groups; in essence, the lower income groups. Those whom the college professors like to call the leader group—the professional people—leading businessmen and industrialists—have fied to the suburbs.

Cities, like people have a life cycle. They are young and then they are old. The hearts of many of our central cities are sick. The decayed parts must be cut out and redeveloped. This takes money and the life giving new industry—the new shopping center—those few choice residences that pay their own way taxwise—are locating outside the taxing authority of the city.

SUBURBS

Those who have moved into the suburbs have problems that are just as grave. They would like to live out in the country but they want big city services. They want a modern library system, first rate schools and buses, public health facilities, parks and recreation, and above all a decent transportation system into the central city and around the suburbs. Urban sprawl makes the per unit costs of services prohibitive. They often incorporate but they unwisely exclude industrial and commercial development and create unbalanced communities that cannot survive financially. My home county of Montgomery, Md., for example, has two of these incorporations that now want to dissolve.

AREA SOLUTIONS

One of the first approaches to the problem of urbanization is annexation. Rather, it is selective annexation. Try to get the industry and powerplants but don't annex the areas with the big school population. This doesn't usually work because the most desirable areas have already incorporated. Suburbanites resist annexation and very often when the central city people find out what it will cost initially to bring the suburban facilities up to those of the central city they are also less enthuslastic.

It is at this point in the typical urban area that the county begins to be considered. The State legislature may first allow the county to create special service districts to provide sewage or water to unincorporated areas. Later, other municipal-type services are authorized.

Often there is a crisis as, for example, a municipally owned airport that must be expanded. It is not located within the city. It serves the people of an entire area and ordinarily operates at a loss. Municipal officials urge the county to assume responsibility.

We have dwelt overlong on the entrance of counties into these new areas because we want to emphasize several very important points. The expansion of county government through providing municipal-type functions is proceeding everywhere on the basis of the county assuming one new function at a time. The only apparent exception that has come to our attention is the Dade County, Fla., experience with Metro. Here

the voters authorized the county to enter into many new fields of regulation and policing of municipalities. The first impulse was to rush into these new, untried fields and this proved a source of considerable irritation and friction. Now the county is following a new policy of moving more slowly and into only those areas where there is consensus that areawide action is necessary.

This brings up the second point-namely, that in no instance is the impetus to expand county government into new areas coming from the county officials themselves-except in response to pressure from citizens or other public officials. Quite the reverse-many feel that the countles are being too conservative and that perhaps they should take the lead in these urban areas. What we are the lead in these urban areas. saying is that the expansion of county government is not anything like a power grab by county officials to enhance their own prestige. Likewise, we see no danger at all that counties will replace municipalities. county officials are pretty much dedicated to the idea that if municipalities are discharging their functions to everyone's satisfaction then there is no reason at all for counties to get involved. Most county officials have plenty to do already without hunting for more. County officials often complain pri-vately that they are put upon by municipal officials who ask the county to take over responsibility for unpopular functions such as the licensing and regulation of dogs. Experience has taught them that if they regulate the dogs the dog lovers are up in arms and if they don't, the garden growers are unhappy.

ADVANTAGES OF COUNTY GOVERNMENT

In the beginning we noted that county government looks particularly good when we consider the alternatives. Students of the metropolitan problem are very fond of pointing out that the area from Portsmouth, Va. to Portland, Maine, is one large continuous city. No one has actually suggested it as yet in this particular instance, but the assumption is that what is really needed is a supergovernment that will encompass an entire area—cutting across county and State lines. Certainly, our county officials are very much opposed to any "supergovernment" arrangement which goes beyond the established politically accountable units of existing government.

Another alternative to expanded county government is the expansion of direct State administration of some functions such as roads and public welfare. We reject as equally undesirable the expansion of either State or Federal Government into areas that can be handled locally no matter how much more difficult it is to do them at the local

Speaking now about the positive advantages of county government for a wider role in the family of governments we would cite its long history. Henrico County, Va., for example, was formed in 1611 and it will not have served the United States (and the Confederate States of America) as long as it served colonial Great Britain until the year 1967.

Counties are also the basic unit of organization for the two political parties. They are the basic unit of organization for many governmental and nongovernmental functions. The American Medical Association and the American Bar are organized on a county basis. A large portion of our educational system is county oriented. Census figures and most statistics are tabulated by counties. Soil conservation and most of our agricultural programs are county oriented.

Perhaps the greatest advantage of a county is its representative character. We have found that this is the one concept that is most difficult to get across to the public. If these remarks succeed in bringing this one point home we will be satisfied. With some

minor exceptions every person who lives in a municipality or other political subdivision is also governed by a county—a county to which he elects representatives—a county to which he pays taxes—a county that has been created to serve him as a citizen.

Perhaps because the municipal citizen has a separate set of municipal officials to elect and supervise he neglects to take as deep an interest in his county government as he should. This leads to the further erroneous concept that the county is a rural form of government—this again in spite of the fact that the 95 million Americans who live in cities are also served by their county and are equally obligated to pay attention to county affairs.

COUNTY PROBLEMS

In all candor and at the risk of making many people unhappy, we must say that typically counties are not now effectively organized to perform their new tasks. An analogy will best illustrate one of the reasons for this. Mr. Glannini started out to be a fruit peddler on the streets of San Francisco. He started loaning small sums to his friends and later started a bank—and then many banks until his Bank of America became one of the most powerful financial institutions in the world. It isn't hard to see that the "organization" he needed when he sold fruit and the organization he needed when he presided over a financial empire were vastly different.

So it is with counties. Some have simple functions and have no need for complexity. Others have vastly outgrown their humble beginnings—and yet the structure stays—indeed, in many States it is riveted on by constitutional mandate. We must confess that we have never really understood the basic governmental theory under which counties were created. The concept that executive, legislative and judicial functions should be separate and distinct is clear at the Federal, State and municipal level. Yet the three functions are mixed at the county

COUNTY REORGANIZATION

One thing our experience has taught us is that a large part of the urban problem lies in a faulty approach. Many scholars decide in advance the type of structure that should prevail at the county level and then they have tried to fit the functions that the county performs into this structure. This is like deciding the type of organization you need to manufacture shoes and then studying how to fit the manufacture of shoes into your predecided organizational structure. If this approach were followed in the shoe industry we would soon be barefooted.

From this we would conclude that a prudent man would not make any recommendations about the organization and operations of a county until he had studied it carefully. Alone and with others he would study every function presently performed and those likely to be performed. He would weigh them against the latest management and organizational techniques proved and accepted in the world of government and business. Above all he would remember that he deals here with the public business and the vital and sacred things of a democratic society.

PATTERNS EMERGING

Again, from a national point of view upwards of 200 counties are, or have been, under intense study and review by county officials, charter revision groups, newspapers, management consulting firms, schools of public administration, foundations and others. Certain patterns are emerging from these studies. The first pattern, of course, is that responsible people are taking a constructive look at county government.

These studies appear to be most successful when they are made with the active

cooperation of the county officials and by officially created groups that have very broad community support. They also appear to be far more successful when they get right to the specifics and do not build a reservoir of ill will by keeping the public and those most interested in the dark as to how proposals might affect them. Delay, indecision, and vagueness give rise to rumor that creates senseless opposition.

Study groups are also concluding that county government is disorganized to a certain extent with too many independent boards and commissions. This diffuses responsibility and makes it almost impossible for the citizen to view his county as an entity or to understand how it functions. Special districts and authorities independent of popular control are most strongly opposed by the county officials in our National Association of County Officials. As a matter of policy we have urged that all legislative power be vested in the Board of County Commissioners and that this county governing body should speak for the county as a unit.

As a corollary some studies are concluding that too many of the department heads are being elected. This is the area that is most controversial and where some good hard thinking is needed. Many who approach these studies with preconceived ideas are amazed to discover, for example, that an elected coroner can be a most extremely capable and qualified public official. They review the operations of elected clerks and recorders, treasurers and finance officers and many others and find the duties being discharged very well. Almost without exception they find that the elected department head will give more courteous attention to citizen no discharged than they get from nonelected public officials.

It is often charged that county reorganization is made more difficult because of the fear of elected officials that they will lose their jobs. If this is so, it certainly is not unnatural. For the most part, the department heads who are criticized are those that are held by career political leaders. They have devoted their lives to a public position and certainly couldn't be blamed if they resisted having their jobs eliminated because you have changed the rules half way through the game. In most cases it is found that even when, to simplify the voters job the position is made appointive, the encumbent who held the position is the new appointee.

While this is a little more difficult to define, it develops from the previous discussion what might be termed a recognition that a county is a political unit and that many of its decisions should be political. The decision as to whether a county is going to spend its money to build a mental health clinic or a school addition is in one sense political, i.e., it should be decided by public discussion at the only place all the public is represented—namely, the political arena.

Industry is recognizing this more and more. Witness the determined efforts of many respectable forward thinking companies to get their officials active in local partisan politics. This may be the forerunner of getting local political parties more "issue" oriented and less "personality" oriented.

Almost without exception, study groups are finding that counties lack executive leadership. The Nation has a President; States have Governors; cities have mayors, but counties do not have a single executive head. Many approaches are being made to the problem. In some cases the chairman of the board of commissioners is being given broader executive powers. In some counties they are turning to an appointed county manager or administrative officer accountable to the county board for some administrative functions.

The newest and most interesting trend, however, is toward an elected executive somewhat comparable to a strong city mayor. Baltimore County, Maryland; Westchester, Nassau, Suffolk and Eric Counties in New York, and Milwaukee County, Wisconsin have all recently adopted this plan. New Orleans Parish and Baton Rouge and Jefferson Parishes (counties) in Louisiana have also adopted variations of this same idea.

Finally, while there is a great variety of recommendations of what functions should be transferred initially to county government there is substantial agreement that planning and zoning should be countywide. To have a hundred or more local governments all acting independently in planning and zoning matters in a single county generates chaos of the first order.

Strangely enough the key problem that is stimulating the emphasis upon countywide planning is the sudden realization that unless we act immediately we are not going to be able to preserve open spaces and park and recreational sites in urban areas. They are vanishing at an astronomical rate before the developers' bulldozers. The need for immediate action is urgent.

To sum it up, the county has much promise as the key to unlocking the problems of urbanized America, just as now and in the past it has served rural America. New functions and new responsibilities call for careful review of county structure and organiza-

tion to gear it to its new role.

We believe that the county which, in a quieter day, reflected the American philosophy that "the government that governs least governs best" will rise to the stormy present and will provide the leadership in solving such ultra complex urban problems as those of highways and transportation, industrial development and urban renewal.

As Congressman Robert Evererr of Tennessee says, "Times are changing—cotton's going West—cattle's coming East—Negroes going North and Yankees coming South."

County times are changing and we are trying to change with them.

Critic at Large-On the Future

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. SIDNEY R. YATES

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, May 24, 1960

Mr. YATES. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I include the following article by Hoke Norris, entitled "Critic at Large—On the Future," which appeared in the Chicago Sun-Times on Friday, May 20, 1960:

CRITIC AT LARGE—ON THE FUTURE

(By Hoke Norris)

On first looking into "Fallout: A Study of Superbombs, Strontium 90, and Survival," edited by John M. Fowler—a speech that should be made upon a summit somewhere but probably never will be:

Gentlemen, we are gathered together here to consider nothing less than the survival of the race of man. Then let us at the outset brush aside the irrelevancies, the non sequiturs, the nonessentials, the inconsequentials, the lies, and the follies.

the lies, and the follies.

It is not relevant for us to accuse each other of espionage and sabotage. It is not relevant that on both sides there have been stupidities and inanities, that (for instance) the spies of each of us have been captured redhanded (no pun intended), and that a plane belonging to one of us has been sent

across the land of another, and there shot down.

LIES AND FOLLY

It does not follow that because our ideologies differ, we should therefore go to war. It is nonessential that, in embracing one way of life, we despise all other ways of life. It is an inconsequential accident of circumstance that we speak different languages, worship different gods, tread different earth, support different political systems, get drunk on different drinks and attempt different hangover remedies. It is not true that all good rests on one side, all evil on the other.

It is folly for us—like two bullies in a barroom or two Ivans deep in vodka—to boast and parade and call upon the world to witness our strengths and powers. We both have great strengths and powers. We also have appalling weaknesses. We are vain, stubborn, stupid children with H-bombs in our hands.

What shall we do?

For a long time we have been exaggerating and exploiting our dissimilarities and our disagreements. On what can we agree? In what are we allke?

ONE HUMAN RACE

We can agree, first, on some negatives. We could destroy each other's armaments and industries. In their final meaning, however, these do not much matter. They are material symbols and little else, and perhaps we'd be better off without them anyway. They could be destroyed and in the long time of the world, they would be remembered little if all

But we cannot destroy these empty, but powerful, symbols without destroying also a thing far more perishable and far more precious. This thing is man. A small raid, we read in Fowler's book, would destroy urban life. The rural survivors could emerge 3 months later, but upon a devastated countryside on much of which they could not grow food for generations to come. Radiation would cause illnesses that would main or kill many of the survivors. Cancer and genetic damage would make hideous, tortured creatures of men, women, and children. A large attack—well, multiply these consequences by infinity.

Is man worth saving from this death of the race, and of the soul? We must agree that he is, and that he is worth saving because of his common heritage and his common capabilities, aspirations, and strengths. The race that created "Hamlet" and "War and Peace," "Huckleberry Finn" and "Remembrance of Things Past," and painting, the symphony, the fugue, and the cathedral, the race that can see the beauty of snow beneath evergreens and hear beauty in the song of a bird, that can recreate itself in the human child—that race is worth survival, and that race, wherever situated, whatever the superficial differences among its members, is all the same in all its human, spiritual and esthetic virtues, in all those verities and aspirations that are meaningful and eternal.

And, therefore, gentlemen, never tend to know for whom the bell tolls; it tolls for you,

May Craig Visits Africa

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. EDMUND S. MUSKIE

OF MAINE

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, May 24, 1960

Mr. MUSKIE. Mr. President, on March 13, 15, and 16, 1960, three more articles appeared in May Craig's column entitled "Inside in Washington."

Additional Property

In her March 13 column, Mrs. Craig published her analysis of the work which has been done in the Congo in fighting tuberculosis, malaria, and other diseases.

On March 15, she reported talks with officials in the Belgian Congo, who explained their great need for capital and foreign investments.

By March 16, Mrs. Craig had taken her readers all the way to Johannesburg, in South Africa, which she found to be very different from many of the other countries she had visited in that vast continent.

I ask unanimous consent that the three articles be printed in the Appendix of the Record.

There being no objection, the articles were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From Inside in Washington, Mar. 13, 1960] APRICA ON THE MOVE—AMERICAN AID HELPS CONGO FIGHT DISEASE

(By May Craig)

LEOFOLDVILLE, BELGIAN CONGO.—This country is the strangest combination of ancient tribal "savagery" and modern European facilities—airport here has the longest runway in the world. This hotel has nice bathrooms, airconditioning in the rooms. The waiters are barefoot, immaculate in pants tied close around the ankle. Lock on my door sticks so I have to have one of the black floor men unlock it and they laugh at me because they know the trick and I can't seem to make it.

Once in a while you see a black woman with her baby on her hip as American mothers carry babies. The maidens have beautiful, slim, highbreasted figures. The child rides on the lower back with legs spread around mother's hip. Often they will have a child on the back, a child in the belly, one by the hand, a heavy load balanced on the head.

The Belgians perhaps gave in too quickly to the demand for freedom. They had a 4-year plan but the riots killed that. They had to choose between giving up to freedom between January and June of 1960, or try to stay by force, which would have meant drowning in blood. One competent American predicted a dictatorship far to the right. There will be hard times which may be blamed on the big foreign companies who will stay or come in, which criticism will be encouraged by the Soviet Union, which will hope to profit as they may in Cuba. There has been a conference in Brussels in which Belgian Government and Congolese leaders agreed to prepare the masses as quickly as possible to take over the reins.

Outside of Leopoldville there is massive tuberculosis, malaria a "river blindness" from a small fly that lives in the rivers. Belgians are working on this. But there is only one doctor per 20,000; in Nigeria, one doctor per 110,000. There is a deep protein deficiency, worse among mothers and children. In the U.S. taxpayers say why should we spend so much for foreign aid; and why not let the Western Europeans handle the African needs. But people of our country learned the hard way that smallpox and typhoid are problems of a whole community, of a whole nation. People without children pay taxes for schools. So, with the world so close together, we cannot leave Africa steeped in disease, ignorance, hatred of the whites. They are the least developed. so they need help most. President Eisenhower has sent special message to Congress asking more money for new African countries south of the Sahara.

This trip is necessarily too short for voyages far into the interior, but we do the best we can and are black and blue from

bruises acquired jouncing over rough roads in buses. We find we are somewhat circumscribed everywhere we go by the local government wanting to occupy us with their side, but we do the best we can and the opposition everywhere tries to get to us.

This Congo River is fascinating. The three-story high river boats, just like our TV—paddle wheels and all. Leopoldville is built just before the first rapids that cut it off from the sea, but upstream there is a thousand miles of clear water to Stanley-ville.

We went to the great bronze statue of Henri Morton Stanley, first white man to travel the Congo River, who got caught by the rapids and had to trek for months through the jungle to the sea. On the shore of the Congo, on the site where he launched his first little boat on the Congo, on his second visit after he knew about the rapids, there is a modern shipyard, and he looks down from his rocky monument on the shipyard, and with raised hand salutes his river. In every U.S. Embassy and consulate we have visited in Africa there is a bronze bust of Abraham Lincoln, who is a hero in Africa because of the emancipation of the American Negro. There are large colored framed photographs of President Eisenhower, or whoever is the current President, but the Lincoln busts stay on forever.

They could build locks around the rapids, but do not plan to. It would be vastly expensive, and they depend more on roads, rail, and motor eventually. The European residential area of the city is beautiful, large estates in gardens. The old African residential is a jumble of mud huts, some thatched, many with corrugated roofs, and fenced in by rusted woven iron slats which were on the runway beds of quickly laid American airfields during World War II. Minute Americans left, the natives rushed out and tore them up for fences-showing their desire for some kind of privacy. Bel-gians said they had a hard time getting the Congolese to live in the apartment houses. but that once in, they like it and become proud of it. I heard differently-that they like to be in one house and on the ground. It is always a question, whether our civilized artificial living is good, in the long run. The Belgians are trying to get the Congolese out of the old huts and into the new, burning the old. They are spending a good deal of money on drains, sewage, bicycle paths, and so forth.

There is tremendous interest in the Americans as we go around; not too many come to the Congo, because it is tough traveling. They wave to us as we go by. They have cut out much segregation here; it's largely a matter of money now.

[From Inside in Washington, Mar. 15, 1960]
AFRICA ON THE MOVE—CONGO WILL NEED
CAPITAL AND INVESTMENT

(By May Craig)

LEOPOLDVILLE.—And so we said farewell to the Republic of Congo and its three affiliated republics making up Equatorial Africa, gave our last look to the great Congo River—Africans spell it with a "K." It is a troubled country, unprepared for freedom except emotionally. They have a few leaders, educated but inexperienced in government. The rest know nothing of the disciplines of self-government. June 30 they take the last step to freedom in the Belgian Congo. We left from the airport at Brazzaville in the Republic of Congo.

This happened to six of us yesterday—we wanted to see some of the contenders for power after June 30. We made a date to see secretary to Joseph Kasavubu, of the Abako, who first had the dream of uniting the Belgian Congo to the rich Republic of Gabon, in the Republic, which would give control of site of the proposed Inga hydro-

electric plant on the Congo, leave out some of the poor part of the country, have fine seaports. We arrived at the secretary's office to find a thousand blacks congregated, and an adamant secretary, despite engagement. It took an hour of palaver in a tiny room with closed curtains and only an airhole under the corrugated iron roof, to get Kasavubu on the phone. The Belgians are not anxious for us to talk alone with the Congo revolutionaries. We trekked off to Kasavubu's house and had lunch. They gave us bottled cold water and I drank That's nothing but tap water from the Congo," said a skeptical colleague, after I had drunk, so I lived in terror the rest of the day, waiting for the dread amoeba to strike, but it did not, probably because I am stuffed with antimalaria, antidysentery pills.

Kasavubu has an organization, he has the African "imystique" as they call it. He seems naive about political and diplomatic procedures. He told us the story of how Africa was divided up by the white men. The explorers of the Congo did not conquer it in war, they did not get it by treaty; hardly any of the white European countries did. They just took Africa. In 1885, in Berlin, they got together and agreed on how they would divide it up. The United States did not share in this political geographical division—we had already taken the America of the Red Indians and killed most of them off. But we did, in Berlin, get agreement on equal trade rights in Africa, commercial.

equal trade rights in Africa, commercial, Kasavubu wrote all the consulates here 2 years ago demanding revision of the Berlin agreement to give the Congo back to the Congolese. Congolese. He did not get any answer, he said, but later said that the U.S. Consul replied that we had not shared in the political division, only on the equal trade rights. In any case, he did not seem to realize that as a private citizen he had no formal rights to deal with foreign diplomats. He wrote to the U.N., which, by its charter, does not interfere in the internal affairs of a member country. He tried to get in the world press and said he couldn't. Hence—the riots. The Belgians capitulated in January 1960. They will be free in June. There will then be a struggle for power among the leaders.

At an evening party at the residence of the Belgian Governor General—who has spent time in Maine and spoke of the cool climate, the beautiful autumn, the lobsters—we met and talked with Patrice Lumumba of the Mouvement National Congolese and Jean Bolikango of the Front Unite Bangala who is regarded as a "front" for the Belgians. He may throw in with Lumumba, who is by far the most sophisticated. He said frankly that the Congo will need capital and foreign investments. He would, if in power, provide adequate protection for foreign capital. He hopes to start on the Inga power project in 2 years; said that American aluminum companies have been here surveying.

All these three want to avoid Soviet entanglement, though they do not use the name. They call it dictatorship powers or something like that and we know who they mean.

Kasavubu was bitter about the deficit the Belgians say they have here. He said they didn't talk about deficit until the Congolese began to talk about independence. He said he would ask an international body to oversee a strict accounting of the moneys to see if there is a true deficit. As to foreign capital contracts, he said he would have a group of expert accountants go over the books, examine the terms of the contracts: if good, all right; otherwise renegotiatc. Lumumba, on the other hand, said he would honor the contracts, hold onto them if in the interest of the new free Congo.

I got a mosquito bite at the Governor General's garden party. They had sprayed before we came, and again while we were there, great mist of spray among the palms

and low on the grass, cover your glass of coke while it is thick. The, were all appalled that there was a mosquito and inquired anxiously if I had taken malaria pills and I said yes, for a week before I left home, they said the malaria type here is not dangerous but "has a bang." I want no bangs and have had none up to now.

Asking Monsieur Van de Put, editor of Le Courier d'Afrique, why the Belgians did not try to stay, by force if necessary, he shrugged and said: "Belgians will fight for Belgium, not for the Congo. If they do not want me, I can go elsewhere." He has been here 12 years, employs more Africans than Belgians or other whites. "Congolese are cheaper," he said cannily. He is Belgian.

[From Inside in Washington, Mar. 16, 1960] Africa on the Move—A British Oasis in a Hot, Humid, Hurried Trip

(By May Craig)

JOHANNESBURG.—This is an oasis in this hurried, torrid, humid trip through lands of strange people and languages. We are nearly 6,000 feet up, delightful climate, fine old British hotel in a practically English city—though, like the British overseas and in London, the menus are in French and the food is elegant—strawberries with whipped cream, good milk to drink, roast beef on a cart in dining room with a big silver cover and they cut your slices right at your table. Outside World War II and the Korean war, the B-29 bomber training trip and the Arctic, this is the toughest trip your correspondent has ever had—mostly because of the dripping heat.

On the flight here we flew low around and over the Victoria Falls, beside which all other falls pale. It is not only extremely wide, though the edges are crooked, but it falls into deep rocky chasm through which it runs for many miles in rapids, not like Niagara which runs right from the falls into an open visible river. We will visit the Falls by land later. The spray rises so high, with constant rainbows, that mist can be seen from miles and miles away. It is on the Zambesi River.

We stopped the day in Livingstone, in Rhodesia, named for British explorer Cecil Rhodes who founded the Rhodes Scholarships. Our former Rep. Robert Hale, and Senator Fulbright, chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, are Rhodes scholars and the latter helps us with people round the world who are Rhodes scholars, W. J. Busshau of the Government Chamber of Mines, who gave us a lecture on money especially gold, which is mined near here, as distances go, is a Rhodes scholar. David Livingstone, you remember, was the British explorer who got lost in Central Africa and James Gordon Bennett I, owner of the New York Herald, sent Henry Mortan Stanley to find him at any expense. When Stanley, a Britisher finally found him ill in the jungle among savages he uttered the famous line: "Dr. Livingstone, I presume?"

They really give you soap in this hotel, plenty of towels, the sheets are darned but This is a Union, including the Orange Free State (Dutch) and is part of the (British) community. There are 13 million blacks immediately to the north, in a ferment against apartheid, completely rigid separation of the European and non-European races. The bus in which we ride has a sign: "Europeans only." These Dutch ancestors were the Hollanders who settled this then uninhabited country. They are called Afrikaans. Blacks are called natives. There are many Chinese, who came first as coolies and are now often merchants, and many Indians from India. They are lumped as non-Europeans, which causes resentment in Red China and in India and adds to the racial hates. There did not used to be such a rigid apartheid and some of the Britishdescent people here, born here, their fathers before them, say that apartheid must go before gradual integration as the blacks get education and experience. The Dutch are stubborn, they will not give up their home that they made out of jungle and desert; some of the British feel that way. Some fear there will be a bath of blood as the natives see other blacks to the north getting independence.

Two-thirds of the gold of the world is mined here. We cannot take the time to go to the great city of Cape Town far down on the tip of Africa, where there are diamond mines. Mr. Busshau's lecture on money criticized the U.S. monetary policy. He said that for 800 years the Byzantine empire kept its money stable. That the United States has given up the gold standard relationship to the "folding money" and thus, we have inadequate check on its issuance. The gold is fleeing from the United States in trade. and the paper is worth less all the time. How long this can go on he does not know. only the confidence in the U.S. Government keeps our money-respectability in the world. If we want to do this domestically, OK, he said, though unwise, but we cannot expect to stay in international trade unless we join in stability of money. The Venetians changed the value of the money, he said, but did not spend it right off. We do.

He called Americans "reluctant imperial-

He called Americans "reluctant imperialists," and when I asked why, he said that down the history of civilization, there has always been one nation which had power and influence and responsibility. Rome did, for centuries, the British did, now it is the United States. He shrugged off the question, who next, but we knew he meant the Soviet or Red China.

They have several school systems in this country. One government for the natives; two government for Europeans, one for British, one for the Dutch descendants; and private schools. Racial integration is absolutely forbidden in the government there. Those who want to send their children to private schools pay for it steeply, but there are natives and other races there, and white parents of these children think it necessary for future living together. They hope some day the elected government which holds with apartheid rigidly will be superseded by government which knows integration politically must come, and better peacefully—they are now in the minority.

Limestone as a Roadbuilding Aggregate

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. DENVER D. HARGIS

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 24, 1960

Mr. HARGIS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I include the following report on the uses of limestone as a roadbuilding aggregate. The report was presented by D.O. Woolf, highway research engineer for the Physical Research Division of the Bureau of Public Roads, during the 15th annual convention of the National Limestone Institute, Inc., held in Washington early this year.

The report follows:

This paper deals with some of the considerations given limestone when it is selected for use in roadbuilding. The paper is divided into two parts: preventive engineering and wishful thinking. The first part covers matters in which the producer can

take action. The matter mentioned in the second part can also be acted on by the producer but for proper treatment assistance and cooperation by the State highway departments is required.

PREVENTIVE ENGINEERING

Preventive engineering considers the characteristics of limestone which are found objectionable by the highway engineer, and determines methods for use to correct these conditions. It is similar to preventive medicine which endeavers to remove the causes of disease. There are few objectionable properties of limestone which cannot be corrected by one means or another. Possibly it may be found that some of the corrective measures are expensive. But it certainly would be better to treat the stone and be able to sell it than to have it rejected as unsuitable.

Limestone is a general name for a rock composed essentially of carbonates. With respect to construction materials, limestone includes rock composed principally of calcium carbonate, or mixtures of calcium and magnesium carbonate. Rocks having the latter composition will frequently be called dolomite, but it would be more fitting to describe them as magnesian limestones unless their chemical composition meets certain requirements. Limestones usually contain some foreign matter such as clay or silica, and if the amount of the impurity is large, the rock may be named a clayey or argillaceous limestone, or a siliceous ston. Pure calcium limestones are quite unusual and may be of more value for other purposes than roadstones.

Limestone furnishes one of the most widely and extensively used aggregates for roadbuilding or other types of construction. This is due to its wide distribution, ease in quarrying, and desirable properties. Most deposits of limestone which are worked for construction material contain thick beds of the rock. When this is crushed, the crushed stone tends toward having a chunky instead of a slabby shape and is most desirable for use as an aggregate in concrete or bituminous construction. Limestone quarries for roadbuilding purposes is suitably hard and tough, and usually has a good surface texture permitting proper adhesion of cement paste or bitumen.

Some deposits of limestone worked for construction material do contain objectionable impurities. These include excessive amounts of clay, shale, or chert. Limestones may also have poor resistance to weathering, that is, to freezing and thawing, or may contain materials which react chemically with the alkall in portland cement to cause an excessive and objectionable expansion of concrete. Some limestones, a relatively few of them, may be hydrophillic or water-loving, and when used in bituminous construction, would tend to release their coating of bitumen and absorb a film of water. This would not promote the durability of the pavement.

Some of these defects of limestone sound as if they were formidable obstacles to the successful use of limestone in roadbuilding. Some may be, but others can be nullified with recourse to preventive engineering. Consideration will be given to each of these presumable defects and methods outlined for their correction. No significance is given to the order in which these matters are discussed.

FREEZING AND THAWING

The action of frost is one of the most severe conditions to which roadbuilding rock is subjected. Failure of rock by frost action appears to be dependent upon the ratio of the amount of absorbed moisture to the total permeable void space in the rock, to the size of the pores and capillary tubes in the rock, and to the rapidity of the decrease in temperature. Some years ago an investi-

gator of baked clay products suggested that if the ratio of the freezable water in a solid exceeded 95 percent of the pore space or voids, the material would fail when subjected to freezing and thawing. No application of this to roadbuilding materials is known although many authorities have stated that concrete, for example, will fail quickly if subjected to frost action when completely saturated. The same should apply to all rocks except those which have such large pores or tubes that water can move very freely through the material.

Although determinations of the absorbable water to the total volume of pore space in a rock can be made without much difficulty, determinations of the size of pores and tubes fequire special equipment and considerable time and labor. For this reason, these determinations seldom are made in acceptance tests of roadbuilding material. The engineer is content with determinations of the amount of water absorbed at atmospheric temperature and pressure and during a relatively short time, usually 24 hours.

Studies made by the Bureau of Public Roads have shown that sedimentary rocks which absorb less than 2 percent water seldom need to be considered as unsound. Consequently if the rock has a low absorption, the engineer can be reasonably certain it will have adequate resistance to freezing and thawing.

In some sections of the country, much of the rock has a relatively high amount of absorption. This presents an interesting situation. The producer desires to sell his stone; the engineer wants to build the best highway possible; and both as taxpayers expect a reasonable return for their money.

There are several things to be considered which might permit the accomplishment of the three desires mentioned above. First, it has been stated that stone will fail under the influence of frost only when highly saturated with water. Second, tests in the laboratory have shown that at atmospheric temperature and pressure, stone which is initially dry requires a long time to reach complete saturation. Third, although information of this subject is very meager, it is believed that stone in a concrete or bituminous pavement may not become saturated if initially dry.

The above indicate that one method for obtaining pavements of greater durability would involve drying the stone prior to its use. This may require a higher cost for the stone, but if it means the difference between a durable and a nondurable pavement, the increased cost would be justified.

A parallel action with respect to a completed concrete pavement is mentioned. This would, of course, apply to concrete made with any aggregate but consideration can be given here to limestone concrete. In the construction of bituminous pavement, material may be added to the asphalt to prevent stripping of the asphalt from the stone. construction of concrete pavement, air-entraining agents may be added to the mix to furnish a more durable concrete, accelerators may be used to hasten the setting of the concrete, or retarders may be added when a delay in the hardening of the concrete is considered advisable. If it is permissible to use these drugs for asphalt or concrete, use of another one to decrease the absorption of water by concrete may be equally permissible. By reducing the absorption of the concrete, use of more absorptive rock than is now deemed proper may be feasible.

CHERT CONTENT

Chert may be a most objectionable material. It is frequently found as seams or nodules in limestone. It is composed of several varieties of silica some of which may be chemically reactive with the alkali in portland cement. Chert usually is highly absorptive and under suitable conditions

may be readily damaged by frost or have a large change in volume. Chert causes poports in concrete and may initiate the failure of concrete or bituminous road surfaces.

The highway engineer is pleased when he can obtain limestone free from chert. Of course not all limestone deposits contain this material, but where it is found, the manner of occurrence dictates the method to be used for its removal. Fortunately chert does have two desirable features. One is that a small piece of chert is less likely to cause physical damage to a highway structure than a large piece. Second, the durability or quality of chert improves directly with its specific gravity. If limestone which contains chert is crushed to a small size, the chert pieces would be less liable to cause physical damage than if they were larger. With respect to specific gravity, the removal of pieces of lightweight would add immeasurably to the durability of a crushed limestone containing chert.

In an article in a recent issue of Rock Products, a description is given of a method for the beneficiation of limestone containing chert. In the method, a suspension of iron ore in water is used to separate lightweight pieces, including most of the chert, from limestone of good quality. Tests of the process by the Missouri State Highway Commission are reported. The crushed limestone tested was found to furnish the following fractionations:

Limestone in sink, 2.65 to 2.81 specific gravity.

Chert in float, 2.30 to 2.49 specific gravity. Limestone in float, 2.34 to 2.66 specific gravity.

Although the recovery was not reported, the plant was stated to process 50 tons per hour and to remove all but 0.2 percent of the 3 to 4 percent of chert in the crushed stone.

SHALE CONTENT

Shale is another objectionable material, which may be found in limestone. Shale is a consolidated clay and sometimes is called claystone. The distinction between clay and shale may be difficult to make. Some writers separate the two based on their physical behavior on wetting. The clays slake and fall apart but the shales hold their shape. Shale has poor resistance to weathering. When freshly exposed, shale may be moved only by blasting but after some months it would turn into loose soil. This lack of resistance to the weather is the principal objection to shale.

Like chert, shale may be found in thick or thin seams. Thin seams are not so bad unless they are closely spaced and cause the limestone to break into thin slabs. Thick seams are most undesirable as the shale may be found in sizable pieces in the crushed stone as prepared for use. With its poor resistance to weathering, shale can initiate the failure of bituminous pavements. Shale is usually less of a problem in concrete aggregates. If near the exposed surface of the concrete, the pieces of shale may break down and be removed from the concrete forming a hole or pit, but this damage is more disfiguring than harmful. An accumulation of pieces of shale in concrete would reduce the strength and lessen the life of the structure. Some varieties of shale expand when wet, and may assist frost in the destruction of pavements.

Due to the materials from which shale is formed, the manner of formation, and the point of consolidation from clay to shale, these materials have quite a variable density and composition. Data on the density of shales found in roadbuilding aggregates are surprisingly limited. Some information was found applying to shales in one Midwestern State. The specific gravity varied from 2.25 to 2.64 with an average of 2.45. In the discussion of the paper, it was stated that many

shales are much lighter with specific gravities which rarely are over 1.75.

Available information indicates that limestones having any objectionable shale content might be treated by two methods. One would be to blast as much in advance of crushing as is possible and to keep the crushed stone in small stockpiles for as long as is possible. This would permit weather-ing to attack the shale and reduce it to small pieces or dust. Rescreening or washing the stone may be necessary. The other method would involve processing the stone in a heavy media plant as was mentioned for chert. This treatment possibly would be more suitable for some quarries than others due to the specific gravity of the shale. In this matter each deposit of limestone must be considered separately. The amount of shale present, the specific gravity of the shale and the limestone, and permissible requirements for the shale content must all be considered.

ALKALI-AGGREGATE REACTION

The statement has been made that limestone is not chemically reactive with the alkali in portland cement. Unfortunately this is not correct for all varieties of limestone. In his principal paper first describing the reaction, Stanton stated that one reactive aggregate was a siliceous magnesian limestone. It appears to be true that few commercially operated deposits of limestone are known to contain alkali-reactive material but any sedimentary rock might have deposits of opal. These deposits may vary greatly with the result that alkali-reactive material could be of significance in rock from one portion of a quarry and not from another.

The reaction occurs between the alkali in the cement and alkali-soluble silica in the aggregate. The end product of this reaction is a gelatinous material or gel which has the property of being able to absorb a considerable volume of water. When sufficient gel collects at a point in a piece of concrete and water becomes available to it, the gel will expand greatly. If the pressure of the expanding gel is not otherwise relieved, the concrete will crack. Exposure to air will cause the gel to dry and shrink, but the crack will permit the free entry of water and development of gel at another location in the concrete may begin. Entry of water will also promote the failure of the concrete Where freezing temperatures occur.

In several of his reports, Stanton has commented on two features of the alkali-aggregate reaction which have not been given the attention they deserve. One is that if the amount of reactive aggregate is steadily increased, the amount of expansion will increase to a maximum, and then suddenly drop to an insignificant value. The second feature is that the amount of reactive aggregate required for the maximum expansion of a mortar or concrete will vary with the size of the reactive aggregate. If the reactive aggregate is finely divided as powder, only a very small amount may be necessary to produce the maximum expansion of concrete, and the addition of another small amount of reactive aggregate may cause the expansion to become negligible.

In recent years, studies of various materials in finely divided size to control the expansion of concrete due to this reaction have been made by a number of research laboratories. Some of these materials have been found effective, others have not. But one material has been overlooked in these investigations. If an aggregate contains reactive material, the least expensive and possibly most effective substance for controlling or supressing expansion due to the reaction may be the particular aggregate in question in finely divided form. Any producer who finds his rock to contain reactive material

should consider the use of the powdered rock to control expansion due to this reaction.

The addition of the powdered rock will not prevent the reaction, but the latter will proceed so rapidly that it may be completed before the concrete has hardened. Of course the producer would be expected to determine the amount of powdered rock to be used with various combinations of cement and aggregate. The cost of determining this would be insignificant if it would permit the use of stone otherwise condemned as alkalireactive.

SLIPPERY PAVEMENT

Concrete or bituminous pavements built with most types of coarse aggregates are likely to become slippery if used by heavy enough traffic. A report of a concrete pavement in Pennsylvania states that under light traffic, the pavement gave very satisfactory service for a number of years. When heavy traffic began to use the road due to a change in location of adjoining roads, the pavement became dangerously slippery in a few months. This is a problem for every highway engineer and stone producers should also be concerned with it. Widespread attention to the prevention of slippery pavement may have crystal-lized in 1953 with the publication of an article by Larson. At that time, a study of slippery pavement disclosed that for con-crete the most dangerous were those in which both fine and coarse aggregates were prepared from limestone. Further study has shown that a very simple solution of this problem is possible. That is, for concrete pavement to carry heavy traffic, avoid the use of limestone sand with limestone coarse aggregate.

This item of preventive engineering may not have the approval of the producer of limestone sand but from the point of view of the highway engineer it is most desirable. The engineer must consider the traveling public and discontinue the use of combinations of aggregates which do not give good results.

WISHFUL THINKING

The wishful thinking mentioned here is concerned with the grading of coarse aggregate. Some years ago when the economic alue of concrete pavements was recognized, the portland cement used was a rather expensive material. Efforts were made through the grading of the aggregate to obtain a concrete mix of proper strength with the use of the least amount of cement. Although a number of formulas for the grading of the aggregate were proposed, little use of these was made in large paving projects possibly due to tolerances which producers could not meet or to lack of inspection on the project. With the development of more knowledge of the influence of the grading of aggregate on the properties of concrete, a demand for more care in the sizing of the aggregate arose. State highway departments began specifying the grading that the coarse aggregate should have and usually required a maximum size of 2 or 21/4 inches. As some difficulty was found in obtaining uniformly graded aggregate in different shipments, some States started requiring that the aggregate be sup-This has assisted plied in two or three sizes. in obtaining aggregate of more constant grading but improvements in this respect still could be made.

In 1948, Jackson and Allen made reports of the Autobahnen in Germany. One item of interest is the use of coarse aggregate with a maximum size of about 1 inch. The authors were much impressed with the quality and uniformity of the concrete obtained and attributed this in part to the use of aggregate of small size.

It has been shown above that the use of a coarse aggregate of smaller size than is customarily specified will permit an improvement in the quality of limestone through the removal of undesirable material. It is be-

lieved that the preparation of coarse aggregate in this smaller size will aid in obtaining material of more constant grading from shipment to shipment. And it is also believed that aggregate with a constant grading would be most welcome to the highway engineer.

The wishful thinking covers two points: That someone would be daring enough to specify limestone with a maximum size of 1 inch for concrete pavement, and that limestone producers would screen their stone into individual sizes and recombline each shipment to the required grading. By individual sizes, reference is made to the 1- to ¼-inch, ¼- to ½-inch, and ½-inch to No. 4 sizes. If stone were so sized and recombined as required, the engineer would be assured of aggregate of more constant grading and the limestone producer could eliminate unwanted material to better advantage.

SUMMARY

The principal defects of limestone as a roadbuilding aggregate have been mentioned and methods for the correction of these defects suggested. Application of these methods may rest on economic considerations including the availability of other types of aggregates. Mention was also made of the use of coarse aggregate for concrete of a smaller maximum size, and for more uniform grading, the separation of aggregate into individual sizes. Stone of smaller size should more readily be treated to remove unwanted materials.

Washington Talent Search Program Patterned After New York's Higher Horizon Project

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. KENNETH B. KEATING

OF NEW YORK

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, May 24, 1960

Mr. KEATING. Mr. President, I want to call attention to an article in this morning's Washington Post which compares the newly initiated talent search program in the District of Columbia to New York City's higher horizon educational program for advanced public school students. Both of these programs are designed to aid especially able underprivileged students in overcoming the many and varied hurdles which often deter them from getting the type of intensive and high level educational preparation for which they are qualified. Mr. President, I commend those responsible for these two excellent and forwardlooking programs, and ask unanimous consent that the above referred to article from the Washington Post be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Washington Post, May 24, 1960]
NEW YORK SCHOOL PLAN LIKE DISTRICT'S
HELD SUCCESS

(By Erwin Knoll)

New York City's higher horizons program to raise the educational and cultural goals of underprivileged children, which is the model for a similar project launched in Washington last fall, will be extended to 63 New York public schools in September.

The New York Board of Education announced yesterday that success of the project has prompted it to add 19 elementary schools to the 44 schools which participated this year.

The program, started in 1956, offers intensive counseling, remedial instruction and cultural experiences in an effort to overcome the stifling of educational motivation in children from families struggling economically and without educational tradition.

A talent search project closely patterned on the New York program and financed by a grant from the Eugene and Agnes E. Meyer Foundation was introduced last fall at Macfarland Junior High School, Iowa Avenue and Webster Street NW.

School officials reported this month that the assignment of remedial instructors, counselors and social workers to Macfarland already has produced notable achievement gains among many of the 200 seventhgraders taking part in the program.

The talent search project is to be extended to adjacent Roosevelt Senior High School and—if it proves effective—to other schools serving needy neighborhoods.

New York educators reported that in 4 year's experience with "higher horizons," improvements have been noted in pupil's school achievement, attitude and behavior, and parents have taken an increasing interest in their children's performance.

The New York program draws heavily on the support of community organizations and institutions to provide low-income youngsters with cultural experience to which they would not be exposed normally.

Negroes in Perth Amboy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. ADAM C. POWELL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, May 24, 1960

Mr. POWELL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I include the following excerpt from the "History of Perth Amboy, New Jersey," by William C. McGinnis:

NEGROES IN PERTH AMBOY

It is not recorded whether any slaves were brought to New Jersey under the concessions of Berkeley and Carteret. In 1680, 15 years after the date of the concessions there were only 120 Negroes in the colony, and most of them were brought in from other colonies. The bond white servants who sold their services to settlers in order to have their passages paid from England and Scotland and the Negroes who were owned outright were alike designated as servants by many people in early colonial New Jersey. In 1698 the Quakers of New Jersey and Pennsylvania recommended to their own people that they stop owning slaves. Quakers as a sect gave up slavery, but other denominations of Christians did not. When the Crown took over the government of the colony, 1701-2, slaves were brought in from Africa.

Queen Anne in her instructions to Goy. Lord Cornbury called the Governor's attention to the Royal African Co., which brought Negroes from Africa and sold them as slaves. The instructions continued: "And whereas we are willing to recommend unto the said company that the said province may have a consistent and sufficient supply of merchantable Negroes."

Negro slaves were brought to Perth Amboy from Africa under the Royal Governors, be ginning with Lord Cornbury, 1702. At the function of Smith and Water Streets there were barracks in which the slaves were housed on arrival. Throughout the colony most of the field labor and domestic services of most families was performed by Negro There were some indentured or bond servants who were white. In the years immediately before the revolution there were approximately 300 families in Perth Amboy. There was only one that did not own slaves. That was the family of Thomas Bartow, a man of considerable wealth, who was opposed to slavery

In his History of the Arts of Design, William Dunlap, writing about Negro slaves said: "My father had several families of them of all ages." Thomas Bartow guide, tutor and friend of William Dunlap a small boy. It was due to Bartow's influence that Dunlap freed the family slaves shortly after his father's death in 1791. Many years later Dunlap in a letter to his friend William Whitehead told of his studying with Mr. Bartow. He said: "This commenced my acquaintance with Homer, with Pope, with Milton, with Troy, Greece and Rome. I learned to love books and pictures, and my love for them has continued." 10 years of age William Dunlap had a greater knowledge of the classics than most high school graduates have today.

That the importation of slaves was being carried on to a considerable extent in the province in 1763 is shown in a letter from Governor Hardy to the Lords of Trade in London:

PERTH AMBOY, May 2, 1763.
Right Honorable the Lords Commissioners

FOR TRADE AND PLANTATIONS.

My Lords: By the Intrepide Man of War, I sent the bills passed at the last sessions of the General Assembly of this Province in September. There is among them one entitled "An Act for the laying a duty on Negroes and Mullato slaves imported into this province" which I would not give assent to without a suspending clause not to take effect until His Majesty's pleasure shall be known; it may be proper likewise to inform your Lordships that the reason for laying a higher duty in the western division than the eastern, is that in the province of Pennsylvania the duty is 10 pounds proclamation on all slaves imported, and in New York only 2 pounds currency; this consideration induced the Assembly to make such a defference in the two divisions. * *

Your lordships most obedient humble

servant,

JOSIAH HARDY.

(Whitehead, pp. 38-40.)
For 80 years the Quakers in Pennsylvania advised their members against encouraging slavery, and in 1776 all slaveholders who would not free their slaves were excluded from membership in the Society of Friends.
Quakers in all the other colonies soon fol-

lowed their Pennsylvania brethren.
SENTENCED TO BE BURNT ALIVE

A.D. 1729

At a special Court (by virtue of an Act of ye Generall Assembly of New Jersey, intitled an Act for Registering Slaves), held at Ferth Ambody ye tenth day of Januari In ye third year of his Majestie's reign, Anno Dom. 1729, before three of His Majestie's Justices of ye Peace for ye County of Middlesex. In conjunction with five principall Freeholders of ye said County: In order to try An Negro Man named Prince for murdering one William Cook, A White man. Present:

The Indictment Against the said Negroman being read to him, he pleaded not guilty to ye Murder, he was charged with; but it Appearing to ye Court by sundry Evidences

and other substantial profis that he was guilty of ye said Murder, The Court found him guilty, and pronounced sentence Against him, which was that he should be burnt Alive, on ye twelfth of this Instant, which sentence was accordingly then put in Execution. (J. Lawrence Kearny, scrap book.)

tion. (J. Lawrence Kearny, scrap book.)
There were three "risings" of slaves in the Provinces. The earliest was in the Eastern division not far from New Brunswick and Perth Amboy. In early writings it was said to be near the Raritan. The purpose of the insurrection was to obtain their freedom by a general massacre, and then join the Indians to fight for the French.

In the provinces of New York and New Jersey, slaves were severely punished for crimes. Burning alive was a frequent punishment. In Perth Amboy on July 5, 1750 two Negroes were burned alive for the murder of Mrs. Obadiah Ayres. One of them was a boy 16 years old recently brought from Africa. The other was a man. A Negro was hanged at the junction of New Brunswick Ave. and Woodbridge Road (Amboy Ave.) for theft. (Whitehead pp. 318-19.)

New Jersey has a bad record in its treat-

ment of slaves as a colony.

On February 15, 1804, New Jersey adopted a law which gave freedom to every child born of slave parents after July 4, 1804; the males on reaching twenty-five years of age, and the females twenty-one. Under the operation of the act, slavery had practically disappeared before the beginning of the Civil War. The importation of slaves into the State was prohibited as early as 1786.

In 1810 the City had a population of 815. Included in that number there were 49 slaves. When the law of 1820 was adopted there were only 30 slaves in Perth Amboy, but the number of slaves in New Jersey at that time was nearly ten times the number of people in this

city

The number of slaves in New Jersey had been decreasing for many years before the Civil War as is shown by this tabulation:

1790	11,423		
1800	12, 422		
1810	7, 557		
1830	2, 254		
1840	674		
1850	236		

Whitehead, page 320.

Perth Amboy's record in its treatment of Negroes is somewhat mixed. St. Peter's Church has a good record. Negroes were admitted as members of the Church from the time of its first services in 1685. They were admitted to the Church School in 1763. As late as the 1860's Negro children were not admitted to the one public school in the city. But beginning with the first public school building in 1871 there has been no discrimination in the schools. In the past decade several Negro boys have been elected presidents of the senior classes at Perth Amboy High School, and one at St. Mary's H. S.

As late as the 1930's and early 1940's Negroes were denied equal rights. In 1936 I was State Director of Adult Education (WPA) and Superintendent of Perth Amboy Public Schools. I called a meeting in Perth Amboy of the State supervisors of W.P.A. Negro Schools. Segregation was common New Jersey practice not only in WPA education but also in the public schools, Middlesex County being a notable exception. I went personally to every public eating place on Smith Street trying to find a place where the Negroes could get lunch and no eating place would serve them.

As in Bethlehem, "There was no room at the Inn." Lunch was served to them in the High School cafeteria where teachers and students welcomed them cordially.

In 1949 the Board of Education appointed the first Negro teacher, Mr. Herbert Richardson was appointed to teach music in the Samuel E. Shull School. He is one of the most popular teachers in the school system.

RIGHTS

It is a strange thing that in a large section of the United States, the fundamental rights of many American citizens are denied because of the color of their skin. In Acts 17: 26 we read that God made of one blood all nations of men. But in the South a great majority of the people, by custom, by preference, by law, and by professed belief, relegates Negroes to a position of second-class citizenship. Those people are professed Christians, and yet they use the cross of Christ as a symbol of hatred, terrorism, and oppression. They ignore the admonition, "Love thy neighbor as thyself."

Men who exhibit a flery cross on a hilltop or close to a Negro family's home are Chris-

tians who have lost their way.

The denial of civil rights to Negroes in the South does great damage to the United States in the family of nations. Negroes in the South are deprived of their civil rights by public officials, including judges and lawenforcement officers. Many churches ban them from membership.

But in the North, too, the Negro is, to some extent, treated as a second-class citizen, and is denied equal opportunity.

The September 1958 bombing of a synagogue in Atlanta was a shocking thing, shocking to the South as well as to the North. But it was not a surprising thing. The rabble rousing politicians of the South are the indirect sponsors of cross burners and bombers. The rabble rousers include southern Governors, Senators, and Congressmen. Members of the White Citizens Councils and the KKK are their followers. When men in the seats of the mighty in government uphold and advocate defiance of the law and the Federal Constitution, cross burning, bombing, and mob violence are the inevitable consequences. The Atlanta bombing is the fourth bombing of a synagogue in recent months. Other bombings this year have included schools and homes of Negroes. One was the home of a Negro clergyman.

In the pledge of allegiance the words, "With liberty and justice for all," mean "justice for all." Racial problems including problems of integration are religious problems. They involve the highest concepts of various religions, and are parts of our Bill of Rights, because the principles on which our Government was founded are the principles of religion. Racial problems are also problems of government. They are the concern of the courts, law officers, and the Congress

of the United States.

THE FIRST NEGRO VOTER

Thomas Peterson was the first Negro voter in the United States. He was sometimes known as Thomas Mundy. Before moving to Perth Amboy his father was employed by the Mundy family in Metuchen where Thomas was born in 1824. His parents came to Perth Amboy in 1828 where Thomas lived

all his life from 4 years of age.

The fact that Thomas Peterson was the first Negro citizen to vote has been established beyond question. It was established when a claim was made for that honor by a Negro voter of Princeton, N.J. Tom Peterson did not want to have the distinction of being the first Negro voter unless his claim to it was just, and so a committee of prominent citizens of Perth Amboy was selected by him to make an investigation and report committee was made up of J. L. Kearny, Patrick Convery, William Paterson (former mayor), John Fothergill (former mayor), and I. T. Golding, city treasurer.

J. L. Kearny was the person who had suggested to Mr. Peterson that he vote and Patrick Convery received and recorded his

vote at the poll.

Thomas Peterson cast his vote in Perth Amboy on March 31, 1870, the day following the adoption of the 15th amendment to the Constitution. The Princeton claimant, an honorable and popular citizen, cast his vote on April 13, 1870. He readily conceded the fact that Thomas Peterson voted before he The committee made a thorough investigation and found that there were only a few elections on March 31 and none March 30 and that no Negro had voted anywhere except in Perth Amboy.

Thomas Peterson was a good citizen. He

served as custodian of School No. 1.

On Memorial Day, 1884, the citizens of Perth Amboy at a large meeting at city hall presented Thomas Peterson a medal. On the obverse side of the medallion was the profile of Abraham Lincoln and on the reverse these

Presented by citizens of Perth Amboy, N.J., to Thomas Peterson, the first colored voter in the United States under the 15th amendment, at an election held in that city,

March 31, 1870.

The following is a copy of the program. The presentation of a medal to Thomas Mundy Peterson, Decoration Day, May 30, 1884, in the city of Perth Amboy, N.J., in commemoration of his having been the first colored citizen in the United States to cast a vote under the 15th amendment, with addresses by Hon. William Paterson and others, Perth Amboy, N.J.

The Middlesex County Democrat Print,

Reprinted 1935, H. E. Pickersgill, Perth Amboy, N.J.

On the inside of the south wall of St. Peter's Church a visitor will note a bronze tablet with the words:

In memory of Thomas Peterson, first Negro voter of the United States under the 15th amendment at an election held in this city March 31, 1870.

His body rests in the southern portion of the churchyard. Erected by the Negro History Club of Perth Amboy March 10, 1940.

A newspaper clipping in the possession of Mrs. Johannes Garretson Koyen (without date) reports an interview with Thomas date) reports an interview with Peterson: "I was working for Mr. J. L. Kearny on the morning of the day of election, and did not think of voting until he came out to the stable where I was attending to the horses and advised me to go to the polls and exercise a citizen's privilege * * *. When I went home to dinner at noon I met Mr. Marcus Spring of Eagleswood, a place about a mile out of town, and he, too, advised me to claim the right of suffrage at the polls.

"The question at stake that day was not a party issue but rested upon the adoption of a new charter. A desire had arisen on the part of some people of the town for a revised charter, while others wished to surrender the charter altogether and revert to a township government. As I advanced to the polls one man offered me a ticket bearing the words 'revised charter' and another one marked, 'no charter.' I thought I would not vote to give up our charter after holding it so long; so I chose a revised char-

"Our side won the election by a vote of 230 to 63 and I may mention as a coincidence that I was afterward appointed one of a committee of seven to revise the charter.'

The article goes on to state that "Peterson was born in Metuchen, N.J. His father was Thomas Peterson. His mother's name was Lucy Green. The former came from free parents, but the latter's parents had been slaves in Governor Newell's family; in Monmouth County. When 4 years old, his father moved to Perth Amboy. On February 10, 1844 he was married to Daphne Reeve whose

family had been slaves on the Bell estate in Perth Amboy.

Peterson's statement continued. "For 7 ears I was employed by the city as janitor of the public school, and last year I was a delegate to the Republican county convention." Thomas Peterson was janitor of School No. 1 in 1870-77. The medal described in this history was presented to Peterson on May 30, 1884. In the above newspaper report and interview there is no mention of the medal. It is safe to state that the date of the newspaper article is between 1877 and 1884.

Thomas Peterson's grandson Alfonso, lives in Rahway, N.J., with his wife and 11-year-old daughter, Althea. He was born in Perth

Amboy.

It has long been a matter of St. Peter's Church history that Thomas Peterson was buried in St. Peter's Churchyard, but the exact location was not known. Reverend William H. Watson and this writer recently located Mr. Peterson's grave beside the grave of his wife. In August 1959 the church collected a special fund and placed a large stone:

Here lies the body of Thomas Mundy Peterson, first Negro voter in the United States under the 15th amendment at an election held in Perth Amboy, March 31, 1870. Member of a committee to revise the city

charter, born October 6, 1824; died February 4. 1904.

His wife, Daphne Reeve Peterson, born October 2, 1820, died November 23, 1891.

Note.-William A. Newell was Governor It was his ancestors who owned

Daphne Reeve's slave ancestors. When Mr. Peterson went to church or to any other gathering of people he wore his medal. After Mr. Peterson's death the medal was owned by Judge Harold Pickersgill. Later the Rev. George H. Boyd tried to buy it for St. Peter's Church and offered to pay a good price for it. The new owner refused to sell it to the church. It was sold at auction in New York. It was finally sold to Xavier University in New Orleans and is in the University Museum. Xavier is a Negro Catholic institution. If Perth Amboy could not have the medal it is good to know that it is in a Negro institution, but it should be in Peterson's hometown. Thomas Peterson's

granddaughter, Mrs. Helen H. Ewing lives in New York, 2042 Madison Avenue, St. Peter's Church, Very Rev. Dr. George H. Boyd, Rector; Rev. William H. Watson, As-

Program: November 1, 1959-4:00 p.m., in memory of Thomas Peterson (1824-1904). first Negro voter in America, and the dedication of the churchyard stone marking his

Organ prelude, Joseph W. Sheldon, A.G.O. Hymn: (2d tune), No. 126. Crucifer, Samuel Hazell.

Acolytes: Elnando Bryson, Roger Chestnut, James Baker, and George Carty.

Ushers: Anguilla Society members, Choirs: St. Augustine's Church (Eliza-beth), St. James A.M.E. Church (Perth Am-

boy).
Prayers: The Lord's Prayer, Prayer for World Peace, Prayer for Brotherhood, Prayer for Faith.

Address, The Honorable James J. Flynn, Jr., mayor of the city of Perth Amboy.

Address, William C. McGinnis, Ph. D., his-

Recessional to churchyard (the congrega-

tion will follow the choirs).
At the grave of Thomas Peterson: Address, Henry Wade, president, Perth Amboy Chapter, NAACP.

Placing of wreath.

Dedication of memorial stone, The Rev. Junius Carter, Rector, St. Augustine's Church, Elizabeth, N.J.

National Anthem.

NAACP, PERTH AMBOY BRANCH

For many years the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People has worked for the betterment of Negroes throughout the United States. Several white people are members of the Perth Amboy NAACP. The officers of the local organization are:

Henry M. Wade, president; Mrs. Mary E. Wilson, secretary; Mrs. Leola M. Wood, assistant secretary; Mrs. Geneva Miller, treasurer; Kenneth F. Wood, executive, board chairman; Ira Wilson, program chairman; Mrs. Leola M. Wood, youth adviser; Aldan D. Markson, legislature chairman; Rev. Herbert M. Martin, housing chairman; William Morton, labor chairman; Herbert Richardson, educational chairman; Patrolman James Hodge, publicity chairman; Mrs. Hilda Hodge, freedom fund chairman; David Mandel, legal redress chairman; Elsie Gibbs, community coordination chairman; Alston Smith, life membership chairman.

Mrs. Mollie Chapman recalls that there were some families of ex-slaves that migrated to Perth Amboy from Nova Scotia by way of Harriet Tubman's underground railroad. They were the Lawrences, the Stillwells, and the Woolseys. Mollie's grandmother was Jane Lawrence, one of the aforementioned ex-slaves. Her father, Samuel Lawrence—born in 1846 in Perth Amboy—made a living in the then prosperous oyster industry in this city. Evidently, he met with some measure of success which enabled him to purchase a tract of land where the St. James A.M.E. Zion Church now stands. Othese families, Mrs. Chapman and her brother, Warren R. Lawrence, of Hoboken, N.J., are the only survivors.

Around the turn of the century, there came an influx of immigrants from the West Indies and migrants from the South. The circumstances that led these people to Perth Amboy are many and varied. The West Indian, by nature, is a man of the sea. Around this time the Barber Asphalt Co. owned and operated a fleet of ships between Perth Amboy and Trinidad. These were the prepassport days, so we can see how it was possible for certain of these men to make a one-way trip, terminating in Perth Amboy. Among the first of these were William Arthur Gumbs, D. Gumbs, and Joseph Hodge. These men are still local residents.

The growing Negro population presented the same problems of community life that confronted other ethnic groups. The Negro, by nature, is a God-fearing individual, and it had to be that one of his foremost desires was to have a place of worship of his own.

D.R.C.'S

The D.R.C.'s is an organization that came directly from the church. The group was organized in 1911 as the Dress Reform Convention, and carried the name "D.R.C.'s." In 1935 this was changed to Daughters of Race Culture. The organization is a benevolent as well as a social club. In both World Wars I and II, they bought war bonds and donated their services to the hospital. The club affiliated with the New Jersey State Federation of Colored Women's Club in 1923, and is the second oldest club in the federation. The purpose of the federation is work and serve, and the motto, "Lift and Climb." The federation is affiliated with the National Association of Colored Women, the National Council of Women in the United States, and the International Council of Women.

The "D.R.C.'s" is the oldest Negro club in Perth Amboy, having been organized for 46 years. At its 46th anniversary celebration 8 of the 12 members received awards for 25 years of service in the Federation.

Dr. Edward Swift was the first Negro doctor in Perth Amboy, and Mrs. Rosetta H. Dove was the first Negro social worker. Both of these persons saw the need to in-

stall in the youth of that day, a sense of race pride through an understanding of racial heritage and awaken latent creative abilities.

Dr. Swift conducted an opportunity class at the St. James A.M.E. Zion Church and formed two clubs "the Fraternity Boys" and the "Sorority Girls." Mrs. Dove, through her affiliation with St. Peter's Episcopal Church, strove to accomplish the same goals. She established courses in dramatics, handicrafts, and engaged in numerous community projects.

Here are some of Perth Amboy Negro firsts: First nurse, Placid Jean Dove (Parker); 1945, first teacher, Herbert Richardson; 1947, first policeman, Walter Gibson; 1948, first postal employee, Joseph Raysor; 1958, first paid fireman, George Hodge.

SONS AND DAUGHTERS OF ANGUILLA

The Sons and Daughters of Anguilla, British West Indies, was organized in the fall of 1921 by the late Nerlah Richardson. The society was granted a charter on September 7, 1922. Elected to office were: Charles B. Richardson, president; Nerlah Richardson, vice president; Charles W. Gumbs, secretary; Sydney Nurse, treasurer.

The group is composed of all people who are descendants of Anguillians and their husbands and wives. The purpose of the organization is to strengthen the bond between the people of Anguilla and their descendants now residing in the United States. During the winter of 1923, some of the members moved to New York where a sister organization, the Anguillian Benevolent Society was formed. In 1945, the society purchased property at 178-180 Chauncey Street. It consists of two apartments and hall known as "the Carribean Hall." At the present time, there is a membership of over 50 financial members.

Looking Ahead to the Golden Years

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. ALEXANDER WILEY

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, May 24, 1960

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, throughout history, aging has been defined variously as:

Age does not depend upon years, but upon temperament and youth. Some men are born old and some never grow so—Tyron Edwards.

In our revolutionary time, the average lifetime has been extended to 70 years and many living to be 100 and more.

The Nation, I believe, will need to take a new look at its thinking and policies in relation to our growing ranks of senior citizens, now estimated to be over 15 million. Among these people is a great resource of experience, knowledge, understanding and, yes, in many a willingness and ability to continue our lifetime works and do a good job. In many areas of employment, retirement is required at 65 years. Currently, there is effort to further reduce this retirement age.

The big question confronting the Nation is, then, how will these people occupy the next 10 to 30 years of their lives? For those who wish to retire, there should be an opportunity to enjoy the fruits of life. However, retirement

brings along with it the need for a series of economic and social adjustments.

Recently, the National Association of Retired Civil Employees—in its publication, Once in a Lifetime—published a "Senior Citizens Bill of Rights."

Recognizing that a creative effort is needed to provide a bright outlook for the more than 15 million citizens in the over-65 bracket, I ask unanimous consent to have this bill of rights—reflecting light upon the challenges in this field—printed in the Appendix of the Record.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SENIOR CITIZENS BILL OF RIGHTS

Each of our Senior Citizens, regardless of race, color, or creed, is entitled to:

1. The right to an opportunity to continue to be useful.

2. The right to an equal opportunity to obtain employment based on merit, not birthdays.

3. The right to freedom from the spectre of want in old age and burial in a pauper's

4. The right to a fair share of the community's recreational, educational, and medical resources.

5. The right to obtain decent housing suited to the needs of later years.

The right to the respect of the community, based on service to the community.
 The right to the support of one's fam-

The right to the support of one's family to an extent consonant with the best interest of the family.

8. The right to live independently, as one chooses.

9. The right to live with dignity as a free human being unfettered by antiquated concepts of the "proper role of old people."

10. The right of access to all available knowledge on how to make the later years happy years.

Relations Between the White and Colored People of the South

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. IRIS FAIRCLOTH BLITCH

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 24, 1960

Mrs. BLITCH. Mr. Speaker, the following resolution was adopted by the Charlton County Grand Jury and I would like to have it included in the Congressional Record for the benefit of the Members of Congress:

Be it hereby resolved by this group in official duty as the Grand Jury of Charlton County, Ga., that we do deplore the deterioration of the relations between the white and colored races, a deterioration which has set in since the 1954 decision by the Supreme Court of the United States, stating that separate but equal school facilities are not adequate for providing sufficiently for the colored race from an opportunity standpoint. A court decision which in effect reversed the U.S. Supreme Court, in an opinion that has been held for over 70 years previous to 1954.

We do deplore the forces from outside our county and from outside the State that have through promotion of discord, strife, and agitation built up this degree of de-

terioration of harmony and well-being that existed between the white and colored races prior to these agitations and promotions of strife

The relations between the white and colored people of the South for the past 100 years at large have been on a better basis than anywhere else in the world, in its entire history.

It is clear to us that separate but equal facilities for the white and colored races is the best way to carry on harmony and good will between the races, when especially there are as large a number of both two races as exist in the South today.

We unanimously and vehemently agree that separate but equal school facilities are that which we will be willing to support.

We recommend that a copy of this resolution be sent to Hon. John Sibley, chairman, Legislative Study Group, Atlanta, Ga.; Hon. Ernest Vandiver, Governor of Georgia; Sena-tors Richard B. Russell and Herman Talmadge, Washington, D.C.; and Congresswoman Iris Faircloth Blitch, Washington, D.C., and the attorney general, Eugene Cook, Atlanta, Ga.

We stand, united for segregation and/or separation of the races.

Disarmament and the Summit

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Tuesday, May 24, 1960

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, on May 5, I was privileged to address faculty and students of Bethany College, Bethany, W. Va., on the subject of disarmament. I ask unanimous consent that my address be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

DISARMAMENT AND THE SUMMIT—BETHANY COLLEGE, WEST VIRGINIA, MAY 5

Only 11 days from now President Elsenhower, Chairman Khrushchev, Prime Min-ister Macmillan, and President de Gaulle will begin the summit meeting at Geneva.

I have no crystal ball, and I will not attempt to prophesy what the outcome will be. I do know what I hope President Eisenhower will work for, with all the influence and Persuasive power he and I mean he, and not any stand-in-can bring to bear.

I hope that he will propose that disarmament and arms control will be put at the very top of the agenda, and that the other three leaders will agree.

I know that armaments and political tensions among nations feed upon one another. I know that many students of international affairs maintain that you cannot make any progress on one without the other.

I cannot agree to that. It reminds me of the law that some town passed about the crossing of two railroad lines: "When two trains meet at the crossing, neither shall proceed before the other."

I think that, for the time being, we and the Soviet Union shall have to agree to disagree about Berlin—and, indeed, about the two Germanies, and all the other political problems that clutter the international

The Russians have given no indication that they are, in the field of political problems, ready to stop propagandizing and begin serious negotiation. That does not mean that we should forget these problems, or condensate the serious and the serious negotiation. or condone them.

It does mean, however, that our immediate major effort should be in disarmament, where the Russians seem in a mood to "talk There are obvious reasons for this. The Russians have come to recognize that the armaments race threatens both sides of the Iron Curtain with mutual annihilation. Moreover-as the recent news of strikes and riots among Soviet workers emphasizes—the men in the Kremlin have compelling domestic reasons for wanting to beat some of their swords into ploughshares.

Indeed, I noted over a year ago-on my return from my visit to the Soviet Unionthat Chairman Khrushchev needed peace. I predicted even then that he would launch a big push for disarmament. We should have

been ready, but we weren't.

There are two major steps toward disarmament that can and should be taken at the summit meeting. One of these is to resolve the major obstacle standing in the way of a nuclear test ban agreement. second is to lay down general directives for the future course of the current 10nation disarmament talks.

Because time does not permit, I shall not describe the test ban treaty in detail. Agreement on some important points has been

reached; on others it has not.

I believe, however, that it is fair to say that the major obstacle to agreement is the dispute over the number of veto-free, onsite inspections that shall be permitted in the Soviet Union each year.

Like so much in this complex question of disarmament, this is a highly technical question. I shall explain it as best I can.

If the treaty is agreed upon, control posts would be set up within the Soviet Union as elsewhere in the world-to monitor shocks to the earth's surface.

Up to a certain number of times each an international inspection team should have the right, free of veto, to make onsite investigations on an event registered at the control posts which could not be identified as an earthquake.

The U.S. position is that at least 20 inspections a year would be needed in the Soviet Union to check for possible prohibited explosions. I fully support that position, Indeed, I have publicly warned the Soviet leaders that no treaty which provides for less than 20 would command the two-thirds majority in the Senate needed for its ratification.

I know the traditional Russian bent for secrecy-a bent long preceding Soviet assession to power. But I hope they will recognize that this is a modest and reasonable adjustment to make.

The achievement of a test-ban agreement at the summit—or, to be more realistic, the removal of this major obstacle—would sound trumpet of hope for troubled and fearful

Such hopes, however, would be cruelly disappointed if the summit conference stopped there-and did not make a real effort to get the 10-nation disarmament talks off the dead center where they are currently

The problem is that the great powers each want to ride off in a difference direction and therefore are getting nowhere. If the summit conference can decide on the direction of the next steps in these negotiations, even in very general terms, it would be most helpful.

Meanwhile, there is a lot of urgent homework that we need to do. We need to know much more about controls before we can seriously negotiate them. We cannot expect the Soviets to do this work for us. They are allergic to controls, and will accept as little as they can. Asking them to develop controls is like expecting a man condemned to be hanged to make his own rope.

I have been warning for many months that we are not prepared for serious negotiation on controls. At long last, the Department

of State itself has acknowledged this fact. Here is a quotation from the testimony of Mr. Raymond Hare, the Deputy Under Secretary of State, before the House Appropriations Committee:

"In reviewing our approach to disarmament, it was further found that the most serious deficiency in the U.S. approach has been the lack of adequate planning and studies in the field of disarmament."

At long last, too, there are reports of a possible upgrading of the Office of Disarmament within the Department of State. That is good as far as it goes-but it doesn't go nearly far enough. It comes late—I don't say "too late"—and it is certainly too little.

What we really need—as the Senate Disarmament Committee proposed as long ago as September 1957—is a special agency devoted to the single and comprehensive problem of disarmament—a sort of "Manhattan Project for Peace."

Early in February I introduced legislation to establish a National Peace Agency. It should have the services of some of the ablest and most dedicated people in the country. It should have authority to coordinate the many different projects in the general disarmament field which are presently splintered among the Department of Defense, the Atomic Energy Commission, the Central Intelligence Agency, and the Department of

Its single, overriding assignment should be to find a way to end the arms race. In the existing agencies, this is at best a parttime or occasional assignment. Then, too, there is a built-in contradiction in expecting any Department of Defense to give wholehearted enthusiasm to limiting armaments—or any Atomic Energy Commission to show as much zeal for curtailing atom bombs as for developing more effective and

The Department of State would continue, of coures, to carry on disarmament negotiations-and I have introduced legislation to upgrade this function by establishing an Assistant Secretary of State for Disarmament and Atomic Energy Affairs.

The quest for safeguarded disarmament must be at the heart and center of American foreign policy. It must be placed as far as possible within the framework of the United Nations because disarmament is a concern of all countries, and not only of the great powers. By making our statements on disarmament in the forum of the United Nations we can-if our case is sound-rally behind it the moral force and the conscience of mankind.

We have a better than even chance making the last four decades of the 20th century decades of peace. And if we can keep peace for the next 40 years, there is real hope that the habit may take hold for good.

Postal Workers Need Raise

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JIM WRIGHT

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, May 24, 1960

Mr. WRIGHT. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I am including a letter written by a friend of mine and published in the Fort Worth Star Telegram of recent date.

The letter deals appropriately with the need for an increase in pay for the postal workers throughout the country.

During the past 11 years, nongovernmental wage earners performing work

requiring skills commensurate to those employed in the postal service have received increases averaging a total of 68 cents more per hour.

Postal and other governmental employees have found it increasingly difficult to cope with the rising cost of living while nongovernmental workers in similar activities have gained buying power averaging approximately \$1,-424.80 per year more than the modest gains enjoyed by the postal employees.

For these reasons, it has grown ever more difficult to recruit the type of people we need in the postal service and ever more difficult to hold the services of those dedicated public servants presently engaged in this vital activity. The letter follows:

POSTAL WORKERS NEED RAISE

Representative James H. Morrison and 50 other Members of the Congress introduced H.R. 9883 which provides for a reasonable salary raise for postal workers. The fact that such a large number of Congressmen are sponsoring this bill indicates how popular such legislation is in this Congress.

Industrial workers have received many wage hikes since postal people got their last raise in 1958. Postal pay wage scales have always lagged far below those of union paychecks. Processing the mail for fastest delivery requires great skill and constant study.

There is widespread demand for the passage of H.R. 9883 as the average postal transport worker family needs a salary of \$6,500 per year to maintain a decent standard of living. If H.R. 9883 is passed, postal pay (level 4) will still be 46 cents per hour lower than that of the steelworkers. Every time the postal employees ask for a salary raise someone yells inflation. Higher wages may not cause inflation as the cost of living increased during last September while the steelworkers were sitting on their hands during the steel strike. A pay raise is needed to elevate the sagging morale of postal clerks as a large percentage of them work at other part-time jobs to make a liv-ing for their families. If they could get a living wage for 40 hours per week it would be possible for them to do more work in processing the mail, although production has increased much faster than costs in the last decade. Improved mail service would come with higher morale of the postal workers with higher pay scale.

A high Government official recently stated that we have a great wave of prosperity sweeping over the country. With the passage of H.R. 9883 postal workers may be able to enjoy some of this prosperity. This would help the national economy and help prevent a recession.

Herbert B. Barrier, Secretary, Fort Worth Branch, National Postal Transport Association.

Mandatory Capital Punishment in District of Columbia Should Be Eliminated

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. KENNETH B. KEATING

OF NEW YORK

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, May 24, 1960

Mr. KEATING. Mr. President, the Washington Post recently published a very informative series of articles by

Milton Viorst concerning the mandatory death provisions of the District of Columbia Criminal Code. The articles summarize the proposals which have been made to soften the rigors of the present code. They make the point, which is often overlooked, that the harsh provisions of the present law actually serve to defeat justice and have not reduced the homicide rate in the District.

There is widespread agreement that the mandatory death penalty should be eliminated. The principal proposals which have been advanced would preserve the death penalty in first degree murder cases, but make its imposition a matter of judgment in each case. In short, an opportunity for the exercise of discretion would be allowed before the defendant was sentenced to death.

The bill I have introduced on this subject (S. 2083) would retain the death penalty unless the jury recommended life imprisonment and the judge concurred in the recommendation. I prefer this language to that advanced by the Judicial Conference, under which, in effect, the penalty would be life imprisonment unless the jury recommended and the judge concurred in a sentence of death. However, either proposal would effectively achieve the most important objective of reform in this area, the elimination of the automatic death sentence. Personally, I am much more concerned about accomplishing this objective than about the exact language of the new provision. And I hope that Congress will not let differences over the language of either of the pending bills obstruct a solution of the problem.

Mr. President, the Washington Post has contributed a great deal to an understanding of this issue by the publication of these articles. I commend this series to the attention of all Members and ask unanimous consent that the articles be printed in the Appendix of the Record.

There being no objection, the articles were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Washington Post, May 16, 1960]
PUNISHMENT OF MURDER IN THE FIRST DE-GREE—DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA CODE IS ONLY AMERICAN LAW REQUIRING DEATH

(By Milton Viorst)

"The punishment of murder in the first degree shall be death by electrocution."—District of Columbia Code.

This is the District's unequivocal law that requires the death penalty in all first-degree murder convictions.

It is the only code under the American flag that allows neither judge nor jury discretion in capital punishment sentences.

Senator Kenneth B. Keating, Republican, of New York, has called this demand barbaric. He has said it is an "anachronism in the law." One after another, the States have eliminated it, but in the District it has hung on and on.

"This is not because people of the District of Columbia are more bloodthirsty," Keating said, "or less concerned about humanizing justice than the people of the rest of the country.

"I believe it is simply because Congress cannot give the affairs and problems of the District of Columbia the attention which they would receive from a locally elected legislative body.

URGED HOME RULE

"These obsolete provisions of the District of Columbia Criminal Code would long ago have been moderated and it would not be necessary for Congress to turn its attention to this problem at all if the people of the District enjoyed home rule," he said.

First-degree murder must possess an element of premeditation or must have been committed in the course of another felony. But juries differ on what constitutes premeditation, and judicial decisions have not thrown much light on the question.

KEATING himself has introduced a bill to make the death penalty discretionary.

It provides that a convicted murderer be sentenced to death unless the trial jury recommends life imprisonment. The judge can, however, override the jury and impose execution.

Modeled after the New York law, the Keating bill is being considered by a District subcommittee composed of Senators Vance Hartke, Democrat, of Indiana; Francis Case, Republican, of South Dakota; and J. Allen Frear Jr., Democrat, of Delaware.

The bill preferred by the Judicial Conference, the organization representing the District's lawyers and judges, reverses the New York procedure.

Introduced in the House by Representative John L. McMilan, Democrat, of South Carolina, chairman of the District Committee, it provides for life imprisonment as the standard penalty unless the jury recommends death. The judge can reject an execution recommendation, however, and impose a life sentence.

The Keating version would require an affirmative act by the jury to spare a life. The McMillan bill would make the jury declare affirmatively to take a life.

affirmatively to take a life.

Judge E. Barrett Prettyman, chief judge of the court of appeals, thinks a death sentence should be made on a positive decision. He would not allow a jury to escape its responsibility by deferring to a statute in the criminal code.

Both bills, however, take the automatic element out of the present law and give judge and jury the chance to examine each case in terms of a human being and the crime he has committed.

Whichever version may appeal to Congress, few disagree that a change is needed.

"It is obvious to me," Keating testified at a Senate hearing on his bill recently, "that we canot do justice in any case without an opportunity to weigh all of the mitigating as well as aggravating circumstances connected with a crime before determining an appropriate punishment.

OPPOSES ABOLITION

"I do not advocate abolition of capital punishment. In fact, I would be opposed to such a measure.

"But I certainly believe that it is barbaric to force imposition of the supreme penalty on any human being without an opportunity for the exercise of judgment and discretion"

Keating says he anticipates resistance to repeal of the law from only two sources—those who oppose capital punishment, no matter what the circumstances, and those who feel no other punishment is suitable for a murderer.

A hard corps of professional defense attorneys might also raise some questions. Kearing said. He added:

"A few defense lawyers * * see some tactical advantage in confronting a jury with a stark choice between completely freeing a defendant or sentencing him to death * * I hope we will not be influenced by attempts to convert criminal cases into a gamble in which the stakes are death and the payoff is acquittal.

"We have long since abandoned the ap" proach to law as a game of wits."

[From the Washington Post, May 17, 1960] PUNISHMENT OF MURDER IN THE FIRST DE-GREE-II: DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA HAS ONE OF NATION'S HIGHEST HOMICIDE RATES

(By Milton Viorst)

An average of 70 homicides are committed in the District of Columbia every year, giving the city one of the highest homicide rates in the Nation.

But despite the mandatory death penalty under District law for first degree murder, only one man has been electrocuted in the

Relatively few homicides become first degree cases. But in the last 7 years, 121 defendants have been indicted for murder in the first degree.

From 1940 to 1950, 18 persons died in the District's electric chair. In the 1930's, 19 persons were electrocuted and in the 1920's, the District executed 13.

In the last decade, the death penalty virtually passed from use.

Legally, the presence of premeditation or deliberation distinguishes first-degree murder from other forms of homicide-unless the murder is associated with another felony.

But juries have been notorious in ignoring the premeditation factor, making of first-

degree cases what they chose.

The U.S. attorney's office boasts a conviction rate of 78 percent on overall criminal prosecutions. Of these convictions, 84 percent have been affirmed on appeal.

But of the 121 first-degree murder indictments, juries have returned verdicts of guilty

only 13 times.

Of the 13 convicted murderers, 1 man was electrocuted.

The sentence of one was commuted to life imprisonment by the President. Three cases are on appeal. Eight of the convicted persons are either at St. Elizabeths, or free on legal technicalities or serving jail terms for lesser offenses.

Results of the other 103 cases follow:

Twenty-four guilty of second degree murder by jury verdict.

Seventeen guilty of second degree murder by plea.

Eleven guilty of manslaughter by jury verdict.

Eighteen guilty of manslaughter by plea. Eleven found incompetent to stand trial. Six acquitted by jury verdict.

Two acquitted by direction of judge.

Eleven acquitted by reason of insanity.

Eight dismissals.

Clearly, juries in the 1950's did not want to send men to death. Statistics demonstrate this is true throughout the Nation and the Western World. Hanging juries are no longer the rule.

Some speculate that jurymen, as well as Judges, have learned from modern psychiatry that behind a felon's guilt lies a com-

plexity of psychological factors.

Others attribute it to the advance of civili-Zation, to prosperity, to society's growing sense of security, to cyclical fluctuations in human attitudes or to the threat of nuclear annihilation.

Whatever the cause, it is clear that jurors in the District of Columbia would rather convict defendants of second-degree murder or manslaughter than of murder in the first

Legislation pending before Congress would replace the automatic death penalty for firstdegree murder with a law to make its use discretionary. It would change the law to suit the practice.

"Under our mandatory death provisions for first-degree murder, it is especially difficult to achieve a first-degree conviction," U.S. Attorney Oliver Gasch has said.

"If juries were given the opportunity to exercise their discretion with reference to the death penalty, juries would be more likely

to follow the instructions of the court and return first-degree verdicts," he said.

Gasch acknowledges that District juries

have, in many cases, faced the responsibilities of the death penalty with fortitude. But more often, they have been reluctant to take human life.

"Permissible rather than mandatory capital punishment," he has said, "may well be the answer.'

[From the Washington Post, May 18, 1960] PUNISHMENT OF MURDER IN THE FIRST DE-GREE-III: OFFICIALS CLAIM MANDATORY DEATH BLOCKS JUSTICE

(By Milton Viorst)

The men who administer justice in the District of Columbia claim the mandatory death penalty for first degree murder obstructs justice.

Their reasons for requesting a discretionary rather than a mandatory death sentence are not emotional.

Some may oppose capital punishment, but no serious abolition movement exists here. If it did, there is no discernible sign that it would be supported in Congress.

Officials are motivated by the hard, practical considerations of law enforcement. They favor the legislation pending before Congress that would eliminate the automatic nature of the death penalty in first degree convictions.

Oliver Gasch, U.S. attorney for the District of Columbia, explains that the district court of appeals scrutinizes every last technicality of a capital punishment case-far more minutely than any other appeal.

A minor error of jurisprudence that has no bearing on substance would be overlooked in another case but becomes sufficient reason for ordering retrial in a capital punishment case, Gasch said.

The result is a string of retrials and interminable delays in the administration of justice.

A check of the criminal docket shows the following history of the recent first degree murder convictions:

Willie Lee Stewart, indicted in 1953 for the heldup killing of a grocer, three trials, case now before the Supreme Court,

Robert E. Carter, indicted in 1953 for killing an off-duty policeman, case affirmed on two appeals, executed 1957.

Clarence E. Watson, indicted in 1953 for bludgeoning a 45-year-old secretary to death during a rape attempt, three trials, case dismissed in 1957, defendant now serving time on an associated charge.

Lawrence E. Kitchen, indicted in 1951 for killing a 73-year-old man in a drinking bout, convicted of second degree murder in 1954, serving jail term.

Everett D. Green, indicted in 1953, for the arson death of an 83-year-old woman, two trials, freed on decision of the Supreme

Russell E. Carter, indicted in 1955, for killing a 15-year-old girl during a housebreak-ing case dismissed after the conviction was set aside, sent to St. Elizabeths on civil commitment in 1957.

Grover L. Isaac, indicted in 1955, for killing a 6-year-old boy after an argument with the boy's mother, two trials, found not guilty by reason of insanity in 1960.

Eugene Bailey, indicted in 1956 for killing his wife, one trial, verdict affirmed on appeal but commuted to life imprisonment by the President in 1958.

James J. Clark, indicted in 1957 for shooting a friend to death after an argument, two trials, third trial set for June 14, 1960.

Comer Blocker, indicted in 1957 for the shotgun slaying of a woman friend, two trials, case now before the court of appeals.

Malcolm E. Williams, indicted in 1957 for stabbing his 5-year-old daughter to death, jury verdict set aside by judge by reason of insanity in 1958.

Willie Jones, indicted in 1958 for killing a man who was visiting his estranged wife, one trial, case now before the court of appeals.

Frank B. Wilson, indicted in 1959 for shooting to death his former girl friend, two trials, found guilty of second degree murder in 1960.

The years these cases required is a contradiction of the Anglo-Saxon concept that justice be speedy, Gasch contends.

He also is disturbed because convictions are more difficult to obtain in each succeeding retrial. Witnesses die, disappear or forget details of what they saw. Juries are less moved by repeated accounts of offenses long past.

Gasch said killers frequently would plead guilty in return for a life sentence. But in the District, a guilty plea in a first-degree murder case is unacceptable because it would be tantamount to judicial suicide.

The trial of a patently guilty murderer thus becomes not a contest to determine guilt or innocence but a simple fight for life.

Death sentences are appealed automatically because a defendant has nothing to lose. But some killers would take life imprisonment without appealing, rather than risk a death sentence on a retrial.

In Great Britain, Gasch said, the law submits a man to only one trial for his life. Convictions are rarely overthrown on technicalities, but if an appeal is sustained, the defendant is freed. Otherwise, the executioner acts swiftly.

"I feel that expeditious disposition of criminal cases should be a major concern in our desire to afford the public the best possible protection from the criminal element," Gasch stated recently.

"By doing so, the law will become and remain a more effective means for deterring

[From the Washington Post, May 19, 1960] PUNISHMENT OF MURDER IN THE FIRST DE-GREE-IV; CONGRESS STUDIES BILLS TO END MANDATORY DEATH

(By Milton Viorst)

Committees in the House and Senate are studying bills to abolish the District's mandatory death penalty for first degree murder.

The principle is not seriously challenged. Few persons deny that the death penalty should be discretionary and not automatic. The District is the last jurisdiction in the land with mandatory execution for first degree murder.

A wide divergence of opinion exists, however, on the best judicial procedure to re-place it. Bills are under scrutiny now by House and Senate District subcommittees.

The House bill says the sentence for first degree murder will be life imprisonment unless the trial jury recommends death. If execution is recommended, the judge must hold a hearing and affirm the recommendation or remit the sentence to life.

This plan was recommended by a vote of 89 to 8 by the lawyers, prosecutors and judges of the District's Judicial Conference who deal in the everyday business of administering the law.

It was introduced in the House by Representative John L. McMillan, Democrat of South Carolina, chairman of the House District Committee, and received a hearing last week before a subcommittee headed by Representative Thomas G. ABERNETHY, Democrat of Mississippi.

A bill proposed by Senator Kennerh B. KEATING, Republican of New York, in the Senate provides that the penalty for first degree murder shall be execution unless the trial jury recommends life imprisonment. The judge can, however, override the jury and impose the death sentence.

The essential difference between the two is that in the Judicial Conference bill, either judge or jury can spare a man's life. In the Keating bill, only the jury can make this decision.

Another difference is that a convicted murderer could be considered for parole under the Keating bill after 15 years, and under the Judicial Conference bill after 20 years.

KEATING has indicated that he is not wedded to the language of his bill and would accept any reasonable measure that would do away with the mandatory provision.

The Senate District Subcommittee considering the bill favors the Judicial Conference version, which it also has examined. Senator Vance Hartke, Democrat, of Indiana, chairman, expects to report the substance of the House bill under Keating's name, by a 2 to 1 majority, in the near future.

No one is quite sure how either bill would

work in practice.

Some say the effects would be identical. Others say the psychology of either plan—one making an exception of the death penalty, the other of life imprisonment—would have a profound effect on jury deliberations.

Although the States have a wide variety of death penalty laws, experience does not show that any one of them would necessarily be the most suitable for the District of Columbia.

More than the usual concern about procedural technicalities is being shown because of the District's special position.

"Whatever is going to be made the law in the District of Columbia," ABERNETHY said at the hearing, "will be held out as an example and there will be a clamor for it in other jurisdictions."

ABERNETHY expressed some concern about empowering the judge to override the death penalty. In Mississippi, ABERNETHY'S home

State, the jury's word is final.

Gasch, who strongly favors the Judicial Conference bill, replies that the jury represents the conscience of the community, but the judge is the voice of experience who also would have access to background information the jury didn't.

A few oppose any technique which divides the responsibility for sentencing. Some favor giving the jury the job. Others—and Senator J. Allen Frear, Jr., Democrat, Delaware, a member of the District Committee, is believed among them—insist this is the judge's traditional role in Anglo-Saxon law.

Legal principles aside, some suggest the Judicial Conference bill leaves the way open to procedural appeals. A required hearing, they say, may be a source of countless legal errors. The bar association proposes making the hearing optional. Others would do away with it altogether.

Judge E. Barrett Prettyman, chief judge of the District Court of Appeals, has testified that in effect he can see no difference between the two principal bills. The important thing, he contends, is that a bill be passed.

Senator Dodd a Prophet

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. DONALD J. IRWIN

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 24, 1960

Mr. IRWIN. Mr. Speaker, a year ago when Russian Premier Khrushchev was invited to visit this country, Senator Thomas J. Dodd, of Connecticut, warned that Khrushchev would not allow our President to return the call, that the Soviet Premier could scarcely do so for it would dispel the false image of our

Nation's leader which has been drawn by communistic propagandists. While Khrushchev was touring our country with his soft selling, the Senator's warning seemed remote. Particularly after the Camp David conference did it seem unlikely that what the Senator envisioned was to become a reality. But now it has become a reality. And this was underscored when Khrushchev let us know that his decision to withdraw the invitation to our President to visit Russia was no abrupt change in intention but that even at Camp David the invitation was a mockery. Under permission previously granted, I include the following editorial from the Bridgeport Post which salutes Senator Dodd for his prophetic warning of last year:

[From the Bridgeport Post, May 18, 1960] SENATOR DODD A PROPHET

Last year when there was much talk about Premier Khrushchev's visit to the United States upon official White House invitation, Senator Thomas J. Dodo attacked the idea with some degree of violence.

The Connecticut Senator made a denunciatory speech on the floor of the Senate which appeared in virtually every newspaper in the United States. He could not see one single reason for the Communist ruler's visit, as a guest, actually, of the American people. He predicted then that Khrushchev would never permit a return visit by President Eisenhower.

This week in the Senate he repeated his earlier statement. He proved to be a prophet, having said Khrushchev knew that Ike's visit would threaten his control over people he holds under subjection. "He knew it would threaten as well, control over the millions of people he holds in confinement in the captive nations. He could never permit President Eisenhower with his frankness and his honesty and his captivating personality, the opportunity to talk to the Russian people who are held in thralldom by the evil dictatorship of the Soviet Union."

We agree fully with Senator Dopp, that the President should not feel in the least embarassed over withdrawal of the invitation.

Ike can come home to the American people and to his free friends in the world, the Senator continued, and we will receive him well. His only fault is that he trusted the evil man too much, but he did so with all good intentions for our country.

What disturbs Senator Dopp the most, at this time, is Khrushchev's sorry spectacle of trying to lecture Ike on morality. That he called "a new all-time low." He hopes, however, that it will awaken the American people to an understanding of what Khrushchev really is, "a bloody butcher lecturing a fine human being, President Eisenhower, whom every man and woman in the world recognizes to be such, on the subject of morality."

Statement by Former Democratic National Chairman James A. Farley on Adlai Stevenson's Speech on Summit Negotiations

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. HUGH SCOTT

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, May 24, 1960

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in

the Appendix of the Record the following full text of statement released by former Democratic Chairman Farley, New York, May 21, 1960, on Adlai Stevenson's speech attacking President Eisenhower's conduct of the summit negotiations.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the

RECORD, as follows:

STATEMENT OF FORMER DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL CHAIRMAN JAMES A. FARLEY ON ADLAI STEVENSON'S SPEECH ATTACKING PRESIDENT EISENHOWER'S CONDUCT OF THE SUMMIT NEGOTIATIONS

The unwarranted attack of Mr. Adlai E. Stevenson in Chicago on the President's conduct of the summit negotiations, in my opinion, in no way represents the thinking of the Democratic Party. For Mr. Stevenson to state that the administration gave the Soviet a "sledgehammer and a crowbar" wreck the summit conference indicates to me that Mr. Stevenson continues to be as misinformed on the facts as he is infatuated with his own writing style. It has been my experience that adroit phrasemaking does not necessarily indicate sound policymaking, a view which I find fortified by the rejection of Mr. Stevenson two occasions by the American electorate. It is a pity that the course of history cannot be reversed by a well turned phrase, in which case hundreds of millions of enslaved people and at least 13 captive countries, liberated by Mr. Stevenson's apt phrases would have occasion to thank profusely this overpolished literary combination of Don Quixote, Pagliacci, and Rip Van Winkle.

Mr. Stevenson is out of his field particularly in criticizing the Commander in Chief for calling a military alert at the time Mr. Khrushchev broke off negotiations. It will be recalled that immediately after the breaking off of negotiations with the Japanese Mission in Washington, Pearl Harbor followed. I feel that the most felicitous use of the language, even Mr. Stevenson's, would be totally inadequate to explain away the enormity of a magnified Pearl Harbor, in the event of a surprise Soviet attack. If Mr. Stevenson is suggesting that the Commander in Chief should refer all measures of defense to Mr. Stevenson before issuing orders to adequately protect the country, the idea is both impractical and unconstitutional.

The admission of Mr. Khrushchev himself refutes Mr. Stevenson's extravagant and unfair attack on the President. Mr. Khrushchev publicly confessed that he knew of the flights when he was with President Eisenhower at Camp David, but did not wish to disturb its so-called spirit. When it did suit his sinister purpose to wreck that so-called spirit and the summit conference he did so.

It seems to me also that Mr. Stevenson might well have called attention to American restraint in not embarrassing Mr. Khrushchev's visit here by the revelation of the incident of the interception of two of his Red spies at Springfield, Mass. Both, very significantly, had diplomatic status. Very apparently, Mr. Stevenson has no idea of the extent to which Soviet espionage has abused diplomatic privilege in all countries including ours.

This was clearly illuminated by an article in the New York Times of September 22, 1959. The New York Times' article in part follows:

"Adlai E. Stevenson said last night that the United States should cease leading 'the antiadmission lobby' against Red China at the United Nations." If Red China delegates were in the United Nations, Mr. Stevenson is quoted as saying that "they would have to answer almost daily for some of the things they have done of late that have provoked the indignation of the whole world."

It is part of Mr. Stevenson's appealing, if adolescent, naivete in international affairs

that it appears not to occur to him that the admission of Red China by the United Nations would establish another Red spy nest in New York City, under full diplomatic protection.

Of course, even consideration of the admission of Red China approaches a mortal mistake. I have just returned from the Far East, and I can state that the responsible heads of free governments in this vast area have insisted to me that the slightest wavering of U.S. policy on nonrecognition of Red China would result in a worldwide diplomatic disaster for the cause of freedom, not second to an ignominious surrender of Berlin.

I am impelled therefore in all honesty, and furtherance of national unity, to state that I do not believe that the administration furnished the Soviet with "a sledge hammer and a crowbar" to wreck the summit conference. On the contrary, it occurs to me that Mr. Stevenson is attempting to use the incident to "sledge hammer and crowbar" another disastrous nomination for himself as the apostle of appeasement out of the Democratic Party. As a national policy, unfortunately, the boom of Mr. Stevenson's breastbeating is not likely to cause the collapse of the Iron Curtain as Joshua's trumpets cause the fall of the walls of Jericho.

In his few remaining weeks as titular spokesman of the Democratic Party he has indicated every reason why the Democratic Party in convention should select a spokesman who speaks for it in fact. I can think of no more effective way of doing so than by a unanimous resolution of condemnation and repudiation of his absurb speech in Chicago as representing the views of the Democratic Party. As a former national chairman and as one who has been proud to be a Democrat for over 50 years, I shall call upon all Democrats to keep the symbol of our party the Democratic mule and not Mr. Stevenson's umbrella.

Pennsylvania Farmers Call for Greater Effort To Curtail School Costs by More Efficient Operation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. WALTER M. MUMMA

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, May 24, 1960

Mr. MUMMA. Mr. Speaker, for the benefit of the membership of the House in view of the education bill being brought to the floor for debate, I want to call attention to the position of our Pennsylvania Farmers' Association that was expressed by Hollis Hatfield at a public hearing before the State task force on school finances of Governor Lawrence's committee on education.

He placed his group in opposition to further Federal aid and urged greater local effort including more efficient operation

The article follows:

[From the Lebanon Daily News, May 18, 1960]

PENNSYLVANIA FARMERS ASSOCIATION FAVORS
SALES TAX HIKE FOR SCHOOLS

HARRISBURG.—The Pennsylvania Farmers' Association favors an increase in the sales tax to 5 percent, including clothing, if more money is needed for the State public schools.

But there should be greater effort to curtail school costs by more efficient operation,

a spokesman for the association said Tues-

Hollis Hatfield, director of public affairs for the association, made the statements at a public hearing before the task force on school finances of Governor Lawrence's committee on education.

Hatfield joined with a spokesman for the State chamber of commerce in opposing further State-mandated salary increases for teachers. Both urged more local effort and merit increases for able teachers.

Hatfield also said his group opposes further Federal aid to public school education because "the Pennsylvania taxpayer's bill would be considerably larger than the benefits received for financing local schools."

Jobs for the Handicapped—Passports to Dignity

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN SPARKMAN

OF ALABAMA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, May 24, 1960

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, recently a young lady at Hueytown High School, Hueytown, Ala., wrote an essay entitled, "Jobs for the Handicapped." This is always an interesting subject and a subject to which we ought to pay more attention. She has written a very constructive and very thought-provoking paper. I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the essay was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

JOBS FOR THE HANDICAPPED—PASSPORTS TO DIGNITY

(By Sandra Jean Fairburn, Hueytown High School, Hueytown, Ala.)

Americans are a proud people. The relatively short history of this country has seen that fact proved repeatedly. Through many wars and countless tribulations, the fighting defenders of all that is hallowed to us have shown their pride in themselves and all that they defended. One characteristic noted by visitors from foreign countries is our ability to pick ourselves from the slough of despondency and resume the battle, whether it be a battle for freedom or a struggle against disease and poverty. This same pride has inspired Americans to help others and has strengthened many to help themselves. Countless persons in poverty and disaster have refused help, saying, "My neighbor needs help more than I," and "I neither need nor want charity." Yes, Americans are proud. They want to take care of themselves, to earn their bread, and not to depend on others for what they themselves can provide. They want freedom and will fight for it. We want not only political freedom, how-ever, but also a chance to gain economic freedom. All American citizens, if they are honest, truly loyal citizens, can acquire passports to leave this country to visit others. Not all American citizens can gain a passport to dignity, however, because of one stigmatic word that follows them like a guilty conscience. That word, "handicapped."

The word can and has been defined a number of ways, but the definition that most succinctly gives today's interpretation is given by the New York University School of Education which defines the handicapped as "those who by reason of a physical or men-

tal disability are prevented from realizing the fullest physical, mental, social, vocational, or economic usefulness of which they are capable." You and I know many handicapped persons according to this definition. There is the young woman who wanted desperately to become a nurse and would probably have been exceptional in that fieldexcept that she has very weak feet and legs and cannot stand or walk for long periods of time. One man, now middle ag would have been an outstanding Army officer if he had not suffered migraine headaches which made it impossible for him to concentrate on difficult problems. Perhaps you could have had a career in music had you had the talent or the time. You see, very few persons are completely free of handicaps. In fact, only about 1 percent of us are not physically handicapped for some jobs.

Of the approximately 170 million people in the United States, it is believed that 28 million have physical and mental roadblocks to a fruitful life. With the increasing knowledge of medicine it is entirely possible that many lives which would have been lost 20 years ago will now be saved, but a large mass of these will never become completely whole or healthy again. Increasingly powerful automobiles without a corresponding increase in commonsense will also result in many torn and disabled bodies. Do we have a responsibility to these persons? What is the responsibility? Is it not to help them find a place in which they can be of use to others?

Stop and consider the things a manager regards when interviewing a prospect for a position. Because the prospect has blue eyes or black hair or wears size seven shoes does not affect the decisions of the business man. He looks for skill, knowledge, aptitude, and adaptability. If a typist meets the basic requirements for a certain opening, a false foot or leg does not interfere with her ability and should not hinder her chances for a job. When I was very small I often went to a shoe shop in the town where I live to watch the shoe repairer's hands fly as he removed a run-down heel or half-soled a lady's pump, for his skill fascinated me. This man had no left leg, but he was very successful in his occupation, for he did not use his legs in his work. In another town there lives a young man who has been spastic from birth. He could never repair shoes for a living, for his fingers are often unsteady; he could not be an athlete, for one of his legs is shorter than the other and even walking is a great difficulty, but in his own work, preaching God's word, he is successful, for it is a work he is physically and mentally equipped for. Perhaps you have read of the blind switchboard operator, the deaf file clerk, or the pharmacist who is paralyzed from the waist down, the violinist that has only nubs for legs, the draftsman with bilateral arm prostheses, or artificial forearms. Their name is legion, but for each handicapped person who is able to return to a productive, confidence giving job, many more remain without jobs, dependent on family or the welfare agencies for existence.

Numerous public agencies, insurance companies such as Liberty Mutual Insurance Co., business groups such as National Association of Manufacturers, and the National Association of Mutual Casualty Companies, civic clubs, and community committees are making valuable contributions toward rehabilitation of the handicapped so that they can adjust to their sitution and proceed from there to learning a skill or skills that will enable them to be employable. Of all the handicapped, only a very tiny percentage are so totally handicapped that there is no place for them in the world of work. The vast majority can be placed in work and deeply yearn to support themselves, for all men have pride that makes them rebel at being helpless. Great strides are being

made for this majority, but the group that holds the real answer is that of the em-ployers. The handicapped should be employed because it is spiritually and morally right to give them a chance, but sound business theories also call for their utilization. Employers are not urged to hire the handicapped person. They are urged to hire the rehabilitated handicapped person. They are urged to be fair in evaluating the qualifications of all who apply for employment and to be free from prejudice when they review the applications of the handicapped, remembering that experience has shown the handicapped to be up to one-third safer than the unimpaired and much more conscientious about attendance. These people have had to struggle to get a job; they are not going to sacrifice it through carelessness, disloyalty, disregard for company rules, laziness, or indifference. The handicapped should be hired because they can do the job, because they are needed, and because "It's good business."

All businesses and industries that employ the physically handicapped report successes that seem unbelievable until one dwells on the reasons for the success of employed handicapped persons. Five years ago, Sears, Roebuck initiated a program of employing physically handicapped people in as many jobs as possible; during the first year, over 500 persons were hired under this program. In an evaluation survey of these people by their employers, 84 percent were rated good or very good in job performance, 14 percent were rated fair, and only 1 percent were classed as poor employees. Eastern Air Lines, perhaps the largest employer of handicapped, in numbers at least, has approximately 1,000 persons working for them who might find difficulty in being employed if Eastern's proper placement procedures were not followed. This program is due largely to the efforts of Capt. E. V. Rickenbacker, who strongly felt that the persons who had battled for this country in war should have the privilege of serving it in peace. A motto of Eastern is that they have no handicapped employees. This is true because this industry has faithfully and honestly tried to find the right places for the right people. These are only two examples of numerous industries and concerns which have successfully employed the handicapped. There are even companies founded by persons who are handicapped and who hire only handicapped workers.

If the Nation's employers do not see and believe these facts concerning the succes of employment of the handicapped, they will lose a valuable working force and the nonhandicapped will have to support the handi-capped with taxes. In the economic cycle, this will return to the employers, who must then shoulder the burden. When all the people do not share the Nation's burdens, the Nation suffers and so do the people. In 1 average year taxpayers spend \$395 million to support and assist the disabled. figure is at least three-fourths more than it should be, even allowing for children and total disability cases. We should and must realize that the price we pay for supporting these people is far greater than the one to be paid for rehabilitating them and returning them. ing them to the roles of useful citizens.

As we enter another decade, there is renewed hope for the world, but more important is the hope for the individual, for humans are individuals and not groups. We must provide hope for the individuals, and they find that hope in a chance to help themselves. All the individuals must have their own chance; and, as for the handicapped, they will make good their chance.

"Inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of these my brethren, ye have done it unto me."—JESUS CHRIST. World Tensions Can Be Relaxed Only When the Cause of the Tensions Is Removed-The Cause Is the Unrelenting Communist Drive for World Domination-That Can Change Only When Communists Change or Are Compelled by Internal and External Forces To Abandon Communism-Our Task Is To Nourish and Strengthen Those Forces

> EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. WALTER H. JUDD

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, May 24, 1960

Mr. JUDD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks I include a postmortem by Edgar Ansel Mowrer, on the ill-fated summit conference at Paris:

TENSIONS SHOULD HOLD FOR LONG TIME

(By Edgar Ansel Mowrer)

PARIS.—One thing stands out at this meeting: Nikita Khrushchev has no intention of relaxing international tensions at the price of giving up a propaganda ace.

Actually, he has demonstrated that the entire hope of relaxing tensions without changing the world situation is an illusion on the part of the West and a fraud on the part of the Soviets. Analyzed, it either has no meaning or it means a policy of stalling and waiting for something to turn up. It is on each side a gamble on the future. Mr. K., nourished on Communist doctrine, must believe that history will inevitably bring about the distintegration of the bourgeoisie and the triumph of the proletariat, meaning the self-seeking bosses of the Communist Party. So half the time he oozes peace guff while the other half he skillfully makes propaganda intended to hasten the inevitable disintegration of his opponents.

Britain and France also seek relaxation, meaning continual talks in an outwardly friendly atmosphere, though for somewhat different reasons. Prime Minister Macmillan has convinced himself that the United States lacks any stomach for a strong positive policy of out-arming and out-propagandizing the U.S.S.R. But he thinks that with time the Russian regime will soften up. What he means by relaxing tensions is simply preventing a war until time has made Russia less aggressive.

President de Gaulle of France, a true Frenchman, has a more complicated approach. His own complete dedication France's greatness fosters a belief that love of country is everywhere stronger than Communist ideology, a dubious assumption. Furthermore, Chancellor Adenauer convinced him that in time Russia, a white people, will feel menaced by the "yellow" Chinese giant and drift toward the West. Beyond these beliefs he has another reason for wanting to relax tensions just now. Relaxing tensions is a popular catch-phrase for gaining time. De Gaulle dearly needs time in which to perfect a few hydrogen bombs of his own or induce someone to give him some and to try further for a settlement of the Algerian rebellion.

Hence De Gaulle and Macmillan would welcome a whole series of summit conferences, each one accomplishing little but cackle yet laying an egg out of which another summit conference could hatch.

Chancellor Adenauer of Germany shares the feeling of a coming Russian-Chinese split—sometime. Meanwhile he wants to on to the present situation in the belief that any present change would be worse for Germany—which is likely, in view of the large number of weak-kneed westerners.
Relaxing tensions covers all these separate

aims. For, taken literally it is a Western illusion. Tensions do not arise spontaneously and cause dangerous situations. Critical situations arise or are provoked and cause tensions. The only way to produce a relaxation of tensions (short of somebody's surrender) is to change the situation. The present world tension is 95 percent provoked by Communist ambition to expand, meanwhile keeping its hold on unwilling victim peoples. Only the U.S.S.R. can relax it by renouncing that ambition and ceasing to provoke troubles. Until that happens-short of a Western surrender—tensions must re-main. They can be rendered less dangerous by nuclear disarmament-if any. They can be camouflaged under state visits and pretty words. But they cannot be ended until the situation changes. Only the Kremlin can do that. This is the lesson of the summit conference.

Rare Recognition Extended Max Rysdon

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. KARL E. MUNDT

OF SOUTH DAKOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Tuesday, May 24, 1960

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. President, a rare demonstration of the constructive manner in which corporate industry can cooperate with the physically handicapped to the mutual advantage of all concerned has been provided by Max Rysdon of Sioux Falls, S. Dak., and the Sioux Steel Co. which he heads. It is a pleasure for me to bring this circumstance to the attention of the Congress and the country since it provides an example of enlightened public service which may well be followed by many other corporations in many other communities.

Recently, the Kiwanis Club of Sioux Falls arranged as part of its weekly program to have conferred upon Max Rysdon the employer's merit award provided by the President's Committee on Employment of the Physically Handicapped. The following news report of this significant ceremony provides some additional details and out of it all comes the clear cut lesson that by giving special consideration to the employment of the physically handicapped American industry and business not only benefits itself but the entire country as a whole. I ask unanimous consent that the article be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

MERIT AWARD PRESENTED TO SIOUX STEEL Sloux Steel Co. has received recognition for assisting the handicapped.

The President's Committee on Employment of the Physically Handicapped conferred the Employer's Merit Award to Max Bysdon, company president, this noon during the weekly meeting of Kiwanis Club. Presentation was made by supervisor of the Division of Special Education, Mr. Distad.

Participating in the presentation were Ed Moser, Division of Vocational Rehabilitation; L. E. Larson, president of the Sioux Chapter, Association of Retarded Children, and Bill Green, executive director of the South Dakota Association for Retarded Children.

Distad, serving his third 3-year term as a member of the President's Committee, was designated by Gov. Ralph Herseth to present the citation.

The award was made in recognition of Sioux Steel Co.'s efforts in connection with South Dakota's first sheltered workshop, established here in 1959. Subcontract work which Sioux Steel furnished the workshop permitted a sustained enrollment of 21 disabled persons. From January through August, last years, the company paid the Workshop \$12,684.43 for contract work completed at the workshop.

Pleted at the workshop.

The workshop has assisted 23 enrollees to achieve higher levels of work and social adjustment and to enjoy the dignity of being engaged in productive work. Progress made here has led to the start of similar workshop programs at Rapid City and Mitchell.

The Khrushchev Wrecking of the Summit Conference When He Found the West Had Not Succumbed to His Efforts To Divide and Deceive Has Changed Nothing Except To Shatter Our Dangerous Illusions—and That Can Be a Benefit

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. WALTER H. JUDD

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 24, 1960

Mr. JUDD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks I include the following sane and sensible article by Mr. William S. White from the Washington Star of May 20, 1960:

A FRESH SENSE OF PURPOSE

A new maturity, a fresh sense of strong purpose, runs through Washington today in the afterlight of the inevitable collapse of summitry as a means of reconciling the irreconcilable.

So dies the dream—a 2-year dream that somehow by good will and by splendid Presidential travels here and there about the earth all could be put aright between imperialist communism and the free Western alliance.

It was a noble ideal. And in that sense it is a pity that it is now a broken ideal. But in a more important sense it is a good thing that the vision has vanished. For, however fine, it was always only a cloudy dream—and a quite irrational one which unduly lifted men's hopes and rejected the central lesson of this country.

This lesson is and has been that free peoples cannot negotiate with the totalitarians—no more with Mr. Khrushchev in the sixties than with Hitler in the thirties—unless they negotiate, not from hope and good intentions, but from honestly naked power.

Actually, we have for 2 years put ourselves in a false position. Our allies, and the most articulate of our people at home, endlessly

and at last successfully pressed this Government to take up a line of flexibility to replace what was pictured as a bad, sterile inflexibility. From the sound if admittedly negative position of trusting Mr. Khrushchev not an inch and keeping our powder dry we turned to trusting Mr. Khrushchev far too much while we let our arsenal run rather low.

Those who tried to question this new policy found the going hard and lonely. They were held to be at best stupidly insensitive; at worst to be the stooges of Wall Street and the munitions makers. And don't look for partisan scapegoats now; there are plenty and to spare in both parties.

Today, both parties and their leaders fully accept at last the facts of life—and this alone is an immense gain from the tragedy of the summit: Genuine settlements with the Soviet Union will be made if and when the West is on a rising and not a declining arc of power relative to that of the Soviet Union. Kleig-lit top-lovel diplomacy is an unrealistic device. There is no short and easy road to survival in this 6th decade of the 20th century.

So, the country can now confidently ex-

So, the country can now confidently expect these things: A concerted and full effort to improve our defense capacities, here and all over the world. A really quite decent attitude among the major politicans in both parties to get the country into shape before seeking partisan gain out of our troubles. A willingness to attempt new negotiations with Mr. Khrushchev—probably not until a new President has been inaugurated in January—but only after K. has shown he really wants a cold war easement. and only in far more disciplined circumstances than the recent fiasco in Paris.

Not even the shrillest critics of the famous incident of the unarmed spy plane over Russia can now seriously argue that, plane incident or no plane incident, Mr. Khrushchev would ever have allowed the summit conference to proceed. He reckoned that time was running with him—and up to this point, indeed, so it was.

The President is back in the White House, or shortly will be, where he belongs. He is free at last—and the next President will be even freer—of an unwise policy that he never really wanted but adopted because men's hopes and decent instincts outran their grasp of harsh reality.

The Communists used to tell the workers that they had nothing to lose but their chains. We can honestly tell ourselves this: We have lost nothing but our dangerous illusions.

An Inequity the Senate Must Remove

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, KENNETH B. KEATING

OF NEW YORK

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, May 24, 1960

Mr. KEATING. Mr. President, this morning's Washington Post contains an excellent and succinct editorial pointing up the importance of Senate passage of H.R. 11318, the bill to equalize the pay of certain retired members of the armed services. As an original cosponsor of S. 269, which sought the same objectives as H.R. 11318, I am delighted the House of Representatives has approved this proposal, and I hope Senate action will be forthcoming before long.

Certainly it is incumbent upon the Congress to act without further delay to remove this inequity from our statute books. Clearly, as the Washington Post editorial notes:

This country's military tradition supports uniform retirement benefits for all military personnel * * *.

This is one vital job the Senate must complete before the end of the session. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the fine Washington Post editorial to which I have referred be printed in the Appendix of the Record.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD,

as follows:

[From the Washington Post, May 24, 1960]
RETIREMENT REMEDY

The House has rectified an inequity by passing legislation to increase the retirement pay for 114,000 officers and enlisted men who retired before the 1958 military pay bill went into effect. That bill broke a century-old tradition of relating retirement benefits to active duty pay by discriminating against those who retired before June 1, 1958. Happily, the House has approved the needed remedy and Senate passage ought to follow. This country's military tradition supports uniform retirement benefits for all military personnel, and Congress can find better ways of economizing than by letting old soldiers' benefits fade away.

Our Military Assistance Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. GERALD R. FORD, JR.

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 24, 1960

Mr. FORD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks I include an address delivered last evening by Under Secretary of State Douglas Dillon at the Second National Training Congerence of the National Defense Executive Reserve meeting in Washington. Secretary Dillon has presented in an excellent manner the case for our military assistance program, pointing out specifically the way in which our allies in the free world are contributing to our overall defense effort.

The address follows:

Address of Under Secretary of State Doug-LAS DILLON AT SECOND NATIONAL TRAINING CONFERENCE OF THE NATIONAL DEFENSE EX-ECUTIVE RESERVE, HOTEL SHERATON PARK, WASHINGTON, D.C., MONDAY, MAY 23, 1960

It is a privilege to take part in your deliberations at this critical stage in international affairs. There is no need for me to dwell on recent events—events which clearly demand that we intensify our efforts to strengthen the free world, militarily, economically, and spiritually. These events underscore our national need for the defense executive reserve.

Your organization grew out of the realization that so long as international tensions persist, the United States will require a ready civilian reserve to meet sudden emergencies—just as it requires a trained ready reserve for the Armed Forces. You are dedicated to the proposition that the United States must keep up its own defenses and those of its allies, so that no aggressor will be tempted to strike.

One of our dearest national dreams is a just and lasting peace for all the world. We

earnestly and tenaciously seek practicable ways of reducing armaments through internationally controlled agreements. Yet hind-aight enables us to see clearly that whenever the United States lets down its guard or disarms unilaterally, aggressors are tempted. If aggression should come to us or to our allies in such circumstances, we would in some measure have brought it upon ourselves.

We learned in two world wars and on the hills of Korea the terrible cost of halting aggression, and the enormous cost of restoring peace and rebuilding shattered economies. We should also have learned that the cost of maintaining peace by deterring aggression is infinitely less. We should have learned for all time that lowering our guard encourages aggression against both our allies and ourselves.

One would think that after the lessons of two global conflicts, and after our experience in Korea, there would be little risk of our making the same mistake all over again. Unfortunately, this is not the case. Today, we as a Nation are once more in danger of falling into the same tragic error.

We would be taking a giant step in this direction if, through indifference or apathy, we permitted the President's request for mutual security appropriations to be substantially reduced. Unfortunately, there are men of influence who have publicly served notice of their desire to slash the President's request drastically. The American people should know that if they allow this to happen, the possibilities of armed aggression in the years immediately ahead will be immeasurably increased.

The time has come to talk fully and frankly of this peril. We who have the facts would be derelict in our duty if we did not point out the danger which may be brought upon our people if they lack knowledge and understanding of the crucial importance of the mutual security program and of the necessity of maintaining it at adequate layers.

The President, on May 2, in a remarkable address here in Washington, pointed out the overall importance of mutual security, and warned of the assault that was being mounted against it—an attack which, if successful, would threaten the security of our country by undermining the capacity and the will of our allies to resist aggression.

Such action on our part at this time could only be construed by the Soviet leaders as a confession of weakness and as an open ended invitation to accelerate their aggressive designs. Copies of the President's message have been made available at this conference. I urge any of you who have not previously done so to read it carefully. I hope you will pass it on to your friends and associates. The time to widen public understanding is short. The Congress has once again completed action on legislation authorizing the continuation of the mutual security program substantially as recommended by the President. This session of the Congress is expected to end early in July, and action on the vital appropriation bill will be taken before then.

Those who support this program in the face of unremitting attack deserve encouragement. Those who are undecided need help in placing the national interest above local and parochial concerns. Those who are opposed need help in understanding that failure in this area must inevitably mean retreat and crisis for America. Every American can and should enlist in this great crusade.

Tonight I want to talk with you about two aspects of the program that are not well enough understood: the military assistance program and the increasing efforts of our friends and allies in the whole field of mutual security.

The military assistance program dates principally from the Korean war, when large

sums were appropriated for military aid to our friends and allies, both in NATO and elsewhere around the globe. In the summer of 1953, after the termination of hostilities, we found that we had \$6½ billion of military assistance funds appropriated and unspent. This is what has come to be known as the "military assistance pipeline." Obviously a careful and orderly program to build the military strength of our allies could not possibly use that much in a single year's time.

We could conceivably have canceled all or a substantial part of this unused appropriation and put ourselves immediately on an annual basis where outgo equaled appropriation. Instead, we chose to draw gradually on the unused funds in the pipeline to supplement annual appropriations that were deliberately kept at a level well below required expenditures. This course had the full approval of both the administration and the Congress.

As a result, the pipeline has now been drawn down to about \$2 billion, because for the past 7 years, we have been relying upon it to supplement our annual military assistance appropriations. Thanks to this pipeline, we have, ever since 1953, been appropriating each year some \$900 million less than what we actually needed and what we actually spent.

Unfortunately, this arrangement is no longer possible. We cannot further reduce the pipeline without sharply cutting our deliveries of military equipment. This is why we now need substantially increased appropriations for military assistance.

For the past 4 or 5 years, expenditures under our military assistance program have been stabilized at about two and a third billion dollars annually. While the size of the overall program has remained relatively constant, its direction has shifted significantly. In general, expenditures for our economically resurgent NATO allies—the United Kingdom, France, and Germany—have substantially declined as they have regained the capacity to carry their share of the common defense burden. Meanwhile, the costs of maintaining and strengthening allied forces in the Far East have increased.

Last year, we conducted a thorough and detailed review of the program. Our own efforts were supplemented by a bipartisan panel of outside experts under the direction of William H. Draper. The conclusions of the two studies were nearly identical: Both agreed that a minimum program of about \$2 billion annually would be required for some years to come. Bear in mind that this represented a reduction of nearly 15 percent below the level of previous years.

It is for this reduced program that we are asking \$2 billion for next year. It is true that this sum represents an increase of \$700 million over the current year's appropriation. But we must remember that this year, for the last time, we were able to draw down substantially from the pipeline, which is now reduced to the point where future deliveries must be fully covered by new appropriations.

Today, we have a clear choice: either we appropriate the \$2 billion required to maintain the free world's strength, or else we tell our allies that we are no longer willing to support the military forces that our Joint Chiefs of Staff have agreed are the minimum required in our own national interest.

The views of our military leaders are categoric and are on the record many times over. They consider mutual security to have a priority fully equal to any portion of our own defense program—of which it is part and parcel. All of our military leaders have said that they would not willingly accept additional funds for their own services if they were obtained at the expense of mutual security needs.

Those who would slash mutual security often decry what they describe as "waste" in its administration. They also stress allegations that the military services have in the past "overcharged" the mutual security program for certain items of equipment. Undoubtedly, there have been some overcharges and some individual cases of waste. But you do not sink the Navy, disband the Army, ground the Air Force, or close up your business because of errors. Instead, you strive to correct the errors. That is precisely what we are doing in administering the military assistance program—and with real success.

We Americans must not permit ourselves to be misled by reckless charges of "waste" and "maladministration," or distracted from the primary job of maintaining free world defenses. We must renew our determination to do the job and to do it as effectively as We must use the information possible. developed by continuing investigations to strengthen and improve the mutual security program-not to destroy it, and with it, the safety of our families and of our country. Certainly the very moment when the Soviet leaders are once again threatening rocket attacks is no time for us to tell our allies that the United States has lost the will to provide the assistance they need for the common defense against Communist aggres-

I have dwelt so heavily on military assistance because it is such an important part of our overall mutual security effort, and because it is utterly inconceivable to me that our people would knowingly let down their guard in the face of the recent Soviet threats.

The President originally asked for an appropriation of \$4,175 million for the whole program. Congressional action in approving the authorizing legislation has reduced that figure to \$4,086 million.

This is the sum we are now seeking. Last year we received \$860 million less than we are now requesting. Critics argue that we somehow managed to live with that amount. But they overlook come simple arithmetic. This year we require \$700 million more merely to continue the military assistance program as it has operated in the past, since we no longer have the pipeline to fall back upon.

The remaining difference between last year's appropriation and this year's request is accounted for by an increase of \$150 million for the Development Loan Fund—our primary national instrument in the battle to give hope to the hundreds of millions in the newly developing lands. With the exception of this modest increase in much-needed economic assistance, our contemplated program is no larger than last year's. The big difference is that at last the time has come when we must foot the bill on a pay-as-you-go basis, instead of depending upon unexpended funds originally appropriated during the Korean war.

I ask you and each and every one of you to explain to your friends and associates back home these simple facts about mutual security that so deeply affect our future as a free people. Once they are generally and fully understood, there can be no doubt whatsoever that the American people will respond affirmatively in meeting this important national need.

Now, to another matter which also is too little understood: I refer to the demonstrated willingness of our stronger friends and allies to assume a greater share of the common defense burden, and to play larger roles in helping the peoples of the newly developing lands in their epochal struggle against the evils of hunger, poverty, disease, and liliteracy.

There is a widespread illusion in our country—even among some who are otherwise well-informed—that only the American taxpayer is carrying a significant share of this expense. This is simply not true. The people of England, France, Canada, and Ger-

many are all making large and steadily increasing contributions. The people of Japan and Italy are also playing significant parts. In the case of both the United Kingdom and France, the share of national income devoted to military and economic assistance already approximates the portion of our own national income that we devote to these programs.

In addition, our NATO allies are steadily and substantially increasing their own defense expenditures. In each of the past 2 years, they have increased these expenditures by more than a billion dollars. Again, this year, they are spending substantially more than last, and there is every indication that 1961 will see a further increase.

Furthermore, except for a few prior commitments for specific military items, we are no longer furnishing military equipment on a grant basis to England, France, or Germany. These countries are now able and willing to purchase their own equipment.

In the field of economic assistance, the United Kingdom has, over the past 3 years, doubled the amount of ald she is providing. to newly developing countries. France for some years has poured very substantial amounts of economic help into the territories of the French community. These countries are now rapidly achieving independence, and France has volunteered to continue to provide them with assistance on the same scale after they become independent.

In speaking of England and France, we have no right whatsoever to ask: "When will they begin to do their share?" They are doing it today and give every indication of continuing to do it.

It is true that certain other countries have recently developed sufficient economic strength to join more fully in the developtask. West Germany and Italy, in Particular, come to mind. However, leaders of both these countries have publicly recognized their responsibilities and have signified their intention to develop programs that will assume a fair share of the overall effort.

I have been speaking of direct contributions to development needs by our stronger allies. On a wider scale, the whole free world is joining to form the new International Development Association. This is to be a billion dollar organization closely related to the World Bank. Of its total capital, other industrialized countries will contribute hearly \$3 for every \$2 that we put up.

As the President has so well said: "The very moment when other countries are recognizing their responsibilities is no time for

us to walk away from our own."

His admonition has been forthrightly seconded by one of our National Capital's leading newspapers, which said, in a recent editorial urging full support of the President during these trying times: "Not only are foreign economic and military assistance keystones of the Eisenhower program, they are also a means of demonstrating to the Soviet Union that this country and its allies cannot be divided by bluster and threat and that American purposes overseas are not the selfish or aggressive ones that Mr. Khrushchev says they are."

And a highly respected New York newspaper comments that Mutual Security
"means solidarity of the United States with our allies and friends of the free world, and a determination to do our best to preserve freedom and independence for all nations outside the Soviet orbit. * * against a military threat and a politico-economic offensive of increasing magnitude. A wholehearted vote for mutual security would be the one thing that could most surely and quickly strengthen the President's hand in the present crisis."

The other side of the coin is equally im-Portant: Any substantial cut would signify to the rest of the world that the United States States in this hour of uncertainty no longer has the will to do its share in defense of freedom. We must not, we cannot, let this happen. Future generations of Americans will look to see how their forebears met this crisis. I am certain that once the American people understand what is at stake, history will not find us wanting. Meanwhile, we can all do our country a great service by spreading the simple facts-facts which are too little known-facts which must be known if we are to make the right decisions.

Thank you.

In the Hearts of Men

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. KARL E. MUNDT

OF SOUTH DAKOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Tuesday, May 24, 1960

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. President, recently before the Aberdeen (S. Dak.) Rotary Club, a 17-year-old senior, Jon Anderson, the son of Mr. and Mrs. Vern R. Anderson delivered a most impressive speech.

My good friend, Mr. Ulric M. Gwynn, Jr., manager of the Aberdeen Chamber of Commerce, heard this excellent talk and called it to my attention.

I think Mr. Gwynn's comments serve as an excellent preface to Jon Anderson's fine address

Mr. Gwynn writes:

It is so outstanding because of world conditions that I believe it should be brought to the attention of the entire U.S. Congress. * * * With this kind of philosophy from our young people, I am of the opin-ion we need have no fear of communism spreading to this country.

Mr. President, I ask permission to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD the address by Jon Anderson.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

IN THE HEARTS OF MEN (By Jon Anderson)

"Berlin Could Trigger World War Three." This was headline news a few months ago. It suggests a staggering possibility, one that everyone in his right mind will seek to avoid. That is the possibility of an all-out, fullscale world war.

We here in the United States are well aware of the probable consequences of a third world war. We live in one of the greatest nations of the world, both in size and in destructive potential. America does, and will figure prominently in all the decisions of the game of world politics. We must make sure that these decisions are the right ones.

We are aware of the tremendous power and might of such great nations of the world as Red China and the Soviet Union. We are also kept informed of the tremendous advances made in the development of our own country's war machine. And we read daily about the dozens of important issues which threaten to cause a break in the cold war, and a change in temperature.

In the event of an all-out nuclear war, it is highly possible, and even probable that the entire human race would be obliterated. For this reason, the question of world peace is the most deadly serious and important question facing the world today.

Our political leaders for the most part recognize this fact, and are making every effort to increase the harmony between our country and the other nations of the world. The exchange of visits between the Soviet and American leaders, the recent tour of Europe and Asia by our President, and the visits many of our top diplomats have made to Russia, all have shown one thing; no matter what the language, creed, or custom, the people of the world have one basic desire, the desire for peace and freedom.

Yes, the barriers of misunderstanding and prejudice are slowly being broken down, and today we are closer to our common goal of world peace than ever before. Closer, and yet a strong and lasting peace is still far off. There is something missing. The key to this missing force is not held by the leaders of the world. It is held by you and me. The key to lasting world peace is held

by every person in the world.

The greatest need in the world today is for a universal belief in, and acceptance of some unifying principle. This principle cannot be found in the nuclear bombs, or in the high-powered rockets. It is not to be found on the Moon or Mars or any other planet. It will not be discovered because of top-secret tests or expensive research. The reason is because this unifying principle does not lie in the realm of material things. It cannot be seen, or heard, or even touched; but it can be felt. It must be felt if we are to achieve our much desired goal.

Dr. W. H. Pickering, of the California Institute of Technology emphasizes the des-

perate need for such a principle:

We are sorely in need of some principle that will save mankind from mutual annihilation. I do not know just where we'll find it, but find it we must and I feel confident we will, not in the laboratories, but in the hearts and minds of men."

There is such a unifying principle which, if practiced, can lead us to conquer even the most perplexing problems. It is a principle so basic, and so convincing that it can be understood and accepted by all the peo-

ples of the world.

The principle is the belief that there is a supernatural, spiritual power in this universe which is both above us all, and within us all. Many of us choose to call this power

This God has been revealed to Christians through the life of Jesus of Nazareth, whose supreme teaching was: Love God with all your strength and love your fellow man as yourself.

A Universal Faith in God and the belief that there is a God within each of us! This is the principle upon which peace among all men can be achieved. We must believe that there is a divine spirit within each of us. for when we believe this we can do things we though were impossible. This is the belief upon which our Nation was founded, and this is the strength by which it can be preserved.

The idea of the spirit of God in man can be accepted by all people, regardless of their

religious faith.
Col. Abdel Nasser, President of the
United Arab Republic, one of the greatest Moslem nations of the world, said in a letter to the Reverend Mr. C. Roy Everett, Jr., of Richmond, Va.:

"Religion being deep-rooted in the culture of our people, they are all for peace and against aggression in all its forms. The Prophet says, "Thy faith in God would be incomplete till thou lovest thy brother as thou lovest thyself." Even the name "Islam" is derived from "Salam," meaning "peace."

Even the idol worshiping religions, Buddhist and Shintoist can accept this principle of a divine spirit within each of us. These religions all have their supreme being, such as Buddha, and these faiths are also founded on the principle of love for one another. Followers of these religions, too, pray for peace among men.

And in the Communist controlled countries, although the leaders don't like to think so, the people still cling strongly to their faith, be it Greek Orthodox as in Russia, or some other. The prayers of these oppressed peoples can be heard even above the rumblings of the Communist war machine and the atheistic teachings of the few who wield political power. The desire for peace and freedom is possibly even stronger in the countries where these things are not a reality.

So you see, this is not simply an idealistic idea, advocated by only a few. The knowledge of the power of prayer is universal, and the belief in the power of strong faith can be accepted by all people. But each of us must recognize this power, and realize the tremendous things which can be accomplished by those who use it. The key to this power is in our hands, and in our hearts.

One of our country's greatest presidents, Woodrow Wilson, once said, "Our civilization cannot survive materially unless it can be redeemed spiritually."

I challenge you to remember these words of a great humanitarian. Only by accepting this unifying principle can we hope to avoid a nuclear war, and only by accepting and believing in this principle will we ever achieve peace among men; a lasting peace for all the people of the world.

With earnest prayers and steadfast faith let us go out to build a better world, remembering that through God all things are yet possible.

Lincoln in New Hampshire

SPEECH

HON. PERKINS BASS

OF NEW HAMPSHIRE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 18, 1960

Mr. BASS of New Hampshire. Mr. Speaker, I am happy to join in this discussion led by my able friend and colleague from Iowa [Mr. Schwengel] and relate to you something about Lincoln in New Hampshire.

We owe our chief knowledge of this subject to Judge Elwin L. Page's book, "Lincoln in New Hampshire," published in 1929. The author in his preface states that upon reading Dr. William E. Barton's "Life of Lincoln he was struck by Barton's emphasizing the failure hitherto of Lincoln biographers giving adequate consideration to the effect of Lincoln's speeches during the latter's visit to New England in February and March 1860.

In the winter of 1860 Lincoln delivered his famous speech at Cooper Union—the speech that first brought him seriously to the attention of the East; that predisposed the anti-Seward faction in Lincoln's favor, and which consequently brought about the latter's nomination the following May in Chicago.

Lincoln spoke at Cooper Union on the evening of February 27, 1860. The following evening he spoke before a large audience in Railroad Hall, Providence. The next day, February 29, he was on his way to what must have seemed to him a far northern country indeed—the State of New Hampshire. On Thursday, March 1, he spoke at Concord in the afternoon, and at Manchester in the

evening. At Concord he was introduced by Gov. Frederick Smith, who presented him to his audience as "the next President of the United States." As Dr. Barton remarks, "Such an introduction was exceptional," and the author adds ironically that at Norwich, Conn., where Lincoln spoke later, the speaker who preceded Lincoln "went the full length of the general imagination and suggested Lincoln might be the next Vice President."

On Friday, March 2, Lincoln spoke at Dover, and finally, the next evening, at Exeter, spending Sunday with his son Robert, who was attending the famous preparatory school in the town. This speech in the little town on Saturday evening, March 3, 1860, marked the final appearance of Mr. Lincoln in the State.

In all, Lincoln spoke 11 times in New England. As Barton says, biographers of Lincoln have not considered adequately the effect of these New England speeches. Several of these biographers, for example, state that Robert Lincoln was at Harvard at the time of his father's tour of New England. On the contrary, having failed to pass his entrance examinations for that institution. he was at Phillips Exeter Academy, "boning up." Robert did not enter Harvard until 7 months later; one of his father's reasons for coming East was to look into his son's situation; had Robert been safely matriculated at Harvard in the winter of 1860 his father might not have delivered the Cooper Union speech, and the New England tour might not have been made.

Barton describes the situation in the following words—his book was published in 1925, the year before Robert Todd Lincoln's death:

Robert T. Lincoln is a very reticent man, and for the most part declines to speak for publication concerning his father; but one thing he modestly affirms, which is that he his father President. In the autumn of 1859, Robert went to Cambridge expecting to enter Harvard. He was required to submit to an entrance examination covering 16 subjects, and he failed in 15 of them. The Lincoln family wrote him not to return home, but to enter Phillips Academy at Exeter, N.H., and complete his preparation. This he did, and at the end of a year was able to enter Harvard and complete a regular course. But Mr. Lincoln was somewhat anxious about Robert's studies, and one of his reasons for being ready to visit New York and speak at Cooper Institute was to visit Robert and see how he was getting on at Exeter. Robert T. Lincoln believes that if he had failed in less than 15 studies his father might have been less solicitous, and might not have delivered the Cooper Union speech, or having delivered it, might have returned from New York direct to Springfield. As it was, he determined to visit Robert and make a few speeches in New

As to the Lincoln speeches themselves in New Hampshire, there are, alas, only two summaries in reportorial fashion—that is, in the third person. They, however appear to be fairly adequate, considering the lack of press facilities in little New England towns 100 years ago, and the probable lack of shorthand skill on the part of the reporters. The two summaries which have come down to us ap-

pear in the Manchester Daily American for March 2, 1860, and the Dover Inguirer for March 8.

The concluding portion of the Dover report is most certainly reliable, for it is, almost word for word, a literal transcription of the final exordium of the great Cooper Union address: indeed, it is quite possible that Lincoln read from proofs, or the morning issue of one of the several New York papers of February 28, which contained the full text of the address from the original manuscript Mr. Lincoln turned over to Horace Greeley's New York Tribune. Mr. Lincoln's last recorded words in New Hampshire, via the Dover Inquirer, were as follows:

To satisfy them [the slaveholding States] said Mr. Lincoln, is no easy task. We must not only cease to call slavery wrong, but we must join with them in calling it right. Silence will not be tolerated. Douglas' new sedition law must be enacted and enforced. We must arrest and return their fugitive slaves with greedy pleasure. We must pull down our free State constitutions. The whole atmosphere must be disinfected from the taint of opposition to slavery, before they will cease to believe that all their troubles proceed from us. Wrong as we believe slavery to be, we should let [it] alone in the States where it exists, because its extirpation would occasion greater wrongs, but we should not, while our votes can prevent it, allow it to spread over the national territories and overrun us in the free States. Neither should we be diverted by trick or stratagem, by s senseless clamor about "popular sovereignty. by any contrivances for groping for some middle ground between the right and the wrong—the "don't care" policy of Douglas— or Union appeals to true Union men to yield to the threats of dis-Unionists, which was reversing the divine rule, and calling, not the sinners but the righteous to repentancenone of these things should move or intimidate us; but having faith that right makes might, let us to the end, dare to do our duty.

To Judge Page's delightful and exceedingly valuable book "Abraham Lincoln in New Hampshire," which has rescued and preserved Lincoln's New England tour from obscurity, we owe the following charming account of Mr. Lincoln's last day in New Hampshire:

On that Sabbath just 1 year before his first inaugural, Abraham Lincoln shuffled off the thought of politics and gave himself to rest. Early in the morning he walked out Front Street and along the muddy road toward Kingston. Arriving at a fork some 2 miles out, he took the right hand, leaving Kingston road, and wandered on another mile. Then he heard the pleasant roar of 8 river a bit to the left. Following the sound, he bore off on a crossroad and came upon Pickpocket Bridge. There he found young William H. Belknap, an Exeter printer, hanging over the rail and watching the swollen stream tumble down the falls. Lincoln joined the youth in gazing at the fascinating spectacle. As seems usually to have been his custom when other human beings were near he engaged the youth in conversation. What was said was of little moment and was soon forgotten, but that chat with Abraham Lincoln was a lifelong satisfaction to the future townclerk of Exeter. The story that during his Exeter stay Lincoln saw a small boy fishing for eels near the Great Bridge and borrowed his rude alder pole to try his luck may be untrue, but is in keeping with the simple manner of Lincoln's casual contacts with the townspeople.

Lincoln worshiped that Sunday in the Second Church of the New Parish. The meetinghouse stood in the corner of the Academy yard near the present site of the public library on Front Street. The edifice was removed years after Lincoln's visit, and the parish has ceased to exist. The pew in which he sat has been preserved with great care and is now in the First Church. It was the property of Commodore John Collins Long and Mary Olivia Long, true representatives of the Exeter aristocracy of the day. The minister of the church at the time was the Reverend Orpheus T. Lanphear.

After the service Lincoln walked with Robert to the boy's lodgings in the Clarke (or Simeon Folsom) house on Hemlock Square, at the corner of High and Pleasant Streets, just over the Great Bridge. In their crossings of the river, however, the two usually took the rather shorter way over the lower bridge at the Island and thence out Pleasant Street. In the portion of the house fronting on this street, in the left-hand, second-story room, the Lincolns had their Sunday dinner.

During his days in Exeter, Lincoln was seen much in Robert's company. That is one point upon which the evidence is clear and full. The father entered with real zest into the boy's interests and his companionships with the other students. This was the Prime object of his trip into New England, and in spite of political calls he accomplished it. For these purely private pursuits he had Wednesday evening, Saturday after-noon, and all of Sunday afternoon and

evening.

Lincoln appears in these contacts with the boys and with the townspeople he ran across to have been ever simple and sociable, a man thoroughly enjoying his brief snatches of holiday. A story was told by Albert Blair of a little gathering of academy boys in Bob's room on Sunday evening. Into the chatter Lincoln entered with true boy-like spirit. Bob remarked that one of the party, Henry Cluskey, played the banjo. "Does he? said Lincoln in his high-pitched voice.
"Where is the banjo?" "In my room," replied Cluskey. "Can't you get it?" "Oh, I don't think you would care for it, Mr. Lin-coln," "Oh, yes. Go get it." And so the "Oh, yes. Go get it." And so the Owner of the banjo went and fetched it from his room several blocks away, and played upon it. Lincoln listened with unaffected pleasure. "Robert," he said, "you ought to have one." What the youngsters chiefly remembered about their friend's father was membered about their friend's father was that when he talked with Bob, or the boys gathered around, the deep seams of his face broke into a series of twinkling lines. Every boy was at once drawn to him, as he was to them

The holiday-

Writes Judge Page-

was all too short. At a few minutes before on Monday morning, March 5, 1860, Lincoln boarded the train at Exeter for Hartford, where he was to deliver a major address. Never again would he breathe the bracing air wafted down from the White Mountains, to meet and mingle with that from the caves of the misty Atlantic.

And thus-

Concludes Judge Page-

Abraham Lincoln passed from the sight of New Hampshire, but not from her memory.

Seaton Vice-Presidential Support Mounts

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF HON. PHIL WEAVER

OF NEERASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, May 18, 1960

Mr. WEAVER. Mr. Speaker, another strong midwestern voice has been added to the growing chorus of those supporting the candidacy of Hon. Fred A. Seaton, the Secretary of the Interior, for the Vice-Presidency of the United States. The Lincoln Journal of Lincoln, Nebr., in an editorial on May 16, 1960. notes the growing support Mr. Seaton is getting from all parts of the Nation. That editorial follows:

ROCKY OUT, SEATON MOVES UP

Gov. Nelson Rockefeller finally got the word through to the Republicans it's all or Party leaders over the Nation made it clear earlier in the year when Rockefeller was hitting the high road that he wasn't their man for 1960.

Rocky went home and sadly announced that he would not be a candidate. Many Rockefeller supporters were disappointed and the party leaders hoped to use his popularity to build the ticket by putting him in the second spot on the ticket.

He said he wasn't interested, but the thought was held that he could be coaxed. Nixon did some coaxing through the press, though there seemed to be little personal contact.

Now Rockefeller has made his position perfectly clear. He has announced that he will not attend the Republican national conven-tion "in any capacity" lest his mere attend-ance be misconstrued by delegates. This will leave him in a strong position for 1964 if Nixon should fail to win in 1960.

Rockefeller is to be commended for making his position clear well in advance of the convention. The Republicans now have ample time to search for the best possible man for Vice President and marshal delegate strength for such a man.

For this spot the party appears to have a man ideally suited in the person of Nebras-ka's Fred Seaton, present Secretary of Interior. Seaton has shown himself to be one of the ablest Administrator's in the Eisenhower Cabinet. In the myriad of assorted functions of his farflung department, he has won almost unanimous confidence of those with whom he has dealt.

Moreover, Seaton's midwestern background stamps him as a person most likely to understand the complex farm problem and attempt to work with both Congress and and the administration in solving it.

Already Seaton has attracted wide support from outside his own State. With Rockefeller apparently out of contention entirely, there is no reason for Seaton backers to delay a full-scale push for delegate backing at the convention.

The 1960 National Convention of Mothers of Men in Service (MOMS of America), Altoona, Pa., May 18-22

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES E. VAN ZANDT

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, May 24, 1960

Mr. VAN ZANDT. Mr. Speaker, my hometown of Altoona, Pa., was the scene of the 1960 National Convention of the MOMS of America, an organization composed of mothers of men in service.

The host for the convention was the Hollidaysburg, (Pa.) Unit of the MOMS of America under the leadership of Mrs. Mary Ratchford, president. The convention was well attended by delegates from many States. It was my privilege to deliver the principal address at the annual banquet, which follows:

SPEECH BY JAMES E. VAN ZANDT, MEMBER OF OF CONGRESS, 20TH DISTRICT OF PENNSYL-VANIA, AT THE 1960 NATIONAL CONVENTION OF MOMS OF AMERICA, PENN-ALTO HOTEL, ALTOONA, PA., MAY 19, 1960

It is a distinct privilege to address you on the occasion of your 1960 national convention and to join in welcoming you to my hometown of Altoona, Pa.

The Hollidaysburg, Pa., unit of the MOMS of America under the able guidance of its president has developed into an organization in which we of Blair County are pardonably proud for the part it plays in community life

Not only has the Hollidaysburg MOMS of America maintained a lively interest in servicemen but it has also been very active in caring for the comfort and needs of veterans in the Altoona Veterans' Administration hospital.

In this connection the Hollidaysburg MOMS donated a tape recorder to the Altoona Veterans' Administration hosiptal and supplies the tape each year.

In addition patients are the recipients of gifts from the MOMS while an annual bingo party is one of the highlights of the MOMS hospital program.

At the community level the Hollidaysburg MOMS have an enviable record in support of local projects such as the public library, YMCA, Christmas baskets for the needy and

other praiseworthy programs.

Therefore, on this occasion it is a pleasure to pay tribute to Mrs. Mary Ratchford, president, and the members of the Hollidaysburg MOMS of America as they play host to the 1960 national convention and welcome their national president, Mrs. Marjorie Estes.

I join my fellow citizens of Blair County in wishing the MOMS of America a highly successful and truly enjoyable 1960 national convention.

I need not tell you of my deep personal interest in the servicemen and the veterans of America.

This interest likewise encompasses your organization which came into being in 1941.

Each war crisis our Nation has faced has brought American women further and further to the fore.

Words of tribute are inadequate, indeed, to express to the mothers of servicemen and veterans, the love and devotion and respect America holds for you.

Since the days of the first settlers the women of America have stood side by side with the men in the making of our Nation.

The ploneer women who ventured forth with their men in conquest of the American continent shouldered hardships, endured the perils, and won the victories of the frontier.

Throughout the years of our development—the hands that rocked the cradle—have been instrumental in laying the foundations upon which our Republic has been

Home and family are by no means the least of these foundations.

The family in this atomic age faces the same drastic changes that confront other American institutions, our industries, our governmental agencies, our Congress, our schools, and our churches.

Actually the changes that have occurred since World War II have brought as much complexity to the problems of home and family as to business and Government.

For many this theory may be difficult to

The home and the family are basic institutions that are expected to "be there" in spite of any existing tension or emergency.

These facts place a tremendous burden on the mothers of our Nation.

It is not my intent to offer sympathy to the MOMS of America because of the sacrifice you have already made or because of the

difficulties and uncertainties you face in the future.

I do not offer you sympathy.

Your actions indicate you accept our age as a challenger.

Your sacrifices have become elements of consecration rather than elements of surrender.

You utilize uncertainty as a tonic and existing difficulty becomes a rededication.

All of America could profitably follow this pattern and, as all mothers throughout the ages have done, set its face toward the future with confidence.

In the hurricane of our times, in this world of sudden revolutions, the family must remain a haven of sweet comfort and

security.

The beauty of this fact is that whether among Samoans in Polynesia-Pennsylvanians in America-or Londoners in Eng--the family is the center of human landaffections.

Beyond this, what the family teaches

makes our world.

Through the ages the foundations of the family have been moral—from the long preaching in a Navajo hut—to a New England mother's reading of the Bible to her children.

Right and wrong have come to sharp focus in the family through the years.

And at the core of the family is the joy, and innocence of the child-the protective love for him as he learns to trust-the understanding love as he learns to be inde-pendent—to adjust to the world—and to imagine and develop ideas.

Where the family goes, the world follows. So we can learn from the family some-

thing of mankind's direction.

Onrushing technology is reshaping the life pattern of millions.

But we cannot neglect to emphasize that onrushing technology is the direct result of individual thought.

And it is largely in the family-whether in the flamboyant green of a jungle or the vast impersonality of a city-that the iden-

tity of the individual takes form. Robert R. Brunn, American news editor of the Christian Science Monitor, has reminded us that "Globally the trend is toward the

Western family, now in the minority."
In centuries to come this could well be

the universal pattern.

In Islam's sweeping crescent from North Africa through the Middle East to Pakistan and Indonesia ancient family modes are fading before 20th century enlightenment. Slavery—the despotic father—the bargain-

ing away of brides-and the wearing of the veil are still present-but all are faltering. Young people demand change-and so do

the women.

Turkey is a striking example.

There the veil and exclusion of women were outlawed years ago.

It is fortunate that in European countries the marriage of convenience is fading.

Father domination holds on in many sec-

tions, however. It does appear though that a pattern of free individual choice and independence is

forcing its way in to unlock social shackles in many areas of old Europe. In Germany after the Nazi thrust for power which involved war occupation and the holding of tens of thousands of husbands and

fathers in Soviet camps for years, the family has emerged triumphant. Twenty long years of trials have strengthened the average German's devotion to family values.

Latin America's family patterns are in many ways closer to those of Europe and Asia than those of the United States and Canada.

But the pressure to change in South America comes from the north and in the Latin-American cities the American-type family is becoming plainly visible.

In all of the instances I have cited more education and more understanding is bringing more individual freedom, and in turn, an elevation of the influence of the family.

It is a gripping thought that dictatorship cannot accept loyalty to the family-loyalty to the mother or the father.

In the eyes of the dictator, loyalty to the

family weakens the grip of the state on the individual.

Following the Red Revolution, Communist doctrine preached that the family was an outmoded and useless device, as outworn

as private property.

In this belief the Soviets have gone against human nature, not to mention morality, taste, history, sociology, politics, and ex-

Currently we see evidence that the Soviet Union is trying desperately to convince the eyes of the world that family is important.

But thus far their love of family has by no means become an example for the rest of

the world.

There is not displayed in Russia a high regard for the individual.

The Soviet Union first and then the indi-vidual, that remains an integral part of their political philosophy.

In any national crisis our mothers-our homemakers—must first and foremost defend the homes of America.

For those who leave their homes for military service to defend the cause of freedom, the mothers of America have kept the home intact as a bright and shining institution.

Defense of the homefront should not be dropped from the docket, however, in times

of peace.

There are certain hallmarks of American homelife that further the learning of the ways of our Republic.

These I would like to mention.

(a) The home has as its primary object and central purpose the welfare of all in the household.

(b) There is equal opportunity for all rerdless of sex or age in a true American

(c) Our basic American liberties and the practices of these liberties are first started in the home.

(d) The economic, social, and political conditions of the home are maintained in order that all in the household may have enjoyment that is realized from these three factors.

(e) All in the home have the right to share and help determine the program and

policies to be pursued.

(f) The homes of America teach that every privilege entails a corresponding duty and responsibility to that particular individual who in turn is held responsible to the family as a whole.

(g) The home trains the individual to be efficient in citizenship.

(h) The home promotes loyalty and understanding.

(i) The home develops in each individual of that home the ability to solve prob-

lems. The MOMS of America and every American mother know better than I that the fine art

of living together in peace must be established in our homes. The past few decades have not been with-

out change in the American family.

The American family no longer tends to

determine careers, marriages, prestige, or a person's political position.

The American family has been freed to concentrate on personal relationships and moral evaluation to create an atmosphere of love and order devoted to the perfection of the family as individuals.

At a time when the freedoms of men and women are being efficiently and ruthlessly destroyed overnight the home in America stands as the fact and the symbol of individual freedom.

Not even our own Government can enter it without legal consent.

In how many places in the world is the home still inviolate?

This security of man in his own home, with his family, is one of the world's wonders, yet we Americans too frequently take it as a simple thing, natural to us.

You, as representative American mothers, preside over American homes which are equipped with the facilities for teaching our children during the precarious stages of growth.

Today we are deluged with gadgets, equipment, and devices for making homelife more efficient.

This is as it should be.

Modern technology has lessened the drudgery for our homemakers.

But the underwriter of the home continues to be the entirely reliable institution of motherhood.

The qualifications are those which call for the highest attributes of mind, person-

ality, and executive ability.

The American home will continue on its way to build for a better world so long as mothers say to their sons and daughters, "I promise to match your honesty with my honesty, your loyalty with my loyalty, and your fairness with my fairness."

But most of all I am firmly convinced

that the mothers of our Nation must create within our homes a fuller understanding of

our world.

I do not wish to leave with you pure sentiment and mere platitudes concerning home, family and mother.

But I wish to emphasize your job as a living, practical symbol in a world of un-

certainty.

It is your job to make home a place where we learn how to be free.

In the perfect home we stretch out on the floor, or cook hideous dishes in the kitchen at midnight, or bellow our favorite tunes in the shower.

But it is not enough to enjoy our freedom. We have duties.

The snow must be shoveled.

The dog must be trained not to dig up the flowers.

The leaky roof must be patched.

The floor scratched by the party must be waxed.

The hedge must be trimmed.

This is the unyielding routine.

This is the slow forming of a character geared to the real world. The homemaker who complains of drudg-

ery can, if she will, beat her shackles into bracelets and turn toll into play. In making her home beautiful, and her

family happy, she too makes herself beauti-

Finally, it is my belief that the mothers of our generation, and especially you who are dedicated to the high principles of the MOMS of America, wish for your children & future which will bring to the world a com-bination of peace and tolerance, a future where homes will turn self-interest and mechanics into a human civilization.

And now in conclusion let me summarize my remarks by simply saying that here in America our homes are the citadels of American freedom.

What Price Federal Aid to Education

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. WALTER M. MUMMA

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, May 24, 1960

Mr. MUMMA. Mr. Speaker, a timely article entitled "Who Pays Calls Tune in Education" appeared in the Harrisburg. Pa., newspaper Sunday Patriot-News of May 15, 1960. It will appear at the end of my remarks and I hope my colleagues will avail themselves of this article which attributes the authoritative statements it contains to some pretty responsible people who I would be inclined to say are a wide range of experts in this field.

The article, in addition to factual reporting of the amount of Federal participation already going on, cites the existence of Federal controls that are already tied to Federal aid-to-education

disbursement strings.

I was particularly intrigued by the statements like: "school superintendents and State education officials are finding out that he who pays the piper calls the tune" and "many local school boards now plan their programs in accordance with What money they can get from the State and Federal Governments by participating in their programs instead of on the basis of local needs."

Mr. Speaker, the newspaper article follows:

WHO PAYS CALLS TUNE IN EDUCATION

(By Edith Kermit Roosevelt)

Before Congress votes more Federal aid to education, the American people would do well to ponder the danger posed to their independent public schools by the more than 137 Federal support programs already in operation.

Dr. Clayton D. Hutchins, school finance specialist for the U.S. Office of Education, estimates Federal subsidies to education are currently costing taxpayers \$2.5 billion a

The list includes \$200 million a year spent through programs authorized by the National Defense Education Act of 1958; \$200 million a year under the school lunch pro-gram administered by the Department of Agriculture: \$37 million in vocational aid administered by the U.S. Office of Education; and millions more for school construction in federally affected areas, to support resident instruction at land-grant colleges and other programs.

year the National Science This fiscal Foundation alone is spending \$16.7 million for fellowships and other grants to support

scientific training.

PLAN PROGRAMS

Dr. John R. Miles, manager of the education department of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, observes that many local school boards now plan their programs in accordance with what money they can get from the State and Federal Governments by participating in their programs instead of on

the basis of local needs.

Some proponents of Federal aid to education argue that localities can take this Federal money and still maintain their independ school system. But school superintendents and State education officials are finding out that he who pays the piper calls the tune.

Allen P. Burkhardt, superintendent of public schools at Norfolk, Nebr., testifies to his experience with Federal money in the fields of vocational agriculture and home economics.

"To get this money," says Burkhardt, "we have to accept and adopt the course of study outlined and specified by the Federal Government, through the State department of education. We have to permit inspection trips by State employees who receive part of their money from the Federal Government. We have to hire teachers whose qualifications are approved by these same groups. We have to send out teachers to conferences designated by these authorities. . . . "

CONTROLS CLAIMED

According to Burkhardt, the Federal Government exerts control in these fields by specifying:

1. The number of minutes in recitation periods.

2. The size of classrooms and shops,

3. What type of equipment to have and even the type of floor used.

4. How much money to spend per student. Furthermore, the Federal Government forbids the use of teachers in other fields, except home economics or agriculture, under pain of losing the subsidy.

"If this doesn't constitute control from Washington, then at least it's a reasonable facsimile," comments Burkhardt.

The National Defense Education Act of 1958 spells out 12 areas of control. Section 802 of this bill permits the U.S. commissioner of education to develop specialized material for use in language culture centers. This puts the Federal Government in the business of curriculum development.

CONDITIONS TO MEET

Mark W. Bills, superintendent of Peorla, Ill., public schools, lists some of the "ridiculous condition" which must be met when NDEA aid is sought. He says:

"In a neighboring school, a language laboratory equipped with NDEA and local funds can be used only for modern foreign lan-guages and stands idle when it could be used for speech, Latin, etc."

Like most school officials, Bills believes there is a need for education improvement. However, he suggests that representative laymen and carefully selected professional educators attempt to draft desirable standards for schools and teacher training free of Federal controls.

Labor and Management in the Southwestern Area of New York State Demonstrate the Fruits of Enlightened Statesmanship

> EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. KENNETH B. KEATING

OF NEW YORK

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Tuesday, May 24, 1960

Mr. KEATING. Mr. President, a most unique and important celebration is taking place today in Olean, N.Y., as the AFL-CIO Union building trades and ememployers representing contractors in the southwestern section of New York State join forces in celebrating 5 years of labor-management harmony and cooperation. This historic occasion is made doubly significant by the fact that there has neither been a work stoppage nor a strike during this period of time-as a direct result of close cooperation and openminded bargaining between these two units of our economy.

This unique record of industry-labor harmony is a matter of pride to all concerned and to all of us who are dedicated to the goal of joint cooperation as an essential means for promoting national welfare and progress. It is especially noteworthy that this feat has been accomplished in an industry where so many complex problems are a constant part of normal working conditions.

This is, indeed, as the Buffalo Evening News recently pointed out in an editorial, "an excellent example of the fruits of labor-management statesmanship." am delighted this unique record is being studied by leaders from other sections of the Nation, and my hat is off to the responsible leaders of labor and management who have molded this impressive record of accomplishment. I regret very much that my duties in the Senate prevent my joining these fine people on this momentous occasion, but I am delighted to have this opportunity to pay tribute to them and to wish them every success in carrying on with their outstanding work.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have the excellent editorial to which I have referred, printed in the

Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD. as follows:

SOUTH TIER LABOR PEACE

Hearty congratulations are in order for the southwest corner of New York State. On May 24 the region will celebrate 5 years of labor-management peace in the construction industry of Chautauqua, Cattaraugus, Allegany, and Steuben Counties.

The avoidance of any kind of work stoppage since 1955 is a tribute to the formula for harmony and mutual respect worked out by the Southern Tier Builders' Association and 15 building trades unions. The parties themselves pay special tribute to the guidance given them by Federal Mediator Clarence M. LaMotte of Buffalo. He acted as go-between in developing the program.

Described as unique in the State, the plan includes monthly meetings (over coffee and doughnuts) at which employers and union leaders discuss and undertake to resolve common problems. The arrangement has re-sulted in numerous benefits for the workers, the employers and the general public.

Both Senators Javits and Keating will be on hand to extend felicitations at the coming celebration. This is a measure of the notable character of the Southern Tier achievement. Other areas now are studying the Southern Tier plan. All areas should emulate at least the spirit of commonsense and responsibility that has made it work. Labor-management relations still operate too often by the law of the jungle. Here is an excellent example of the fruits of labor-management statesmanship.

Death Ends Distinguished Career of Dr. E. E. Witte

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. LESTER R. JOHNSON

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, May 16, 1960

Mr. JOHNSON of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, Wisconsin and the Nation lost a great man with the death of Edwin E. Witte, the pioneer in social security legislation. The Capital Times, Madison, Wis., pays tribute to the dedicated work of Dr. Witte in the following editorial, which I call to the attention of my colleagues:

DEATH ENDS DISTINGUISHED CAREER OF DR. E. E. WITTE

Death at 73 has ended the distinguished career of Edwin E. Witte, world-famed economist, humanitarian, and often called "the father of social security."

His was a life spent in public service and the contributions Professor Witte made to his State and Nation will serve as a memorial to this quiet, unassuming, soft-spoken public servant.

And, although he held more than 30 Government positions during his life, 9 of them full time, his greatest gift to society was his work as the creator of the Social Security Act of 1935. It has been said that this legislation is the greatest achievement of the Roosevelt New Deal, and much of the credit for the enactment of the law must go to Dr. Witte.

Wisconsin also takes pride in the role played by Arthur Altmeyer, former director of the Federal social security program, for his work on the monumental social welfare legislation. Altmeyer headed Social Security from its beginning in 1935 until 1953, and together with Dr. Witte helped draft the original laws.

None of the thousands of students who were privileged to sit in his classes will ever forget Dr. Witte. With rare ability, he was able to reduce abstract economic theories into understandable terms with human overtones.

Dr. Witte's career spanned the great years of social turmoil in which the progressive ideals of Robert M. La Follette, Sr., were translated into Federal laws to provide security and assistance to this country's citizens. Together with the late Prof. Selig Perlman and Prof. Emeritus Don Lescohier, Witte provided the last link to the "golden age" at the University of Wisconsin that was sparked by that tiny dynamo of greatness—John R. COMMONS.

Goodwill Worker of the Year

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. ANCHER NELSEN

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 24, 1960

Mr. NELSEN. Mr. Speaker, on April 22, 1960, the Goodwill Industries of America, Inc., held their National Awards Dinner at the Sheraton-Carlton Hotel in Washington, D.C.

Goodwill Industries seeks to help handicapped people, and from this group each year, one outstanding person is selected as the Goodwill Worker of the Year, based on his or her accomplishments in whatever activity the worker chooses to participate.

It was our good fortune, Mrs. Nelsen's and mine, to be invited by Mr. P. J. Trevethan, executive vice president of Goodwill Industries of America, Inc., Washington, D.C., to attend this dinner.

Miss Marjorie Schulz of Cincinnati, Ohio, was named the Goodwill Worker of the Year and she was called upon to address the group. There is much we can learn from the philosophy expressed in her remarks, and reflected in her voice was enthusiasm, confidence and courage that we all could benefit by. I wish to offer my personal congratulations

Following are her remarks:

STATEMENT OF MISS MARJORIE SCHULZ, NA-TIONAL GOODWILL WORKER OF 1960, AT NA-TIONAL AWARDS DINNER, APRIL 22, 1960, GOODWILL INDUSTRIES OF AMERICA, INC.

There are so many people I would like to thank, I am afraid to begin for fear of leaving someone out. First of all, I would like to thank God for the many rich blessings he has bestowed upon me. I really think that all handicapped people are given an extra measure of the primary ingredient for a happy and fruitful life. Perhaps this just seems to be so because we call upon Him a little more often.

To say that I was surprised when Executive Vice President Trevethan called me from Washington is to put it very mildly. When I was called to the office of our director, Reverend Nichols, he said, "Marjorie, someone on the phone wants to talk to you."

I started to get up out of my wheelchair and he said, "You had better stay seated." Well, I couldn't understand why but I stayed seated.

I recognized the voice as Vice President Trevethan's. I have had the pleasure of knowing him for many years. When Mr Trevethan said, "Marjorie, do you have your seat belt fastened?"—well, you can imagine how I wondered what in the world had happened.

As he began to tell me the good news, I wasn't exactly nervous but for some reason the telephone began to shake and my voice got very wobbly. I sure was glad I had stayed seated. And I should have had a seat belt because I could feel myself beginning to float up on cloud 9.

Since that time, so many nice things have happened to me that I am flabbergasted. In fact, you might call this a flabbergasted response.

At this moment I am thinking about all the 38,000 handicapped persons served by all the Goodwills throughout America last year. I feel that this honor tonight is not just for me individually. I feel that all these fine Goodwill workers are being honored and that each one is actually a "Goodwill Worker of the Year." Without them and without their diligence, perseverance, and determination, there would be no proof that all in the world they ask is a chance—not charity.

For the past 13 years, Goodwill has been my life. I must admit that when my nursing career was interrupted, there were moments of misunderstanding and wonderment. I shall never forget what Reverend Nichols said on that day when the future seemed darkest, He said, "Marjorie, would you like to come to Goodwill?"

"But you just heard what the doctors said.
You would be taking a chance," I answered.
It was his reply that still rings in my ears,
"We would not be taking a chance. Goodwill's business is giving a chance."

That is the way it has been ever since I started at the Ohio Valley Goodwill in Cincinnati—just once chance after another.

And that's the way it is with every Goodwill in America today. A chance to learn and a chance to earn. Nearly \$20 million in wages to handicapped persons last year.

I am so glad to be a part of a national organization that reaches into 123 communities in our land and says to handicapped people, "No one can do everything—everyone can do something."

We are proving something every day at our Goodwill in Cincinnati. Every day is V-day for someone. Last year over 3,700 handicapped persons found new hope, renewed strength, and increased determination to prove the truth of the statement so well said by Dr. Howard A. Rusk, "You cannot disable faith and courage."

Constant encouragement by our friends and families is an important factor and I am so happy my mother is here tonight. So much of our achievements depend upon understanding families.

This new lease on life for so many could not possibly be achieved in Cincinnati or in any other Goodwill without the help of dedicated administrators, sincere staff specialists, progressive board members and a vast public of interested people who help make rehabilitation a reality through their contributions of gifts and materials. No one understands better than a Goodwill worker that "discards mean timecards."

On behalf of all Goodwill workers I want to thank the good American public for its material contributions from homemakers and industrial subcontracts in making it possible for the average percentage of selfsupport for all Goodwill Industries to reach 91 percent in 1959.

Since it has been my privilege and pleasure to work closely with our director for 13 years, I am very cognizant of the important part our Government has played in helping Goodwill Industries to expand its rehabilitation services to meet the everincreasing needs of the ever-increasing number of handicapped persons. I am aware that our President and our Congress are concerned and have made funds available for expansion of facilities and rehabilitation services. I know that Goodwill Industries has devoted friends in the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. For all Goodwill workers, I want to thank them for this devotion to human needs.

I would be ungrateful if I did not also express my gratitude to the Ohio Bureau of Vocational Rehabilitation for making my secretarial training possible when I entered Goodwill in 1947. These great agencies in all our States are serving thousands of disabled people without much fanfare or acclaim. They just go on and on helping people who are in need. I consider myself a BVR girl as well as a Goodwill gal. For all Goodwill workers throughout America who have been sponsored by their State bureau of vocational rehabilitation, I wish to say "thank you."

With Mr. Sullivan, the president of our board of trustees of the Ohio Valley Goodwill program present tonight I am also reminded to say "Thank you" to all Goodwill board members and concerned citizens who give of their money and time and energies that handicapped persons might be helped.

In closing, I want to express my sense of rededication to the Goodwill cause of helping the handicapped help themselves. I feel that as a symbol of all Goodwill workers, I have a new responsibility in making this great program of rehabilitation a success that exceeds our fondest hopes.

To all my fellow Goodwill workers across America, I want to issue a challenge that each of us join together in renewed strength and determination to make 1960 the best year in production of materials and rehabilitation services for people in our history.

Thank you again and when you are in Cincinnati, be sure to visit us. As associate in public relations department I think I would be permitted to say, "There you will find rehabilitation at its finest offering treatment, training and employment in one of the finest buildings designed for handicapped in the world, working through 5 branches and serving those who are handicapped in 25 counties in the sections of the 3 States of Indiana, Kentucky, and Ohio. There I hope I will be privileged to help others help themselves for a long long time.

The American People Are Not Being Fooled by Monday Morning Quarterbacks Because They Are Determined There Must Never Be Another Pearl

> EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. JAMES E. VAN ZANDT

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 24, 1960

Mr. VAN ZANDT. Mr. Speaker, the American people are witnesssing a sordid performance by Monday morning quarterbacks with the political gleam in their eyes as they enjoy a field day among themselves in their ill-concealed attempt to belittle President Eisenhower over the so-called rocket downing by the Soviets of an American U-2 plane that had penetrated deeply into the heart of Russia. These misguided Americans have scorned the crying need for national unity in the crisis that has developed between their Nation and the "Butchers of Budapest."

Every thoughtful American resents their unwarranted attack on the integrity, military prowess and overall ability of one of America's greatest wartime generals, President Dwight D. Eisenhower. To compare the military stature of President Eisenhower with his detractors is like comparing a giant with a

pygmy edition of mankind.

As pointed out in the following editorial which appeared in the May 21 issue of the Altoona (Pa.) Mirror titled, "People Not Fooled," the American people want no repetition of the sneak attack on Pearl Harbor. In the same edition of the Altoona Mirror there appeared a letter to the editor from a subscriber in which the writer revives memories of the Roosevelt-Truman regimes When the late President Roosevelt bowed to the ungodly Stalin while his successor, Harry S. Truman, described the former madman of the Kremlin as "Good Old Joe" and then proceeded to allow the Russians to enter Germany and grab everything in sight including machinery and scientists. Now says the writer, 'Russia Even Stirs Up Castro."

The editorial and the letter referred to follow:

PEOPLE NOT FOOLED

Any good lawyer will tell you that it is almost impossible to build a good case around a lie. We do not believe that any intelligent person in any part of the world believed Khrushchev's story of downing the American U-2 with a rocket. If such had been the case it is obvious that neither the plane nor the pilot would have survived the explosion.

The presence of the U-2 plane deep in Russia must naturally have caused the Russlan people to ask the defense measures of the Soviet leaders. They have endured many years of hardship in order to expand their rocket and sputnik programs and we believe that Khrushchev is in for a very hard time of it when he gets back home.

Most Americans, we feel sure, regret the necessity of keeping the U-2's in the air. However, the very lies such as the one told about the grounding of the plane make such a course necessary. A surprise attack such as the one launched at Pearl Harbor could prove very disastrous, to not only this Nation, but also to the entire free world, and the treachery employed in putting down the Hungarian bid for freedom is not easily forgotten.

We do not believe that the American people care too much for the Monday morning quarterbacks who are now saying that the whole affair was handled badly by our own administration. They imply, of course, that they could have handled this situation so much better. We believe that of all the prospective Democratic candidates for President, Lyndon Johnson had made the best statements about the incident and has strengthened his position with the public. We predict that those who would appease the 1960 model of Hitler and Mussolini will get little support from their fellow countrymen.

The harsh realities of the cold war are somewhat difficult to conceive. It is particularly hard for a peace-loving people to comprehend the necessities of a world situation in which peace is maintained only by the fact that the retaliatory powers of the free world are great enough to practi-

cally destroy any aggressor.

Intelligence reports are based on the old adage that forewarned is forearmed. Modern intelligence calls for the use of every conceivable device that will give the Nation adequate warning for an impending attack. America must never forget Pearl Harbor. To do so in this atomic and hydrogen age would be national suicide.

The Russians should be the last people on earth to complain about it. Even at a time when they were our allies they were busy spying upon us, attempting to steal our se Our memories are not so short that we do not vividly remember the atomic spies, nor have we forgotten the country for which

they were spying.

The big welcome given President Eisenhower by the people of Portugal is only one indication of the way the world as a whole regards the American leader who has worked so hard for peace. His refusal to meet the threats of Khrushchev with counter threats clearly illustrated for the world jury the true measure of the man who seeks peace. The harsh fact that we must at all times be prepared to defend ourselves against surprise attacks is not lost on thinking people of all

We would be very much surprised indeed if the British and French intelligence services were not as hard at work as our own in keeping their leaders advised as to every move that is made within the Iron Curtain countries. As a matter of record, British intelligence sources are reputed to be among the best in the world. The use of a plane or a fleet of planes to keep their respective nations advised would not shock them in the least.

In his spectacular at Paris, Khrushchev implied that he has known about the planes since before his visit to this Nation. is also hard to believe, for if he had known about them he would have lodged a vigorous protest long ago.

The insults heaped upon our President have reacted adversely on Khrushchev, Neither the French nor the British were unaware of the implied insults against own leaders. We, as individual citizens, should let President Eisenhower know that he has the solid backing of his own people in this latest episode of the cold war. and cards are perhaps the best way of letting

We should also make it very clear to the Monday morning quarterbacks that we have little time for their ill-concealed attempts to lower the prestige of an old warrior who has served his country well in both war and

It is not too long since they were attacking him for his lack of good preparation for

the defense of this Nation. Now they want to downgrade him because he has taken steps to prevent the possibility of another Pearl Harbor. Their very wordiness proves their lack of understanding of international affairs and of military preparedness. What woeful leadership they would provide for the country.

MISTAKES WERE MADE

To the EDITOR OF THE ALTOONA MIRROR:

Since listening to and reading the news about the plane downed by the Russians and the criticisms, let the public go back to a former administration when Roosevelt bowed to rabble-rouser Stalin. That was the begin-ning of all our trouble. Also, how many people recall Truman's "Good Old Joe" reference. Ordering the soldiers back from Germany to let the Russians enter first was the gravest error of all times. Russia went in and grabbed everything, machinery, our scientists. Now Russia even stirs up Castro.

Mrs. L.

A Tribute to an Outstanding American

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. DONALD J. IRWIN

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, May 24, 1960

Mr. IRWIN. Mr. Speaker, one of the most enlightened men of our time was, in my humble opinion, the late U.S. Senator Brien McMahon of my home State of Connecticut.

His record as a public servant and his reputation as a man were both outstandingly brilliant. When he passed on, this Nation lost a remarkable citizen

But over this past weekend in his home town of Norwalk, Conn., where I am also privileged to reside, a fitting tribute was paid to the memory of Senator McMahon with the cornerstone laying for a new \$4,500,000 high school bearing his name.

Present to honor the late and distinguished Senator McMahon was Gov. Abraham Ribicoff of the great State of Connecticut. In his remarks, Governor Ribicoff hailed the ideals of Senator McMahon.

I would like, Mr. Speaker, to insert in the RECORD at this time an article from the Bridgeport (Conn.) Post containing Ribicoff's remarks. Governor article:

RIBICOFF HAILS McMahon IDEALS IN NORWALK TALK

NORWALK, May 23 .- Governor Riblcoff yesterday upheld the ideals of the late U.S. Senator Brien McMahon as the only means of stopping worldwide nuclear war threats.

SPOKE AT TWO SCHOOLS

The Governor was the principal speaker at the cornerstone laying of the new \$4,-500,000 high school off Highland Avenue which is slated for opening in September, and later addressed a gathering in the auditorium of the Cranbury elementary school off Grumman Avenue which was dedicated yesterday.

At the cornerstone laying exercises which were attended by Mrs. William H. McMahon, mother of the late Senator, and other members of his immediate family, the Governor declared that the world can no longer wait for centuries to pass to recognize the wisdom of this great man if it is to avoid extinction through atomic and hydrogen bombs.

Senator McMahon, while chairman of the Joint Congressional Atomic Energy Committee, had proposed that all nations agree to commit three-quarters of the funds they appropriate for armaments for development of peaceful uses of atomic power and make the results of these developments available to friend and foe alike.

In 1950 when the McMahon proposal was made to the U.S. Senate, governments, news media, and other disseminators of information paid little heed to the warning Senator McMahon gave, the Governor asserted.

NO BETTER SOLUTION

Over the past 10 years, Governor Ribicoff said, he has heard nothing from the great minds throughout the world that offers a better solution for permanent peace than the pronouncements of the late Senator.

The Governor added: "Senator McMahon foresaw the need for a worldwide agreement on the controls of atomic energy without which the threat of ultimate destruction of mankind would always be present."

The Senator's intimate knowledge of the force of atomic energy and its threat to mankind prompted him to attempt any means or method, no matter how unorthodox it seemed, to impress the world on the importance of worldwide agreement on the peaceful uses of atomic energy, Governor Ribicoff stated. He said that history has shown that it has taken centuries for the world to recognize the wisdom of the great men of the past and the world will someday come to the realization that peace can only be attained by adopting the ideals of the late Senator, He added: "The world of today cannot wait for a century and may not have another 10 years to wake up."

The Nightly Radio Program: "Today in Congress"

> EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. WALTER NORBLAD

OF OREGON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, May 19, 1960

Mr. NORBLAD. Mr. Speaker, I would like to compliment the nightly radio program "Today in Congress" for devoting the entire time segment last Friday night to the complete and unedited remarks made by President Eisenhower upon his arrival from Portugal.

This has always been a valuable and unique program; the only one aired which is devoted exclusively to the hap-

penings here on Capitol Hill.

Its sponsors, the Independent Airlines Association, and its editor, Joseph Mc-Caffrey, combine to give the listening public a "Congressional Record of the Air." This program not only has a great listening audience among Members of the House and Senate, but also among staff members on the Hill and administrators and key personnel in the executive branch.

Last Friday night, the entire format of the program was revamped so that Mr. Eisenhower's own personal report on the summit could be given wider coverage.

This, I think, is a tribute to the feeling of public responsibility of the association and of Mr. McCaffrey.

American Legion Advocates the March 3 Open Market Operations for Agriculture: Manned Aircraft Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. JAMES E. VAN ZANDT

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, May 24, 1960

Mr. VAN ZANDT. Mr. Speaker, the national executive committee, the governing body of the American Legion, between national conventions while assembled in Washington, May 4-5, adopted a very important resolution concerning the national security of the Nation.

The resolution which follows and is self-explanatory relates to high-per-formance aircraft of the B-70 type and calls to the attention of Congress the necessity of further developing this weapon as part of our national defense.

The resolution follows:

RESOLUTION No. 31-NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEETING OF THE AMERICAN LEGION HELD MAY 4-5, 1960, INDIANAPOLIS,

Committee: National Security Commission. Subject: Mach 3 manned aircraft program.

Whereas the security of the United States and its allies requires that we maintain a balanced, flexible strategic force of both missiles and manned aircraft; and the U.S. aerospace industry possesses the capability of developing and producing these weapons;

Whereas the very high performance, manned aircraft is necessary to carry observers to assess target damage after missile attack and to direct attacks on targets that have not been destroyed; and the necessity exists that we have high performance aircraft capable of reaching these targets at speeds beyond the mach 3 range; and

Whereas the inherent characteristics of manned weapon systems are necessary to permit this Nation to continue a policy of noninitiation of armed conflict; and

Whereas the advancement of technology in aeronautics is essential to enhance the prestige of this Nation and to maintain a dominant military capability; and

Whereas the very high performance, manned aircraft is necessary in a whole range of military situations, from the show of force to a possible ultimate conflict; and

Whereas a mach 3, or higher, manned aircraft with its versatile striking characteristics, including its utilization as a highly mobile platform for launching missiles, tremendously increases the enemy's defensive problems, both from a military and economic standpoint; and

Whereas experience has shown there is a long leadtime required in the development of the finished article as a weapons system, it is imperative that development be implemented immediately on this type manned aircraft for we cannot afford to further extend this leadtime in today's scientific revolution: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the National Executive Committee of the American Legion assembled in Indianapolis, Ind., May 4-5, 1960, That the decision which virtually halts development and production of the mach 3 aircraft of the type, with its combat components, be rescinded, and that sufficient funds be made immediately available for the expeditious development and production of this latest weapons system.

A New Approach to the Farm Problem

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON, R. WALTER RIEHLMAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, May 24, 1960

Mr. RIEHLMAN. Mr. Speaker, in our quest for a solution to the agricultural problems confronting our Nation, it behooves us all to keep our minds receptive to new ideas. I am including in the RECORD today a proposed solution to the farm problem developed by Assistant Dean Donald C. Lelong of the College of Business Administration, Syracuse University, Syracuse, N.Y. There is food for thought in this proposal and, though I do not necessarily agree with the approach, I think it important that it be made available for consideration by my colleagues.

OPEN MARKET OPERATIONS FOR AGRICULTURE: A NEW APPROACH TO THE FARM PROBLEM

(By Donald C. Lelong, assistant dean, College of Business Administration, Syracuse University)

WHAT MUST A GOOD FARM POLICY DO?

What does the U.S. taxpayer want, and what can he reasonably expect to get from a good Federal farm policy? First and fore-most he wants an acceptable standard of living for the Nation's rural citizens. The public, and as a result the Congress, has already made the decision to maintain the income of the American farm family at a reasonable level. Neither Republicans nor Democrats will permit the farmer to become a poor relation who is embarrassing to our national pride or hurtful to our conscience.

Secondly, the taxpayer is demanding a less costly method of dealing with agriculture's While few of us would agree to sacplight. rifice the welfare of the farm family on the chopping block of economy, both substantial saving of tax dollars and future farm prosperity depend almost inevitably upon a more permanent and final solution to over-

production on the land. The third objective of a good policy for agriculture is closely related to lower dollar cost. No program can claim much lasting value if it does not encourage efficient use of the Nation's productive resources by avoiding misdirected production, Real economy in U.S. agriculture necessarily implies a flow of farm commodities that is adequate to meet the Nation's needs. It does not imply the growing of so much corn, wheat, and cotton that uncounted hours of human effort are dedicated only to the filling of federally constructed storage bins. less Federal farm policy succeeds ultimately in coordinating the supply and demand for farm produce at a reasonable price level, and without subsidy, it cannot claim to be an adequate policy for a free market econ-

Finally, a sound program must preserve independence and freedom of the individual farmer. He must be free to produce more or less of the crops he chooses as it becomes efficient and profitable for him to do so. Americans are steeped in an evolving tradition of free enterprise which renders production controls and industrial subsidies provisionally acceptable but extremely unpopular. The tenets of our system dictate that good and efficient producers have the freedom to grow and prosper, but also that inefficient producers in an industry have the freedom to move out of it. If agriculture is to remain a part of private enterprise, then this basic economic freedom for the individual farmer must be reinstated and preserved.

How can a single Federal program serve all of these masters simultaneously? Can a single program yield: (1) an acceptable standard of living for America's rural families; (2) a lower cost agricultural program for America's taxpayers; (3) efficient allocation of the Nation's agricultural resources; and (4) freedom and independence for the individual farmer, which will permit him to make his own production decisions?

One approach to simultaneous solution of all these objectives lies in a program which controls aggregate farm production or aggregate farm marketings without controlling the production or marketings of an individual grower. This approach to the farm dilemma deserves careful study; it appears to hold great promise, and to date it represents an untried alternative.

OPEN MARKET OPERATIONS FOR AGRICULTURE

Open market operations comprise just what the term implies—purchase and sale in an open market. The purpose of these operations when carried on by the Federal Government is deliberate and purposeful manipulation of the price and the volume of sales in a market. The Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System has employed open. open market operations for some years now in controlling the prevailing interest rates of the Nation. U.S. Government securities are bought or sold on the open market in such quantities that the market price of these securities rises or falls respectively. Since the contractual dollar interest on these securitles is fixed, the actual interest yield varies inversely with changes in the market price. Because the Federal Reserve is typically in a position to buy or sell in tremendous quantity, it succeeds in setting the market without directly controlling the negotiations of individual buyers and sellers.

An open-market-operations plan for agriculture can be administered in a similar way. Each farmer growing a designated crop is assigned either an acreage allotment or a marketing quota which permits him to grow a specific acreage or market a speamount of that particular crop anhually, as long as he doesn't sell his assigned allotment or quota. (Open-market operations can be employed with either acreage allotments or marketing quotas.) Marketing quotas will be employed here in describing these operations.) Under this scheme open-market operations deal with marketing quotas which take on many of characteristics of shares of common stock. They consist of negotiable pieces of paper expressing small, common units. entitle the owner to market a specific amount of some crop each year as long as he retains ownership of the certificates. volume purchase and sale of these marketing rights by the U.S. Department of Agriculture give the Federal Government a means of long-term control over marketings of the crop in question.

Administration of an open-market plan depends upon an initial once-and-for-all allocation of marketing quotas by the Department of Agriculture. During the implementation phase of the plan, farmers producing a particular crop are assigned marketing quotas on the basis of their respective marketings or production of the crop during some historical "base period." Selection of the "base period" is not of critical importance to the success of the plan, except that farmers must be satisfied that it is fair. Therefore, the initial setting of quotas should be presumed quite generous. Qualified producers receive market-

ing rights free of charge during the implementation period, but after a stipulated date those wishing additional quotas and those wishing to enter the industry must purchase quotas in the open market. These rights differ from the traditional franchise in that quotas may be purchased by anyone willing to pay the going price. The Department of Agriculture, acting as the single qualified broker under the scheme, keeps records of ownership of all quotas outstanding. Under a plan utilizing marketing rather than production quotas, actual production and on-the-farm use of a crop is not controlled. Sale of the commodity in primary markets, however, must be accompanied by ownership of sufficient marketing rights.

After the marketing quotas for a crop are completely allocated (according to some specific "base-period" formula), aggregate an-nual marketings of the crop are then controlled through the purchase or sale of these rights by the Government. If the expected annual marketings of wheat, for example, are in excess of the Nation's needs, then the Government buys up marketing quotas in wheat, thereby raising the going price of these quotas. At the same time the market price for wheat futures is likely to be somewhat depressed. This combination of events encourages marginal wheat growers to sell off their quotas to the Government and abandon the production of wheat either temporarily permanently. Manipulating aggregate marketings thus makes possible an eventual coordination of annual supply and demand at a reasonable price level. (The plan should not be construed as a means of seasonal or short-term control.) Because the initial allocation of marketing quotas is presumed to be generous (and therefore in excess of the Nation's needs), the Department of Agriculture would probably be compelled to buy back a significant fraction of the marketing rights originally assigned free of charge to the growers.

The process of purchasing quotas reduces total marketings in a most selective and advantageous manner. Marginal producers can be expected to constitute the first sellers because their costs are generally high in relation to the prices they receive for their produce. Ordinarily they have most to gain and least to lose by sale of their marketing quotas. Purchase of these quotas represents a subsidy for the exit of these resources from the market. Windfall revenues from the sale of marketing rights are designed to provide incentive to accelerate the exit of inefficient and part-time farmers from an industry which has bypassed their land and their production methods.

AGGREGATE CONTROL BUT INDIVIDUAL FREEDOM

Control of aggregate marketings by means of Government purchase and sale of quotas leaves the individual farm enterprise free to make production decisions based only on the traditional considerations employed in maximizing net return on investment. Since quotas are freely negotiable, any proinvestment. ducer interested in entering production or expanding his acreage and marketings of a particular crop is free to do so provided only that he is willing to pay the going price for the necessary quotas. Open market operations represent an attempt to aline de-cisions and actions that are profitable to the individual producer with resulting collective actions that are desirable for the industry and the economy. To date, farmers have generally been at odds with the market in times of overproduction. Instead of selling marketing rights during these periods (not possible under present regulations), they have tended to increase their plantings in an attempt to maintain their cash incomes. This type of action naturally intensifies a downward pressure on farm prices and income.

Under the proposed plan, negotiable marketing quotas give the individual grower a monetary incentive to curtail his marketings when quota prices are rising relative to prices of the crop in question. Marketing rights become a capital investment similar in many ways to a tractor or an additional silo. As such, they give the farmer some financial flexibility and a form of insurance that he can understand and appreciate. Ownership of quotas insures the disposal of his crop in a market devoid of price-depressing surplus production, while sale of quotas represents a better means of adjusting to reduced production than is open to the farmer at the present time. Open market operations are not designed to reduce marketings effectively after a crop is ready for harvest but rather to alter growers' plans for future production.

If the incentive to sell quotas is not sufficient to reduce future supplies of certain crops, an additional monetary incentive might be provided by an accompanying longterm soil conservation program. When marketing rights are sold, the farmer might enter a long-term contract of 10 to 20 years with the Department of Agriculture to put his land into a soil bank. The proposed soil bank differs from the program presently in force in that the proposal calls for a longterm contract yielding high annual payments initially, but payments which gradually diminish to zero over 10 years or so. In this way the farmer is persuaded by two monetary measures to reduce or abandon production: payment for selling his quotas and payment for conserving and restoring his land. Neither approach condones permanent subsidization. Unlike marketing quotas, soil bank contracts must be tied to the land, and land buyers must assume the obligations of soil bank contracts which are tied to the land they purchase.

Control of aggregate farm marketings through Government purchase and sale of quotas exhibits the significant advantage of providing incentive for either expansion or contraction as the situation demands. Its capacity for two-way control provides a relatively permanent policy for modern agriculture's dilemma of instability. In times of threatening crop scarcity the Department of Agriculture by unloading its supply of marketing rights forces the price of these rights down at a time when crop prices are relatively high. This combination of prices en-courages additional farmers into the market and prompts farmers already in the market to expand production. Increased production again reflects individual decisions founded upon the agricultural outlook. In an expanding market, however, farmers' decisions are supported by purchases rather than sales of marketing quotas.

PAST, PRESENT, AND FUTURE POLICY

Obviously a simple concept called "open market operations" cannot be expected to cure all the accumulated ills of 30 years of farm mechanization and governmental control. Historically, the competition of successful and efficient sellers in a free market was thought to be the best way of forcing marginally efficient resources out of production when their produce was no longer needed. Since the 1930's, however, economic policymakers have been compelled to admit that the free-riding laissez faire method in severely competitive areas like agriculture may cause much human hardship and suffiering. In the long run a survival-of-the-fittest market synchronizes the forces of supply and demand, but in the words of the famous economist Lord Keynes, "In the long run we are all dead." In the shorter run, farmers and their families may cling tenaciously to a progressively declining standard of living because of the absence of any obviously better alternative.

Abandonment of the laws of the free market, during New Deal days, has helped to maintain the living standard of our rural citizens, but it also gave birth to "the farm problem" as we know it today. Three-fourths of the Nation's farm enterprises contribute less than one-fifth of its marketed crops, and this three-fourths receives only a small fraction of farm subsidies. The original and present intent of agricultural legislation is not to support the capable, efficient, and prosperous grower. By every tradition of free enterprise he is expected to support himself, and he wants to. Yet under present programs most of the funds expended for Federal crop loans and purchases accrue to the man who needs them least, while his marginal neighbor, eking a meager existence out of barren hillsides, picks up precious few Federal dollars for his labor.

Past and present farm legislation has not succeeded in juggling satisfactorily the instability of a severely competitive industry and the great increases in productivity brought about by mechanization. It has surrendered sporadically to reminiscent declarations of praise for the independent and self-sufficient family farm as the backbone of the Nation. While these declarations elicit a response from all of us who remember happy childhood days in the country, this view of agriculture is but a sentimental myth cherished most by those who are more fond of recollecting where we have been than of looking forward to where we are going. The plea to move unneeded human and material resources off our marginal land sounds trite only because it rings so true.

In amending current farm policy, an openmarket-operations program seeks to coordinate, in a simple and advantageous way, the basic economic and social forces of the past and the future. The scheme cannot claim to solve one problem perfectly but seeks to solve reasonably well a number of interre-lated problems. It encourages an optimum allocation of output among available productive resources, because it makes possible the gravitation of marketing quotas to efficient producers who can profit most from their ownership. It offers a means of regulating aggregate supply without the necessity of awkward and inefficient regulation of the individual farm operation. It seeks to avoid the high costs associated with permanent subsidization. It recognizes the benefits of a free market as well as the impossibility of permitting the free market to rule severely competitive industry like agriculture. Finally, the plan encourages aline-ment of individual actions to the needs of the market; and it offers an avenue of escape for the marginal grower whose standard of living is of real concern to Congress and the

Any new approach to the problems of American agriculture must necessarily undergo a baptism by fire in an atmosphere of seasoned pessimism. Most Americans, especially farmers, have long been disillusioned by the absence of any easy cure-all for agriculture's affliction. Few new proposals can expect to find wholesale and enthusiastic support; yet political leaders of both parties appear determined to improve upon legislation as it presently exists. In this dilemma a system of open market operations for agriculture has much to offer. Its basic simplicity and multifarious avenues of application commend it as a nucleus for permanent public policy. At a time when new methods for attacking an old problem are so urgently needed, open market operations provide an interesting possibility. technique has long been employed in central banking, but is still untried in our oldest industry.

Governor Rockefeller Calls for a Frank Discussion on the Summit Failure

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. VICTOR L. ANFUSO

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 24, 1960

Mr. ANFUSO. Mr. Speaker, in this morning's New York Times there is published the text of a statement issued on Monday by Gov. Nelson Rockefeller of New York in which he called for a full-scale discussion on the failure of the summit conference in Paris last week. He urged that the debate be conducted with a frankness and a responsibility transcending the conventional restraints and formulas of partisan behavior.

I have read many political statements in my time, but to the best of my recollection I do not remember reading one as nonpartisan and more constructive than the statement made yesterday by the Governor of my own State of New York.

Governor Rockefeller does not ask either party to shun its responsibility. As a matter of fact he invites the opposition party, the Democratic Party, to which I have the honor to belong, to investigate all the facts regarding the recent summit meeting which ended so abruptly and unexpectedly. He reasonably and intelligently expresses the hope-which is the hope of all Americans—that the Democratic Party, in its proper desire to get at the facts, will not engage in any shallow partisan effort to assign all error to its adversaries, all wisdom to itself. He similarly emphasizes the hope that Republicans will not try to disguise the present situation for equally partisan reasons.

Both Democrats and Republicans have, from time to time, admitted that our foreign policy has been found wanting in imagination, in perspective, in well-planned policies, and in leadership. In a crisis such as the present one, our country stands to benefit from a constructive and nonpartisan consideration of our foreign policy, where we made mistakes, how we can correct them, how we can avoid them in the future. This is important not only in the interests of our own security, but also in the interests of world peace.

Mr. Speaker, in the same nonpartisan spirit in which a leading Republican, the Governor of the Empire State of New York, has invited this national debate on foreign policy, in that same spirit do I, as a Democrat, offer it to my colleagues in Congress and to all Americans as a splendid example of statesmanship and responsible leadership in our times. Under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to insert Governor Rockefeller's statement in the Record, which is as follows:

TEXT OF ROCKEFELLER STATEMENT

I stated 5 months ago my intent to speak plainly on national issues of serious moment. Such an issue now stands before us.

It is the clear and compelling need to face the facts concerning the failure of the summit conference at Paris—and to examine these facts with reason and courage and candor.

This need is equally binding on citizens generally and on our two political parties particularly.

particularly.

We, Republicans and Democrats alike, dare not and must not, at, such a time as this, flee from the open and honest exercise of reason in favor of partisan preferences and postures. The facts—and the debate upon them—must be neither exploited nor evaded.

The people need to know what went wrong, where we are, and where we are going.

CALLED TWO-PARTY TEST

Such an issue as this tests the very integrity and vitality of our two-party system. We shall fall this test if extremes of either passion or timidity make our voices shrill—or silent.

I believe so serious a test compels all of us to try to speak and to act with a frankness and a responsibility transcending the conventional constraints and formulas of partisan behavior.

I shall, therefore, be candid and explicit. I fervently hope that the Democratic Party, in its proper desire to get at the facts, will not engage in any shallow partisan effort to assign all error to its adversaries, all wisdom to itself. For it can hardly affect such a pose—since it neither questioned any of the general illusions leading to the summit conference nor, in any memorable manner, ventured any specific alternatives to recent diplomatic procedures.

I hope, no less fervently for being a Republican, that Republicans will not try to disguise the present situation for equally partisan reasons. For it would be false and frivolous—and ultimately damaging to both Nation and party—to dismiss sober criticism of specific American conduct as a peril to national unity.

UNITY THROUGH DEBATE

We must be clear about the proper meaning of national unity—and what it does not mean.

. It does not mean that debate threatens unity or that dissent suggests disloyalty for true and honest unity only issues from honorable debate.

It does not mean that a free people should suspend or suppress its own self-examination for fear that the exercise be distorted by our enemies—for this would recklessly surrender to our enemies the power to distort the very processes of free government.

It does not mean that self-criticism must be self-damaging—for only as we are ration ally critical of ourselves can we be rationally unafraid of the criticism of others.

A democracy must deal with facts. If it starts dealings with fictions, it is merely trying to deceive others. And it will succeed only in deceiving itself.

I believe personally that a few facts essential to serious analysis are, already, clear

enough.

1. The failure of the Paris Conference—
in the wake of the implacable aggressiveness
of the Soviet Premier and in spite of the
admirable dignity of the President—places
in serious question some of the illusions, as
well as the procedures, that led to the sum—
mit itself.

The crudity of Soviet conduct gives neither reason nor excuse for denying that some aspects of American conduct, immediately prior to the conference, demand examination of their purpose and prudence.

3. We know that the cost of recent events will be borne not only by ourselves and the Soviet Union but also by our allies throughout the world, now sure to suffer harsher Soviet pressure, hence now more than ever anxious to see us display honest sense of proportion and calm sense of purpose.

WOULD MEET QUESTION

We should, therefore, ask ourselves: Are We-the many voices in both our political parties-going to be respected for speaking responsibly, as our voices are heard around the world?

Serious national debate must begin by accepting-not evading-these facts and these

questions.

I personally do not believe that the facts known to date add up to a fatal debacle, any more than they suggest a shining victory.

The struggle to save freedom in the world must proceed on a steady plane of calm and creative purpose. It is not a thing of peaks and valleys, crises and pauses. We were not approaching (as some thought) a great peak a fortnight ago. We are not lost (as others may think) in desperate depths today. Our national responses to such events cannot come in fits and starts, alternating complacency and panic. Our basic policies and our national actions are matters too profound to be dictated by the facial expressions of Soviet leaders.

We, both citizens and parties, have an immediate chance, and an immediate obligation, to do something creative, as we strive to forge our decisions today. It is this: to make the act of national self-examination—and the proper debate between our political parties—an act of realism, an act. of renewed and reasoned dedication.

The discussion and debate upon these matters must not degenerate into a clash of absurd partisan absolutes. It must not be allowed to become a thing of glib cliches or irresponsible invective or bitter slogans. It must be a thing of sense and substance.

CALLS FOR SELF-EXAMINATION

We know we have reason to be proud of our basic principles of policy in the world.

We know we have reason to be proud of the dignity and the integrity of the President in personifying these principles.

The special and powerful faculty of the democratic process, however, is not self-congratulation but self-examination.

We owe our friends in the world—and our own consciences—something more significant than an American proclamation of national perfection.

We owe them and ourselves an examplea powerful example—of a people who are morally and intellectually competent to pursue reasoned review and criticism of their own actions.

The future is what matters.

This defines the test for both political parties: to give positive proof that we can make a difficult and stressful time a thoughtful and creative time.

Let our reasoning be rigorous, our speech fair, our judgments honest. There is no other way to discover truth or to define

This is the way, and the only way, for a free people to act their age—and for their

A Brief Analysis of U-2 Flights

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. HAROLD C. OSTERTAG

OF NEW YORK IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, May 24, 1960

Mr. OSTERTAG. Mr. Speaker, in talking about the reconnaissance flights of our U-2 airplanes, we must maintain the proper perspective on these flights. The Rochester Democrat and Chronicle has published a brief editorial to help keep things straight, and I ask unanimous consent to have published in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD this editorial of May 18, 1960:

JUST A SENTENCE ON THE SUMMIT

None of the tens of thousands of words of analysis and opinion written by scores of observers at the sour summit conference vesterday made more sense to us than one local letter to the editor.

Here it is, one sentence long, written by Frank W. Kinsman, of 149 Pleasant Way,

Penfield:

"In judging our national intelligence efforts we should not forget that Russia flew 4½ tons of absolutely undisclosed instru-mentation over Rochester at 4:17 a.m. yesterday."

Capital Punishment Is on the Way Out

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, May 23, 1960

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I commend to the attention of our colleagues the following article by Daniel M. Berman as it appeared in the Progressive magazine, April 1960 issue.

Mr. Berman is assistant professor of political science at Washington College, and was recently awarded a congressional fellowship by the American Political Science Association.

The article follows:

CAPITAL PUNISHMENT IS ON THE WAY OUT (By Daniel M. Berman)

Several States, notably California as a consequence of the celebrated Chessman case, have reviewed the old controversy over the abolition of retention of capital punishment.

Until last year, there were only six States-Maine, Michigan, Minnesota, North Dakota, Rhode Island, and Wisconsin-which did not provide for the death penalty. These States have now been joined by Delaware, while the admission of Alaska and Hawaii to the Union adds two more to the ranks. New Jersey and New York are giving the problem serious attention. And there are strong reform movements in several States besides California-Connecticut, Illinois, Pennsylvania, and Ten-

Despite the widespread prevalence of capital punishment on the statute books, it is a curious fact that, in practice, the death penalty in many States has been gradually curtailed almost to the point of abolition, In 1958, for example, there were fewer executions than in any other year for which Federal statistics were compiled. The decrease has been sharp. In the 1930's, the average year saw 150 criminals pay the extreme pen-alty; by 1956 and 1957, the number had fallen to 65, and in 1959 to 49.

If courts have demonstrated increasing reluctance to impose death sentences, State legislatures have shown no similar qualm. In some jurisdictions, lawmakers have actually enlarged the list of capital crimes. As a consequence, there are at present on the books 24 offenses which in theory could be punished by death but which in practice never have been—including dueling, teaching a woman how to perform an abortion, and homicide while committing criminal syndicalism. And not every sovereignty which

can impose the death penalty chooses to do so. Thus, only 16 of the 43 jurisdictions retaining capital punishment actually used it in 1959, and half the executions took place in four States-California, Arkansas, Florida, and Georgia.

Although theory still lags behind practice, the trend seems clear: capital punishment is on the way out. Perhaps the principal reason for its demise is the modern shift in emphasis from retribution to rehabilitation as the goal of penology. The present tendency is to attempt, first and foremost, to remove the conditions in which crime tends to breed. When a crime is committed. its perpetrator becomes a logical subject for study to determine whether he can be made fit for reinstatement in free society. Viewed in this light, the death penalty is an anachronistic relic of retributive justice.

There is, however, an even more compelling reason why capital punishment has been losing ground. It has failed as a deterrent of crime. The death penalty as a weapon against major one as a common sense—the greater the crime, the common sense—the greater to deter it. This weapon against major offenses seems good greater the threat required to deter it. seemingly commonsense theory, however, has broken down in the light of experience.

As the number of executions falls, the murder rate might be expected to increase, if the deterrent theory is valid. Yet it has gone steadily down. In 1933, for example, when 160 executions were carried out in the United States the murder rate was 9.47 per 100,000; by 1957, the number of executions had sunk to 65, but the murder rate had dropped, also-to 5.1 per 100,000. When proponents of capital punishment claim that the decline in the murder rate would have been even more rapid if there had been more executions, they exchange the solid ground of provable fact for the wild blue yonder of speculation.

States which have eliminated capital punishment have lower murder rates than those retaining it. The abolitionist States, Maine and Rhode Island, have a lower rate than does New England as a whole; Michigan and Wisconsin fare better than the East North Central States generally; and Minnesota and North Dakota are well below the average for the West North Central States. In striking contrast, the States with the largest number of executions continue to be afflicted with a disproportionately large share of the murders.

States and nations which have scrapped the death penalty have generally seen no increase in the incidence of murder. A British Royal Commission, after a 4-year study of the problem, concluded: "There is no clear evidence in any of the figures we have examined that abolition of capital punishment has led to an increase of the homicide rate, or that its reintroduction has led to a fall."

It is difficult to study facts like these without concluding that apparently capital punishment is totally ineffective as a deterrent of murder. Perhaps the explanation is simply that fear of punishment will often dissuade people from committing minor crimes for which the motive may be trivial, but not from major crimes, for which the motive is often overwhelming. Certainly knowledge of consequences does not enter into the thinking of a psychopath. Neither can it stay the hand of the man who kills in a wild fit of rage. The only class of mur-derers for whom capital punishment could have much deterrent value is the professional gunman—and we have perversely robbed the death penalty of precisely the quality which might make it somewhat effective with this group: certainty that it will be imposed on the malefactor.

Only about 1 percent of those convicted intentional homicide are obliged to walk the last mile. With odds of more than one hundred-to-one in his favor, why should the professional criminal hestitate?

In addition, we have made the deterrent even less effective by painstakingly attempting to make executions more "humane." Surely we are guilty of the epitome of inconsistency in retaining the death penalty because of its deterrent threat while searching for swifter and more painless methods of administering it.

of administering it.

Thus the statistics, buttressed by logic, indicate the futility of capital punishment as a deterrent. But there is an additional, tragically ironical possibility to consider: the existence of the death penalty may actually tend to boost the murder rate. A disturbing indication of this was furnished by the British, who began an 18-month suspension of the death penalty at the end of 1955. During the moratorium, the Home Office reports, the number of murders was almost 10 percent below what it had been during the preceding year and a half. And, during the 18 months after the hangman's vacation ended, the number of murders jumped more than 25 percent. The experience of most other abolitionist countries and States also indicates that there may be a perverse contagion between executions and capital crimes.

The reasons are by no means clear. Capital punishment, by diminishing respect for human life and by glorifying the killer and his deed, may actually break down formidable barriers to murder. How else can one interpret the common phenomenon of innocent men confessing to murders? The researches of Dr. William F. Graves of California are even more disturbing. Dr. Graves' study of homicides and executions in three California counties over a ten-year period led to this startling discovery: the number of murders was inordinately high for every day on which an execution took place.

If explanations for this possible correlation between capital punishment and murder are difficult, there is nothing obscure about another fact concerning the death penalty: it is used far more frequently against Negroes than against whites. From 1930 to 1958, with whites composing 90 percent of the population, more than half the executions in the United States were of Negroes, according to official statistics of the Federal Bureau of Prisons. The figures are specially horrifying with regard to executions for rape. Seven Southern States which doomed 78 Negroes for the offense have never put a white man to death for rape although many have been convicted.

The use of capital punishment as an instrument of race hatred is only part of a larger problem. Clarence Darrow put his finger on it when he predicted that no rich man would ever be executed. Warden Lewis E. Lawes of Sing Sing, who led 150 men to the electric chair, testified that the forecast was accurate. "All were poor and most of them were friendless," he reported. None could afford a good lawyer.

But the class implications of capital punishment are something of a peripheral issue. There are other, even more relevant, arguments which are helping the abolitionist cause:

The wrong man is sometimes convicted. Gov. Edmund S. Muskie of Maine has cited the hanging of an entirely innocent man as the principal reason for his State's abolition of capital punishment in 1887. Rhode Island abolished it under similar circumstances in 1852. It is, of course, only natural that mistakes are occasionally made. But when the victim is still alive, some sort of restitution can be attempted.

In States where death is the punishment for crimes like kidnapping and armed robbery, the offender has nothing to lose by committing murder in order to liquidate the witnesses.

Capital punishment makes jury selection difficult, since many prospective jurymen do not sanction the death penalty.

As knowledge of the facts spreads, the cause of abolition advances. On a piece-meal, State-by-State basis, this country appears to be joining the 33 nations which have concluded that the death penalty should be discarded.

Two Views on Shoe Labeling Legislation:
The American Medical Association and
the National Farmers Union

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES O. PORTER

OF OREGON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Friday, May 6, 1960

Mr. PORTER. Mr. Speaker, my persistent and tenacious constituent, Wilbur L. Gardner of Medford, Oreg., has been crusading for shoe labeling legislation for many years. His efforts have culminated in my bill H.R. 1320. The American Medical Association says that the subject matter of this bill or similar legislation does not come within the sphere of its activities. The National Farmers Union has put itself on record as firmly in favor of the bill.

I feel sure, Mr. Speaker, that the American Medical Association will continue to insist on a complete list of the ingredients of a drug on a container's label. Certainly the shoes that a person wears, especially if that person is a child, are in a sense a prescription for his feet. It would seem that an accurate label on shoes is also of importance.

Under a previous consent I am including the text of letters to Mr. Gardner from the AMA and the NFU, as well as a copy of a letter from the NFU to the Honorable Oren Harris, chairman of the House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce:

American Medical Association, Chicago, Ill., August 3, 1959. Mr. Wilbur L. Gardner,

Gardner's Shoe Service, Medford, Oreg.

DEAR MR. GARDNER: Your letter to Dr. Bolton concerning H.R. 1320, 86th Congress, a bill to protect consumers from misbranding and imitation materials in shoes, has been referred to the Council on Legislative Activities.

The Council does not feel that it should consider this bill or any similar legislation since the subject matter does not come within its sphere of activities.

Very truly yours,

C. JOSEPH STETLER.

NATIONAL FARMERS UNION, Washington, D.C., April 20, 1960.

Mr. Wilbur L. Gardner, The Man With a Sole, Gardner's Shoe Service, Medical Orea

Medford, Oreg.

DEAR MR. GARDNER: Enclosed herewith is a copy of our letter to Congressman OREN HARRIS, chairman of the House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee. We appreciate you calling our attention to the shoe labeling bill, H.R. 1820. The enclosed

letter for your information and use puts us firmly on record in favor of the bill.

We are glad that you have noted our support for the Forand bill to provide a health insurance plan for the aged. We are continuing to do our very best to see that this worthy legislation is enacted by the Congress.

Sincerely,

JOHN A. BAKER, Director.

APRIL 21, 1960.

Hon. OREN HARRIS, Chairman, House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, House Office

Building, Washington, D.C.

Dear Congressman Harris: As consumers of shoes and as producers of materials from which shoes are made, farmers have an interest in H.R. 1320 to require the labeling of material from which shoes are manufactured. Therefore, we urge you, as Chairman of the Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee to hold public hearings in order that the need for such legislation can be fully aired before the Congress.

Such legislation is needed to protect consumers from misbranding and the use of substitute and imitation material in shoes, the presence of which, in certain instances result in the perpetration of fraud on the buying public. As farmers and cattlemen we quite naturally would like to see more of our byproducts such as leather used in the manufacturing of shoes and related products. We believe that labeling as proposed by H.R. 1320 would result in greater use of leather. In this connection, we are disappointed that the Department of Agriculture did not see fit to report favorably on H.R. 1320.

We urge your favorable consideration of our request for public hearings and we stand ready to present further testimony in support of a shoe labeling bill.

Sincerely,

JOHN A. BAKER, Director.

Mr. W. K. Ulerich, Prominent Newspaper Publisher in Central Pennsylvania, Honored With Distinguished Service Award by Pennsylvania Press Conference

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JAMES E. VAN ZANDT

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 24, 1960

Mr. VAN ZANDT. Mr. Speaker, recently one of Pennsylvania's prominent newspaper publishers, Mr. William K. Ulerich, Clearfield, Pa., received additional honors in the profession of the Fourth Estate when he and Mr. Richard A. Swank, Duncannon, Pa., were the two Pennsylvania publishers selected for the annual Distinguished Service Awards of the Pennsylvania press conference.

Bill Ulerich who resides in my congressional district in Pennsylvania has been active in newspaper circles for over 30 years and has been honored by serving as president of the Pennsylvania Newpaper Publishers Association and also as president of the Pennsylvania Associated Press. At the present time Bill is publisher of two newspapers in

my congressional district, the Clearfield Progress, a daily publication and the Centre Democrat, published weekly at Bellefonte, Pa. He is also publisher of the daily newspaper, the Danville Record.

In extending congratulations to Bill Ulerich on the additional honor he received, I am incorporating in my remarks the following article which appeared in the May 21, 1960, issue of the Centre Daily Times, State College, Pa.:

WILLIAM K. ULERICH, R. A. SWANK HONORED BY NEWSPAPERS IN STATE

Two Pennsylvania publishers were acclaimed last night as 1960 recipients of the Pennsylvania Press Conference's annual Distinguished Service Awards.

These awards, inaugurated in the 1930's to recognize outstanding professional and civic achievement, were conferred on William K. Ulerich of Clearfield, formerly of State College, president or publisher of three county newspapers, and Richard A. Swank, editor and publisher of the weekly Dun-cannon Record.

The citations were conferred by H. Eugene Goodwin, director of the university's school of journalism, which each year joins the Pennsylvania Newspaper Publishers Association, the Pennsylvania Society of Newspa-Per Editors, and the Pennsylvania Women's Press Association in sponsorship.

Mr. Ulerich, who began his career as editor of the undergraduate newspaper at the university, has been actively associated with the newspaper industry for 30 years. He currently is president or publisher of the Clear-field Progress and Danville News, both dailies, and the weekly Centre Democrat of Bellefonte.

A native of Latrobe, his first job took him to the Huntingdon Daily News and he left that post to become first editor and eventually associate publisher of The Centre Daily Times. He maintained contact with his alma mater throughout these years as a part-time instructor and adviser and currently is chairman of the PNPA's Advisory Committee to the School of Journalism.

Active in politics and community life in State College and now in Clearfield, he Served in 1951-52 as president of the Pennsylvania Newspaper Publishers Association, and also is a past president of the Pennsylvania Associated Press. Active in radio, he and associates have built or purchased radio stations in State College, Clearfield, Latrobe, Indiana, Barnesboro, and Sebring, Fla.

A native of Perry County, Mr. Swank began as a high school student to contribute articles to the Duncannon Record, left the profession briefly to become cashier of his hometown bank and, later, owner of a con-struction business. Upon his return from Army service, he negotiated purchase of the Record and has been its editor and publisher for the last 14 years.

Winner of many State and national editorial awards, and active in community and church affairs, Mr. Swank for the last 10 years has served as secretary-treasurer of the Pennsylvania Newspaper Publishers Association. He presently is chairman of the initia-tion committee of the central Pennsylvania chapter of Sigma Delta Chi.

Jobs After 40

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. CRAIG HOSMER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, May 24, 1960

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Speaker, the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania has

published an excellent booklet entitled "Breaking Through the Age Barrier." It aims at educating employers and workers alike as to the advantages to be gained from elimination of job discrimination against workers over 40. Contained in the booklet are typical remarks and suggested replies on the subject. This enlightening portion of the booklet reads as follows:

JOBS AFTER 40: TYPICAL REMARKS AND SUGGESTED REPLIES

BY EMPLOYERS

- 1. Older workers cannot meet our physical requirements: Chronological age is not a true measure of physical ability. A better way to determine whether a prospective new employee is able to meet the physical requirements of a job is to require a physical examination.
- 2. Older workers are too slow: Many individual older workers are faster than the average younger worker. Therefore, employers who set an arbitrary age limit are ruling out their chances of employing workers who can produce faster than the average. Some workers often make up in reliability and accuracy for what they lack in speed.
- 3. Older workers are more prone to accidents: Studies indicate that older workers have fewer accidents than younger workers. They tend to lose more time per accident, thus balancing the fact that they have fewer accidents. The accident factor cannot properly be used either for or against hiring older
- 4. Older workers looking for jobs tend to be drifters: Just the opposite is true. An outstanding quality of older jobseekers is their dependability. They are not job hop-pers. They are less inclined to change jobs than younger workers.
- 5. It doesn't pay to invest in training older workers because they will only work for a few more years (see No. 4 above): Work histories show longer job tenure for the older group. The employer who invests in the training of an older worker will, on the average, get more years of service in return from the older worker than he will from a younger worker.
- 6. Older workers do not mix well with younger workers: Some employers report that just the opposite is true. They are a steadying influence on the younger workers. Their seriousness and concentration on the job is transmitted to other workers in the
- 7. Older workers can't adjust to new job conditions: Younger workers have difficulty adjusting to new jobs, as witness the higher turnover rate. The fact that old workers have a more serious attitude toward jobs would lead to the conclusion that they would make a much more marked effort to adjust to a new job.
- 8. The provisions of our pension plan make it necessary for us to exclude new older workers from the plan. If we hired them under a waiver, we would be subject to criticism for letting them go without a pension later on: Most workers are now eligible for OASI benefits on reaching age 65 (or 62), and therefore an employer who let an employee go without a pension can be assured the employee will not be destitute. Employers contribute to community welfare by hiring older workers and could not fairly be subject to criticism for doing so.
- 9 Older workers are hard to supervise. They won't take directions from younger men. They insist on doing things their own way: Chronological age is a poor way to measure a worker's adjustment. Younger workers are frequently hard to supervise. Employers have a right to discipline employees who won't take directions properly, without regard to age.
- 10. Older workers increase the costs of fringe benefits. Pension costs go up, group

life insurance goes up, workmen's compensation costs go up, etc.: See full discussion in chapter 3 above.

11. Older workers tend to get sick and be absent from work: All surveys show that older workers are absent from the job less than younger workers.

12. It is difficult for us to hire older workers because so few of them have experience in our line of work: The chances are that younger workers won't have experience and need training (see No. 4 above). Older workers stay on the job longer. It pays to invest in their training.

13. We believe in compulsory retirement. It's too difficult to decide whether a worker should retire on the basis of a physical examination or on a subjective determination of his ability to do the job: Management is always making a subjective determination of a worker's ability to do the job, regardless of his age. When a younger worker is not producing satisfactorily, he is either transferred to another job or dismissed. Why should it be more difficult to make such a determination for an older worker? A compulsory retirement policy denies management the right to make the kind of decisions which will produce the most effective labor force.

14. We believe in hiring young and promoting from within. Older workers would interfere with our promotion policies: All company policies should be designed to produce efficient results. If there would no unfairness to a young worker who deserves promotion, and if an older jobseeker is clearly more qualified for a job than other young applicants, it is clearly to the best interest of the company to employ the older jobseeker. What is important is that the decision should be reached on the basis of fairness, ability and the company's best interests; not on arbitrary age limitations.

15. Our job is to run our company profit-

ably. We shouldn't be expected to solve the social problems connected with an aging population. A sound policy on hiring older workers can contribute to profitable operations, because such a policy will let the company take the best advantage of the available work force.

BY OLDER WORKERS

1. Employers don't want old fogies like me. I'll never get a job. Certainly not with an attitude like that. Employers are interested in making profits. A jobsecker who can convince an employer that it will be profitable to hire him will generally get the job despite his age. Make a list of all the things you can do well and make sure

2. I've never had to look for a job. I don't know how to go about it: Get professional help. Your local office of employment security has the know-how when it comes to getting jobs. They'll get leads for you and help you make the best possible presentation of your abilities. If you have special problems, they'll give you special counseling service.

3. My skills are out of date, and I'm too old to start learning a new trade: Chances are your skills can be put to work in a different occupation, but even if you have to learn a new trade, you're never too old to learn. Talk over your problem with your employment service counselor.

4. If I take this job, I'll never get a chance for promotion because of seniority provisions. You can't get promoted when you aren't working either.

- 5. I'm still just as strong and as fast as I ever was. They have no right offering me a less important job. Sometimes when people grow old their physical abilities diminish. When there's a doubt, go to your own physician and have him examine you. There's nothing to be ashamed of if you have slowed down, but it's better to adjust one's ambition to his abilities.
- 6. I found a job, but it's too far from where I live: It's approximately twice as

hard for an older worker to find employment than it is for a younger worker. The older worker who is out of a job has had a tough break. He should be sensible and make the best of it. When he insists on everything to his complete satisfaction, he may end up worse off than before.

Wall Street Journal-Federal Aid for School Construction

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. RAY J. MADDEN

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, May 24, 1960

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Speaker, last Thursday the Rules Committee reported favorably on a rule for debate of the Federal school construction bill. As a member of the Rules Committee, I outlined the critical classroom situation as it exists in the industrial Calumet region of Indiana.

The following article from the Wall Street Journal of May 20, 1960 reveals the critical schoolroom situation in other areas in the Nation:

STRUGGLING SCHOOLS: MONEY PINCH TIGHT-ENS AS MANY STATES CURB RISE IN AID PAYMENTS-LEGISLATURES BALK AT BOOSTS IN TAXES: PRESSURE GROWS FOR MORE FED-ERAL HELP-CLOSE-UP OF ALABAMA'S WOES

(By Daniel M. Burnham)

MONTGOMERY, ALA.—Rain leaking through school roofs. Spring breezes blowing through busted classroom windows. Teachers dismissed; others quitting. New construction halted. Bus purchases canceled.

These are the outward signs of a deepening financial crisis gripping the 114 public school systems and 9 State-supported col-leges here in Alabama. So pinched for funds were the schools this spring that some scheduled summer closings a month earlier than usual; local officials kept the schools open in several areas by charging high school stu-dents special fees, diverting funds from such other purposes as roadbuilding and obtaining emergency loans from local bankers.

Alabama's school problems stem in part from unusual circumstances. For example, the lengthy nationwide steel strike cut sharply into State tax revenues from the Birmingham steel-producing area, so projected school expenditures had to be whacked. But more critical-and a trend that's clearly evident in many other States around the land-is a mounting reluctance by State legislators here and elsewhere to levy new or heavier taxes to pay for continually rising school costs. There's evidence that tax-payers, burdened since World War II by steadily rising levies for schools, are puting more pressure on lawmakers to slow or halt the tax uptrend.

NO SUPPORT FOR HIKES

"There is no support in this State for further tax hikes," flatly states Alabama's Gov. John D. Patterson. "Alabama is just going to have to wait until it grows industrially before it can pay out more to its schools."

This theme, or slight variations on it, is echoed by State and school authorities around the land. They cite lofty State debts, already heavy tax burdens, and the lack of new sources for additional taxes as support for their stepped-up efforts to obtain in-creased school aid from the Federal Govern-

"There's no question it's getting harder and harder to get money from State legislatures," declares Milton Raver, secretary of Maryland's State Teachers Association. During a 30-day session last winter, the Maryland Legislature slashed an association proposed \$13.7 million pay-increase package to \$4.3 million. As a result, he says, fewer than half the State's teachers will get pay increases next year."

AID IS LEVELING OFF

"State financial aid to local schools rose gradually from around 1925 on, but now it's leveling off," says Dr. Edgar Fuller, executive secretary of the Council of Chief State School Officers, in Washington, D.C. The council is made up of State superintendents and other top school officials in each State and U.S. territory. A major reason for the leveling-off of State aid, Dr. Fuller says, is the sharp rise in the State debt since the end of World War II.

Even in such States as New York, Kentucky, and Mississippi, where legislators have recently voted substantial sums for teacher pay raises and school maintenance, authorities report growing difficulties in their quest for new funds.

"This year's fight was the toughest we've ever been in," says Jack Tubbs, State superintendent of schools in Mississippi. For 5 months, adds Mr. Tubbs, education lobbyists had been skirmishing to obtain \$30 million for pay boosts and maintenance costs over the next two school sessions, but finally had to settle for \$17 million. "We had a Gover-nor who ran on a promise not to raise taxes," comments Mr. Tubbs.

Here in Alabama, where the school pinch is perhaps tighter than in most States, local officials are getting a stiff lesson in school financing. Visit for a moment with elderly Clem Carpenter, recently elected school superintendent of Crenshaw County, at the new courthouse in Luverne, 50 miles south of Montgomery. This is a rural county, poorer than most U.S. counties but nevertheless proud of its two textile plants, its stub-snouted hogs, and the flowers that bloom profusely alongside almost every home. Because of a cutback in State aid, home. its 3,804 Negro and white children came close to getting out of school a month early.

"SKIN OF OUR TEETH"

"I don't know what we'll be using for cash next September," Mr. Carpenter frets, "but I think we're going to make it through closing time on June 5 by the skin of our teeth.

Last month local bankers, after lending the system \$247,000 over the past few years, refused to lend more. Bills for school repairs and bus maintenance hadn't been paid since February 15. Local parent-teacher associations had financed the purchase of chalk and other supplies, and had paid utility bills in each district. There was just enough cash around to pay teachers through Then-almost at the last momentthe State board of education came to the rescue with \$50,000 in cash to tide the system over for the rest of the year.

To shave costs, Mr. Carpenter says 17 of the system's 164 teachers will be released when the schools close down next month. "It's going to cause a ruckus among the teachers, but it will save us between \$50,000 and \$60,000 next year," he says.

Local school administrators in Alabama lean harder on the State government than do school officials in most States. The National Education Association in Washington, D.C., reports its latest figures show that 72.5 percent of the total revenues received by Alabama's schools were supplied by the State in the 1957-58 school year. That compares with a national average of 40.8 percent for that year.

Most of the school money that local governments themselves provide comes from

property taxes. And local officials share the State legislators' aversion to proposing tax boosts. Even when they do propose boosts, they may not be able to put them through. In Alabama, a local property tax increase first must be approved by the State legislature, then by a statewide referendum then by the local community's voters them-

BIGGEST INCREASE EVER

Ironically, Alabama's school crisis developed shortly after the legislature had authorized the largest increase ever in school appropriations. Last summer, under pressure from the Alabama Education Association. lawmakers voted a school appropriation of \$143.5 million for the fiscal year ending next September 30, an increase of \$28 million over the previous year. They also approved the sale of \$100 million in bonds over the next few years for school construction.

To finance the appropriations increase, the legislature extended sales taxes to a wide variety of items-Sunday newspapers and automobiles, to name two. It also put new levies on purchases of heavy machinery, and hiked taxes on tobacco and personal income.

But shortly after the bill became law, revenues from several taxes began to run well below expectations, partly as a result of a decline in farmers' income and partly as the aftermath of the steel strike, which cut purchases and revenues from sales taxes in the Birmingham area.

The upshot: Late last February, Governor Patterson had to order a cutback in monthly allotments to the school systems to offset a loss of some \$13.5 million in anticipated tax revenues earmarked for schools.

To carry out the cutback, Governor Patterson recommended that the promised 15-percent increase in teachers' pay be chopped to only 5 percent. But protests from teachers rocked the State board of education. It finally decided to provide funds for the full 15-percent boost, but reduced funds available for maintenance outlays and other school spending. In Alabama and elsewhere, teachers' salaries generally are set by local school boards, but in recent years State legislatures in many cases have, in effect, raised salaries by providing funds to supplement local revenues.

The shortage of cash to maintain schools has sent school officials scurrying to a va-

riety of new sources for funds.

In Cherokee County in northeastern Alabama, a supplemental fee of \$8 a month has been levied on high school students. Junior high pupils are billed \$7 a month. Charges on elementary school students are forbidden by law, so county officials are asking a donation of \$2 per pupil per month.

On Alabama's western border, Green County commissioners quietly took a \$12,000 surplus from road-construction funds and handed it to the 23-school county system as a gift. Superintendent Clyde A. Pruitt, of Macon County, east of Montgomery, got a Federal loan of \$54,000 under a law which permits Uncle Sam to assist schools near Federal projects. The county has a Veterans' Administration hospital near Tuskegee.

large majority of the school systems headed for the local banks. Loans ranged as high as \$100,000. "It's too early to know how many systems went into debt this spring," says Frank R. Stewart, secretary of the State board of education. "But at the end of last year there were 22 county and 10 city systems in debt to the banks to the tune of about \$1.6 million. There's no question the number and amount will climb sharply this year."

Alone with the search for cash, the cutback has brought a rash of moves to reduce expenses. "We've got a list as long as your arm of projects we've dropped," says W. P. business manager of the 8,500-stu-Ingram. dent, State-supported Auburn University in eastern Alabama. Included in the list: A

\$9,000 point job for the rusting Reserve Officers' Training Corps building, an overhaul of the gym, and repair of a couple of roofs.

There are school roofs leaking all over Alabama today," sadly says Frank L. Harwell, superintendent of schools at Talladega, about 60 miles east of Birmingham.

POSTPONING BUSES

In many systems, school bus purchases have been definitely put off. Woodrow Burke, superintendent of the 17-school system of Lawrence County along the northern State line, reports: "We didn't buy any buses this year; we should have purchased eight to keep up with our obsolescence program.'

Hanging over school officials and politicians alike is a fear that the financial insecurity of the schools may start a mass movement of teachers to other States; many already have gone. "Alabama teachers are going to Florida by the carloads hunting for Jobs," says William Burl, Russell County school principal.

Teachers' pay in Alabama now averages \$3,645 annually. Florida, beckoning with sunny beaches, offers an average salary of \$4,980 for teachers.

Governor Patterson insists the problem is One for local communities. The administration and the legislature have done about all they are going to do, he says. A special session to consider tax revenues is out, he vows.

We raised taxes last year to support new funds for the schools and it may cost me my political life," he explains. "The sales tax (4 percent), the income tax, and the tobacco tax are all too high now," he adds. "There is no public sentiment for further increases."

Area Development Legislation Is Still Possible

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. JOHN P. SAYLOR

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 24, 1960

Mr. SAYLOR. Mr. Speaker, in the President's veto message on the area redevelopment bill, he stated:

S. 722, the area redevelopment bill.

For 5 consecutive years I have urged the Congress to enact sound area assistance legislation. On repeated occasions I have clearly outlined standards for the kind of program that is needed and that I would gladly approve.

In 1958 I vetoed a bill because it departed greatly from those standards. In 1959, despite my renewed urging, no area assistance bill was passed by the Congress.

Now in 1960, another election year, a new bill is before me that contains certain features which I find even more objectionable than those I found unacceptable in the 1958

The people of the relatively few communities of chronic unemployment—who want to share in the general prosperity—are, after 5 years, properly becoming increasingly impatient and are rightfully desirous of constructive action. The need is for truly sound and helpful legislation on which the Congress and the executive can agree. There is still time and I willingly pledge once again my wholehearted cooperation in obtaining such a law.

After listing his objections to this bill, he again called upon the Congress to present legislation that would meet the approval of both the Congress and the Executive, as follows:

Again, I strongly urge the Congress to enact new legislation at this session-but without those features of S. 722 that I find objectionable. I would, however, accept the eligibility criteria set forth in the bill that first passed the Senate even though these criteria are broader than those contained in the administration bill.

Moreover, during the process of developing a new bill, I would hope that in other areas of past differences solutions could be found satisfactory to both the Congress and the Executive.

My profound hope is that sound, new legislation will be promptly enacted. If it is, our communities of chronic unemployment will be only the immediate beneficiaries. tone will have been set that would hold forth, for the remainder of the session, the hope of sound and rewarding legislation in other vital areas-mutual security, wheat, sugar, minimum wage, interest rates, revenue measures, medical care for the aged and aid to education to mention but a few.

Only this result can truly serve the finest

and best interests of all our people.

It is time for the Congress and Executive to give serious attention to the enactment of an area redevelopment bill. I call upon the leadership of the House to bring forth a measure that can be enacted into law. This must be and can be done now. The President has asked for a moderate bill-let us, therefore, give him one that will meet with the administration's approval and get this program going at once.

I, along with my colleagues Mr. VAN ZANDT and Mr. FENTON, have introduced measures in the House which represent a good compromise, and one that can become law during this session of Con-

As part of my remarks, I include an editorial from the Johnstown Tribune-Democrat of May 14, 1960:

AREA DEVELOPMENT BILL STILL POSSIBLE

President Eisenhower's veto of the area development bill can hardly be called unexpected. It had been forecast in debate on the bill in both House and Senate. The bill was much the same as the one the President vetoed in 1958, though somewhat lower in amount, and no effort had been made by the bill's sponsors to meet the President's objections in other respects or to seek a compromise.

There is, however, one major difference between the veto this year, and the veto in That was a pocket-veto after Congress had adjourned, since the measure had been passed in the closing days of the session. This time the veto message was sent to Congress in sufficient time to permit passage of a more moderate measure such as Mr. Eisenhower has asked for years—if the Democratic Congress really wants area development legislation.

The veto, on the basis of the narrow margin by which the bill was approved in the House and Senate, cannot be overridden. But a compromise bill could be whipped through Congress on quick order; and if it is not, the political purpose of the original bill will become apparent. There is good evidence that its principal sponsors wanted an issue for the coming campaign, instead of a law.

If Congress does not pass a bill which would set this activity in motion promptly. the evidence will be conclusive that the original measure was simply designed to play politics with human hopes and human

Like the President, this newspaper believes and has said that the vetoed bill was far too broad for an experimental effort of this kind, for which there had been no experiences on a national scale. A series of articles on this page has pointed out the sharp disagreements in Congress itself on several phases of the bill that Congress passed. It had to be altered on the floor of the House, for that matter, up to the last minute, though the subject has been under active consideration in Congress for more

We do not know how effectively a Federal area development program would work-nor does anyone else. There is one basic con-flict within the plan itself. It seeks to help depressed areas attract new industry, but it also professes to avoid drawing such industry from other more prosperous areas. State and local activities for depressed areas do not contain such internal contradictions, since they are frankly competitive.

Certainly there is reason to approach such a Federal program cautiously, and this is what the administration wants to do. The amount of money is a far less serious matter; and, if the plan works, additional money would be forthcoming swiftly. Meanwhile, if those who have made such an outcry for this legisation are sincere, they will try now for a moderate start.

This newspaper is as anxious as anyone could be for a program which will help the area it serves, and the State of Pennsylvania. We do not, however, want legislation which would raise hopes, only to dash them later. We believe that the administration plan offers a sound approach to the problem of depressed areas. And we trust that those who have been calling upon Mr. Eisenhower to sign a bill he does not believe sound, will now be equally vociferous in calling upon Congress to pass a bill which can become law within a few weeks.

Are Farmers Unimportant?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. AL ULLMAN

OF OREGON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, May 23, 1960

Mr. ULLMAN. Mr. Speaker, I want to call the attention of my colleagues to the following editorial from the East Oregonian, in Pendleton, Oreg. It points out that the importance of farm folk extends far beyond their numbers. I would call particular attention to the editorial's concluding point. The farmer certainly cannot solve the farm problem alone. We must give him the necessary legislative tools to do the job:

[From the East Oregonian, May 12, 1960] ARE FARMERS UNIMPORTANT?

In this election year the Eisenhower administration is demanding that something be done about the farm problem and leaders in the Congress are saying that something must be done about it. Every presidential candidate has a solution or is searching for

Farming is of much concern to the politicians in election years. It always has been. But there's something different about it this year. It isn't the farm vote that the politicians have their eyes on. They are looking at the vote of the consumer who is demanding that something be done about the farm problem.

Are the politicians deluding themselves in thinking that the farm vote no longer is important? Is this one of several myths that have grown up around farming during the years that Ezra Taft Benson has served as Secretary of Agriculture?

We think so. So does one of the best-

informed men in agriculture.

Carroll P. Streeter, editor of the Farm Journal, recently spoke at Iowa State University about "Eight Myths About the Farm Situation." Myth No. 8, according to Mr. Streeter, is, "Farmers aren't a very important group any more-there are too few of them." Of this Mr. Streeter said:

"It's true that fewer than one out of eight of our population now lives on a farm. But let's consider a few facts, too often over-looked, about the place of farm families in

our scheme of things.

"Obviously, farmers provide us all with our daily bread, as well as cotton and wool for clothing. Rather important, but what else?

"Well, every 10 years they send to the cities some 1.9 million fine young people-completely reared, educated, ready to work. These children are trained in self-reliance, in responsibility, in habits of work, in our finest family traditions. Not only do they make excellent citizens, but a great many of them turn into leaders.

This is a tremendous social contribution." "But have we considered how much of a financial contribution it is? Not to the individual taxpayer personally, but to the Nation. What would you say—\$20,000 per child? I saw that statistic from Kansas State University the other day as being the cost of rearing a child from birth to age 18. At that figure the total would come to \$3.8 billion per year—a considerable offset to the \$6 billion agriculture budget mentioned earlier.

"Well, how else are farmers important to Farming is our biggest single industry. measured by almost any standard, and a major customer of other industries. And it is getting bigger, not smaller. It's a real growth industry if there ever was one. But do we realize how big it really is?

"In 1959 farmers' gross income was \$46.3 billion. That's a big hunk of money. It was 9.7 percent of our gross national prod-

uct for that year.

"With that money farmers buy 61/4 million tons of steel a year—half as much as the automotive industry uses. They buy more petroleum than any other single industrymore than one-eighth of all the petroleum produced in the country. They use more electric power than Baltimore, Boston, Chicago, Detroit and Houston combined. It takes \$6 billion worth of containers and packing materials to pack the food U.S. farmers raise in a year.

"Then let's not forget the jobs that farming creates in food processing and distribution, in the manufacture and distribution of farm machinery and supplies. All these jobs are part of the agricultural complex,

"So the 'no longer important' myth holds no water at all. Citizens with a \$46 billion income and \$208 billion in assets, who buy from nearly everybody and sell to everybody, can't be dismissed as nobodies."

We wish it were possible to reprint all of Mr. Streeter's address. Unfortunately, there are too many people in this region which depends to such a great extent upon agriculture that don't know the truth about the

farm problem.

They will hear much about it in this election year. But not because the politicians are "bleeding" for the poor farmer. Of course there is a farm problem. It is big and complex. But it is not a problem that the farmer created nor is it one that he can

Distressed Areas

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. JOHN P. SAYLOR

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, May 24, 1960

Mr. SAYLOR. Mr. Speaker, Members of Congress who represent distressed labor areas in the United States have been making a plea for the relief of their constituents-good American citizensfor the last six sessions of Congress. Twice Congress has passed and twice the President has vetoed bills that would have granted these areas some relief.

Members from areas that are not so affected are prone to believe that we who represent such areas paint too drab and

unrealistic a picture.

Allen (Hoot) Croyle who lives in St. Michael, Pa., has seen the only industry in his town close down. He knows what it is like to live in such a community where he and his buddies have been without work for 21/2 years-where all they ask is a chance to earn a living for themselves and their families.

While Mr. Croyle talks about his own hometown, it is equally true of many other communities not only in my district but in every depressed area in the United States of America. Mr. Croyle's

story follows:

COALTOWN DRAMA: MINING MEN CAST IN TRAGIC ROLES

(By Allen (Hoot) Croyle)

The sound of the mine whistle which used to summon a bustle of activity has long since passed into silence.

A walk through a mine yard brings one to

a scene of utter desolation

The mine tipple, the cleaning plant, and other buildings are passing through the tragic stage of deterioration that idleness

All that is metal is going to rust. All that

was labor is turning to dust.

The unused empty mine cars that used to haul the rich, soft coal from the mine are now upended. They are stacked one against the other, stored in neat, orderly rows, like tombstones-each marking the grave of a job.

SILENT GOODBYE

Above all, the empty smokestacks lift their blackened fingers to the sky-a silent goodby to an industry.

The lights are guttering low in the coalfields and, as a consequence, many of the younger men have lifted their packs, departing from friend and family.

These men fought a war in the belief that victory would permit them to raise a family

in dignity and with decency.

But democracy's promise has not come home even to limping fulfillment.

And so, for the second time, circumstances tear away the younger miners. Reunion with family comes on a too-infrequent weekend.

There is absolutely nothing for them in this blighted area. But they are fearful of making the complete, final break which moving from this area would bring.

CLING TO ANCHOR

There are strong family ties of friendship and tradition. And there is little incentive to move from a low rent area into a high one, since they lack the assurance that city employment will be permanent.

They are without seniority that brings job security. They are caught on both horns of the dilemma. Their employment keeps of the dilemma. Their employment keeps them from their family. Daily the heart-break goes on. So much for the younger men.

On the other hand, the majority of the idle miners are rooted to the area. Their age is against them being hired elsewhere since industry is reluctant to retrain older workers.

Many of them could not pass a physical examination because their lungs are filled with the impurities inherent in the mining industry.

CAREERS CUT SHORT

They found out too late that all their hopes for happiness were tied too tightly in a bag of coal. They are orphans of a mine that fell in the grim battle of competitive throatcutting.

Too young for retirement and too old to get hired-the forgotten men that modern industrial society consigned to the limbo.

The political leaders who could do so much toward alleviating the problem only provide

lipservice to their cause. . The exhaustion of their unemployment benefits has driven them to the galling wall of public assistance. No matter how well intended, this aid is piteously inadequate and is accepted with a subconscious feeling of shame.

The unemployed are finding that povertythe unseen guest of the household-makes for bad company. The wife has an unending struggle trying to make ends meet.

It's a hard job trying to explain to youngsters why they can't have a much needed dress or pair of shoes.

PERSONAL SIDE EFFECTS

The little characteristic traits which used to be viewed with tolerance are now a constant source of irritation. The men are finding out that a worried wife becomes a nagging one. And so the unemployed miner ends up in the nearest saloon or club where a man is still man-preeminently. their problem becomes less distressing because it is shared by others. And here there is always the chance that the proverbial 'live one" will arrive.

The favorite topics of discussion are unemployment, foreign aid (which they bitterly oppose), and mostly the President whom they have placed in a special niche alongside Herbert Hoover.

The favor "jobs for Joes" but not for

Janes

The miner always considered his calloused hands as a badge of honor. He is not ready to trade them in for dishpan hands.

HOPES STILL FLICKER

Always there is the lingering hope that the mine will reopen again. But hope so long deferred maketh the heart sick.

So more and more people are beginning to realize that some form of an industrial re-development project will have to be inaugurated to create new industry and jobs in this area.

Redevelopment has to have its start on & local level-we know that. But the eradication of chronic local unemployment problem that can best be solved by the State

and Federal Governments.

Cambria County has been classified as a substantial labor surplus area for many years. It is confronted with grave financial problems that limit the capacity for self-

GOOD TRY

Many of the area communities have made valiant "bootstrap" efforts to attract new industry. However laudable their efforts, the rewards have been little. Therefore the immediate job is to enlist public support to have a distressed areas bill passed in this session of Congress, and to have the President sign it.

The unemployed in St. Michael will agree with William F. Schnitzler, secretary-treas-urer of the AFL-CIO, who stated while testifying in support of a depressed areas bill:

"We seek neither charity nor a raid on the public treasury in behalf of America's distressed communities. On the contrary, our object is to help people help themselves by assisting the jobless to find work again and by helping whole communities to become productive and self-reliant.

"And as success flows from this effort, many of our citizens will move off the relief rolls and on to tax rolls. The public treasury will be well recompensed for the limited investment in human welfare we now ask.

The Selma-Gold Beach Road: Endorsement by Josephine County Pomona Grange No. 20

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES O. PORTER

OF OREGON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, May 19, 1960

Mr. PORTER. Mr. Speaker, the need for a road from Selma, Oreg., to Gold Beach, Oreg., is well established. Such a road would open immense timber resources, great mining possibilities and a wonderful recreation area.

Along with State Senator Robert Straub, Speaker Robert Duncan of the Oregon House of Representatives and others I made a horseback trip over this territory last summer and am looking forward to making a similar trip late in

July of this year. It is my hope that the Oregon State Highway Commission will see fit in the hear future to add this proposed road to the Federal forest highway system and to request that the Bureau of Public Roads make a survey as soon as possible. The facts will speak for themselves and this road will be built to the

great advantage of the area, the State, and the Nation. Under a previous consent I am includ-

ing here a resolution by the Josephine County Pomona Grange No. 20 setting forth their endorsement of this road and

the reasons therefor:

Whereas an association has been organized and has been active in gathering information and investigating the advantages of a road connecting Selma and Gold Beach,

Oreg.; and

Whereas it has been determined that funds for this project can be secured from (1) Federal service road money, since the road penetrates through the Siskiyou National Forest, and (2) O. & C. controverted funds set aside for building roads into Federal forest timberlands. It should be noted that 10 miles of this road is completed at this time and 2 more miles are under construction from the Gold Beach end, financed from the above funds; and

Whereas this through road and its tributary roads at favorable points would make available vast areas of fir, pine, Port Orford cedar, yew and spruce timber, and much of this timber is past its prime and should be

harvested; and

Where as there are unlimited opportunities to make available to the traveling and vacationing public, attractive spots for fishing, camping, hunting etc., including opportunities for private enterprises such as filling stations, motels, resorts, camps, etc.; and

Whereas unlimited and unestimated natural resources in the form of deposits of gold, chrome, copper, asbestos, iron, silver, nickel and platinum are known to be there, but cannot be reached or developed under the present circumstances; and

Whereas there is no deepwater port for foreign or coastwise shipping between Portland, Oreg., and San Francisco, Calif., and at this time Gold Beach has Federal appropriations available and construction has already started on a breakwater and deep port facilities, and this would serve as an outlet for export of all products from southern Oregon and northern California and would have to be served by truck transportation exclusively,

Whereas this is the final link in a vast transcontinental highway system and would expedite movement of defense materials, shipment of supplies, and serve as an alternate port of embarkation, and be also an emergency route for civil defense: Now, therefore, be it.

Resolved, That the Pomona Grange of Josephine County, in regular session assembled this 30th day of April, 1980, fully endorse this project and cooperate with the efforts of all organizations interested in it, and that a copy of this resolution be sent to the Oregon State Grange, Oregon State Highway Commission, Forestry Division of the U.S. Department of Agriculture, U.S. Congressmen from Oregon, Governor of Oregon, members of the State Legislature from Curry, Josephine and Jackson Counties, Selma and Gold Beach Road Association, Chambers of Commerce of Cave Junction, Gold Beach, Medford and Grants Pass, Pomona Granges of Jackson and Curry Countles, and the County Courts of Jackson, Curry and Josephine Counties.

JOSEPHINE COUNTY POMONA GRANGE No. 20, WAYNE JOHNSON, Master. LENA FOSTER, Secretary.

The Old Nixon Is Back

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. MELVIN PRICE

OF TLLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, May 11, 1960

Mr. PRICE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I herewith include an editorial entitled "The Old Nixon Is Back," which appeared in the May 20, 1960, issue of the St. Louis (Mo.) Globe-Dispatch:

THE OLD NIXON IS BACK

Vice President Nixon is courting serious political trouble in trying to convert the spy plane and summit failures to his political advantage. Yet that appears to be what he was attempting to do in his press conference in Syracuse, N.Y.

The Democrats, he said, could investigate the intelligence gap if they believed the President should have apologized to Premier Khrushchev. This distorted way of phras-ing the issue is pure "old Nixon." Then he disclosed that the United States had found that two Russian U.N. employes were spying in Springfield, Mass., last fall but did not make an issue of the case during Khrushchev's visit.

No leading Democrat, as far as we know, is suggesting that the President apologize to Khrushchev. Beyond reasonable criticism of the handling of the U-2 spy plane incident, most Democrats have exhibited unusual restraint in an effort to weld national unity on policy toward Russia. Senators Johnson and Fulbright, Speaker Rayburn and Adlat E. Stevenson even took the extreme step of cabling President Eisenhower at Paris to uphold his hand in his controversy with Khrushchev. Is Mr. Nixon now challenging the opposition to be more irresponsible than he has been?

It is irresponsible to reveal official information on a hitherto secret spy case, perhaps by using FBI files, for personal political advantage. And it is no contribution to advantage. And it is no contribution or rational debate to equate the U-2 incursion over foreign territory with a spy case so minor that one of the spies remains in this country

Senator Gore, of Tennessee, asks whether this is the new Nixon or the old Nixon speak-That is an inevitable question. old Nixon relied heavily on partisan distortion of issues like this. The new Nixon, according to the cultivated image, was to avoid McCarthy techniques and be an apostle of peace. He did not shun credit for arranging the Khrushchev visit or for the improvement in relations with Russia which have now turned sour.

Has Mr. Nixon now reversed his image again? If so, partisan Democratic hostility is not all that he risks. The voting public may wonder which of the various images of Mr. Nixon to take at face value.

Juvenile Delinquency

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. JOHN E. FOGARTY

OF RHODE ISLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, May 23, 1960

Mr. FOGARTY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks I include an address which I delivered at the AFL-CIO Joint Council Meeting on Juvenile Delinquency, New York, N.Y., on May

RESPONSIBILITY IN JUVENILE DELINQUENCY

12, 1960.

It is a pleasure to be here with you today, and I welcome this opportunity to share with you my thoughts on juvenile delin-

quency.

As a Member of your Congress and chairman of the Appropriations Committee for health, education, and welfare funds, I have been fighting for new programs and legislation to help reduce juvenile delinquency. I know you are just as concerned with this as I am. And so, what I have to say to you will be a reminder of our shared responsibility for meeting and dealing with this serious prob-

Moreover, I shall point out some of the ways by which we can more strongly attack and deal with the growing menace of juvenile delinquency. The situation is not hopeless. Far from it. But there are things we need to do that we are not doing—and the need to do that we are not doing—and the time for action is now. So, what I shall say will show the gloomy side—the staggering statistics of juvenile delinquency. But it will also reveal the hopeful side—the opportunities for positive programs and action,

Juvenile delinquency is reaching epidemic proportion in our society. It is causing grave concern not only to you and to me, but to every American concerned about the present and future welfare of our country.

The statistics are shocking. The number of delinquency cases disposed of by juvenile courts in the United States nearly tripled between 1948 and 1958. During this period the child population of delinquency age increased by about a third, while the delinquency rate per thousand children in this age group doubled. Cause for further alarm is the fact that acts of violence against persons are increasing more rapidly than almost any other form of juvenile delinquency. The cost of delinquency in dollars and cents is also staggering. FBI estimates indicate that juvenile delinquency currently represents a drain on our national economy of \$4 billion each year.

But the problem is even more serious than the surface facts make it appear. It is reliably estimated that one boy in five in this country now has a delinquency record by the time he is 18 years old. Though it is true that many of the offenses that are counted in establishing this figure are relatively minor, it is also true that the statistics on delinquency are limited to cases known to law enforcement agencies and courts. For every child who becomes a juvenile court statistic there are two or three who are dealt with informally by the police, even though they may have committed similar offenses. About half of all arrests for burglary and larcency and almost two-thirds of the arrests for auto theft involve persons under 18 years Yet in these three categories, slightly less than one offense in four results in an arrest.

It is obvious then that the figures on delinquency represent only the surface portion of a menacing iceberg—an iceberg in which we should include all of the thousands of youngsters with delinquent behavior patterns. These young people must also be seen as people, not merely as statistics. They are the citizens, the workers, the parents of the next generation. They are individuals with productive potential—and many of them have the basic abilities to make important creative contributions to our society. We simply cannot afford this kind of waste of our productive youth. No country, not even ours, is rich enough or ever will be rich enough to afford it.

The child population of delinquency age will increase by about 50 percent in the next two decades. On top of this, in the next 2 decades many more of our people will be living in or near big cities. At present, the big city delinquency rates are three to four times the rural and small town rates, and adult crime rates also increase with the size of the city. It seems very likely, therefore, that as we become a more urban nation our delinquency and adult crime rates will continue to rise, with more delinquents in the juvenile age bracket and more and more of them moving into adult crime as they grow older.

For the last 13 of my 19 years in the Congress, I have been active-either as a ranking member or chairman—on the House committee responsible for levels of programs that include the field of delinquency. subcommittee which I head has become increasingly alarmed at the national juvenile delinquency problem. Accordingly, last year our committee asked the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare to coordinate a special effort and give leadership to persuade more of our scientists to turn their attention to study in the behavioral sciences. Such studies, we felt, should include inquiry into the psychological, emotional, and environmental factors leading to deviant factors leading to deviant behavior in youth.

From such knowledge we could hope to find a way of preventing juvenile delinquency. Let me quote from our report: "In the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare we have the Children's Bureau and the National Institute of Mental Health, both with interest, experience, and resources in the fields of child behavior, child welfare, and child psychology. It would seem that a collaborative effort by these two agencies, one oriented to research in behavioral, psychological, and psychiatric sciences, and the other oriented to research in sociological science with emphasis on child welfare, could lead to methods for helping reduce the tragic social burden that juvenile delinquency represents."

We asked the National Institute of Mental Health and the Children's Bureau to undertake a most careful and thoughtful study of what can and should be done in future years in the field of juvenile delinquency prevention.

The joint report of the National Institute of Mental Health and the Children's Bureau has now been received. Its contents indicate that, though we do not now have any final answers regarding the nature of delinquency and the most effective ways of treating different types of delinquents, we do have a good deal of useful knowledge resulting from scientific studies and from the experience of people working in the field of de-

We are not completely ignorant and helpless before this crisis. We can identify the problem, we can plot its course, at least crudely, and we can take preventive measures. It is not enough to be against delinquency—it is our responsibility to develop a major national blueprint for the control of this epidemic. Fortunately, it is not too late for prevention and control if we are willing to take bold, expensive, and large-scale action, to conduct field experiments and demonstrations, to train needed personnel, and to do more research.

Our committee is recommending such action and is also recommending an appropriation of \$1 million to the National Institute of Mental Health and \$60,000 to the Children's Bureau in the coming fiscal year to inaugurate the first steps for such a program. We recognized, of course, that substantially larger sums will be needed in the succeeding years as demonstration, research, and training projects get underway, and as State and local governments begin to apply the findings from these projects.

But while Federal leadership and help are needed in attacking the problem, it must be clearly recognized that this effort requires the active teamwork of responsible private organizations such as the community service organizations of AFL-CIO, social and health agencies, schools, churches, and many other civic and community organizations. Such teamwork of public and private resources is required not only because the problem is reaching epidemic proportions but also because delinquency is so deeply interwoven into the fabric of our society.

Since it is obviously impossible to completely remake our society, it is appropriate to concentrate on a few strategic factors which people who have worked extensively with delinquents consider to be crucial.

There are numerous families with inadequate incomes in the deteriorated areas of our big cities. Many such families are unable to do an adequate job of child-rearing because of physical health and mental health problems, and because of lack of meaningful ties with religious, social, educational, and health agencies in the community. Health, counseling, remedial education, recreation, welfare, and voactional guidance services must be provided to these families, where needed, on an individual basis. Also, the basic structure of health, education, and welfare services for the entire community must be strengthened to prevent the spread of delinquency and other social contagion

from these malfunctioning families. By focusing on such families and the services which they and their neighbors need, it is possible to launch an attack on delinquency now, even though we cannot deal with all the myriad factors associated with delinquency at once. The rationale for such an approach is derived from an examination of certain dominant trends in the American way of life today.

In our huge, complex, industrialized and mechanized urban society, we no longer have the informal social controls that characterized the rural way of life in America during the 19th century. For those who would achieve a rewarding position in legitimate society, a long educational preparation is required. Besides, there are widespread pressures which prevent youth from holding jobs or even learning jobs before they are 18 or older. At the same time, our society becomes increasingly complex and keeps changing so rapidly that it is more and more difficult for youth to establish a meaningful way of life and select a suitable career.

The child of today, unlike his counterpart 100 years ago, or even 50 years ago, does not have a sense of belonging, of never questioning his place in the community, in the economy, and in the world at large. medium-sized and larger cities there are many children in the low-income areas who are faced with the fact that neither they. their parents, their neighbors nor their friends feel that they belong to the community or have a responsible role to fulfill. Particularly if they are part of a minority group, they constantly feel rejected or at least ignored by the bulk of the population. When the urban low-income child starts school he is likely to find that his previous life experiences have not prepared him for this setting, and that school represents preparation for a way of life that appears to have no place for him except in the most menial and lowest paid occupations.

Unless an understanding parent, teacher, neighbor, clergyman, or social worker can help him, through a continuing relationship, to understand this educated world better and see a meaningful role in it for himself, he is unlikely to develop the feeling that he belongs to this complex education-ridden society. This process of alienation from productive society can start very early indeed in the case of a child whose home is extremely deprived in human relationships and material needs.

Unfortunately, the major social trends of our time that accompany urbanization tend to create more and more of these rootless, alienated, and finally rebellious children. These trends include industrialization, increasing technology, larger and larger organizations, and the overall continuing expansion of our economy.

It is apparent that there are not going to be any easy answers to the problem of delinquency. It is equally apparent, also, that we cannot expect to make any real inroads against delinquency unless we simultaneously launch a broad campaign in the whole field of child welfare.

We need more and better professional services for children and families before problems arise. And in our programs designed to treat the juvenile delinquent, we need more emphasis on coordinating and strengthening all of the basic local social services for children. Such a program is impossible without broad citizen support at every level.

As chairman of the committee in Congress that has supported research programs to a very great degree of success in the medical and biological sciences, I believe it is possible to attack the juvenile delinquency problem through similar programs. I believe the Federal Government must support research, demonstrations, and training to provide the

necessary scientific knowledge and personnel. The State and local governments do not have the resources for all that is needed of this kind of activity. On the other hand, the actual services to children and their families must be provided in the individual community, with the help of the State and local governments.

This will be done, but only if people everywhere want it strongly enough. Citizens and citizen groups, including such outstanding leadership groups as the AFL-CIO Community Services program, must indicate that they are willing to support Federal and State tax levels sufficient to maintain adequate child welfare research, training, and service programs. They must take the initiative in insisting that local governments, agencies, and civic groups mobilize to improve social services—and that careful and thoughtful planning is done before any action is initiated.

A careful blueprint is also needed in order to attack delinquency adequately. The Federal Government has a substantial role in this program and has already begun to take action through some of its agencies. For example, the National Institute of Mental Health is now conducting a substantial program of research focused on basic processes involved in social problems, development of effective preventive and treatment methods, and methods of training personnel to do work connected with these social problems. The Institute is attempting to acquire more scientific knowledge about the many processes involved in producing delinquents.

The major effort, however, is concentrated on effective application of current knowledge and skills. and skills. The consensus of experienced professionals in the field is that serious delinquency usually involves a long-term social and psychological process. In many delinquents the first symptoms appear in early childhood, with onset varying between ages 2 and 10. There is evidence that the process can be reversed or at least arrested, but early intervention and continuing attention are required. In this respect delinquency roughly resembles diabetes, which physicians are able to control if they spot the illness early enough and provide continuing care for an indefinite period. With delinquency, however, such control methods are less reliable, though promising.

Preventive care needs to continue at least through the adolescent years, perhaps beyond. In mild cases, such care may involve no more than an initial diagnostic study, followed by periodic contact with a trained probation officer or other experienced person, plus occasional provision of necessary health, counseling, remedial education, recreational, and vocational guidance services. In more serious cases, a continuing and intensive rehabilitative process is required, involving a concentration of coordinated services.

An essential counterpart to such individual and family care is an attempt to modify the spirit of the community in high-delinquency areas so that adults in these areas will show a more accepting, helping, and nurturing attitude toward all children in the area, including delinquents, and will participate in mobilizing and improving all community services for youth.

Since many experienced delinquency workers feel that they could do a much better job if they had adequate resources, the Institute of Mental Health is supporting three research and service groups who are testing out special delinquency control approaches. In order to provide these and similar groups with more effective tools to carry out control programs, support is also being provided for projects focused on early identification of delinquents and predelinquents, special methods of treating such children and their families, and methods of evaluating the ef-

fectiveness of preventive and treatment programs.

One of the three special projects at the University of Michigan is being carried out in a city of about 200,000 population. Thus far it has involved an intensive study of the social and psychological characteristics of delinquents in the community as compared with children whose behavior is exemplary and outstanding. There has also been extensive study of community services and of social and institutional factors involved in delinquency.

The next phase will be to transmit results of the study in appropriate form to a group of leaders in community services for youth, as well as to the community at large. This feedback process should mobilize a ground-swell of community interest and concern which will insure total community support for a carefully planned delinquency control program. If community resources are insufficient to provide services needed in such an all-out control program, they will be supplemented in order to carry out the program at an effective level for an adequate demonstration period.

Another special project, set up in a middlesized city in Massachusetts, is attempting to devise methods for classifying a sample of all delinquents coming to the court so that they can be referred for appropriate treatment. This effort is based on the observation that most communities lack resources and techniques needed for adequate diagnosis and disposition of delinquents. These diagnostic instruments have now been developed and are being applied to a sample of all delinquents coming to the court. The next phase will include a tryout of the recommended dispositions or treatments, with local services for this purpose being augmented as needed.

The largest project undertaken thus far is that of mobilization for youth, on the Lower East Side of New York City. This project, still in its formative stages, is expected to include both preventive and treatment services for predelinquents, delinquents, and their families, plus a broad program aimed at modifying community attitudes toward youth and at reorganizing and augmenting services designed to help youth move into productive adult-lives.

Mr. James McCarthy, who is here today, can tell you more about this project, since he is the director of its action program. All three of the special projects being supported by the National Institute of Mental Health are of the type that need extensive participation by community service programs such as your own.

Aside from general support for such programs, there are a number of special ways in which organizations concerned with community health and welfare, and in particular your organization, can help attack the problem of juvenile delinquency. Let us first consider the problem of youth employment.

Early in this century child labor laws were introduced to prevent the exploitation of children and youth in unhealthful work situations. At the same time public education was expanded on a compulsory basis so as to permit all children to complete high school. We are now finding that many children have such serious difficulties with education that they are ready to leave school by the time they reach their teens. Many of them now do leave school by age 14 on a formal basis, or informally by very frequent truanting and by being inattentive and disruptive in class.

The great bulk of delinquents are recruited from this group. Over half of all delinquents are educationally retarded and a large proportion of school dropouts become involved in delinquent acts. However, automation and the shorter work week have made it extremely difficult to bring younger teenagers into the labor force, and organized

labor has legitimately been concerned about attempts to lower the working age.

Yet some means must be developed for gradually preparing the school-rejected and school-rejecting teenagers for a useful work career. In some European countries such youth serve as apprentices in a wide variety of occupations and are thus gradually introduced into the adult labor force. I offer no solutions to you at this time, but would suggest that this is a problem which merits the special concern of your organizations.

The advent of the shorter workweek brings increased concern for constructive use of leisure time. It is within their leisure time that many of our teenagers get into difficulty. Certainly the opportunities for constructive use of leisure time are extremely limited in some of the deteriorated areas of our large cities. There is a great need for hobby programs, recreation programs of all kinds, and for the help of a large number of responsible citizens in developing such programs. These programs must be adequately planned and supervised.

Here in New York City there are a variety of such programs. For example, some schools are open all day and also during the evening, providing supervised hobby and recreation programs as well as programs throughout the summer months. Other agencies, including schools, are carrying on activities which help new migrants from Puerto Rico or from rural areas of the South to become acquainted with the customs, services, and opportunities of the big city.

Experienced workers in the field of delinquency recognize the importance of citizen and voluntary organization participation in carrying out prevention and treatment programs. The actual or potential delinquent and his family in a low-income area may require a variety of remedial education, health, counseling, recreation, and vocational guidance services. If such services are to be provided in a way that meets local needs in a coordinated fashion, a large number of responsible local citizens must serve on boards, in planning agencies, and as volunteers. Such support is needed not only for agencies serving delinquents but for all agencies concerned with the welfare of the child and his family.

Although public interest in a problem like delinquency is aroused when an epidemic of vandalism, theft, or violence occurs, such interest is apt to subside as other pressing problems arise. Besides, delinquents have no lobby, as do, for example, the physically handicapped and mentally retarded children. Parents of delinquents do not organize as do the parents of these other handicapped children.

Therefore there must be continuing support from responsible organizations like yours for constructive legislation and for community efforts in the field.

Finally, and perhaps most important of all, much help is needed in spreading community concern for every child of the community, in setting standards, and in sharing these standards with parents of children in our most deprived areas. Because we are living in what has been called an affluent society, we are too apt to assume that prosperity has filtered around all of the corners in our economy. We are too apt to assume that significant portions of our society who do not share the comforts and opportunities on which middle-class values are predicated will nevertheless owe full allegiance to such values.

Delinquency is a growing, threatening epidemic in our national life, and only a portion of it is visible. National leadership and help is required to cope with this problem. And a larger part of that leadership must come from the teamwork of many public-spirited orgalizations, one of the more important of which is the community services program of the AFL-CIO.

In Line at Wake of Small Business

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. CHARLES S. GUBSER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 24, 1960

Mr. GUBSER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I submit herewith a letter from my constituent, Mr. Frederic S. Leon, owner of the Pacific Aquarium Manufacturing Co., in my district.

You will note that Mr. Leon, a small businessman, is being penalized for his efforts to take a young man and his family off the relief rolls and provide employment by which this family could earn a decent living.

The Labor Department seems to be straining at a gnat while swallowing a camel. I suppose the Department can justifiably claim that its agents are enforcing the law. But laws, if intelligently enforced, are administered in accordance with their spirit. Certainly the spirit of the law did not intend that a young, prospective father should remain on relief rolls when an employer granted his request to work enough hours to support his family.

The irony of this situation is that if Mr. Leon had paid the 16-year-old expectant father \$1 per hour for the first 40 hours and \$1.50 per hour for overtime he would have complied with the law. But because he paid \$1.85 straight time he is subjected to investigation by the Labor Department. And what is even more drastic the Labor Department will furnish the lawyers to represent the men he has helped in a case against him.

This type of harassment, this type of regulation is, I suggest, one of the reasons small business is finding each day that it cannot compete with large corporations. It seems a shame that our law and our Labor Department is No. 1 in line at the wake of small business.

The letter follows:

PACIFIC AQUARIUM MANUFACTURING Co., Los Altos, Calif., May 16, 1960.

Hon. CHARLES B. GUBSER, House Office Building, Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: On the advice of Lisle L. Berkshire, district manager of the National Federation of Independent Business who will contact you under separate mail, I herewith submit a tragic case, that is serious enough to demand attention because it threatens

my business existence and morale.

For 10 years I am the owner of Pacific Aquarium Mfg. Co., a small business dealing principally with California schools and colleges.

At the end of February 1959 Merc Moran, the reemployment officer of the welfare department of the county of Santa Clara contacted me in regards to employment of a bright 16-year-old boy of Mexican descent who had quit high school, was married to an even younger bride and expected a child. He was on relief and so were his parents. Attempting to get a job as head of his family, he was repeatedly turned down and his best offer was \$1 per hour in a nursery.

Moran pointed out that help was needed to break the relief tradition and I put Henry Lopez to work at \$1.50 per hour. This was

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subsequently raised to \$1.85 per hour. The boy's work was very satisfactory but 40 hours per week do not add up to a sufficient income. Henry Lopez asked for permission to work longer hours which I granted and his take-home pay on light work then came to about \$70 per week and the man was completely self-supporting.

To help out further I hired his illiterate

To help out further I hired his illiterate father at \$1.50 per hour and one more family became self-supporting. A third man was hired under similar circumstances.

Then came the storm. Earl T. Baker, official representative of the U.S. Department of Labor, descended on us May 3, scattering Federal bulletins landing like a swarm of locust and causing equal devastation. He asked first about shipments over the State line. We do occasionally ship to Oregon but this is a minor factor representing far less than 5 percent of our business. This small fraction put us under interstate commerce in his opinion. To enlist my 4-day cooperation he stated that his mission is educational.

From Tuesday morning, May 3, to Friday, May 6, Baker plowed through all our books, orders, checks; interviewed all employees, telephoned ex-employees and verified information with our bookkeeper. I lost 4 days coperating with courtesy as acknowledged in letter of May 11, U.S. Department of Labor.

Then came the judgment, a summary of unpaid wages 2 years back, a \$1,388 verdict of death to a small business.

We have always paid all our wage bills, this amount represents overtime at 1½ normal rate. Reluctantly, I accepted the summary and mentioned that of course in America any man has his day in court, or at least a hearing. Baker then resented my hope to get a more impartial hearing and made it clear that he was the Department of Labor. Should I fail to comply with his command, all ex-employees would be notified that his Department would present their cases free of charge and I would have to deposit twice the \$1,388 to question his findings.

Under Baker's findings \$462 overtime is due Anton Schmidt, 2 years back on the payroll. This man, an ex-Nazi and later black-market operator was refused admission to the United States because of his unsavory past. He later arrived, with the help of his aunt, as a refugee under Catholic auspices (he is a Protestant).

He and his wife and friend worked for us and stole us blind to establish his own business in competition with us.

The Department of Employment ruled in his disfavor when he was fired for cause and now I am asked to further contribute to his brazen delinquency.

Very truly yours,

FREDERIC S. LEON,
Pacific Aquarium Manufacturing Co.

Senior Citizens and the Problem of Housing

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. CHARLES O. PORTER

OF OREGON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, May 23, 1960

Mr. PORTER. Mr. Speaker, Dr. John J. Kane, head of the Department of Sociology at the University of Notre Dame has written a timely article concerning housing for senior citizens for the May 29, 1960, issue of Our Sunday Visitor. Appropriately, it is titled "Housing for Senior Citizens."

Dr. Kane points up a number of pros and cons for our senior citizens and their sons and daughters to consider. Under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I include his article:

[From Our Sunday Visitor, May 29, 1960] HOUSING FOR SENIOR CITIZENS

(By John J. Kane)

About 30 years ago a motion picture. "Over the Hill to the Poor House," told the story of an aged mother, rejected by her children, going to the poorhouse. It was a sticky, maudlin, tear jerker, but unfortunately had almost as much truth as sentiment in it. This was the period in which America was becoming urban and families flocked to the city. Apartments, houses and some people's hearts were becoming too small to accommodate the aging. The huge farmhouse had both an abundance of space and work for the elderly. The city dwelling did not. While conditions have changed, they have not kept pace with need. Today, there is only a fraction of the adequate housing required for persons 65 and over.

Perhaps it is ironic, but one problem of housing results from the fact that 68 percent of nonfarm families in which the head is 65 or over own their homes. A man's home is his fortress and there is an undeniable sentimental attachment to the house in which one has lived most of his life. But this same house may have little but emotional value for the aged, and may even be

a hazard to them.

First, it is likely to be large, to have two stories and a basement with the peril that stairs present to those in their late sixties and seventies. The care of such a home and its yard it too taxing for some oldsters. Not infrequently it is located in an area which has now become marginal and is hemmed in by taverns, hot dog stands, rooming houses and smothered by the noise and fumes of heavy traffic. In about two-thirds of the cases this large place has one or at most two occupants. Despite these limitations, however, if one or both occupants are ambulatory, the housing may be satisfactory. But what happens if they become seminal

One solution is to move in with their children. Sometimes this works out quite satisfactorily. Other times it does not. Newer housing in comparison to older housing is apt to be smaller. Bedroom and bathroom facilities are taxed, tempers become short and the aged have a sense of imposing on their children and a not entirely unfounded

notion that they are unwanted.

Some older persons prefer to enter a convalescent home or an institution for the aged such as those maintained by communities of Catholic nuns, fraternal organizations or if necessary the State. Standards in private convalescent homes are spotty. Some are admittedly fire traps, many are relatively expensive and few will accept the bedridden. Church and fraternal organization homes are apt to be better than many of the private establishments and frequently offer good recreational and medical facilities They generally provide for both married couples, single, widows, and widowers. But some have been critical and medical facilities. some have been criticized for their failure to segregate the senile from those not mentally ill. It is a daily depressant for older persons to see those suffering from senility and to fear that tomorrow they may also be victims. As more and more States move to enact legis lation on the standards for such homes, conditions should improve.

But many older persons even though alone in the world would like to maintain a home of their own. Scandinavia, Germany, and Holland have done a great deal in housing for the aged. Units for couples and single persons have been built eliminating stairs or providing elevators and safeguards, such as bath tub bars and nonskid floors. The United States through the Housing Act of 1956 has facilitated the purchase of housing by older persons, the financing of rental projects designed particularly for the aged and by making public low-cost rentals more available to them. For instance, it is now Possible for persons 60 or over to purchase a home with a 30-year mortgage if because of age, financial or physical condition they cannot otherwise qualify by having a third party sign with them.

Another provision makes it possible for church, fraternal or labor groups to secure FHA mortgage insurance for construction of eight units or more specifically designed for the aged. The FHA also allows full cost for such items as central dining room facilities, recreation rooms, infirmaries and similar accommodations essential to elderly people. To date relatively few organizations have taken advantage of this provision probably because of their inability to underwrite the cost, but hopefully more will do so in the future.

Low cost public housing on a rental basis is also available to oldsters, and in New York 10 percent of all State-financed public housing is set aside for them. Current statistics indicate that admissions of such tenants is on the increase. But even today less than half of the States have such housing projects

despite the need of them.

A rather interesting development in housing for the aged his been attempted in Arizona, Florida and some other Southern States. Entire towns have been erected with individual homes or apartments exclusively for the elderly. The trailer camp is another location to which the American oldsters have moved. Some camps are designed solely for them, while others reserve a specific section. Some couples move to a southern camp for the winter months, then come north to be near their children during the summer. Others have their trailers set up permanently in one place.

But certain questions must be raised by the advisability of present developments. Is there a danger that senior citizens will find they are segregated? Is it entirely wise to exclude younger persons from some of these towns in which their parents have decided to live? At present this may be the result of a dearth of housing for the aged but association with children and grandchildren should not be denied. Older persons considering a move to such locations will have to give careful consideration to this possibility.

One of the new looks in housing for the elderly is the change of location. Formerly, it was common to locate homes in rural areas. Inexpensive land was undoubtedly a factor but more than one oldster has remarked that it made him feel he was turned out to pasture. Today there is a tendency to erect housing in or near the center of the city so that older persons may walk to church, theaters, clubs, museums and such, or at least have access to public transportation. This likewise makes feasible day visits to their children and friends in the same city. Medical and hospital facilities are readily accessible.

Suppose you are 65 or over and trying to determine just what kind of housing is best suited for you, what should be the basis of your decision? Your physical condition is a major factor. If you like your present home, can take care of it adequately and it presents no particular hazard by reasons of location or layout, remain there for the present, if you wish, but give some consideration to the fact that ultimately you may have to change.

If your present living setup is not satisfactory, should you move in with children? This depends on their attitudes and yours,

but it merits most careful thought. If it is possible for them to provide separate but connected living quarters, chances of getting along well together are better. If you do move in with them, remember their ways are not your ways. Be prepared to make numerous adjustments. The same is true if they move in with you.

If physically you find it difficult to get about or you suffer a chronic illness which makes it inadvisable for you to be alone, by all means consider a home. While, as pointed out above, some are by no means suitable, the connotation of a home for the aged has changed. Generally, you will be free to come and go, to participate in the group life and to enjoy the company of your peers. In a Catholic home provisions for religious life and spiritual care will be close at hand. Medical attention is also likely to be quickly available. But select your home with care and foreknowledge and try not to make a permanent commitment until you have tried it out.

Trailer life may sound adventurous but it is still for those fairly hardy. It offers the opportunity of travel, meeting many new people and seeing different places. Some oldsters simply love it and have a regular itinerary finding old friends in each new trailer park. But it is a different kind of life

and all do not adjust to it easily.

Finally, what about taking up residence in some of the towns for the aged in the South or in any southern community? In some cases health may indicate such a choice but unless you make friends readily and are not too tied to old places, things, and associations, experiment with it before plunging in fully. Be certain of the costs, religious, medical and hospital facilities. The place may be somewhat less attractive than it appears on smooth paper folders.

Your choice of where and how you will live after retirement is defined in part by your income, your health, and your personality. But within such limits, you are relatively free. It may be a lot of fun to experiment with any or all of them but keep one foot in your old hometown or your old house. There is a marvelous feeling of security in knowing that you can pretty much do what you want and go where you will but also that you can return when you want if you so will.

Must We Make a Mystery of Murder?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. WILLIAM C. CRAMER

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, May 11, 1960

Mr. CRAMER. Mr. Speaker, I have a number of anticrime bills now before the House, including H.R. 7129, a bill to punish the use of interstate commerce in furtherance of conspiracies to commit terroristic crimes and activities-thus allowing the Federal Bureau of Investigation to more fully and effectively aid State and local law enforcement bodies, at least upon request, in the quelling of crime, and H.R. 11889, a bill to amend section 1073, title 18, United States Code, the Fugitive Felon Act, to include all felonies and offenses punishable by more than a year in prison, which has met favorable subcommittee action and now is before the House Judiciary Committee.

My other anticrime bills would encourage testimony against racketeers by giving immunity against prosecution for witnesses—H.R. 7392—prevent shipment of gambling devices across State lines—H.R. 7393—deny persons engaged in illegal activities the benefits of tax deductions allowed legitimate businesses—H.R. 7394—and prevent, through criminal sanctions, the use of interstate or foreign commerce communication facilities for gambling purposes—H.R. 11890.

I already have called the attention of the Members of Congress to the need for strong anticrime legislation nationally as well as in the Florida First District where there only this month occurred another brutal gangland-style murder. This killing, like 22 others—10 of them in the past 8 years—also may be destined to go unsolved unless prompt action from all law enforcement facilities are united

in its investigation.

I respectfully wish to call to the attention of the Members of the House an article, "Must We Make a Mystery of Murder," written by C. A. James Abbott in his column, "I Don't Believe It," which appeared in the Friday, May 20, 1960, issue of the English-Spanish language newspaper, La Gaceta, published in Tampa, Fla., which contains an excellent analysis of the national crime loopholes which to some extent would be corrected by passage of my anticrime bills. The full text of Mr. Abbott's article is as follows:

[From Tampa (Fla.) La Gaceta, May 20, 1960]

I Don't Believe It (By C. A. James Abbott)

MUST WE MAKE A MYSTERY OF MURDER

Within the past 30 years Tampa has piled up 22 unsolved murders. This is an average of 1 every 16 months. Blood has been mysteriously spilled from the bodies of Italians, Spaniards, Anglo Saxons, and Negroes. Neither nationality, race or color has been a deterent factor in apparently wiping out a human obstacle to someone's more opportune future. Avarice, fear, and sheer unmitigated guts have undoubtedly been the goading spirit of those barbarians who have swung a cudgel or pulled a trigger, and sent some living soul through the gates of hell.

And the peaceful, puzzled, and concerned

And the peaceful, puzzled, and concerned citizenry of Tampa keeps asking the same old question: Why cannot the combined law enforcements of Tampa and Hillsboro County blaze a trail to the killer's door?

Yet Tampans need not be overly disturbed because Tampa's file of unsolved murders is small compared to those in other equal, and larger citles throughout the Nation.

While Chicago, for instance, has slowed down in its rampart gunning among hood-lums, I know well of the early thirties when, in a short space of 17 months, 94 gangsters and racketeers were shot down like clay pigeons at a skeet meet—and the police "solved" only 5.

Before the late Roger Toughy got 28 years for the alleged kidnaping of John Factor, I spent 4 hours in jail with him. He had just beaten another kidnaping rap in St. Paul, Minn. While I am thankful to Toughy for giving me a scoop for Paramount News, I was not impressed by his ultra braggadocio, and his glorious lies. The only impression I got from him was that he, and his kind, were out for a fast buck. And he would pluck it any place with total disregard to human hurts and lives—plus a total disregard for the law.

But Toughey, according to his own words, was given official immunity to arrest when he started bumping off the Capone gang—most of the previously mentioned 94 murders were Al's boys. Here is his story:

At the time Anton Cermak was on the

At the time Anton Cermak was on the Cook County Commission, but he wanted to become Chicago's Mayor. The only political plank he could come up with was a "rid Chicago of the Capone mob," and the plank was real hard wood. Cermak knew Toughy on a fairly good social basis because Toughy sent Cermak's club all the beer it wanted.

Getting rid of the Capone gang was to be a tough job, and Cermak knew it from the beginning. After being elected mayor he called Toughy into his office and, as Toughy told it to a nationally known educator whom I will not name, told him he had a free reign to erase the Capone herd off the map of Chicago. Toughy did such a good job that the Capone gang either had to get Toughy, or Cermak, out of the way. They did both. Toughy was railroaded, so he said, for the Factor kidnapping, and Cermak got bumped off in Miami while visiting with the late President Roosevelt. With this almost unbelievable conspiracy out of the way the Capone boys—what were left of them—continued to bask in the fast buck and the honest sweat of those who either shelled out or got their arm twisted.

Now I am positive there is no deal between the law in these parts and any of the gangsters who blew the heads off of some of our well known Tampans. But I am telling you this because the same motives that caused Chicago's earlier blood bath have caused our unsolved murders here. But this is mere deduction. There could have been some alliance between the former Chicago mayor and Reger Toughy; Cermak's police force probably thought the idea was a good one. It saved the taxpayers a lot of money and tracked down the hoodlums in a burry.

But I maintain that it should make no difference whether a murdered man was a gentleman or a hoodlum, it is still murder, and as such the murder should be solved.

It is a sad note indeed that we in Tampa must sensibly realize that our law enforcement agencies have simply reached a deadend in their patient search for clues. Even Sherlock Holmes had to have a few threads of evidence from which to make his brilliant deductions, and the Tampa police have some smart boys on the force. But this failure to find even a hair trace of something tangible from which to pursue the killers can mean that outside gunners were brought in for the job.

the job.

Outside killers brought to Tampa are safer than a hometown killer would be; their cars are unknown, their weapons unseen, their voices and physical mannerisms are strange to any who might briefly see them. And they work with planning, precision, and ac-

Now you don't just thumb through the yellow sections in the telephone book to find a killer to knock off somebody you don't like. If you wanted to blow out a few brains in Tampa, you would first have to have a social rubbing with some very evil thinking people. These, in turn, would have to know someone somewhere else who has a reputation for doing nasty, bloody things without squirming or squelching. In turn, this human fiend would have to know he could get systematic protection from the masterminds, organized protection.

This speaks of organized crime at its highest level, such as the maffia or its counterpart.

In the past there have been expressions of freedom from the maffia in Tampa. This deduction I would roll around in my cheek. I believe the tentacles of the maffia, or a

similar dastardly group, reach over the Nation into every town the size of Tampa, or bigger. The unsolved killings here are definitely marked with the branding irons of organized crime. Tampa is too small a metropolis to give such organized criminals the cover they need, so they have to be imported. I believe Tampa has long had within its borders shadows of one or more national crime syndicates, that is, shadows that do the job even if the motive still lies within our own city limits. The big work is to prove it.

Our law enforcement agencies have not been able to prove it. They have not been able to bring the killers—maffia or not—to justice. Their tireless efforts in every direction of crime solving have brought up nothing more than a goose egg.

That is why I believe that our law enforcement agencies should welcome, with open arms the entry of the Federal FBI into the Tampa unsolved crime picture. There is no need for our police to be red faced or ashamed Our own police forces must, by necessity, be good in all phases of crime detection, and in every facet of every phase, but they do not have the years of experience of practically living with the ilk of the maffia and other organized crime syndicates as have the FBI. It is a case of seeking the help of the Nation's top specialists in criminal apprehension among a mixed nationality of people we, here in Tampa, could not possibly know so well as does the Federal agency, knowledge of a highly intangible and deductive nature.

Thus I believe Congressman William C. Cramer's suggestion inviting the FBI to visit with our local law enforcements is a truly excellent suggestion.

Organized crims societies like the Touhy and Capone gang, and the maffia, are born of those who possess a spirit of hostility to legal restraint and the law. They come into being because the native-born hood-lums don't think the world's courts of justice mete out enough punishment for those committing offenses against their own kind and certainly they can't take a lot of their own cases to any court. At the turn of the century punishment among such ruffians was comparatively mild, but time hardened the hoodlum and made him a gangster and totally evaporated his sense of reason.

If these downright undesirables would keep to themselves, and plunder and kill only among themselves, the story that could be told, while still bloody, would not be half as hard to assimilate and accept. But the boys with the iron fist and the sawed-off shotguns couldn't make enough dough among their own scummy relations, so the world has become their target.

While the world grows so will crime in many of its aspects, but we must work our hardest in crime prevention and apprehension against those who wantonly mow down an adversary for the sheer joy of getting him out of the way. Every man has a right to live, even if he must live in prison all his natural life for being an abuse to society.

It would be interesting to learn if our own law enforcement groups have done all that is humanly possible to search out the killers of our pile of mystery murderers. With the approving nod of the FBI, after an intensive investigation of the unsolved file, we can at least feel even more assured that our cops are the best, and charge one killing about every 16 months up to normal procedure in a growing metropolis.

But we make an eternal mystery of Tampa's past unsolved murders. I'm not a detective, but I believe we can still solve

Role of the U-2 and Past Efforts of President Eisenhower To Win Approval of His "Open Skies" Inspection Plan

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. WILLIAM S. BROOMFIELD

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 17, 1960

Mr. BROOMFIELD. Mr. Speaker, a few years ago, a handful of men here in the House of Representatives made a fateful decision. The decision was to approve funds for the design and construction of the U-2 reconnaissance plane, the aircraft which has been receiving so much publicity in every corner of the world recently.

Besides Chairman Clarence Cannon of

Besides Chairman CLARENCE CANNON of the House Appropriations Committee, one of the gentlemen 'in the know' about the flights of our observation planes over the Soviet Union was my good friend and colleague, the Honorable Jerry Ford, of Michigan.

Recently Congressman Ford explained the role of the U-2 and the past efforts by President Eisenhower to win approval for his "open skies" inspection plan as a safeguard to world peace in a newsletter to his constituents.

Because of the excellence of his presentation and the good sense of Congressman Ford's remarks, I am placing them in the Record for the perusal of my colleagues:

The mission of Francis Powers may well be one of the most significant events in 1960. Reams of copy have been written on this event and its implications, and millions of words have been spoken about it. In all of this, certain basic considerations must be established and emphasized:

1. It is the highest and most serious responsibility of the U.S. Government (the President, Congress, and Judiciary) to protect the lives and property of all its people. In the year 1060 this means protection from any surprise attack by missiles or manned aircraft of the Soviet Union.

2. To carry out successfully this responsibility, certain agencies of the Federal Government must obtain sufficient essential information about the intentions and capabilities of the Soviet Union in order that our Government can provide an adequate defense program. To do less would amount to criminal negligence and could border on treason.

3. International spying as a diplomatic of military operation is as old as recorded history. The fact that the spies bring back excellent photographs of military installations rather than a "branch with one cluster of grapes" (Numbers 13: 23) does not change the nature of the business.

4. Because this business inevitably involves deceit, misrepresentation, falsehood, intrigue, and every devious avenue of approach, public officials may not jeopardize the national security by publicizing the true facts about the business. This in no way reflects upon their personal integrity nor upon the broader aspects of public morality. But when a given situation (no matter how embarrassing) becomes public knowledge, we commend a frank and honest disclosure.

5. As long as the cold war continues it is absolutely imperative that our Government continue to obtain essential information about the Soviet military potential. Aerial photography from high-altitude planes is a practical and effective method of getting this information. There is no good reason to eliminate this practice as long as there exists the possibility of a surprise attack upon the United States.

6. This event can help to assure the American people of our advancements in aeronautics and aerial photography, and in our ability to penetrate the Iron Curtain with manned and armed aircraft if that becomes

necessary.

7. The overall direction and control of our intelligence program is in the hands of competent men, highly responsible, knowledgeable, and experienced. While the President approved the program, it is not expected that he must have personal knowledge of any given operation or of each specific plane flight.

8. The House of Representatives, through a special subcommittee of the Committee on Appropriations, has not only authorized the espionage program but has specifically supplied the funds necessary to carry it out. According to Representative Cannon, Democrat, of Missouri, chairman of the House Committee on Appropriations, the Central Intelligance Agency was under specific instructions from the elected Representatives of the people to make sure that we have no more Pearl Harbors nor any recurrence of the sudden Chinese Communist attack experienced in Korea in 1950.

9. The establishment and use of over 250 oversea military bases is an integral part of our national defense effort. We expect to keep these bases and to protect the sovereignty of all free nations, including their right to participate in a mutual security

program.

All of this is not to say that we have no regrets concerning the incident. The downing of one of our U-2 planes 1,300 miles inside the boundaries of Russia while on an espionage mission and the apparent capture of its American pilot is indeed regrettable.

1. We regret the existence of a cold war which makes this sort of business necessary.

2. We regret that the event occurred so close to the date of a summit meeting.

3. We regret the temporary propaganda advantage presented to Mr. Khrushchev.

4. We regret that the incident may result in cancellation of the visit to the Soviet Union of President Eisenhower, America's greatest ambassador of good will whose person-to-person appeal to the Russian people would be a mollifying influence in the cold war.

5. Most assuredly, we regret what appears to be the capture of Francis Powers, the pllot of the plane, on this vital national

defense mission.

However, we must point out that there are workable alternatives to cold war and esplonage, and that out of this incident overall benefits may be derived.

1. At Geneva in 1955 President Eisenhower proposed that the major powers give to each other a complete blueprint of our military establishments. He suggested that each nation provide within our countries facilities for aerial photography to the other country. Regrettably this open skies plan was rejected by the Soviets. The United States is prepared to offer this plan at the summit meeting this month. Its acceptance by Russia will eliminate further need of U-2 flights.

2. President Eisenhower also said in 1955 that we were ready to consider a reliable system of inspections and reporting in an effort to reduce all armaments. Good faith on the part of the Communists at the dis-

armament conference at Geneva would help to ease world tensions, A safe disarmament program must be our ultimate goal. 3. We trust that the demonstrated suc-

3. We trust that the demonstrated success of our aircraft flights over Russia during the past 4 years will have a salutary effect on the Kremlin. The masters there must know that we are as sincere and effective in playing according to their rules as we are urging a change in the rules for the benefit of all mankind.

In closing, your Congressman highly compliments the Democratic chairman of my committee, Representative Cannon, who in a dramatic speech on the floor of the House of Representatives, fully endorsed U.S. policy in protecting our citizens and our cherished land. Mr. Cannon, a 38-year veteran in the House reemphasized there must be no more Pearl Harbors or Koreas. I concur without qualification or hesitation.

Hail From the Chief

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. GORDON CANFIELD

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 24, 1960

Mr. CANFIELD. Mr. Speaker, I have long been an advocate of home rule in our Nation's Capital.

My father-in-law and my mother-inlaw were born in Washington and lived here most of their lives. About 12 years ago they moved to my home city of Paterson, N.J., and you will never know the thrill they experienced in being permitted for the first time to vote for President and Vice President, for their sonin-law to be their Congressman, and for State and local officers.

It is difficult to explain to Americans elsewhere why the franchise is denied to so many fellow Americans just because they are domiciled in the District of

Columbia.

I admire my good friend and able colleague, Congressman Widnall, for his leadership in the fight for home rule and it was pleasing this morning to note in the Washington Post the following lead editorial capitioned "Hail From the Chief":

HAIL FROM THE CHIEF

Home rule has received a welcome and powerful push from the President. Representative Widnall, of New Jersey, wrote to Mr. Eisenhower asking for "renewed support and further guidance" on what he quite properly referred to as "your bill providing home rule for our Nation's Capital." The President provided the support unequivocally, although he was characteristically wary about the guidance.

Recalling that both parties favored home rule for the District in their platforms of 1952 and 1956 and that he himself has recommended it to Congress every year since 1953, he observed that it would be "inappropriate for me to urge any particular procedure upon the Congress." But "whatever procedure upon the congress." But "whatever procedure is used," he concluded, "I earnestly hope that the administration's home-rule proposal will be enacted by the Congress at its current session." The obstructionism of southern Democrats in keeping the home rule bill in committee has made the signing of the discharge petition the only procedure possible.

There now can be no doubt about President Eisenhower's position. He has expressed it in the best tradition of presidential leadership. If a handful of Republican Members of the House will follow that leadership—adding their names to those of Democrats who have preceded them—the home-rule bill can be brought to the floor of the House of Representatives for a vote. That will be a day of vindication for democracy.

V. E. Fuchs Praises the Performance of Tucker Sno-Cats

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. CHARLES O. PORTER

OF OREGON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Friday, May 6, 1960

Mr. PORTER. Mr. Speaker, last week in the snows around Crater Lake in Oregon's incomparable Cascade Mountains I had the pleasure of driving a Tucker Sno-Cat. Its performance exceeded my expectations and my expectations have been very high because I knew that the vehicle I was driving was one of four Sno-Cats to go across the South Pole last year.

This vehicle scrambles up inclines you would have thought impossible for any earthbound method of transportation. It goes over steep hillocks that appear almost certain to cause any vehicle to tip over or to be hung up helplessly at the

crest.

My companions for the day included Speaker Robert Duncan, of the Oregon House of Representatives; Mayor John Snider, of Medford, Editor Eric Allen, of the Medford Mail-Tribune, and others who were like myself longtime friends of Tucker Sno-Cat but who until that day had never had an opportunity to appreciate the really remarkable merits of this incredible vehicle which was sired and produced by Mr. J. M. Tucker and his sons just outside of Medford, Oreg.

Under a previous unanimous consent I am including the text of a letter from V. E. Fuchs, written May 3, 1960, on the letterhead of the Trans-Antarctic Expedition:

THE TRANS-ANTARCTIC EXPEDITION, London, S.W.I., May 3, 1960.

MR. J. M. TUCKER, Tucker Sno-Cat Corp., Medford, Oreg., U.S.A.

DEAR MR. TUCKEE: I have pleasure in writing to you concerning the performance of the Tucker Sno-Cats that we used on the Trans-Antarctic Expedition. The fact that the four Sno-Cats included in our transport were the four vehicles which completed the crossing speaks for itself. But I should add that they were very severely tested by the great variety of snow and ice conditions encountered—bad crevasse country, sastrugiup to 4 and 5 feet high, deep soft snow and bare glacier ice.

It may also be of interest that they were operated in temperatures ranging from $+30^{\circ}$ F. to -60° F, the general range being -15° F, to -40° F, during the actual crossing of Antarctica.

Although we were meticulous in carrying out the necessary maintenance, we did ask the Sno-Cats to tow loads of 4 to 6 tons,

besides carrying 1 ton inside the vehicle. Even with this excessive demand they proved entirely satisfactory and the expedition owed much to the performance of your vehicles.

Yours very sincerely,

V. E. FUCHS.

Dumping Industrial Wastes in Ocean Called Possible Peril to Marine Life

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JOHN D. DINGELL

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, May 23, 1960

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks to include extraneous matter, I wish to put in the Record an article that appeared in the Washington (D.C.) Post on Sunday, May 8, written by Kennedy Ludlam, one of the outstanding fish and game writers in the country. This article pertains to a speech on atomic waste disposal made by our colleague, the Honorable George P. Miller of California, before the Washington Chapter of the Izaak Walton League.

Mr. Miller is chairman of the Subcommittee on Oceanography of the House Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries. He was speaking from knowledge acquired by him in that capacity. His subcommittee held extensive hearings on the matter of disposal of atomic waste in the Atlantic Ocean and the Gulf of Mexico and apparently he is properly concerned over the enormous potential damage such a practice could cause.

My good friend, George Miller, also serves on the Subcommittee on Fish and Wildlife with me. I know that he not only has a keen awareness of the rights of sportsmen but he is a devoted conservationist.

The article follows:

UP THE STREAM—DUMPING INDUSTRIAL WASTES IN OCEAN CALLED POSSIBLE PERIL TO MARINE LIFE

(By Kennedy Ludlam)

Representative George P. Miller, Democrat of California, opposes using the ocean as a vast dumping ground for the world's industrial wastes.

This, he insists, could imperil countless fishing resources and possibly the health of millions of the earth's inhabitants.

Speaking to the Washington Chapter of the Izaak Walton League of America, Miller declared that there is a vast ignorance of the biology of the sea. Much money has been spent to learn more about the oceans, but most of it has gone into studies of the physical aspects of oceanography.

Science doesn't yet know, he said, the effect on marine life of the various kinds of waste presently being dumped offshore.

He cited the case of surplus mustard gas from World War I stored until the containers deteriorated and then thrown overboard in the ocean. Some people claim, he said, that when the containers deteriorate sufficiently to release the gas, its effect will be dissipated in the water; others visualize a huge bubble of the deadly vapor rising to the surface and bursting, possibly at the very minute a vessel is passing over it.

Atomic waste so far dumped into the sea is negligible, said Miller, since most if its activity has been exhausted. But, as the cost of storing atomic waste approaches that of surplus grain storage, the dumping of low-level atomic waste may be used as a fulcrum for the similer disposal of dangerous high-level waste, with unpredictable results.

Drainage of cooling water from atomic waste into the Columbia River, he reported, has raised its temperature 2 degrees. The effect of this warming of the river's fish life, if any has not yet been nippointed.

If any, has not yet been pinpointed.

Miller referred to his bill (H.R. 11410) to provide for the issuance of a Federal fishing stamp to serve under certain conditions as a sort of Nationwide sport-fishing license. His plan he declared may produce more revenue for participating States than they now receive from the annual sale of non-resident fishing licenses.

This has been and continues to be one of the main objections to MILLER's plan from many State officials.

Miller expressed confidence that agreement could be reached. Further action awaits a report from the Interior Department.

R. B. Reid: Outstanding Jefferson County Labor Leader

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. GEORGE HUDDLESTON, JR.

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, May 10, 1960

Mr. HUDDLESTON. Mr. Speaker, I have just received indication that Mr. R. B. Reid, an outstanding labor leader in my district, is not going to offer himself for reelection this year as president of Local 1013 of the United Steel Workers of America. His decision, which I personally feel is unfortunate though understandable, was announced in the most recent issue of the newsletter which the local union regularly sends to its membership.

"Tater" Reid has given the very best of himself to his union as an organization and to the individual members of it, during the 6 years he has served as president, and his best has been very good. He is a man of strong Christian character, of dedication to the cause of democratic, organized labor, and of forthright action. These characteristics, through him and his leadership, have become evident in the membership of local 1013 and have contributed to the building up of a truly constructive labor organization.

Mr. Reid has outlined, in that newsletter in which he makes known his decision to retire as president to take a needed rest, some of the accomplishments of United Steel Workers Local 1013 under his guidance. I am pleased to call the attention of my colleagues to the outstanding service of this constituent. The newsletter is inserted herewith:

LOCAL 1013 NEWS REPORT

To the members of local 1013, I am grateful. I must take this opportunity to thank each and every one of you for the fine, friendly, cooperative spirit that has existed in being able to accomplish so much in a few short years that I have been privileged to serve you. We have been successful in our efforts for many reasons. I think most im-

portant is because of faithfulness and unselfishness. We have all made mistakes,
honest mistakes, not intentional. We know
that we must profit by our experiences. The
person who does not make mistakes is the
person who never does anything. It is the
nature of human beings to love friends and
I love my true friends. We have friends to
come and go because their ideas differ from
our own. Everyone has a right to think and
to express his thoughts, but he should not
fall out with the other person because he has
that same right. We have made many, many
decisions together in the past, all of which
were for the best interest of the local and
the membership. I sincerely hope and pray
that our acts and decisions in the future
will be for the same purpose.

I feel that I would be derelict in my duty if I did not call to your attention a few of the many accomplishments in the past few years. At no time in the history of the local has there been any more peace and har-mony, which must exist, to progress. We have better conduct in Local 1013 than any local union anywhere. The drinking and profane language is at the lowest point ever. thanks to everyone who has had any part in bringing this about. Without a doubt the local has been aggressive and progressed more in the past 6 years than at any time in the history of the local. The local is recognized locally, statewide, and nationally. The functions, activities of the local, and the committee members have furnished the membership the best and most service and information ever. Even though there is quite an expense that must be incurred with these committee functions, the local has a sizable amount of money and war bonds in our treasury. The local has paid for one of the finest union halls in the country, which is completely air conditioned for your comfort. The furnishings and equipment is second to none in the Nation.
There is to be additional improvements soon, such as more air conditioned office space, & large conference room, a fine printing room, well equipped. This will be paid for when completed, with money left in the treasury. We could go on and on mentioning many more assets, improvements, and accomplishments during the past 6 years.

I have given the best and most of my time and efforts for local 1013 and its members, which I was very happy and pleased to do. We must be honest with God first, then we will be honest with ourselves and our fellowman. There are those who must learn a lesson of how difficult it is to accomplish any task without the help of God and his fellowman. I feel that for the best interest of the local and my health, I must step aside for a needed rest. I sincerely hope that I have not, and will not, create any enemies by making the choice that I have-It is not my intent to inconvenience any one of you, who have been working so closely with me, in any respect, in the past. I hope that each of you will understand my posi-tion and my decision. I say again that I deeply appreciate everyone's efforts and co-operation in making local 1013 what it is today.

Sincerely yours,

R. B. REID.

Most Important Product

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. CHESTER E. MERROW

OF NEW HAMPSHIRE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 23, 1960

Mr. MERROW. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I include therein an editorial from the Exeter News-Letter, Exeter, N.H., of May 19, 1960, entitled "Most Important Product":

MOST IMPORTANT PRODUCT

While there is widespread consternation over the apparent collapse of the summit meetings, it is difficult to see where the United States and the West lost face as a result of the brief but tense exchange at Paris.

It becomes apparent that the Russians did not want a summit meeting under any circumstances, otherwise the mere shooting down of a reconnaissance plane would not deter them from making an effort to relieve some of the world tension. This can only be done at the conference table.

It is apparent that relieving world tensions is not a part of the Communist plan. Khrushchev's bombastic delivery was merely an encore of the defiance so aptly portrayed by Molotov, Gromyko, Mikoyan, and others in the long line of meetings that have chronicled our relations with the Soviet.

Khrushchev actually appeared afraid to meet Eisenhower face to face, and this gives rise to the question of whether he is in truth the ruling power in the Kremlin, or if he is frantically trying to extricate himself from a trend of events that is not to the liking of those who really call the Moscow shots. It looked, as President Eisenhower said, that he came all the way from Moscow just to sabotage the meeting.

Nobody expected much from the summit meeting, but the lesson learned at Paris is that the United States should keep its guard up. The business of defense should continue to be our most important product.

Do We Need the Bracero Program? Will Americans Accept Agricultural Employ-

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. CHARLES S. GUBSER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, May 24, 1960

Mr. GUBSER. Mr. Speaker, once again the Gilroy Evening Dispatch, in the heart of the agricultural area of California, has printed a news story which shows that while jobs in agriculture go begging, there are continuing as well as new claims for unemployment insurance.

This article clearly shows that domestic workers cannot or will not work on farms in harvesting crops. To prevent wastage of agricultural commodities, it is obvious that we need the bracero program and should extend Public Law

The news story under date of May 13, 1960, follows:

BERRYPICKERS ARE STILL NEEDED

There is still a need for men and women to pick strawberries, Arnold Hamilton, local State department of employment manager, announced today.

Growers will appreciate the help of students in harvesting the strawberry crops over the weekend, Hamilton said. Any students interested should contact either the growers or the local employment office.

Men and women are needed to hoe and weed sugar beets and to pick peas. In about 10 days' time the cherry season should start, depending on weather conditions.

During the past week, 546 continued week claims and 116 initial claims were filed. Forty-seven agricultural and five other placements were made in the same period, according to Hamilton.

Soviet Espionage

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. FLORENCE P. DWYER

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 2, 1960

Mrs. DWYER. Mr. Speaker, it is important, I believe, that we see the recent U-2 incident in the full perspective of international espionage. As a contribu-tion in this direction, the Legislative Reference Service of the Library of Congress has prepared a partial list of the more significant cases in which Soviet agents are known to have been engaged in espionage directed against the United States or its allied Western Powers.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I include the following Library of Congress list:

May 1, 1946: Allan Nunn May, a British scientist who worked on atomic energy in Canada, was sentenced to 10 years in prison by a British court. May was part of the Soviet espionage ring in Canada which was exposed by Igor Gouzenko, a code clerk in the Soviet Embassy in Ottawa, who broke with the Russians and sought political asylum. Seventeen Soviet Embassy officials charged with espionage have been expelled from Canada. Eight Canadian citizens, including a Member of Parliament, were convicted of espionage and given various jail sentences.

June 30, 1949: Judith Coplon was convicted of taking Justice Department secrets and using them to aid Russia. She was sentenced to from 40 months to 10 years in prison. On January 28, 1952, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that she was entitled to a new trial because the Government used illegal wiretap evidence. She was never retried on this charge.

October 31, 1949 (diplomatic): Dr. Erwin Munk and a clerk named Horvat of the Czech Embassy in Washington were declared

persona non grata.

January 25, 1950: Alger Hiss was found guilty of lying to a grand jury in 1948 when he declared that he had never given any secret State Department documents to Whittaker Chambers, who then passed them on to the Soviet Union. He was sentenced to 5 years in prison.

March 1, 1950: Klaus Fuchs was sentenced by a British court to 14 years imprisonment after pleading guilty to giving atomic secrets

to Russia.

March 9, 1950: Judith Coplon, in her second trial, was found guilty of conspiracy to commit espionage and was sentenced to 15 years in prison. On December 5, 1950, the U.S. Court of Appeals reversed the conviction on the grounds of illegal arrest and use of illegal wiretap evidence. The Supreme Court refused to review the case on January 28, 1952.

March 9, 1950 (diplomatic): Valetin A. Gubitchev, a U.N. employee, was found guilty as Judith Coplon's codefendent. He was sentenced to 15 years imprisonment but the sentence was suspended on condition he leave the United States. Gubitchev sailed for Poland on March 20.

April 15, 1950: Air Force Cpl. Gustav Mueller was convicted of attempting to give U.S. military secrets to Russia. He was sentenced to 5 years at hard labor.

September 22, 1950: Alfred D. Slack pleaded guilty to giving samples of a secret explosive to Harry Gold and was sentenced to 15 years in prison.

November 22, 1950: Abraham Brothman was convicted of conspiring to mislead a grand jury (which was investigating espionage) and of influencing Harry Gold to give false statements to the jury. He was sentenced to 7 years imprisonment and fined \$15,000. In July 1951, the U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals upheld the 2-year sentence and \$10,000 fine for misleading a grand jury, but reversed the 5-year sentence and \$5,000 fine for influencing Gold.

November 22, 1950: Miriam Moskowitz was convicted (together with A. Brothman) of conspiring to mislead a grand jury and was sentenced to 2 years in prison and fined

December 9, 1950: Harry Gold pleaded guilty to transmitting atomic secrets to the Russians and received a 30-year prison sen-

April 5, 1951: Julius and Ethel Rosenberg were sentenced to death for procuring and transmitting U.S. atom bomb secrets to Russia during and after the Second World War. They were both executed on June 19, 1953.

April 5, 1951: Morton Sobell was sentenced to 30 years in prison for giving nonatomic defense secrets to the Fuchs-Gold spy ring.

April 6, 1951: David Greenglass admitted to giving atomic data to the Fuchs-Gold ring while working as an Army technician at Los Alamos, N. Mex., and was sentenced to 15 years imprisonment.

September 26, 1951 (diplomatic): Nicholal P. Orlov, the assistant naval secretary of the Soviet Embassy in Stockholm, was ordered to leave Sweden immediately in connection with the Andersson espionage case.

November 14, 1951: Ernest Hilding Anders-son, a petty officer in the Swedish Navy, was sentenced to life imprisonment after being found guilty of gross espionage for the Soviet Union. Andersson admitted supplying the Russians with secret data on the Swedish Navy, coastal defense installations, and suitable invasion areas along the coast of northern Sweden. He named N. P. Orlov, Konstantin Vinogradov, a Soviet Embassy secretary, and Tass correspondent Victor Anissimov as his accomplices.

October 1952: Nikolai Skvartsov, a political officer in the United Nations Department of Security Council Affairs, was discharged after the State Department notified the U.N. that he had violated a U.S. law.

February 4, 1953: William Remington was found guilty of perjuring himself at his first trial in 1951 when he said he never gave any secret material of the War Production Board to Elizabeth Bentley, a former Communist spy who testified for the FBI. He was sen-

tenced to 3 years in prison.

February 25, 1953: Lev C. Pissarev, Tass correspondent, was deported from the Netherlands for spying after being arrested on December 23 in the act of receiving secret documents from a Dutch official who was cooperating with the police.

1953 (diplomatic): Christache May 30, Zambeti, first secretary of the Rumanian legation in Washington, was declared persona non grata for attempting to blackmail a U.S. citizen into espionage acts.

June 5, 1953: William Perl was sentenced

to 5 years in prison for perjury for having told a grand jury in 1950 that he did not know atom spies Julius Rosenberg and Morton Sobell.

June 8, 1953: Air Force S. Sgt. Giusseppe Cascio was convicted by court martial Taegu, Korea, of conspiracy to give jet plane secrets to the Communists. He was given a 20-year jail sentence and a dishonorable

June 8, 1953: Kurt Ponger and Otto Verber were convicted of conspiracy to procure and

transmit Army, Air Force, and aircraft plant data to the Soviet Union. They were sentenced to 5 to 15 years and $3\frac{1}{2}$ to 10 years

in prison, respectively.

June 8, 1953 (diplomatic): Yuri Novikov, Second Secretary of the Soviet Embassy, was named as a coconspirator in the Verber-Ponger indictment. He was then declared persona non grata by the U.S. Government and returned to the Soviet Union.

October 31, 1953: Pvt. Robert W. Dorey was sentenced to 15 years in prison after pleading guilty to fleeing to East Germany, then twice returning to the U.S. zone with Soviet agents whom he guided around U.S. military installations.

February 3, 1954 (diplomatic): Igor A. Amosov, assistant naval attaché at the Soviet Embassy in Washington, was declared persona non grata and expelled for engaging in

espionage.

February 3, 1954 (diplomatic): Alexander P. Kovalev, second secretary to the Soviet delegation to the United Nations was declared persona aon grata and expelled for espionage activities.

May 29, 1954 (diplomatic): Leonid E. Pivnev, assistant air attaché in the Soviet Embassy in Washington, was declared persona non grata and expelled for engaging in

espionage.

August 28, 1954: Nobunori Higurashi, a Japanese foreign office official, committed suicide after he had confessed to giving secret information to a Soviet spy ring. The central figure in the ring was Yuri A. Rastvorov, former member of the Soviet mission in Tokyo, who has been granted political asylum in the United States. Two other foreign office officials have also been implicated.

December 22, 1954 (diplomatic): Maj. Ludvik Sochor, Czech military attaché in Geneva, and two of his assistants were expelled from Switzerland for espionage.

September 14, 1955: An Australian Royal Commission on Soviet Espionage released its report. The commission, created after vliadimir Petrov, third secretary of the Soviet Embassy, sought asylum from the Russians on April 13, 1954, declared that two Soviet spy apparatuses had been functioning in Australia since 1943. At least 120 Australians, all of whom were Communists, assisted the Soviet spy rings but because of the Australian law on espionage and the admissibility of evidence no prosecutions were undertaken.

March 1, 1956 (diplomatic): Maj. Anatoli Kuznetsov, assistant military attaché of the Soviet Embassy in Teheran was expelled from Iran after being arrested with Iranian Air Force WO Hussein Rejaei Tehrani who con-

fessed to espionage.

June 14, 1956 (diplomatic): Col. Ivan A. Bubchikov, assistant military attaché of the Soviet Embassy in Washington, was declared persona non grata for "activities incompatible to his continued presence in this country."

July 13, 1956 (diplomatic): Gennadi Popov, the Soviet second secretary, was ex-

pelled from Canada for spying.

August 24, 1956 (diplomatic): Victor I. Petrov, a translator in the languages section on the U.N. Secretariat, was discharged from the United Nations after the U.S. delegation issued a statement saying that Petrov had sought to get "information vital to the security and defense of the United States."

August 29, 1956 (diplomatic): Rostislav Shapovalov, second secretary of the Soviet Mission to the U.N., was requested to leave the United States after it was discovered that he exerted pressure on a Russian refugee in the United States to become a Soviet agent.

September 5, 1956 (diplomatic): Sweden expelled Peter Mirosnikov for receiving secret data from Anatole Ericson and sent a

formal protest to Moscow about its spy activities in that country.

October 5, 1956: Anatole Ericson, a radar instrument maker, was convicted to giving military secrets to Russia by a Swedish court and sentenced to 12 years at hard labor.

October 5, 1956: Jean Joseph Philip, a code clerk at the Budapest legation in Paris, and Roger Dubois, legation press attaché, were convicted in France of spying for the Hungarian secret service and were sentenced to imprisonment.

December 18, 1956 (diplomatic): Mate Vegh, former Hungarian second secretary, was expelled from Switzerland for spying.

January 14, 1957 (diplomatic): Maj. Yuri P. Krylov, assistant military attaché of the Soviet Embassy in Washington, was declared persona non grata for purchasing classified electronic equipment and attempting to purchase secret military information. January 28, 1957 (diplomatic): Vassili M.

January 28, 1957 (diplomatic): Vassili M. Molev, a clerk attached to the Soviet Embassy in Washington, was declared persona non grata by the State Department. He was later named as a coconspirator in the in-

dictment of the Sobles' spy ring.

February 27, 1957 (diplomatic): The Danish Government expelled Soviet Lt. Comdr. Mikhail Ruditchev, assistant naval attaché of the Soviet Embassy, on the grounds that he was attempting to obtain secret military information.

March 12, 1957: A Swedish court sentenced Bedros Zartaryan, a Turkish engineer employed by a firm which was building Swedish naval and air bases, to 10 years at hard labor for grand espionage for the Soviet Union.

March 16, 1957 (diplomatic): Jiri Stejskal, third secretary of the Czechoslovak legation in Vienna, was expelled from Austria for attempting to bribe a police official to carry

out espionage work.

April 24, 1957: Robert Folke Damstedt, assistant secretary of the Swedish Atomic Energy Commission, was convicted of stealing secret papers, and was sentenced to 5 years in prison.

May 7, 1957: Three men were sentenced to death in Greece after being convicted of treason and espionage for the Soviet Union. Another man was given a life sentence, and five other persons were given lesser terms.

July 23, 1957: West German security offi-

July 23, 1957: West German security officials broke a Communist spy ring headquartered in a Bonn hotel.

August 9, 1957: Myra Soble, wife of Jack Soble, was sentenced to 5½ years in prison

after pleading gulity to charges of espionage. August 9, 1957: Jacob Albam was sentenced to 5½ years in prison after pleading gulity to espionage in behalf of the Soviet Union as a member of the Soble spy ring.

September 5, 1957: A former Japanese foreign office official was fined and sentenced to prison for selling secrets to a Soviet agent.

September 20, 1957: U.S. Air Force Capt. George French was convicted and sentenced to life imprisonment for attempting to sell military secrets to the Soviet Union.

September 25, 1957: An Austrian Customs Service official was arrested for espionage and confessed that he turned information over to Czech Communist agents.

October 8, 1957: Jack Soble was sentenced to 7 years in prison after pleading guilty to heading a spy ring for the Soviet Union.

November 1957: German officials reveal that a former first lieutenant in the West German Air Force has been convicted of esplonage.

November 15, 1957: Col. Rudolf I. Abel, a Soviet intelligence officer, was sentenced to 30 years in prison and fined \$3,000 for passing U.S. defense and atomic secrets to Russia.

February 21, 1958: M. Sgt. Roy A. Rhodes was convicted by a U.S. Army court-martial of conspiring to deliver U.S. secrets to the Soviet Union and was sentenced to 5 years'

imprisonment at hard labor and was dishonorably discharged.

May 19, 1958 (diplomatic): Aleksandr Solovyev, assistant military attaché of the Soviet Embassy in Rome, after being detained on charges of espionage was asked to leave Italy.

June 7, 1958 (diplomatic): Nikolai L Kurochkin, third secretary of the Soviet Embassy in Washington, was declared persona non grata for the improper procurement of U.S. Army manuals and other materials.

July 18, 1958: Brian Linney, an engineer, was sentenced to 14 years imprisonment by a British court for selling secret information to Col. Oldrich Pribyl, a former Czech military attaché in England.

November 20, 1958: Mark Zborowski was convicted of perjury in denying to a Federal grand jury investigating espionage that he had known Jack Soble. He was sentenced to 5 years in prison.

November 20, 1958: Lt. Hans Berli was sentenced by a Swiss military court to 4 years hard labor for glving classified military secrets to Czech agents.

February 21, 1959: Elnar Bleckinberg, a former Danish diplomat, was sentenced in Copenhagen to 8 years in prison for spying on behalf of Communist Poland.

January 30, 1960: Horst Ludwig and Frits Briesemeister were sentenced by a West German court to 4 and 5 years at hard labor, respectively, for treason. Two other defendants, Werner Jaeger and his wife, Hannl, were sentenced to 3 years and 18 months.

April 1, 1960: Anthony M. Wraight, a former Royal Air Force officer, was found guilty in London of having given military information to Russia and was sentenced to 3 years

in prison.

May 11, 1960 (diplomatic): The Swiss Government arrested and expelled two Soviet Embassy officials for attempting to collect secret information on Swiss Army installations and U.S. rocket bases in West Germany.

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board, or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports of documents not exceeding 50 pages (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives or the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

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Appendix

A Tribute to Jane Addams

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON, PAUL H. DOUGLAS

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Wednesday, May 25, 1960

Mr. DOUGLAS. Mr. President, on April 29 I had the honor of participating in a series of meetings held at Rockford College, to commemorate the 100th anniversary of the birth of Jane Addams. I ask unanimous consent that the address which I delivered on that occasion be printed in the Appendix of the REC-

There being no objection, the address Was ordered to be printed in the RECORD. as follows:

A TRIBUTE TO JANE ADDAMS (Delivered at Rockford College, Apr. 20, 1960,

by Senator Paul H. Douglas) Of all the American men and women of

the last century the two, who to my mind most closely approached sainthood, have been Abraham Lincoln and Jane Addams. And we of Illinois can take a proper degree of local pride in the fact that both of these supreme characters developed within the texture of the life of our State.

When Jane Addams died a quarter of a century ago she was loved by many, respected my multitudes but bitterly reviled and hated by most of the so-called leading citizens and formers of public opinion. Now with the passage of time, her nobility is more fully appreciated while the traducers have either died off, been converted, or have decided that since Miss Addams is no longer living they can afford to allow her to be praised.

So all over this country at this centennial of her birth proper tribute is being offered for her life and works. And since the dead lend themselves very readily to reconciliation we probably should not scrutinize too closely the credentials of those who else-

Where join to pay her honor. Like most true saints, Jane Addams was a robust character who lived in no ivory tower but moved instead at the very center of the stresses and tensions of life. There was symmetry and nobility in every phase of her development from her girlhood in the Quaker home beside the mill in Cedarville, on through the years of illness, study and travel both here and abroad and then to her busy life on Halsted Street as the helpful friend of the poor, the weak, the confused, the unfortunate, the exploited and the friendless. And then by her awareness of the "solidarity of the human race" she became first a mighty force for good in Chicago and in Illinois, then a national figure almost as commending in her way as was Lincoln in his, and finally to deserved honor and then to death and simple burial on the hillside slope in Cedarville from whence she sprang.

The mere contemplation of such a career is in itself life enhancing and hence is ample justification for the services which are being conducted both here and else-

But Miss Addams was always a most modest person who was almost exclusively interested in the good which she could accomplish both for her generation and for those which were to follow and not in retrospective praise for her past achievements. So if her spirit watches these proceedings (as I hope it does) she would welcome any impetus which our tributes might give to help lessen the burdens, the dangers and the anxieties which the men and women of today and tomorrow will inevitably experience. I hope you will pardon me if in a few brief minutes I try to sketch some of the general lessons which her life seems to me to impart, leaving for the discussion period the questions as to what her attitude would be as regards current questions and problems.

The first lesson which I would draw from Miss Addams' life is the esthetic beauty and practical ability of intelligent and energized compassion. This is a brittle and hard-boiled era in which commitment to causes and a desire to help people is not regarded as "good form." But Miss Addams' whole life was devoted to those purposes from the time that she and Ellen Starr moved into the big house on Halstead Street and began to nurse the sick, to offer counsel and recreation to those who sadly needed both, on through the days when she fought for laws and institutions which would protect women and children from being broken by excessive toil, starvation wages and insidious temptations, and then on to being a pilgrim for peace involved in the fate of mankind, who pled with the lowly and mighty alike that they might abandon the institution of war and devote their energies to the arts of peace. No person in our times has done so much for people.

And in thus devoting herself to others, Miss Addams became an ever more noble and more attractive woman. There was indeed never a better example of the truth of Jesus saying that "he who loses his life for My sake shall find it."

The second lesson which I would draw from her life is that in general it is better to begin where one lives, to be helpful there, and then follow life outward, upward, and I may say, inward as well. Miss Addams started on Halsted Street. She was the su-premely good neighbor without being in the slightest sense a busy body or the proverbial lady bountiful. Just because she was a good neighbor, she took on the job of garbage collector and gradually excavated the loathesome piles which covered the streets and alleys of the bloody 20th ward. Then as a result of trying to help boys and girls out of trouble, she founded the Juvenile Protective Association, helped to create the juvenile court, and became a reforming member of the school board. She not only cared for individual immigrants, but set up the Immigrants Protective League to do the same job on a broader scale, with her doughty associates Julia Lathrop, of this very city of Rockford, Florence Kelly, and Alice Hamilton, Jessie Binford and the two Abbotts she crusaded for and obtained much-needed legislation to protect the women and children not only of Halsted Street but also of Illinois and the Nation. She was not afraid to defend the Pullman strikers of 1894 and the clothing workers in the great strike of 1910 and she helped to lay the basis for the model labor-management relations which have existed in the latter industry for the last 50 years. But since she was rooted in Halsted Street and always lived on intimate terms with her neighbors her advocacies were based in reality while her testimony had a vivid and living pith to it which the abstract statements of experts commonly lack. If we can take another moral from her life it is, "Begin where you are but do not be afraid to follow where truth and the pure spirit of the inner light may lead you."

Finally Miss Addams combined culture with character. There are too many of us who specialize on one of these attributes to the virtual exclusion of the other. But Miss Addams through her wide travels had sympathetic communion with the people of many lands; from her wide reading the whole great world of literature was part of her life as were the breathless creations of beauty in were the breathess treathes to be painting, sculpture, and music. She encouraged all this in her neighbors with her industrial museum, her Little Theater, and the classes in the arts, and in music which she and Miss Starr fostered. And this was reflected in the moving and prescient books which she wrote such as "Twenty Years at Hull House," "Democracy and Social Ethics," The Spirit of Youth and the City Streets," "The Long Road of Woman's Memory," "Peace and Bread in Time of War," and the "Second 20 Years at Hull House."

What a legacy she has left us and what an inspiration her life still is. And in the words of a victorian poet whom Miss Addams loved:

"Through such solus only God stooping Shows sufficient of His light For us in the dark to rise by."

Perhaps I should stop here but this last week as I reread Bernard Shaw's "Saint Joan," I thought of the similarities between Joan of Arc who after five centuries was made Saint Joan, and our citizen of Illinois and of the world whom we may reverently term "Saint Jane." Saint Joan was burned at the stake for heresy in believing that God's voice told her to liberate France. The body of our brave saint was not burned at the stake but her spirit was scarred and indeed nailed upon the figurative cross of public passion and opinion.

And in the epilogue of Shaw's play you will remember how Joan's shining apparition appeared a quarter of a century after her execution to those who had put her to death and to the friends who had failed her in the death agony. And in repentance they all praised her, confessed their sins and vowed to do better. But when Joan announced her intention of returning to earth, one by one they all scurried away with the last to leave being the hulky and sensual soldier who had held up a cross before her dying

And I thought would that we could have this experience of our Saint Jane returning to us on this spring day a full quarter of a century after her death. Would our praise turn to abandonment if she or someone like her were to sound clear notes on the trumpet of probity.

It is quite probable, and I am frank to confess that knowing something of the nature of tyranny of the police states, I could not follow her in rejection of all forms of force. But I do say that if we could have more who would live as she did in the spirit which takes away the occasion for all the necessity for the use of force would be greatly reduced.

And I think we would all echo the last plea which Shaw made Joan utter, "O God, that madest this beautiful earth, when will it be ready to receive thy saints? How long, O Lord, how long?"

Space Act Revision-Well Done

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. OVERTON BROOKS

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, May 25, 1960

BROOKS of Louisiana. Mr. Mr. Speaker, the Committee on Science and Astronautics has approved H.R. 12049, a bill revising the National Aeronautics and Space Act of 1958. This measure will shortly be brought before the House for its consideration.

Missiles and Rockets magazine includes in its issue of May 23, 1960, an editorial on the bill entitled, "Space Act Revision-Well Done," which I wish to bring to the attention of my colleagues. Under leave to extend my remarks, I insert the editorial in the RECORD.

The editorial follows:

SPACE ACT REVISION-WELL DONE (By Clarke Newlon)

Two years ago, in an atmosphere of startled concern over Russian achievements in space, Congress passed the National Space Act. It was hastily drawn legislation and not the best.

The House Space Committee has now reorted out a reorganizational bill (H.R. 12049). It is an excellent measure. It corrects the major faults of the original. It deserves to pass the House and to be sent to the Senate Space Committee without deviation so that final action can be accomplished at this session of Congress.

The new measure eliminates many of the undesirable features of the old bill, adds certain necessary clauses and clarifies roles and missions in the space field. Specifically,

Relieves the President of a rather ridiculous role as project officer for space projects. Abolishes the President's National Space Council and substitutes a DOD-NASA board

cochairmaned by NASA's Deputy Adminis-trator and DOD's Director of Research and Engineering.

Eliminates the Civilian-Military Liaison Committee.

Gives the military a positive role in space. Strengthens NASA's peaceful role in space. Pulls NASA's patent authority into line

with that of the military.

Provides machinery to indemnify contractors against unsually hazardous risks.

The first three listed changes are purely administrative. Making the President personally responsible for planning and surveying the Nation's space needs had placed upon him an impracticable burden, which will now be removed. Elimination of the Space Council follows logically; its chief function was to advise the President on the detailed work he is no longer responsible for-and really never did anyhow.

The Civilian-Military Liaison Committee

never functioned, either, for a number of reasons. The new measure insures coordination and cooperation between NASA and

DOD at all levels.

Giving the military a positive role in space was a much-needed step. We pursue peaceful exploration of space with the very best

intentions, but it is easy to foresee that a time may come when we shall have to fight to be allowed to conduct this exploration. Certainly the military must be prepared to see that no other nation denies us the right to operate in space.

The role of NASA is strengthened by giving the agency a clear responsibility for planning and directing civilian space activitles for peaceful purposes. Thus it gives the duties heretofore incumbent upon the President. If there is a dispute between NASA and the services, then the President must arbitrate.

As previous Congresses have done, the subcommittee concluded that the interests of the Government and national economy are best served by allowing a contractor to retain the rights to a scientific invention. The reason is, of course, primarily incentive—specifically because many space research programs generate commercial appli-Without patent protection the manufacturer has little incentive to develop for the commercial market. Under the revised law, the Government has rights to the invention for its own use but permits the inventor to retain commercial rights.

The addition of indemnification is just commonsense. In dealing with potentially hazardous space powerplants, no contractor can be or should be exposed to the enormous financial risks which might incur through an accident-risks so large that it is impossible to obtain insurance against them. new bill provides protection.

Few would claim that H.R. 12049 is the perfect solution. But it certainly is a great improvement over its predecessor, and it appears to provide a workable law. We urge appears to provide a workable law. fastest possible action in both Houses of Congress on this imperative piece of legislation.

Religion and Politics

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Wednesday, May 25, 1960

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President. Father Joseph A. Hughes, contributing editor of the Duluth (Minn.) Register, in a recent column recommended to his readers study of my recent address before the American Society of Newspaper Editors as sound teaching on religion in politics. I am deeply grateful to Father Hughes for his sympathetic understanding of my efforts to see that a so-called religious issue was not injected into the primary campaign.

I ask unanimous consent that Father Hughes' comments on "Religion and Politics" from the Duluth Register of May 13, 1960, be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD. as follows:

RELIGION AND POLITICS

This column is dedicated to opinion and comment. It is not a news column pri-marily. News, as such, is a primary con-cern of other departments of this paper.

We make this explanation to those who have inquired why we did not give prom-inence to Senator Humphrey's references to religion in politics, in his talk to the American Society of Newspaper Publishers. We

were under the impression that the religiouspolitical views of both HUMPHREY and KEN-NEDY were quite thoroughly reported and analyzed for the public by newspapers, radio, and television.

Senator HUMPHREY has the proper attitude toward religion in politics as far as we know. He has not been a part to any attempt to employ religious preference for votes or to use religious prejudice to hurt his political opponents.

HUMPHREY'S views on this subject were made frankly and clearly to the newspaper publishers. His remarks are more or less self explanatory. They cover the subject adequately.

The Senator said, for example:

"I would not want to pursue this campaign if it were to create deep and dangerous divisions among Americans on the issue

of religion.
"I would not want to be President if it meant that my own party might be torn apart on this extraneous issue.

"I would not want to receive the vote of any American because my opponent worships in a particular church, whatever that church may be.

"Nor would I want to receive the vote of any American simply because he is of the same faith as I.

"It is alien to our American traditions for any man's qualifications for public office be judged on the basis of his religious affiliation."

In another reference to this subject HUMPHREY explained that:

"Misuses of religion grievously offend Judaic-Christian and democratic principles.

"The only tests that may properly be applied to any condidate are those relating to integrity, ability, experience, judgment, and dedication to democratic institutions and constitutional government.

"No one should maintain, I believe, that any candidate be nominated simply because he would obtain the support of voters of his own faith, nor should he be denied nomination because people of other faiths might vote against him. Both of these intrusions of denominational preference into politics threaten the very fabric which binds our Nation together."

This political manifesto echoes sound theological teaching on religion in politics. We recommend it for study. When this creed becomes a practical axiom of American civic life, the political arena can be purified of odorous practices in both Catholic and anti-Catholic camps.

Harrington Park (N.J.) Post Office Dedication

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON, FRANK C. OSMERS, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, May 25, 1960

Mr. OSMERS. Mr. Speaker, despite the fact that my district lies almost in the shadow of the skyscrapers of the city of New York, a surprising number of the municipalities I represent have been able to preserve, through careful planning and zoning, good local government and old-fashioned public spirit, most of the fine qualities that we associate with the typical small American town. One such place is the borough of Harrington Park, N.J.

In the past few years several hundred more fine homes have been built in Harrington Park. The additional population resulting placed such a strain on the small post office there that the mayor and council, and other local groups and individuals, initiated action to obtain adequate postal facilities. These efforts brought about the construction of a fine new post office of colonial design in Harrington Park.

The elected and appointed officials of Harrington Park and similar New Jersey suburban communities are, for the most part, men and women who give generously of their spare time for the betterment of their hometown and fellow citizens.

The former mayor of Harrington Park, Hon. Ensign J. H. Cowell, a well-known architect and engineer, and the present mayor, Hon. Edward T. Baczewski, a prominent New York City advertising executive, are fine examples of this type of citizenship at its best. Both of these men and the borough councilmen serving with them were active in the movement for better postal facilities.

It has now been determined by the Post Office Department that Harrington Park meets the requirements for carrier service. Such service will shortly be instituted, made possible by the space available in the new post office building.

Throughout all of our efforts to improve service in Harrington Park, the prompt and intelligent action by the Post Office Department was never lacking. In particular, Anthony A. Vertelis, the regional real estate office, deserves credit for his help.

Mr. Vertelis made the dedication address at the ceremonies on April 30. His remarks apply to postal service everywhere. Therefore, I am asking unanimous consent to include his speech in the Appendix of the RECORD, as well as the program of dedication:

Postal Dedication Address, Harring Park, N.J., by Anthony A. Vertelis HARRINGTON

Mr. Chairman, members of the clergy, distinguished guests, my colleagues in the postal service and friends, I am very happy to be here in Harrington Park, N.J., today to participate in the dedication ceremonies of your new post office. As a representative your Post Office Department, I share your pride and satisfaction in this achievement.

I also bring you the sincere greetings of Postmaster General Summerfield, the man whose long-range planning is manifested in the completion of this wonderful new postal facility.

Although it is customary on such an occasion as this to dwell on the facts and figures pertinent to the immediate reason we have gathered, I would ask your indulgence while I talk a little of the broader scope of your postal operations and tell you why your Post Office Department has a feeling of pride in the nationwide modernization program of Which this facility is an important component.

I would tell you how you will benefit from the many improvements made in mail handling in our major post offices and how our program of mechanization will make possinext-day delivery of a letter anywhere in the United States.

I would tell you the story behind programs of research and engineering, unheard of 10 years ago, which are producing methods and machines to handle a mail volume which is expected to double within the next 25 years.

I would tell you in detail of the accelerated building program now underway for the construction of 12,000 new post offices to replace obsolete facilities during the next few years, with 1,400 new post offices to be built in every part of the Nation during fiscal year 1960 alone.

These facilities are being constructed to our specifications under the Department's commerical lease program without capital expenditures from the Federal Government. Under this unique lease program, the lessor pays local real estate taxes as does any property owner.

I would be remiss at this time if I did not pay tribute to the loyal half million postal employees who have been giving you tremendous service while under these substandard working conditions for so many

The history of the Post Office Department is one of the most glorious of any branch of our Government. Each era has brought improved mail service whether by pony express and stagecoach or river packet, in train, plane, or by today's 707 jet service.

The past is full of the deeds of men of wisdom and valor and dedication to the postal service. The tradition that the mail must go through applied then as it does

Postal leaders are to be listed among the great men of our country. Your Post Office Department is the busiest enterprise in the world. It will handle in excess of 62 billion pieces of mail and parcel post this year. It employs well over a half million people in more than 35,000 post offices to process more than two-thirds of the world's mail volume. It operates a fleet of 85,000 vehicles and proudly displays the 1959 Safety Award for leading all Federal agencies in safe driving.

It reaches into every part of the world, extending its services to the smallest villages or the most isolated homes, no matter the climate or mode of travel.

It pursues our wandering Army, Navy, and Air Force personnel, even weathermen and explorers into the Arctic and Antarctic, just as it delivers your hometown newspaper to

your favorite vacation land. It is a truly great experience to be part of a team under the leadership of Postmaster General Summerfield that has just one, vitally important goal: Better mail service

for the American public. He has dedicated his existence to that service.

New methods and procedures were installed and modern accounting practices introduced, administrative responsibilities were decentralized, overlapping operations were liquidated, waste and incompetence reduced.

With this phase of reorganization achieved, the Postmaster General then inaugurated a crash program of physical modernization, encompassing mechanization, automation, new facilities and equipment and the installation of the Post Office Department's first Office of Research and Engineering complete with its own laboratory.

This program has been progressing at a rate beyond our hopes. Many of its achievements are incorporated in the thoroughly modernized Washington, D.C., Post Office, now the world's most mechanized mail-handling facility. Other major post offices throughout the country are being similarly brought up to date as rapidly as appropriated funds are made available.

You undoubtedly know of our plans to build experimental post offices in Providence, R.I., and Oakland, Calif., designed as laboratories in which to test methods and machines under high-volume operations.

The first American-built letter sorter capable of processing 43,000 letters an hour is now in production.

We have in operation high-speed facingcanceling machines which process mail so fast it is almost impossible for the eye to follow the course of a single letter.

Under development is a completely automatic machine which scans and sorts machine-addressed mail. Apparently, this machine will not read handwriting.

Semiautomatic electronic parcel sorting equipment is being installed where needed. There are customer-operated vending ma-

chines that sell stamps, envelopes, paper, money orders and return the proper change.

There is a customer-operated parcel post acceptance unit which weighs and computes the mailing cost to any zone, adds in the prescribed amount of insurance, indicates total charges, accepts money, stamps the packages, returns correct change and automatically removes the parcel from the machine into the mail system via a conveyor belt to the rear.

Under development are plans for customeroperated post offices, designed to provide unattended around-the-clock service in suburban and rural communities.

While all of these items are being rushed into production our Office of Research and Engineering, operating under a modest budget provided by a responsive Congress, has been investigating hundreds of other suggestions for expediting and more efficiently handling our ever-increasing mail volume.

One of the most important areas involves mail movement between post offices, whether they be near or far. The prime and sole objectives: Better mail service at less cost.

In the past, evolutionary improvements in this area resulted from speedier transportation via plane and train, more efficient use of motor transport, and the introduction of the metro system for intracity mail.

We are now on the threshold of what we firmly believe is the first revolutionary improvement in mail handling since airmail was inaugurated three decades ago. It involves the facsimile transmission of mail using video signals over a microwave link. The Post Office Department aptly calls it "minute mail." Much more will be heard of facsimile mail in the immediate future.

So you see why I am proud of the new look

of the Post Office Department.

Those of us present today must share this spirit of achievement because it is a local enterprise, coupled with the initiative of your postmaster, Peter T. Grea; the lessor, John Trebino; former Mayor Ensign Cowell; Mayor Edward Baczewski, and the cooperation your regional postal authorities, which have made possible this modern facility.

And this new post office, with its thoroughmodern equipment, is but one of 12,000 such post offices either already built, in the process, or planned to be built under the Postmaster General's modernization program.

And all of the many improvements I have briefly discussed here today have but a single objective of improvement: next-day delivery of letter mail anywhere in the United States.

Your new post office, over which will proudly fly the flag of our country, is a vital part and pertinent parcel of the entire projection of faith your Federal Government has in the future growth and prosperity of this community.

The Post Office Department is proud and thankful to have been able to play a part in bringing this new facility to you. It is now bringing this new facility to you. It is now my high honor and privilege to declare this new building formally dedicated to the service of all mankind.

In closing, I want to say "Thank you" for the invitation to participate in this patriotic and civic program. Your thoughtfulness is deeply appreciated.

HARRINGTON PARK (N.J.) POST OFFICE DEDICA-TION, SATURDAY, APRIL 30, 1960, 2 P.M.

Welcome, Mayor Edward T. Baczewski. Invocation, Rev. Anthony J. Connell. Introductions, Fred H. Quantmeyer, Sr., dedication chairman.

Address, Congressman Frank C. Osmers,

Remarks, A. A. Vertelis, post office regional real estate officer.

Presentation of flag, Postmaster Peter T. Grea.

Ode to flag, William Gurtner. National anthem, Dorothy C. Nelson. Benediction, Rev. Charles A. Mosby.

Tribute to Dr. Elbert E. Gates, Jr.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, HARRISON A. WILLIAMS, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Wednesday, May 25, 1960

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. Mr. President, last year the citizens of Westfield, N.J., had to say goodbye to a very valuable member of the community, when Dr. Elbert E. Gates, Jr., left the First Baptist Church there, to serve in a different way abroad. Westfield happens to be my hometown, so I was among those who knew of Dr. Gates' work there.

An article in the New York Times of May 22 tells of his deeds since he has left Westfield. The article makes it clear that Dr. Gates is offering new ideas in a very essential cause; his innate creativity is finding new expression.

The work of Dr. Gates, the World Church Service, and the Young Women's Christian Association, is of interest to all who believe that there is work to be done for others.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the article be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

JERSEY MINISTER HELPS HONG KONG-REV. ELBERT GATES AND WIFE WORKING FOR REFUGEES-SPUR NEW PROGRAMS

Hong Kong, May 13 .- A Westfield, N.J., minister has brought a fresh approach to the problem of Hong Kong's refugees from Communist China.

He is the Reverend Elbert E. Gates, Jr., who resigned as pastor of the First Baptist Church, Westfield, last year to take the position of director in Hong Kong of the Church World Service, a welfare agency of the National Council of Churches of Christ in America.

In a few months he has given a new direction to the work of the Church World Service here, setting it on a course designed not only to bring immediate relief to the refugees but also to provide them with a future.

"It is one thing to keep the refugees alive," Dr. Gates said. "But where do they go from there? They are not satisfied to remain forever on a food line. They want to regain their dignity.

"We are trying to help them to get some conomic independence by developing selfhelp projects."

As a first step in this direction Dr. Gates and his wife, June, are giving support and assistance to a group of orphan girls who are expert knitters. He believes that a market can be found for their work in the United States.

PRICES MUCH LOWER

Four of the girls are blind, two are crippled and another has only one arm, but each member of the group can turn out handknitted wear of top quality.

Although the girls earn more than their counterparts in industry here, they can turn out a knitted dress for about \$40 as against

\$200 for a similar article made in New York.
"There are a number of other possibilities," Dr. Gates stated. "But we don't want any-thing of a curio nature; nor do we want to play on people's sentiment and emphasize the refugee factor.

"Any items the refugees make must be able to hold their own in a commercial

The Church World Service, which is one of the largest of the voluntary agencies operating among the million refugees that have fled to Hong Kong from Communist China, coordinates the U.S. Protestant effort here. Its primary work at present is the distribution of food and clothing.

MILK FED TO NEEDY

The service has 10 milk stations where powdered milk is mixed with boiling water and doled out together with a special-

formula biscuit to deserving cases.

Below a Kowloon hillside scarred by a refugee shanty town stands one of the servmost heart-warming projects. Here children of the refugees living on the hill are cared for in a nursery staffed by YWCA workers and financed by the Church World Service.

are numerous other projects in which the Church World Service has a hand, and Dr. and Mrs. Gates lead a more demanding life than they ever did in Westfield. But the life is of their own choice, and although they and their three children miss their friends and old flock, they find their reward in the grateful faces of their new congregation.

"We saw Hong Kong on a trip to Australia and we could not get it out of our minds," Dr. Gates said.

When the post was offered to him he took it and a one-third cut in salary.

"In Westfield our work was with the 'haves'," Dr. Gates said, reflecting on the change in his life. "Here it is with the 'have nots'."

Remarks by Gen. George H. Decker at Armed Forces Day Celebration in Berlin, May 21, 1960

> EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. WILLIAM G. BRAY

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 25, 1960

Mr. BRAY. Mr. Speaker, the remarks of Gen. George H. Decker, Vice Chief of Staff, U.S. Army, on the occasion of the Armed Forces Day celebration in Berlin, Germany on Saturday, May 21, 1960 are especially significant at this time. Under unanimous consent, I include these remarks in the Appendix of the Congres-SIONAL RECORD, as follows:

General Osborne, distinguished guests, officers and men of allied commands in Berlin, ladies and gentlemen, Berlinerinnen und Berliner, Armed Forces Day is an annual event on which members of the U.S. military establishments give a joint report to the American public on the Nation's defense program. This special day which is observed throughout the United States and in all areas of the free world where American military units are stationed, also serves to reaffirm our close working relationships with

On this occasion, we honor the men and women who serve in our Armed Forces. These men and women dedicated to peace a peace that we hope to preserve by the maintenance of the military strength of our country so that the United States may provide its share of the common defense of the free world. While dedicated to the cause of peace, we emphasize on Armed Forces Day that this peace must be a peace with honor and justice. The sacrifice made by our people to ensure military preparedness and our presence in Berlin demonstrates our devotion to a just peace.

I am honored to be here today. American would be proud to represent his country in Berlin at this moment of history.

Here in Berlin, in this vital outpost of the free world. Armed Forces Day assumes a particular importance. Here the troops the United States, France, and the United Kingdom stand side by side with the courageous citizens of Berlin in the prolonged struggle to preserve hard-won liberties. high spirit the citizens of Berlin have maintained, despite the many and diverse pressures to which they have been subjected, has been a source of inspiration to the defenders of freedom everywhere. Your forti-tude has radiated hope and encouragement to your less fortunate brothers who have been deprived of their liberty. West Berlin shines as a "city of light."

Your Mayor, Herr Willy Brandt, deserves our special thanks and applause today for his leadership and statesmarship in these trying times.

It might be well, on this occasion, to recall President Eisenhower's remarks when he spoke to the American people on 16 March 1959 about Berlin. The President declared:

"We cannot try to purchase peace by forsaking 2 million free people of Berlin * "We cannot agree to any permanent and compulsory division of the German nation

which would leave Central Europe a per-petual powder keg * * *."

We cannot recognize the asserted right of any nation to dishonor its international agreements whenever it chooses * * *.

"We must not, by weakness of irresolution, increase the risk of war."

"Finally, we cannot accept any agreement which would undermine the security of the United States and its allies * * *."

In Washington, our President and Chancellor Adenauer recently reaffirmed their determination to continue their efforts to achieve the reunification of Germany in peace and freedom. They further agreed that the preservation of the freedom of the people of West Berlin and their right to selfdetermination, must be the foundation of our policy for Berlin.

I can think of no time nor place more appropriate to recall these pledges than here. and on this occasion. I know we are all disappointed at what has happened in Paris. I cannot do better than quote the statement of President Eisenhower as he left Paris the day before yesterday when he said:

"I share the disappointment of my colleagues that because of our inability to convene the summit conference we could make no progress for easing the tension that so plagues mankind. But I equally share their confidence that because of this setback, we of the Western allies are joined, even closer than before, in determined pursuit of peace with justice in the world."

To the American troops stationed here, I wish to say: Your devotion to duty and the capable manner in which you perform your assignment reflect great credit upon our country and the Armed Forces of the United

I salute our French and British allies, and the citizens of West Berlin, at whose side we

stand proudly today.

Den West-Berlinern, die immer unseren Soldaten eine freundschaftliche Hand gereicht haben, maechte ich meinen achtung und dank ausdrucken. (To the people of West Berlin who have always extended the hand of friendship to the men of our Armed Forces I would like to pay my respects and express my thanks.)

Together, forming a bond that cannot be dissolved, we will carry out our dedicated mission—the defense of the free world

ideals-here in Berlin.

Wildlife Faces Gloomy Outlook

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. ALEXANDER WILEY

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Wednesday, May 25, 1960

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, over the years the expansion of our Nation-populationwise, industrially, agriculturally, and in other ways—has served to infringe more and more upon the natural out-ofdoor heritage.

To a great many folks, the preservation of these havens of nature is only of secondary, or lesser consideration, in relation to the problems of practical day-

to-day progress.

As a fast expanding country, however, more and more of our great out-of-doors is being wiped out. I believe we must become increasingly concerned with the heed for preserving such areas-in accordance with our policies and practices

of economic progress.

Over the years, a number of conservation-minded, civic-oriented organizations, have made constructive, creative efforts to preserve the natural out-ofdoors for this country. These include the Isaac Walton League, Rod-and-Gun Clubs, the Audubon Society, Wildlife Federations, Federation of Women's Federations, Federation of Clubs, and other interested organizations Which have undertaken constructive, creative programs to preserve this aspect of American life.

However, the efforts of these fine organizations must be supplemented, I believe, with a greater civic consciousness among all our people for the need of preserving this significant feature of our

heritage.

Recently, the New York Times published an article entitled "Wildlife Faces Gloomy Outlook." Reflecting upon some of the problems in this field, I ask unanimous consent to have the article printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article Was ordered to be printed in the RECORD,

as follows:

WILDLIPE FACES GLOOMY OUTLOOK-50 NORTH AMERICAN SPECIES REDUCED TO SUCH EXTENT EXTINCTION IS FEARED

Fifty species of North American wildlife are in danger of being as unknown to future generations of Americans as the dinosaur

and mastodon are to people of today, according to Science Service.

This does not mean that they are definitely doomed to extinction. What it does mean, however, is that their numbers have been reduced to such extent as to cause serious concern over their chances of survival.

Perhaps the most publicized species threatened with extinction is the whooping crane. These magnificent birds, nearly as tall as a man and with a wing-spread of almost 7 feet, possibly may not have exceeded 1,400 at the time America was discovered.

By 1938, only 14 remained because they could not cope with the draining of prairie potholes, plowing under of the grasslands and excessive shooting along their migration

The population of whooping cranes is now about 38, including six held in zoos. This comeback is largely due to public concern for their existence, which led to creation of the Arkansas National Wildlife Refuge in Texas on their hereditary wintering grounds.

Other birds whose numbers are dangerously low are the Everglade kite, California condor and the nene. The once-common California condor, our largest soaring land bird, ranged from Lower California to the Columbia River. Today not more than 60 birds remain. The nene, or Hawaiian goose, probably numbers not more than 50 wild birds now.

Nor are bird species the only ones threatened with extinction. Many mammals, fish,

and reptiles are also in danger.

The most well known of the mammals, perhaps, is the grizzly bear. There appear to be fewer than 800 grizzlies still remaining in the United States (excluding Alaska), about one-fourth of which are found within the boundaries of the national parks.

Other endangered mammals include the ea otter, tule elk, black-footed ferret, kit fox, manatee (sea cow), Key deer, and Carib-

bean monk seal.

Two North American reptiles are also in peril—the green turtle and the American crocodile. Among rapidly disappearing fish species are the lake sturgeon, grayling, Great Lakes whitefish, and lake trout.

With some notable exceptions, however, few of today's endangered species are considered to have already gone the way of the heath hen, Carolina paroquet, great auk, Labrador duck, sea mink, passenger pigeon, and Merriam elk, all of which became extinct during the past century.

PASSENGER PIGEON CITED

The passenger pigeon, a particularly tasty game bird, is an especially sad case. The most numerous bird in the country around 1800, it has not been seen since 1914. Passenger pigeons were particularly easy to kill because they congregated in huge flocks.

Two birds believed extinct but not yet generally referred to as such, are the Eskimo curlew and the ivory-billed woodpecker. The latter, North America's largest woodpecker, has not been reported seen since 1952.

Fortunately, several species are apparently making decided comebacks. The trumpeter swan, the world's largest waterfowl and wood

duck are two of these.

At the turn of the century, many believed the trumpeter to be already extinct in this country. Records of the Hudson's Bay Fur Co. show that more than 17,000 swan skins were sold between 1853 and 1877, the bulk of which were supposed to have been those of the trumpeter.

But by 1958, the trumpeter's number had increased to more than 700. Its recovery is a fine example of conservation in actioncomplete protection from shooting and from intrusion of men and cattle on its nesting

The bird of the Nation's national emblem. the bald eagle, once ranged over most of

North America. Now the species, estimated at a total population of about 1,000, is concentrated in Florida and Alaska, the extremes of its original homeland.

Though protected by Federal law, "Old Baldy's" size makes it an enticing target. Too often young eagles have been mistaken

for hawks and shot.

A million Attwater's prairie chickens are thought to have ranged over the coastal prairies of Louisiana and Texas at one time. Today, as a result of pollution from oil drilling, rice farming that destroys their grasslands, and drought, only a few thousand

Other feathered species that must be considered on the endangered list are the Mississippi kite, swallow-tailed kite, white-tailed kite, Hudsonian godwit, Florida sandhill crane, Laysan teal, Aleutian tern, Florida burrowing owl, peregrine falcon, red-bellied hawk, Kirtland's warbler, and Cape Sable seaside sparrow.

In addition, there are the limpkin, flamingo, woodcock, reddish egret, American egret, snowy egret, roseate spoonbill, and great white heron. The great white heron is the largest and rarest of the herons. Its present population, confined almost entirely to Florida Bay and the Florida Keys, numbers about 2.000.

To the endangered mammals already mentioned must be added the Sierra bighorn sheep, desert mountain sheep, woodland caribou, gray wolf, red wolf, walrus, wolverine, and coyote.

Soil Stewardship Week

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. WILLIAM H. MEYER

OF VERMONT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, May 25, 1960

Mr. MEYER. Mr. Speaker, this is Soil Stewardship Week and a time for each of us to reexamine the great need for the proper conservation of our soil. For 25 years our Nation has been developing a program of soil and water conservation-and they have been years of progess. This I know, because I was personally and actively associated with it for some 14 years: in the early days of the Soil Erosion Service, and on the staff of the first soil conservation district in Vermont which started in 1940. I have watched this soil and water policy grow and expand from its inception to its present status with 2,861 soil conservation districts including more than 90 percent of the Nation's farmland and with the cooperation of some 1.8 million farmers. I have witnessed the manner in which the owners of the land grasped the significance of wise use and, through their local districts, have worked to conserve this basic resource in one of the most successful of Federal partnerships with people and local governments. have had the privilege of participating in this great endeavor, and I wish to use this occasion to congratulate the people of our Nation for their foresight.

Much greater effort is needed, of course, because of the demands of a constantly growing population with its attendant complexities. There is a vital need for a comprehensive soil and water policy geared to the future. But, judging by our past accomplishments, we may hope to continue the task with a true sense of stewardship.

Africa on the Move

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. EDMUND S. MUSKIE

OF MAINE

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, May 25, 1960

Mr. MUSKIE. Mr. President, on March 17, Mrs. May Craig reported from Johannesburg the life which is lived by those who work in the great mines in that land.

On March 18, Mrs. Craig offered the thinking of South African officials on the apartheid policy, and their bitter criticism of American attitudes.

On March 19, Mrs. Craig treated her readers to a trip to the famous Kruger Park where 8,000 square miles had been given over to the original native Africa with its wild animals and great natural beauty.

I ask unanimous consent that these articles be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the articles were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[Mar. 17, 1930]

AFRICA ON THE MOVE-LOCKED IN WITH \$1 MILLION IN GOLD

(By May Craig)

JOHANNESBURG.—A million dollars in gold bars in one room of a mine of the Anglo-American company 200 miles from Johannesburg. About 90 percent pure, it will be refined to be 9909;00 percent. It was a big one-story building with furnaces in a row, 1,800° heat inside, from coal. We were locked inside; only whites in here, though natives do the mining. Each bar weighed 60 pounds. I could barely lift one, because small, like a big loaf of bread. Each bar worth about \$22,000. Most of the world's gold is mined here in South Africa. This mine was 4,800 feet deep, but some run to 15,000 and they have the problem of heat, methane gas (explosive), and flooding by water from fissures.

This mine was modern, 12 years old. They have twin shafts that go down, one updraft, one downdraft, with elevators for the men in tiers. The profit is a pretty 8,080,000 British pounds per month-yes, month. over this area are mountains of the residue from the ore, which is crushed into successively small bits until it is like powder. Representatives of the government Chamber of Mines and the company took us there by plane to the town of Welkom, meaning welcome, absolutely modern—the street signals. the traffic is flowed by circles and low curbs and center planting. There are nice houses for the white employees; the native laborers live in one-story concrete dormitories near the mine, 12 to a room, in 6 two-tier bunks, These are called hostels, since the word "compound" has a bad name. The men are recruited from tribes all around, some quite far; they are contracted for 18 months. They may leave before that time if they want to, but if they do they cannot come back for a long time, and they want to come, to take

the money back home and be a big shot. They are furnished work clothes, and get work boots and other clothes at low rate.

They live behind a wall, but that is to keep trespassers out, since they can go in and out as they please-there is no searching for pilfering of gold, as workers are searched at the diamond mines, where they are actually Xrayed when they go out at night. Three percent, by law, can have their families, in little company houses, and they are worthy workers. I asked how they picked them out. Our guide said there is a long waiting list for families, so no newcomers can bring familles, and by the time they get to the top of the list in time, the company knows whether they are worthy. There are indumas, petty chiefs, who serve as company police in uniform, and the men will obey them happily.

After we came out of the finished gold room, our Chamber of Mines escort said they would give a bar to anyone who could lift it with one hand—but he didn't tell us 'til after we came out.

They get the men from subtropical areas south of the equator so they stand the heat better, they speak 22 languages, so they use a sort of bastard lingo of English, Zulu, and Dutch. When they go home they are taxed by their tribe on their earnings. After a time, 18 months or so, they can come back and many do, but they must go home at the end of their period. They get time and a half for overtime, and bonus for efficiency.

Being without women, there is some homosexuality, which is not natural to them at home; they can go to town but there are few women available. On Sunday they have tribal dances in a small stadium within the walls, and often get good pay from tourists. The whole area inside the walls is landscaped. We went into the most modern of kitchens; and they have a cafeteria, bare but clean, which can feed 3,000. Some older mines let them take food to their housing, but that is messy. They break them into the mine work gradually in training periods of 2 to 3 weeks.

They get fish twice a week, meat three times, lots of vegetables, and a very nutritious porridge of kafircorn meal, make a kind of light beer of kafircorn, in vats on the floor above the kitchens, 2 percent alcohol, and this is rationed strictly to them. They have a European dietitian, with 29 native assistants. Well-fed workers produce better and are peaceable, the escort They have "ablution blocs" for use when they come out of the mines and sanitary latrines. Many of them take time to learn cleanliness—also to wear boots in the mine. Most of them wear polyglot European clothes. They get about 50 cents a day clear, paid once a month, plus whatever else they There is a constant check on each earn. man, single file, in and out by card number, so they know where each man is, and nobody is left in the mine. They are X-rayed each 6 months for dust, but updraft and air conditioning in some mines, and ventilation keeps this down.

The water pumped out is saline and they cannot turn it into the river or the farms so, a huge desalinization plant; still slightly salty, good in heat, where people sweat a good deal. This is the largest such plant in the world. There are enormous numbers of birds hereabouts, flamingoes, egrets, even gulls come 900 miles to the lake of pumpedup salt water. They pipe out the methane gas, but once lightning struck the gas as it came from the pipe and it burned a month.

The company provides one of the most modern hospitals I ever saw; the accident rate is low; they have physiotherapy modeled after the United States. There is no polio here. The hospital corridors are very wide, so they can handle emergency—as they did with cutbreak of Asian flu. The nurses are

nuns whose home is in Philadelphia, with a branch in Holland, so the nurses here are Dutch nuns.

[March 18, 1960]

Africa on the Move—Union Resents U.S. Criticism of Apartheid

(By May Craig)

Johannesburg.—"South Africa has few friends," said one Afrikaan (Dutch ancestry) rather bitterly. This is because of the policy of apartheid, the absolute separation of the races, European and non-European. They feel bitterly because the United States criticizes the Union for its racial policy. On the very day when I read of the round-the-clock fillbuster in the U.S. Senate on civil rights, I was briefed rather intensively by several South Africans who support the Nationalist Party, in the great majority now, and bigger each election, which holds to the apartheid policy.

Briefly, they hold to the principle of separation of the races. The Dutch came early to South Africa, in 1652, though some Portuguese had been there earlier. This area was almost empty, except for a few wandering bushmen. The Dutch developed this country, they feel it is theirs; now the blacks from the northern part of the area are moving down and the great trend in all Africa "Africa for the blacks" is fermenting here. I was told, even by Americans, that Communists are under most of the ferment. In this Union of South Africa, it is treason to advocate the overthrow of the government by force and violence. (I think we might well adopt some of this severity ourselves against those who would overthrow our Government by force and violence.) There are some trials now going on, for treason, for Communist activity.

In the United States where we held imported black men in slavery for so long; where New Englanders built ships for the slave trade, and sold the black people into slavery to the South, we might well be willing to allow South Africa the right to self-determination, whether or not they are on the road of the future. They believe in the purity of black and white races, by separation. Intermarriage between races is illegal, so is sexual intercourse between the races. They want to keep the Union white; they are training adjacent tribes for self-government, the nearby Bantu territory had its independence celebration last May in which white and black officials spoke.

In most of the world today the trend is toward integration, as in the United States. To the north of here, in Guinea, in Ghana, the Congo, the pattern is black supremacy in the government, with the whites leaving or staying in a minority, on sufferance; here the desired majority pattern is completely separate white and black development. This is a principle which these people are entitled to have if they want it, and can hold it. General opinion is that they cannot hold it. They are talking of leaving the (British) Commonwealth of Nations and becoming a completely independent republic.

At the University of Pretoria, which is in one of the two capitals of the Union of South Africa, Dr. Chris Prinsloo, chief information officer for the Government of Bantu administration and development in South Africa, gave us a good picture of the Nationalist Party principle and policy. He said frankly that the Dutch, who lost the Boer War, would rather die than give up what they call their own African country, or become a bastard nation of people. Many of British descent feel the same way. Asked his opinion of British Prime Minister MacMillan's recent speech here in which he said "the winds of change are blowing" all over the world, Dr. Prinsloo said "Mr. MacMillan is speaking for his country (the United Kingdom) not for

One of the most wonderful monuments in the world is the great bronze statue of the Boer mother and children, at the Wagon Wheel monument, along the line of the Boer Great Trek to the Transvaal. Nowhere in the Hall of Fame in the U.S. Capitol is there any statue to the pioneer women of the United States.

Pretoria is the administrative capital of the Union; the political capital where the Parliament meets, is in Capetown, and every 6 months the whole Government picks up and moves. Dr. Prinsloo gave us a favorable story of the way they are training the tribes self-government, with education-and civil and political service; he said it is an integral part of apartheid that the natives shall have their own lands, and their own government—he said that in the Bantu Territory in the east of the Union, every postmaster and postal employee, for instance, is Bantu.

Much is made of the strict regimentation of the blacks, on whose back, as principal source of labor, the white union is built. They have a strict pass system, and the rural blacks who have flocked into cities for Work must carry identification and go out of the city to locations at night. This is defended as a protection to everybody. The natives are leaving the farms and coming to the towns, creating slums and unemployment for the people already here. "If we did not have the pass system, there would be chaos," one informed American admitted because there are 11 million non-Europeans in the Union. He pointed to the horror of Harlem in New York as failure of our hitor-miss system. Also that integration will eventually lead to fading of the comparatively few blocks into the white population of the United States with the individuality of the American Negro lost also. A thought ful Afrikaan said the blacks need time to learn the know-how of the white man's civilization before they can take independent place in the family of nations—that under the Nationalist Party they will have a national identity. Guinea, Ghana, Congo, and others feel they will have it too, by absorbing the whites. "There can be abuse of freedom," said Dr. Prinsloo.

[Mar. 19, 1960]

AFRICA ON THE MOVE-VISIT TO KRUGER PARK IS HUMBLING, JOYFUL EXPERIENCE

(By May Craig)

JOHANNESBURG.—No nation lives alone in the modern world so closely linked by speed of transport and communication. apartheid racial policy here may make trouble for the United States in an odd way. Sticking strictly to European and non-European separation, the Union government lumps colored (part white) and Indians and Chinese coolies Chinese with blacks. Many Chinese coolies came here years ago, so did workers from India. These Chinese are not Communist Chinese, they are from the days before the Communists took China mainland. You might say the Communists took China mainland. might say they belong to the Nationalist, Chiang Kai-shek government-in-extle on Pormosa regime, that is the Republic of Chiang Region of the United China, our ally and a member of the United Nations Security Council.

To follow through on strict non-European segregation, the government is going to move all the Chinese out of Pretoria, for instance, into locations outside, like the blacks. These Chinese are for the most part, now, merchants and solid citizens and this will cause no end of trouble for us, as well as the treatment of the Indian, about which Nehru is

always complaining to us and the United Nations

We asked what about prominent non-Europeans traveling here, and our vice consul in Pretoria, Paul Eckel, who gave us an excellent and frank off-the-record briefing, said that Bill Gordon, an eminent Negro journalist of Atlanta, Ga., came, was escorted by American diplomatic personnel, was allowed to visit locations and almost any place he wanted, "behaved most dis-creetly," but this was because he was here as "an American citizen."

Wild animals are dying out almost all over the world. Here in the Union of South Africa, where they have such strange types as elephants, giraffes, hippotami, rhinoceroses, lions, etc. there are several big game refuges where they are protected from extinction, though the natives do poach, to get meat and ivory. We went to the Kruger National Park nearly 300 miles from here left Johannesburg at dawn, slept in a hostel near the gates and got up at 4:15 in the black starry dark of the next morning to be at the gates by dawn. There are huts in the park, some of them very comfortable,

but not enough for our party.

The park includes 8,000 square miles of mountain forest, plains, grassland, rivers, dry creeks which swell to torrents in the sudden downpours. The park is a network of gravel roads, with firebreaks, because of lightning and the careless cigarette of the tourist. We rode three to a car, so each of us had a window, and a driver guide. Ours, Jim O'Rouke, has been escorting hereabouts since 1921 and was a mine of sympathetic lore of the animals. Each of us watched out a window because the animals are hard to see, sometimes. In our car we did not see any llons, only one car did; they hunt mostly at night, and only in the day if they have not made a kill at night. We came across the huge smoking dung heaps left by elephants who must have crossed the road just before us, but we could not find any until almost time for us to leave the park when suddenly we came across five feeding on trees not far away. Many of us are camera fiends and got wonderful pictures; one of a baboon sitting scratching himself, on one of the park trail signboards. We went down to a river where the hippos were standing or kneeling on shallow water sandbanks, just heads out, occasionally heaving up and opening their cavernous jaws. They come ashore at night to eat grass and leaves and then the lions try to pounce on them. The hippo makes for the water and the lion has to scramble madly for the bank because he does not like water. There are no rhinos in this park.

We saw many different kinds of deer, the lovely leaping impala, the kudu, the wildebeeste; the horribly ugly wart hog; the elegant jackal, the hideous hyena; innumerable monkeys chattering in the trees, a cobra slithering across the road in front of You never get out of the car except at certain spots where the guide takes you.

Then, after we had seen isolated small groups of the tall graceful giraffes, suddenly we came on a herd of them, several stalked haughtily across the road in front of our stopped car, some behind, they stared at us calmly with their large round brown eyes with long eyelash fringes. This being close to wild animals in their natural habitat is something that must be felt. It is a humbling and joyful experience, with the slight bitter taste of danger in the mouth. The zebras are the gaudy ones-a general pattern of stripes, but every one different, like hu-man fingerprints. The elephants knock down big trees to get at the bark of the roots-that is one way you know they are near-trees newly down.

Agribusiness: Mushroom or Toadstool?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE E. SHIPLEY

OF TLLINOIS IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, May 25, 1960

Mr. SHIPLEY. Mr. Speaker, a constituent of mine, Mr. C. F. Marley is an agricultural writer-photographer of Nokomis, Ill. His monthly column known as "Frontiers in Farming" always contains information of value and interest but his most recent column entitled, "Agribusiness: Mushroom or Toadstool?" is exceptionally well written. contains important factual information and should be read by all who are connected with farming which includes all of us to some degree. This fine article

AGRIBUSINESS: MUSHROOM OR TOADSTOOL?

It is a fact that quite a few people are dead today because they couldn't tell a mushroom from a toadstool.

And it is also a fact that now, while farmers are fighting for an independent family income, they are being offered a new economic ideology that is being plumped by some as the mushroom which will save family farming.

Any number of people who have studied the matter, however, and I'm one of them, think it is a toadstool. Let's see what you

follows:

We are referring to "Agribusiness," and we refer to the industry-sponsored type. Briefly, agribusiness is the idea that we have to think of agriculture and business as a single business. It can be operated from the top down, that is, feed companies and processors and others, will contract with farmers for various kinds of production. Or, it can be operated from the bottom up with farmers working through co-ops banding together to produce on specification and quantity for a given market.

Up to that point, we do not attempt to characterize it, maybe it is a mushroom.

So, let's probe deeper. Agribusiness as a theory was developed at Harvard University. and a book concerning the findings and advancing theories was authored by John H. Davis and Ray Goldberg. It was published in 1957.

Now, over the past few years we have heard more and more of the word, agribusiness, and most of us came to view it as an acceptable thing. Among the first who took exception to the theories, however, was Mr. L. A. Schaefer, a farmer, farm supplier and hatcheryman of Springfield.

Schaefer has charged, among other things, that the feed manufacturers, food processors. and other big business interests, intend to control farmers and allot production. Now these charges are substantiated in plans proposed for Sangamon County. It's a plan to broilerize family farming.

Mr. Schaefer relates that he discovered the true meaning of agribusiness a few years back. His hatching business went into a slump and thinking his advertising and merchandising methods were to blame, sent a man into the country for 30 days to talk to independent farmers and find out what was the matter with sales. What he discovered was that the incessant pounding—get bigger or get out—was taking hold. The truth was that while his customers were getting out there was a corresponding shift in poultry from our area to the South.

Down South some of the backers of the agribusiness were contracting production with farmers.

Now, one of the claims made for agribusiness is that it will be the salvation of family farms. When there are complaints from our farmers, business maintained it was "helping" poor southern farmers. What could be more noble than that? If we got hurt up here it was our own fault, we "should be-

come more efficient," we were told. But, what about the "happy, efficient" farmers in the South. One Illinois farm adviser tells me that the decision as to whom will feed broilers in one southern area is made by a big feed company and a grocery chain in St. Louis.

The agribusiness pattern goes something like this: Farmers are told they need only to be financed in a building and equipment, the feed company will furnish the chickens and the feed. But the key to the thing, the friendly feedman says, is efficiency—"Be sure to have enough volume."

What happens in fact, I do not say by design, is that the farmer goes into debt for a large amount, a debt that will take something like 20 years to pay. The "friend-ly feedman" makes contracts for a much shorter period of time. Meantime, the friendly feedman gets other farmers interested in the bonanza. Then, when he goes back to make a new contract with the first farmer, he is sorry, but he cannot offer as much as he did in the first contract. The farmer complains, but what can he do—he has his debt to pay. He has to continue producing at a lower return.

I have heard of a case where a farmer took this bait. He finally lost his farm to the company, and now works for the company on what used to be his farm.

Agribusiness, say its backers, will help the family farmer compete. Isn't that a likely story?

We spoke earlier of the experience of Mr. Schafer. He has got so he can smell agri-(industry sponsored) a mile But, while agribusiness has been off in the shadows of the South, lately it has come to live with him.

Robert O. Harvey, professor of finance, college of commerce, University of Iowa, has prepared "an economic base and potential study of Springfield and Sangamon County," in which he encourages business sponsored agribusiness.

Here are some of the points taken at random from Harvey's report:

"Proponents of the family farm need not worry that agribusiness means the end of a cherished rural way of life. In fact, it may be the economic salvation of many small units which would otherwise have to go out of existence."

"The development of agribusiness must start with the business community."

"Contract production can be applied to various lines of farming * * * The broiler industry offers an excellent case study in what can be accomplished through integration and planning."

"The type of arrangement is ideally suited to Sangamon County."

"The techniques of agribusiness could also be applied to pork production."

"A meat processor could parallel the plan for the broiler industry. He could furnish baby pigs to a farmer along with feed and medical supplies and pay the farmer a flat rate per pound. By furnishing the pigs from a pig hatchery, the production of marketable hogs can be stabilized over any time period. This will enable the meat packer to control the flow of dressed hogs to market."

"The farmer who signs a contract to produce broilers, hogs, eggs, or vegetables does surrender much of his independence." MUST FIGHT BACK

This kind of talk is fighting words to Mr. Schafer, and that goes double for me, too.

Undoubtably he means well, and I do not question the sincerity of Mr. Harvey, and in correspondence with him have told him so. But I also gave him my opinion in these

"I will make just one point, however: We cannot 'plug' the matter (agribusiness) as we would a watermelon and decide if it is good or bad rather, we have to watch the progression of its growth. If farmers are to become dependent upon the tactics and vacillations of the feed-food people they will have be-come pawns of big business, and because their position becomes progressively worse, soonor or later they will have no choice but to sell out to those business giants.

While this industry-sponsored vertical integration might appear a mushroom, it is in

fact, a toadstool."

Farmers, with this kind of agribusiness talk going on, coming from some of our State supported college people, your time is running out. This isn't a plan confined to Sangamon County, rather it is part of a plan for the whole of agriculture.

As of now, you have lost broilers, are losing laying hens, and the agribusiness boys have their sights on hogs, dairy cows, beef, and

more.

You have to have an income. You have to have a margin over costs. You can get it honorably by collective bargaining, by price support, or by controlling the processing and marketing of your own products.

Or, are you going to allow feed companies, processors and retailers to control your business and investments and labor by doling

out contracts?

Whatever your choice, the time has come to make it.

But, a word of caution is in order. While we must oppose industry-sponsored agribusiness we must not accuse just everyone of malicious intent. Many people, even some of the prime movers, are unaware of the implications.

Agricultural Research

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. RICHARD H. POFF

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 25, 1960

Mr. POFF. Mr. Speaker, America can take justifiable pride in the progress made in our agricultural research effort in recent years.

This is one of those vitally important programs so often overlooked in the continuing debate on farm policies. It is just one of many activities of our Department of Agriculture that deserves recognition and commendation.

I am pleased to note that two distinguished Members of the other body have seen fit to pay tribute to Secretary Benson for his work in the field of research and I should like to insert in the Record an editorial from the May 2 issue of the Richmond Times-Dispatch;

UNEXPECTED TRIBUTES TO BENSON

Secretary of Agriculture Ezra Taft Benson has been the target of bipartisan vilification almost from the moment he assumed office 7 years ago.

It was he, personally, who was lambasted for "the plight of the farmer" by farm bloc Members of Congress. They ignored the fact that Congress, not Benson, has been responsible for farm parity laws intended to

repeal the law of supply and demand.

The other day two of his severest critics, Senators Russell and Olin D. Johnston, paid personal tributes to Mr. Eisenhower's favorite Secretary.
"I want the record to show that, in my

judgment, no Secretary of Agriculture has done as much for farm research as you,"

said RUSSELL.

South Carolina's Senator Johnston echoed the Georgian's sentiments, adding that half of the agricultural spending recommended by Benson benefited the entire public.

The laudatory comment from such unexpected sources came during a Senate Agricultural Committee's hearings on the department's proposed budget of nearly 6 billions for the fiscal year beginning July 1.

That would explain the farm Senators' eagerness to let bygones be bygones-for the time being-in the interest of money spent for their constituents' welfare.

Medical Care for the Aged

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. PAUL H. DOUGLAS

OF HAINOIS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Wednesday, May 25, 1960

Mr. DOUGLAS. Mr. President, Dr. J. Douglas Brown, dean of the faculty of Princeton University, is one of the most competent, careful, and public-spirited students of social security and old age and unemployment insurance in the country. He served on President Hoover's Emergency Committee for Employment in 1930-41. He also served on the staff of the Committee on Economic Security, which in 1934-35 developed the Social Security Act; and he was particularly concerned with the planning of the old-age insurance provisions.

In 1938-39, Dr. Brown was chairman of the Advisory Council on Social Security, which recommended to Congress the essential features of the present oldage, survivors and disability insurance program. Incidentally, I had the honor of serving as a member of that advisory council with him, and I grew to respect and admire Dr. Brown very much.

Dr. Brown also served on the advisory councils appointed under congressional mandate in 1948-49 and in 1958-59, in each case as a member of the steering committees. He is, therefore, probably the best informed man in the United States on problems of old age. In addition, for 30 years he was director of the industrial relations section of Princeton University. As I have said, he has been dean of the faculty, and I believe provost at times, since 1946. He has made a very thorough study of medical care for the aged population.

I ask unanimous consent that the statement of Dr. Brown be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STATEMENT BY J. DOUGLAS BROWN, DEAN OF THE FACULTY AND PROFESSOR OF ECONOMICS, PRINCETON UNIVERSITY

Long and thorough economic analysis of the pressing problem of assuring adequate medical care for the aged population of this country has led me to the firm conviction that the old-age, survivors, and disability insurance program should be extended to provide a basic floor of medical care for aged beneficiaries. This analysis may be summarized as follows:

1. The proportion of the aged to the work-

ing population will continue to rise.

2. The costs of living for the aged, and particularly the necessary costs of health care, will continue to rise.

3. Since it is clear from experience that the current income of most superannuated persons will be inadequate to meet these rising medical costs, the excess of current costs over current income will need be provided by one or more of the following means:

(a) Sayings accumulated by the individual

or spouse during working life;
(b) The appropriations by Government of funds derived from general taxation to provide greatly extended medical care for the aged on a modified needs-test basis;

(c) The loading, under voluntary, private health insurance programs, of the premiums paid by persons of working age by an amount sufficient to meet the higher medical costs of the aged beneficiaries of such plans;

(d) The subsidization of private insurance Carriers by Government from general taxation in order to permit them to provide health insurance benefits to aged persons at less than true cost;

(e) An increase in the level of cash old-age insurance benefits sufficient, on average, to meet the variable and uncertain costs of illness in old age;

(f) The inclusion of basic medical benefits for aged beneficiaries as "insurance within insurance" under the OASDI program, with costs averaged over the whole working life of all participants.

These six means of meeting the deficit between rising medical costs and declining income which millions of our older people will face can be analyzed briefly.

A. SAVINGS ACCUMULATED BY THE INDIVIDUAL OR SPOUSE DURING WORKING LIFE

For the individual, not only is the span of life after retirement uncertain, but the incidence and costs of illness in old age are doubly uncertain. It can be estimated that, on average, these costs will be approximately three times higher per year in old age than in working life. The costs of medical care in old age may well continue to rise faster than than other costs of living, both in price per service and in the elaboration of services, between the time of saving and the time of need. It is therefore very difficult for most Wage earners to accumulate and distribute a savings fund throughout their life and that of their wife in a way which will afford reasonable security against the uncertain costs of medical care. Serious contingencies may dissipate savings long before the eventual death of the surviving spouse. For all but the most fortunate, the most effective mechanism for protection is not savings, but insurance.

B. THE APPROPRIATION BY GOVERNMENT OF PUNDS DERIVED FROM GENERAL TAXATION TO PROVIDE GREATLY EXTENDED MEDICAL CARE FOR THE AGED ON A MODIFIED NEEDS-TEST BASIS

The public provision of medical care has been steadily extended in the last quartercentury. This has been a necessary development in areas of costly treatment, such as mental health, or in the protection of underprivileged persons. The extension of public provision of medical care to the aged may prove increasingly necessary if we do not develop other means of meeting the problem. To put normally self-reliant persons under

the pressure to declare themselves indigent, is not an attractive solution. A needs test for medical care distinct from a needs test for general assistance would involve serious administrative difficulties. We have made great progress in preventing dependency and the fear of dependency through social insurance. It would be a disheartening setback if rising costs of medical care cause a retrogression to poor relief methods for the protection of our older citizens.

C. THE LOADING, UNDER VOLUNTARY, PRIVATE HEALTH INSURANCE PROGRAMS, OF THE PRE-MIUMS PAID BY PERSONS OF WORKING AGE BY AN AMOUNT SUFFICIENT TO MEET THE HIGHER MEDICAL COSTS OF THE AGED BENEFICIARIES OF SUCH PLANS

The use of the insurance mechanism in meeting the risks to individuals of the cost of medical care is an important forward step. The averaging and sharing of the costs of illness among currently employed persons is an effective economic device. It is essentially an assessment form of insurance. In a given age segment, without adverse selection, contributions and benefits can be brought to relatively close balance, subject to frequent revision, however, as costs of care or frequency of care rise. But the continuance of older, retired persons under a voluntary health insurance program creates serious problems. Not only do benefit costs for the aged rise sharply, but their ability to pay premiums declines.

The inclusion of the aged under voluntary health care insurance introduces a life-risk factor and the possibility of serious adverse selection. This has brough disaster to assessment schemes of insurance, time out of mind. Younger contributors drop out if contribution rates rise because of the burden of older beneficiaries. Older beneficiaries drop out if they are charged differential rates higher than they can afford to pay. If benefits to the old are reduced, even though such reduction is neatly camouflaged in the fine print, the old are left insecure.

It is my earnest conviction that private, voluntary insurance programs cannot meet the basic problem of rising medical costs in old age. If they attempt to do so by loading the premiums paid by younger individuals, they will impair their usefulness in their proper field of service.

D. THE SUBSIDIZATION BY GOVERNMENT FROM GENERAL TAXATION OF PRIVATE INSURANCE CARRIERS IN ORDER TO PERMIT THEM TO PRO-VIDE HEALTH INSURANCE BENEFITS TO AGED PERSONS AT LESS THAN TRUE COST

This is, at best, a clumsy, hybrid arrangement, involving overwhelming administrative difficulties and excessive costs. It impairs the freedom of both the Government and the private carriers to do their proper tasks well. To safeguard public funds, the private carriers would, of necessity, be subject to close regulation and inspection concerning costs, benefits, actuarial evaluations, overhead expenses, services, and reserves. For the Government and the beneficiary, the economies and convenience of a large and uniform system of protection would be lost. A wide variety of competing private carriers would properly seek to safeguard their own interests as institutions and those of all their policyholders, old and young. The determination of a fair subsidy under diverse and changing conditions would, I am convinced, lead to endless bickering. Meanwhile the Government would pay more, the beneficiaries would get less, and the private carriers would trade freedom for little profit and thankless regulation.

When the old-age insurance system was inaugurated in 1935, the insurance carriers thought for the brief time that they wanted a hybrid plan of "contracting out." Under clean-cut separation of government basic protection and private supplementary protection, both approaches have so reinforced each other that "contracting out" has long been a forgotten word.

E. AN INCREASE IN THE LEVEL OF CASH OLD-AGE INSURANCE BENEFITS SUFFICIENT, ON AVERAGE, TO MEET THE VARIABLE AND UNCERTAIN COSTS OF ILLNESS IN OLD AGE

Except for the effects of inflation, most of the expenses of the aged are more stable from year to year than those of the working population. The costs of illnesses are the great exception, in both incidence and amount. Illness in old age is likely to be more frequent, but still highly unpredictable as between individuals. It is likely to be more costly when it comes. Most difficult to meet from level amounts of benefits are the costs of final illness. A level amount of benefits that would protect one individual might fall far short for another. To raise the level of benefits to meet this risk would be a costly and yet ineffective means of protecting the aged. This requires surance within insurance."

F. THE INCLUSION OF BASIC MEDICAL BENEFITS FOR AGED BENEFICIARIES - AS "INSURANCE WITHIN INSURANCE" UNDER THE OASDI PRO-GRAM, WITH COSTS AVERAGED OVER THE WHOLE WORKING LIFE OF ALL PARTICIPANTS

The old age insurance system will soon be a quarter of a century old. It has served our people well. It has not undermined free enterprise nor introduced socialism. It is a practical and economical means of protecting our citizens from dependency, with dignity and as a matter of right. It provides a service which only the Government can provide, because the Government can assure itself of continuing contributions, can avoid adverse selection, can widely average costs, and has the capacity to adjust income and outgo as the welfare of the people de-

The costs of illness in old age are a properly insurable risk. But they are a life risk, since their high incidence and amount are directly related to a stage of life which, like death itself, can come but once to each of us. Therefore, as a people, we should insure against these costs during our productive years, as a part of our insurance against all other causes of dependency during old age. But because of their great impact and uncertain incidence within the period of old age, these particular costs, at least in basic part, should be met by "insurance within insurance."

Whatever limits may be necessary, to be truly effective, such "insurance within insurance" should be measured in terms of the medical care required, and not in dollar There are many ways in the Government can arrange for the provision of such care, once the funds are available. To say that the financing of any product or service by Government payments is socialization, is to consign that meaningless term to a large segment of American industry, American education, and American health services in which executives, professional men, and wage earners are contributing to the welfare of their fellowmen with freedom and dignity.

After 25 years of evolution, the old age

insurance system of this country is a tested and effective mechanism for the provision of basic protection of our aged citizens against the costs of illness. No other means or mechanism can perform this necessary function with as much economy in cost, or with as much respect for the needs, rights, and

dignity of all concerned.

Public Works Appropriation Bill, 1961

SPEECH

HON. CLARK W. THOMPSON

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, May 24, 1960

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H.R. 12326) making appropriations for civil functions administered by the Department of the Army, certain agencies of the Department of the Interior, the Atomic Energy Commission, the Tennessee Valley Authority, and certain study commissions, for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1961, and for other purposes.

Mr. THOMPSON of Texas. Mr. Chairman, I would like to invite the attention of the Committee to the report accompanying bill, H.R. 12326, the public works appropriations bill for 1961. On page 19, under the heading: "Freeport Harbor, Tex.," I note that the Appropriations Committee recommended deletion of \$899,000 budgeted for improvement of that harbor. The report states that the benefits from it are uniquely local in character and the Corps of Engineers has testified that it is likely that the beneficiaries would dredge the harbor themselves if the Federal Government does not do it.

I invite the attention of the Appropriations Committee to the seriously crippling effect of this deletion. The project is not uniquely local any more than are the ports of Texas City, Galveston, Houston, Port Arthur, Brownsville, or Corpus Christi; and to require the citizens of that community to pay for improvements which traditionally have been made by the Federal Government is

exceedingly unfair.

I have read the testimony before the committee, and I can understand the committee's conclusion that perhaps local interests would furnish the money if the Federal Government did not. However, I have checked with the witness who gave that impression and he has assured me that he intended no such conclusion to be drawn from his remarks. He points out that the Government has kept competing ports on a competitive basis. It has done so in the cases which I have just mentioned.

Traditionally, the Appropriations Committee has looked with favor on community enterprises in which the local interests do spend some of their own I invite to your attention the fact that the navigation district which is concerned with the Freeport Harbor has, in recent years, invested \$4 million in dredging the turning basin and in constructing two large docks and transit sheds and in purchasing the necessary equipment to operate them. They did not ask for one cent of Federal aid and now they ask only that they not be penalized in their relationship to competing ports.

This port, incidentally, handled in 1959, 88 foreign and 41 American large cargo ships. Just as is the case in the port of Houston, or Texas City, or Port Arthur, there is a considerable tonnage

of oil which is moved in tankers. These vessels have, in recent years, been built larger and with greater draft.

Should the other body see fit to include this budgeted item in the Senate version of the bill now under consideration. I trust that the conference committee will take a careful look at facts which can be furnished to refute the committee's previous conclusions as evidenced by the paragraph on Freeport Harbor in the report.

Senator Frank Church-Young Voice of the Democratic Party

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Wednesday, May 25, 1960

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, I am most pleased and happy that our colleague, the distinguished junior Senator from Idaho [Mr. Church], will be the keynote speaker at the Democratic National Convention.

Anyone who has ever heard FRANK CHURCH, in his consistently brilliant and eloquent fashion, discuss the great issues of our day knows how fully qualified for this assignment he is. Our good friend and colleague is typical of the dynamic. talented, young leadership in which our great Democratic Party is so rich.

I ask unanimous consent that a profile of our colleague which appeared in the New York Times this morning be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the New York Times, May 25, 1960] Young Voice of the Party: Frank Church

The keynote speaker at the forthcoming Democratic National Convention has forged his political career with an eloquent tongue

and a blazing smile. Frank Church began speaking in public as a boy. At 16, he won a nationwide American Legion oratory contest that brought him a \$4,000 scholarship. The topic was "Our Way of Life." In 1952, at the age of 28, he was the keynote speaker at the Idaho State Democratic Convention. As a young lawyer, he taught public speaking at Boise State College for several years prior to his election

to the Senate in 1956.

His speaking talents have also been recognized by the political opposition. Vice President Nixon picked the young Idahoan to read Washington's Farewell Address in the annual ceremony before the Senate on February 21, 1958, the eve of Washington's birthday.

Visiting Warsaw in 1959, Senator Church won the notice of Poles and resident Americans by his eloquence in speaking of the United States. One correspondent described him as "a sort of advertisement for zest."

Born in Boise on July 25, 1924, the future Senator was named Frank Forrester Church, Jr. Now he normally does not use his middle name or "Jr."

ENLISTED AS FRESHMAN

After winning the American Legion scholarship in his junior year at high school, he elected to go to Stanford University. The

attack on Pearl Harbor occurred during his first semester, and he enlisted immediately in the infantry. He was commissioned a 2d lieutenant on his 20th birthday and served in the China-Burma-India theater as a combat intelligence officer.

At the end of the war, he returned to Stanford. He was graduated in 1947, a member of Phi Beta Kappa and married soon after receiving his diploma. After studying for a time at Harvard Law School, he returned to Stanford and took his law degree there in

Brought up in a Republican family, Senator Church says he talked himself into joining the Democratic Party in the course of discussions with his father, a sporting goods dealer. He also married into a family long prominent in Democratic politics in Idaho. His wife, Bethine, is a daughter of Chase A. Clark, a Federal judge and former Governor. She is the niece of another former Governor and a cousin of the late Senator D. Worth Clark.

After losing a bid for the Idaho Legislature in 1952, the young lawyer entered the Democratic Senate race in 1956. His opponent in the primary was Glen H. Taylor, a former Senator and Henry A. Wallace's Vice-Presi-dential running mate on the Progressive

Party ticket in 1948.

After a hard campaign, he won the primary by just 170 votes. In the general election, however, he defeated Senator Herman Welker handily, by some 50,000 of a total 250,000 votes, and became, at 32, the Senate's youngest Member. He estimates that he shook 75,000 hands in the course of the campaign

Senator Church campaigned for Federal development of power resources, a position he has maintained in the Senate. He has attacked the creeping concealment of public

information.

Those who try to describe the Senator use such expressions, as "blazing smile," "mat-inee idol looks" and "pink-cheeked youth."

Six feet tall and a trim 165 pounds, Senator Church has black hair and brown eyes. He looks 10 years younger than he is-35. During his early days in Washington he was so often mistaken for a page boy by guards and fellow Senators that he gave up wearing navy-blue suits and switched to brown.

The Churches have two sons, Forrester, 11. and Clark, 2. The Senator concentrates on work to the exclusion of hobbies but devotes such spare time as he has to the boys, playing ball or taking Forrester sightseeing.

Porter Hedge

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. E. C. GATHINGS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, May 25, 1960

Mr. GATHINGS. Mr. Speaker, the farmer has lost a good and true friend. Members who knew Porter Hedge will share with farmers everywhere the loss of one of agriculture's most articulate and well-informed voices.

Many of us knew of his ill health, but we were poorly prepared to learn of his passing Saturday last in the Arlington, Va., hospital.

Porter Hedge, who was a native of Iowa, was graduated in agricultural journalism and achieved a notable career in newspaper work in Iowa and in Texas. He was the author of the widely read book on agriculture, "The Fifth Plate."

At the time of his passing, Porter Hedge was associate editor of the Washington Farmletter, reviewing the field of farming and the activities of Federal agencies. His knowledge of agriculture and the laws pertaining to farming was remarkable. His able pen put into layman's language the intricate rules and administrative directives issued from Washington. His analysis of commodity programs assisted farmers of the Nation to plan their planting programs to best stabilize their business operations.

While Porter Hedge wrote on all aspects of agriculture, soybean growers will perhaps miss him most, for he was widely acquainted throughout the soybean industry and his columns on the soybean situation reached most of the commercial soybean growers of the belt.

But, Porter Hedge will be remembered most because of his integrity and his pleasant approach to all matters. He was a fine man and a devoted friend to agriculture. In a time when farmers need friends who can tell their story, they have lost one of the very best.

Miss Althea Heimbach

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. ALEXANDER WILEY

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, May 25, 1960

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, the history of our country is star studded with lives of people who have given of themselves to help their fellow men and in this way leave an indelible mark upon our Nation and its progress.

At this time, I would like to pay particular tribute to Miss Althea Heimbach, of Milwaukee, Wis. For 41 years she has been director of the physical education department of Milwaukee-Downer College.

During this long distinguished service, she left a significant impression on many of the individuals who passed through the doors of learning of this fine college.

With a perspective extending beyond her own field, Miss Heimbach has not only contributed to greater physical fitness for the students of Milwaukee-Downer College, but she has also passed along to them a bright, optimistic, positive outlook—reflecting her own philosophy of life.

Representing the kind of dedicated service most urgently needed in the education institutions of America, I ask unanimous consent to have an article from the Milwaukee Journal, by Marilyn Gardner, reviewing the career of Miss Heimbach, printed in the Appendix of the Broopp

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Milwaukee Journal, May 20, 1960]
AFTER 41 YEARS, SHE WON'T PLAN AHEAD—
ALTHEA HEIMBACH RETIRES NEXT MONTH AS
DOWNER PHYSICAL EDUCATION DIRECTOR

(By Marilyn Gardner)

At the moment, Miss Althea Heimbach can think of "nothing more wonderful than to have no plans at all" after June 5.

That's the date of commencement exercises at Milwaukee-Downer College. It also marks Miss Heimbach's retirement as director of the college's physical education department, a job she has held for 41 years.

"Oh, I'll have dozens of things to do," she added hastily, "but, really, my plans at the moment are nothing. Isn't that glorious?" Miss Heimbach, 1560 North Prospect Ave-

Miss Heimbach, 1560 North Prospect Avenue, doesn't fit the traditional caricature of a physical education teacher, a brusque, muscled creature who strides about barking orders to one and all.

Instead, she's a soft spoken woman with a modest manner. She is short and rather slight—"wiry" is the adjective she used to describe herself.

Her fluffy white hair is combed back smoothly from her lightly tanned face and curled in a simple roll. And she said, "I love housework, and I love to cook. I guess I'm an old hausfrau at heart."

BELIEVES WHAT SHE TEACHES

Miss Heimbach is, however, a firm believer in her profession. "Physical education should be part of everyone's education," she said stanchly, "and physical activity should be part of anyone's life."

Undoubtedly, there are cases which seem to disprove this, she added. "Some famous persons have been completely sedentary, yet they have contributed tremendously to the world. But the average person will be able to function better in every way if he gets some exercise. After all, our body is primarily muscle."

When she first entered the field, exercise was regarded as a way of achieving good health. "Now we know that exercise won't make you healthy, but it will help keep you healthy—and I'm using the word 'healthy' to include mental as well as physical health. Being active is part of being human."

"CRUSH" ON CAREER

She decided to take physical education in college because of a "crush" she developed on a girl friend of her sister's. The friend, who was majoring in physical education at Oberlin (Ohio) College, came to visit the Heimbach family in Coldwater, Mich., "and I was simply enthralled with her," Miss Heimbach remembered with a smile. "I was about a sophomore in high school, but I decided then and there that was what I was going to do, too."

Her parents were a bit dubious about her ambition, but when it came time for her to go away to school, they decided she could try it if she wished. She went to Oberlin, began taking physical education classes, "and I utterly loved it. I never stopped liking it all through college or ever since, I guess."

BEGAN WITH BEGINNING

She did, however, have some difficulties. "I had never had a basketball in my hands until I went to college. Oh, I was an active child. I hung by my toes from the rafters in grandfather's barn and all that, but I knew very few real games or sports."

Consequently, she had to enroll in the beginning sports classes. "It was beginning tennis, beginning basketball, beginning hockey, beginning everything. But I had to do it this way; I had no background in sports."

The main emphasis in those days was not on sports, however. "Gymnastics were the thing, and I did well in those, luckily."

She was graduated in 1918 and went to teach at the YWCA in Gloversville, N.Y. A year later, she came to Downer as head of the physical education department.

She still remembers her fright at finding herself a member of a college faculty. "I was greener than green, and my assistant was even greener than me. I can remember thinking, 'Oh, if I could only grow old fast.'"

LEARNED AS SHE TAUGHT

Many of the sports now included in the physical education classes at Downer weren't even known when Miss Heimbach started teaching.

"Badminton came in during the thirties," she said, "and we had to learn to play it, I remember buying a racket for myself, one as a Christmas gift for a colleague, and two others. Whenever we could find two other people, we would play badminton."

She learned to play golf in much the same way. "A bunch of physical education teachers in Milwaukee learned together. We got a pro to help us and we just worked at it until we could teach it."

Her training has made it easy for her to learn new sports in a hurry, Miss Heimbach believes. "You learn how to analyze the movements, and that makes it easier. I also taught kinesiology, the science of movement, to our occupational therapy students, and that has taught me to be very analytical of coordination and muscle movement."

LUCK OF COMMUNICATING

Teaching is a very demanding but satisfying job, she feels. "I think that often getting through to your students is a matter of luck.

"Anyone who has taught for many years and got satisfaction from it knows this, I think. But it's funny. You never really know when you're influencing a student." Sometimes, she added thoughtfully, you

Sometimes, she added thoughtfully, you learn that you helped a girl years after she has left school. Other times, you can see the results immediately.

Innovations aplenty have come during Miss Heimbach's years at the college. The emphasis in teaching physical education swung away from rigorous calisthenics toward more scientific work in posture and sports.

One of the classes she likes best is simply called freshman fundamentals, she said. "We work on any of the movements of everyday life—standing, sitting, walking, lifting, pushing. We try to make the girls see that smooth, rhythmic movements of the body are attractive. Some girls need this kind of work very badly, others already know it."

Gym costumes have also changed radically, going from middy blouses, bulky black bloomers and long stockings to today's trim looking suits.

"Now those old customes look foolish, but they didn't then," Miss Heimbach said. "We accepted them. I remember, though, in the twenties. We got some circular flannel bloomers which were more fitted around the waist. My, we thought we looked chic."

waist. My, we thought we looked chic."
"Oh, and tap dancing," Miss Heimback
laughted heartily. "How we did tap dance
for a while."

COACHES ROWING

In 1933, Miss Heimbach began to coach rowing, probably Downer's most famous and popular sport. "The girls were rowing when I came here," she said. "We can't even find records of when Downer girls first started rowing, but we do know they held their first regatta in 1902."

The teams were coached by "an outside man," she added, a former member of a rowing team at the University of Wisconsin. "I used to go down occasionally and row with the girls. Then, finally, I went to the University of Wisconsin and was taught by their rowing coach, so I could take over here."

Field hockey has always been one of her favorite sports—and one in which she was most skillful.

She has done a lot of umpiring field hockey games and even won a national A rating for umpires.

"Oh, and I used to play a lot of tennis," she said, "and I loved badminton and golf." An auto accident 6 years ago and a knee injury put a severe damper on her own sports activity, "but I'm sure I'd still be playing golf if I could. I just loved it, and I was getting good enough to get some satisfaction

When she first came to Downer, Miss Heimbach was astonished to learn that her predecessor had been there for 6 years. "Six years,' I thought, 'Oh, I'll never stay that long.' She pauesd a moment and laughed heartily.

"You know, my life seems to be full of famous last words. I always said I was never going to teach and I was going to marry early. I've learned not to make any rash statements."

It is possible that her comments about having no plans for her retirement fit into this category of "famous last words." For, as Miss Heimbach talked, it turned out that she did indeed have plans—not specific plans, to be sure, but enough outside interests tookeep her going for some time.

Photography is one of her hobbics; so is travel "and there are lots of places I want to

Study has become practically a habit during her life, for she has taken summer classes at Columbia University, Cornell, and the Universities of Wisconsin and Michigan. She had also taken every class in Spanish given at Downer, "and maybe now, I'll have a chance to put it to some practical use."

There also will be time for reading, television watching, entertaining friends at her apartment, "and for just looking at the lake," she added with a smile. "My apartment has a lake view, and a friend of mine who comes to vist always says, "If I lived here, I wouldn't do anything but sit and look at the lake."

Khrushchev's Paris Press Conference

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. ROY W. WIER

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, May 25, 1960

Mr. WIER. Mr. Speaker, the subject on every tongue today appears still to be the summit collapse. Regardless of the individual's viewpoint on who is to blame, or who bungled, or how far we should or should not have gone to appease Khrushchev, the challenge of this cold war is more apparent and imminent than ever. Each Congressman's mail will reveal this, and much thought and attention continues to be focused on the subject.

Under leave, therefore, to extend my remarks in the Record, I am pleased to insert a copy of the letter addressed to our State Department by my good friend

and constituent, Mr. M. M. Perry, of Minneapolis:

U.S. STATE DEPARTMENT, Washington, D.C.

GENTLEMEN: Thousands of people of the world, particularly Americans, have watched, listened, and read about the Soviet Premier's Paris press conference.

Are his remarks, insults, and accusations to go unanswered?

The publicity departments of both the President's Office and the Secretary of State's Office should stage a campaign for the press wherever free press and free speech are available. Let the people of the free world know about the Russian acts, and attempted acts. of espionage in the United States and its allied countries. Answer the Premier's remarks about "no good" agreements by listing strongly and frequently the Soviet broken promises. Get on the offensive as regards aggression, Hungary, etc. Play up his broken word in respect to free elections in his satellite countries. Remind the people of their obstinate position in all U.N. matters. Remind us also that Americans could have a 6-year low tax program if we would accept their standard of living (more automobiles and tractors in one State than they have in the entire Soviet Union), same for refrig-erators, telephones, etc. Tell the Americans how much money we have given them since the war. How much they owe us and how they are paying for it.

We and our allies are back in a cold war in a big way—one that could trigger a hot war—why not stop pussyfooting and keep the people of the free world informed and thereby prepared for the worst?

Get your publicity departments in high gear now, and pour it on.

Sincerely,

M. M. PERRY, President, Plews Oiler, Inc.

First Empire State Award for Excellence in Medical Reporting Presented

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. KENNETH B. KEATING

OF NEW YORK

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, May 25, 1960

Mr. KEATING. Mr. President, I am happy to call attention today to an award initiated and sponsored by the Medical Society of the State of New York which is to be presented annually to the reporter who contributes most to the understanding of health and medicine in New York State. The first such award was presented yesterday to Miss Cathy Covert, science writer for the Syracuse Herald-Journal, for a series of articles on infant mortality.

Mr. President, I am very much impressed by the active interest here evidenced in the need to provide all Americans with an understanding of the challenges facing medical science and of the great progress which has been made to date in the conquest of disease and in the furtherance of public health measures.

I am certain that Miss Covert's articles and the work of the several reporters who received honorable mention certificates have been of great benefit to the people of New York State. My hat is off to each of them for their contributions to the welfare of my State.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that a release put out by the New York State Department of Health concerning the first Empire State Award for Excellence in Medical Reporting be printed in the Appendix of the Record.

There being no objection, the release was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

NEW YORK STATE DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, HERMAN E. HILLEBOE, M.D., COMMISSIONER

New York City, May 24.—Miss Cathy Covert, science writer for the Syracuse Herald-Journal and the Syracuse Herald-American, was named today as the winner of the first Empire State Award for Excellence in Medical Reporting.

Miss Covert received the \$500 award from Dr. Norman S. Moore, President of the Medical Society of the State of New York, at the first general session of the 56th Annual Health Conference at the Manhattan Center.

The annual award is sponsored by the Medical Society of the State of New York and Annual Health Conference Inc., on behalf of the New York State Health Department. It has been established to encourage the further development of sound medical reporting in New York State and to recognize the significant contributions to public knowledge and understanding of health and medicine that are made by reporters and newspapers.

Certificates of Honorable Mention were awarded John Maguire, Albany Times-Union; Miss Mildred Spencer, Buffalo Evening News; Mrs. Lois O'Connor, Ithaca Journal; Miss Kitty Hanson, New York Daily News, and Edward Swietnick!, Albany Knickerbocker News. In addition, the Rochester Times-Union received a special public service award for a series of articles on "A Question for the Doctor."

Nominations were considered at a meeting of an waards jury in April. The judges were Prof. Hillier Krieghbaum, Chairman, Department of Journalism, New York University, representing the National Association of Science Writers; Mr. David H. Beetle, Editor, Albany Knickerbocker News, representing the New York State Association of Newspaper Editors; Dr. William Hammond, Associate Editor of the New York State Journal of Medicine, representing the Medical Society of the State of New York; Dr. Granville W. Larimore, Deputy Commissioner, New York State Health Department, representing the State Health Department, representing the State Health Department, and Dr. James J. Quinlivan, Assistant Secretary, Annual Health Conference, representing Annual Health Conference, Inc.

The judges commended the general accuracy of the material provided by nominees for the award and said there were only three questions concerning the validity of medical statements in the more than 300 stories which were reviewed.

The judges evaluated each nomination from the standpoints of accuracy, initiative, and readability. While reporters were nominated for a specific article, or series of articles, the judges also considered the general medical and health stories written by each nominee during the year.

Miss Covert was nominated for a series of articles probing the reasons for an increase in the infant death rate in the State and Nation, and stories concerning a study linking radioactive rock with the birth of malformed infants.

She received her bachelor of arts degree in journalism from the State University of Iowa in 1945 and since then has worked as a reporter for the Des Moines (Iowa) Register and publicity director of Coe College, Cedar Rapids, Iowa. She became medical writer for the Syracuse Herald-Journal and Syracuse Herald-American in 1951.

In 1953, Miss Covert received the Albert and Mary Lasker Award for Excellence in Medical Writing, and the following year she received the Howard Blakeslee Award of the American Heart Association for writing on heart disease. Earlier this year she was presented a citation by the Associated Press for her series on congenital malformations and radioactive rock.

Miss Covert is a member of Phi Beta Kappa, Theta Sigma Phi, honorary journalism sorority, and the National Association of Science Writers.

In private life she is Mrs. Frank N. Stepahek, Jr., and has two children, Carolyn, 5, and Frank III, 2.

Nominations for the annual award can be made by the newspaper employing the reporter, the county medical society in the area served by the nominee's newspaper, or the county, city or district health officer in the area served by the nominee's newspaper.

Public Works Appropriation Bill, 1981

SPEECH

HON. HARLAN HAGEN

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, May 24, 1960

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H.R. 12326) making appropriations for civil functions administered by the Department of the Army, Certain agencies of the Department of the Interior, the Atomic Energy Commission, the Tennessee Valley Authority, and certain study commissions, for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1961, and for other purposes.

Mr. HAGEN. Mr. Chairman, I am grateful for the opportunity to appear to urge appropriations for multipurpose irrigation and reclamation projects located in my congressional district in California.

I sincerely appreciate the cooperation which has been accorded me by the Appropriations Committee in past years and I appreciate the action taken by them this year.

The purpose of my appearance is to urge favorable House action on the following appropriations:

Terminus Dam on the Kaweah

River, Tulare County, Calif... \$6,300,000 Success Dam on the Tule River,

Tulare County, Calif_ Stone Corral Irrigation District_ 2.588.000 1,045,181

Tea Pot Dome Water District distribution system_____ 925, 427

East side unit, proposed exten-sion of the Central Valley

project, continued planning ... 566, 257 Callente Creek stream group, Kern County, Calif., comple-

tion of planning 15,000 Pine Flat Reservoir, Kings River. 500,000

All of the above mentioned items are recommended in the President's budget in the amount which I have specified except the Caliente Creek stream group and this also has received the approval of Mr. Cannon's splendid committee.

I am sure that the Members of this Congress are well acquainted with the Terminus and Success projects and the urgency which dictated the appropriation of funds which have been expended thus far. The two dams are imperative to impound runoff waters from the Sierra Nevada Mountains which have caused an inestimable amount of damage in floods most recently in 1952, 1955,

Both of these projects are currently under construction and, in fact, are rapidly nearing completion. The \$2,-588,000 recommended for Success Dam would be the final increment toward completion of the complete works at a total cost of \$14,200,000. The appropriation of the recommended amount would permit this dam to be finished on the scheduled date of June 30, 1961.

The \$6,300,000 contained in the bill for Terminus Dam would bring the project to a point of more than 80 percent completed and would leave \$3,-782,000 still to be appropriated.

I respectfully urge this House to appropriate adequate funds to permit these flood control projects to be completed as scheduled.

I will now comment on the request for funds for the Stone Corral Irrigation District and the Tea Pot Dome Water District, both located in Tulare County. In both instances irrigation distribution systems are in the process of construction by the Bureau of Reclamation under repayment contracts.

The estimated total cost of each project is \$1,888,000. The \$1,045,181 for Stone Corral would leave an additional \$450,000 to be funded.

The \$925,427 for Tea Pot Dome would complete the appropriations for this

project.

With respect to the proposed east side project, feasibility studies have been underway for several years to ascertain ways and means of developing an additional water supply for the east side of the Southern San Joaquin Valley. The plans involve a proposed canal which would convey water from northern California along the east side of the valley into the water-deficient areas of Kern County and Tulare County.

I can assure you that there is a dire need for water in this area and that the situation worsens each year. \$566,257 which would be expended for planning surveys would be a continuation to extensive prior planning. Failure to continue such planning would nullify previous expenditures for this useful purpose.

Regarding the Caliente Creek Stream Group request, it is my understanding that estimates by the Corps of Army Engineers place the total cost of the remaining survey work at \$30,000. I further understand that the Engineers have a capability of performing half of this work during fiscal year 1961 and the remainder during fiscal year 1962.

In view of this fact, I would respectfully urge concurrence in the committee's approving the sum of \$15,000 for this undertaking.

Now I turn my attention to the \$500,000 appropriation recommended for Pine Flat Dam and Reservoir on the Kings River. As the Committee is aware, the physical features of this dam have been completed for several years. Since that time, the construction of downstream channel and levee improvements has been delayed pending observation of changes in the streamflow as a result of the impoundment.

The channel clearance and levee work was authorized as a part of the project and I urge that the appropriation be approved in order that the work may be completed by 1962, as scheduled by the Corps of Army Engineers.

The Communist Seizure of Czechoslovakia

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. PAUL H. DOUGLAS

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Wednesday, May 25, 1960

Mr. DOUGLAS. Mr. President, the squeals of the Communist puppets in Czechoslovakia against the recent reference by our Secretary of State, Christian Herter, to their forceful seizure of the Czechoslovak state were authoritatively answered by a leading Czech patriot, Dr. Petr Zenkl, in a letter written by him to the New York Times, and published in its issue of May 22, 1960. Dr. Zenkl of course is also well known as the chairman of the Assembly of Captive European Nations, and is working unceasingly for their freedom.

Dr. Zenkl's letter makes it quite elear that the demand of the Czech Communists for an apology from Secretary of State Herter is another ludicrous attempt to rewrite history.

I ask unanimous consent to have Dr. Zenkl's well documented letter printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD. as follows:

COUP IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA-COMMUNIST DOC-UMENTS QUOTED IN SUPPORT OF HERTER

(The writer of the following letter, now living in exile, was formerly lord mayor of Prague and later Vice Premier of Czechoslovakia.)

To the EDITOR OF THE NEW YORK TIMES:

The Times reported on May 19 that the Czechoslovak Government demanded an apology from Secretary of State Herter for a remark made recently to the effect that the Czechoslovak Communists in February 1948 seized power in that country by force.

The history of the Communist seizure of power, based on thorough research and documents, and available both from diplomatic and Communist sources, is by now well known. Let me here quote exclusively from documents published recently by historians of the Communist Party which in themselves amply support the correctness of Mr. Her-ter's statement concerning Czechoslovak Communists' seizure of power.

Commemorating the February 1948 events, Radio Bratislay stated on February 23, 1960:

"The manner in which the people's democratic power was realized in Czechoslovakia [in February 1948], as well as the entire development of the Republic between 1945 and February 1948, represents a tremendous object lesson for the entire progressive movement in the world. It is a lesson and a great hope. It shows how the proletariat can, under certain circumstances, insure for itself the leadership of the nation, how together with its allies it can seize leading positions in the power machinery of the state and step by step undermine the economic, political, and ideological positions of the bourgeoisie" (i.e., that of the lawfully elected government).

POLITICAL LINE

In a research study published by the Historical Institute of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia (Prague, March 1958) the following authoritative statements appear: "Efforts to create an anti-Communist bloc were broken up by Communists in a number of places by separating the rank-and-file members of the other parties from their leadership * * *. [This] political line had to be coupled with caution lest people needed as supporters be alarmed; they were to be won over by practical politics and not by statements of final aims of the political program of the party which might dissuade them from cooperation with the Communists. * * * Our policy * * * was Jone of] securing positions already held and of pushing the enemy into a defensive position * * *.

"[In Slovakia] the Board of Commissioners, hitherto controlled by the Democratic Party, was forced to resign. In the new Board of Commissioners the Democratic Party lost its majority without regard to the results of the 1946 elections. * * *"

Radio Prague, reminiscing on the February 1948 events, declared on February 25,

"Then came the decisive moment. The order was to destroy reactionaries in the Government, to stage a people's attack under the leadership of the [Communist]

party * * *."

Czechoslovak Communist sources which deal with the 1948 coup repeatedly stress one point consistent with the basic teaching of Leninism—namely, that power in a state cannot be shared with anybody, however democratically elected; that the dictatorship of the party is the final aim of any Communist party anywhere; and that this power must be attained by all available means, the choice of which may be dictated by the international situation and domestic

The case of Communist seizure of Czechoslovakia in 1948, even according to Communist documentation, is no exception to the rule.

PETR ZENKL.

NEW YORK, May 19, 1960.

conditions.

Summit Conference

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. J. ERNEST WHARTON

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, May 25, 1960

Mr. WHARTON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I wish to submit an inspiring resolution, duly passed by the Common Council of the City of Poughkeepsie, N.Y., on May 16, express-

ing bipartisan support of our President at Paris in upholding the united desires of our Western allies. I am sure that all real Americans will approve of this outstanding action by the city fathers:

Resolved, That the Common Council of the City of Poughkeepsie, composed of both Republicans and Democrats, duly elected to such office, hereby wish to go on record as endorsing the firm stand taken by our President, Dwight D. Eisenhower, at Paris during the current summit conference in upholding the united desires of our Western allies, and we express the wish that all public bodies take a similar position in order that the Soviet people be made aware by such spontaneous action that we support our Commander in Chief in his efforts to maintain peace in the world.

Howard H. Gibbs. City Chamberlain.

Bold Action Needed To Help Save Our City

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. KENNETH B. KEATING

OF NEW YORK

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, May 25, 1960

Mr. KEATING. Mr. President, sometimes I think we Americans are plagued by a split-level mentality with regard to the fate of our great urban centers. Our homes are geared for the present. Our cities are geared for the past.

There is no greater challenge to our internal welfare today that the decay of our metropolitan areas. The fault for the plight of our cities cannot be traced to any one factor or any one source. It is, however, a matter which must concern every American, regardless of where he lives, because so much of the welfare and progress of our Nation depends on the good health of our cities.

Mr. President, we shall not find answers to this challenge in timid, half-hearted responses. We must take bold, decisive action, action attuned to the realities of present day living and mid-20th century problems.

The city fathers and various city groups must play their part in this great effort. On the Federal level, we must act by establishing a Department of Urbiculture, such as I have proposed in S. 2397.

I believe the creation of such a Cabinet-level Department would provide the coordination and cohesion which is now lacking in Federal programs to aid our cities. It would provide the national spearhead to attack this national problem and help provide the national solution. This attack cannot be sporadic, nor on a regional, State, or local level alone. It must be total. It must be of grand design. It must be given the stature and direction of Cabinet responsibility.

Mr. President, I have been gratified by the great interest which is being taken by individuals and organizations all over the country in the proposal to establish a Federal department to deal with urban problems. An article in the April 1960 issue of the Retail Clerks International Advocate, entitled "Bold Planning Is Needed To Save Our Neglected Cities" discusses this whole problem in interesting fashion. I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Appendix of the Record.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

BOLD PLANNING IS NEEDED TO SAVE OUR NEGLECTED CITIES

RCIA members, who are primarily city dwellers, share with their fellow citizens the pressure of frustrations created by congested roads, vanishing parking places, rising crime rates, smog, galloping slums, and the deterioration of the central city. These problems are not mere personal irritations; they are in fact symptoms of urban erosion which is a major nationwide problem.

It is, moreover, a problem which cries out for our boldest and most imaginative solutions. What is needed is nothing less than a revolutionary change in our whole concept

of looking at our way of life.

A few statistics will indicate the historical development of the present mess. The 1890 census, taken 2 years after the founding of the RCIA, showed that more than two-thirds of the citizens lived in rural areas at the time. By contrast, at the time of the last census in 1950, 85.5 million Americans lived in 174 standard metropolitan areas. This represented a complete reversal of the original situation; by 1950 more than two-thirds of the Nation's people lived in cities. This was a 22-percent increase over the number recorded in 1940.

Flocking to the cities has increased at an accelerated rate in the last 10 years, and it is now estimated that 85 percent of the citizens of the United States live in urban areas. These centers produce about 70 percent of the wealth of the Nation. There is no doubt that the present trend to urban civilization will continue throughout this century. By 1975, it is estimated that the urban areas will occupy twice the territory they do today. By the year 2000, we are told, some 235 million persons will be living in the metropolitan areas of the United States.

The meaning of all these figures, though

The meaning of all these figures, though often overlooked, is inescapable: Citles, which once served as service areas for the countryside, now dominate the landscape

and our civilization.

The central cities, together with their sprawling suburban peripheries have given rise to a new designation: the metropolitan area concept. For example, Greater New York City embraces an area of 22 counties in three states.

As the suburban areas push farther away from the central city, the boundaries of neighbors tend to become obliterated. Today, there is scarcely any undeveloped land between New York City and Norfolk, and in the years ahead it is likely that a solid urban strip will develop, stretching all the way from New York to Atlanta. Other major urban strips are in the process of formation in other parts of the country. As these trends continue, it is not unlikely that cities will become more important than states.

Because this is a national problem it calls for a national solution. The attack cannot be sporadic, or on the regional, State, or local level. Although many things are being done to cope with specific problems, such as urban renewal, highways, flood control, water, and land management, school construction, law enforcement, and economic aid, there is a sad lack of coordination among these programs. What's more, many cities aren't even aware of what help is

available or how to get it, and no thought is being given to how work in one area affects other problem areas. A highway linking two major cities has in itself impact on commercial and residential growth, on relocation of residents, even on crime rates.

Urban renewal is related to transportation, to water supplies, to sanitation facilities, to law enforcement. All are tied into the expanding economy of the nation. All are part of the defense system of supplying the goods and getting them delivered.

Statesmen who have concerned themselves with the problem are calling for a new cabinet post to promote the welfare of the overwhelming majority of citizens who live

In the cities.

A bill to establish a "Department of Urblculture" has been submitted by Senator KENNETH B. KEATING. He visualizes the department as being able to perform the fol-

lowing functions:

"This projected department could center attention on the many unique city and sub-urban problems of national scope and importance. It would allow the coordination of numerous existing Federal programs directed at the metropolitan areas of the country. It would promote consideration of the interests of the nation's city-dweller at

the highest levels of government.
"I look to a Department of Urbiculture as a means of assuring that the cities get a fair share of the substantial Federal funds now being spent on housing, highways and similar programs. In close cooperation with State and local governments, it could develop national programs for combating smog, slums, and traffic snarls just as the Department of Agriculture has developed programs to combat drought, soil erosion and depressed farm income.

"I should like to emphasize that this department would not seek out new means for Federal interference in urban affairs. Its prime and constant function would be the task of providing guidelines, advice, pro-graming and planning assistance, and g and planning assistance, and cooperation and coordination in-Overall ' tended to assist our cities and localities in

Solving their own problems."

Senator Vance Harrke, of Indiana, who formerly was mayor of Evansville, is another statesman with a deep grasp of the problems resulting from the Jack-and-the-Beanstalk growth of our cities. But Hartke beanstalk growth of our cities. But have is not dismayed. He believes that through proper planning and diligent and skillful efforts the problems can be solved. His them. thoughts on the subject include the fol-lowing: "Our cities are rich. Rich in material things. Rich in human resources.

They are themselves important resources.

"Our cities are our latest frontier. Unless onter space can be substituted for green space and parking space, the cities may be

our last frontier.

"Like earlier frontiers, our cities have been settled, exploited, and somewhat eroded. Continuing this pattern means degrading the lives of millions. Yet, our goal should be continuous, raising of human dignity.
This is impossible in the midst of urban erosion.

"Rising crime rates, social diseases, juvenile delinquency, segregation, filthy living conditions flourish partly because of uncon-trolled or poorly controlled urban growth and population management.

"Out in the countryside our rural residents learned some of these lessons long ago. They found out conservation is essential to growth.

"Soil conservation, for instance, is widespread and national in scope. Yet there is almost no urban conservation program.

"If we can work to save and restore the resources that God had given us, surely we

ought to be able to do the same with resources that have been largely of our own making. The spectacle of urban growth, then, requires anticipating needs of citizens for applying technological achievements to make life better through them. It requires stopping erosion and restoring its effects."

Jobs for Youth

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. ALFRED E. SANTANGELO

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, May 25, 1960

Mr. SANTANGELO. Mr. Speaker, during my study of the subject of juvenile delinquency, one of the greatest complaints against industry and government in connection with the prevention of juvenile delinquency was the failure to provide employment for the youth of our country. After high school and before induction into military service, employers have been reluctant to hire a young man because of the uncertainty of continuity of employment. As a result, young men who do not preoccupy their time in college find themselves unable to obtain employment to provide for their miscellaneous needs and to prepare for a future. The gloomy out-look is either a draft in the service or enlistment.

Some organizations have recognized the desideratum or need during this critical period and have embarked upon a program of obtaining jobs for youth. One of these organizations is the "Jobs for Youth," a nonprofit organization which has attempted to fill the needs of the employers and to help the youth of the community. The organizer and moving spirit of this group is Mr. Anthony Sorvillo of 68 East 97th Street, New York City. The organization Jobs for Youth is located at 400 East 83d Street, New York, N.Y. It has endeavored to obtain employment for young men as stock boys, messengers, packers and delivery boys.

A brochure issued by this enterprising organization Jobs for Youth sets forth its purpose and the scope of its activities. If more agencies or organizations carried out a similar program, boys would be occupied and less likely to become juvenile delinquents. The bro-chure reads as follows and I commend it to the readers' attention:

Jobs for Youth is a free employment bureau and guidance service for young people. It serves youth 16 to 21 years old with special emphasis on boys. Younger boys are cial emphasis on boys. also given counseling and referred for after-

school and summer work.

Boys who are intimidated by large downtown employment offices eagerly seek the advice of a friendly neighborhood counselor. In addition to the regular staff there is a part-time worker assigned from the New York State Employment Office who does counselling and job referral.

We know that a boy at work is less likely to become a delinquent or get into trouble. North Dakotan Finds Real Demand for Durum in Europe

> EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. NORMAN BRUNSDALE

OF NORTH DAKOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Wednesday, May 25, 1960

Mr. BRUNSDALE. Mr. President. representatives of the North Dakota Wheat Commission, an agency established by the State to promote the sale of North Dakota wheat, recently completed a tour of some of the wheat importing countries of Europe. gained considerable information which will be of assistance to their program in North Dakota. Likewise, the informa-tion secured will, I believe, be helpful to any exporters of wheat regardless of where that wheat is raised.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the article, "North Dakotan Finds Real Demand for Durum in Europe" by Harold M. Johnson appearing in the Farmer dated April 16, 1960, and published by the West Publishing Co. of St. Paul, Minn., be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD. In this article Mr. Otis Tossett, chairman of the North Dakota Wheat Commission, summarizes the information gathered in the wheat importing countries in Europe.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD.

as follows:

NOETH DAKOTAN FINDS REAL DEMAND FOR DURUM IN EUROPE-TWO EUROPEAN MILLERS SAY THEY'D BE WILLING TO BUY QUALITY DURUM AT A GOOD PREMIUM

(By Harold M. Johnson)

A North Dakota wheat farmer, just back from 6 weeks in Europe, has received firsthand assurance from several European durum millers that they are definitely interested in buying North Dakota durum.

Otis Tossett, wheat grower, buyer, and seller from Bottineau County, and director of the North Dakota State Wheat Commission, found durum, particularly that from North Dakota, a bright spot in the outlook picture for sale of domestic wheat abroad.

Two European millers with whom Mr. Tossett visited both indicated their desire for North Dakota durum with statements to the effect that "we'd be willing to buy your durum at almost any price, if we could get

Can North Dakota farmers, who produce the bulk of the annual durum crop grown in the United States, capitalize on this favorable demand situation? "I'm convinced we can, if we will concentrate on growing the durum needed to do the job. Right now, there is concern that not enough additional durum may be planted this spring to meet increased demands at home, however," answers Mr. Tossett. "Meeting this demand, which is far ahead of present supply because of a short crop last year, will require twice as many durum acres as were planted in 1959," he told the Farmer in a special interview shortly after his return from Europe.

SHIFT CROPPING PLANS

He believes this domestic demand, coupled with the added potential for sizable markets abroad, makes this one crop wheat farmers in the durum belt of the Dakotas and Minnesota won't want to overlook in making last-minute cropping plans this

spring.

Mr. Tossett's European trip was sponsored by the foreign agricultural service of the U.S. Department of Agriculture. All of his travel expenses, and those of his traveling companion, W. W. Gerber, director of the Kansas State Wheat Commission, were paid for in foreign currency under Public Law 480.

Mr. Tossett found durum processing to be a fast-growing business in Europe. Compared to seven durum millers in the United States, there are several times that many in Europe. Germany alone, for example, has

22 durum millers.

"In their search for quality durum, major European millers had teams traveling Turkey and even Russia last summer to encourage production of durum. European millers weren't so fussy about bread, but they insist that spaghetti and macaroni products be

perfect," said Mr. Tossett.

Persons he talked with seemed to "warm up" and speak more freely, once they discovered he wasn't a politician but a wheat farmer, and a spokesman for North Dakota's wheat farmers who voluntarily contribute a fee, deducted from each bushel of wheat sold (\$2 per thousand bushels) for promoting their own quality product.

Here are some opinions from millers, bakers, grain brokers, port authorities, and wheat farmers in the 11 European countries Mr. Tossett visited, together with ideas as to what is right or wrong with U.S. wheat being

shipped to Europe:

One of the biggest headaches of foreign importers who deal in U.S. wheat has been the "flagship" clause which entitles U.S. ships to carry a large percentage of subsidized grain which we export. "This regulation poses a hardship in that U.S. ships aren't always available. Several foreign firms complained bitterly about not being able to maintain steady production at times because of shipping delays resulting from this flagship clause," said Mr. Tossett.

WANT TOP QUALITY

He also noted considerable concern for quality wheat. Most local government regulations in the countries he visited require that 60 to 80 percent of their millers' total grind be home-grown. Being allowed such scant admixtures, millers are insisting that the 20 to 40 percent outside wheat they can buy is of top quality.

Mr. Tossett said there is general dissatis-faction with U.S. wheat in Austria. Most wheat they have been getting has been low

in baking quality, compared with other wheat, such as from Canada.

"Austrian officials seem to think the trouble with U.S. wheat is that it has been in storage too long. And they had good evidence to substantiate their claims," accord-

ing to Mr. Tossett.

"Their 1956-58 shipments of U.S. wheat, reported as U.S. Hard Red Spring No. was loaded out of stocks at Baltimore, Albany, N.Y., and other eastern and southern ports. They obviously received old, blended wheat from our mothball fleet. In 1959, however, they did receive what they considered to be very satisfactory wheat from the United States. Much of it was loaded in Superior, Wis., which would make it Midwest grown and new-crop wheat," he pointed

Austria is one of the countries where millers are required to use home-grown wheat for 80 percent of their total grind. Being allowed only 20 percent outside wheat, they have little choice but to deal with the foreign market that offers the best assurance of providing quality wheat.

This situation, plus their request that they be allowed to order U.S. wheat by point of origin (region grown) and year grown, was passed along by Mr. Tossett to high-ranking officials in the USDA in Washington with whom he met immediately upon his return from Europe.

He also called attention to the glaring loophole in the law which regulates Canadian imports of wheat into the United States.

The consequences of this loophole is seriously hampering our competitive position abroad," he stated. "We are taking much of Canada's lower quality wheat. She, in turn, is able to concentrate on sending only her best wheat abroad."

The loophole to which he refers was created under the President's proclamation of May 28, 1941. It specified that "wheat unfit for human consumption" could come in from Canada over and above the regular import

quota to the United States.

Asked by the Farmer if he thought this three-State commission had made progress toward further development of European wheat markets, Mr. Tossett feit they had. "For one thing, they have been able to secure substantial Public Law 480 funds to aid their promotional efforts. This is one of their major, mutual benefits from banding together. About the only way Public Law 480 funds would be available to North Dakota would be to join with groups who have preceded us in this field of wheat promotion," Mr. Tossett pointed out.

Agiculture Department Report on the Cancer Clause in the Food Additives Law and Color Additives Legislation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON, JOSEPH W. BARR

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, May 25, 1960

Mr. BARR. Mr. Speaker, one of the important and complex issues which must be resolved at this session of Congress concerns proper Federal regulation to assure the safety of chemicals and other additives used in growing and processing the Nation's food supply.

The broad objective is clear: We want to fully safeguard the public health without needlessly stifling scientific research and technological progress which bring so many benefits to farmers and consumers alike. This objective often requires the exercise of very careful scientific judgment in individual cases.

In recent weeks a growing number of eminent authorities have stated that the soundest public policy is for Congress to leave such judgments to the scientists in the regulatory agencies, such as the Food and Drug Administration, rather than attempt arbitrary or inflexible mandates by law. These authorities. therefore, have recommended modification of the rigid cancer clause in the existing food additives law and in the pending color additives legislation. The amendment flatly prohibits use of any substance which can be made to induce cancer in laboratory animals, even if the dosage in animals is thousands of times greater than in the intended use for man, and if other laboratory conditions are altogether unrelated to the actual intended use of the substance.

Modification of this amendment, to permit greater discretion for scientific judgment, has been recommended by the great majority of a scientific panel which testified before the House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce. Since the hearings were concluded, further support for modification was voiced by a group of scientific advisors to the White House, headed by Dr. George B. Kistiakowsky.

More recently, the Agriculture Department has sent a letter to the Commerce Committee which summarizes very effectively the case for modification of this legislation, asserting that these cancer clauses as they stand now "are flat prohibitions against the exercise of scientific and professional judgment in the determination of safety." I am certain, Mr. Speaker, that all of these authorities are objectively and completely dedicated to the public health.

The Agriculture Department letter, dated May 16, has received little attention and, since the hearings have now been closed, many Members of Congress may not be familiar with its contents. I believe every Member of the House should carefully consider this letter and I ask that it be printed in the RECORD at

this point:

DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE. Washington, D.C., May 16, 1960.

Hon, OREN HARRIS.

Chairman, Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, House of Representa-

DEAR CONGRESSMAN HARRIS: This is in further reference to the Department's statement of March 11, before your committee on H.R. 7624 and S. 2197, bills which would amend the Federal Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act relating to color additives. We indicated to the committee at that time that the Department would prefer to delay making any recommendation with reference to the so-called anticancer clause until there had been opportunity to consider the matter further.

We now understand from consultations with representatives of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare that your the committee may wish to consider also feasibility of amendments to the Food Additives Amendment of 1958, which we understand are being sent to the committee by that Department. Accordingly, we are also commenting on these amendments in this letter.

In the passage of the original Meat Inspection and Food and Drug Acts, the Congress provided for the surveillance of all foods in interstate and foreign commerce.

In the case of meat, a comprehensive inspection system was established with provisions for preclearance in the form of inspection of all carcasses, meats, and meat-food products, including approval or rejection of chemicals and other additives. This is done under regulations issued by the Secretary of Agriculture as circumstances and the advance of knowledge require, to assure that the products marked "Inspected and Passed" are sound, healthful, wholesome, fit for human food, and truthfully labeled.

In regard to other foods, covered under the original Food and Drug Act, authority was not given for preclearance, but broad authority was established for action against foods found in interstate or foreign commerce to be in any way adulterated or mis-

In recent years, the trend in the Congress has been toward more preclearance in order to serve two purposes: (1) to give greater assurance of safety to the consumer; and (2) to give producers, processors, and distributors more precise guidelines for their operations

in order to assure the safety of foods to consumers. Five congressional enactments are in point:

(a) The "new drugs" provisions of the Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act of 1938 provided for the preclearance of drugs not generally recognized among experts qualified by scientific training and experience as safe for use under the conditions recommended.

(b) The Federal Insecticide, Fungicide, and Rodenticide Act of 1947 provided for USDA preexamination of economic poisons including labeling to insure safety and effectiveness in use.

(c) The Miller amendment to the Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act in 1954 provided more workable procedures for HEW preclearance of pesticide chemicals in or on raw agricultural commodities by authorizing the establishment of tolerances when heeded-legal levels-of such chemicals in these products. The directions for use on labels registered by USDA for pesticides are gaged to meet such tolerances in or on the raw agricultural commodities.

(d) The Poultry Products Inspection Act of 1957 provided for extension of the meat inspection type of preclearance to poultry prod-

ucts by USDA.

(e) The food additives amendment of 1958 to the Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act provided for preclearance of chemicals and other additives to foods.

In each case the Congress provided the mechanism which permits the exercise of scientific and professional judgment in arriving at determinations of safety of use and Wholesomeness of the products. These are good provisions. This Department fully supports them. The legislative histories show the necessity for the exercise of such judgment to cope with the complexity of the Problems and the rapidly advancing state of knowledge concerning them.

The anticancer clauses contained in the food additives amendment of 1958 and in H.R. 7624 on page 10, lines 11 through 22, are flat prohibitions against the exercise of scientific and professional judgment in the determination of safety. That such a flat prohibition may present problems is well exemplified in the case of selenium, a known carcinogen. Normal amounts (0.1 p.p.m.) in the diet appear to have no measurable effect upon animal health. Sheep on diets with subnormal amounts (0.05 p.p.m. or less) are not thrifty and show abnormalities of the muscular and internal organs. Excessive amounts (5 p.p.m. and above) in the diet produce poisoning. Here we have a chem-ical ical, a carcinogen, a toxicant, which in proper amount is essential to animal health. The law should not prevent proper use of

such a chemical as an additive or otherwise. In view of the above and since we understand that the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare has adequate authority to withhold from use any additive that he is unable to find would be safe in regard to cancer as well as in regard to toxicity and other factors, it is our opinion that the anticancer provisions in lines 11 through 22 on page 10 of H.R. 7624 are unnecessary. This is equally true of the anticancer provisions in the food additives amendment of We fully agree that the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare should withhold from use any additive which in his Judgment would be unsafe, but we urge that the decision on safety be left to him rather than being determined by law.

In the event the committee should desire to retain an anticancer clause in the color additive legislation, the following lan-Suage is submitted for its consideration:

In H.R. 7624 on page 10 at the end of line 22. before the period, insert the following proviso: "Provided, That this subsection share shall not apply with respect to the use of an additive, if the Secretary finds, upon the

basis of evaluation by experts qualified by scientific training and experience, that, under the proposed conditions of use, reasonably certain to be followed in practice, there is no reasonable basis to conclude that such use of the additive will involve a hazard of causing cancer in or resulting in harm to man or animal."

Similar language should be provided for the anticancer clause in the food additives amendment.

We are attaching a copy of the report of the President's Science Advisory Committee released on May 14, 1960, which supports our position on this matter.

If the above proviso is not acceptable and the committee wishes to retain an anticancer clause in H.R. 7624, it is recommended that the following proviso, which is being suggested by the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, be included before the period at the end of section 706(b)(5)(B) (p. 10, line 22, of H.R. 7624):

"Provided, That clause (i) of this subparagraph (B) shall not apply with respect to the use of a color additive as an ingredient of feed for animals which are raised for food production, if the Secretary finds that, under the conditions of use and feeding specified in proposed labeling and reasonably certain to be followed in practice, such additive will not adversely affect the animals for which such feed is intended, and that no residue of the additive will be found (by methods of examination prescribed or approved by the Secretary by regulations, which regulations shall not be subject to subsection (d)) in any edible portion of such animals after slaughter or in any food yielded by or derived from the living animal."

This proviso contemplates that the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare will prescribe or approve methods of examination that would determine whether significant residues of additives remain in any edible portion of slaughtered animals that have consumed such feed or in any food yielded by or derived from the living animal.

Similar language should then be added to the anticancer clause contained in the food additives amendment.

In addition, the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare is proposing a modification of the prior sanction (grandfather) clause contained in section 201(s) of the Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act as follows:

The last numbered clause of section 201(s) of the Federal Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act (which clause is redesignated as clause (4) by sec. 101(a) of this act) is amended by inserting in such clause, before the period, a colon and the following:

"Provided, That, with respect to any sanction or approval granted pursuant to this act, this clause shall be inapplicable, and the provisions of this act (other than this clause) relating to food additives shall apply, to any such previously sanctioned or proved use of a substance if, on the basis of the information then available, the Secretary finds that, for the reasons set forth by him, there is reasonable doubt as to its safety. Except when the Secretary finds that there is an imminent hazard to public health, he shall take such action only in conformity with section 4 of the Administrative Procedure Act if such prior sanction or approval had been made public, and only after sending reasonable notice of his proposed action and the reasons therefor to any person on whose application such prior sanction or approval had been granted and any other person who had been officially advised thereof unless such personal notice is impracticable."

We have no objection to this proposal since it deals only with sanctions or ap-provals granted by the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare under the Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act and would not affect the authority of this Department or the impact of actions taken by it under programs which it administers.

The Bureau of the Budget advises that there is no objection to the submission of eport.
Sincerely yours,
TRUE D. Morse, this report.

Acting Secretary.

Address by Dr. Max Tishler, Eminent American Scientist

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. CLIFFORD P. CASE

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Wednesday, May 25, 1960

Mr. CASE of New Jersey. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD the text of a speech delivered by Dr. Max Tishler, president of Merck Sharp & Dohme Research Laboratories, which are located in New Jersey, at an affair sponsored by the New Jersey Chapter of the American Institute of Chemists in Newark, N.J., on April 20.

Dr. Tishler is an eminent American scientist whose many accomplishments have earned him a number of scientific honors, including election to the National Academy of Sciences in 1953. A former research associate and instructor in chemistry at Harvard University, his research work in industry has resulted in major contributions to the chemical development of many of the vitamins, the amino acids, the development of sulfa drugs and several antibiotics, including streptomycin and penicillin, and the development of the steroid hormones. These activities have resulted in numerous scientific publications.

In the light of the attention given to the role of American research scientists in the pharmaceutical industry by recent congressional hearings. I do believe that the statement made by Dr. Tishler is worthy of thorough consideration as the view of an outstanding American scientist.

There being no objection, the speech was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

In accepting the honor scroll this evening, I feel deeply honored and, at the same time, grateful to the officers of the New Jersey Chapter of the American Institute of Chemists. I accept the scroll as a high distinc-tion, with the knowledge that there are many others in this group worthy of this same recognition for their contributions to the profession and to the science of chemistry. In expressing my profound appreciation for the scroll, I want to pay tribute to the many men and women of the Merck, scientific community who, during the past 22 years, have given me stimulation and happiness by their dedication and achievements. I also want to proclaim on this occasion my sincere thanks to Mr. John T. Connor whose enthusiastic support and deep understanding of research and the scientific professions have made him an acknowledged leader in the pharmaceutical industry.

Up to a few days ago, it has been my intention to talk to you about the chemist in

medical research. I had planned to describe the important role of the chemist in the research team devoted to the search for new methods of controlling disease, and to illustrate his activities by some of the medical accomplishments of the past 25 years. Events of the past week have compelled me to change my subject.

You are all aware of the preoccupation of the Kefauver committee in Washington with the pharmaceutical companies, initially to investigate something called administered pricing and subsequently expanded into charges of collusion, price gouging, unfair advertising, and other abuses. hearing has been given widespread press cov-When this investigation was scheduled, most of the pharmaceutical companies accepted it as responsible citizens. We believed we had an honorable story to tell Congress and the people and that our contributions to the health and welfare of our Nation far outnumbered our deficiencies. We were prepared for a fair investigation recognizing that our very rapidly growing industry was reaching maturity and that some of the features characteristic of our adolescence needed to be corrected. We were a proud group, since we believed that through the American free-enterprise system we had helped to build in the United States over a space of 25 years the greatest health team that the world has ever seen. Achievements in medicinal chemistry, brought about largely through industry's rechemistry, search, had given us in the industry an almost religious confidence in our ability to tackle and solve through research some of the most baffling, unsolved diseases which plague mankind. We had the conviction that our pharmaceutical industry with its research and development know-how was one of the country's greatest assets, particularly in this period when the international image of our scientific superiority is being seriously questioned.

THE COST OF RESEARCH

It is not my purpose this evening to comment on the Kefauver charges of exorbitant prices of drugs to the public. I leave this question to those experts in economics and the business leaders of the industry. However, there is one part in the industry's story to Congress on drug costs which directly concerns research; namely, the cost of doing research and the quality of industry's research.

Research and development expenditures in the drug industry were reported to be about \$190 million during 1959 and are estimated to exceed \$200 million during 1960. This research and development cost must be paid out of income, for industry has no endowment, no endless cornucopia of wealth. This simple fact of economics is not a serious issue of the Kefauver committee, but during its hearings charges have been made on a number of occasions that research done by our pharmaceutical industry is negligible and tainted. Allegations also have been made by some witnesses that most of the important discoveries in medicinals were made in foreign countries or in non-industrial laboratories and not in the laboratories of the American pharmaceutical companies. Far from leading in drug research, it leged that the American pharmaceutical industry has usually followed and often only after a definite lag. The critics claim that much of the laboratory work done by the pharmaceutical companies is centered on exploiting and marketing of foreign discoveries.

These charges have been demoralizing to those of us who have devoted our lives to research in the pharmaceutical industry. Suddenly, our scientific dedication and motives are challenged. We are dismissed in a manner that makes us appear as charlatans;

OUR ETHICS ARE IMPUGNED

I am not a person who is easily led to a point of indignation but at this time I am

moved to that emotion, and I believe rightfully so. I am indignant because of the unfair criticism of people whom I know to be dedicated, sincere scientists whose motives are actuated by the impelling desire to help mankind. When our ethics, purpose and accomplishments are impugned, then I, as a man of science, have not only the right but the responsibility to speak out for the facts. This duty transcends all commercialism. As a member of the Nation's scientific community and as a spokesman for the scientists in the pharmaceutical industry, I must vigorously protest against the irresponsible and degrading criticisms leveled at us.

In making my protest, I speak from my own experience with scientific people in my own company who are earnestly looking for new and better ways to treat maladies and not to create markets. Our scientific people recognize that our research is supported from the income we make and yet they have come to our laboratories from the universities with the conviction that our methods of "objective research" provide the best opportunities for the conquest of diseases through drug therapy. Basically, within Merck & Co., Inc., with which I am most familiar, our research programs are selected by our research people. The manner in which we prosecute our research and the decisions needed in its operations rest essentially within the research organization. Although our programs of research are approved annually by top management, I can say with complete honesty that never has a research proposal of any magnitude sponsored by our research organization been significantly altered or refused by management or by marketing considerations. It is the people in Merck's research—the chemist, the biologist, the pharmacologist, and the physician in charge of clinical researchwho are responsible for new drugs; who determine through objective experimentation whether a drug is effective and safe; who decide whether a drug is a worthwhile contribution to the armamentarium of the physician; who conclude whether it is medically suitable for marketing; who judge when it is ready for marketing consideration and who dictate what can be said to the practicing physician. These are the responsibilities given to the research division by our top management. If a drug does not measure up to the high standards of good medicine, we in research must take the blame entirely.

Actually, during the 10-year period from 1949 to 1959, the Merck Sharp & Dohme Research Laboratories spent \$111 million for research. There were years in this period when we did not offer to our marketing organization a single new basic compound for distribution. This was our situation in spite of the number of promising compounds that were being studied in the clinics after long periods of research in the laboratories. When the clinical data for these promising compounds were examined by our medical research people, we concluded that none of these met our standards and concepts of a drug with distinction.

A REVIEW OF ACCOMPLISHMENTS

Let us now review some of the accomplishments of the past 25 years and remind our critics to count their blessings. First, let me quote from a paper which appeared in the Journal of the American Medical Association during 1956, written by Dr. L. H. Mc-Daniel, then Chairman of the Section of General Practice of the American Medical Association. In reviewing his 33 years of medical practice, Dr. McDaniel stated: "I remember the reluctance with which I viewed the approaching winter, for I knew that before spring 15 patients, including several close friends, would die from pneumonia. Then we felt helpless, but today, we can walk into the sickroom with confidence, knowing that often a little ampule or vial the size of one's thumb contains drugs that

can conquer diseases formerly thought hopeless."

It was not so long ago that the many infectious diseases in addition to pneumonis struck mortal fear within us. Some of us can remember when tuberculosis meant a lingering doom; when septic peritonitis was common and fatal; when bacterial endocarditis was certain death, and when all forms of bacterial meningitis and septicemias were spoken of with fervent prayers. It wasn't so long ago that our knowledge of nutrition was very meager; when pellagra was not uncommon in our country; when perniclous anemia was a killer, when the terms beri, beri, scurvy and rickets were part of the layman's vocabulary. Today, our medical students learn of most of these deficiency diseases not from the clinics but only from textbooks.

Prior to the early thirties, the American pharmaceutical companies were enlarged apothecary shops which, in contrast to their European counterparts, did little of what we now call research. In fact, most of the important drugs used in America up to 1935 were the result of research in foreign laboratories. Today, the situation is significantly reversed. The productivity of our research laboratories has profoundly affected medicine in every country. In world affairs, the American pharmaceutical industry has become one of our greatest resources of good will.

Modern research in the American pharmaceutical industry really began in the decade commencing with 1930. During this period Parke Davis, Merck, Lilly, Abbott and Squibb established research organizations with new concepts and dimensions. They brought together under a single roof scientists of many disciplines, all needed to carry out programs of research from the conceptual stage through clinical evaluation. Men and women of different training—chemists, pharmacologists, pathologists and physicians-joined together for the first time in seeking solutions to medical problems. This was a new concept of research in our country, for until then research was reserved for the individual investigator in the university and the institute, often isolated and because of this, frequently ineffective. This was the beginning of interdisciplinary research about which we hear so much today in government sponsored research programs. It is not un common today to find in our research that 50 to 100 technically trained research people have had some part in creating a useful therapeutic agent. No other research organization in the United States devoted to health problems, whether it be the univer sity, the institute or Government laboratories, has this capacity. It is through such organization of research that the American pharmaceutical industry has had such a significant effect on the science of therapeutics.

MIRACLE DRUGS AND SHORT MEMORIES

I don't believe that any of the experts would question the superiority of today's therapeutics over those of 1935. Let us remember that the term miracle drug was not the invention of the pharmaceutical industry. It was the doctor, the public, and the press who almost simultaneously acclaimed the miracle drugs of modern chemotherapy. The trouble is that our memories are short. We have forgotten what it was like before the advent of the drugs we now have. Who would want to turn his back on our present armamentarium and rely solely on the therapeutics of 25 years ago?

Let us look at the record of the American pharmaceutical industry during this short space of 25 years. No one can deny the contributions of the industry in the field of the vitamins. It was largely through its research and development that a number of the vitamins were isolated and characterized and that economical production of most of

the important ones originated in this coun-From these same laboratories came also such important therapeutic agents as Benadryl, the first antihistaminic available to the general practitioner; the first uricosuric agent, Benemid, for the treatment of gout; cortisone and its analogues, for the treatment of rheumatoid arthritis and a host of other diseases; Diamox, the first carbonic anhydrase inhibitor of medical importance; Diuril and its analogues for the control of edemas, heart failure, and hypertension; the broad spectrum antibiotics, Chloromycetin and the family of tetracyclines; the antibiotics erythromycin and novobiocin; pyrazinamide and isonicotinyl hydrazide for the treatment of tuberculosis; the less toxic and more versatile sulfa drugs; Nilevar, the first oral anabolic agent; meprobamate and Librium for mental health, and drugs such as Cogentin for the control of Parkinsonian syndrome. This is only a partial list and is only one part of the record for the past 25

DISTINGUISHED COLLABORATION

The second part of the industry's record is derived from the collaboration between the scientists of our laboratories and those of the universities, institutes, and hospitals. We at Merck are proud of our collaborations With outside investigators, since six of them had later become Nobel Laureates. Now What has this collaboration between the academic and industrial scientists meant? Streptomycin might have remained a laboratory curiosity or its availability as a drug may have been delayed a number of years had not Dr. Waksman sought the collaboration of research and development in the pharmaceutical industry. Insulin in a form suitable for the treatment of diabetics resulted from a collaboration between the Lilly research staff and the discoverers of insulin, Banting, McLeod, Best, and Collip. From such collaborations have also come the female sex hormone, estrone; such vitamins as B, and pantothenic acid; Dilantin for epilepsy; nystatin for fungal infections; thiouracils for hyperthyroidism, and Nallene for the diagnosis of morphine addic-

tion and morphine poisoning.

It is in this area—the collaboration area that our critics often forget industry's paramount contribution. In some of these collaborations, our contributions are clearly research in nature; in others developmental and still others a combination of both, less an organization pursues the development of a new therapeutic agent, the agent is worthless. Unless the physician has the agent available to him in effective dosage forms and useful formulations, his patients must do without it. Until the industry learned how to make an injectable form of vitamin K, therapy with Dicumarol, a lifesaving method in many instances of coronary thrombosis, was too hazardous for wide.

Widespread use.

The ability to collaborate and move quickly in research and in development is a priceless attribute of the industry, for one can't put a price on the urgency of saving lives or combating iliness and relieving pain. Penicillin, discovered by the British, undoubtedly, would have been delayed for the whole the American and the American Company of the Company of the American Company of the Compan whole of World War II, had not the American pharmaceutical industry applied its research and development resources when it did. The great rapidity with which Salk's Polio vaccine and the Asiatic flu vaccine Were made available to physicians can only be measured in terms of people saved.

SOMEONE ELSE'S TEST TUBE

It is senseless for anyone to charge that laboratory discoveries alone constitute the reason for the existence of research and to say that scientists who carry a discovery from someone else's test tube to a useful drug have contributed nothing. Is it correct to say that the German physicists who demonstrated nuclear fission in the thirties should receive the credit for atomic energy? Certainly, everyone recognizes the contributions of those who worked on the Manhattan project. As a matter of fact, the names we best remember in connection with the atomic project are Fermi and Oppenheimer and not Meitner, Hahn and Strass-

The pharmaceutical industry today characterized by the tremendous influx of new drugs and by an obsolescence of the older ones. As a matter of fact, we have been criticized for this. Why does this constant change of drugs occur? The answer is the intense activity that exists in the research organizations of the pharmaceutical companies. We think of this as competition actually the motive in research is the intense desire to produce a better drug. There is no drug in existence that is completely satisfactory—that cannot be improved upon from the standpoint of effectiveness, reliability, or toxicity. Even peni-cillin, considered at one time an almost ideal drug, has its failings. Some patients cannot tolerate it because of the dangers from anaphylactic shock. Some physicians are expressing alarm at the growing number of fatalities resulting from infections of penicillin-resistant staphylococci. The need for improved antibiotics is obviously imperative. The need for improved drugs in other fields of therapy is just as important. This is why during the past 10 years so many newer drugs have appeared in the fields of steroid therapy, hypertension, mental, and cardiovascular diseases. You may expect that still more drugs will appear as even better ones are discov-

A DEDICATION TO SCIENCE

At this point you can well understand why I changed the title of my talk and why I am exercised by events in Washington. I am adressing you this evening on this subject as a research chemist and not as an official of a pharmaceutical company. I am talking to you in the name of scores of thousands of research chemists who have made a career in industry. We have made this our career reasons beyond the need for a for many means of livelihood-a dedication to science, a desire to create and, not least of all, a desire to contribute something of importance to our way of life.

I think this is true in every field of chemical research, whether it be research in heavy chemicals, petroleum, steel, coal, food chemistry, or the pharmaceutical industry. feelings of creating and contributing are important factors in the morale, enthusiasm, and dedication we bring to our everyday performance of our jobs. Factors such as these spell the difference between inspired work and just doing a job.

If, as Mr. KEFAUVER and a number of the drug experts who spoke critically of our accomplishments would have us believe, the result of the tremendous research and development efforts which have gone into the pharmaceutical field has been to defraud the public, to swell the coffers of the companies and to exact merciless tribute from the infirm and the aged-it is a sad commentary on the meaning of the thousands of manyears of dedicated effort by thousands of chemists, engineers, biologists, and physicians throughout this country.

AN IRRESPONSIBLE INDICTMENT

Irresponsible attacks on motives and ethics of scientists can be permanently damaging to their morale. Irresponsible indictment of the best efforts of such an important segment of our scientific and technological manpower can have serious consequences in decreasing the sources of scientific manpower and on the youth of our country who see an expression of their idealism in the accomplishments of chemistry, biology, and medicine during the past 25 years. Toward these dan-

gers, our critics must take a responsible attitude. Those who have gone to such lengths to degrade the medical accomplishments of the American pharmaceutical industry must be made to realize the extent of the damage they cause and be willing to take the responsibility for it.
I can't believe that some of our scientific

critics at the Washington hearings really meant what they said. I question whether the views they expressed represent their overall assessment of research in the drug Could it be that they failed to appreciate the seriousness of giving their views in such a preemptory manner, not reflecting sufficiently on the importance of adequate perspective when expressing their

views in the public spotlight?

I had a special reason for bringing this unpleasant issue to you this evening. Having been a member of the American Institute Chemists for over 10 years, I know of its aims and purpose. Each of us here this evening has deep convictions about ethics, motivations, and dedication which make up the profession of chemistry. know that if the scientific integrity of one group of dedicated scientists is attacked with impunity then the dignity of all science will become degraded. If one group of scientists can be tarred and feathered without vigorous protest, then we are all slandered.

I hope that I have conveyed to you an appreciation of the seriousness of our situation and the obligations each of us has to defend the rightful position of the research scientist in the industrial and scientific development of the Nation. I also hope that each of you is equally indignant over this challenge to our scientific profession and that each of you will make yourself heard in words and deeds.

Madison County (Ark.), Soil Conservation District

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. JAMES W. TRIMBLE

OF ARKANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, May 25, 1960

Mr. TRIMBLE. Mr. Speaker, one of the most active soil conservation districts that I know about is the Madison County (Ark.), Soil Conservation District. They have been in operation 20 progressive years.

They are doing a wonderful job not only in the conservation of the soil but in public relations. To them I extend my heartiest congratulations, and I call to the attention of the Members of the House a report of their accomplishments for 1959 which I insert as a part of my remarks:

MADISON COUNTY SOIL CONSERVATION DIS-TRICT: HIGHLIGHTS OF ACCOMPLISHMENTS FOR 1959

The accomplishments in soil and water conservation have continued to be high for 1959. The last several years, pond construction has required most of the time of the Soil Conservation Service technicians. However, this year pond construction has dropped off a little. This was to be expected since this district has led the State in this phase of soil and water conservation for 5 years in a row, by constructing about twice as many ponds as the district in second place.

The construction of a large number of ponds has stimulated many farmers to move into a better pasture program by developing wild grass into excellent tame grass pastures and meadows. The farmers are finding that the developed pastures are paying good returns on the cost of establishing these pastures and meadows. Another tool that has been very instrumental in the establishment of the good grass program is the heavy equipment, such as the buildozer and the Rome bush and bog disk used in cleaning up a lot of the once cultivated fields that have grown up in briars, brush and low grade trees, such as hickory, etc. This phase of conservation was evidenced in the spring pasture tour in the Kingston community on April 24

The planting of warm season pastures has moved a long ways in the last few years. In 1959 more Bermuda grass was sown than in any previous year. We are learning that Bermuda grass can be secured from seed rather than depending upon the laborious task of planting the roots. Especially, we are finding the heavy equipment, the bull-dozer, and the Rome bush and bog disk, have done more to promote summer pastures than any other tool.

Tools to remove and control brush have increased during 1959 more than any preceding year. A large number of rotary brush mowers were purchased during the year. Many of these have been used to do custom mowing on neighboring farms. The use of chemical for brush and weed control is increasing annually. As knoweldge is gained, this is proving to be very helpful in the control of competitive plants that damage our desirable grasses. Also, the use of 2,4-D granules was demonstrated in some ponds to eradicate weeds with success.

Terraces and diversion terraces construction have not progressed as rapidly as we think it should. This phase of conservation is being pushed at every opportunity to get farmers to especially get diversion terraces constructed at critical areas to divert and protect water from cropland fields or areas being plowed, to establish perennial grasses and legumes for pastures and meadows. It is felt the farmers will continue to increase the use of these conservation practices.

Much publicity has been given to conservation activities of the district in news items in the daily and weekly newspapers in the county and adjoining counties. Miss Gayle Johnson, Hindsville, was given a writeup in State papers in Little Rock and Tulsa, designating her as the "Lady Farmer of the Year in Madison County." Other district cooperators have been recognized through the paper for the outstanding accomplishments in the different phases of soil and water conservation.

The board appreciates the space given in the papers to further the conservation program in the district.

The district board of supervisors of the Madison County Soil Conservation District is ready and anxious to assist every farmer in any way possible. We solicit from any citizen, farmer or businessman, any suggestions for improvement in the services the district may give to the public.

As we look back over the 20 years of operation of this district, we can't escape a feeling of pride and humility. Pride in the growth, accomplishments, and service rendered, and humility at the long list of people and organizations who have given of their time, talents and money to make our accomplishments possible.

Minutes of previous meetings show that M. E. Oliver, then of Japton, served as first chairman; Afton Wheeler, now of Best, was the first secretary; James Anderson of Crosses; Ross Sharp of Wesley; and Horace Holland, of Hindsville, made up the first board of supervisors. At the death of James Anderson, Ralph Buck was elected to replace him. Ewell E. Boyd of Huntsville replaced Ross Sharp, and A. H. Berry of Hindsville replaced Horace Holland. James M. Parker of Marble was elected and served as chairman. Hugh Bunch of Kingston served two differ-

ent times as supervisor. The second time he was made a supervisor at the death of Ewell E. Boyd. The present board for 1959 is Hugh Hargis, chairman; A. H. Berry, secretary; T. C. Anderson, Hugh Bunch and Roy Vanhook, who would like to express their thanks and appreciation for the many hours, the money and talents they gave in pioneering the soil and water conservation program in Madison County. To them we and every farmer in the district owe a debt of gratitude. This board would like to express their thanks to every farmer and businessman that gave them such wonderful support which gave them courage to face the problems and keep moving ahead in this vital phase of agriculture. Also, we wish to give thanks for this excellent support you have continued to give us.

The agricultural agencies and organizations—the Agricultural Extension Service, the Farmer's Home Administration, the Agricultural Conservation and Stabilization Committee, the Fish and Wildlife Service, the U.S. Forest Service, the Arkansas Forestry Commission, the REA, the Vocational Agriculture teachers, the Soil Conservation Service, the Farm Bureau, the Grange, the civil clubs, the ministers who have preached sermons on soil stewardship, and the schools have cooperated with us in our endeavor. To these and others we say thanks.

We have had, and still have, powerful friends in the National, State, county, and city government. We appreciate them and will always be grateful to them for the many ways they have helped us.

All these people and organizations have helped us. But it would have come to nothing if some 1,700 cooperating farmers had not done a magnificent job of applying the conservation practices on the land. To you go the thanks of everyone in the district.

Why Should We Imagine the Way To Talk
With a Dictator Is at a Summit Conference Where Every Advantage Is Possessed by the Unscrupulous? Peace Is
Too Precious and Too Hard To Establish
To Be Subjected to Such Mistreatment

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. WALTER H. JUDD

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, May 25, 1960

Mr. JUDD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I include the following article from the Washington Star by Constantine Brown. [From the Evening Star, May 24, 1960]

SUMMIT FAILURE AN ELECTION ISSUE— KHRUSHCHEV VIEWED AS WANTING DEMO-CRATIC PRESIDENT TO TALK TO

(By Constantine Brown)

Who killed Cock Robin in Paris? Was it the administration's blundering admission of U-2 espionage or was it the brutal Khrushchev tactics? This has already become an election issue.

The performance of the Red boss leads some observers to the conclusion that the power drunk Mr. Khrushchev intends to choose next November an American President of his own liking. He was unequivocal at Paris when he said that he would have no further dealings with Mr. Eisenhower but left the door open for another summit next year.

At the same time Mr. Khrushchev an-

nounced that he will have no truck with Mr. Nixon, the only Republican candidate, whom he has contemptuously compared with a "goat in a cabbage patch." Hence, the inescapable conclusion that Mr. Khrushchev would talk only to a Democratic President.

The "crowbar and sledge hammer" speech by Adlai Stevenson in Chicago only 2 days after Mr. Khrushchev had insulted the United States in the person of our President must have been music to the Soviet Premier. It would not be surprising if the Kremlin saw in him a man who could be handled in a future summit, for Mr. Stevenson is by no means out of the presidential race.

Mr. Khrushchev's views on John Kennedy are uncertain although the young hopeful joined in the chorus that the administration had killed Cock Robin. According to reports from Moscow, the Soviet boss frowns on Senator Lyndon Johnson whom he considers another "jingoist," presumably because of his Texas background.

Whatever Mr. Khrushchev's preference insofar as the personality of the Democratic candidate is concerned, there can be little doubt that he had the November elections in mind in his calculated brutality in Paris.

The American people have been sold a bill of goods by intensive propaganda of which both parties are guilty to different degrees that personal high-level conferences with the leader of a monolithic state can further world peace. The propaganda has been so skillfully conducted that the vast majority of our people actually believe that only by such "personal diplomacy" can peace become a reality.

Yet if we look at the record it is obvious that we lost out at every summit meeting. At Teheran, Yalta, and Potsdam we yielded to Stalin.

The mirage of better relations with Russia prompted the British Government to seek other summit conferences after the Labor Party was ousted from office. Although the late Secretary of State John Foster Dulles advised President Eisenhower in 1955 that there could be no gain from another person-to-person encounter with the Kremlin leader, we yielded to Sir Anthony Eden's pressing demand to meet with Bulganin and Khrushchev at Geneva lest the Labor Party be returned to office.

The results of the Geneva summit were negative for the free world but served to strengthen the then shaky B. & K. team in Russia as well as in East Germany, Poland, and Hungary where the serfs had become restless.

Finally under the illusion that relaxation could be achieved after Mr. Khrushchev had served an ultimatum on Berlin in November 1958, Mr. Elsenhower agreed once more to hold another summit parley. It was to be one of a series which we were assured could possibly lead to peace. He agreed once more to participate in a tragic farce which would only help international communism.

The record of the last 17 years shows clearly that the free world can expect no advantage from personal diplomacy since it lost every time it met the Red dictators in secret conclaves. Despite this indisputable record, our political men do not seem to want to learn their lesson. Today when Mr. Khrushchev's calculated insults are still so fresh in our minds there is already talk among professional politicans to continue "at a more appropriate moment" these futilities known as summit conferences. They say that it is better to talk than to fight, without telling the propagandized public that there is another alternative—to answer the cold war with the cold shoulder.

The position of Mr. Khrushchev would be seriously endangered if the free world were to treat him and his regime as an outcast with whom there is no point in arguing.

Shoe Imports

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. RICHARD H. POFF

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, May 25, 1960

Mr. POFF. Mr. Speaker, the domestic footwear industry is becoming increasingly concerned about the alarming increase in imports from foreign nations. These imports are the product of cheap wages and substandard working conditions exploited by foreign industries partly subsidized by foreign governments

The problem has become particularly acute in the last several months. In March 1960, imports totaled 14.6 million pairs, including 3 million pairs of leather footwear and 11.6 million pairs of rubber footwear (exclusive of rubber boots). This represents an increase of 153 percent over March 1959. Total imports for the first 3 months of 1960 reflect an increase of 165 percent over the first quarter of 1959. Dollarwise, the quarterly increase was over \$13.8 million, a ratio increase of 91.6 percent.

Approximately 85 percent of these imports were manufactured in Japan; the other 15 percent originated from Italy, Hong Kong, England, West Germany, Switzerland, Mexico, Canada, and sev-

eral other nations.

In raw materials and workmanship, some of the foreign footwear is comparable to the domestic product. However, much of it is decidedly inferior, and the American consumer is the victim of a low price tag and shoddy merchandise.

It has been suggested that this problem can be solved by the process of voluntary quotas adopted by the foreign manufacturers. A similar process was attempted in the field of textiles. It met with only a limited degree of success.

I understand that a somewhat different approach is now under consideration whereby the tariff structure will be made flexible on a sliding scale. The sliding scale, I am told, would be geared to the wage differential between America and the nations where the foreign products originate. The declared purpose of this proposal is to equalize the competitive factor and thereby give some measure of protection to domestic industry against unfair competition from abroad.

Until the details of this proposal have crystallized and have been subjected to critical congressional hearings, it is impossible fairly to analyze its merits or demerits. However, it daily becomes increasingly apparent that America must come to grips with this problem in a realistic manner. Certainly, we want to maintain the friendship of our allies throughout the world. Surely, we want to help raise their standard of living. Of course, we do not want them to trade with the Communist world. And naturally, we want to hold them as friendly market places for American goods. At the same time, we must not allow our altruistic impulses to destroy our own American industry. American jobs are at stake. The stability of the American economic system is at stake. The economic welfare of the American people is at stake. The solvency of the Federal Treasury is involved. No one can properly suggest that, in order to raise the standard of living in a foreign nation, we must be willing to lower the standard of living in America.

I have always supported the principles of the Reciprocal Trade Agreement Act. However, I have always insisted that the bilateral and multilateral agreements negotiated under that act should be truly reciprocal and that such agreements should not undermine the economic stability or the national security of the United States.

Congress Rejects Expediency

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. WAYNE L. HAYS

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, May 25, 1960

Mr. HAYS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include an editorial from the Near East Report of May 16 on the "Freedom of the Seas" amendment to the Mutual Security Act. As Senator Douglas said in support of the amendment during the Senate debate:

This is not primarily a dispute between Israel and Egypt. It is a case of one country, Egypt, having violated treaties, refusing to follow the rulings of the United Nations and going back upon its own promises.

The editorial follows:

CONGRESS REJECTS EXPEDIENCY

Congress has written a moral principle into the Mutual Security Act. America must not subsidize aggression. That is the meaning of the freedom of the seas amendment.

The proposal was angrily debated in the Senate, where unfortunate aspersions were cast on the integrity of its proponents.

This issue should be considered objectively

and on its merits.

The amendment originated in the House, because many Congressmen—and many editors of great newspapers—believed that an opportunity was lost when the World Bank loaned \$56 million for the Suez Canal at the height of the Nasser blockade.

The House Committee on Foreign Affairs told the House that our own Government had "not done as effective a job as it should

have" to open that waterway.

But the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations took no action, made no comment in its report. Its chairman, Senator J. W. Fulbright, Democrat, of Arkansas, believes that the Suez Canal should be open. He, himself, offered an excellent Senate resolution to that effect on January 29, 1957. But he opposed the House declaration because he efared that the Arab States would interpret it as a pro-Israel on an anti-Arab statement.

Thus, Congress faced a dilemma. Senate failure to concur in the House declaration could have been misinterpreted by the Arabs as warrant to continue the blockade and even to extend it to Aqaba, as President Nasser has threatened to do. The alternative was to speak frankly and clearly in reaffirmation of traditional American policy.

Congress made the right decision. The Arabs will never abandon their war against Israel if they can intimidate us into a frozen neutralism, and if they delude themselves into believing that American friendship for Israel is an insincere pandering to minority pressures.

The foreign policy of the United States should express the views of the American people. The Senate refused to allow it to be written in Cairo or Moscow.

It has been argued that the "freedom of the seas" amendment will be exploited by the Russians to our propaganda disadvantage in Asia and Africa, to prove that we put "strings" on our aid. The MSA now imposes many requirements on the recipients of both our military and economic aid. There are explicit conditions on aid to Yugoslavia and Castro's Cuba. The Senate Foreign Relations Committee, itself, recommended stiff conditions on continuing aid to Arab refugees, a proposal which had to be softened in Senate-House conference. The Senate committee also expressed reservations about the effectiveness of our Korean aid program "in the absence of an atmosphere of expanding basic freedom." There is nothing new about this. The administration has held up aid to Near East nations in the past, as both Egypt and Israel well remember.

We respect honest neutralism. We must not manacle the policies of other nations We agree that the United to our own. States should not require other nations to accept alliance with our policies to qualify for our aid. But they must not impose their policies on us so that we may qualify as their disinterested benefactors. The beneficiaries of our assistance programs must not put strings on us. They must not tie our hands. nor silence our lips, nor blunt our con-sciences, nor immobilize our policies by threatening to refuse our assistance or to embrace the Communists because we expect them to conform with international They do us no favors by taking our money. mutual. The mutual security program is The U.S. Treasury is not an automatic coin-vending machine.

Nor are the Russians our moral mentors, We do not look upon the world as a jungle where nations may disregard commitments and responsibilities, immune from reproach. We cannot accept multiple moral standards in international relations, nor free zones for aggression.

The congressional declaration is not binding on the President. But if the administration wants to make a new and determined effort to promote a just and honorable Near East settlement, it is fortified by a strong declaration that the American people want morality and law to govern our foreign policy.

The New York Times

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. HARRIS B. McDOWELL, JR.

OF DELAWARE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 25, 1960

Mr. McDOWELL. Mr. Speaker, on Monday, May 23, 1960, I placed in the Appendix of the Congressional Record, at page A4325, under the heading "Is Washington, D.C., Really a Hick Town?" an extension of my remarks. In the introduction I pointed out that the New York Times had not printed an article by Mr. Alvin Shuster, a member of the Washington bureau of the New York Times.

It was not my intention to cast any reflection upon the good name of the New York Times which, in my opinion, is one of the finest newspapers in our country. If my remarks have caused any embarrassment, I sincerely regret any such result. It was only my intention to call attention to the well-constructed and factual presentation of the article by Mr. Shuster, which so ably portrayed the fine cultural accomplishments of the Nation's Capital.

The Plight of the Prairie Chicken

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. PAUL H. DOUGLAS

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, May 25, 1960

Mr. DOUGLAS. Mr. President, Americans who seek to preserve wilderness areas, our splendid park preserves, and other spots of natural beauty such as the Indiana Dunes, for which many of us have striven for some years, will be interested in a report which has recently come to my attention of the efforts of the Prairie Chicken Foundation of Illinois to halt the decrease in the numbers of this species as a result of grazing and cultivation of farm land.

I ask unanimous consent that the article, "Is the Prairie Chicken in Illinois a Lost Cause?" from the March 1960 Audubon Bulletin, be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

[From The Audubon Bulletin, March 1960]
Is the Prairie Chicken in Illinois a Lost

(By Dr. Ralph E. Yeatter)

In his "Report on a Game Survey of the North Central States," published in 1931, Aldo Leopold stated: "In every State of the north central region except Wisconsin, the restoration of the prairie chicken is regarded as a lost cause.' The trend of the evidence to be here presented is to the contrary. It indicates that chickens respond even more readily than other cyclic species to management measures. The conservation movement has no right to discard these magnificent game birds when no real effort, other than ill-enforced closed seasons, has as yet been made in their behalf." Leopold believed that refuges were the key to prairie chicken conservation.

Investigations in Illinois and other States have borne out Leopold's views. We know now the type of refuges needed. Prairie chickens have a shorter breeding period than qualls or pheasants. Because nearly all broods are hatched before mid-July, relatively undisturbed nesting cover is required during the spring and early summer, Chickens cannot withstand indefinitely the heavy losses of nests caused by farm machinery and intensive grazing in general farming regions,

Prairie chickens continued to thrive in the redtop grass seed-producing region of south-central Illinois for more than 60 years after they became scarce or disappeared elsewhere. The seed did not ripen until July; thus the birds were able to hatch their young and get them on the wing before the harvest.

During World War II. however, farmers of the region found it was more profitable to lime and fertilize their fields for grain crops than to produce grass seed. Most of the redtop fields disappeared and the chickens began to decline sharply. Other grassland birds, including upland plovers, Henslow's sparrows, grasshopper sparrows, savannah sparrows, meadowlarks, king rails, marsh hawks, and even quails decreased also, in varying degrees.

The value of grassland nesting and brood cover is now widely recognized. A national refuge for prairie chickens is belatedly being established in eastern Kansas under the auspices of the National Wildlife Federation. Nearly all States with remnant colonies are making some effort to set aside refuges. Wisconsin seems to be well in advance of all other States in working out its program.

The recently formed Prairie Chicken Foundation of Illinois has the objective of establishing an adequate system of grassland refuges within the State. Parent organizations are the Illinois Audubon Society, the Illinois Federation of Sportsmen's Clubs, the Illinois Division of Izaak Walton League of America, and the Illinois Chapter of Nature Conservancy, Inc. Officers are J. W. Galbreath, chairman, of East St. Louis; Ralph Smith. vice chairman, of Chicago: Mrs. Madeline Dorosheff, secretary, of Springfield; and George B. Fell, treasurer, of Rockford. Various State agencies, including the Natural History Survey and the Department of Conservation, are cooperating.

What kind of refuges are needed to insure the survival of prairie chickens in Illinois? In the publication the Prairie Chicken in Illinois (Ill. Nat. Hist. Surv. Bul. 22(4); 1943), the writer stated: "In southeastern Illinois, prairie chickens are well adapted to living in prairie farming districts where from 20 to 30 percent of the total agricultural land is grass type cover that is not disturbed until July 1 or later. Presumably, similar grass acreages and farming practices would create fair to good prairie chicken range anywhere they might be applied on the Illinois prairie. Although solid blocks or closely grouped tracts are probably most satisfactory from standpoint of administration, good prairie chicken management does not require that refuge areas be contiguous, provided proper distribution of smaller refuge areas can be obtained. For example, certain sand prairie townships in northern Illinois might be converted into good chicken range by leasing and converting to grassland refuges, for a term of years, 25 percent of the total farmland in the form of 20-acre, 40-acre, or larger tracts of the poorer farm soil throughout each township."

Experience gained during the past 25 years leads us to believe that the above advice was sound, although some amendments are needed. It would undoubtedly be more economical and more permanent to buy, rather than lease, refuge lands. Moreover, gray soil prairie and sand prairie areas where chickens are still present, or where they would be likely to spread soon from existing colonies, should be sought, and these are not necessarily the areas of lowest fertility. Effort should be made to locate management areas where farming practices are likely to furnish part of the required nesting cover. Wisconsin has adopted a plan of setting aside an average of one 40-acre refuge per square mile to supplement dwindling nest-brood cover in the well-known Buena Vista marsh of about 46,000 acres in Portage Public-spirited citizens and organizations there already have purchased some of these tracts, and the Wisconsin Conservation Commission has stated that it is ready to lease and manage lands which are privately purchased for Prairie Chickens ("A Guide to Prairie Chicken Management," by Hamerstrom, Mattson, and Hamerstrom,

Solving the many problems of locating financing, purchasing, and managing suitable refuge lands will require much hard work by the Prairie Chicken Foundation and associated agencies. It seems probable that most of the 3 or 4 management areas now contemplated by the foundation should finally embrace 20 or 25 square miles each including the active farms interspersed among the refuges. Nevertheless, the refuges at first could be confined to farming areas as small as 4 square miles. Other tracts could be added as results were appraised and as funds became available. Such a scatter pattern of nesting cover appears to produce higher chicken populations than continuous prairie.

Rail-Water Rates

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. FRANK C. OSMERS, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, May 25, 1960

Mr. OSMERS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include an editorial "Whose Fault?" of May 17, 1960, which appeared in the Journal of Commerce, an excellent newspaper published in the city of New York.

It seems to me, Mr. Speaker, that this editorial touches upon some very important points. The first point is the need for a more vigorous, clear-cut, and thoughtful approach to decisions by the Interstate Commerce Commission.

The second point is the need for action by that Commission to implement the national transportation policy declared by this Congress, so as to preserve in full vigor transportation by water, highway, and rail adequate for the commerce of the United States and our national defense.

Mr. Speaker, the Ninth District of New Jersey, which I have the honor to represent, includes the Borough of Edgewater. In the Borough of Edgewater is located the New York harbor terminal of the Seatrain Lines, a very unique coastal water transportation company which has pioneered the application of container methods to the transportation of freight by water. The Seatrain terminal is served by the New York, Susquehanna & Western Railroad Co., a small railroad which connects the Seatrain operation with all of the larger railroads serving the New York Harbor area.

I understand that about 25 percent of the Susquehanna's revenues are derived from freight interchange with the Seatrain Lines, and thus we have the somewhat unusual situation wherein the fortunes of this small railroad, which is vital to my district, are dependent to a large extent upon the fortunes of the water carrier.

Recently, the continued existence of the Seatrain service to and from Edgewater has been placed in jeopardy because of the rate war being conducted against the coastal water lines by certain major railroads. The decision of the Interstate Commerce Commission mentioned in this editorial apparently was somewhat equivocal, and did not insure the continuance of the Seatrain service between Edgewater, Savannah, New Orleans, and Texas City. If the Seatrain is forced out of business, this in turn would probably mean bankruptcy for the Susquehanna, and great damage to the commerce of my district.

I hope, Mr. Speaker, that the members of the Interstate Commerce Commission will read this editorial with great care, and will take its lessons to heart, and that in its future actions the Commission will be conscious of the need for decisions setting down a firm policy under which the coastal water lines, including the Seatrain, which are so vital to our commerce and national defense, can plan for the future with confidence. The editorial follows:

[From the Journal of Commerce, May 17, 1960]

WHOSE FAULT?

Charles A. Webb, youngest of the 13 members of the Interstate Commerce Commission, touched in an unusually direct way on some of the short-comings of that agency in an address delivered in Richmond, earlier this month.

He pointed out that the Commission was obliged to reach 1,721 decisions last year, and to issue a report on each under its own name or under the name of one of its divisions. This works out to some 172 cases per Commissioner, which means that if the Commissioners themselves had to prepare these reports, and the work was spread evenly among them, each would have to write himself (or closely supervise the writing of) three to four decisions per week.

Anyone who follows ICC's decisions, and knows the complexities involved in reports even on trivial cases, knows this is simply impossible. What actually happens, as Mr. Webb noted, is that much of this material is ghost written. But that is not the point. The point is that, as members of the Federal agency regulating most interstate transport, the 13 members wield great power—greater than many of them perhaps realize, and certainly greater than many Federal judges. They wield altogether too much power to be able to lean safely on ghostwriters.

We recognize that the Commission's work has vastly increased in complexity during the last 30 years. The extension of its regulation to trucks and water carriers via the Federal Motor Carrier Act of 1935 and of the Transportation Act of 1940, respectively, and of pipelines and freight forwarders has confronted it with problems far beyond the expectations of its first proponents.

We also agree with Mr. Webb that too much of ICC's time is taken up with trivial and run-of-the-mill cases—cases in which ghost-written reports will probably suffice for the present, and that if only the Commission's really important decisions were counted, they probably wouldn't add up to more than 10 or 15 per Commissioner per year, a workload that ought, at least, to be within manageable proportions.

The question is: How to get the Commissioners freed of trivial cases and then get them concentrated on the broader policy matters that rightfully should be their primary concern? A number of suggestions have been made in this respect; for example, increase the staff, or put more of ICC's day-to-day functions under a general manager, or both. Some might help, but first, we think, the Commission has got to help itself.

The trouble is that no small part of the vast complexities with which ICC is grappling is of its own making.

To put it bluntly, many of the present complexities arise from the Commission's dogged refusal to come to grips with the larger issues facing it, for example, the issue of joint rates, over which water carriers have been struggling with railroads for years, and the issue of the ratemaking clause of the 1958 Transportation Act on which ICC has not yet handed down a single definitive opinion despite a whole rash of pending cases filed for the express purpose of producing such an opinion.

It is because ICC is seemingly as determined to be fair as it is determined to avoid any kind of resolute stand on these issues that the labyrinth of complexities has mushroomed so swiftly.

An example is provided by its recent decisions on Atlantic coastal pulpboard rates involving Seatrain Lines with a number of rallroads

What the water carrier wanted in that case, and attempted to force, was a clear decision to the effect that the rails were bound to set up joint rail-water or water-rail rates, or that they weren't. It would then know at least whether to abandon the service, whether to count on staying in it, or whether to resort to the courts.

But, as in the case of a number of ICO decisions which could have determined the effect of the ratemaking clause, it go neither. In an attempt to be fair, ICC ordered the rails to give Seatrain other forms of rate accommodations, in consequence of which neither side is any surer of where it stands today than it was before the case was filed.

The result of this is that, not knowing just where ICC does stand on these key rate issues, rate cases by the score are pushed into the Commission's hopper by all kind of carriers subject to Federal jurisdiction in an effort to ascertain just how far they can go in any direction. And ICC itself, finding no set course in this paper sea, is more and more hopelessly mired in detail. Its overall policy, murky enough before the 1958 act was passed, has become, if anything, murkier still.

It may well be, as some of the commission's more thoughtful members and critics have said on occasion in the past, that a structural reorganization of the whole agency is advisable.

But before anyone proceeds to that, we think the Commission might show a little more resolution in meeting head on the primary regulatory problems it was set up to decide, within, of course, the framework set by Congress.

As we have said previously, ICC itself will not have the final say on these matters. On some of the larger issues a resort to the courts is virtually inevitable no matter which way its decisions go—the ratemaking clause being one of them. But until ICC itself acts, there can be no resort to the courts, and until the courts act, the whole transport horizon will remain hidden in the prevailing murk.

Air Transport Progress Is Discussed by Stuart Tipton at Morgantown, W. Va., Chamber of Commerce 40th Anniversary Event

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JENNINGS RANDOLPH

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, May 25, 1960

Mr. RANDOLPH. Mr. President, last night at Morgantown, W. Va., the chamber of commerce of that city held its

annual dinner meeting in celebration of its 40th anniversary.

It was my privilege to have been a participant in the program in which Gov. Cecil H. Underwood and Representative HARLEY O. STAGGERS made brief remarks.

The event, for which President Robert B. Creel ably served as toastmaster, was built principally around the theme of airport expansion and development and the importance of air transport to commerce, industry, educational progress, and community betterment.

To develop and discuss the topic, the organization appropriately had as guest speaker, Stuart G. Tipton, president of the Air Transport Association of America, with whom I have had a most pleasant relationship which dates back to my 14 years of service in the House of Representatives during the 1930's and 1940's.

Stuart Tipton was one of the men in government who was active in the drafting of legislation which culminated in the Civil Aeronautics Act of 1938. He later served in the agency, and still later became associated with the organization he now leads, composed of 49 air carriers employing 120,000 men and women.

Mr. Tipton congratulated the Morgantown Chamber of Commerce on its 40th anniversary and noted that the Air Transport Association is having its 25th anniversary this year. He competently developed the story of the quarter of a century of progress by the air transport system.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the Record extracts from Mr. Tipton's address.

There being no objection, extracts of the address were ordered printed in the RECORD, as follows:

EXTRACTS OF ADDRESS BY STUART TIPTON

It was just 25 years ago that the airlines got together and formed the Air Transport Association. That was the beginning of the creation of an air transport system. There were airlines operating before 1936, of course, but they were operating in a highly individualistic manner. The common ground of a trade, and service, organization, permitted the airlines to offer the public a truly integrated network of transportation.

That network is still the backbone of the Nation's air transportation.

I'd like to tell you a little about this network because it has a direct application to Morgantown, and indeed, every city in the United States.

The Civil Aeronautics Act of 1938 established certain guidelines for the Nation's airlines. The act said that the airlines were to serve the Nation's domestic and international commerce; the post office; and the national defense.

As part of this mandate, the airlines were certificated by the newly formed Civil Aeronautics Administration in 1938. They were awarded certificates of convenience and necessity. Convenience: For the traveling and shipping public. Necessity: Because the Congress of the United States realized even in those fledgling days of air transportation that the future was in the air. And, if the United States was to take the leadership in air transportation, Government encouragement and Government leadership were vital.

This has been the result. The United States now has the finest, most efficient, system of air transport in the world.

But, all of the credit for this growth cannot be assigned to a single, Federal source.

It must be shared by the managements of the airlines, and by their employees, and by the investors who provided the private funds that permitted the carriers to invest in continually better aircraft.

But, it must also be shared by some 50 States of the Nation, and hundreds of

municipalities.

I say this because it was the States, cities, and local communities that saw the air age approaching and set about to prepare for it. They did this by building airports.

I don't think I have to tell you that without airports, you don't have a system of air transportation. And if you didn't have a system of air transportation, here are some of the things you wouldn't have:

Almost 55 million passengers traveling by air, spending about \$4 billion for food, lodging, entertainment, and other expenses, and about \$2 billion for the air transportation.

Almost 2 billion letters sent to U.S. citizens

throughout the Nation.

More than 650 million ton-miles of freight and express flown throughout the country, and to oversea destinations. And, perhaps more importantly, a fleet of 1,900 aircraft that are ready to support the defense effort in time of cold, or hot, war. Some of these aircraft-about 300-are in what is known as the civil reserve air fleet. These planes, and their crews, are frontline, modern, four-engined planes, ready on 36-hour notice to support the military anywhere in the world, carrying troops and critical supplies.

Other planes are part of WASP, the War Air Service Pattern. Their mission is to provide support to the military effort within

the United States.

And, of course, all of the scheduled airlines would take a major role in the transportation of priority passengers on their regular routes and schedules during a crisis. It would be impossible for any transportation pattern to be devised that would not place primary reliance on air transport. Last year, for instance, 47 percent of all common carrier, intercity passenger-miles were han-dled by the commercial airlines.

Probably about this time, at the present rate of expansion, the total passenger-mile haul of the airlines is equal to the total of

all intercity railroads and all buses.

Gen. Thomas D. White, Chief of Staff of the Air Force, in fact, said: "The importance of commercial air carriers and general aviation as elements of U.S. airpower has never been greater nor more influential than it is now.

But that's just one side of the contribution that the civil air transport system, and the civil airport system-and I can't emphasize that word system enough-make to the national defense.

Actually, the civil airport is an important link in the airpower chain. Here is how it works:

During World War II, about 430 airports were turned over to the military in the interest of the war effort. These fields had been designed, and built, from the ground up, to fulfill the needs of civil air commerce but the easy convertibility of peace to war needs made the transition smooth, and inexpensive.

And, today, 15 years after the end of hostilities, there are some 245 airports for which the Department of Defense has some military requirement. Just recently, the Air Force announced that it was considering plans for periodic or emergency dispersal of its B-47 bombers from military bases to civilian airports to help meet the growing Soviet missile threat.'

The Senate Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee also saw the overall value of the airport in terms of military prepared-Last February, the committee pointed out that: Airports are not wholly local assets serving as vital and necessary links in the interstate flow of goods and passengers, in our foreign trade, in the discharge of Federal responsibility for the carriage of mail, and as active or standby facilities for military use." "Thus," the report went on, "in addition to the emergency value of civil airports, there is a day-to-day utilization of them by components of our Military Establishment."
And, I think you might be surprised to

know that one out of every five landings or takeoffs at the Nation's civil airports is by

a military plane.

The value, then, of airports in terms of the needs of the commercial airlines, and the national defense, is a dramatic, and visible,

What is not as well known, perhaps because it is so well camouflaged into the routine fabric of community life, is the fact that the airport serves in other ways.

Take, for instance, that great and growing segment of activity known as general avia-

The airlines operate less than 2,000 aircraft, the military about 37,000. General aviation-and by that I mean the private and company-owned aircraft-operates than 70,000 planes.

Airports have provided an enormous stimulant to the postwar tendency to locate plants in smaller cities, and corporate aircraft have becom flying offices—connecting the home factory, many miles away, with branch plants, subcontractors, and markets. Many corporations have established their private airlines, in fact, and these are used in the main for trips to off-line airports. About 70 percent of the total passenger-miles of annual corporate flying is to these smaller airport cities.

The private pilot, and the student pilot, have a need for the airport because it provides the vital facilities-fuel, hangar space, trained mechanical personnel—that must have. Some 400,000 men and women hold private pilot licenses. They are the nucleus of the Nation's reserve air strength, and the Civil Air Patrol.

It is not generally known that the airport is a tremendous asset to the farmer. In 46 States, farmer operators annually fly some 800,000 hours doing farm chores, such as spraying, seeding, dusting, surveying, checking crops, counting wild ducks, shooting Almost threecoyotes, and fertilizing. fourths of the Nation's airports sustain some portion of agricultural acitivity.

The airport today, then, is a key link in a circle of industrial and community development.

I have chosen "circle" as a description because it is more appropriate to the actual sequence of development than the analogy of the "chain."

Let's look at the circle. If you have an airport that is not up to date, that cannot adequately service all users, and I mean, of course, the private, the business, the corporate aircraft, as well as the commercial airline, then you will not be able to attract these users.

And, if you do not attract these users, the firms who are out scouting for new plant locations, will pass by your city, and look for one that can accommodate their aircraft.

If the plant scouts overlook your city, industrial development will lag and the need for commercial airline service that follows industrial development, with all of its attendant activity in terms of freight, passengers, and mail, will not materialize, and the airlines, too, will look for those cities that can produce the necessary amount of traffic.

Along about this time, you might find yourself like Goldsmith's "Deserted Village," where "village statesmen talked with looks profound-and news much older than their ale went round."

In brief, a community without an adequate airport in these days of air commerce, finds itself severely handicapped. It lacks

that basic tool for getting, and doing business. As Gen. James Doolittle said: "A city's economic health depends to a considerable degree on its ability to accommodate aircraft efficiently and safely."

The modern-day ambitious city must grab that circle of development. And the place to grab hold is right at the threshold at

the airport.

Let me bring this image into a little sharper focus and take a closer look at the Morgantown Airport.

As I understand it, the city council has decided to submit a \$790,000 airport improvement bond issue to the voters at a city election on June 7. This represents the first opportunity that voters will have had to vote on a bond issue to improve the airport.

Several times during the past 10 years, your city leaders have applied for, and re-ceived, matching funds from the Federal Government. But Morgantown was unable to meet the Federal appropriation on the required 50-50 basis.

What this has meant, of course, is that needed improvements have not been made at the airport, and its facilities are just about what they were about 20 years ago when the first scheduled airline service was introduced.

As some of the forward-looking leaders in your city have pointed out, you have, in effect, stood still in this era. But as you But as you transportation does not stand still. The picture has changed. I'm told that railroad passenger service is no longer available at your city. Bus service has changed only slightly. The highway network in and around the Morgantown area is inadequate.

So, your future, as well as that of any city, of any size, is in the air.

But, let's do a little arithmetic on the

problem of the airport improvement. Let's see what you get for your investment.

Last year, for instance, there were an estimated 75 persons earning their living in Morgantown in the aviation fields. Their total payroll was close to \$350,000. And more than half of the people were located at the airport itself.

Well, I've been talking in overall terms about the value of air transportation, now what does all this mean to Morgantown? It means this: Almost three-quarters of 8 million dollars a year.

Last year, almost Here's how it adds up. 10,000 persons came to Morgantown by air. most of them via commercial air transport-Their average stay was 3 days, and their average expenditure was \$25 a day. total for the year: three-quarters of a million dollars.

But the bond issue only calls for \$790,000. Therefore, in the first year alone, your community will get back almost its entire investment.

And, of course, that return doesn't come back in chunks to a few; it spreads through out the whole community—to hotels, and restaurants, and their suppliers; the retail stores, the local transit lines, the banks, the department of the departmen the drugstores, and every kind of service and supply.

These figures are based on the "old" air port. A new airport, with adequate runway lengths, with more and better facilities for attracting the private pilot, the corporate plane, the commercial airliner, will add greatly to the return on the investment.

I can't imagine a better buy for the money. But, looking at it from another point of view, suppose the airport is not improved. The impending sale of the Morgantown Ordnance Works brings the area to the door step of a potentially tremendous industrial expansion.

This expansion can only come about if you have a good "sky harbor"—available for industry and its ever-expanding and important labor force.

Also, consider the responsibility you have to the present industries and firms which are already here, and operating.

In order for them to compete with rival industries throughout the country, they, too, must have adequate air service, and an airport that can match that service.

A new hospital is going up at the university medical center. Much of the success of this new addition will depend upon the ease of transportation for the patients, visitors, medical specialists, staff, and critical supplies from Morgantown, to all parts of West Virginia.

of West Virginia.

But, this is the air age, and Morgantown, or Wheeling or any city in any State is not an entity, separate unto itself.

It is important, even essential, for instance, to Pittsburgh, that Morgantown have a modern airport because there are letters and express shipments, passengers, and freight, in Pittsburgh that are destined to be flown to Morgantown.

How many letters, how many passengers, how much freight is delivered, and how frequently, from just this one point depends upon what Morgantown is doing to improve

its air facility: the airport.

This concept, really, is the heart of the Pederal system of airports and it is why the Government does appropriate funds for airports throughout the country.

The Congress has passed, over the years, various pieces of legislation, and for varying amounts, to the end that this system

Would be strengthened.

They have had faith in the future of Morgantown as an important center of commerce. That's why, through the Federal Aviation Agency, funds are made available for the development, and improvement of your airport, and others.

They're described, as I said earlier, as matching funds." What is needed, it seems to me, is for "matching faith" on the part of the Morgantown area residents who share the Government's optimism, as well as respect, for the potential of this city.

West Virginians can be well assured that they are being represented by legislators who understand the meaning of, and will work toward, the full realization of industrial and community development that the air age can bring.

Gen. Edward P. Curtis summed up what this means for all of us several years ago when he told President Eisenhower in a special report:

"The United States is becoming more and more an air community. During the last several years our national strategy has come rest essentially upon airpower in its Widening manifestations. The industrial skills devoted to air technologies now comprise the largest single pool of employ-ment in manufacturing. The airplane has become the prime mover of our population In its circulation over distances of 200 miles. developments are changing the American way of life, our habits of work, our hational outlook. If they are given room to follow their logical evolutions they may well provide the principal sustaining elements to our social and economic well being as well as our national strength, for years to come."

Mr. RANDOLPH. Mr. President, in my remarks in introducing Mr. Tipton, I declared that West Virginia cities need better airlines service and suggested that there is a case pending before the Civil Aeronautics Board which could be most helpful to our State and its citizens, namely, the so-called Great Lakes Local Service case on which the Board should reach a decision, inasmuch as it has been processing the matter for more than 3 years.

Mr. President, I now ask unanimous consent to have printed following these remarks, and at this point in the Appendix of the Record, further excerpts from my talk at the chamber of commerce meeting.

There being no objection, excerpts from Senator Randolph's remarks were ordered printed in the Appendix of the Record, as follows:

EXTRACTS OF REMARKS BY SENATOR JENNINGS RANDOLPH, DEMOCRAT OF WEST VIRGINIA, AT MORGANTOWN CHAMBER OF COMMERCE DINNER MEETING, MORGANTOWN, W. VA.

The CAB, by other decisions in recent years, has established a pattern of strengthening local service carriers, ether by substituting them for larger trunklines in smaller and medium-size cities, or by decertifying long-haul airlines at points where the feeder carriers have already been serving in conjunction with the bigger compaines.

The purpose of these air traffic pattern changes has been to improve schedule frequency, and, at the same time, reduce the subsidy of the local carriers. The CAB has applied this program to dozens of cities, and it is significant that, although some communities raised questions at the time the issues was posed, I know of none which objected after the alteration in service was instituted.

The Civil Aeronautics Board, following receipt of the examiner's report last September, has had more than 7 months to reach a decision in the Great Lakes Local Service case which could be the means for real improvement in air traffic for numerous communities of West Virginia and other nearby States.

Frequency of service, and increased aircraft departures and enplaned passengers, are vital to our State. It has been the experience of other States and areas that frequency of departures and passenger increases have been stepped up as much as threefold after the changeover to local carrier service has been accomplished.

Then, too, new and expanded air transport service will aid in the industrial de-

velopment of West Virginia.

It is appropriate, however, that I speak of the splendid service which has been provided to our State and its citizens by both trunklines and local carriers during the pioneering and transition period in which the pattern of airline service has been changing. I mention especially the American, Capital, Eastern, Trans World, Allegheny, and Piedmont Airlines.

I emphasize that it has been almost 8 months since a Civil Aeronautics Board examiner, after more than 3 years of investigations, made recommendations to the Board.

I do not imply any prejudice as to how the CAB should rule in deciding the case, but it does seem unreasonable that the Board should further delay a formal ruling which I hope would be consistent with the pattern it has established for other areas in recent years. Such a decision is vital to a number of West Virginia communities, especially those which presently experience too-infrequent aircraft arrivals and departures, such as Morgantown, Clarksburg-Fairmont, Eikins, Wheeling, Parkersburg, Huntington, Beckley, and Bluefield. Any decision improving local service schedules likewise would benefit aerial intercourse between these communities and the Capital City at Charleston, a trunkline airport city.

Recently, I addressed the members of the CAB and brought to their attention a special study which shows the remarkable increase in schedules and traffic enplaned at a number of typical cities in the year immediately following replacement of a trunkline by a

local carrier, or suspension of a trunkline where a local carrier was already operating.

It was noted, for example, that at Bristol, Va., a trunkline company had 4,559 alrcraft departures the year prior to August 25, 1952, whereas its successor on that date—a local service airline presently serving West Virginia—had 6,605 alrcraft departures during its first year of operations at that airport following the August 25, 1952 trunkline-to-local service change-over. The trunkline had served 19,195 passengers the year prior to that date, whereas the local service airline successor served 29,416 passengers its first year at Bristol.

At Mansfield, Ohio, where another local service airline which figures in the case presently pending before the CAB replaced a trunkline had only 658 aircraft departures the year prior to April 15, 1953. But the local carrier successor had 2,332 aircraft departures its first year in service at Mansfield following that change-over date. Enplaned passengers increased from the 2,961 served the last year by the trunkline to 4,444 served by the local service airline its first year at Mansfield.

Equally significant changes could, and probably would occur at the Morgantown, Clarksburg-Fairmont, Elkins, Wheeling, Parkersburg, Huntington, and other airports in West Virginia if the case pending before the CAB for so long could now be expedited and implemented.

Cooperative Efforts for Agriculture

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. NEWELL A. GEORGE

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, May 25, 1960

Mr. GEORGE. Mr. Speaker, at a meeting of the board of governors of the Agriculture Hall of Fame on Friday, May 20, 1960, Mr. B. Bynum Turner, chairman of the board, delivered an address which I thoroughly enjoyed hearing and which all Members should have an opportunity to read.

This meeting brought many famous and successful men from all parts of the United States in the interest of agriculture. Cooperating with Mr. Howard A. Cowden, president of the Agriculture Hall of Fame, in making plans for this spring meeting were the executive managers of the three chambers of commerce, Mr. Ellsworth Green, Jr. of Kansas City, Mr. Chad A. Wymer of Olathe, and Miss Peg Carr of Ottawa. These three contributed materially to the success of obtaining this project for Wyandotte County.

Attending the luncheon meeting in addition to the board of governors were leaders in agriculture, leaders of labor, and leaders of business and industry. Besides benefiting all fields of agriculture, this project brings together important and successful men and women of labor, industry, and agriculture who cooperate and work together for a single objective. This permits a better understanding of the problems of labor by industrial leaders on the one hand and of industry by labor leaders on the other, and both learn more of the problems confronting the farmers.

Last session, Mr. Speaker, I introduced H.R. 5789, a bill to incorporate the Agriculture Hall of Fame which passed the House this year and is now awaiting action in the other Body. Permit me to express my appreciation to you, Mr. Speaker, to the Honorable John W. McCormack, the majority leader; the Honorable Emanuel Celler, chairman of the Judiciary Committee; the Honorable E. L. Forrester, subcommttee chairman, and the members of their committees for such splendid cooperation in assistin in ogbtaining House approval of this legislation.

Mr. Turner in his address showed a businessman's keen insight regarding the situation confronting the farmers of America and visualized the important contribution that the Agriculture Hall of Fame will make, not only to agriculture, but to business, industry, and education.

I ask, Mr. Speaker, that the address of Mr. Turner be included as part of my remarks:

ADDRESS BY MR. B. BYNUM TURNER, AGRICUL-TURAL HALL OF FAME, BOARD OF GOVERNORS SPRING MEETING, KANSAS CITY, KANS., MAY 20, 1960

It's rather like carrying coals to Newcastle for anyone to speak before a distinguished group such as this about anything having to do with agriculture. For, if anybody knows and appreciates the traditions, the past achievements and the future potential of the farmer and his honorable profession, it certainly is you people here in this room.

I have, during the past several weeks, given some serious thought to the Agricultural Hall of Fame. Since I am so new in this job as chairman of the Hall of Fame's board of governors, my thinking necessarily has been that of a man on the outside looking in, rather than on the inside looking out. Nevertheless, I have arrived at some views, and if you will bear with me, I should like to pass them on to you for what they may be worth.

As you know, halls of fame have long been established in various fields, especially athletics, and down in Oklahoma City a hall of fame to honor the American cowboy is taking form. Throughout this land of ours are many other types of shrines dedicated to the men and women who helped to make our country great. The petroleum industry, for example, has its Drake Well Memorial Park in Titusville, Pa., where oil was discovered a century ago.

But nowhere in America is there a central shrine that honors the farmer for the role he has played, and continues to play, in making and keeping us the best fed and best clothed people in the history of civilization.

As you know, steps are now being taken to overcome this omission. It is both fitting and significant that the Agricultural Hall of Fame should be planned for the Kansas City area, for it is this part of the country that provides so much of the food for the tables of America and so many of the fibers that make our lives more comfortable and pleasant.

The Hall of Fame is not to be an elaborate complex built by farmers for their own self-glorification. Rather, the project is an all-embracing one of widespread interest. While it is designated as the Agricultural Hall of Fame, it is an undertaking that merits—and will, I know, be built upon—a broad base of cooperation and support by people everywhere.

It is indeed a lamentable fact that the average American little understands or appreciates the indispensable role played by

agriculture in the Nation's economic wellbeing. In recent years, a word has been coined to convey something of this significance. The word is "agribusiness," which obviously is a blending of the two words "agriculture" and "business." Agribusiness is broader than agriculture itself, of course. It is a combination of all production operations on the farm, of the manufacture and distribution of supplies and equipment to be used on the farm, and of the processing and distribution of farm commodities and items made from them.

Measured in total assets, agribusiness in the United States is almost twice as large as the sum of all of our manufacturing enterprises. It accounts for 40 percent of all consumer expenditures in this country. and it employs 37 percent of the Nation's total work force. You also realize the magnitude of agribusiness in the fact that last year the American farmer invested almost \$5 billion—a new high—in buildings, machinery and equipment. He spent perhaps and additional \$2.5 billion for fuels and lubricants to operate his equipment, using more petroleum power than did all industries combined. The modern farmer obviously is a key customer of many other industries. Think of the great volume and variety of items he buys-rubber tires for his tractors and other equipment, chemicals to fertilize and condition the soil, motor vehicles and trucks by the millions, steel for his buildings, and on and on.

The farmer today is every bit as much a business executive as any man in this room. He is the manager of a going business whose capital investment is on the average \$75,000 and upwards. Totally, American farmers can count assets of more than \$200 billion—holdings, incidentally, that are about equal to the value of all stocks listed on the New York Stock Exchange.

The successful farmer nowadays must be management-conscious or he won't continue to be successful very long. He has to plan and execute on the basis of more variables than most other businessmen. He must be alert to world conditions more so than most executives because, for instance, what happens to Argentine and Australian wheat could be of direct economic concern to him. If he is a livestock farmer, he must prophesy correctly what the markets will be months ahead. He must carefully plan and execute all of his purchases himself to make certain that he is buying what is needed, when it is

needed and at the most economical cost. So rapid and so pronuonced has agricultural progress been in the United States that even the farmer himself may have not found occasion to reflect on just how notable the total accomplishment has been. Here in the so-called breadbasket of the Nation you are familiar, I am sure, with the statistic that the farmer of 20 years ago produced enough to feed himself and 11 other people; whereas today's farmer takes care of himself and 26 others. What the farmer has thus achieved is what might be called a "pattern for plenty."

Freedom from famine is pretty much the exclusive property of modern-day America. It is a luxury that not even our Nation's founders enjoyed because it has come to us only in the past 50 to 100 years. It was neither by luck nor coincidence that the farmers of this Nation scored substantially more progress in a few generations than was recorded in all of the centuries of civilization previously. Agriculture has achieved its tremendous gains by working hand-in-hand with industry, commerce, science and education within the framework of America's unique climate of political and economic freedom, initiative and competitive enterprise.

History provides a classic comparison. In many respects, the farmer of the early days of the Roman Empire was not unlike his

American counterpart of today. He owned and worked his own land, and farming then, as now, was a highly esteemed occupation. In an atmosphere of economic and political freedom, Roman agriculture built the foundation of modern farming. Romans recognized the value of legumes in preparation of the ground for wheat. Their methods of growing grapes and olives were so sound that they were followed with little change for century after century until 100 years or so ago. Their stock breeding was advanced for its day, and they were learned enough to yoke oxen and use animal power to help till the fields.

For 1,800 years no significant agricultural progress was made. George Washington and Thomas Jefferson actually could plow no faster than Solomon or Caesar. But then came the unprecedented agricultural revolution of the 19th and 20th centuries when resourceful Americans began applying their inventive genius, their engineering aptitude and their scientific skill to the task.

Jefferson was among those who helped to launch the mechanical revolution on the farm. He designed the first American moldboard on sound mathematical principles, thus making it possible for plowwrights to produce moldboards of a common model. The development of the reaper ushered in a new era of progress. With a hand sickle, good man in the year 1800 might cut half an acre of wheat a day. By 1840, mechanical reapers were cutting 5 or 6 acres daily. With the appearance of the two-wheel sulky in the middle 1860's, the farmer rode on his plow for the first time. Soon came the threewheeler to give him greater safety, stability, and control. Threshing machines appeared on the scene not long after the Civil War. Meanwhile, oil had been discovered in the hills of western Pennsylvania and, in the kerosene age that followed, the number of farms in America trebled and the production of all crops literally skyrocketed. American agriculture was well on its way to establishing the pattern for plenty that so many of us now take for granted.

Development followed development, and each one, in its own way, contributed to the momentum of the agricultural revolution-The 1930's, for instance, saw the production of the all-purpose tractor. This modification combined the ability to do rowcropping with drawbar and beltpower usefulness, and also permitted the tractor to serve as an efficient carrier for many types of mounted and semimounted implements. The introduction of rubber tires on tractors stepped up tractor performance and speeded most field operations from 25 to 50 percent. Another sig-nificant development was the introduction in 1935 of the high compression, gasolinepowered tractor. It is a matter of consider able pride to my associates and me that Ethyl Corp. played a leading role in bringing about this indispensable mechanical workhorse of the farm.

These, of course, are but a few of the developments in agriculture in past decades. There have been many others, and there will inevitably be many more to help our farmers produce the vast amounts of food and fibers that the world's ever-expanding population will require in the years before us.

The individual who has never paused to consider what the agricultural revolution has meant to him personally indeed has a revelation in store. Never before in the history of man has a people eaten so well, both quantitatively and qualitatively. At the same time that our farmers are helping so measurably to feed less fortunate nations of the world, we here at home enjoy abundant food supplies with plenty left over. Not only that, but we have at our command a greater variety of food of higher quality than ever, and that food reaches us in many convenient forms—concentrated, ready-mixed, heat-and-serve and so forth.

These advances have been made possible, of course, through the happy combination of greater farm production and modern processing, distribution and marketing techniques. Even with the more, better and varied meals we enjoy, Americans today spend a smaller percentage of their income for food than they did 20 or 25 years ago. At the 1958 spending level, according to the U.S. Department of Agriculture, 21 percent of total consumer income went to pay for food, compared with 23 percent during the 1935-39 period. If we ate at the same level as 20 years ago, only 16 percent of consumer income now would be going for food.

Is there any more inspiring story of free enterprise at work than this? I can think of none. This story of American agricul-tural progress is one that should be known and understood by every last citizen, adult and child alike. But, as you and I both know, that, unfortunately, is not the case. Therein lies the value of the Agricultural Hall of Fame. Such a national shrine will serve to call the Nation's attention to the many contributions of agriculture and those industries related to it-automotive, chemical, petroleum, rubber and steel, to name just a few. The hall of fame will bring to the farmer the credit and public acclaim he truly deserves. It will lend added dignity to the occupation of farming. It will be a meeting place for the common interests and ideas of agriculture, business, industry and education. It will honor the leaders of agriculture and constitute a permanent record of their great accomplishments on behalf of all mankind. But, most of all perhaps, the hall of fame will symbolize progress-the progress of years gone by, the progress now being achieved, and the inevitable progress that will be accomplished in the years ahead.

It is the fond hope of all of us that the day is not too distant when the proposed Agricultural Hall of Fame will pass from the realm of man's dream to actuality. A dynamic, living, hall of fame will require the vision and the efforts of many. I am certain that we shall find no dearth of that kind of support among those who might be called upon to carry this worthy project through to completion.

Pope Thanks Levinson for Aid

SPEECH

HON. JOHN LESINSKI

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 5, 1960

Mr. LESINSKI. Mr. Speaker, I am today inserting an article in the Record which I believe is a fine example of the fact that peoples of different nationalities and religions can assist each other and live in harmony when they respect the rights and values of others:

[From the Detroit Times, Apr. 27, 1960]

POPE THANKS LEVINSON FOR AID.

VATICAN CITY, April 27.—Benjamin Levinson, head of Detroit's Franklin Mortgage Co., today had the personal thanks of Pope John for assistance he has given to the Catholic missionaries of SS. Peter and Paul.

After receiving Levinson and his wife Clara in a special audience, the Pope told them:

"The missionary cause of the church is its most important. We thank you for past and any future effort you may make in its behalf."

Levinson explained he was of Jewish faith and said he and his wife were overwhelmed by the Pope's kindness to them.

Pope John also thanked Michigan's Governor Williams for a personal letter to him as well as for a gift medal of the Mackinac Bridge cods.

Levinson, beaming, presented two medals to the Pope, the one in the name of the State of Michigan, from the Governor; the other from Mayor Miriani.

The mayor's was a bronze medallion struck in commemoration of Detroit's 250th birth-day year, 1951.

In a personal letter from the Governor which Levinson handed to the Pope, Williams

"The whole State of Michigan wishes you health, happiness, and the satisfaction of serving God and your fellow man in rich measure."

Earlier, Levinson was accorded the unusual honor of a personal tour of the papal apartments, including the Pope's study.

The Detroiter was also privileged to stand at the exact spot in the window of the papal apartments where the Pope imparts blessings upon crowds in St. Peter's Square helow

The square was bathed in bright sunlight yesterday as Levinson gazed upon it.

Levinson's road to the Vatican started about 15 years ago when, in his own words, "the Dominican Order in Detroit was trying to build a school and they were being pushed around."

He succeeded in obtaining Government approval to release scarce material and helped raise funds.

That was only the beginning and Levinson soon found himself assisting in the building of Austin Catholic High School and St. Michael's and later in projects at the University of Detroit.

He also helped the late Cardinal Mooney's fund drive for Boysville and similar projects before he met the P.I.M.E. Missionaries of SS. Peter and Paul about 2 years ago.

Levinson became interested in the work of the missionaries in Asia, Africa, and South America and helped raise \$86,000 last year at a \$1,000-a-plate dinner in Detroit.

The fund will go toward building a seminary to be known as the Maryglade College for Missionaries in Memphis, Mich.

Levinson was made a Knight of Charity last November 18 when the dinner was held.

The superior general and other priests of the missionary order accompanied the Levinsons to the papal audience.

They presented him with a silver medal with a papal inscription expressing gratitude for efforts of Detroiters on their behalf.

Levinson promised an even bigger Detroit campaign to assist the cause of building the seminary. He said he would reveal details when he returns to Detroit.

The Levinsons flew to Nice, France, last night and will motor to the principality of Monaco today.

Trade Unionism, an Ethical Force in a Pecuniary Society

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. THOMAS J. LANE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, May 25, 1960

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I include an address delivered by Solomon

Barkin, director of research, Textile Workers Union of America, before the 10th annual conference of the International Association of Personnel Women in New York on April 30, 1960:

TRADE-UNIONISM AN ETHICAL FORCE IN A PECUNIARY SOCIETY

(By Solomon Barkin, TWUA Director of Research)

The present conference has centered its attention on the moral and ethical conflicts in our society. The primary emphasis has been on the ethics in the market place. This issue is not a new one for the trade-unionists. His primary role in our society has been to raise this very issue and test our performance by this criteria.

The trade-union movement has considered itself one of the primary agencies of critique designed through moral preach-ment, and practical activity to secure a correction of the malpractices in our society which subordinate human and ethical values and repress the individual in free development. It is an agency of protest which has never relied solely upon good intentions of the governors of our economic organization. It has rallied the mass of the industrial citizens to take the job of correction into their own hands and to fight for the amelioration of their own lot and relinement of powers. The possessors of power have seldom yielded their might, privileges, and endowments with grace, even when they have recognized some of the merits of the upsurging groups demanding greater equality, status and more economic returns.

Theories of justice, visions of equality, and acceptance of the logical merits of other's positions have proven to be useful preparations for the battle of change. But older orders seldom graciously yield their entrenched positions. The new gains have repeatedly to be wrested from the mightier. Our great hope has been that the extension of the democratic process would facilitate the broadening of the base of citizenship so that the transfer of power could be smoothly effected through the ballot box. This hope has been denied in many countries of the world where colonial powershave retained their grip until local exasperation broke it by revolution. The areas where the transfer of political power has been effected smoothly stand as a confirmation of our belief in the democratic moral-But even in the United States, the battle for implemeting elementary principles of political, economic, education, and social equality has been prolonged and is still continuing. One cannot fear the worst after speaking to the responsible political and communal leaders of the Deep South in this country. Yet by resisting the implementation of the principles of equality, they are inviting forceful protests and sinking deep shafts of resentment into the souls of millions of Americans. The resulting bitterness will reap its vengeance on the children of the present defenders of the status quo.

The fight for greater social justice is the raison d'etre of the trade-union movement. Unions are created and are being constantly formed by employees to achieve their goals of equality and independence in the market place. They represent the local skirmishes in the battle for greater democracy in the full society. The individual workers' resentments against employers, society or his entire way of life and the denial of the rights which the community had promised him, are positively expressed in the specific demands made on the local employer. Only after the union has been formed does the worker become part of an entire social movement which labors incessantly for the implementation of the great teachings of the brotherhood of man.

Union leaders have generally been re-cruited in the formative days from amongst the protesters, the religious men and the social idealists. They are the rebels of the society. While the institutionalization of the processes of negotiations and collective bargaining tends to submerge this voice of general social dissent, the greater movement never loses this character no matter how prosaic its articulation, how preoccupied it may be with the routines of bargaining and the problems of administration. Even the tolerance of the membership for unethical and undemocratic conduct by some of its leaders is borne out of a cynicism for the nature of the society in which they live. They have allowed such leadership to continue because they have lived in the midst of the moral mire of the society which continues to drown them and know the real might of power and force. They have known that management violates the moral codes and feel that their own first job is to get along with the improvement of their own lots and the protection of their own rights rather than the creation of effete institutions modeled on the rules of middle-class morality which is observed more in the breach than in the fact. But these same groups are active participants with greater social calling of this movement.

The leadership of the trade-union movement has drawn its inspiration from its sense of injustice at the inequities in our economic, social, and political society from the teachings of the great religious leaders and from the social idealistic, philosophic teachings which have deplored many practices in our society. This drive for a more ethical society may seem to be subordinated in the daily processes of union administration, collective bargaining, and political action. But this very routine provides the leverages for achieving these goals in a practical manner. The grievance process capped by arbitration enhances the dignity of man for now he can argue his claims of injustice and have them independently adjudicated. His collective strength makes it possible for him to match the employer's power in negotiations. Through his union he can mitigate the cruelty of the competitive system or raise his voice in protest against unwelcome industrial practices or sound his sentiments and views on the needs of the community and the Nation.

The social idealism of the movement has been ever visible though the public has focused on strikes, violence, strife and bar-gaining power. There are no better monuments to this deeper strain of dedication to public purpose than the profound part which the trade-union movement had in helping bring public free education to this Nation and establish universal suffrage. The benefits of the shorter work day and week were secured only after a century and one half of continuing struggle in which many lives were lost. The famous Chicago Haymarket Massacre of 1886 was a episode in this long and continuing story of social advance toward a shorter work period. Even now the trade-union movement is foremost in the fight against discrimination though a contracting segment within its own ranks in their own economic self interest, resists this principle. Who can be counted as stouter fighters for more liberal social insurance, for adequate medical benefits for the aged, for aid to distressed areas, for a full employment economy, for assistance to foreign countries? Who has been more aggressive and continuing in their resistance to communism in this and foreign countries than the trade unionists?

The goals, and scope of the trade-union movement are not fixed. It is a living organization which constantly adapts itself to the changing economic environment. As the nature of the inequalities is altered, its demands are varied; as the injustices are experienced by new groups of people, it embraces them to help them gain the status to which they have aspired and realize the benefits which they seek. As the opportunities for effecting advances shift from economic to political methods, the movement tends to move in these new directions.

Your program properly speaks of a "changing labor market"-for our country is undergoing vast alterations which portend new developments of fundamental importance to the future of industrial and labor relations and to the nature of trade-unions and collective bargaining. First, there are new trends in the work population. More younger and older people will be in the labor market than ever before; but the middle aged group will actually remain stationary. The challenge to management is clear. younger people will be better educated and have loftler concepts of their own rights and place. The adjustment process will be therefore more difficult as they will have to be trained for the specific jobs. The educational institutions will graduate people with larger preparation, but the specific tools will have to be taught to them.

More older people on the labor market mean the redesign of an increasing number of jobs and schedules of work will fit these people. We are only on the threshold of accumulating information on the nature of the jobs at which older people will be able to perform effectively. This means that the work will have to be adjusted to their needs. The rise in the older worker population will accent the general trend of fitting jobs to people and establish the complementary principle of fitting people to jobs as one of equal but not transcending importance.

Both the demands of the younger people in a desirable workplace and the older people for jobs suitable to them will enhance the usefulness of the experimental psychologist in the production team. The rising numbers of married women in the work population presents another type of an accommodation which the production man will have to make.

Finally, personnel people must prepare themselves now to deal with the expansion of employment of colored and newer ethnic groups in the work population so that they can gain fuller acceptance as equals in the workplace and be offered equal opportunity on all jobs according to their individual com-

Second, the higher rate of technological change which we will experience presents a serious challenge to the individual worker, enterprise, and society. The newer changes are more sweeping for they will eliminate large numbers of jobs requiring existing skills and place a new accent on higher educational preparation. Displacement will be more frequent; transfers will become more necessary in plants where total employment is being maintained; retraining will become imperative as expansion opens up jobs for which there are no persons in the labor market. The higher rate of plant closings will spell more migration and the shift of more responsibilities for helping people to the communal social agencies.

The Nation's responsibilities for assisting communities and people to deal with the problems of personnel and communal adjustment will necessarily increase. The agencies for economic redevelopment for distressed areas will have to be multiplied so that the transition from contraction to economic expansion and from closing plants to the opening of new ones will be effected in the shortest possible period.

Third, the development of automation presents our society with another challenge for which we have not been adequately prepared. The significance of this technical

innovation is that it not only is associated with three new tools: the transfer machine, the electronic computer, and the servo-mechanism, but that it has finally established means for mechanizing clerical and technical jobs. For the first time we are able to eliminate thousands of them. the initial impact has not been invariably unfavorable from the point of view of employment, as new uses are developed for data, and people and the large numbers of female workers in these jobs have provided a setting favorable to easy adjustment, the long-term outlook is not so reassuring. The shifts of employment to more highly demanding ones and the routinization if not the elimination of many of the current thousands of administrative jobs and managerial jobs will present a serious challenge. For concurrently along with this develop-ment we are observing the increasing concentration of displaced people in the service employments paying lower wages and providing less attractive opportunities. characteristics of future job groups are not equally attractive.

It is, moreover, more than likely that as routinization develops and as authority is concentrated into an executive management group in the future business enterprise as more service organizations are operated by large-scale business agencies, that the pres-

sure for unionization will grow.

Finally, we may also report that another force favoring unionization of many groups hitherto unresponsive to the appeal will become increasingly felt. The emphasis on democratic participation and in decisionmaking which has become widespread both in industry and our society will have to be reflected in provisions for employee organization within the enterprise. While the channels for personal advancement through changes among employers were open, and resulted in constantly rising standards and broader individual opportunities, the employees in the newer industries and occupations will not be interested in unions. But this entire setting will be revised. Employees will seek to obtain more of a say in the determination of their conditions of employment and the decisions affecting their opportunities. The response will be or-ganization. The new agency may at first avoid the term. Professional groups may undertake to provide grievance machinery or standards of employment. But these are likely to be makeshifts as the new cycle of

unionism matures in this country.

Personnel management can make its greatest contribution in recognizing that the tools are no substitute for substance. basic employee equities and rights, and opportunities can only be effectively realized in an expanding full-employment society where he is organized and speaks through his own union to establish not only proper conditions for employment but also participates in the decision-making processes relating to his employment and looks to the union to carry on the continuing battle for equity both within the plant and in the society as a whole.

Personnel management has the responsibility of interpreting these needs to the dominant economic powers within the enterprise. Resistance to these demands as to all movements for greater rights and democracy will, in the long run, challenge the viability of the society and the social system itself. Management should be helped to come to terms with these demands.

The second major responsibility for personnel management is to help the enterprise to adjust to the changing character and complexion of our work force and our economic structure and the continuing public emphasis on the obligation to hire a fullcross section of the people in a community rather than practicing policies of discriminatory selection. More emphasis must be

placed on fitting jobs and industrial environments to people rather than the reverse.

The third responsibility for personnel management is to recognize that the enterprise has an obligation to minimize the difficulties of personnel adjustment through the development of programs of transfer, training, and income maintenance.

Freedom of the Seas

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, May 25, 1960

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, recently the Congress of the United States approved an amendment to the statement of policy of the Mutual Security Act which has written moral principle into our economic aid legislation. This declaration favors freedom of the seas and economic cooperation between nations who are recipients of our aid and records its opposition to economic warfare, boycotts, blockades, and restrictions on international waterways.

The amendment created tremendous interest throughout the country, and I would like to call the attention of the Members of the House of Representatives to this editorial which appeared on May 4, 1960, in the Scranton (Pa.) Times:

SENATE RAPS SUEZ BLOCKADE

Over the protests of the State Department and of Senator J. W. Fulbright, Arkansas Democrat who is chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, the Senate has put itself on record as favoring retaliatory measures against the United Arabs Republic for its blockade which has kept Israeli shipping from the Suez Canal for the past 12 years. The action came on the observance of the 12th anniversary of the founding of Israel as a sovereign state.

By a 45-to-39 vote, the Senate wrote into the \$1,405-million foreign-aid spending bill an amendment which would give President Elsenhower or his successor discretionary power to withhold aid from nations practicing economic warfare. The amendment, offered by Senator Paul H. Douglas, Illinois Democrat, and Senator Kenneth B. Keating, New York Republican, did not mention Egypt by name, but in the debate Senator Douglas made it clear that it was aimed at the Arab Republic

the Arab Republic.

He pointed out that since 1957, Egypt has been under a pledge to the United Nations to permit free transit of the canal but that it has violated its promise. The United States is morally obligated to see that this pledge is compiled with, Senator Douglas argued. "Are we going to go on with conversations or are we to try to get some senae that there are moral laws in the world?" he asked.

Senator Fullberght attacked the amendment as "an unhappy intrusion" into foreign affairs and charged that it was dictated by a domestic political "pressure group." The State Department expressed fears, that its adoption would "inflame" the Arab nations against the United States without climinating the canal blockade and would appear to confirm the charges, so often made by the Communists, that American foreign aid loans and grants have political strings attached.

In thus trying to please everybody, the State Department may wind up by pleasing nobody, least of all the American people who undoubtedly oppose restrictions on the use of any international waterway. The Douglas-Keating amendment is not binding upon the President, but at least it puts Congress on record, as New York's Senator Javrrs put it, as "insisting upon morality and upon the honoring of international commitments."

Employment of the Physically Handicapped

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JAMES ROOSEVELT

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, May 25, 1960

Mr ROOSEVELT. Mr. Speaker, an informative and enlightening speech on the employment of the physically handicapped was recently given before the annual meeting of the President's Committee on Employment of the Physically Handicapped.

I find myself in agreement with the speaker, Mr. James A. Brownlow, President of the ALF-CIO Metal Trades Department, when he stated that "It is indeed hard to realize that in this great land of ours and with the tremendous strides we have made by working together, we have as yet failed to meet our responsibility in a field so vital to the welfare of us all, namely, employment of the physically handicapped."

As pointed out, that while it is true that Government, private industry, trade unions, and social agencies "all show continuing progress in this field, it is at far to slow a rate and can give us nothing but a limited pride in its accomplishment."

Mr. Speaker, I commend and recommend Mr. Brownlow's speech for a better understanding of the problem and the challenge:

REMARKS OF MR. JAMES A. BROWNLOW, PRESI-DENT, METAL TRADES DEPARTMENT, AFL-CIO, BEFORE THE ANNUAL MEETING OF THE PRESIDENT'S COMMITTEE ON EMPLOYMENT OF THE PHYSICALLY HANDICAPPED, WASH-INGTON, D.C., MAY 5, 1960

It is indeed hard to realize that in this great land of ours and with the tremendous strides we have made by working together, we have as yet failed to meet our responsibility in a field so vital to the welfare of us all, namely, employment of the physically handicapped.

While it is true that the record of government at both the State and National level, the record of private industry, the record of our trade union movement, and the record of private social agencies in our country all show continuing progress in this field, it is at far too slow a rate and can give us nothing but a limited pride in its accomplishment.

We have won some skirmishes, but the victory still lies ahead.

There are those who may differ, but to me it seems patently clear that our greatest task is to integrate the employable handicapped into the work force in the shortest period of time and to use them at their highest possible skills so as to enable them to gain or regain the dignity and pride which

come from successful work performance and the satisfaction of earning one's own way to the greatest extent his capacities will allow.

Our population is growing and our life span is constantly lengthening. We are confronted with a growing number of persons handicapped in one way or another, who must get the chance to fit in effectively and efficiently in industrial employment and be given the opportunity to carry their appropriate part of our national responsibility. We as a Nation are guilty of indifference

We as a Nation are guilty of indifference and can be appropriately charged not only with the waste of human resources, but with a lack of social consciousness in failing to face up to our responsibility in meeting this problem

Technological progress is developing rapidly throughout our Nation, not only in industry but in medical science. Certainly, our great specialists in medical technique and know-how should be challenged to achieve the goal of preparing each permanently impaired member of our society so that he can rapidly gain and enjoy his greatest potential of employment and usefulness.

Certainly, our industrial engineers and specialists should be challenged to develop the techniques and arrangements which will allow industry to integrate economically such handicapped workers into its industrial work force

The blame for our slow progress to date is not chargeable only to one group in our society. All of us from labor, management, and government must take our share of responsibility. We know that we still have today some very substantial roadblocks closing plant gates to the employable handicapped.

In addition to the general reluctance of an employer to employ a handicapped worker and which is certainly unjustifiable from a social viewpoint, we know that in the vast majority of our States many employers are reluctant to expose themsleves, rightly or wrongly, to what they believe are substantial additional economic risks which must be borne by those employing handicapped. One reason often given is workmen's compensation insurance costs. Unfortunately, most of our States still have workmen's compensation legislation which fails through an appropriately established second injury fund, to limit employers' liability.

In far too many States employers are still subject to broad and unfair liability in the event of injury to workers who were previously handicapped. Naturally this has served to close off the handicapped's employment opportunities.

However, a few States now have workmen's compensation legislation which provides for second injury funds which limit the employer's liability strictly to those injuries occurring to the handicapped while he is in such employer's employment.

It is imperative that immediate and concerted efforts be made to enact legislation in all States which require same and which will remove the broad and unfair liability which still must be borne by employers in the event of injury to a worker who was previously handicapped.

It is also of utmost importance that a far better job be done in disseminating the facts with regard to employment of the handicapped. Their good record of job performance and low absenteeism should be broadcast to dispel contrary fictitious views held by employers not experienced in handicapped employment.

In addition, it is of vital concern that a far better job be done in resolving the misapprehensions still held by many poorly informed personnel and employment relations directors regarding all phases of employment of the handicapped. In those States where employer liability is properly limited by second injury fund legislation,

such fact should be publicized so that there is no possibility of personnel departments rejecting applicants on the basis of fears of liability which no longer exist in many States.

The composition of our work force has been constantly moving toward a higher and higher proportion of professional and skilled workers with a constantly decreasing demand for the pure backbreaking manual labor type of jobs, needing physically strong and complete bodies for their performance. This change in composition of our work force should increase our ability to effectively employ workers who have physical handicaps.

Power equipment, conveyors, and a myriad of devices of industry are constantly nar-rowing the physical demands and bringing the worker to a position where his mental and human qualities of thought, judgment, perception, etc., are displacing the requirements for mere physical prowess.

These factors should provide a basis for utilizing and integrating the handicapped worker in the work force with growing rapidity.

Naturally the placement of a handicapped worker on a job which will allow for the fullest use of his abilities as a worker and which will not make undue performance demands upon him in the area of his handicap will help to assure satisfactory job performance.

In the limited time at my disposal I do not intend to discuss all of the arguments, fears, and reasons given by employers against the employment of handicapped workers.

I would not have anyone believe that the full responsibility for failure to employ the physically handicapped is solely the fault of the employer.

The fact remains that we have many unions whose agreements are such that they preclude the employment of the physically handicapped.

One would be naive indeed if he believed that in every occupation, the physically handicapped possessed the same facility for production which the general worker has. In many instances it might well be to the advantage of the labor union to take into consideration the productive abilities of the handicapped and make provision for them in their negotiated contracts.

Resistance of unions to companies employing physically handicapped and the fear that they are working at wage rates less than able-bodied employees, should thoroughly examined than it is today and work places made for as many of these handi-

capped as industry can absorb.

We are convinced that with all-out teamwork, cooperation of labor, Government and private organizations all working together with employers, much of the resistance still encountered to employment of the handicapped can be dissipated and far larger numbers will be able to prove through their job performance that the employer is not eco-nomically penalized through the employment of the physically handicapped.

Before discussing briefly with you the trade union movement's role and responsibility in this cooperative effort, let me merely mention the new hazard brought into being with the development of our atomic program and which undoubtedly will present us with a problem of worker handicap which will

require special attention.

I am referring to the problem of radiation exposure. For example, a worker may be required to deal with radioactive substances or materials and receive a large overdose of radiation sufficient to bar him from further employment in this area of work, perhaps for some months or even for the remainder of his work life.

This man is no less a handicapped worker than is the man who has suffered the loss of a limb or some other bodily faculty.

The radiation worker's injury is not readily seen but the record of his overexposure and the requirements of law bar him from working where further exposure is possible. the rapidly growing use of radioisotopes and other radioactive substances, the problem of the radiation handicapped worker will increase and will also require the concerted efforts of all elements of our society.

In the past several months the newspapers have again highlighted the problems of one of the workers involved in a radiation incident in Texas several years ago and the present predicament in which he and his family find themselves as a result of his overexpo-

We in the trade union movement acknowledge and recognize our responsibility to work toward improved legislation in all fields necessary to remove the existing barriers and resistance to the employment of qualified physically handicapped workers.

On the workmen's compensation front we have urged the broad type coverage for second or subsequent injury funds in State workmen's compensation laws, with limited liability on the last employer, so as to effectively remove his fears of being hit with heavy compensation loss in the event a handicapped worker suffers an additional injury.

These second injury funds should also be broadened so that they cover all types of injuries, not just loss of a member of the body and they should specifically cover radiation injuries. They should be so designed that while the employer's liability is fixed within prescribed limits the employee will be fully compensated with the second injury fund paying the difference.

The worthwhile cause which brings us all together here today warrants the full and constant support of all segments of our society and the devotion of its leaders.

We, in the labor movement have made some small progress through our collective bargaining agreements and union management cooperation.

Many of our agreements make specific provision to take care of the replacement and retraining, if necessary, of workers injured on the jobs and their transfer to jobs which lie within their capacities.

Many agreements made special provision for the superannuated worker in order to assure him of an opportunity to retain his employment.

Some agreements make special provision in their job bid or seniority clauses for the right of such workers to move on to jobs which they are capable of performing.

The AFL-CIO is striving to increase employment opportunities for the physically handicapped. It has recommended to all of its affiliates a specific program as follows:

"Through collective bargaining the local union should give special recognition to the problems of the physically handicapped and negotiate necessary contract provisions to safeguard their rights and guarantee them equal treatment.

"The local bargaining committee should consider all problems arising in the employment, reemployment and transfer of all impaired workers, whether the physical condition arises out of on-the-job injuries, war service, or off-the-job impairments resulting from disease, injury or congenital

"Practical plans for new employment, reemployment, or transfer of workers call for a knowledge of the actual physical requirements of jobs. The committee should determine this requirement following an onthe-spot analysis of the job and conditions of employment.

"The disabled person's physical ability to handle the job safely and adequately should be determined for the specific job for which he may be considered and otherwise qualified. Sometimes a probationary tryout may be the practical method for final determina-

"Adequate training is an essential element in proper placement of handicapped em-ployees. On-the-job and apprenticeship types of training should afford equal opportunity for the physically handicapped employees to acquire job proficiency.

Proper placement is the key to successful employment of physically handicapped workers. Physically handicapped workers should be required to meet the same production and safety standards as other workers-no more, no less."

Let me add a word of caution here.

In many instances the use of preemployment physical examinations are most necessary to protect the health and safety of the handicapped employees, but their adoption for any other purpose than to determine physical abilities for a suitable job is unsound and will not be tolerated. The AFL-CIO program continues:

The proof of satisfactory placement is satisfactory performance and progress on the job. To assure such progress one or more checks should be made by a member the bargaining committee or steward. Followup and practical counsel may be necessary at frequent intervals in the first

months of employment." I don't agree with those who feel that rehabilitation should be submerged and made secondary to the promotion of legis-

lation to gain appropriations to support those requiring rehabilitary assistance. To me, the dignity of man and the satisfaction which he gains from his work achievements, far transcends the importance of paternalistic care of handicapped persons.

Fortunately, most of the people in our country have been blessed by our Maker with sound bodies and normal minds. All of us so endowed are obligated to preserve their rich endowment.

But, we cannot stop there. We have a further obligation which we cannot evade. It is our responsibility to those not so fortu-

They have the same hopes, the same ambitions and the same desires as all of us. It is our obligation as citizens to see to it that they are afforded every opportunity to fully use all of their existing faculties to the fullest extent that their physical condition will

We cannot meet this responsibility by merely appropriating money for food, clothing, and shelter.

We must devote ourselves to the task of integrating them into our society and our work force, regardless of the cost and effort required. Only in this manner can we meet our responsibility.

Senator Dodd's Advice

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, May 25, 1960

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to commend to the attention of our colleagues the following editorial which appeared in the New York Journal-American of May 21, 1960:

SENATOR DODD'S ADVICE

Senator Thomas J. Dopp, Democrat, of Connecticut, has given voice to what we believe must be in the mind of every American with respect to Soviet Premier Khrushchev's inexcusable treatment of President Eisenhower at the ill-fated summit meeting.

Senator Dopp told the Senate:

"Certainly a new, alltime low has been hit in the world when a man of Khrushchev's record, having the blood of millions on his hands, can lecture a man like Dwight Risenhower about morality.

"Perhaps this incident will help to wake

up the American people."

Seven months ago, the Connecticut Senator spoke out on the floor of the Senate against the Khrushchev visit to the United States. For some time, Senator Dopp has expressed the belief that Premier Khrushchev would contrive some means to keep President Eisenhower from visiting Russia and talking directly to the people of the Soviet.

Events have proved the Senator correct. President Eisenhower's only fault, according to the Senator, was that "he trusted this evil man—Khrushchev—too much—but he

did so with all good intentions for our country." Another mistake was to agree to a summit meeting without knowing in advance what was going to be talked about.

Senator Dodd has a timely warning regarding the massive propaganda effort Khrushchev is carrying on in an attempt to get us to suspend permanently all nuclear testing. He said it would be national suicide if the Communists were permitted to succeed.

The Connecticut Senator has given us a fine example of patriotic statesmanship. We believe American unity will be strengthened it we heed this advice from Senator Dono:

"From this hour forward, let us give up all self-deception and speak and act like freemen who know the truth and are not atraid."

Spy Plane Affair

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, JACK WESTLAND

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 25, 1960

Mr. WESTLAND. Mr. Speaker, the Sumas (Wash.) News published in Whatcom County is one of the leading newspapers in my district. Its able publishers are Mr. and Mrs. Harry J. Christensen.

Each week Mrs. Christensen editorializes in a column entitled "From Mrs. C.'s Mail Bag." I believe what Mrs. C. has to say in regards to Mr. K. is of interest to the Members of Congress. The item from the May 19, 1960, issue of the Sumas News follows:

FROM MRS. C.'S MAIL BAG

The "spy plane affair" is most regrettable but it will never diminish the wonderful record of peaceful intent by the United States.

Our "open" society has indicated to the world our good will. We've spent billions of dollars for aid to needy peoples, our recent agreement with India for \$1 billion worth of Brain is a remarkable gesture of the goodness of American Government. We've never sought the enslavement of people or the expansion of the United States,

A bloody record of enslavement of millions of people against their will is the Soviet Union's record. Hungary remains on the World's conscience.

Khrushchev lost his greatest opportunity to show an honest intent for an alliance when he "blew" the summit conference. We may have been guilty of poor judgment in

the reconnaissance flight over the Soviet Union on the eve of the summit, but we've never been guilty of inhumanities.

When Khrushchev pointed an accusing finger at President Eisenhower, he proved himself incapable of handling a crisis and again stands on the outside of the circle of people committed to "peace with justice." His propaganda blast knitted closely the Western Powers he hoped to separate and brought more of the uncommitted people of the world to our side.

Khrushchev's ruthless propaganda in Paris left no doubt he never held the common interests of humanity, only that of Commu-

nists

Thirty-second Anniversary of Jordan's Independence

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, ADAM C. POWELL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 25, 1960

Mr. POWELL. Mr. Speaker, today marks the 32d anniversary of Jordan's independence. The history of the Jordanian independence dates back to May 25. 1928, at which time a self-internal independence became known as the Princedom of Transjordan. As the years drew back the curtain of repression and self-expression, in 1946 Trans-Jordan concluded a treaty with Britain, whereby the latter recognized the independence of Jordan and its full sovereignty, with His Majesty, King Abdullah, as the newly proclaimed King. This achievement of independence, this long awaited dream for Jordan's people became a reality through the unceasing efforts of His late Majesty, King Abdullah, the grandfather of His Majesty, the present King Hussein.

April of 1950 viewed the end of hostilities between the Arabs and Jews in Palestine. The Jordanian Parliament, composed of central Arab Palestine and Trans-Jordan proper, approved the union of the mentioned regions with the new state to be acknowledged as the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan. Presently, Jordan's monarch is His Majesty King Hussein, the young grandson of

the late King Abdullah.

The historic perservance of this kingdom's zealous struggle for independence, the vigilant alertness which it protects itself from shackling antidemocratic elements, the perpetual challenge it brings to other nations, certainly characterizes a kingdom deservant of distinguished recognition.

From a persistent strife of chaos, a kingdom has risen to exert itself among the free nations of the world. Amid present misunderstandings and misgivings, the true sovereignty of Jordan has shown that the seeds of democratic principles can only grow and blossom through the tender nurturing of patience, understanding, and tolerance.

On this, their day of Independence, I wish to extend greetings to the people of Jordan, His Majesty, King Hussein, and the Honorable Dr. Yousuf Haikal, the Ambassador from Jordan.

Opinion Poll for Seventh District Voters

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. WILLIAM G. BRAY

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, May 25, 1960

Mr. BRAY. Mr. Speaker, we have been in session this year for better than 4 months. In the remaining weeks before adjournment many important decisions will be made. As I have done on previous occasions, I am submitting to my constituents a list of questions, as follows, and requesting that they express their views in this manner. I will place the results of this poll in the Congressional Record.

Do you favor:

1. Government-sponsored medical care for social security retirees? H.R. 4700, the Forand bill, proposes that the Government pay the medical and hospital bills—with certain maximum limits—for social security retirees to be financed by increasing the social security tax. Opponents maintain this would injure the stability of social security, and that millions of elderly people not eligible for social security benefits would not receive this assistance.

2. Limiting national expenditures to balance the budget? President Eisenhower has predicted a budget surplus of \$4 billion next year, which he believes should be used to retire part of the national debt. In the Congress many new programs are suggested which seem desirable, but which would involve the expenditure of millions of dollars. In deciding on new programs we must consider how the money for them will be raised or whether to borrow more money.

3. Use of import quotas to protect local industries from foreign competition? Many industries in Indiana manufacture products which are also produced abroad. In the continuing efforts of our Government to reduce tariff barriers, and facilitate world trade, the competition of these products coming from countries where wage standards are considerably lower is intense. It has been suggested that more adequate protection should be accorded our domestic industries, including farming.

4. Increased spending for national defense? We are spending more than \$40 billion a year for defense, which is the major portion of our national budget. Yet many critics say our defense efforts have been pinchpenny and that recent Russian developments necessitate greater

defense spending.

5. U.S. recognition of Red China? Today we recognize the Chinese Nationalist government on Formosa instead of the Communist government in Peiping. Some believe that we should recognize and begin trade with Red China.

6. Increased funds for foreign aid? In the last 15 years the United States has spent in excess of \$80 billion for foreign aid. Some claim that our aid is doing much to halt the further spread of communism and to build strong new bastions of freedom. On the other hand

some say that this should be eliminated or cut.

7. Returning to the States one-half of the cigarette tax collected from its residents for educational uses without Federal direction? Proposals are before Congress to give Federal assistance to schools through grants to the States in accordance with a formula weighted to assist those which have a greater need. A different approach would be to return a portion of an excise tax collected in each State, such as the tax on cigarettes, provided that the money would be used for school purposes, either in the construction of buildings or teachers' salaries, but not subject to Federal direc-The return to Indiana of one-half of the Federal cigarette tax paid there, which would be 4 cents on each package, would realize \$24 million per year, three times the amount to be received under another proposed program.

8. Giving in to the Russians by abandoning West Berlin? The prime target of Soviet foreign policy is to get the United States to withdraw from Berlin.

9. Withdrawing from pledge to buy sugar from Cuba at above the world price? We are obligated until the end of 1960, under the Sugar Act, to make one-third of our sugar purchases in Cuba at above world prices. Owing to anti-American feelings which have been expressed since the Castro regime took over. it has been suggested that we not renew the Cuban sugar quota.

10. Repeal of loyalty oath requirement of students receiving aid under the National Defense Education Act? Students applying for loans and fellowships under the National Defense Education Act are required to take an oath of loyalty to the United States. Bills are before the Congress to repeal this

oath.

11. Retention of the Connally amendment which allows the United States to reject the jurisdiction of the World Court? In accepting the jurisdiction of the World Court in 1948 the United States reserved the right to determine if a particular matter is domestic and hence not subject to international control. It has been suggested in the Senate that this amendment be repealed.

12. Increasing the conservation re-serve—soil bank—from 28 million acres to 60 million acres? If you are engaged in farming, also check here . The basis of the so-called farm problem has been overproduction, which is unquestionably causing great difficulties in the Farm Belt. We can, however, be thankful that our difficulties have been with abundance and not with scarcity. The soil-bank program sets aside large areas of land for several years, insuring that they will not be used for production and that the soil will be conserved and replenished. There are about 28 million acres currently in this conservation reserve; some analysts suggest that if the reserve were increased to about 60 million acres it would balance agricultural production and eliminate creation of additional surpluses.

I am looking forward to the replies I will receive, and I will advise you at a later date of the results of this poll.

Israeli Shipping

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CORNELIUS E. GALLAGHER

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, May 25, 1960

Mr. GALLAGHER. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to insert in the RECORD an excellent editorial which appeared in the Newark Star Ledger on May 4 supporting a position that the United Arab Republics cease the blockade of Israeli shipping from the Suez Canal.

The splendidly written editorial expresses exactly my sentiments in sponsoring the amendment when our committee, the Foreign Affairs, was marking up the mutual security bill. I was happy to see Senator DougLas adopt our amendment in the Senate version of the bill.

I sincerely believe that it is against our national interest and contrary to our principles not to serve positive notice on Nasser that we will not condone a policy of looking the other way in his aggressive acts toward Israel. To allow him to do so is not only being unfair to our friend and ally, but it is tolerating a policy opposite to the goals of the United States in sponsoring the mutual security program. To encourage United Arab Republics in its acts against Israel is to encourage such conduct against the United States.

I feel that we must be consistent in our policy. It is not the military might of the United States alone that will win us world respect, it is a dedication to ideals. Let us demonstrate to Nasser that we believe in our own ideals.

I call the wonderfully expressive editorial to the attention of this House.

EXCHANGING BOYCOTTS

The be-nice-to-Nasser policy suffered a setback when the Senate adopted an amendment to the foreign aid bill giving the President power to withhold assistance to the United Arab Republic if it continued to block Israeli shipping from the Suez Canal.

It is a mistake, however, to view Nasser's war on Israeli shipping as solely an action against Israel. For Nasser has put into effect a boycott of ships that handle cargo to or from Israel. And that affects American shipping.

Part of the agreement under which the Western nations condoned Nasser's seizure of the canal was a stipulation that it was to remain open to international shipping. This has been violated right from the beginning by Nasser. The United Nations has been powerless in its efforts to persuade him to change this policy.

It does not seem at all unreasonable for us to show displeasure at a policy which is directed against the freedom of American shipping as well as against Israel. Freedom of the seas is meaningless if one country can impose the restrictions and boycotts that the UAR now is enforcing.

One school of thought maintains there is something improper about withholding aid from those who take hostile action against us. It is possible to tie too many strings to foreign aid. But it also may be possible to dispense aid in such a way that it hurts us instead of helps us.

We are told we mustn't "rock the boat" in the Middle East. But if someone is punching holes in the boat, it would seem wise

to try to stop him-even at the risk of rocking the boat.

Experience has shown us that a be-kindto-Nasser policy earns us scorn and abuse If our foreign aid program is to be a mutual security program—as it is termed—we can-not shut our eyes to the avowed hostility of a Nasser.

If Nasser is to decree a boycott on shipping, he might well expect to be the target of a boycott in foreign aid.

Americans Have the Same Good Will Toward Russians Today as in 1921 When We Gladly Sent Food To Save Millions of Russian Lives-We Hope Millions of Russians Still Have the Same Good Will Toward Us Now as They Did Then, Despite the Efforts of Their Dictators To Poison Them Against Us

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. WALTER H. JUDD

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, May 25, 1960

Mr. JUDD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, 1 include the following article on how American corn and other grains saved lives in Russia after World War I. The article was written by Miss Margo Cairns, who is widely known as the Corn Lady because of her efforts, which I wholeheartedly support, to have our Government show our gratitude for the incomparable benefits corn has brought to our people, by declaring the tassel of the corn to be our national floral emblem.

GRATITUDE, HOW DEEP?

(By Margo Cairns-"The Corn Tassel Lady") Today Russian officials are making every effort to confuse the world's thought regarding America and to disparage Americans. Our proffered friendship has been mistrusted and rejected. An Iron Curtain has again been substituted for the normal relations of other nations. However, within the memory of adult Americans is proof of kindness unequaled in the annals of history, of a lifesaving mission to 20 million Russians, a mission so successful that it even saved the tottering Soviet regime.

Less than 40 years ago no walls of secrecy could keep the evidence of impending disaster from neighboring nations. No reconnaissance planes were needed to discover the sufferings of a great people. Hot winds carried the ominous tidings to the world.

In 1921 there was a great crop failure in the Volga valley and vast stretches of the Ukraine. There were no food reserves in the rest of Russia to cope with the threat of famine. In former years the careful peasants had kept gain reserves to protect them through occasional periods of drought, but Communist officials seized every morsel of food from the villages for the Red Army. There was no grain left for fall and spring sowings, no scrap of food for either the people or their livestock.

The spring sun baked the bare land until it was as hard as cement destroying every living thing. The water in the wells failed. Then the hot winds began to blow from Si-The terrified people beria and the deserts.

tried to escape from their villages, to flee to distant Moscow. Many fell, never to rise again.

Officials in Moscow ware alarmed—they tried to keep the free world from knowing of the impending catastrophe, but on June 26, 1921. "Pravda" admitted that 25 million Russians were starving. Then on July 23 Maxim Gorky, world-famous writer, appealed to Europe and America for bread and medicine.

The great heart of America responded. Herbert Hoover, who had founded the American Relief Administration (ARA) to feed Europe's destitute children after the ravages of World War I, cabled Gorky, offering food, clothing and medical supplies. The offer was accepted.

Immediately the wheels of salvation began turning. Swift congressional action made millions of dollars available. Early in 1922 the first tons of lifesaving, bodybuilding corn arrived in Russia and was sent where it was most desperately needed for adults. Soup kitchens cared for the children. Hospital and medical supplies quickly aided in battling disease. The crisis was met. Hope stirred.

For 3 years a large staff of soulless Americans labored behind the Iron Curtain alteriating hunger and suffering. They introduced corn or maize, the native grain of the Western Hemisphere, to the farmers of Russia, the grain that has been the dependence and priceless treasure of all the Americas. They taught the manner of planting, cultivation, and some of its multiple uses.

The ancient name of "maize" means mother, that which feeds, nourishes and sustains. This "mother" was waiting on the Atlantic coast to feed, nourish and sustain the white race as it surged into the New World. So, with the aid of the Americans, it continued to fulfill its mission by "mothering" the Russian peoples.

In an article by Henry C. Wolfe which appeared in This Week, February 15, 1959, Mr. Hoover said:

"It took 3 years—from 1921 to 1924—for the American Relief Administration to get Russia back on her feet. Henry C. Wolfe was one of the several hundred dedicated Americans, who, under the command of Col, William N. Haskall, did a splendid job in helping the victims of the great Russian famine.

"When it was over, the Russians gave the entire American staff a great banquet in the Kremlin. In the speeches they said we had saved 20 million lives. They presented me with an elaborate diploma signed by all the leading Bolsheviks.

"This scroll says in part: Be it resolved by the Council of the People's Commissars, in the name of the millions of people who have been saved—to express the most deeply feit sentiment of gratitude, and to state that all the people inhabiting the U.S.S.R. never will forget the aid rendered to them by the American people, holding it to be a pledge of the future friendship of the two nations."

And Mr. Wolfe wrote: "But they have forgotten. And this is the irony: there surely must be many high Communist officials today who owe their lives to the ARA. Who knows? Perhaps Malenkov—who was a teenager in Orenberg, the worst famine center in Russia—received our food and clothing. Perhaps Gromyko, a child of 12 in 1921, ate in our child-feeding kitchens. Even Khrushchev himself may have benefited by our generosity."

In addition to the dedicated services of hundreds of trained Americans, the American Relief Administration spent about \$70 million voted by Congress and approved by the President, to help the Russian people.

Gratitude, how deep? The answer seems to be in the dust clouds that the hot winds are again carrying over the Iron Curtains.

According to Pravda, the "unusually capricious spring with its strong, impetuous winds and sharp changes of temperature from one day to another, night frosts alternating with day temperatures of close to 70 degrees have begun to dry out the soil."

Very recent reports tell that "dust clouds thick enough to blot out the sun, are drifting slowly up the Danube." "In Bulgaria, Rumania, and Yugoslavia these clouds have impeded visibility. On certain days thick deposits of sand and top soil covered the streets of Bucharest. These dust clouds are blowing in from the U.S.R."

Are these dust clouds a symbol of a government's ingratitude? A nation is only as great as it is grateful.

Cuban Danger in Westchester County

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. ROBERT R. BARRY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, May 25, 1960

Mr. BARRY. Mr. Speaker, the situation in Cuba is serious. Recently I drew the attention of the Congress to the seizure of the Otis Elevator Co. plant in Cuba. Now, apparently, there is some fear that there is actual danger from Cuban revolutionary activities in my own county of Westchester. I would call your attention to an article which appeared Thursday, May 19, 1960, in the Herald of Westchester:

INCIDENTS FEARED HERE—ENVOYS HOMES WATCHED

Westchester homes of Latin-American diplomats are being closely watched by county law enforcement officials in a hush-hush stepup of security precautions, triggered by the flareup of Cuban political agitation in New York City.

The secret protection of Latin-American

The secret protection of Latin-American envoys has been going on for some time. But gun-toting bodyguards, nationals of the country involved, have been doing most of the protecting up to now.

Very quietly, in the past few days, local police officials were instructed, through channels of communications tracing back to Washington, that some of the diplomats' homes should be discreetly kept under closer scrutiny.

High-level U.S.A. officials, it was learned, fear a possible "incident"—kidnaping, assassination attempt or just unruly mobaction

About a dozen Latin American nations' consulate or United Nations officials and their families—usually including children—reside in Westchester, according to information this newspaper has received.

The tinderbox situation in Latin America, produced by Fidel Castro's conquest of Cuba, has kept most diplomats edgy.

Even more worried than the working envoys are those who are out of a job. The appointees of ousted regimes, they could not return to their countries.

Some of them are still living here, waiting to see what happens next. They, in particular, are potential targets of agitators.

The increased protection of diplomats here was begun after last week's widespread riots between pro-Castro and anti-Castro street fighters in New York.

This show of violence so close to Westchester's residential neighborhoods has worried area security agents more than ever. Meanwhile, in Washington, still another aspect of the touchy Caribbean situation was noted by a Westchester Congressman.

noted by a Westchester Congressman.

Castro's seizure of the Otis Elevator property in Cuba is "a direct blow to the people of my city of Yonkers where is located the Otis Elevator plant which has supplied the Cuban subsidiary with millions of dollars' worth of equipment."

So stated Congressman Robert Barry, of New York's Westchester and Putnam Counties, on the floor of Congress.

He explained that American jobs here at home, not just across the sea in Cuba, are involved.

"Some way must be found so that American property owners in Cuba are adequately compensated," BARRY said.

"I say it is an arbitrary seizure, an imposition on the rights of our citizens who, through their investments, have contributed much to the progress of the Republic of Cuba," Barry told the Congress. He described as "outrageous" that Castro has so far refused to negotiate seriously with our State Department.

Introducing into the Congressional Record a report on the seizure of the Otis Elevator plant in Cuba, Barry told that the person put in charge by Castro was a 23-year-old native of Guatemala, a Julio Caceres, who had no previous experience in the elevator business.

This young revolutionist's first act was, of course, to dismiss the Otis manager, Vincent Pedre, a native Cuban who had worked for Otis continuously for 34 years.

The result of this and other actions has been gradual dissolution of the Otis Elevator business with its 200 and more Cuban employees.

Support for Adequate Minimum Wage

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. VICTOR L. ANFUSO

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, May 5, 1960

Mr. ANFUSO. Mr. Speaker, a heartening development in our generation has been the closer relationship among the great religious faiths in our Nation. While each has properly retained its own religious concepts, its own approach to the common goal of salvation, there has been a growing realization that there is a great community of interests, a wide area for joint or parallel action, by people of all faiths.

A striking illustration is in the matter of protection for the least-privileged and the lowest-paid members of society. We find the great religious bodies, Protest-ant, Catholic, and Jewish alike, speaking out with increasing vigor on this question.

Just as they share a tradition of charity, these great faiths share the conviction that the laborer is worthy of his hire. The principle of a living wage for every toiler was a part of God's law, long before necessity made it a part of man's.

It was in this spirit that a recent convention of the National Council of Jewish Women, with 110,000 members throughout the country, reaffirmed its upport of a social program that includes a better wage-hour law. I ask unanimous consent to insert in the RECORD a

copy of the council's resolution, which reads as follows:

RESOLUTION ON FAIR LABOR STANDARDS ACT

The National Council of Jewish Women believes that the economic policies and programs of Government have a major influence on the total well-being of the American people.

It, therefore, resolves to favor maintenance of adequate minimum wage and maximum hour standards with safe and sanitary work-

ing conditions.

Jobs After 40

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. CRAIG HOSMER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 24, 1960

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Speaker, Senators Jacob K. Javits and Hubert Humphrey have both been active in dispelling discrimination against older workers. The following are extracts from what each has said or written on the subject:

JOBS FOR OLDER WORKERS

(By Senator JACOB K. JAVITS)

One of the most critical issues in the American economic structure is our inability to deal with the unjust and unreasonable discrimination against workers over 45—indeed, in some instances over 40—in their opportunities for employment.

Such discrimination deprives the Nation of a most important resource of experience, highly skilled employees and it adds materially to the number of persons requiring public assistance. It deprives mature citizens of the dignity and status of self-support and continued participation in constructive economic activity.

economic activity.

You shouldn't take my word for the fact that this is a problem. Here are a few sim-

ple figures:

Statistics show men over 45 collecting unemployment compensation take substantially longer to find new jobs.

Opportunities for getting a job, once in the unemployed category, are about 50 percent less for the man who is over 45.

More than half of openings listed with employment offices in cities surveyed contained maximum hiring ages.

Yet the fact is that the older worker has greater skill, greater dependability in many cases and a lower accident rate.

Things that you can do to aid include:

1. Urge the Government Contracts Committee to end age discrimination in defense industries.

2. Back the pending bill, S. 1073, the National Act Against Age Discrimination in Employment.

3. Make an effort to get your State to pass a law against age discrimination in industry.

JOES FOR OLDER WORKERS

(By HUBERT H. HUMPHREY)

Despite the fact that wisdom comes with experience, and experience comes only with time, our most precious human resource—wisdom—is nevertheless being wasted by the present social attitude toward our aging population.

Productivity: One of the arguments against employing workers over 40 has been the belief in management circles that low-cost mass production conflicts with the hiring of older jobseekers. Yet, Department of Labor studies indicate that older workers

produce just as much and sometimes more than younger workers.

Proneness to accident: Other assumptions against hiring older workers also have been refuted, such as the argument that they are injured more frequently than younger workers. A study of 17,800 workers in a variety of manufacturing industries, published in 1948 by the Bureau of Labor Statistics, shows that the opposite is true.

Absenteeism: The same is true of attendance records which, according to a study conducted by the Bureau of Labor Statistics of 15,500 men in 109 manufacturing plants, showed that older workers had a 20-percent better attendance record than the younger workers.

Pending before the present Congress is legislation, supported by the Fraternal Order of Eagles, which would make unlawful discrimination against an individual with respect to employment because of age. Also pending is a House join resolution which would create a Commission of Manpower Utilization to conduct an investigation of all phases of employment of older workers in the United States, including the extent of bias against hiring older workers.

The Eagles "Jobs After 40" campaign is a most commendable and worthy project, and one which deserves wholehearted support. You certainly can count on mine.

The New Spirit of Armed Forces Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. ED EDMONDSON

OF OKLAHOMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, May 25, 1960

Mr. EDMONDSON. Mr. Speaker, the citizens of northeastern Oklahoma have just had the opportunity to observe a splendid demonstration of the coordination and unity which are strengthening our Armed Forces in their preparation for American defense.

The occasion was the observance of Armed Forces Day in Muskogee, last Saturday, May 21.

Thousands of Oklahomans were on hand to witness a combined Air Force, Army, and National Guard operation in which a mock battle was fought for control of Davis Field.

Thanks to television and radio coverage, additional hundreds of thousands of our citizens were both thrilled and impressed by the well-planned and perfectly executed maneuvers, both on the ground and in the air, which accompanied the battle.

The demonstration not only provided a vivid illustration of the readiness of our National Guard and Reserve Forces, but also impressed thousands with the importance and effectiveness of strong, well-balanced forces to meet all military situations.

In the mock battle at Davis Field, an important airbase was saved from "enemy capture" by well organized team effort of our defense forces.

That team effort, which played such a significant role in the victory of World War II, is even more essential in the perilous times which now confront our Nation.

As representative of the district in which Davis Field is located, I am proud of the contribution which its mock battle of last week has made to public understanding of our defense effort, and to the effectiveness of that effort in Oklahoma.

I am also proud of the officers and men of all the Armed Forces units who planned and executed the exercises of last Saturday so admirably. They are all a credit to the uniforms which they

Maybe Benson Was Right

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, HAMER H. BUDGE

OF IDAHO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, May 18, 1960

Mr. BUDGE. Mr. Speaker, the following editorial which appeared in the Twin Falls (Idaho) Times News seems particularly timely with another Brannan plan approach to be considered by the Congress shortly:

MAYBE BENSON WAS RIGHT

Now that Secretary of Agriculture Benson has announced he will return to Salt Lake City and resume a working relationship with the LDS church as soon as President Eisenhower's term of office expires, it's quite significant that no one seems to be particularly jubilant over this upcoming change in Washington.

Many opportunist politicians with an ulterior motive will have to look for a new whipping boy, now that Secretary Benson is about to retire from the Department of Agriculture.

In trying to perpetuate themselves in office, they have criticized Secretary Benson at every opportunity, blaming him for all the farmers' troubles.

They have closed their eyes to fantastically soaring costs of price support programs and the staggering waste involved in steadily mounting stockpiles of wheat, corn, and other commodity surpluses. Instead of facing up to the fact that all this waste and extravagance has been wrecking our agricultural economy, they have clamored for more Government spending as the only possible solution.

All this while, Secretary Benson has advocated a cut in high and rigid supports as a step toward reducing the cost of the farm program, reducing surplus stockpiles and freeing farmers from Government control and interference while building farmers markets.

Now that most of the farmers find themselves no better off than they were before billions of dollars were poured down the drain in a futile attempt to stabilize agriculture by such artificial methods, many of them are beginning to wonder whether Secretary Benson was not right all along.

Just recently the Committee for Constitutional Government came out with an interesting observation in this connection. Following is what it had to say on the subject:

"Recent developments in the dairy industry are shedding new but virtually unnoticed light on this country's farm problem—a problem so vast, so misunderstood, and so encumbered with politics that it has seemed insoluble to many observers.

"A look at what's been going on in the dairy industry is extremely revealing.

example, it vindicates the stand taken by Secretary of Agriculture Benson. Consider the following facts:

"In 1954, as a result of high and rigid supports for dairy products (90 percent of parity), Uncle Sam had enormous quantities of milk, butter and cheese in storage (600

of milk, butter and cheese in storage (our million pounds of dry milk, 468 million pounds of butter, 435 million of cheese).

"Inevitably, perhaps, a clamor arose for further intervention by the Government in the dairy industry. A few dairymen wanted the Brannan plan, under which the price of the brannan plan, under which the price of the pr dairy products would seek their market level and a payment to individual operators would make up the difference between the price and the price objective (90 percent of parity).

Benson pointed out that the scheme would have to rely on appropriations from the Treasury, which were uncertain and subject to fluctuation with changes in the makeup of Congress and changes in policy.

"Other dairymen wanted strict production controls, coupled with continued supports at 90 percent of parity. Benson told them this would involve very rigid controls, involving production quotas to the individual farmer. The country's experience with production controls over the past 25 years had been unsatisfactory. We should move away from controls, rather than toward them, he said. (Instead) he urged vigorous Governmentindustry promotion of dairy products and reliance on self-help instead of Government

Props and controls.
"In April 1954, the Agriculture Department reduced price supports from 90 to 75 percent of parity. Six years later, in February of this year, Benson took stock of the dairy situation. To many observers the results have been surprising:

"The 1.5 billion pounds of dairy products in Government hands at the beginning of

1954 had been liquidated.

"Supply and demand for dairy products were virtually balanced—for the first time in 8 years.

"Dairy income hit a record high level for farmers in 1957. Incomes have continued at near record levels ever since.

There's little doubt that there would have been chaos and confusion in the industry if Benson had followed the advice of those who wanted to put the Government deeper into the dairy business.

"In view of the dairy experience, the question arises as to whether our entire agri-cultural situation wouldn't be much brighter if Congress had followed his advice concerning the further adoption of reasonable supports for surplus farm products and— as far as possible—get Uncle Sam out of the business of running the Nation's agriculture."

Farm Director Visits Escalon To Study Dairy Problems

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. JOHN J. McFALL

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, May 25, 1960

Mr. McFALL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks I would like to put into the RECORD today an article from the Stockton Daily Record in California describing a dairy industry tour by State Agriculture Director William Warne.

Last fall, the Small Business Committee sent a special investigator, Brooks Robertson, to California and his find-

ings were reported to the Congress last month. The article about Mr. Warne's investigation confirms many of the findings of Mr. Robertson concerning the desperate plight of California dairymen. The article follows:

FARM DIRECTOR . VISITS ESCALON TO STUDY DATRY PROBLEMS

(By Geraldine Russell)

ESCALON, May 6 .- State Agriculture Director William Warne learned yesterday everything isn't "peaches and cream" in the Esca-

lon area. Particularly not cream.

The director, on a tour of San Joaquin,
Stanislaus, and Merced Counties to investigate the dairy industry's problems, found there are plenty of them.

Not that the new agricultural chief was not aware of that previously. He told local

dairymen:

"Most people contacting me today are those with dairy problems. I have met many of you at milk hearings. I feel more of these hearings to discuss agriculture problems are

The W. L. Sadler & Sons Dairy was the first stop for the director and Dr. James Ralph, deputy director.

TAPE RECORDINGS

Here the director took tape recordings of the dairymen's views along with statements on the blend price they receive on all their

Sadler recently switched from a grade B to grade A dairy at a cost of about \$7,500, but has been unable to get a Class A contract.

He asked Warne why 10 years ago the dairymen were getting \$1.15 per pound of butterfat while today they are getting 82 cents. Operating costs are all up, but the price is down, according to Sadler.

NO DANGER

Warne was asked by the dairymen if they would lose their contracts with creameries if they spoke against what they think are unfair practices. He assured them they would not.

At this point many started talking. All had the same complaint.

According to the dairymen, they are all given certain monthly quotas they must They are paid grade A prices for a certain percentage of their quota. Yesterday these ranged from 22 to 50 percent. The rest is bought at grade B prices.

Yet creameries press them to produce more than their quota even though surplus is classified grade B.

Quotas can be cut. One rancher said when he complained about having his quota cut, he was told he could quit if he didn't like it, so he did. Fortunately another company picked up the contract,

CEREMONY

Warne was greeted at city hall by dairymen, city officials, and local businessmen.

Paul Ford, Escalon Chamber of Commerce president, presented him with a case of cream. He took it with thanks, but patted his midsection and explained his wife had not let him use cream for 9 years.

The Escalon packers gave the director a case of peaches to carry out Escalon's peaches and cream theme. California Dairymen, Inc., added a maple milking stool.

FUTURE PROBLEMS

Warne told Future Farmers of America at the ceremony:

"Agriculture is faced with difficult problems today. Solutions formulated to correct them now will create problems for you to solve 20 years from now."

He said Governor Brown has asked him to investigate a milk stabilization law and make recommendations to the legislature at its 1961 session.

At a Modesto meeting later in the day, Warne said the industry is the most important economically of the State's farm products and its problems the most complicated

LOWER PRICE

He said California consumers get milk a cent cheaper than the national average despite high production costs in the State. There is no need for large-scale revamping of dairy laws, however, but some changes are needed in various areas.

He cited Stanislaus County problems of

high production and low usage.

Warne also toured dairy facilities in Manteca, Los Banos, and Gustine.

First Task for Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, May 25, 1960

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, we will soon commence a debate which may prove to be a historic one in terms of our relationship with the free world.

I am referring to the approaching debate on appropriations for the military security program-a program which is proving one of the greatest deterrents to Communist economic and military expansion.

The events of the past week in Paris and the debate now underway in the United Nations should erase any doubt as to the cynical approach of the Soviet Union toward our efforts to achieve a just and lasting peace with all nations.

The May 21 issue of the New York Times in an editorial appropriately entitled "First Task for Congress," eloquently described the mutual security program as one congressional action that would be a most valuable immediate answer to the collapse of the summit.

I commend this timely editorial to the attention of our colleagues, as follows:

FIRST TASK FOR CONGRESS

The warm welcome President Eisenhower received in Washington yesterday gave tangible expression to the sympathy we believe most Americans feel for the President's dignified posture at Paris in the face of Premier Khrushchev's studied insults. Eisenhower is not returning from the wreckage of the summit conference as a conquering hero-there was too much inexcusable bungling in the administration's early handling of the U-2 incident for that-but he is returning as a chief of state who went to Paris in good faith in the search for peace, only 'o be crudely rebuffed by an ultimatum impossible to accept. The effort of the free world to achieve an honorable understanding with the Soviet world must go on, however; the future of civilization literally depends on it.

Meanwhile, the people of the United States have certain things to do at home. We will naturally reject Mr. Khrushchev's attempt to interfere in the elections; but this does not mean that we should refrain from a reasoned self-criticism of our own errors, a self-criticism that will have to steer a sensible course between our customary complacency and a newly rising tendency to blame ourselves for everything that

went wrong. But even before such an inquiry could profitably get under way, there is one congressional action that would be a most valuable immediate answer to the collapse of the summit. That is speedy passage of the mutual security appropriation.

Mutual security means money-\$4 billion of it-but it means more than that. It means solidarity of the United States with our allies and friends of the free world, and a determination to do our best to preserve that freedom and independence for all nations outside the Soviet orbit for their own sake, against a military threat and a politico-economic offensive of increasing magnitude. A wholehearted vote for mu-tual security would be the one thing that could most surely and quickly strengthen the President's hand in the present crisis.

Minimum Wages

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. JOHN D. DINGELL

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, May 25, 1960

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, we are all familiar with the adage, "Justice de-layed is justice denied." There is no area in our national life where this fundamental truth applies with greater force than in the area of fair labor standards.

Year after year we have been told about the plight of our fellow citizens whose earnings are fixed by the Federal minimum wage, and about the even more desperate plight of the 20 million or so who are denied even the meager guarantee of \$1 an hour. Yet nothing has been done.

It is hardly surprising that those of us. in and out of Congress, who have been calling for the modernization and improvement of the Fair Labor Standards Act should find ourselves wondering, at this point, what else we can say. All the facts are on our side; all the arguments have been made. Must we repeat them, over and over?

An example of this dilemma is contained in a resolution adopted by the 50th annual convention of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. Some of my colleagues may not realize that apart from its work in the field of civil rights the NAACP traditionally takes a deep and active interest in all social problems affecting the entire population. Over the years the NAACP has set forth in detail its support for a better wage-hour.

Under unanimous consent, I include in the RECORD the NAACP resolution on minimum wage legislation.

The resolution follows:

MINIMUM WAGES

Our goal, announced in our 1954 resolution, and which we still support, is an increase to \$1.25 an hour. Such an increase will mean a greatly needed advance in the standard of living of over 2 million workers,

Equally important is a broadening in the coverage of the minimum wage law to include nearly 10 million workers not now included, particularly agricultural workers and those in retail trade.

Results of Survey Concerning Some Important Issues Facing Congress

> EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. JOHN J. RHODES

OF ARIZONA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, May 19, 1960

RHODES of Arizona. Mr. Speaker, recently I sent a questionnaire on some important issues facing Congress and the Nation to 22,000 of my constituents. Of the number sent, 17 percent were returned. Under permission previously granted I am placing in the RECORD the results of that questionnaire, together with some additional information about the age groups and occupations of those who answered:

Age groups: Under 25, 1.3 percent; 25 to 30, 4.6 percent; 31 to 40, 18.2 percent; 41 to 50, 20.8 percent; 51 to 60, 19.8 percent; over 60, 25.8 percent; no answer, 9.5 percent.

Occupations: Retired, 15.8 percent; farmers, 3.3 percent; laborers, 6.5 percent; housewives, 8.8 percent; professional, 21.8 percent; businessmen, 22.5 percent; government, applications, 11.5 percent, applications, 11.5 percen Occupations: Retired, 15.8 ment employees, 11.5 percent; students, 1.0 percent; armed services, 0.6 percent; no answer, 6.4 percent.

DEFENSE

- 1. Should we, in 1960 and 1961, gear our defense effort to a dollar amount we can afford within a balanced budget? Yes, 78 percent; no, 15 percent.
- 2. Should we concentrate our defense effort on:
- (a) Deterrent capabilities (mainly mis-
- siles)?—14 percent.
 (b) Conventional weapons, aimed at fighting limited wars?-3 percent.
 - (c) A combination of both?-78 percent.
 - 3. Do you feel:
- (a) Terribly worried over allegations that we are behind the Russians in certain types of missiles?—13 percent.
- (b) Confident that our overall deterrent capability will, for the foreseeable future, prevent a Russian attack?-81 percent.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

- 1. In our attitude toward Communist nations, are we:
 (a) Too soft?—76 percent.
- (b) Too hard?—1 percent. (c) About right?—20 percent.
- 2. Do you feel that:
- (a) We should increase our pressure on international communism, even at the risk of all-out war?-60 percent.
- (b) We should keep deterrent capabilities militarily, and coexist with communism, hoping Communists will eventually see that our system is better than theirs?-28 percent.
- (c) We should do something else?-21 per-
- 3. Foreign aid will cost the American taxpayer about \$3.2 billion this year. Below are listed the principal expenditures.

Do you favor continuing:

- (a) Military aid (\$1.3 billion this year) to the armed forces of our allies?—40 percent.

 (b) Defense support (\$695 million this
- year) to bolster the economies of many of our allies?—27 percent.
- (c) Special assistance (\$245 million this year) to bolster the economies of so-called neutralist or undetermined countries?-15 percent.
- (d) Technical cooperation (\$181.2 million this year) supplying instruction and knowhow to underdeveloped nations?—54 percent.
- (e) Development loans in dollars (\$550 million this year) to underdeveloped coun-

tries repayable mainly in the currencies of those countries?-40 percent.

(f) None of these; end the program?-24 percent.

1. Do you feel it is important for us to be able to travel in space as soon as possible? Yes, 42 percent; no, 52 percent.

2. Do you feel that ability to travel in space will have military significance in the foreseeable future? Yes, 51 percent; no, 40 percent.

FARM PROGRAM

1. Do you favor an immediate end of all farm price supports?-36 percent.

2. Do you favor high rigid price supports to guarantee farmers return of their growing costs and return on their investment?percent.

3. Do you favor reducing farm price supports over a period of several years until a free farm economy is restored?-60 percent.

FISCAL

- 1. Do you believe that the budget of the U.S. Government:
- (a) Should always be balanced?-53 percent.
- (b) May be unbalanced in years of decreased business activity to stimulate business?-43 percent.
 - 2. Do you favor:
- (a) Lowering Federal taxes immediately, without regard to a balanced budget?—9 percent.
- (b) Increasing Federal taxes if necessary for additional public services?-6 percent.
- (c) Lowering Federal taxes after reducing expenditures and reducing the national debt?-83 percent.
 - 3. Do you favor:

cent.

- (a) Systematically reducing the national debt each year?-88 percent.
- (b) Increasing the national debt in order to provide additional Federal services without raising taxes?-3 percent.
- (c) Keeping the national debt at its present level of about \$290 billion?-5 percent.

FEDERAL AID TO EDUCATION

- 1. Do you believe the Federal Government should assume a definite part of the responsibility for public school education in Ameriincluding payment of administration costs and teachers' salaries?-8 percent.
- 2. Do you favor Federal assistance for public school construction on a general basis?-10 percent.
- 3. Do you favor limiting Federal aid to the programs we now have, including assistance to federally impacted areas?-32 per-
- 4. Should we have no Federal aid whatsoever?-44 percent.

MEDICAL BENEFITS TO THE ELDERLY

- 1. Do you favor free medical care for all people over 65 paid for by the Federal Government?-7 percent.
- 2. Should we include surgical and hospital care for persons over 65 as a part of social security?-26 percent.
- 3. Do you favor Federal incentives to private insurance companies to provide health insurance to the elderly?-18 percent.
- 4. Do you feel there should be no Federal program of any kind to provide medical assistance for elderly persons, leaving this to States and private resources?-50 percent.

VETERANS PENSIONS

- 1. Paying pensions to veterans without service-connected disabilities on a basis of need?-16 percent.
- 2. Giving all World War I veterans an honor pension of \$100 per month without regard to need or disability?-8 percent.
- 3. Pensions to disabled veterans should go up automatically with the cost of living?-60 percent.
 - 4. Other?-35 percent.

Remarks of Dr. William C. Kvaraceus, at Boston University Symposium

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, JOHN E. FOGARTY

OF RHODE ISLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 23, 1960

Mr. FOGARTY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include the remarks of Dr. William C. Kvaraceus, professor of education at Boston University at the Boston University symposium entitled "Juvenile Delinquency, Sin, Sickness, Sport, or What? What Can We Do About It?" I also include a brief biographical sketch of Dr. Kvaraceus: Remarks of Dr. WILLIAM C. Kvaraceus at Boston University Symposium

Most American citizens live in the hope and expectation that eventually some outside authority or agency—police, psychiatrist, social worker, teacher, recreation director, child guidance clinic, youth commission or State youth authority—will come to the rescue and solve (with something of magic if not money) the delinquency problem. In many communities these various agencies have teamed together in cooperative effort to control and prevent the serious and persisting norm violations of youth. But these team approaches generally omit or exclude the most important player—the delinquent himself. Only the delinquent can solve the delinquency problem.

Most urban communities maintain an array of "youth-serving agencies." We need to consider the subject of the verb "serve. Generally it is the agency that is the subject and youth is the direct or indirect object. We need to make youth the subject of the Verb serve—youth serving themselves and the community. We need to enable youth to undertake important and meaningful tasks in home, school, and community life. We heed to encourage youth to study the local delinquency problem. Instead of doing community research and case studies on, to, or for youthful norm violators, we should encourage youth to community study and case study themselves. Youth must develop insights in their own problems. They need to work out their own solutions. Adults need to look at youth's findings and suggestions seriously. Only through insight and self-determination at both levels—youth and adult—can the community hope to achieve a diminution of the soaring delinquency

Many agencies and institutions in their concern for troubled youth and in their zeal to help have been deflecting from their Original and unique functions. This confusion of roles is resulting in a fast-emerging Alice in Wonderland world in which parents are acting like their youngsters' Peers, police in juvenile details are acting like social workers, social workers in aggressive casework are acting like police, probation officers in conducting informal hearings are acting like judges, and judges in adjudicating are acting like psychiatrists. Some agency workers have even taken on omnibus functions; they are trying to be everything unto everyone. Unless agencies and insti tutions stop to define or redefine their unique purposes and functions and begin to evaluate their efforts to aid the young norm violators in terms of their special and specific services, the result can only mean a community suffering from institutional schizophrenia. The incipient stages are already visible in many communities.

The American community lacking both facts and funds will hardly dent the delinquency problem. Every community, and this means every community worker and citizen, must be knowledgeable at three levels of functioning if we expect to bring down the delinquency rate. There must be a validated theoretical frame of reference from which to operate; there must be available facts on the local youth situation on which to tailor local programing; there must be available facts on the individual child who shows a delinquency tendency or who persistently or seriously engages in law violation. Lacking these three sets of facts and operating on a dime-store budget, community efforts at delinquency prevention and control will tend to follow the impractical-practical approaches involving the curfew and the night stick. These approaches cost little. They are also irrelevant to the factors generating the youth problem.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

William C. Kvaraceus: One of the Nation's leading authorities on juvenile delinquency, Dr. Kvaraceus of Sharon, Mass., is professor of education at Boston University's School of Education. He received his A.B. at Boston College and his Ed. M. and Ed. D. degrees from Harvard University. Prior to his appointment to Boston University in 1945, he taught in the Brockton public schools and was assistant superintendent of schools in Passaic, N.J. He has taught and also served as supervisor and director of guidance and research in public and private schools. Dr. Research in public and private schools. Dr. Kvaraceus spent 1952–53 in Turkey, serving in an advisory and teaching capacity to the Ministry of Education. In 1953 he was a member of the U.S. Senate subcommittee investigating juvenile delinquency. From 1958 to 1959 he directed the National Education Association research project on juve-nile delinquency. He is the author of "Juve-nile Delinquency and the School," "The Community and the Delinquent," "Juvenile Delinquency: What Research Says," and co-author of "Delinquent Behavior: Culture and the Individual" and "Delinquent Behavior: Principles and Practices."

Slater High School Commencement Address, May 17, 1960

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. MORGAN M. MOULDER

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, May 25, 1960

Mr. MOULDER, Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following address delivered by me at the commencement exercises of Slater High School on May 17, 1960:

Reverend Byers, Reverend Hellwege, Dr. Gamby, Mr. Grubb, class of 1960, ladies and gentlemen, we all regret the death of Mr. Kendrick's mother and his unavoidable absence on this occasion and extend our deepest sympathy in his bereavement.

Your selection and invitation for me to be your speaker is a great honor to me and I hope I can justify your choice of a speaker by informative words which you will enjoy and always remember.

It has been said that new and important occasions teach new duties. Therefore I believe it to be my duty to discuss a few very important subjects with you this evening. First, I want to talk to you about the im-

portance of government or politics—mind you, not Republican and not Democratic—but simply politics as the science or method by which all governments, big and little, are created and maintained throughout the world.

In this world in which we live today there is no subject which should have more interest and attention. And the subject of government should be particularly important to the young people who are now graduating not only from high school, but graduating soon into mature citizenship and full share of responsibility to the preservation of our great Nation.

If a nation values anything more than freedom and good government, it will lose its freedom and self-government; and the irony of it is, that if it is easy comfort or money that it values more, then it will lose that too.

Our priceless form of government was fashioned, in all of its ingenious complexity, to preserve to the very fullest extent possible the freedom and security of each individual citizen. This was the goal; this was the objective of those brave and thoughtful men who drafted the Declaration of Independence and adopted the Bill of Rights and the Constitution of the United States. That was the goal of our forefathers; that was the purpose of their documentary handiwork; that was the heritage which they handed down to us.

Among the great and noble men who established our form of government was Thomas Jefferson who wrote the Declaration of Independence. You will always remember his historical words:

"We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their creator with certain inalienable rights, among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. That to secure these rights governments are instituted among men."

Then, almost 96 years ago, that great immortal Abraham Lincoln, standing on the site of one of the great battles of the Civil War, said this:

"Four score and 7 years ago our fathers brought forth on this continent a new nation, conceived in liberty and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal. Now we are engaged in a great civil war, testing whether that nation or any nation so conceived and so dedicated can long endure."

There were times in the past history of mankind when the problems of all governments were extremely simple, when the citizen of any government expected no more of it than the protection of life and property. That was a long time ago.

As the centuries have rolled by, governments have materially changed. Leaving their simple character of early days, they have constantly become more and more complicated organizations as they have undertaken to perform added services and make greater requirements of the individual citizen.

Thus it came about that government has its hands upon all of us in some way from the moment we are born until the last rites when our mortal remains are whisked off to the cemetery.

If the influence of government is all persuasive in our lives as I have said it to be, then there can be little hesitation upon the part of any citizen, man or woman, about the necessity for his or her active participation in civic and political affairs.

In a word, it behooves every citizen to actively participate in civic and political affairs. And again I reiterate and emphasize that I do not recommend that you necessarily have to make politics a personal career nor do I suggest that it is necessary for you to seek public office in order to participate in government or political affairs,

By the use of the word "politics," I am referring to the unbiased and serious study and discussion of the governmental issues and the exercise of your leadership and influence on those issues.

The United States, though but 194 years old, has lived through three epochs and is now at the threshold of the fourth. The three epochs that have passed into history are: (1) Independence; (2) enfranchisement; (3) unification. Today we are confronted with many serious problems and issues. The time allotted to me as your speaker this evening is insufficient to discuss all of these problems and issues. I will mention a few which are vitally important to every man, woman and child.

Our military preparedness programs are essential but the present annual cost or expenditures for this purpose, plus the mutual security and other so-called foreign aid programs are endangering our national economy via inflation and a national debt larger than all other nations combined. This is a very serious problem.

Then we have the problem of inflation and high cost of living affecting millions of our citizens with stationary or retirement incomes; the problems of agriculture, so important to our national economy; the problems of taxation and Federal aid to education. There are many other important State and National problems which you must think about and help in solving by participating in political and civic affairs of your community and our country.

Bear this fact in mind—the American people are currently in the throes of tor-menting and frustrating readjustment. Both as a nation and as individuals we grew up accustomed to regard war and peace as distinctly separate states of affairs like day and night. But, today we live in an around-the-clock twilight of neither war nor peace.

Youth is the first victim of war: the first fruit of peace. It takes many years to make a man: it takes only a few seconds of war to destroy him.

Too much is being spent by all nations today in fear of war. Sixty-five percent of Federal tax dollar collected in our country each year in a so-called peace period If these reis spent on military affairs. sources were turned to peaceful uses, many, many more of the world's problems could be more easily solved.

Once upon a time, we led the world, we, Americans, towards a lighted window, and, I think this is important and certainly before we spend any more billions trying to buy collective security, we owe ourselves this backward glance. From 1789, until World War I, all other nations on planet earth were totalitarian except the United States. Did you ever stop to realize this?

In 1789 we were a little country of 3 million people completely surrounded by an ocean of totalitarianism. Everywhere else kings claimed to rule by divine right, others ruled with military might, but we alone ruled ourselves. What happened? Suddenly, the rest of the world watching our experiment in individual liberty and self-government began to copy us. Statesmen and writers visited the United States and returned home with glowing reports and the urge for freedom began to spread like a prairie fire across whole continents. The French threw off the yoke of their dissolute king and repacious aristocracy. England initiated sweeping democratic reforms. Mexico, and Central America and South America freed themselves from Spain.

From 1789 until the full World War I broke out, democracy was spreading around the world. How come? Our Nation had not given the old nations any money. We had sent forth no paid propagandists. We'd had sent forth no paid propagandists. beamed no broadcasts beyond our neighbor's

borders. We hadn't sent any experts overseas to show them how. We sent them no guns, no butter, no money. We made no concessions to foreigners which would penalize domestic producers. Our new Nation didn't insist on any mutual defense agreements. And, yet, though we ignored them, the older nations began to imitate our example and freedom was the world's dynamic, expanding force prior to 1914, and when the German dynasty collapsed in 1917, the Russian's in 1918, the last strongholds of despotism had fallen.

But now what? Suddenly democracy began to take itself for granted. Communism, fascism, nazism-these became the world's dynamic political forces. We shot two, but we failed to follow through, and since World War II, communism has captured approximately 100 million new disciples every year. Our better product has been left unsold because they have a better sales technique; because, instead of trying to lead other nations as our gallant 3 million forefathers did. we've been trying to push them. Our Declaration of Independence has been sup-planted with half a hundred declarations of dependence on others and so, failing to command respect, we try to buy it.

Times have changed? No, times haven't changed. We have changed. For all our grandeur and our gold, we win fewer converts to democracy today than our great granddaddies did with nothing but a light in the window.

I remember August 1945, when suddenly

a weapon 400 million times more lethal than anything ever before had been loosed on the world-we sat down in our councils of men chewing our fingernails up past the second knuckle worrying about what we are going to do with this hideous weapon that suddenly had been loosed upon us.

Even today, there are some who would say we should bury it in a cave in New Mexico or, in concert with other nations, destroy this technological advantage. In World War III, God forbid it should ever be, they're going to outnumber us 8 to 3 and I mean even if all our frightened friends stick with us, the Soviets and their satellites are going to outnumber us better than 2 to 1.

We need Will Rogers with us today and I imagine he would say:

"Folks, I guess, I ought to come back. Wyatt Earp is back and Matt Dillon and Bat Masterson and a lot of others.

"Do you know why folks nowadays like TV westerns? I'll tell you why. We've got so we can't do much for ourselves, anymore,

so we like to watch somebody who could.
"Then a man could solve all his problems with a gun and a horse; today he needs radar, sonar, and an IBM machine.

"We had spacemen, though, back yonder. Cowboys ridin' herd on a quiet night in the middle of the prairie with all the heavens hung out above 'em. A cowboy could pick a star or the moon and go to it anytime he wanted. Must have gone to the moon a hundred times, sometimes twice a night.

"Then we went on those space flights for fun. Today you go on the run, scared. Little wonder. Some radio stations today make more noise just introducing a newscast than we did gettin' out the Claremore fire department. News ain't news, anymore. It's a round-the-clock warning.

"Why, you got a generation of parents scared of their own kids. Maybe it happened when you all moved to town. Men build great cities, but cities don't build

"How many boys nowadays have seen a crop come on-and helped harvest it? How many boys know what it is to raise pigeons, to hear a screech owl at night, to be butted by a goat and 'rassle' a calf—that a 'possum can gnaw out of a wood box and be gone in the morning? That you don't have to

sow weeds; you just put down the hoe and

they'll choke out the flowers.
"How many boys know what nature always does to a coward or a loafer or a thief?

"The big city makes a man think he's -but he's not. That's why the Bible was written by farmers and shepherds and

"Also, I figure this juvenile mischief was partly brought on by the safety razor and the electric shaver.

"So, 2 years in a row you had to go back to the one State of Mississippi to get your-self a beauty queen. You know, I remember once back in Claremore we had a beauty contest and nobody won. Nobody even came in second. A traveling man came in third and he wasn't even in the contest.

"So you took in Alaska and Hawaii? I'll say you did. Now they gotta kick into the Federal oversea kitty and provide asylum for their own old used Congressmen. Instead of askin' to be States, Alaska and Hawaii might a done better by askin' to make 'em full fledged foreign countries instead.

"Why did I leave this earth 'before my time,' as so many of you kind folks have said? I don't know. A fellow has something to do and he does it. He has something to say and he says it. After awhile there are new things to do and new people to do them, new things to say and new people to say them.

"The old fellow is from a different age and new people don't understand him. He is the 'old man around the house' who always wants to give advice. A man is seldom old enough to be a philosopher until he has looked into the eyes of his grand-child, and then he is so full of compassion and has so many warnings that the young'uns don't like to listen. A man had better do what he can and say what he has to say while he has people his own age to listen."

And then Will Rogers would probably

say:
"My time's up. Thanks for lettin' me drop in like this. Now it's your turn. So

Well, at least Will Rogers was spared the indignity of TV. I got along so well for many years with radio that I kind of resent this TV stepchild in our midst. Also I seemed to have timed things so badly. vision was on the way in at the same time my hair was on the way out. But as some of you can attest, there's one thing about being bald-it's neat.

I keep remembering the old Mack Sennett comedies where the culprit chased by the policeman would point and say, "He went that-a-way." The policeman would tear off down the street after nobody and the thief would stroll home with the loot. We are chasing Russia and Russia is pointing at the moon and saying "That-a-way While Russia prepares to pick up the marbles on planet Earth.

Soviet cars are now moving into U.S. markets. Khrushchev has declared economic war on us and when we strengthen his economy we're helping him win that war. Ten thousand Russian-made Moscovitch sedans have been ordered delivered in Syracuse. N.Y., where a dealer wants to sell them in the United States. But Congress is debating the space race and who will get first to Mars. Some of us are getting ulcers on our ulcers worrying that Russia might get to Mars before we do and the Russians have already landed in Syracuse.

Don't think the Soviet press wasn't delighted when that announcement was forthcoming. All 16 of Moscow's newspapers headlined the fact that "Soviet technical achievements are now such that Americans are having to buy Russian-made cars." In an economic war they construe this to be an American retreat.

Back in Washington military men are being called on the congressional carpet, confronted with the evidence that the Soviets are winning the space race and asked, "Why?" The result is almost certain to be an increased military budget, not because it makes sense, but because it will slience congressional critics in election year. Military men challenged, a military budget, military objectives, and we're not fighting a military war. We are engaged in an economic war, and we're not winning it.

In buying cars from the Soviets we are in effect supplying weapons to the enemy—inviting mass unemployment in the American automobile industry. Cheap foreign labor plus government subsidies have been enabling other countries to build 2,000-mile-an-hour jet airliners now, and we're

American manufacturers cannot afford to compete. The Russian and British Governments give tax dollars to the plane makers. CAB says unless our Government now subsidizes our plane makers, American alrilnes might be buying airliners from Russia in 5 years. I wonder if it isn't time for us to tend now to our homefront economy to keep us strong, to defend us against invasion from without and to think twice about hurling 100 missiles at the sky while Russia carefully tests only two.

I cannot help feeling—and I hope others will realize it—that our teachers in truth are our first line of national defense. In fact, they always have been, but we have never talked about it enough. Our school-teachers, who are so grossly underpaid, are the quiet force in this country that molds our most precious resource—our children. The full impact of the valuable service teachers give to the people of this country and its future, in a sense, ultimately guides the destiny of the free world. I carnestly hope, in the near future, that we can find a way to provide for our school systems the additional Federal financial support which they so urgently need.

During the present period of world strife and tension in international affairs and in the future, you of the class of 1960 will play an important part in preserving our democracy and American way of life. You will be called upon as an American citizen to exercise your influence to keep and preserve our democracy and form of government and the liberties which we American people now

I recall my graduation from high school as the proudest occasion of my life, and I know that this evening you are affected with a deep feeling of nostalgia; memories of your school days, teachers, and friends. Nothing is so delicate as friendship and yet, nothing is so durable, so necessary, so pleasant, so inspiring, and so profitable as fond lasting memories and friendships.

But your graduation today is not a day for looking back. You have not traversed enough of life's path for that. This is a proud day for looking forward to the future.

proud day for looking forward to the future.

High school graduation is indeed one of
the major milestones in the journey through
life. It symbolizes the transition from a
period of youthful preparation to a lifetime
of adult service and citizenship.

Even so. I am confident that you will regard this as a beginning, and not an ending, of your quest for knowledge and experience, and that you will apply your talents and energies to the development of a finer and better America for the future.

You are now facing one of the first really big decisions of your life. You must decide whether or not you will go on from high school to college. With the possible exception of choosing your future vocation or a husband or wife, this decision will probably have as far-reaching effect upon your life as any other decision you will ever make. Whether you realize it or not, the pattern of

your life for the next 50 years may be determined by your answer to this question. The question of whether or not you should

The question of whether or not you should seek a college education is for you to decide, with guidance from your parents, teachers, and older friends who have been through the mill of college. Don't plan your future education without examining all available sources of education. Don't decide hurriedly. Don't be swayed or influenced by such factors as whether or not your best friend is going to a certain college with you.

It is true that a college education is now considered as important as a high school education 50 years ago. However, many of the best thinkers on the subject today believe that even though it is essential for nearly everyone to complete high school, it is not necessarily essential for every young person to complete college. Probably a 2-year or junior college plan will be desirable for many high school graduates. However, a student who plans to enter a profession or special fields or arts, science, or executive administrative work will be compelled to attend college from 4 to 8 years.

The American creed that all men are cre-

The American creed that all men are created equal is not exactly true. What is actually meant is that before God, before the law, and before our fellow men we all start equal, and there is equal opportunity for all who have the talent, the ambition, the courage, and personality to use that opportunity.

But, we should always bear in mind that opportunities are not always in faraway lands. For most people it can be found at home, or in their own community, country, or State.

I am sure that you have heard the story of the man who, in his youth, constantly dreamed and was determined to become rich and successful by exploring and discovering diamond mines. He left his farm home and traveled throughout the world—working and tolling in his efforts to discover a diamond mine. Finally, in his old age, he returned back to his old home—sad and disillusioned. He resumed his farm operations on the old farm and one day while in his own backyard digging a well, he uncovered the greatest diamond mine ever discovered.

And so, in the battle of life, you can never be assured of the exact course one should travel for the location of financial success. But, above all financial success one may obtain in life, the most important success is happiness and contentment, and that success can never be achieved without honesty and faith.

Shakespeare said:

"This above all; to thine own self be true, and it must follow, as the night the day, thou canst not be false to any man."

No better advice can be found for the young men of this class than the advice given to Andrew Jackson by his beloved mother. When Andrew Jackson left his mother in North Carolina as a boy to seek his fortune in the West, he knew he probably would never see her again. After the Battle of New Orleans, this great man told his comrades:

"Gentlemen, how I wish she could have lived to see this day. There was never a woman like her. She was gentle as a dove and brave as a lioness. Almost her last words to me when about to start for Charleston on the errand of mercy that cost her life were: 'Andrew, if I should not see you again I wish you to remember and treasure up some things I have already said to you: In this world you will have to make your own way. To do that you must have friends. You can make friends by being honest, and you can keep them by being steadfast. You must keep in mind that friends worth having will in the long run expect as much from you as they give to you. To forget an obligation or be ungrateful for a kindness is a base crime—not merely a fault or a sin, but an

actual crime. Men guilty of it sooner or later must suffer the penalty. In personal conduct be always polite, but never obsequious. No one will respect you more than you esteem yourself. Avoid quarrels as long as you can without yielding to imposition. But sustain your manhood always. bring a suit of law for assault and battery or for defamation. The law affords no remedy for such outrages that can satisfy the feelings of a true man. Never wound the feelings of others. Never brook wanton outrage upon your own feelings. If ever you have to vindicate your feelings or defend your honor, do it calmly. If angry at first, wait till your wrath cools before you proceed." Gentlemen, her last words have been the law of my life. The memory of my mother and her teachings were after all the only capital I had to start in life with, and on that capital I have made my way.' "

And to the young ladies of this class of 1960; I hope you will always remember that in whatever role your lives may be cast, whether as homemakers, in the professions, the business world, or in religion, real success, and happiness will depend far more on character than on any other single element you count among your resources. Character is a thing of many facets. In women, as in men, it means integrity, strength, courage, consideration for others, ability to discern, and appreciate what is worthwhile, and to pursue it in spite of every distraction and every obstacle.

In addition, in woman, it implies the development and enrichment of qualities that are her special God-given gifts—namely, gentleness, graciousness, and the capacity for unselfish, and yes, at times even heroic, dedication.

I commend the faculty for their great work in this school and I join with each member of the graduating class in expressing appreciation to your proud parents and all others who provided for and made this high school graduation possible for you to achieve.

And I sincerely congratulate every one of you, the Slater High School class of 1960: Barbara Ackelberry, Emma Aldridge, Edna Baker, Jo Ann Bearden, Bobby Black, Betty Bock, Eldred Borgman, Larry Bossaller, Beverly Butts, Gay Byers, Catherine Coleman, Larry Cott, Wayne Cott, James Elliott, Jo Ann Feuers, Craig Gann, Everett L. Gilliam, Gladys Hader, LeRoy Hager, Birdie Hamilton, Lois Harris, Melody Ann Harriss, Brenda Herrmann, Kathleen Hogan, Nancy Huston, Corinthian Jaco, Jim Klasing, Sally Martin, Carol Ritterbusch McFarland, Edward McMellen, John Miles, Doris Murphy, Edward Narron, Geary Norris, Anna Lee Norton, Wayne Ruppert, Audrey Shepard, Sherry Shook, Charles Smith, Terry Ann Taylor, Linn Van Winkle, Michael Walker, George Washington, Dickie Wise, Elizabeth Wykoff, and James Young.

With all good wishes for your happiness and success throughout life.

Facts To Be Faced

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, May 25, 1960

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I commend to the attention of our colleagues the following article by Joseph Alsop, written from Paris, as it appeared in the New York Herald Tribune of May 20, 1960.

CONGRESSIONAL RECORD - APPENDIX

FACTS TO BE FACED (By Joseph Alsop)

Paris.—After the ugly scenes of the aborted summit meeting, it is wise to make up a sort of balance sheet of facts to be faced.

The first fact that needs facing, alas, is the grave loss of prestige and confidence that President Eisenhower has suffered. As Walter Lippmann has written, it is right that men of all parties should rally to the President, but it is also wrong to be self-deluding. The affair of the U-2 has caused America's greatest friends in the Western Alliance to conclude that America's present leadership is bumbling and meladroit.

There is no use arguing about the justice or injustice of this conclusion. It is there, like the weather; and like the weather, it has to be taken into consideration.

The second fact to be faced is less painful to American self-esteem but decidedly more alarming. The leadership of the other great world bloc is even more dangerous and implacable than all but the worst of pessimists had imagined in their gloomiest moments.

After seeing Nikita S. Khrushchev do everything but froth at the mouth and chew the carpet at his incredible press conference, a great many observers in Paris began to use the grim adjective "Hitlerian." In this reporter's opinion the adjective is misapplied. Khrushchev was intentionally making Hitlerinke noises, in order to intimidate as Hitler intimidated. But those who know the man best believe that he was doing this from calculation, and not because he was carried away as the neurotic Hitler so often used to be.

But even if Khrushchev is not semilunatic, as Adolf Hitler was, the consolation is trifling. The character of his mental processes is not very important, after all, if he is capable of talking as he has talked and acting as he has threatened to act. The Khrushchev seen in Paris was no jolly, proverb-quoting, detente-seeking peasant. This man was a political carnivore, cheated of his prey.

As for the third and final fact to be faced, it flows directly from the second. A major effort to strengthen the military defenses of the West is now a matter of great urgency. This is clearly true, even although the incident of the U-2 has revealed a current balance of power that seems to be reasonably satisfactory.

There are two reasons why a strengthened defense effort is now urgent. On the one hand, no one who has watched Khrushchev's macabre and brutal performance in Paris can doubt that this man is capable of striking at the United States and the West with every bomb in his arsenal, if ever he believes he can do so with impunity. On the other hand, the military balance, though still apparently satisfactory, is plainly tilting in Khrushchev's favor. Later on, therefore, he may come to believe it is safe to strike. This is what has to be averted at all costs.

The main things that need doing are the same things that were discussed during the debate on national defense at the beginning of the year. Appropriations are needed to inaugurate a maximum airborne alert of the Strategic Air Command's entire force of B-52 bombers. The airborne alert ought to begin now, and continue at full strength until the U.S. siriking power in long-range guided missiles has been massively augmented.

Similarly, the buildup of the long-range missles ought to be increased in every way possible, and every dollar should be appropriated that can be used to speed the two reconnaissance satellite projects, Midas and Samos. In addition, the affair of the U-2 plainly proves the shortsightedness of the policymakers who have cut back production of the B-52H bomber almost to zero.

Here is a bomber with the range, speed and altitude characteristics that will allow it to imitate the U-2's performance. It can go almost where it will in the skies above the Soviet Union, just as the U-2 did for so long. It is not menaced, so far as is known, by improvements in the Soviet air defense system, whereas the B-52, flying at lower speeds and at somewhat lower altitudes, may well be menaced later on.

It is hard to understand how any policy-maker can have all but stopped production of the B-52H bomber, with the example of the U-2 before his eyes. But this is what was done. And this is what should now be undone as far as possible.

More costly defense programs; still deeper distrust of the Kremlin; apologies needed for our own leadership's performance—they make an unpleasant list. But we have now been warned. It can be very dangerous indeed if the warning is ignored.

Assistance for Our Youth

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JACOB H. GILBERT

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 19, 1960

Mr. GILBERT, Mr. Speaker, it is gratifying that the Committee on Education and Labor has reported favorably a bill to provide for Federal grants and contracts to carry out projects with respect to techniques and practices for the prevention, diminution, and control of juvenile delinquency, and for the training of personnel. The bill reported is similar to one I introduced.

Juvenile delinquency has reached terrifying proportions throughout our Nation. All communities are beset by the problem-urban and rural, in the higher social and economic levels as well as the lower. Our youth are the future of our Nation; they are our hope in the years ahead: on them will fall the burden of the preservation of our democracy. It is incumbent upon the Federal Government to recognize its duty and obligation to our young people; investments of necessary funds and time and effort must be made now in assistance to our youth: there is a crying need for more research on causes and prevention of delinquency.

It was recently charged that we, as a Nation, have more information about pigs than we do about children. This is a startling accusation, but true, in my opinion. We recently heard the heart-breaking prophecy that between 4 and 5 million children will be referred to juvenile courts within the next decade. It is not enough to ask "Why?" and "Who is to blame or failing in its duty—the home, school, or community?" The problem must be attacked with vigor and vision; our children must have help.

The Federal Government should take positive steps to increase the ability to prevent delinquency and rehabilitate offenders. This requires support for research, field and pilot studies, and demonstration projects. The present acute shortage of adequately trained personnel to cope with delinquency must be relieved. The basic aim in combating juvenile delinquency must be to foster in the young a respect for the law—for its

reasonableness and fairness and for the values of the community. This means that the community itself must set a good example and uphold those values which it expects its youth to respect, in an effort to prevent lawlessness among our youth. It is as important to try to understand our young people—their aims, beliefs, dreams, fears—and to help them in their struggle for security and happiness, as it is to try to rehabilitate them after crimes have been committed and their names have been besmirched and their futures blackened by the pall of misdeeds.

Because the assistance to our youth, as provided in the bill which has been reported, is so vitally necessary, and because time is of the essence in dealing with the increasing problems of juvenile delinquency, I urge that the bill be brought before the House for action, without delay. It is incumbent upon the 86th Congress to pass this proposed legislation before the close of the session.

Discrimination Against Aged

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, JACK WESTLAND

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, May 25, 1960

Mr. WESTLAND. Mr. Speaker, age discrimination is a major problem of the older worker and is a definite barrier to his employment once he has become unemployed. This problem has been recognized by the Fraternal Order of Eagles and this fraternal group has exerted its efforts toward elimination of this problem. I am proud to be counted among the members of the Everett, Wash, acrie.

In my own district each aerie has contributed its efforts and has taken part in the national drive to get signatures on petitions for presentation to the Congress. Brother S. R. "Stan" Anderson of the Anacortes, Wash., aerie has done a particularly outstanding job and, under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I include a letter he wrote to the editor of the Anacortes (Wash.) American Bulletin. The letter appeared in the November 3, 1959, issue:

AMERICAN LETTERBOX

DEAR EDITIOR: Aerie No. 249 Fraternal Order of Eagles is again taking part in a national drive to secure signatures to petitions to present to Congress legislation outlawing discrimination against jobseekers who are past 40.

In past drives, Eagles have secured 750, 000 signatures. Their aim is to present to Congress during the next session 1 million signatures of American citizens who are heartly in accord with this program.

Eagles believe that the practice of refusing to hire workers past 40 years of age, that is becoming more and more prevalent among our larger employers of labor is cruel, wasteful, and unsound and in direct contradiction to the principles upon which this Nation was founded.

They are cruel, because they deny the right of a large segment of citizens the

right to earn a decent living and provide for their families.

It prevents their full participation in the life of their country. Any worker that be-comes unemployed during this period finds it impossible to get a job of any importance, or at a wage commensurate his ability and experience. It robs him under the social security program of any chance of receiving worthwhile benefits at 65 years because at least 90 percent of the covered employment is contained in industry from which he is barred.

The fruitless years between 40 and 65 that should be the golden years to which his industry and good citizenship entitled him are instead a period of no meaning, no sense of belonging, and breed discontent and disrespect for our form of govern-

These age barriers are wasteful because they rob our economy of the wealth-producing potentials of a segment of our labor force whose experience has produced skills that could be of untold value. To discard these workers at the very height of their Proficiency is foolish and wasteful.

They are unsound because they remove from our economy a large segment of potential consumer-customers. An employed worker is an asset to his country because he pays his own way by paying taxes. An unemployed worker produced nothing and therefore is a liability who has to be fed by the rest of us through taxes.

An employed worker creates his own job by the alchemy of money circulation.

This practice has been caused by the rigors of present-day competition and cannot be corrected by the employers themselves. It can only be corrected by governmental action.

Therefore the Fraternal Order of Eagles is asking all citizens to join with them and petition Congress to pass legislation to outlaw this unwise practice.

These petitions are now being circulated in prominent spots throughout the city. If you see one ask to sign it. If you wish to sign one and you do not see one, "Mr. and Mrs. Anacortes Citizen," contact the Eagles Hall or one of the committee (Stan Anderson, Harley Sutt, Ray Balthazor, or Al Chonzena)

Thank you.

Secretary of Defense Gates Opens SEATO Conference

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. L. MENDEL RIVERS

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 25, 1960

Mr. RIVERS of South Carolina. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the Record, I include therewith an address delivered by the Honorable Thomas Sovereign Gates, Jr., Secretary of Defense, on Wednesday, May 25, to the opening session of the 12th Southeast Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO) Military Advisers Conference, in Washington. I had the great privilege of witnessing this historic event.

Secretary Gates' speech was a clear, concise, and dignified greeting and statement of our Government's stand against the Communist threat to world peace. With his usual and noteworthy clarity, he told the world of the U.S. intention to honor our commitments in defense of freedom-loving peoples in this important quadrant of the world's surface. The speech follows:

STATEMENT OF THE HONORABLE THOMAS S. GATES, JR., AT OPENING OF THE SEATO 12TH MILITARY ADVISERS CONFERENCE, WASHING-TON, D.C.

Excellencies, military advisers, delegates. ladies, and gentlemen, it is a unique honor to address this distinguished group and to open the 12th SEATO Military Advisers Conference.

On behalf of President Eisenhower, the U.S. Government, and the American people I extend to each of you a most cordial welcome.

We meet at a time when the world has been startled and shocked by the abruptness with which the hopes for the reduction of tensions from a successful summit conference have been shattered. One thing has emerged of great value to all who are devoted to freedom: a new appreciation of the solid basis on which our relationships with our allies rests. The people of this country are deeply grateful for the unity shown by the nations of the free world at this time. The bonds among us have never been stronger.

The purposes, current activities, and future tasks of SEATO constitute a vital element in maintaining stability in the course of world events. With communism seeking to destroy all that the free nations of the world are striving to build and to maintain, the stability of the free world depends on the security of each of us. SEATO is based on this concept of interdependence, and is a proud demonstration of its success.

The purposes of the SEATO collective defense to which we have mutually bound our-selves remain valid. Time moves quickly, It has been 6 years since eight free nations pledged their collective resources to maintain the peace and security of southeast Asia and southwest Pacific through common action. It is significant that the Communists have not challenged its integrity nor tested its collective strength through direct overt aggression.

During its short span of life SEATO has grown from an idea into an effective organization. National forces of the southeast Asia countries, backed by powerful mobile forces contribute to the deterrent and provide the security behind which the free peoples of the area live and develop their resources. Coordinated SEATO military plans have been prepared and are capable of rapid execution to parry any likely Communist threat.

Through military field exercises, skills have been developed and refined, operating procedures established, and command arrangements tested. SEATO exercises have progfrom simple observer type to the sophisticated maneuvers of land, sea, and air units of member nations.

The United States remains dedicated in its support of SEATO. We are prepared and will honor our commitments. Our military forces have never been more powerful. They are capable of decisive action in general war if this should be forced upon us. Together with our allies we can meet lesser military actions anywhere in the world.

While it is inspiring to note the strides already made, great tasks still face us. The military threat of communism has not declined since SEATO was born in Manila 6 years ago. Communist leaders remain dedicated to the achievement of their goal of world domination. Their tactics, as you are aware, consist of threats and blandishments, warnings, and false promises. They exploit every opportunity and apply various forms of pressure. If a government is weak, greater and increasing pressures are applied in the hope that a revolutionary situation will develop. If a government successfully counters one particular Communist thrust, the Communist tactics change. The recent history of the southeast Asia and the southwest Pacific is replete with evidence of such Communist actions. They well may resort to military force if they believe it will be successful.

The nature of this opposition simply makes it more difficult for us to accomplish our high purpose. We can be encouraged, however, by our success to date. The collective security arrangements of the free world have deterred military aggression. The resolution of the nations of SEATO, backed by the tangible assistance rendered by the United States through its military assistance program, have achieved an effective defense.

The Secretary of State, the Joint Chiefs of Staff, and I are convinced of the indispensability of military assistance as an integral part not only of our own defenses but those of the entire free world.

We are strongly supporting the program the President. We are determined to make the maixmum use of the resources which Congress makes available. Our goal is to obtain on a worldwide basis the best possible free world defense.

I have just returned from Paris. Since the world press featured the Paris events on their front pages almost continuously for 2 weeks, there is not much I can add to what you already know. In view of the happenings in Paris, I wish to quote from President Eisenhower's message to the NATO ministerial meeting in Istanbul about a month

"We approach these Paris talks with a sincere desire to do all possible to reduce the tensions and dangers that now exist. Yet we cannot reasonably anticipate any quick or spectacular results. This meeting will be one more in what may prove a long succession of diplomatic exchanges dealing with some of the most difficult problems of our era. These are not susceptible to early solution. We can, at best, hope to make some modest progress toward our goals."

We did approach these talks with a sincere desire to reduce world tensions. As the de-velopments unfolded, however, it became increasingly clear that the Soviet Union has decided well in advance to torpedo the summit. Western firmness did not back down before Khrushchev's ultimatums.

I would be remiss if I failed to note that our colleagues from Britain and France, as well as the other NATO partners, displayed a convincing unity of purpose and action in the face of Soviet divisive efforts. The Soviet conduct both in Paris and at the United Nations demonstrated that a difficult road lies ahead as we seek solutions to the most complex problems of our times.

It is too early to tell what further developments may take place. The President of the United States will continue his efforts toward peace with justice and still hopes to make, as he put it, "some modest progress towards our goals" even though the Soviet actions have increased the difficulties. In short, we still intend to seek a relaxation of tensions by all means, short of impairing our common security. We must always negotiate from strength.

We recognize that military preparedness will not by itself meet the challenges facing southeast Asia. Our multilateral efforts to promote the economic growth of the area and the material well-being of the people must be intensified. Mere survival not enough to meet the demands of the future. Social and economic progress must be made. Mature and stable national institutions are necessary to the structure we are jointly striving to build.

Each SEATO Military Advisers Conference has cemented the ties of friendship and co-

operation. Conferences have developed ideas and recommendations which resulted in coordinated plans and actions. This meeting I am confident will be no exception. I take pleasure in declaring this conference open, and I wish you every success in the work before you.

Canal Block-No Aid

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JAMES ROOSEVELT

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, May 25, 1960

Mr. ROOSEVELT. Mr. Speaker, earlier this month, the Congress approved an amendment to the "Statement of Policy" of the Mutual Security Act.

This amendment reaffirms America's traditional support of freedom of the seas, and our opposition to boycotts, blockades, and restrictions on the use of international waterways, conducted by nations that receive U.S. economic assistance against other beneficiaries of our aid.

The amendment created widespread interest because of its implied calls for a positive and firm U.S. policy in the Near East. In this connection, I would like to call to the attention of the Members of this body an editorial which appeared in the May 4, 1960, issue of the Statesman, Salem, Oreg.

The text of the editorial follows:

CANAL BLOCK-NO AID

The Senate on Monday passed the mutual aid authorization bill. Its ceiling was only about \$50 million under the budget request whereas the House cut was \$87 million. The final amount, however, will be determined by what is included in the appropriation bill to follow. Probably the cut will be considerably larger.

The real battle in the Senate developed over a provision to withhold aid to any country which denies free access to international waterways. This was in the bill passed by the House, but Senator Fulbright, Chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, offered an amendment to soften this ban. It was defeated 45 to 39.

Everyone knew that the provision was aimed at the United Arab Republic headed by Nasser of Egypt who has barred ships from using the Suez Canal if they were carrying goods to or from Israel. The prohibition has been strongly condemned, the United Nations itself calling on Egypt to open the canal for universal use. Nasser replies that Egypt is still in a state of war with Israel, and so is not bound to permit passage of its commerce.

Nasser conveniently forgets that United Nations, led by the United States, pulled his chestnuts out of the fire in 1956 when Britain, France, and Israel had Egypt on the ropes in their invasion and attack on the canal. He forgets that, to induce the invaders to withdraw, Dulles gave assurances for this country respecting the opening of the canal. He forgets, too, the fast work under United Nations to clear the canal and thus renew the flow of revenues to the Egyptian treasury from the users of the canal. Nasser also rejected the intercession of Dag Hammarskjold, Secretary General of U.N., who was commissioned to appeal for opening the canal to Israeli shipping.

If not a breach of faith, it is certainly base ingratitude toward U.N. for rescuing Nasser

and his regime from probably crushing defeat. But the Arab bitterness toward Israel bars any concession even though the Egyptian stand is quite untenable.

Nasser knows we aren't going to go to war to open the canal, so he just thumbs his nose at us. The administration favors walking softly in the Middle East. That is understandable, but it is hard to justify foreign aid when a nation is so obdurate in resisting the pressures of the United States and United Nations. Withholding aid is a mild alternate to brandishing Teddy Roosevelt's big stick. We don't need to be pushed around all the time by the small nation bidding for aid while it ignores its obligations to the international community.

Adlai Still Not Attuned to People

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. LESLIE C. ARENDS

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, May 25, 1960

Mr. ARENDS. Mr. Speaker, I have the privilege of representing one of the finest districts in the Midwest.

A great many people think that we who live in the interior of the country are not as interested in foreign affairs and national defense as those who reside on the seaboard. That is not a fact. We are deeply concerned about the international situation and we are well aware of our need for a strong defense prepared for any emergency.

It is important that the Congress know what the "man on the street" from the Midwest thinks. I am accordingly inserting in the Record the following editorial that appeared in the May 23 issue of the Danville Commercial-News, one of the leading newspapers in my district:

ADLAI STILL NOT ATTUNED TO PEOPLE

Adlai Stevenson again has demonstrated that he is out of touch with the man on the street. In condemning the administration for the events prior to and admittedly connected with the collapse of the summit meeting, he was—as he has been known to do in the past—talking from the top of his head.

On the face of it, his criticism does not seem out of the way, considering his position as titular head of the Democratic Party. In a republic, it is not only the privilege but the duty of the opposition party to be a watchdog for the people's interest.

But will the man on the street so interpret Stevenson's attitude? The chances are great that he will not. In the first place, the timing of the criticism was much too belated. The immediate reaction of the people to disclosure of the U-2 plane incident was indignation. There was a widespread feeling that we had goofed, that the administration had committed another blunder in a long series of diplomatic mistakes dating back through both Republican and Democratic regimes. But it soon became clear that the summit was doomed to failure under any circumstances. Legitimate or trumped up, Khrushchev would have found an excuse to torpedo the meeting.

Few Americans, regardless of party, doubt Eisenhower's sincerity of purpose. And when he and the great Nation he symbolizes as President were subjected to a vicious, guttersnipe attack, what happened?

An enormous wave of sympathy developed. A tremendous chain reaction of resentment,

hot as nuclear fission, built up against the Soviet Union. Our President was being pushed around by a loud-mouthed, arrogant bully. Hence, America was being pushed around. Americans don't like to be pushed around. They don't like to see other Americans pushed around.

Stevenson finds fault with the President for not lying when Khrushchev "gave (him) an out by suggesting that he was not responsible." Is this sort of astonishing faultfinding likely to endear Stevenson, or the party which he represents, with the man on the street?

To be sure, many Democrats in high places disavow any part of such criticism. They rightly resent Khrushchev's intimation that he could deal with an administration of their party. But what does Stevenson mean when he says that successful negotiation with the Soviet is impossible with the GOP in power? Successful for whom? Does he suggest that if he were President—or Secretary of State for Kenney—that he could establish an entente cordiale with the Kremlin?

The man on the street is likely to feel that a Khrushchev happy with the American Government is a Khrushchev who, to paraphrase a popular song, has the whole world under his pudgy thumb.

The Democrats certainly must bear a major share of the blame for the ineptitude of our bipartisan dealings with Russia over the years. It is a little late in the day for a Foreign Relations Committee probe to fix blame for the spy plane incident. The roots, if the investigation were fair and complete, would extend back at least to 1933.

But the responsible Democratic leaders, motivated both by their American patriotism and the realities of practical politics, cannot help but be chagrined by evidence that Adlai Stevenson still hasn't learned how to get through to the man who counts most: The man on the street.

Memorial Day 1960

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JAMES E. VAN ZANDT

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 25, 1960 r. VAN ZANDT. Mr. Speal

Mr. VAN ZANDT. Mr. Speaker, within a few days Americans everywhere will observe Memorial Day.

In keeping with the occasion the following statement appeared in my Washington Newsletter May 28 in lieu of my usual report on legislative activities:

MEMORIAL DAY 1960

Memorial Day is distinctly an American institution—a deeply significant sentimental custom established by our American people more than 90 years ago. It is not only observed in every community across our Nation but in many foreign lands and across the high seas.

What the American people do in their local communities on Memorial Day is actually symbolic of our contribution to the overall Memorial Day observance which is being duplicated by millions throughout our land and in several foreign countries.

To make the point clear the following facts must be considered: There are more than 1 million names on the honor rolls of the American war dead. These names are the men and women who have fought and died for our country since this Nation was founded some 185 years ago.

Throughout the United States and in some 25 American military cemeteries beyond our shores, the mortal remains of some 400,000 Americans who gave their lives in World War I, and World War II and the Korean conflict are buried or are recorded as missing in action.

At 8 American military cemeteries or spe-cial memorials in France, England, and Belgium, there are nearly 31,000 World War I

veterans buried.

Some 76,000 World War II dead are buried at 14 American cemeteries in England, France, Belgium, Luxembourg, Holland, Italy and Tunisa, north Africa. In addition, more than 90,000 World War II and Korean War dead are buried or recorded as missing at American cemeteries in Puerto Rico, Hawali, Alaska, and the Philippines.

In Arlington National Cemetery on the banks of the Potomac River across from the Nation's Capital surrounding the Tomb of the Unknowns are some 99,000 other war dead which represent all forms of military

service

In the American military cemeteries are graves and chapels, pools and gardens, statues and-most impressive, the walls of the missing. Alined in rows there are two designs of white marble headstones, the Star of David for those of the Jewish faith and the Latin Cross for all others. These markers identify the remains of the known American war dead. All of these material tributes are creations of our best talent in architecture and landscaping and in poetry and prayer. These oversea cemeteries and memorials are in charge of the American Battle Monuments Commission and the Department of the Army.

In our oversea cemeteries where our known American war dead are buried, there are more than 60,000 in France, 13,600 in Bel-glum, 17,000 in the Philippines, 13,500 in Hawaii, 12,000 in Italy, 8,000 in Holland, 5,000 in Luxembourg, 4,000 in England, and

2,000 in Tunisia, North Africa.

For the unknown war dead, rows of marked graves are to be found in the vicinity tremendously imposing structures, the walls of the missing. One of these walls of the missing is located on the south coast of England and inscribed on its 274-foot-long wall are the names, the ranks, the combat organization and the home States of American servicemen presumed to be dead but whose remains have not been recovered or identified. The following inscription appears on the walls of the missing: "Here are recorded the names of Americans who gave their lives in the service of their country and who sleep in unknown graves—grant unto them, O Lord, eternal rest."

Thus the real meaning of Memorial Day is revealed by the worldwide tributes that We as Americans pay to our war dead. The sun never sets upon all of these memorials.

Above the hallowed grounds upon which these memorials are located flies the Stars and Stripes—the fing of our country. It is the fing which says: "They were my de-fenders. They were your defenders. Their patriotism and their valor were proved on the fields of battle. Let their achievements and sacrifices be your inspiration forever."

This is the message for each of us on this

Memorial Day of 1960.

Capsule of Nixon's Political Creed

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. BOB WILSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, May 25, 1960

Mr. WILSON. Mr. Speaker, one of Washington's top political writers recently left Potomacland and returned to his native city of San Diego where he is now turning out outstanding editorials on the staff of the San Diego Union. For 12 years Frank Macomber, who is known as Jeff to his many friends, built up a reputation as a keen observer on the national and international scene. His columns and news articles were featured in the Copley Press, in leading newspapers around the country.

Macomber was on duty in Washington when RICHARD NIXON arrived as a newly elected young Congressman from Whittier, Calif. He watched Nixon estab-lish himself as a leader and spokesman of basic Republican principles. He recently summed up in a few typically well chosen words his interpretation of Nixon's creed.

Under unanimous consent I include Macomber's excellent column as a por-

tion of my remarks:

READY FOR STEP-UP-CAPSULE FOR NIXON POLITICAL CREED

(By Frank Macomber)

Vice President Nixon has many biographers already, at the age of 46. Yet this might be the time to put into a capsule the political philosophy of the man who seems destined to be the Republican presidential candidate this year.

Nixon's overall record is that of one who likes the middle of the highway in preference to the ditches at either side.

He has been interested deeply in international affairs ever since he served on the so-called Herter committee in Congress in the upper-middle forties. Today's Secretary of State headed the special committee which conducted a searching study of our foreign policy in those days.

Partly because of his experience on the committee, Nixon always has been for liberal foreign aid. He supported the United Nations and defended the Voice of America when it was under heavy attack in this country. This displeased the isolationists, of course.

However, Nixon does not view the U.N. as a superstate to which we should sur-render our sovereignty. He prefers tempo-rary foreign alliances to permanent partnerships.

The Vice President battled Mr. Truman's Far East policy, which irritated some on the far left, but supported Mr. Truman's con-troversial aid to Greece and the decision to send troops into Korea. That angered the right-wingers.

On the domestic front, Nixon would go after a balanced budget, which horrifles the Americans for Democratic Action, He thinks it should be balanced in 4-year cycles.

Nixon has favored reforms to eliminate labor racketeers and restrain labor bosses and give rank-and-file union members the rights to which they are entitled. That antagonizes the labor bosses.

He fought to extend social security to the 12 million workers not previously covered and to increase unemployment benefits. That antagonized the opposite group.

The Vice President favored reduced excess profits taxes to provide business incentive and foster depreciation rates to encourage expansion of industrial plants and thus provide more jobs. His aim was to produce a climate conducive to volume productionrisking lower prices to attract more salesand thus steadily improve living standards.
Nixon's record and his speeches mirror a

philosophy or a political creed something like this:

A faith that our system can achieve the wide distribution and resultant prosperity which is the theoretical justification for socialism. That, with social conscience for the infirm and the unfortunate, and equal

opportunity for the able, we can achieve what merely is the illusory promise of communism.

And we can do these things without sacrificing our individuality and our freedoms to all-powerful big-brother government and supremacy of the state, which is the price demanded by both communism and social-

For others, the Vice Presidency has been somewhat like falling down an elevator shaft: A flurry of excitement when you first step in, then-oblivion. For Nixon it has been an enriching experience as an assistant President. Now he is ready to take the only step-up left to him-the biggest step of all.

Treatment of Narcotic Addicts

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. VICTOR L. ANFUSO

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, May 24, 1960

Mr. ANFUSO. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to insert into the RECORD the text of a statement which I submitted on May 16, 1960, to the President's Interdepartmental Committee on Narcotics at its meeting in New York City that day:

STATEMENT BY CONGRESSMAN VICTOR L. AN-FUSO, DEMOCRAT, OF NEW YORK, PRESIDENT'S INTERDEPARTMENTAL COMMITTEE ON NAR-OOTICS MAY 16, 1960, IN NEW YORK CITY

I have introduced H.R. 12120, which provides for Federal assistance to the States for the payment of one-half of the cost per bed patient for the treatment of narcotic drug addicts in closed institutions maintained and operated by the States. It is my hope that with financial assistance from the Federal Government the States having a severe narcotic problem will be encouraged to provide for a drug treatment program under which the narcotic drug addict is committed through a State civil action, to remain under treatment until released by competent medical authority as having attained maximum medical benefits.

Statistics recently presented to the Subcommittee on Treasury-Post Office Departments Appropriations of the House Appropriations Committee by Commissioner H. J. Anslinger of the Federal Bureau of Narcotics caused me grave concern. Particularly was I appalled when I learned that of the total number of known drug addicts in the United States 45.7 percent, or 20,732, were recorded as being in my own State of New York. Furthermore, it was enlightening to know that nearly 80 percent of the known drug addicts are recorded as residing in only four States, New York, California, Illinois, and Michigan.

Since I am firmly convinced that drug addicts should be treated and cured of their drug addiction and that this can be successfully accomplished only through their compulsory confinement in a drug-free atmosphere, I endeavored to learn what the States were doing toward accomplishing this purpose. I was shocked to learn how little is being done by the States in this regard. I am convinced that with the proper impetus, which I believe my bill will have, the States will be willing to assume a more active participation in what has so far proved to be their weakest effort at curbing the narcotic drug problem-providing treatment facilities for drug addicts.

I learned that the State of Illinois is preparing to provide a treatment center as quickly as possible to take care of 300 drug addicts at one time. This bill will assist both New York City and Chicago in their efforts to cure the drug addict.

The enforcement of our criminal statutes again the drug peddler cannot alone eliminate drug addiction in this country. We must find a way of providing the much needed facilities for requiring the drug addict to remain under treatment in a hospital institution plus the additional facilities for rehabilitation and reinstatement into a normal life activity after being released from the institution. If we are going to admit that a drug addict is a sick person, we must be willing to spend the money necessary to cure him of his sickness.

The Congressional Cemetery

SPEECH

HON. GEORGE H. MAHON

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, May 24, 1960

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H.R. 12326) making appropriations for civil functions administered by the Department of the Army, cer-tain agencies of the Department of the Interior, the Atomic Energy Commission, the Tennessee Valley Authority, and certain study commissions, for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1961, and for other purposes.

Mr. MAHON. Mr. Chairman, I want to commend members of the committee for directing in their report that up to \$2,100 of the funds recommended in the bill for cemeterial expenses be allocated for maintenance of the Federal graves in the Congressional Cemetery, which is located in Southeast Washington, D.C. The budget recommended allocation of only \$750 for fiscal year 1961 for the maintenance of the 806 Government burial sites which are scattered throughout nine burial sections in the cemetery.

The Congressional Cemetery was established on April 4, 1807. The cemetery is under the ownership and control of the Washington Parish, Christ Church, From the beginning it was intended that this cemetery would be used in part as a burial ground for Members of Congress and other officials of the U.S. Government. At the beginning of the 19th century, it was, of course, not feasible to transport human remains long distances for burial. Thus, it was essential that there be a burial ground in the Federal Capital which would be appropriate to receive the remains of Government officials.

The church made a gift of a large number of burial sites to the Federal Government. Three Presidents-John Quincy Adams, William Henry Harrison, and Zachary Taylor-all died in Washington and their remains were taken to. and briefly interred in the Congressional Cemetery pending removal to their home cemeteries. Most of the Senators and Representatives and other high-ranking Government officials who died in Washington prior to the establishment of the Arlington National Cemetery were buried in the Congressional Cemetery. Many of these were later removed to their home

cemeteries. There are now in the Congressional Cemetery the remains of about 14 Senators and 42 Members of the House of Representatives.

The establishment of Arlington National Cemetery in 1864 and the development of improved methods to ship remains over long distances terminated the necessity for Government burials to be made at the Congressional Cemetery. No interments have been made in any of the Government-owned lots since 1902. As a result of this situation Congress has tended to lose interest in the Congressional Cemetery. For a time, the Army Memorial Division sent its own personnel into Congressional Cemetery to care for the Government-owned graves. The transportation of these men to and from the Congressional Cemetery obviously made this work expensive, and several years ago, the Army contracted with the superintendent of the Congressional Cemetery for the cutting and trimming of the grass on the Government-owned lots and the filling of any sunken graves. The superintendent of the Alexandria National Cemetery was delegated to straighten and clean and replace headstones when such work was necessary and will continue to do so.

I feel that we are taking appropriate action in making better provisions for the upkeep of the historical Congressional Cemetery and I have inserted the foregoing information with the thought that many Members would be interested in it.

The Businessman's Responsibility in Economic Growth

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. FRANK T. BOW

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, April 28, 1960

Mr. BOW. Mr. Speaker, it was my pleasure on Monday to accompany Hon. Frederick H. Mueller, the Secretary of Commerce, to Alliance where he addressed some 500 members of the Alliance Chamber of Commerce at a banquet. Both the Secretary and I were gratified by the large attendance in Alliance, and all present were impressed with his excellent address, the text of which I include with my remarks:

THE BUSINESSMAN'S RESPONSIBILITY IN ECONOMIC GROWTH

(By Secretary of Commerce, Frederick H. Mueller)

This year marks the opening of the 1960-70 decade, fraught with potentials for the greatest era of good times in the annals of mankind and also clouded by the worry that civilization itself could perish in the disaster of nuclear ashes.

We stand at an unmarked junction of history. We must choose the right course. we have only experience, logic and faith as our roadmap.

Problems and opportunities-all affecting us in one way or another—are multiplying all over the globe. Every morning we ask, what next?

As economic power is the generator of our

modern technological society, the Nation makes earnest demand on business for wise and courageous leadership. Not only in private industry, but also in public affairs.

Buisnessmen are wanted in Government administration. But they also are urgently needed to keep tabs on Government, to create better public understanding of the priceless value of free enterprise, and then to make such resulting public opinion heard in city hall, State house and in the National Cabitol.

Public policies are being designed in this commencement year of the decade that might well decide the success of our economic system for the next 10 years. Our very survival as a nation depends on the current might and growth of our free enterprise economy.

For members of a chamber of commerce or other businessmen to keep mum on vital public issues this year would be to abandon the defense of business and to desert civic responsibility.

What are some of the hazards that business

should point out to the public?
One is concealed in the word growth. We all want growth; the danger is in artificial, inflation-fed growth.

Let me illustrate from history: Not so many years ago, the nearsighted complained that the last frontier had been reached and, therefore, economic growth no longer was possible. Their solution was to distribute the leftover wealth. But this stagnation theory was not in the American tradition of dynamic enterprise—and the people rejected such defeatism.

So a new set of dreamers concocted a new panacea, using a few socialistic drugs in the dose. They admitted that, after all, growth was necessary. But, they said, the way to achieve it was through government action. They argued that private initiative was washed up and that the businessman must step down and be replaced by the bureaucrat. Only big government, they claimed, could supply the power thrust of economic growth.

That false doctrine is being repeated on the stump in this election year. Some people with short memories are being fooled. They forget that the sky's-the-limit spending theories were tried before but history exposed their fallacy. Despite every pep pill in the medicine kit, unemployment in 1939 was more than 17 percent of the labor force. The 1930-40 decade was the only decade in our economic history that failed to grow-Only the outbreak of war with its war production saved the witch doctor prescription from complete repudiation.

Why should we swap the free initiative of free enterprise for Government interference with private action and Government burdens heaped on taxpayers?

I am proud to be here as a representative of the Eisenhower administration that endeavors to maintain a climate favorable to private enterprise. During the last 7 years, the American people have had more jobs, more new homes, new schools, new hospitals and higher income than in any previous 7 years.

And that unprecedented prosperity continues. Due to a strong surge of production, the gross national product for the first 3 months of this year at an annual rate hit the \$500 billion alltime record mark, a rise of nearly \$17 billion over the last quarter of 1959

A very significant point is that although inventory accumulation after the steel strike was a factor, more than half of the overall gain went into consumption, fixed investment and other final uses, and represents basic growth. So, right now, we are actually in that half-a-trillion-dollar economy which we all have been anticipating so eagerly.

This is a solid foundation, characterized by stable prices, on which to build during the rest of the year.

New plant and equipment eutlays, consumer spending and other indicators justify a realistic, down-to-earth mood of calm confidence for the rest of 1960. My forecast is this: Not an inflation-fed boom, but a record year—the best year so far.

The administration will do everything

within its power to advance prosperity by striving to maintain a climate favorable to

private enterprise.

We shall continue to alert the public to the necessity of keeping the budget in balance, with the surplus used to reduce the \$290 billion national debt. We shall continue to oppose unnecessary projects financed through deficit spending, which would indefinitely postpone tax cuts. We shall never quit in our opposition to those who would rather satisfy well-meaning or grasping pressure groups than save the entire people from the terrible disaster of inflation that would be followed by the universal misery of depression.

We welcome, as always, congressional bi-partisan support for fiscal integrity, and we

are getting it.

We will not play partisan politics with Public duty.
So much for the current situation. Where

do we go from here? Let us look ahead to some of the possibili-

ties of economic growth in the 1960-70 We are enjoying the bounties of the tech-

nological revolution, still in its infancy. It required millions of years for anthropoids to evolve into cavemen. The stone age last-ed about 500,000 years. The age of steam began less than 200 years ago. The age of petroleum and electricity started in the last century. Yet crowded into this 20th century have come the electronic, nuclear, and space ages-all three.

If you should list the names of ever scientist since the dawn of time you would find that 9 out of every 10 named belong to our generation. Within the lifespan of persons now living have arrived more technological marvels than in all previous history. And as the explorations of man range from the minuscule subatomic particles to the vast reaches of the universe, marvels beyond imagination will be born and utilized for

the benefit of mankind.

As Secretary of Commerce I am a constant eyewitness of man's creative genius. Our Patent Office has issued and now has on file around 3 million patents, developed since the system was inaugurated in the days of George Washington. Right now it is re-ceiving 350 patent applications every working day. We are experimenting with elec-tronic memory disks to speed patent search and grant.

Heading toward our Patent Office are the fruits of research. As the last decade began, only \$2.8 billion were spent on research and development. Today the private sector and the Government are investing annually more than \$12 billion, which will be transformed into new and better tools and products.

The great technological agencies of the Commerce Department are initiating many significant modern improvements for sound growth. We are completing the world's first nuclear-powered merchant ship. We are translating the messages and reproducing the photography of manmade satellites to find ways to improve weather forecasting. We are bouncing radio rays off meteor trails to develop better broadcasting. We are prob-ing the ocean depths for ideas to reclaim long lost dust of precious minerals.

In discussing future research and invention, one of our bright young scientists at the National Bureau of Standards said, "When the decade of the sixtles has passed into history, we will perhaps wonder why we were so timid in not predicting even greater things."

Such expectations should thrill the imagination. But such responsibility also should

stir our sense of duty.

We are the promoters of a technology which can further enrich the economy. We are also custodians of an economy that can create tremendous technological progress. One factor cannot exist in modern life without the other. They are interdependent. Wreck the economy and the act also wrecks the science developed and financed by the economy.

Let us guard both precious blessings.

I can conceive of no more important duty this year than for businessmen not only to mind the store but also to mind the Government.

Advancing upon business are forces that could cause serious trouble for all private enterprise unless all its defendants quit the solo dancing, pool their resources, and act together in the common cause.

"Eternal vigilance," said Thomas Jefferson, "is the price of liberty."

All of us together must pay that price if we are to save our free market system. You and I and all who believe in a sound economy must do more to alert the general public to the measureless value of private enterprise.

We must do more to expose and refute false economic doctrines.

We must fight harder, longer, and better to protect sound economic growth from the knockout drops of leftwing theorists and the squanderlust of spendthrifts.

We must be wise, active, and dedicated in doing a better job in building a stronger and better America for ourselves and the coming generation.

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board, or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives or the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS FOR SALE

Additional copies of Government publications are offered for sale to the public by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D.C., at cost thereof as determined by the Public Printer plus 50 percent: *Provided*, That a discount of not to exceed 25 percent may be allowed to authorized bookdealers and quantity purchasers, but such printing shall not interfere with the prompt execution of work for the Government. The Superintendent of Documents shall prescribe the terms and conditions under which he may authorize the resale of Government publications by bookdealers, and he may designate any Government officer his agent for the sale of Government publications under such regulations as shall be agreed upon by the Superintendent of Documents and the head of the respective department or establishment of the Government (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 72a, Supp. 2).

RECORD OFFICE AT THE CAPITOL

An office for the Congressional Record, with Mr. Raymond F. Noyes in charge, is located in Statuary Hall, House wing, where orders will be received for subscriptions to the RECORD at \$1.50 per month or for single copies at 1 cent for eight pages (minimum charge of 3 cents). Also, orders from Mem-bers of Congress to purchase reprints from the RECORD should be processed through this office.

PRINTING OF CONGRESSIONAL RECORD EXTRACTS

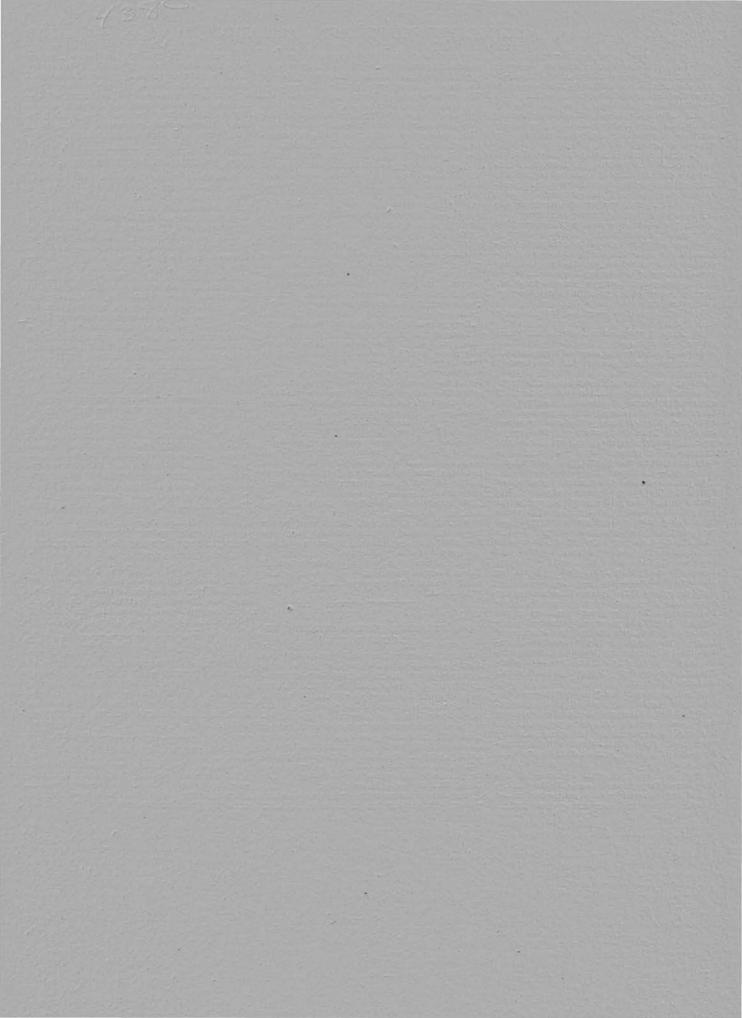
It shall be lawful for the Public Printer to print and deliver upon the order of any Senator, Representative, or Delegate, extracts from the Congressional Record, the person ordering the same paying the cost thereof (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 185, p. 1942).

CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY

The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. No sale shall be made on credit (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p.

CHANGE OF RESIDENCE

Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the RECORD.



Appendix

Address by Senator Chavez to New Mexico National Guard Conference

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. DENNIS CHAVEZ

OF NEW MEXICO

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Thursday, May 26, 1960

Mr. CHAVEZ. Mr. President, on May 15, I delivered an address to the New Mexico National Guard Conference, at Santa Fe, N. Mex. I ask unanimous consent that the address be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address Was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SPEECH BY SENATOR DENNIS CHAVEZ, NEW MEXICO NATIONAL GUARD CONFERENCE

In the past 5 years the concepts of warfare and military tactics have been affected by greater technological gains than in any other period in our history. The outlook for the future is for even more accelerated advances as the total of our scientific experiences pyramids toward yet unknown at-

tainments.

In this era of rapid achievement and

In this era of rapid achievement and change, the military services are continually rushing toward positions where their mis sions must be reexamined. The old must be cast aside or revitalized to fulfill new tasks. New formula and new attitudes must obtain.

At these points, where the new order of things begins, the military services are being challenged as to their capacity to play new roles, to fill voids no other can, to alter direction to seek out new solutions.

Today, there remain a good many people who advocate a lesser role for the National Guard. In viewing the great problems of our time and the economic and strategic concepts which must be weighed in charting our course, they judge the National Guard in terms of previous wars, in terms of older concepts. They are always looking back. Today, in all our policies we must set our sights before us, not behind us.

In looking back, these detractors of the National Guard don't fail to see the great achievements of the National Guard—the fighting at the rude bridge at Concord, or the bolstering of our forces in the great wars, or the poignant sacrifice of the New Mexico National Guard at Bataan. No, they see all these things, and further they fully realize What the National Guard has meant to the Nation in the past. The trouble with these people is they delineate the Guard's present Potential by the yardstick of its past contributions.

They see the National Guard of today as they see the National Guard or loudy as it was before. They think, "Yes; it was good then, but we don't fight that kind of war any more." They don't look ahead and envise. visage the great roles that the guard is capable of playing. They don't look ahead and see how this potential can be linked with our national goals. They don't look ahead and see that the National Guard can play various parts in a future scheme that it has never played before. They don't look ahead and see that the potential of the National Guard can be utilized in offsetting the economic and strategic challenges that burden us as the citadel of freedom. I cannot emphasize enough that what the National Guard can do today is not and should not be limited to the role it played in antiquity.

The person who desires to look ahead in providing for our national needs has only to examine the recent progress of the National Guard to get some hint as to the vast potential the guard can bring to bear

on our great problems.

In recent years both the Army and Air National Guard have taken on tasks heretofore reserved for the active Army and Air Force. By 1961 the Army National Guard is programed to operate 76 Nike-Ajax sites in the continental United States. The Hawaii Army National Guard will be manning six sites equipped with Nike-Hurcules missiles. These deadly weapons are capable of carrying atomic warheads.

This defense screen, stretching across the entire expanse of the Nation, will be operated entirely by National Guardsmen. Concentrated in the most vital industrial and population centers, it is an integral part of our air defense network.

The Air National Guard now maintains 21 fighter squadrons on alert status with aircraft and crews ready to meet possibly hostile planes on short notice. The Air National Guard also has 4 aircraft control and warning squadrons on alert 24 hours a day, 7 days a week. Serving as part of the active Air Force's radar network, these squadrons are constantly on guard against sneak attacks.

These full-time minutemen have shown the potential of the National Guard to participate in the day-to-day programs of the active establishment. By effectively assuming an active role in the defense of our Nation, these guardsmen have enabled the active Army and Air Force to use their limited resources and still spread our deterrent power over a far wider range. With the aid of the National Guard, the active Army and Air Force have been able to take on more defense responsibility without increasing their numbers.

It has been said again and again that the National Guard provides the best way to provide adequately trained forces in sufficient numbers without placing too great a burden on our economy.

Today the Army National Guard has 400,-000 men and almost all of them have completed basic training. As a result of new programs which provide for the training of men before they join their units, the Army National Guard has for more than a year been able to concentrate on unit training.

Last year and the year before, when it was proposed to cut the strength of the Army National Guard and Army Reserve, Congress resisted and set a strength floor of 400,000 for the Army National Guard. In response to the will of Congress, the Army National Guard has maintained its strength level.

I was pleased to learn that you in the New Mexico Army National Guard were successful in your recruiting efforts during this fiscal year and made a contribution to the maintenance of the guard's overall strength. By the end of March 1960 New Mexico's Army National Guard had a strength of 3,485 and holds its place among the few States which consistently maintain near maximum

Again this year a proposal has been presented to the Congress to cut the strength of the Army National Guard from 400,000 men to 360,000. Both the Secretary of the Army and the Chief of Staff of the Army have taken the position that the Army National Guard needs a strength of 400,000 in order to maintain its effectiveness. Because I too am convinced that 400,000 is the minimum required. I will strongly resist a further cut and am optimistic that the majority of the Congress holds to the same convictions as I. Because the guard has the capacity to meet the greater challenges of the future, this effectiveness should not be impaired.

With the recent completion of its nationwide pentomic reorganization, the streamlined Army National Guard is ready to take its place beside the Active Army in both nuclear and conventional warfare.

The Air National Guard is also prepared as never before to meet the test of modern warfare. Its 62,000 airmen and 8,600 officers have a degree of readiness never before achieved.

As part of its modernization program during the next year or so, the Air National Guard will convert 18 squadrons to the more deadly and effective aircraft. These planes are part of the widely acclaimed Century Series, a term that has become more familiar in New Mexico than in most States since Albuquerque's own 188th Fighter-Interceptor Squadron was the first Air National Guard unit in the country to receive a Century Series aircraft.

The Air National Guard is also assuming an important airlift mission. By the end of the present fiscal year, the first Air National Guard squadron will be trained to operate the 4-engine C-97. Six squadrons are scheduled to receive a total of 48 of these heavy transports. By gaining an airlift capa-bility the Air National Guard has added another important link in the ever-increasing part it plays in national defense.

The formidable fighting force that is the National Guard is spread strategically through every portion of the Nation. The Air National Guard is stationed on 94 flying fields and 42 nonflying installations. The Army National Guard is located in approximately 2,500 communities drawing on the human wealth of virtually every corner of the 50 States and Puerto Rico.

Those who have been able to look ahead have forseen that the great dispersal of these National Guard units is an asset that can be applied to our national needs as no other can. The forward lookers have realized that the National Guard might be our most important resource if our country is subjected to a nuclear attack.

Those who have probed the future have analyzed the period following a nuclear attack at a time when our resiliency may well turn the tide in the overall struggle. forward lookers have envisaged a recovery role for the National Guard that is both prospective and particularly suited to the nature of the National Guard.

The National Guard is so dispersed that its entirety would not succumb to a nuclear attack. A framework of adequately trained forces would ultimately survive and be prepared to advance with our own nuclear re-taliation. It can't be disputed that the conclusive victor in a nuclear war may well be the Nation that can rebound with welltrained land forces to occupy the enemy's territory.

Although the National Guard represents an impressive contribution to our defense, its budgetary support amounts to only about 1½ percent of the total defense budget of \$41 billion.

The budget request for the National Guard in fiscal year 1961 amounts to about \$610 million. Although small in comparison to our total defense needs in this atomic age, this figure is enormous when compared to the standards of our everyday pursuits. Consider, for example, that 610 million minutes have not passed since the birth of

Here in New Mexico, the nearly 3,500 Army guardsmen and 525 Air guardsmen are caught up in this swirling tide that may well

affect the destiny of our Nation.

In the recent reorganization of the Army National Guard, the total number of New Mexico units was reduced by one one-from 52 to 51. But in terms of effectiveness, the reorganization of the New Mexico Army National Guard has greatly increased its value.

The reorganized units are now dovetailed with those of the Active Army to provide the needed whole in the event of mobiliza-The reorganization has enabled the New Mexico Army Guard to tighten its efficiency and provide for a more significant contribution to national defense.

New Mexico can take pride that it has contributed to the commendable performance of the National Guard throughout the United States in carrying out this vast re-organization. Extensive as the reorganization was, requiring changes and redistribution from the ground up, the National Guard of the United States completed the reorganization more than a year ahead of schedule.

Two years ago, I had the pleasure of participating in the ceremonies when New Mexico's fighter squadron received the first Century Series aircraft assigned to the Air National Guard. At that time the unit became the pathfinder in the Century Series its outstanding performance while flying the old F-80 Shooting Star, and the fine facilities available at Kirtland Air Force Base. With newer and more advanced aircraft being made available to the Air National Guard in the next several years, it is probable that the 188th will be given an opportunity to get even more advanced Century Series aircraft. In fact, I have been informed that the New Mexico Air National Guard will have F-102 fighters in the near future. The announcement will be made within the next few days.

During the present fiscal year, the Federal Government provided a total of \$3,394,547 for support of the New Mexico Army National Guard. The dollar support for the New Mexico Air National Guard totaled \$1,501,781

during the fiscal year.

These figures are large, but they are hardly close to the total Federal invetsment in the New Mexico National Guard. Including buildings, equipment, and other capitalized items, the total Federal investment in the New Mexico National Guard, both Army and Air, is more than \$54 million. This represents a capital investment of \$13,500 for

every guardsman in the State.

Since 1950, when Congress enacted the National Defense Facilities Act, New Mexico has made great strides in providing the most up-to-date structures possible for its Army National Guard units. During the past 10 years, a total of \$639,037 in Federal funds have been contributed for obligation for the construction of 10 new armories in New Mexico. The Congress has appropriated for contribution toward the construction of two more armories, at Espanola and Socorro. In addition, projects for the construction of armories at Clayton and Las Vegas are in the bill for authorization in fiscal year 1961.

As a Senator, I have witnessed the adoption of programs to increase the preparedness of the National Guard. I am proud of my support of these programs for on my visits to New Mexico I have seen and heard of the effects of these programs here at home. I have experienced great pride in what you have done for our State and Nation.

Military leaders in Washington have called the National Guard our readiest reserve force. The manifest preparedness of the National Guard throughout the United States, and its contributions to the roundthe-clock defense network of the Nation have demonstrated the capability of the National Guard, both Army and Air, to operate the highly technical weapons required in modern warfare. Furthermore, the modern Minutemen have shown that the National Guard is ready to participate in the day-today programs of the active establishment.

In spite of the rapid advances in military science, the Guard has kept pace. But the present high degree of effectiveness in the National Guard is not the outer limit of its

effectiveness.

Those who must muster our means to meet the challenges of this modern age must not fail to apply all the resources in our great arsenal. Most of all, in applying these resources, they must look to them from the standpoint of our future needs and not in terms of their previous use. Let us look ahead with confidence that the National Guard is America's up-to-the-minute men, ready, willing and able for service to our State and Nation.

Area Development

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. KENNETH J. GRAY

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 25, 1960

Mr. GRAY. Mr. Speaker, I have the honor of representing one of the finest congressional districts in the country, the 25th Congressional District of southern Illinois. We have good schools, churches, and fine people. However, due to a serious decline in the fluorspar and coal mining industries over the past few years we have experienced economic hardship through a loss of jobs in these industries. The 1960 census tentatively shows a population loss in 14 counties of my 15county congressional district. Speaker, this is frightening and appalling to think that so many people are forced to leave their homes and loved ones to go elsewhere seeking employment. Over 30,000 persons have been forced to leave the area in the past few years and an additional 20,000 are toughing it out at home trying to find work.

Every community of my district has been trying diligently to help themselves. We have had a transition to other types of industry. However, the decline has been greater than the progress. Therefore, if our economic decay is to be stopped, we must have some outside assistance. I am happy to say that Congress has been good to us and we are now working on various Federal projects. However, much more must be done.

We were all grieved when the President saw fit to veto the area redevelopment bill that would have meant so much to our district. It is hard for my people to understand why we continue to pour billions into foreign countries while they cannot receive a pittance of aid at home.

Mr. Speaker, a good example of our Government's neglect at home has been experienced in the small city of Golconda, in Pope County, Ill. This community had an opportunity to locate a new factory in the city and applied to the Small Business Administration for a measly \$51,000 loan to help finance the construction of a plant that would have provided employment for approximately 100 per-The community had agreed to put up \$35,000 in cash to match the \$51,000 needed from the Government, but after fighting the red tape for several weeks. and wires and telephone calls were made by my office and that of Senator DougLAS, the loan was rejected.

Mr. Rodney J. Brenner, publisher of the Golconda Enterprise, has written an editorial in his paper concerning the refusal of the Small Business Administration to help this community. City Attorney Wayne Clemens prepared all of the papers in connection with this loan and made several trips to the Small Business Administration office. Mr. Speaker, my people as well as myself are very disappointed in the Small Business Administration's efforts, or lack of effort, to help provide assistance as prescribed by Congress in the Small Business Act. With a local community putting up almost 50 percent downpayment, I cannot understand why SBA would want to reject a loan of this type, particularly in view of the fact that it would mean food in the mouths of hungry people. Jobs are very difficult to obtain and when we have an opportunity to secure an industry with a little help from the Federal Government, we should receive that help. In this case we did not.

Mr. Speaker, under permission previously granted me. I include a newspaper article on the subject and also the editorial by Mr. Rodney J. Brenner:

[From the Herald-Enterprise, Mar. 24, 1960] REFUSES FACTORY LOAN-SBA DEMANDS \$51,000 FROM COMMUNITY

Pope County's superhuman efforts to pull itself out of its economic doldrums through establishment of a community-sponsored furniture factory seemed futile today with word from Washington, D.C., that the Small Business Administration will refuse the community's request for a loan.

Actual refusal has not been made, but according to the office of Senator PAUL DOUG-LAS, the SBA has reached the following de-

The loan will not be granted on the present basis of 60 percent Government funds matched by 40 percent community funds, the original terms specified by the SBA and the terms met by the community, because:

1. The SBA now believes the project to be under-capitalized and will demand that the community's share be raised to \$51,000 to match \$51,000 contributed by the Government (instead of \$35,000 community and \$51,000 Government).

2. The SBA does not believe that the project will pay a 4-percent profit, which was the figure arrived at by one of the State's top certified public accountants employed by the county to make a thorough study of the

3. The SBA does not believe that the proposed project can put up sufficient collateral to cover the loan.

Word of the SBA's unfavorable attitude toward the project came this morning in a

telephone call from Senator DougLas' office to City Attorney Wayne Clemens. Source of information was the Washington office of the Small Business Administration.

(By Rodney J. Brenner)

The true farcical nature of the so-called Small Business Administration, hypocrisy in Federal Government, dogmatic, bureaucratic, unsympathetic attitude of self-righteous, smugly self-satisfied, payrollers, who unfortunately control billions of tax dollars, and the apparent futility of any attempt by our small, self-sacrificing, well-deserving southern Illinois community to strengthen its economic position, was never more clearly outlined than today in the refusal of the Small Business Administration to grant a loan to establish a stable industry in Pope County.

Never have we known of a more sound, a better thoughtout, a more secure plan of business than the proposed furniture factory

in Golconda.

Never have we despised with such a degree of intensity a system of government that Would allow a segment of that Government to administer what well could be the death blow to a community that although on the financial ropes thus far has refused to die.

Never have we realized with such clarity that apparently no longer have we a Government "for, by, and of" the people—but a Government "for, by, and of" preferred

people.

From Kansas City, Mo., to Washington, D.C., the Small Business Administration offices, crammed to the rafters with pseudoexperts, many who luckily have landed wellpaying jobs financed from the public till, have knifed Pope County in the back, with a switchblade more deadly than that of any hoodlum-switchblade of doubletalk, unfounded second-guessing, and deliberate rejection of a basic, wonderful fact—the fact that a small, downtrodden community amazingly has reached into its frayed pockets to lay \$35,000 on the line, with no hope of direct personal returns from the investment, in order to build an industry that would spell conomic uplift for this section of southern Illinois.

Pope County has not asked the impos-sible * * * nor even the improbable. It has presented the SBA with an orderly, extensively investigated plan which, according to a highly regarded, topflight certified public accountant, should be an outstanding finan-cial success. What business can the SBA show us that is able to purchase building and equipment at bargain prices, produce a promise from a market source to handle the entire year's output of the proposed factory, two furniture factory experts * * unques-tionably proven in their field, and so certain of the project's success that they are investing their own money in the enterprise, and the good wishes of an entire community, ready, willing, and able to back up its faith in the plan with cold, hard cash?

When the SBA turns down a proposition of this type, it is time to run a congressional investigation of the SBA. Its lack of foresight, lack of faith in our community, and inability to see the importance of a boost rather than a kick in the pants, leads us to believe that the Government has sent a boy

to do a man's job.

This community would be happy for a disinterested expert on factory management to study Pope County's brochure on its proposed furniture factory, and compare it with that of other similar projects already ap-

proved by the SBA.

It is entirely possible that we in Southern Illinois would be wise to annex ourselves to some foreign country * * * then ask for the money. No doubt it would be forthcoming without delay.

Address by Senator Wiley Before the 47th National Rivers and Harbors Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. ALEXANDER WILEY

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Thursday, May 26, 1960

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that excerpts taken from an address which I delivered on May 26, 1960, before the 47th National Rivers and Harbors Congress, be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the excerpts were ordered to be printed in the RECORD,

as follows:

EXCERPTS OF ADDRESS BY SENATOR ALEXANDER WILEY, REPUBLICAN OF WISCONSIN, SENIOR REPUBLICAN OF THE SENATE FOREIGN RELA-TIONS COMMITTEE, BEFORE THE 47TH NA-TIONAL RIVERS AND HARBORS CONGRESS, MAY 26, 1960

I welcome the opportunity-along with the distinguished Senate Majority Leader Lyndon Johnson-to extend warmest greetings to you attending this 47th national convention.

Wisely and diplomatically, you have elicited greetings from both sides of the political You well appreciate that experience has taught us, however, that there is almost no field in which partisanship is so out of place—and cooperation so necessary—as in our natural resources development programs.

With the fast-expanding population, the United States is confronted with the task of carrying on effective and further improved water resources programs for human consumption, industrial utilization, irrigation, power generation, navigation, and recreation.

In addition, we face the well-recognized challenge of further improving flood control, rivers and harbor development projects, and

other related programs.

Reflecting my long-time interest in ade-quately developing our water resources, I cosponsored Public Law 358 of the 83d Congress which authorized U.S. participation in deepening, improving, and modernizing the St. Lawrence Seaway.

The seaway—a magnificent engineering and construction feat unparalleled in American history—promises great things for the utilization of the Great Lakes, the greatest inland waterway system in the world, and its contiguous rivers and other water bodies.

Regionally and nationally, the seaway, I believe, will create new economic life for

Across the country, as reflected in this nationwide representation here at your 47th annual meeting, however, there is a growing need to assure ever better utilization of our invaluable resourse—water. This includes projects for flood control, river and harbor improvements, irrigation and reclamation, and carrying on conservation practices and water and soil resources.

For over half a century, you, the National Rivers and Harbors Congress, have contributed in a splendid way toward attainment of such goals by inspiring greater public concern and interest in our Na-tion's urgently needed water development programs; acting effectively to convert plans into reality; and strengthening the co-operative effort between Federal, State, and local agencies working in land and water

In establishing realistic criteria for determining your support of development projects, you have been of tremendous help

to our national legislature in providing the necessary Federal support for such programs.

As you well appreciate, Members of Congress cannot always get on-the-spot information for flood control, waterway and harbor improvement, antipollution, irrigation, and other programs. Consequently, it is particularly helpful to have a reputable organization reviewing, analyzing, and advising Congress, helping to establish priority on the many works projects in the Nation.

As you know, the omnibus rivers and harbors bills, passed by the House of Representatives last year, is scheduled for consideration, in executive session next in the Public Works Committe. In addition, the Senate will now consider the public works appropriations bill passed by the House yesterday.

The measure contains many significant projects including several in my home State

of Wisconsin

I am hopeful that Congress will pass a realistic bill, one that will help us to prog-ress at a proper pace, but that will not invite a veto.

Within this framework, some might call it a handicap, I believe that Congress should move forward as expeditiously as possible toward approval of this piece of legislation.

Like all of you, I am well aware that there are other projects, all over the country, which, if further developed, would better serve not only local, but the national inter-

As constructively exemplified in your work, however, there is a need to establish a priority system for such projects, even though we, by natural inclination, would like to accomplish the jobs all at once.

Consequently, I am hopeful, that as soon possible, the many meritorious projects still being held in abeyance can also be considered and approved soon in successive

As we face the future, I want to again commend you, and express appreciation for, the splendid work you are doing in this significant field.

Moreover, I shall look forward to what I know will be the constructive results of this convention. In your efforts, I am confident, you will write another significant page in the history of the Nation's rivers and harbors development programs.

The Grange Reports on Farm Legislation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. ALBERT H. QUIE

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, May 26, 1960

Mr. QUIE. Mr. Speaker, the National Grange speaks out clearly and forcefully on agricultural policy through its regular newsletter, the Grange Farm Reporter. I found a recent issue of the bulletin which deals with the "Farm Surplus Reduction Act of 1960" recently reported by the House Committee on Agriculture of great interest. I believe that other Members of Congress will appreciate having the opportunity to study this report. which follows:

WASHINGTON, May 21, 1960. DEAR SIR: The farm legislative pot, stoked by warming political fires, boiled furiously in Washington this week. Senate and House

May 26

Agriculture Committee chefs began to dish out a number of bills, some of which had

been cooking for months.

The main farm dish on the menu is a bill made out of leftovers from an unpalatable Family Farm Income Act concocted earlier this year by a Democratic farm study group in the House. The House Agriculture Committee choked on it a couple of weeks ago.

The committee took it back to the kitchen and, after removing such ingredients as cotton, tobacco, rice, and peanuts, put it back on the bill of fare as the Farm Surplus Reduction Act of 1960.

The new recipe for curing what ails farmers now calls for a choice between two wheat programs, a hash of feed grain cure-alls, and a side dish of changes in the food surplus

disposal programs.

For dessert, House Agriculture Committee Chairman HAROLD COOLEY offered a bill to extend the Sugar Act for 1 year beyond next December 31, without change. It does not include a provision that would give the President authority to shift Cuban quotas to other countries if things get too hot in "Castroland."

COOLEY advised Congress to proceed with great care and caution while we wait and see what happens in Cuba. He cautioned against embarking upon a program of economic aggression against Cuba or any other country, large or small.

Hungry as the farm groups in Washington are for a substantial serving of new farm legislation, the Farm Surplus Reduction Act failed to arouse any great enthusiasm. There

is, they complain, very little "meat" in it. Grange Master Herschel D. Newsom commented that although the bill has some good points, "it is not a bill that the Grange can support." With only about 6 weeks remaining before Congress adjourns, "this is not the time to launch a program of general farm legislation," Newsom said.

Newsom plans to make Grange farm program recommendations to the farm policy committees of both the Democratic and Republican parties in July. He has been in-vited by both committees to personally present Grange recommendations and to discuss

farm program objectives.

Meanwhile, the Grange and National Association of Wheat Growers this week threw in the towel on their certificate wheat plan for this year. They agreed that although the bill has strong support in Congress, there is no point in pushing for action now in view of strong administration opposition and a probable veto. Newsom said the Grange hopes conditions will be more favorable next year.

Newsom expressed disappointment with both the Senate and House bills on wheat. The bill approved by the Senate Agriculture Committee may be cleared for Senate debate sometime next week by the Democratic policy committee. It calls for 80 percent of parity supports, a 20 percent acreage reduction, and

a 50-percent in-kind payment.

Back of the 11th-hour drive in Congress to get on record with specific farm law proposals is a disinclination to go into the farm belt political campaigning emptyhanded. Democrats in particular want a farm bill with a Democratic label on it. But not just any bill. It is not likely they will be able to agree on a bill this year.

The degree of politics in the farm surplus reduction bill can best be judged by the division of votes on reporting it this week. Twenty Democrats voted for it. Twelve Republicans and one Democrat (McSween, of Louisiana) voted against it.

The bill, if cleared by the Rules Committee, faces rough going in the House. The odds are it won't have the votes to pass. So far there is no indication that it will be considered on the Senate side of the Capitol. No one thinks it would be signed if it should reach the White House.

Here, briefly, are the three main sections of the bill, H.R. 12261 by Representative

W. R. Poage, of Texas.
Wheat: Calls for a July 25 referendum. including the so-called 15-acre growers, to choose between the "A" and "B" programs.

program would offer supports The "A" at 85 percent of parity (\$2.03 a bushel), a 25-percent reduction in allotment and a 55 percent of normal yields-in-kind payment on acres taken out of production. Would make 15-acre growers subject to marketing quotas and eligible for in-kind payments.

The "B" program would repeal allotments and marketing quotas, establish price supports, after 1961, at the support level for corn after taking into account the relative feed values of the two grains, and extend the soll bank conservation reserve for 3 The 1961 supports would be 120 peryears. cent of the corn support rate, or about \$1.27 a bushel, and about \$1.15 thereafter. This is the farm bureau plan.

Feed grains: Election of a farmer-committee to develop a program which the committee suggests would "bring production into balance with demand, return feed grain producers between 85 percent and 100 percent of parity, and authorize retirement of up to 50 percent of crop land in return for in-kind payments." Prohibit Government purchase or storage of grains and limit program costs to 10 percent of the value of the crop

Surplus disposal: Authorize a substantial increase in distribution of dairy, poultry, and meat products to needy through charitable institutions and the school lunch program. Transfer administration of the programs from USDA to the Health, Education, and Welfare Department, and direct CCC to sell a bushel of feed grain for each \$2 worth of animal or poultry products distributed to needy.

A House Labor Subcommittee held hearings this week on bills to raise the minimum wage from \$1 to \$1.25 an hour and extend coverage to agricultural workers and employees of retail stores. Secretary of Labor Mitchell issued a 280-page study purporting to show that extension of minimum wages to farm workers is practical.

One of the three bills being considered would eliminate some of the exemptions on wage minimums and overtime pay for first processing and area of production workers. Another would prohibit employment (except for members of the farm family) of workers under 14 years of age in agriculture, and restrict employment of 14- to 16-year-olds to jobs specified by the Secretary of Labor.

Another bill would require migratory labor crew leaders to obtain a license from the Labor Department, post bond, and file a work plan to include a description of housing, transportation, and wage rates to be paid.

Predictions are that the House will increase minimum wages, perhaps to \$1.10 an hour, but it is questionable whether the Senate will act this year.

Fraternally yours,

FRED BAILEY, (For the National Grange.)

Moving Tribute to Our War Dead by Col. William H. McIntyre

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. KENNETH B. KEATING

OF NEW YORK

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Thursday, May 26, 1960

Mr. KEATING. Mr. President, a moving tribute to our war dead and the solemn obligations of all Americans to continue to strive for the goals for which they died, was recently evoked by Col. William H. McIntyre. He spoke at the 42d annual memorial service for the 1st Provisional Regiment of the New York National Guard at Sleepy Hollow Cemetery, in North Tarrytown, N.Y.

Because of the eloquence of his words and the importance of his message, I ask unanimous consent that Colonel McIntyre's memorial address be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

MEMORIAL ADDRESS BY COL. WILLIAM H. McIntyre, at 42d Annual Memorial Serv-ICE, 1ST PROVISIONAL REGIMENT, NEW YORK NATIONAL GUARD, MAY 22, 1960, SLEEPY HOL-LOW CEMETERY

My fellow Americans, today is one of reverent memories. On this occasion we once again pay tribute to the American dead who gave their lives in the defense of freedom and democracy. On this May day, as nature strives to bring to life all sleeping things, we gather, to pay homage of respect and love to our honored dead, resting in cemeteries at home and overseas in foreign lands.

It is not a sudden impulse of sentiment that prompts us to bow our heads in prayerful reverence. We do so because we, as free people, wish to recall and honor the legacy of fredom and equality of opportunity bequeathed to us by those who gave their lives for freedom.

With deep gratitude and humility, we recognize the sacrifices of these men and women and of their families. It is fitting we set aside this day to decorate with flags and flowers the graves of our dead comrades and of our families and friends. The placing of spring flowers and the rites being observed today bear evidence and respect and here love for them.

We, the living cannot exist entirely in the present. From time to time it is appropriate that we view the various aspects of our country's history, recall the unselfish patriotism of our men-in-arms, and consider the sacrifices they made to make our Nation For, in the pages of history we find the spiritual wealth of our Nation, and from the past we inherit our national traditionsour American heritage-our love of God and country.

At previous times I have explained how the birth of Memorial Day came about. Nearly a century after our first Memorial Day we are reminded of our heroic dead who have emblazoned the pages of history with such names as Valley Forge, the battle of New Orleans—of the Alamo and Gettysburg, San Juan Hill-of the Marne and the Argonne of Bataan, Corregidor and Iwo Jima—of the bloody fights in Korea. The cost of war in human sacrifice is staggering. Battle and nonbattle deaths during World War I, World War II, and Korea were 450,000. we once again pay tribute to our war dead, we wonder if we have come very close to the goals for which they gave their lives.

The dangers which confront our Nation and the world today are massive. The problems, complex and trying. Our theory democracy is being challenged in a cold war with communism, a designed plan for world revolution that would strip man of his belief in God. Stop for a moment-What happened in Paris?

The cause of freedom is never won lightly or completely, and the course of freedom has never been a steady or smooth one. Since the beginning of our Nation, the course has been rugged. One again, Memorial Day services are being reenacted in many cemeteries throughout our land, where men and women of many wars lie silent.

On this day, we veterans and others pay solemn and grateful tribute to the memory of those who sacrificed everything in order that our Government and its blessings, and our many freedoms shall be perpetuated. Over the silent chambers of these honored dead we place flowers, symbols of our love and devotion, sacred testimony that their memory lives in our hearts—our pledge that the Nation for which they fought and died, shall always live.

In conclusion, I would like to repeat the words of Abraham Lincoln at Gettysburg, be etched in our minds and hearts. "It is for us, the living, rather to be here dedicated to the unfinished work that they have thus far so nobly carried on. It is rather for us to be here dedicated to the great task remaining before us—that from these honored dead we take increased devotion to the cause for which they here gave the full measure of devotion."

Therefore it remains for us to guarantee that the cause for which they gave their lives shall not be forgotten—that the very cornerstones of our way of life—liberty, human dignity, and respect for the rights of our fellowmen—shall continue firm.

The "Padre of the Americas": A Worker for the Good-Neighbor Policy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GERALD T. FLYNN

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, May 26, 1960

Mr. FLYNN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Congressional Record, I would like to include a factual report prepared by the able members of the Washington Bureau of the Milwaukee Journal. This interesting piece relates the reasons why a Wisconsin-born priest, educator, author and diplomat, has been invited every year to offer the prayer in the U.S. House of Representatives every year on Pan American Day, the date officially designated for the Capitol Hill celebration of the cause of inter-American friendship.

In this connection, it may be added that almost all the American Republics, in one form or another, have shown their admiration for the pioneer work accomplished by the Rev. Father Joseph F. Thorning, Ph. D., D.D., in drawing attention by his lectures, books, articles, and special diplomatic missions to the value and importance of promoting sound socioeconomic policies that bear upon the welfare of the peoples throughout the Western Hemisphere. More than one distinguished Member of the U.S. Congress, for example, has started his study of Latin American history and culture because of the suggestions made by Father Thorning. Many of my esteemed colleagues have acknowledged this fact, privately and publicly. The article from the Journal follows:

[From the Milwaukee Journal, Apr. 16, 1960]

"Padre of Americas" Gives 16th Good

Netchbor Prayer

Washington, D.C.—For the 16th consecutive year, a Milwaukee-born priest, Father Joseph F. Thorning, gave the opening prayer

this week at a Pan American Day ceremony in the House of Representatives.

Father Thorning, who will be 64 on April 25, is asked to give the prayer every year in recognition of his unceasing work in behalf of the good neighbor policy.

HOUSE EXTENDS GREETINGS

This year the ceremony marked the 70th anniversary of the founding of the Pan American Union, from which grew the present inter-American regional system called the Organization of American States.

The House adopted a resolution extending greetings to the 20 other American Republics and expressing its desire to strengthen the bonds of friendship which have made possible the maintenance of an organization devoted to hemispheric peace.

ASKS FOR REDEDICATION

Only last week, in the same House Chamber, President Lleras-Camargo, of Colombia, told a joint session of Congress that "we are partners in the most effective enterprise for the elimination of war, for collective defense, and peaceful cooperation."

Father Thorning, who has specialized in inter-American relations as an educator, author, and lecturer, warned in his prayer of "the shadows of a new slavery that are apparent over nearby American skies."

The priest, who was graduated from Marquette Academy in 1914, asked for a rededication to the ideals of the good neighbor policy and implored fresh gifts of wisdom, bravery, resourcefulness, and imagination characteristic of men and women of prayer.

Father Thorning, called the "Padre of the Americas," by Senator Mansfield, Democrat, of Montana, is pastor of St. Joseph's Church, Carrollton Manor, Md., and professor of Latin American history at Marymount College, Arlington, Va.

The son of the late C. M. Thorning, a ship-builder who worked on the shores of Lake Michigan, Father Thorning has two sisters in Milwaukee County—Mrs. M. Paul Reilly, 2200 East Stratford Court, Shorewood, and Mrs. C. R. Reilly, 1908 North 73d Street, Wauwatosa.

Political Interest—A Job for a New Generation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JOHN SHERMAN COOPER

OF KENTUCKY

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, May 26, 1960

Mr. COOPER. Mr. President, the future well-being of our Nation will be determined by the younger generation of the United States.

Recognizing this fact, the National Small Business Men's Association is engaged in the praiseworthy activity of publishing Student Issues. This publication is designed to create interest in affairs of government and acquaint students with the more important legislative issues facing government today.

All of us who come in contact with the young people of the Nation, in our schools and colleges, are impressed and derive comfort and hope for the future—for they are informed and deeply concerned about the great issues, national and international, which our country faces.

I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD a message to students which the association asked me to write for its current edition.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

POLITICAL INTEREST—A JOB FOR A NEW GENERATION

(Guest editor, Senator John Sherman Cooper)

Plato once said: "The penalty that people pay for not being interested in politics is to be governed by people worse than themselves."

The philosopher's saying is as true today as it was in the days of Grecian glory. But it has more meaning today because the world has shrunk, nations live in closer proximity, armaments are globally destructive, and government by morally competent men in a heaithy political atmosphere, nationwide and worldwide, is essential to universal peace.

Now, there are two reasons why people don't become interested in politics. These are the twin viruses of ignorance and neglect. Once fastened on a nation's body, they drain it of the mental and moral vitality that is needed to carry on governmental activities beneficial to the welfare of the country and the world.

Thus, it is imperative that we do not permit these viruses to enter the stream of political consciousness in this country. And the most effective preventive medicine is for our own youth to take an active interest in current politics because the young men and women of today will be responsible for our Nation of tomorrow.

It is not enough merely to say that you are for or against a certain proposition. You have to know why you have taken such a stand; you must marshall facts to help you think clearly to the conclusion that you reach. You should discuss the issues with your fellow classmates so that the pros and cons are in clear perspective, the issues more sharply defined.

It is well to recognize that these exchanges of ideas, in the classroom or privately, not only help to lay the foundation for a better nation, but they are of great current value in maturing the mind of the individual. It should be of selfish interest to every man and woman to include in this type of mental exercise for his or her mental and moral betterment.

In your own generation, you have seen the world pass from the stage of hot war to that of cold war. In essence, it has gone from the battlefield of bloody struggle to that of politics in the realm of ideological conflict. How long this cold war will last, we do not know. We do know, however, that we will need the keenest mentality and the strongest morality to win it.

If this is so—and it obviously is—from whence are we to get our replacements to preserve the Nation and the free world in this global struggle for men's minds and hearts? You are the replacements. Your minds are the future armaments in the arsenal of democracy. Your duty as citizens is to fashion and temper these minds, in your own individual way, for the common good of a free national and worldwide society.

Political interest and action on your part is not only essential for the common well-being in the future. It is needed now, not only for yourselves, but also, as examples to your elders. There is too much political apathy in this country now. You are in a position today to lead the older generation along proper political paths that they should have set for themselves in their youth.

Seaton Support From Alaska

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. PHIL WEAVER

OF NEBRASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, May 26, 1960

Mr. WEAVER. Mr. Speaker, another area of the Nation, our 49th State, has added weight and momentum to the growing Seaton for Vice President bandwagon which is now rolling across the country. In an editorial in the Anchorage (Alaska) Daily Times, Mr. Seaton's fine qualifications and his great service to the people of Alaska are pointed out. This is but another indication of the growing strength of the Seaton movement which is pushing the Secretary of the Interior, Fred A. Seaton, to the fore. The editorial from the April 19, 1960, issue of the Anchorage Daily Times follows:

SEATON WITH NIXON IS BEST GOP TICKET

The Republican meeting held in Anchorage last week missed an opportunity to get on an important bandwagon.

It is the one boosting Secretary of the Interior Fred A. Seaton for the vice presidential nomination.

It is a popular proposal. It has a good chance of being a winner. It would be appropriate for Alaskan Republicans to be the ones who get the bandwagon firmly started down the road that leads to the national convention and the final nomination.

Instead of doing it, the local gathering became involved in a debate over semantics in connection with the draft Rockefeller move. Expanding their time and attention on this subject, they tiptoed through the tulips while they should have been hoeing a more productive garden.

Secretary Seaton is a logical man for the Republicans to put on the ticket with Nixon.

He is a leader in national politics. His public record is outstanding and should make him a strong votegetter in the campaign.

Seaton has been a troubleshooter for the administration. He has shot down troubles in flames. He first came to national attention when he was appointed to the U.S. Senate to fill a vacancy from Nebraska.

After completing that assignment, Seaton

After completing that assignment, Seaton refused all the lures and enticements that were dangled before him to keep him in politics. He returned to his publishing business in Nebraska.

But his retirement from public service was a short one. President Elsenhower drafted him for a job as Assistant Secretary in the Defense Establishment. He served so well in clearing the decks of troubles in that office that he subsequently was taken into the White House as a Presidential adviser. There he helped shape important administrative decisions at the top.

President Eisenhower made Seaton Secretary of the Interior when that office became vacant. Seaton took over at a time when the Department was wallowing in ineffective programs that had aroused widespread disastisfaction. He injected it with a new vitality. He applied sound principles that made it one of the strongest departments.

This record makes him a personality of national prominence and proves his administrative abilities.

He has been the best boss of the territory, an invaluable leader of the statehood effort. His first speech when he became a U.S. Senator was one advocating statehood. He was a consistent booster for it until it was achieved.

As the boss of the territory, he visited here several times, pumped life into the multitudinous Interior agencies that ran Alaska and espoused programs that were long overdue. Statehood would have had slight chance of enactment had he not dedicated himself to it.

Seaton has been the best Interior Secretary that Alaskans have known for a generation. History books support the prediction that he will prove to be the best since Alaska was purchased from Russia in 1867.

Years ago, when Seaton first proved his administrative ability and was started on the career that has been so successful, this newspaper urged him for next President.

We were proud when we discovered that we were the first to make such a suggestion. Many others have done so since.

More recent political developments have made it a cinch that Nixon will be the candidate. He and Seaton have always worked together as a team and have many constructive views in common. They would make a strong, effective, and inspiring team to have as the leaders of this great Nation.

The Alaska Republicans, in State convention, should give serious consideration to the matter of taking a leading position in nominating Seaton to be Nxox's running mate.

Smalltown Presidential Commission Commands Support

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. KARL E. MUNDT

OF SOUTH DAKOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, May 26, 1960

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. President, since our Committee on Government Operations filed its favorable report on the passage of S. 3140 which I introduced in the Senate on March 5, 1960, and which was cosponsored by Senators Mansfield of Montana and Case of South Dakota, a considerable amount of support has developed around this proposal. This has been manifest by speeches, editorials and personal correspondence.

I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the Record, two of the fine editorials appearing in South Dakota newspapers in support of this legislation.

There being no objection, the editorials were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Watertown (S. Dak.) Public Opinion]

MUNDT BILL FOR SMALL TOWNS

Senator Karl Mundt, of South Dakota, is sponsoring a bill in Congress which would create a Federal Commission to deal with the problems of small towns and rural areas in America. It has recently been recommended for passage by the Senate Government Operations Committee, clearing the way for a vote on the floor.

The timeliness of the South Dakota Senator's proposal is apparent. His bill comes before the Senate just at the time reports of the 1960 Federal census are confirming the trend of population away from the small towns and rural areas in South Dakota and many other States and the accelerating increase of population in larger urban centers.

It is a trend that poses some serious problems for much of South Dakota—problems to which many discussions have called renewed attention since the census reports began to appear this spring. But the problems are not new. They have been in the making for years, and there has been widespread recognition that this is so in the recurrent references to need for diversification of the State's economy and the creation of incentives, in the form of more and better opportunities for employment, to keep our young people in South Dakota as well as to attract new residents.

Mechanization of agriculture is increasing the size of farms, but reducing the number of farmers. This trend has been underway throughout America for years. It is expected to continue. And this, together with the relative slowness of industrial development in South Dakota, as compared with other States, accounts for losses of population in communities where there is not enough economic opportunity to support larger populations.

The Mundt bill would confer broad functions on a Federal commission whose purpose, supposedly, would include devising means to deal with this situation.

Under the provisions of the Mundt bill, according to the Senate committee report. "this Commission shall make a full and complete investigation and study of Federal policies and programs relating to the needs and problems of the Nation's small towns and rural county areas. It shall study such problems as the needs, present and future, related to highways, public service, water resources, schools, recreation, financing, law enforcement, and business and industrial development."

It would also determine the capabilities of State, county, and local governments to meet these needs. It would investigate possibilities of the Federal Government encouraging wider dispersal of Government procurement operations and in the location of Federal facilities to promote the social and economic well-being of small towns and rural areas.

The proposed legislation does recognize and pinpoint the problem. How effective a Federal commission may be in creating the economic environment which obviously must be developed to reverse the decline of small town and rural population is an open question. But it offers governmental cooperation that might give local initiative and effort just the needed extra punch to turn the tide.

One thing is obvious: If we desire more people, the economic resources and opportunities for profit to attract them must be provided. Growth in population alone, without these basic assets, is undesirable. With them, population gain would come automatically.

[Editorial from the Huron (S. Dak.) Plainsman!

SMALL TOWNS, SHORT BOOTSTRAPS

Luncheon club speakers often joke about how young men in small towns and rural communities work hard to get to the big city to make enough money to retire to a small town or a farm.

While there is a good chuckle in this observation, there is in it also a real element of truth.

The small towns and rural communities of this Nation have made significant contributions to our society. And many of them do provide comfortable places for retirement.

But the small communities are having troubles. The growing size of farms and the lack of opportunities for employment in the rural communities are pushing many of our rural youth into the cities even when they don't especially want to go there. As a result, the economies of the smaller communities suffer. And this in turn results in tax

troubles and in time to school, health, and law enforcement problems.

The smaller communities do not have the resources to find solutions to their problems. Most of them don't have economic bootstraps long enough to pull themselves up. There is no agency in Government for handling the problems of small towns. Cabinet member is charged with the task of assembling data about such communities. No research committee, commission, or department has been directed to look into the problem though commissions have been formed to look into the problems of just about every other facet of our economy

In short, the small towns of the Nation are a no man's land, forgotten and neglected by the rest.

Senator KARL E. MUNDT, of South Dakota, recognizing this problem, has asked Congress to establish a commission to make a study of this situation. The bill (S. 3140) was referred to the Senate Government Operations Committee which has reported favorably on it. The bill already has the support of a number of organizations, but it deserves the support of every community of less than 10,000 population, to assure its passage in Congress itself.

New Dimensions in National Security

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, WILLIAM S. BROOMFIELD

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 26, 1960

Mr. BROOMFIELD. Mr. Speaker, a few days ago during the celebration of Armed Forces Week, the Honorable Wilbur M. Brucker, delivered a stirring speech to the Economic Club of Detroit, Mich.

In this speech, he placed in proper perspective the long-range goals of our Nation's defense effort, the steps we are taking to protect ourselves from the constant threat of Communist aggression and what will be necessary in the future to safeguard ourselves and the rest of the free world from attack.

May I recommend that my colleagues pay close attention to the words of this Outstanding American who is doing such an excellent job in seeing to it that the Army is ready for any eventuality in this increasingly complex world:

NEW DIMENSIONS IN NATIONAL SECURITY

(Address by the Honorable Wilber M. Brucker, Secretary of the Army, Economic Club of Detroit, Veterans Memorial Building, Detroit, Mich., May 16, 1960)

It is a genuine inspiration to be back home to 16 a genuine inspiration to be back licenses in Detroit to participate in Armed Forces Week with its significant piedge: "Power for Peace." President Eisenhows in Peace." for Peace." President Eisenhower has rightly called true peace "the imperative of our time."

Contemporary history underscores the validity of Toynbee's remark: "It would seem that the more civilized we become, the more incapable we are of maintaining civilization." No matter how hard we Americans have striven over the decades to create and develop this great free Nation, we face even greater demands today upon our stamina, our courage, and our dedication to freedom than ever in the past. History has a stubborn way of repeating itself. Many centuries ago Cyrus, after he had captured Babylon, re-

marked: "To have been once brave men is not sufficient; it is harder to hold what you have than to gain it." The question of the hour is simply stated: Having built a great civilization, founded upon the aspirations of free -can America keep it?

At first thought, the summit conference now being held in Paris, called to search for a pathway to true peace, might seem far removed in spirit and emphasis from our annual national observance of Armed Forces Week, but in reality the two are very closely related. It is only because our Nation has the strength of a powerful Army, Navy, Marine Corps, and Air Force, supported by the forces of our free world allies, and backed by millions of Americans who are willing to accept and bear their responsibilities, that we have the opportunity to negotiate at allin Paris or anywhere else.

We find ourselves face to face with the most formidable and ominous challenge in the life of our Nation. Of all the obstacles to world peace, none looms larger than the armed might of militant communism dedicated to ruthless conquest and regimentation of all mankind. Let us not forget that the Sino-Soviet bloc has upward of 8 million men under arms and that active Communist forces include over 400 ground divisions, more than 450 far-ranging submarines and more than 25,000 modern aircraft. They have already acquired 5 million square miles of territory, subjugated over 600 million people, and have strengthened their capability for all kinds of combat. More than two-thirds of the Soviet military budget is spent on the Soviet army, the largest modern land army on earth. It is plentifully provided with powerful tanks, tactical missiles, and a wide range of other weapons of the

most advanced design.

Furthermore, the Soviets are concentrating almost all of their best scientific and engineering talent on the development and production of still more ultramodern weapons and other technological devices in an all-out effort to give the Communist leadership the absolute power to dominate the land, the sea, the air, and even outer space. The Soviets have developed an intercontinental ballistic missile to supplement and supersede its long-range bomber forces, and its stockpiling of nuclear weapons has increased its capability to a marked degree. At the same time, the Communist Chinese have steadily increased their military power.

It must then be clear that the military obstacle to world peace is and will continue to be the armed might of the Sino-Soviet bloc. There is no other threat, and its ominous strength hangs over the world like the Sword of Damocles. It is imperative that every American recognize the magnitude of the new dimensions of national security which this challenge has imposed.

One of the most important of these new dimensions is the immediacy of the threat. For the first time in our history, the continental United States is subject to serious destruction-and possible devastation-by foreign military aggression. In neither World War I nor World War II was there fear by Americans that our homes and families in the United States might be destroyed. Today, however, all that is changed by giant Soviet strides in science and technology which have placed our homes and loved ones in jeopardy of long-range, strategic attack.

Then there is the dimension of totality. In other times, military power was the chief tool of a would-be conqueror. Today, the conflict is not limited to military pressure. We must be able to cope with a combination of military, economic, political, and psyor military, economic, political, and psychological aggression. We must have strength adequate in kind, quality, and amount to respond immediately and effectively to any move of which the Sino-Soviet bloc is capable.

Then there is the dimension of width which covers the broad spectrum of possibilities. At one extreme of the spectrum is cold war in which power is used by the Communists to intimidate relatively weak and helpless nations, while supporting Communist efforts to nibble away the free world through coercion, blackmail, infiltration, and corruption. Cold war shades into limited wars of varying military magnitude and intensity. At the far end of the spectrum is total nuclear war. Only a complete deterrent-with offensive and defensive capability-covering the entire war spectrum from end to end-can match the threat and stop the Soviets from reaching their goal of world domination.

The very bigness of the effort required to provide this complete deterrent adds the new dimension of scope. To cope with the Sino-Soviets we must encompass the entire globe. No more can we think in terms of Fortress America." The foundation of our present national military policy is the great mutual defense system which links the United States with more than 40 other nations associated with us in the worldwide structures of mutual security which have been built with painstaking care since World War II. Our dimensions of defense are no longer the frontiers of our own country, but stretch from pole to pole and entirely around the world. Our own Army forces are deployed today in more than 70 foreign lands. Through military aid and training assistance we help our allies to maintain ground forces of nearly 5 million, naval forces of 2,300 combat ships, and air forces with 29,000 aircraft. All these are as much part and parcel of the defensive strength of the United States as they are of the individual countries concerned. allies also furnish us the use of 250 foreign bases, many of which are absolutely essential to the deterrent capability of our strategic retaliatory forces.

The aid we render to the nations of NATO and SEATO and our other alliances through our military assistance program helps to provide the United States with one of its strongest bulwarks. Dollar for dollar, it is the best investment in defense we could possibly make. It is an absolutely essential element of our "forward strategy," designed to create-with the solid support of welltrained, well-equipped and resolute allied forces—a stout barrier against Communist military aggression at critical points throughout the world.

More than two and a half million young Americans in uniform on active duty in peacetime-plus large, organized and trained Reserve forces constantly ready for duty on land, on sea, or in the air—is only one measure of the breadth of our response. It also involves a mountainous arsenal of planes, ships, missiles, rockets, guns and other weapons and war equipment of all kinds, much of which was unknown only a few short years ago. Furthermore, weapons and weapons systems, including rockets and missiles, each containing tens of thousands of individual parts, are so complex and involved that a high degree of expertness and skill is required just to fire or launch them. In other days we measured the power of weapons in terms of tons of conventional TNT explosives, but so vast has been the increase in power that tons have become too cumbersome a yardstick. Today we speak not of tons, but of multiples of a megatonwhich is a million tons.

Along with firepower, the cost of weaponry has multiplied manifold, requiring unprecedented peacetime expenditures. In addition, the never-ending pursuit of research and development for new and more modern weapons and military hardware of all kinds necessitates the constant employment of a large proportion of America's finest scientists and engineers on military projects.

Two weeks ago at Fort Benning, Ga., President Eisenhower witnessed a roll-by consisting of 32 new and improved major items of Army combat equipment, extending bumper-to-bumper for approximately half a The subsequent display of these and mile. 163 other major items of new and improved Army equipment occupied an area of well over one-half million square yards. They ranged all the way from the M-14 rifle, which replaces three former Infantry weapons, to the mighty Nike-Zeus, which is being readied to bat down any intercontinental ballistic missiles coming in from 15,000 to 25,000 miles an hour. This was a most impresmiles an hour. sive demonstration of the new dimension of bigness in our national security.

The Army is constantly exploring every field of science and technology to provide the American soldier with the most modern and effective weapons and equipment with which to do his job in these modern mo-mentous times. We are developing many types of guided missiles and rockets, for instance, to supplement those we now have. Among these are the Sergeant and Pershing missiles, both of which are long-range, surface-to-surface missiles being developed to fire at far distant ground targets, and capable of delivering either a conventional or nuclear warhead. The solid-fuel Pershing is designed for a 300-mile range, and will supersede our present 200-mile Redstone. has an inertial guidance system which makes it safe from enemy jamming.

The Davy Crockett is a weapon carried by frontline, Infantry soldiers. It looks very much like a bazooka, and is capable of firing atomic or conventional warheads in support of the Army's front line pentomic battle

groups.

Modern electronic communications have enabled the Army to increase its command and control capabilities to match the revolutionary demands of complete mobility and wide dispersion. Unarmed Army surveillance drones will be able to penetrate deep into enemy lines and send back valuable information. A wide variety of "sensors"—such as radar, automatic TV cameras, infrared, acoustic, and seismic devices—are being placed in the drones so that the field commander will be fully informed at once of the situation behind the enemy's lines.

In this same connection, we have in development sensitive automatic data processing systems—computers which instantaneously sort and evaluate information so that a field commander can coordinate the intelligence he needs for rapid decisions.

A personnel carrier, designed for frontline transport of soldiers in this atomic age, features aluminum armor to give maximum protection against atomic blast and heat, as well as gunfire and shell fragments, with a 50 percent saving in weight over its predecessor. It is highly mobile, "swims" inland waters, and can carry 12 men in addition to the driver.

The latest Army tank has a diesel engine that will give it 100 miles more cruising radius, and a larger caliber gun which will match the Soviet tank guns. Other ground vehicles will benefit from emphasis on engines which will greatly increase fuel economy and reduce the heavy support requirements in this critical supply area. Efforts are also being directed toward development of an engine that will use fuels other than gasoline. These developments are of particular significance when we remember that many successful advances in World War II were halted, not because the drive was held up by enemy resistance, but because the attacking elements simply outran their fuel supply lines.

In the area of transportation, we have some other interesting developments to give us the

mobility that we require for the future battlefield. On the ground we look to the "Goer" type of equipment which had its inception in commercial earth moving and heavy construction work. Its tremendous 10-foot wheels and tires give true, off-road, cross-country mobility. The Goer is also potential launching and carrier vehicle for many of the missiles now coming into our arsenal.

In the air we are developing types of vehicles that will give us the takeoff and landing characteristics of the helicopter together with the advantages of the fixed-wing aircraft in forward flight. You have probably seen pictures of some of our flying "test beds" that look like disks, platforms, or "flying saucers" propelled by unusual powerplants. These are the vehicles that are giving us the answer to flying low, slow, and quietly just above the battlefield.

Another interesting development in the electronics field is an unmanned vehicle which may be operated by radio remote control. This device has many potential uses, especially in forward areas which are under fire, heavily mined by booby traps, or contaminated by radiation or chemicals. Under development is a device which will operate like television, allowing the operator to control the vehicle even when it is out of sight.

As they have throughout its history, many Army developments also contribute not only to the Army's combat effectiveness but also to the general scientific and technological advancement of the Nation, and to the pride and well-being of the American people. Army's success in orbiting the free world's first earth satellite, Explorer I, January 31, 1958, only one item in a lengthy and impressive catalog of achievement, is a case in point. I want to mention in particular two very recent additions to the list which illustrate the scope and span of the Army's research and development activities. Both are accomplishments of the Army's Signal Corps, which this year is celebrating a full century of service to the Nation.

In cooperation with the University of Michigan's Willow Run Laboratories, as a part of the Army's Project Michigan, the Army has developed an amazing airborne radar camera which scans enemy territory at right angles to the aircraft direction of flight and produces maplike photographs for intelligence study. It can operate day or night and in any kind of weather. From a protected position over our own lines, this camera can "see" far into enemy positions and take pictures which are clear and yield valuable information. This radical new "side-looking" system produces a distortionfree strip map on which the ground appears as though it were directly below the aircraft, although the aircraft is flying many miles to one side. This radar camera is a tremendous scientific advance.

Then there is Tiros I, the orbiting weather station launched last April 1, as part of a program under the National Aeronautics and Space Agency, from which 850-mile square pictures of weather conditions are being taken and relayed back to earth. The entire satellite system-including instruments and ground station equipment—was developed under Army technical supervision. The principal pieces of equipment aboard the new satellite are two television cameras which photograph the earth's changing cloud cover, providing-among other weather information-detailed pictures of hurricanes and cyclonic patterns. The pictorial information obtained by these television cameras is stored on magnetic tape, and periodically transmitted, on radio command from the earth, to ground stations in the manner used with Project Score in 1958, when President Eisenhower's Christmas message was relayed back to earth in the world's first demonstration of a communications satellite. While Project Score relayed only voice or teletypewriter signals, Tiros sends back talking pictures. Electrical power for Tiros is supplied by the sun through solar cells arranged in banks. The sun of sun batteries of this nature was pioneered by the Army, and given its first practical demonstration when the United States launched Vanguard II on February 17, 1959.

Our strategic nuclear retaliatory forces are a significant part of our power for peace, and they must be kept modernized and at adequate strength, and shielded from enemy air attack. However, we must not forget for a moment that they constitute only one part of the structure of deterrence which we must maintain today. Even though the Soviets have developed a substantial nuclear capability, they have not used it to date. They have resorted to lesser forms of aggression. with successive limited objectives—a course which they may feel offers them the attractive possibility of attaining world control little-by-little on the installment plan, with minimum risk of bringing down our nuclear power upon themselves.

There can be no doubt of the tremendous peril to the free world inherent in the aggressive policies of the Soviet Union, and in the power which the Kremlin has instantly available to support them. However, the Soviet threat is only a part of the ominous challenge we face. It would be extremely dangerous for us to become so preoccupied with long-range Russian missiles, and the immense Soviet and satellite ground armies marshaled against the NATO nations in Europe, that we lost sight of the massive menace of Red China. I liken Red China to a sharp-clawed tiger, crouched ready to spring upon any prey that is weak or unwary. Both our friends in southeast Asia and the Red Chinese themselves recognize that United States is the principal obstacle to the establishment of Communist rule over the Far East, and it may well be that as goes vast Asia, so will go the whole world.

I visualize that, as the Soviets' strategic nuclear delivery capability increases, the Communists may feel its counterdeterrent value will cause us to retreat further and further from the point where we would be willing to use our capability for massive retaliation in response to limited aggression. As a consequence, they may be tempted to engage in more ambitious peripheral activi-For this reason it is essential that the United States ability for retaliation against nuclear attack be complemented by a versatile capability to deter creeping aggression. which, if not successfully curtailed, could lead to disaster just as surely as could all-For this reason, our limout nuclear war. ited war capability is as important a part of the complete deterrent as our nuclear retaliatory capability.

The U.S. Army plays a principal role in providing the complete deterrent to aggression. This is a new role for the Army. tween our wars of the past, our Army was largely a skeletonized reserve-a mere framework upon which to build an adequate combat force after war broke out. How different is the picture today. The bulk of the Army's highly trained and splendidly equipped combat forces, organized and armed to fight either with conventional of atomic weapons, are stationed overseas in areas of major strategic importance. soldiers are in the front line of our defense throughout the world, working actively to deter Communist aggression, and prepared for instant combat action of any nature should deterrence fail.

Army divisions are deployed on the ground in Europe and the Far East. The Army furnishes 63 percent of the military personnel comprising the American military assistance advisory groups and military missions which are engaged in assisting in the training of about 200 Allied ground divisions in 42 countries. Here in our own country we have our powerful Strategic Army Corps (Strac) of one infantry and two airborne divisions, ready day and night to be airlifted so as to reinforce our oversea deployments, and to come to the aid of our allies in areas where no U.S. forces are now deployed. At the expense of great personal hardship, the men of Strac have completely adjusted their lives to meet the requirement that they be ready to fight at any point on earth as soon as planes and ships can transport them to their objective.

When we speak of strategic weapons, we are tempted to think of long-range airplanes or missiles which could carry warheads to distant targets. Soldiers, except for certain strategic reserve units, are thought of primarily in the tactical sense—to be engaged in battle after a war is underway. Today our large-scale oversea deployments place our Army forces very definitely in the category of strategic weapons in the effort to prevent war. They are part and parcel of our forward strategy. They perform a multiple role in support of the strategic aspects of our national policy. Together with allied forces, they constitute the foremost bulwark of American security. They are the cement which binds our collective defense alliance together.

The picture presented by our ground troops standing shoulder-to-shoulder with our stal-Wart allies gives a feeling of solidarity, unity of purpose, and mutual determination which can be achieved in no other way. It has an Impressive effect throughout the world. Our oversea deployments are essential to successful deterrence because they help to provide an en-the-spot defense for free peoples living under the shadow of Communist might. For example, our U.S. 7th Army, deployed across free Germany, is manning a major segment of the 4,000-mile NATO defense line extending from the northern border of Norway to the eastern reaches of Turkey, ready day and night to resist aggression at the time and place it may occur.

I wish you could all stand as I have with Our American soldiers who patrol that frontline today, and look out toward the Czechoslovakian border only a stone's throw away. There the Iron Curtain is a near and ugly reality. You would see right before your eyes the strip of ground which has been plowed the entire length of the Czechoslovakian and Hungarian borders, and is kept neatly raked so that footprints will quickly betray any luckless victim seeking to flee from Red tyranny. Along the plowed strip is a con-tinuous barbed wire entanglement, backed by an electrified fence. Overwatching these formidable barriers at short intervals, you would see steel towers—"towers of terror manned by helmeted border guards, their machineguns ever ready to cut down anyone seeking to escape. Fierce dogs prowl on constant ratch, and mines have been planted to seal the ominous border even tighter. Thus the Communist dictatorship goes about keeping its people in bondage preventing the victims of its oppression from escaping to freedom.

Furthermore, behind that boundary—as across the armistice line in Korea, where two American Army divisions stand guard, and in other parts of the world—the powerful military forces of communism are Poised ready to take full advantage of any opportunity we might give them to overrun the free world and make good the threat to destroy us. Only so long as the Communists know that they could not launch an attack without encountering the immediate resistance of determined soldiers, armed with the most modern weapons of war, is it reasonable to suppose that they will be deterred from entering upon some armed adventure which might engulf the Whole world in catastrophic conflict.

In this age of machines and miracle weapons, man still stands straight and tall as master of any battlefield. The mightiest and most destructive weapons can do little more than pave the way for the ground soldier, for it is he who must move in and take control before a firm and final decision can be obtained. Bombs and missiles can destroy, blockades can starve, propaganda can weaken, and subversion can corrupt, but the soldier's rifle is still the indispensable weapon. Army forces are an absolutely vital element of our national deterrent, not only against direct nuclear attack on the United States, but also against lesser forms of aggression that in their aggregate could spell defeat, and they would play an equally imperative role in general war.

The Army is also charged with a major responsibility for the air defense of our centers of population and industrial productivity, and providing the defensive shield for our strategic retaliatory force which is essential if it is to be an effective deterrent to nuclear attack. The Army's Nike air defense missiles-the Nike-Ajax and the Nike-Hercules-together with the Hawk missile are able to strike down any enemy aircraft known to be in operational use, at any height or speed. The third generation of this proved family, the Nike-Zeus, is the Nation's only weapons system now being deto provide an adequate defense veloped against ballistic missile attack within the reasonably near future.

Ready Reserve forces—our Army National Guard and Army Reserve—represent our strength-in-depth. They are integral parts of our "one Army"—trained units standing ready to reinforce the active Army at the moment of mobilization in case of a war emergency. A host of scientists and technologists are constantly engaged in research and development in order to provide the American soldier with the most modern and effective weapons and equipment to do his job in these momentous times. Supporting forces, which constitute the foundation of our mobilization base, provide for such diversified activities as logistical support, troop training, maintenance of vital war reserves, and assistance to the reserve forces in preparing for their wartime tasks.

White reviewing the whole panorama of our national military effort, I would be remiss if I did not point out that our way of life cannot be protected by military forces alone. Much more is required of Americans.

No matter how much some people may hanker for the soft and easy way of life, events will not allow us to enjoy it. Americans have always been an optimistic people, and it is good that we should be optimistic today, but it would be the worst folly we could commit to allow an inordinate optimism to lull us into the self-deception that everything will turn out all right without extreme effort and sacrifice on our part. The new dimensions of national security make it imperative for each of us to put forth his utmost effort for the national interest. National security is no longer the exclusive job of the President, the Cabinet, the Congress, or the Armed Forces. become the responsibility of each individual citizen-not just in some figurative sense, but in actual, grim reality. We are living in a new world of catastrophic change where there is no place for any of us to run away or hide from responsibility.

We fervently hope that the time will come when accepted standards of national morality will prevail in the Communist world, and we need no longer maintain predominant deterrent strength, but it would be the gravest folly to let mere hope betray us into lowering our guard until there is ample and convincing evidence of the Soviet Union's willingness to become an ethical member of the community of nations.

Make no mistake about it-were it not for

our splendid Armed Forces, maintained at a high level of capability, dedicated to the preservation of peace—but ready around the clock to fight effectively in the Nation's defense should war be thrust upon us—we would have no choice today but ignobly to accept a conqueror's terms, or face utter and final defeat. Power is the only argument the Communists respect. "Power for Peace" is not just a slogan; it is the unvarnished truth.

It was not the military power of the barbarian hordes hammering at the gates of Rome which brought down to the dust that great civilization which had stood for a thousand years. Rome was finished long before the enemy finally attacked. It was finished because those who should have been caring most about preserving the integrity of their civilization were more concerned with the pursuit of pleasure. When there were rumors of trouble they assured themselves that it was no concern of theirs-the legions would take care of it-and turned once more to the banquet and the bath. Rome fell because the individual Roman citizen forgot his individual and personal responsibility for the safety of the state.

We need not go so far back into history for examples of abdication of responsibility, nor do we have to cite only the love of rich living as the reason. Mr. Nehru of India, in commenting about his country, said: "frightened by this new development, the moderate elements dropped out and sought safety in seclusion." In other words, the moderates, whose sanity and integrity were the hope of India, joined in a "massive retreat from responsibility," and their search for "safety in seclusion" almost turned India down the Communist road of violent revolution.

There is some evidence in America today of a longing desire among a few to avoid having to solve the problems of national security the hard way—to find, instead, some easy "out" which will not disturb the routine of everyday life. There is a prevalent tendency to feel that since conferences are being held among world leaders, and protracted discussions of disarmament are being carried on by ministers of state, we ought to be able to stop worrying so much about defense. There is a vague feeling in some places that danger is a long way off, and the diplomats will work out a satisfactory solution around some council table.

This is to mistake the dross of mere words for the gold of deeds. Any such state of self-deceptive happiness is completely out of touch with reality. Let no one refuse to realize that grave danger walks beside us every hour of every day, and that the price of survival still must be paid in the coin of determination, patience, and perseverance.

It is not only imperative but downright shortsighted to say: "We ought to cut military expenditures so that we can lower taxes" or: "Our young men ought to be relieved of their obligation for military services so that they won't fear interruption of their careers." Such loose thinking could jeopardize our future as a free nation. Just as there is no vicarious liberty, there is no vicarious defense.

What does it profit us to be the richest country on earth, and to have the highest standard of living in all history, if we lack the maturity and resolution to stand up like men and defend it at any cost to our careers or our dollars? In these critical times let us recall St. Luke's parable of the rich man who said to his soul: "Soul, thou hast much goods laid up for many years; take thine ease, eat, drink, and be merry." Immediately came the divine rebuke: "Thou fool, this night thy soul shall be required of thee: then whose shall these things be?"

America has been chosen for greatness, not to be pampered but rather to shoulder double responsibility. It is a time for vision, and a time for individual toil and sacrifice beyond any previous measure. Let there be

no retreat from responsibility.

In the final analysis, removal of the military obstacles to world peace depends upon the growth and fruition of ideals in the hearts of men. The spiritual and intellectual field is the real battleground upon which the future of the world will ultimately be decided. It should be clearly evident, therefore, that the major task which devolves upon each one of us today is to utilize every talent we possess with the utmost vigor, vision, and creative imagination to help make the power of our American ideals and principles felt throughout the earth. There is nothing more important in this endeavor than developing in members of our rising generations a solemn sense of the obligations of citizenship, and providing them with the spiritual and intellectual re-

what America will be tomorrow depends on our sense of individual overriding responsibility for the maintenance of the strength of our country in every area of our national life. If there is one characteristic that has marked all great Americans, it is the fact that they have recognized an obligation to people yet unborn. This is the great American unselfish dimension of

loyalty to the future.

The freedom we enjoy was brought for us long ago by courageous and resolute men and women who feared no foe and shunned no responsibility. Other courageous and resolute Americans defended this Nation and built it to greatness through the years. But the stalwart men of yesterday cannot assure our safety today, nor our survival tomorrow. Not only the very life of America and the perpetuation of our cherished free institutions, but also the liberty of all mankind, depend upon how well we, who alone can bear the burden of this hour, measure up to the high bench marks of character, courage, and dedication to the tenets of our American faith which were established so long ago by the Founding Fathers.

There is a line in an old hymn which tells us that "Each age its solemn task may claim but once." Today America is charged with the most solemn task of all her history. We must seize with strong hands and stout hearts the opportunity which is afforded us to fulfill our destiny and bring to the world a new era of peace and freedom, for we will

not have the chance again.

The Moral Force of Foreign Aid

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. HUGH SCOTT

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, May 26, 1960

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. President, I believe the following editorial from the Philadelphia Inquirer of May 4, 1960, is a good analysis of an important issue. I ask unanimous consent to have it printed in the Appendix of the Record.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE MORAL FORCE OF FOREIGN AID

President Eisenhower—in a televised address to the American people Monday night and a special message to Congress Tuesday—pleaded earnestly for support of his proposed \$4 billion foreign aid budget as a program vital to the security of this Nation and the entire free world.

Response to the President's pleas—in the Capitol and across the country—ought to be overwhelmingly favorable. The size of the appropiration sought by the administration does not seem excessive.

Senate approval of a bill authorizing \$4,-125,660,000 for foreign ald—only \$49,400,000 less than Mr. Eisenhower asked—was a victory for the President. So was the foreign aid authorization in excess of \$4 billion voted recently by the House. The real test will come when bills appropirating the money come to a vote.

A point of bitter controversy that highlighted this week's foreign aid debate in the Senate centers on the continued refusal by President Gamal Abdel Nasser, of the United Arab Republic, to open the Suez Canal for vessels of all nations. Nasser imposes a blockade against Israeli shipping.

The Senate by a vote of 45 to 39 retained in the foreign aid bill a provision which gives the President authority—at his own discretion—to withhold aid from any government which obstructs free navigation in

international waterways.

We believe the free navigation proviso is a sound and praiseworthy addition to the foreign aid measure. Since the instruction to the President is discretionary instead of mandatory it will not interfere with operation of the foreign aid program. Rather, it gives welcome support to long-standing administration policy defending the right of Israel to send ships through the Suez Canal.

President Eisenhower, in a memorable TV address on February 20, 1957, when control of the Suez Canal was a burning issue, declared: "We should not assume * * * Egypt will prevent Israeli shipping from using the Suez Canal or the Gulf of Aqaba. If, unhappily, Egypt does, then this should be dealt with firmly by the society of nations."

It's time that the United States, as a leader in the society of nations, took some action to back up this solemn pledge.

To the surprise of no one, opposition to the Suez Canal provision in the foreign aid bill was led by Senator J. William Fulbright. The Arkansas Democrat urged, with questionable soundness, that the United States maintain an impartial attitude on Suez navigation rights.

Coming as it did from the chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, this was an extremely unfortunate statement. Mr. Fulbright is suggesting, in effect, that the Senate refuse to back the President in a matter of foreign policy.

Senator Fulbright's timidity about tying strings to the foreign aid bill does him no credit. It is the duty of the United States to insist that foreign aid funds be employed as a moral force for what is right and just—as well as for what is militarily or economically expedient.

The Suez proviso not only is a desirable appendage to the foreign aid bill but should be used to advantage by President Eisenhower in a concerted effort to end the Suez blockage against Israel.

The Practical Approach to River Development

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JAMES C. DAVIS

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, May 26, 1960

Mr. DAVIS of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, the development of America's waterways to the point of realizing their full potential has long been the dream of many men of vision. The development of the Chattahoochee River and the construction of the Buford Dam at the headwaters of this great river are among the projects which I have sought to achieve since first coming to the Congress in 1947. The completion of the Buford Dam is now history and the development of the Chattahoochee River south of Columbus and Fort Benning, Ga., is well along toward completion.

To realize the full potential of the Chattahoochee River as a source of great economic strength and as a material benefit to our national defense, there remains a vital segment of this river which needs to be developed. I speak of that portion of the river south of Buford Dam to the Columbus, Fort Benning area. Completion of the development of this portion of the river would convert Atlanta, the greatest communication and transportation center of the growing Southeast, into a waterway port.

On May 2, Mr. Caughey B. Culpepper, of Atlanta, delivered an address to the Rotary Club of Dothan, Ala., which goes to the heart of this matter. Mr. Culpepper is a leading figure in the development of the great Chattahoochee River system, and I commend his speech to the Members of this body. Pursuant to unanimous consent, I insert this speech herewith:

THE PRACTICAL APPROACH TO RIVER DEVELOPMENT

(By Caughey B. Culpepper)

The development of inland waterways has been in progress in the United States almost continuously since we became a nation. Most of the time it has been of sufficient importance from the standpoint of communications, industrial development, and economic progress to warrant its supervision and conduct by some branch of the Federal Government. It has also been, and still is, considered a major ingredient of our national defense.

Since this work was delegated to the Corps of Engineers of the U.S. Army, many major streams have been successfully and dramatically developed and many millions of dollars have been spent on the necessary work.

The Columbia River, the Colorado River, the Missouri-Mississippi River system, the Ohio River, and the St. Lawrence Waterway are outstanding examples of projects sponsored and paid for by the Federal Government in this vast program.

Coming a little nearer home we have the Tennessee River development and the Authority which operates this program. There are also a number of smaller streams and river systems that have been the object of work by the Corps of Engineers. The Tombigbee-Warrior River has been before us for quite a while and right now is receiving attention looking to the modernization of its development, the consolidation of some of its dams and the improvement of its flow and control.

These rivers and the work being done upon them are mentioned simply to focus your attention on the one fact that the development of our inland waterways has always been considered of major importance. Usually there are many benefits to be derived from the proper development of any sizable stream. Quite often flood control is a primary importance; soil conservation is a vital consideration in many cases; the production of electric energy is nearly always at least a byproduct and quite frequently a primary end; and, recently, there has grown up a

recognition of the creation of facilities for recreation purposes. This latter item was not recognized for quite a while; but, as our people have had more leisure and the worth of proper recreation has been recognized, the Government itself permits the Corps of Engineers to give consideration to the benefits that would be derived from the creation of lakes and park areas when multipurpose dams are built on our inland streams.

With the above few thoughts, I would like to discuss with you for a few minutes our own project, the Chattahoochee River. All of you gentlemen know that years and years of planning, pleading, surveying, and studying have been put into this project by the people of Apalachicola, Dothan, Bainbridge, Columbia, and Columbus; but I wonder if you realize that just as much time, effort, and money have been spent by the people of West Point, Newman, Gainesville, Buford, and Atlanta

You see, in the overall development of this wonderful river there are so many benefits to be derived that unless we get a total picture of the entire project we come to the place where we can't see the forest for the trees

One of the first specific developments to be completed was the Buford Dam way up yonder in north Georgia at the headwaters of the river. It is this one dam with its potentiality of controlling the flow of the Chattahoochee River that makes possible enough water at the proper time to permit the justification for building the Jim Woodruff Dam, the Columbia Dam and the Walter F. George Dam. If the Buford Dam had not been built, the Chattahoochee could not have been harnessed so that navigation could be provided to Bainbridge on the Flint River or to Columbus on the Chattahoochee.

There are few items carried in our Federal budget on which it is harder or more dimcult to secure approval of, and appropriations for, than waterway development projects. There are many Members of Congress who quite honestly feel that appropriations for inland waterway development are the first items that should be eliminated in the interest of national economy.

Almost in every instance, a charge of "pork barrel" has been leveled against these appropriations. That charge is based upon the assumption that the people desiring the development are entirely selfish and that they simply want to benefit their particular community and, therefore, that the Congressmen or Senators advocating such appropriation are doing so simply as a political measure and to satisfy their constituents.

That position may be true in some instances. In fact, there might possibly be an element of selfishness in nearly all of the projects that have been approved and consummated. However, in spite of this, after a most careful study, I fall to find a single major waterway development that has been approved or completed that has not, or will not, return to the United States as a whole equal or greater benefits even from a financial standpoint than the amount of money expended thereon; and this does not take into consideration the valuable angle of national defense. I realize that in case of an attack on our country that we could not logically claim that a fully navigable Chattahoochee River would be the only salvation of our country. However, it is quite possible that if we were at war and our railroads and highways were bombed, it would be an analysis of the country to the country would be quite essential to have a navigable stream from Atlanta to the gulf whereon we

could move troops, munitions, and supplies.
You will notice that I have not quoted a single figure or statistic. I do not intend to do so. I simply want to impress upon you the importance of the development of the Chattahoochee River to every inch of the stream from the Gulf of Mexico, up

through the towns and counties located in Alabama and Georgia at which the river forms our boundary, through Columbus, Lanett-West Point over into the State of Georgia itself, even beyond Atlanta and finally to the great Lake Lanier at the very beginning of this great river.

The people of Columbus and Bainbridge and Dothan and Eufaula could well say we have accomplished our purpose and now have a controlled stream with 9-foot navigation as far as we need it. My friends, that is not the exact truth, for, while the most expensive operation in the full development of the river to Atlanta for navigation will be in the construction of the dams between Columbus and West Point, where the fall is so sharp; and, while at least three major dams with appropriate locks are needed between West Point and Atlanta, the construction of every one of those needed dams and the expenditure of every single additional dollar to-ward this further development, will make your river below Columbus more usable, more beneficial and more stabilized. thermore, the economic field of the additional development of the river will be reflected in your own welfare, civic growth and financial development. The more boats you have to pass your town, the more will be your opportunity for trading and port development.
So I come to you today with a suggestion

that may, on its face, seem selfish. I suggest to you that the full development of the river to Atlanta should always be our aim. Your support in this direction cannot hurt you and can only bring you added benefits.

I would like to point out that, in the reverse direction, officials, individual citizens and organizations have fought valiantly for the approval of every dam from Columbus to the gulf. They have pleaded with the Corps of Engineers to approve the projects, they have pleaded with the Bureau of the Budget to recommend the expenditure of the money and they have spent their time and own money in appearing before Congress with pleas to appropriate the necessary funds. We are proud and happy that you will have the benefits and the blessings of this great river when it is open to navigation in 1962. We crave your support and endorsement of proper studies, careful planning and favorable records on the part of the Corps of Engineers, looking to the development of the river above Columbus. In addition to helping your neighbor, you will be doing your country a great service and your own community a great amount of good.

There is one other area in which I feel that I might well enter. That is the slowness with which this and similar projects all progress. My own organization, the Atlanta Freight Bureau, has actively supported and plead for the full development of the Chattahoochee River for 50 years. Almost before the entry of your gallant Mr. Jim Woodruff, Sr., of Columbus, into this field, the bureau was conducting surveys and financing studies to prove the feasibility of the development of the river. We do not let up. We do not intend to quit. And yet I wonder if you realize that should the Corps of Engineers tomorrow inaugurate a final study of the plan to make navigable the river from Columbus to Atlanta and should promptly approve the project; that, if we could prevail upon the Bureau of the Budget to recommend the expenditure of the necessary money, and if we could secure even at this session of Congress the appropriation of needed funds, it would be 10 years before the first barge could enter the dreamed-of port of Atlanta.

It has taken a long time to get this far; it will take a longer time to realize the fulfillment of our complete dream, but I pledge you my word that the hearts of the people of Atlanta, the Atlanta Chamber of Commerce, the mayor of our great city, the At-

lanta Freight Bureau, and all other wellinformed citizens are still wrapped up in this dream, and we will not quit until it is an accomplished fact.

We would like to have your active interest in the painting of the picture that we would like to see completed. We would like for you to be as unselfish as we have tried to be. Finally, should circumstances so develop that it is many years before we obtain our port, and even though it looks sometimes as if the dream will never be realized, we will continue to be happy for you, lend you our help in keeping this great stream open for navigation and even help supply the tonnage necessary to make the operation profitable.

Recognition and Honor to the Cavalry

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. FRANK CARLSON

OF KANSAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, May 26, 1960

Mr. CARLSON. Mr. President, in 1961 Kansas will celebrate its Centennial Year, and it has been proposed that on this occasion we give special recognition and honor to the Cavalry.

It has been suggested that the Cavalry, which played such an important part in the settlement of the United States, and particularly the Middle West, be recognized by the erection of a statue of a mount and a trooper at Fort Riley.

Fort Riley is one of the largest inland military reserves in the United States. It covers 53,000 acres including Marshall Army Air Field, Camp Whiteside, Camp Forsyth and Camp Funston, home of the 1st Infantry Division.

Fort Riley, which was the cradle of Cavalry for 83 years, is now the home of the Army General School. Established in 1852 as Camp Center to protect trade along the Santa Fe Trail, it was renamed Fort Riley in 1853 and was a base of operations against Indian uprisings, during and after the Civil War.

Located at this post is Wounded Knee Monument in honor of 7th Cavalry men slain in the battle against the Sioux Indians at Wounded Knee Creek, S. Dak., in 1890. The cemetery also contains the graves of 7th Cavalry men slain at Wounded Knee.

Many of our outstanding Cavalry generals, officers and commands were stationed at Fort Riley. Among the familiar names are General Custer and Gen. George S. Patton.

A few years ago a large hall was erected on the post as a museum and dedicated Patton Hall in honor of General Patton.

I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the Record an editorial entitled "Let's Honor the Gallant Cavalry."

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

LET'S HONOR THE GALLANT CAVALRY

Homer Cook, a Spanish-American War veteran who lives at 846 North St. Francis, is trying to promote an idea of great merit in connection with the coming Kansas centennial. He wants to honor the cavalry with a great statute of a mount and a trooper at Fort Riley.

He is not alone in his idea. The Kansas centennial organization is very much for it. The Junction City Chamber of Commerce approves. And the 1st Cavalry, now stationed in Korea, is seeking to raise \$10,000 for the project, despite the fact that many of the young troopers scarcely know a horse from a goat.

Cook, who served with the 1st Cavalry and was wounded in some bitter campaigning in the Philippines, urges other cavalry veterans to get in touch with him and help put the idea over.

The role of the cavalry in securing Kansas for civilization and helping to build it has been underemphasized. The pioneers and the cowboys would have had a bad time of it if the hard-riding Long Knives had not kept the tribesmen on the run. Kansas was dotted with forts, many of which are now practically forgotten by history. They were all fighting forts. Day after day, the hard-bitten troopers, led by young West Pointers, rode forth on patrol. Many were the desperate battles they fought, nonetheless desperate because the numbers engaged were small and glory was slow in coming.

The western military operations did much to shape the patterns of the Civil War. Most of the ranking professional officers learned their campaigning in the West, and carried the tactics of Indian fighting into the war. And, to a remarkable extent, the lessons learned on the Plains had their influence on American strategy in World War II. General MacArthur, for example, was the son of a famous Indian-fighting general.

Wherever the oldtime cavalry went, it became the spearhead of civilization. The settlers, the pastors and the schoolmasters followed. J. E. B. Stuart, who later became a Confederate hero, was one of the founders of the Episcopal Church in Junction City. Always in the forts, the officers' ladies, lonely for the sophisticated life of the East, maintained a desperately genteel little society.

There will never be again soldiering like the cavalry. A trooper was a different kind of warrior. Even the toughest old boot had a touch of knightliness about him. The reasons for this is not hard to understand. The horsesoldier lived by and for his horse. The horse came first. He did not eat until the horse was fed. He did not rest until the horse was groomed. His life depended on his care and his mastery of his mount. Often the horse and rider became like one creature.

The invention of the machinegun spelled the end of the cavalry. The spear-armed German uhlans were massacred on the west-ern front. The Americans sent no cavalry to World War I. But so great was the love of cavalry that it was hard for military men to understand that it was obsolete in modern warfare. Soldiers at Fort Riley continued to drill with horse and saber. Cavalry, armed with machineguns, gave good account of itself in the disastrous defense of the Philippines.

The last of the mounted troops have disappeared from the American forces. There are veterans and soldiers who feel that the glory departed from the military when the last trooper dismounted and bade farewell to his horse.

By all means, let us honor the cavalry in the centennial. Fort Riley was the greatest of all cavalry posts, and the cavalry made Kansas safe for civilization. Standing alone on the prairie, an imaginative man can almost hear a ghostly bugle calling "Boots and Saddles" Peacetime Eulogy to Two Friends and a Stranger

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. ALEXANDER PIRNIE

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 16, 1960

Mr. PIRNIE. Mr. Speaker, the following eulogy was written by Ens. Gene Huntley Porter, U.S. Navy, after the tragic loss of two friends and a stranger from the U.S.S. Valley Forge in July 1959. Ensign Porter is a graduate of the U.S. Naval Academy and a resident of my district.

This peacetime eulogy has a timely message for all Americans and I would like to share it with this House:

PEACETIME EULOGY TO TWO FRIENDS AND A STRANGER

(By Ens. Gene Huntley Porter, U.S. Navy) This is my island in the sun.

From here I view the magnificant and serene summer Atlantic, broken only by the sharp swirl of a destroyer, the delicate feather of a periscope, the propwash of a low-flying plane, or occasionally, a floating, empty helmet with intricate wings of gold embossed on the forehead. It happens fast these days, even flying these propellar types—no time for emotion—that comes later—only action at the instant, and then the adrenalin's effect fading with hope.

Things went smoothly last night; the bridge watch performed superbly, the signal gang had their searchlights on in less time than it takes to tell it, and the rescue destroyer was Johnny-on-the-spot. Too bad it wasn't a drill; we would have received a fine mark. Not much room for pride, though, when all you have left of a friend is a hardhat and part of his gas supply in a wingtip tank. Why did he go in? Why, with a part of his gas supply in a wingtip tank, why did he go in? Why, with perfect launching conditions and plenty of wind from the right place, and riding a good plane properly inspected, did he end up inverted a few hundred yards in front of the ship, floating for a short time with the ship, floating for a short white white the landing gear looking faintly ridiculous in the deepening twilight while bright beams of light and a hundred eyes probed the dark water in vain? Norm knew he was a good pliot. I had flown with him—same plane, same catapult—but he will never tell me and neither will Marty, or the crewmen. I don't really care why, except that it might help out someone else sometime when he is just airborne and suddenly finds himself in a near snaproll 50 feet above the water, twisting the horizon crazily-the classic example of "Just one of those things." ing is dangerous; everyone knows it. Pilots get paid extra for it, and if they believe in life insurance, they pay extra for that. This happens all the time. Just read the papers—you will find it between columns describing a 5-car smashup on the Freeway and reports on the rock-and-roller-of-theday's current haircut.

All of this isn't important—only the fact that two friends and a stranger whom I admired for their professional competence and liked for other reasons—guys I've talked with in crisp indifference on the radio and laughed with over a drink here and there; guys to whom the last I said was, "Give me a call when you get to 2,000 feet," never will be at that altitude again. Remember Norm?

The stocky, good-looking one in blues? He was proud of his wife and three kids; he'd shown us pictures of them at our last blg dinner in the wardroom. Our guest liked him. And Marty? Marty had four kids.

Do you have the picture? Do you really? I doubt it, because as it stands it is quite unimportant. Do you really feel very much when you read that 100 people died in a Chinese flood? But what completes the picture? Don't ask "Why did it happen?" You'll get all tied up in aeronautics and differential equations. Ask—"For what did it happen?" and it will become interesting. Patriotism? An outdated word, or at least not stylish these days, but I guess it is about the best we can do. I believe in it. You believe in it. We all do. We all believe that the United States of America should have the best Armed Forces in the world to protect our freedom (only let's be economical about it; and it's peacetime so let's not join up, and really, anyone who stays in the service with so much money to be made on the outside must be either a misfit who can't get a job elsewhere, or else he is just sort of odd.)

OK, fine, this is what we are here for, supposedly, to insure that the majority won't have to be; to insure that our preclous freedoms remain available to all. But look in the mirror. What has happened to the use of these freedoms now that we have successfully protected them a few times on foreign battlefields? Are we here to make sure that everyone has the right to have a backyard barbecue pit, or are we here to make sure that no one is interrupted while everyone is forced to build barbecue pits, or dig them, or whatever you do? Are we here to save a national attitude that doesn't care if it is saved?

What has happened to the Nation that idolized independence of mind and spirit so that it now coddles gangsters and racketeers. allows inflation to become a routine thing, with the majority believing there is no harm in it and glosses over the logical results of being priced out of world markets all across the board, with savings dwindling to nothing? Why do they allow themselves to be forced to pay more to an eighth-grade-educated steelworker who puts in 40 hours & week rolling steel than they do to an 80 hour a week college professor who is contributing so much to society? How did they get in the ridiculous situation where farmers are paid not to grow things and where what they do grow is paid for by the taxpayers and stored in an ancient hulk on the Hudson? And public power? And how about everything else that is gradually taking away not only the rights but also the re-sponsibilities? Once the responsibilities go. where is the power of choice?-(Martinis or Manhattans?) Do you want never to see a good portion of your paycheck and live with the knowledge that the Government is keeping it all for you and if you live long enough they'll give it back to you piece by piece so you won't have to work in your old age and will be able to rock away on the porch of that modest little bungalow in St. Augustine or is it St. Petersburg? If so, you've got it made.

But you, did I hear you say that if that is what you want you will use a bank and deposit your own money and make your own decisions as to how much you need? Fine; and if at the age of 45 you decide that you want something else, say a boat to cruise the south seas and to subsist by writing quaint little tales of island culture, you'll write a check? Try writing a check on your social security number.

The point I make is this: What is happening to the old fashioned revolutionary idea that all men are created equal is that it is being misinterpreted to mean that all men are created identical—and if they aren't—

graduated income taxes will attempt to be the great equalizer, along with a couple of other concepts that change the individualistic pursuit of happiness into legalized pres-

sure to conformity.

Our American way of life is the best the world has ever seen. Of this I am sure. I'm not sacrificing anything I would rather do to be out here in uniform. I like to drive ships around, to give a command and feel 40,000 tons answer to the helm. Did you ever see a carrier flight deck at night, with dozens of planes tuned up and lights telling the story? It is one of the most awe inspiring things in the world—as far as I am concerned. Not only do I like my job, I think it is important.

But the next time I sit in the cockpit of a plane, or hear a frantic "Mayday" radio (and there will be a next time, it's mathematical) I'll think of Norm and Marty and the kid last night, and maybe their seven-plus children, and certainly all of the rest of this, and will wonder why so few of the 170 million people read the front page of the paper before they read the sports and society columns, and so many couldn't even find the editorials (they've read the same paper for years) and so many choose their man for office on the basis of a TV

Where will it stop? Or will it? I honestly don't believe it will. But then, that is what time is for: to allow old ideas to fade away and new ones to take over. Is the majority always right? If so, then I guess inflation is okay after all, and I shouldn't mind if most concepts of private enterprise and private responsibility to self and family and else are slowly eaten away. Is this really necessary for the national good, or even for the national existence? I'd like to think so, but it is sort of tough to believe that we have knowingly and legally and conscientiously developed a situation where tradition dictates that a union boss will get something now for his men each year at contract time, or else, like last night, a nation of free people is tied in a knot while two friends and a stranger settle slowly under 10,000 feet of sea water.

Water Conservation-Key to Survival

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. GALE W. McGEE

OF WYOMING

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Thursday, May 26, 1960

Mr. McGEE. Mr. President, the National Select Committee on National Water Resources, under the leadership of Senator Robert S. Kerr, is at present conducting a wide series of hearings by taking testimony from witnesses who represent various organizations and points of view here in Washington. The committee, of which I am a member, is engaging in the staggering task of assimilating and digesting the mountains of material which have been accumulated during these hearings, and also from the many Government agencies which have to do with the development and use of our water resources. The committee hopes before long to be able to take the report on the relationship of the development of our national water resources to the national interest which was contemplated in S. Res. 48. In connection with this coming event and because it epitomizes the increasing in-

tensity of concern over the development of our water resources which is taking place in the minds of citizens all over the country, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an essay entitled "Water Conservation-Key to Your Survival" by Joe Russin, of Laramie, Wyo. This essay won first place in the senior division of the annual essay contest held in Wyoming in connection with National Wildlife Week. It is important because it is a very fine and a very eloquent plea for adequate conservation and development measures and it is also important because the judges who selected this essay as the best of nearly 3,000 entries recognized that the key to a successful integrated multipurpose conservation program lies in the field of water conserva-

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Laramie Daily Boomerang, May

22, 1960] WATER CONSERVATION—KEY TO YOUR SURVIVAL

Joe Russin, 1712 Custer, Laramie, won first place in the senior division of the annual essay contest held in Wyoming in connection with National Wildlife Week, State Chairman Charles R. Rodermel reports.

Rodermel, chief of the Wyoming Game and Fish Department's Information and Education Division, said the subject for the contest was "Water Conservation-Key to Your Survival."

Russin's winning essay was judged as the best of nearly 3,000 entries. Eighteen county winning themes were submitted for State awards. Russin is a University High School

Other winners in the senior division contest included Particia Skiles, Buffalo, second; Donna Foote, Fort Laramie, third; and Paula Reeves, Afton, Miriam Greer, Cheyenne, and Jerry Harrington, Powell, honorable men-

In the junior division Andrea House, Casper, received first place award. Other winners in that division included Billy Castle, Bosier, second; Mary Martinez, Torrington, third; and Noaleen Larson, Luski, Susan Barnard, Evanston, and Patrice Fisher, Mc-Fadden, honorable mention.

WATER CONSERVATION-KEY TO YOUR SURVIVAL (By Joe Russin)

The ugliest creature in the world is a dirty, polluted river. Winding its muddy way through a gully-filled valley and then down through a slimy bed in a city, the river resembles a vicious snake. It can well be compared to the most poisonous viper, because the poison carried by a polluted river is in every way as deadly. It is also more plentiful. A snake can only inject a few drops of venom into one person at a time. The river can carry thousands of gallons of infection to millions of people every minute.

The river is ugly because it is an eyesore. It desecrates the fields and it gives the city a slumlike appearance. It is ugly because its very substance is death to the fish that inhabit it and to the small children who innocently play along its shores. It is ugly because it costs valuable dollars to clean and to restore. But, most of all, it is ugly because it is needless.

The placid, flowing current of a pristine river with its power to refresh the tired soul and to work wonders for industry and the people who use it wisely is a God-given bless-There is no reason why we and our posterity should not enjoy this blessing. We

forfeit our right to it only when we become careless.

The ugly river does not just happen. Perhaps a hunter forgot to completely put out his cigarette before throwing it into the bramble. He did not stop to think that the fire he was causing would destroy an invaluable watershed. Farther down the stream a farmer may have been lazy one spring and decided not to plow around that little hill in his field, but rather cut straight furrows over it. The small amounts of erosion caused by the rains of the summer did not bother him. Not until the spring thaw which wrought havoc in his field came and carried priceless inches of topsoil into the river did he sense the danger-but then it was too late. He could only think back with regret to that day last fall when he decided to burn the stubble that remained from his crop so that the spring plowing would be easier. Even as he surveyed the damage, he thought it would be too much trouble plant a cover crop and try to reclaim the soil. So the field was abandoned, the gullies grew deeper, and the river grew muddler.

Down near the city a factory may have decided to make use of the powerful motion of the current of the stream. The river also seemed to provide a ready, inexpensive sewage system. It never occurred to the manager of the plant that the chemicals and bacteria he was dumping into the river would poison the drinking water of the city, just a half mile downstream. It never occurred to him, that is, until his little girl died. It usually takes a severe shock such as this to awaken most communities to the serious situations being caused by neglect to the water supply. By the time they wake up, it is already too late for quick remedies. Tedious work, costly expenditures, and long-range planning will be necessary to restore the stream to a healthy condition.

Fortunately, we in Wyoming are blessed with many streams and good watersheds. Nonetheless, we live in a zone of less than 20 inches of annual rainfall, so it is important that we use our water wisely. We cannot afford the dubious luxury of carelessness which results in polluted rivers. Just because many of our streams are currently clear is no assurance that they will remain so in the future unless we act now to pre-

vent disaster later.

In Wyoming our water offers us many special opportunities. Nearly every free moment of my summer, time is spent on the grassy banks of remote mountain lakes or in working along the banks of crystal-clear creeks. The glistening speckled trout which I match wits with are also enjoying the tangy mountain water and find it makes an excellent As I fish, especially along lake and pond shores, I can see suspicious deer edge to the water for a quick drink. They, too, appreciate unspoiled water. In the larger lakes, I can enjoy the thrill of a motorboat ride, or the tingling sensation of swimming in snow-fed waters. Water, clean and chaste, is a tremendous recreation and health treasure house.

But water can provide more than that. This little HO molecule which has caused untold numbers of wars can be a great force in making Wyoming into a State with vast industrial capacity. In our streams is the key to the prosperity and survival not only Wyoming but of many other States as well. Our waters find their way into two oceans, servicing millions of people along the way. The way we use our water in a large part determines the use others may put to it. It is our responsibility to keep the waters clear and to store them prudently.

It might be very well for us to consider building substantial reservoirs and pipes to store water in case of an atomic attack. In this way we could save a large amount of water not only for ourselves but the whole West as well from nuclear contamination. Water is essential to our life, and it is vital that we insure an adequate supply. What better place than Wyoming for such a project, as many great rivers have their headwaters within our borders.

We in Wyoming have our responsibilities to our neighboring States, but we also have a responsibility to use carefully the water we have within our borders. The time has passed for squabbles over water rights between farmers, ranchers, and the cities. It is now vitally necessary that we join forces and realize that water conservation is a reciprocating responsibility. Good conservation practices are needed just as much in the cities as they are on the farm and ranch. The ugly river we traced can be prevented. All that is required is a little knowledge and

Address of Paul Harvey at Third Annual Meeting of the National Independent Dairies Association

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. MORGAN M. MOULDER

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 25, 1960

Mr. MOULDER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I include the following address of Paul Harvey, American Broadcasting Co. news analyst and author, at the third annual meeting of the National Independent Dairies Association at the Mayflower Hotel, Washington, D.C., April 6, 1960:

Good evening Americans. My goodness, Scott, I feel like the Okeefenokee swamp boy who fell into a barrel of molasses. He said, "Lord, give me a mouth equal to the occasion."

Seriously Scott, that's the second most flattering introduction I've ever received in my life. The only time I ever got a more flowery one was once when the master of ceremonies failed to show up and I had to do it myself.

Storms never end. I wish I could bring you some more pollyanna promise than that tonight. I wish I could promise you no work and all ease, all honey and no bees, but it isn't going to be that way. If I have any distinction, it is not those so graciously enumerated in my introduction, it's the fact that I am one of the few appearing before public forums this year who is not running for or from anything—and that makes a difference. And, storms never end. I hope that in the ensuing few minutes I can satisfy you that you wouldn't really want it any other way.

Once upon a time, we led the world, we, Americans, toward a lighted window, and, I think this is important and certainly before we spend any more billions trying to buy collective security, we owe ourselves this backward glance. From 1789, until World War I, all other nations on planet earth were totalitarian except United States. Did you every stop to realize this? In 1789 we were a little bitty country of 3 million people completely surrounded by an ocean of totalitarianism. Everyone else kings claimed to rule by divine right, other ruled with military might, but we alone ruled ourselves. What happened? Suddenly, the rest of the world watching our experiment in individual liberty and self-government began to copy us. Statesmen and writers visited the United States and returned home with glowing reports and the urge for freedom began to

spread like a prairie fire across whole continents. The French threw off the yoke of their dissolute king and rapacious aristoc-racy. England initiated sweeping democratic reforms. Mexico, and Central America and South America freed themselves from Spain. From 1789 until the full World War I broke out, democracy was spreading around How come? Our Nation had not the world. given the old nations any money. We had sent forth no paid propagandists. We'd beamed no broadcasts beyond our neighbor's borders. We hadn't sent any experts overseas to show them how. We sent them no guns, no butter, no money. We made no con-cessions to foreigners which would penalize domestic producers. Our new Nation didn't any mutual defense agreements. insist on And, yet, though we ignored them, the older nations began to imitate our example and freedom was the world's dynamic, expanding force prior to 1914, and when the German dynasty collapsed in 1917, the Russians in 1918, the last strongholds of despotism had fallen. But now what? Suddenly democracy began to take itself for granted. Democracy racy, like an uninspired housewife, neglected herself and then was herself neglected; communism, fascism, nazism-these became the world's dynamic political forces. two, but we failed to follow through, and since World War II, communism has cap-tured approximately 100 million new disciples every year. Our better product has been left unsold because they have a better sales technique; because, instead of trying to lead other nations as our gallant 3 million forefathers did, we've been trying to push them. Our Declaration of Independence has been supplanted with half a hundred declarations of dependence on others and so, failing to commend respect, we try to buy it. Times have changed? No, my dear Americans, times haven't changed. We have changed. For all our grandeur and our gold, we win fewer converts to democracy today than our great grandaddys did with nothing but a light in the window. We always worry about the wrong thing, don't we? I remember August 1945, when suddenly a weapon 400 million times more lethal than anything ever before had been loosed on the worldwe sat down in our councils of men chewing our fingernails up past the second knuckle worrying about what we are going to do with this hideous weapon that suddenly had been loosed upon us. Even today, there are some who would say we should bury it in a cave in New Mexico or, in concert with other nations, destroy this technological advantage. Oh my goodness. In world war III, God forbid it should be, they're going to outnumber us 8 to 3 and I mean even if all our frightened friends stick with us, the Soviets and their satellites are going to outnumber us better than 2 to 1.

Wars never end. Storms are a part of the normal climate of life. In the three and a half thousand years of recorded history. fewer than 8 percent of those years have been without their shooting wars and even in this time in between, the wars between the wars went on-which we come to call cold wars, waged by the forces of espionage and counterespionage. It's interesting to reflect that history demonstrates who wins this war between the wars generally determines who gets the drop on whom when somebody blows the whistle on a shooting And yet, there are some who say we should bury or destroy this weapon when it's the only equalizer that's cut the limitless hordes of Asia down to our size. is the one deterrent that thus far has kept the big red bear treed. We do destroy it, then somebody blows the whistle on another war, and what do we do? Go back to fighting wars with bamboo spears and bayonets again—outnumbered better than 2 to 1? My dear Americans, give your sons better odds than that. I believe with all my

heart that an allwise, Almighty entrusted that hideous weapon to our tiny, little 7 percent God-fearing fraction of this earth's population—not for our destruction, but for our deliverance.

February, a year ago, Khrushchev wrote a book. In that book he blueprinted his plans for world conquest just as graphically as Hitler did in "Mein Kamf." He told us exactly what he was going to do to us. title of the book is "To Victory in Peaceful Competition With Capitalism." The great The great nation states now have become so strong in the arms and so soft in the tummy that none dares wage armed combat again. initiation of such a conflict would in itself be a suicidal act. Thus, the great nation states of the world now have approached, for the first time in history, a military stand of which conceivably could perpetuate this war between the wars and thus delay doomsday indefinitely. But, you understand, this presupposes that we're going to keep us strong—that's us spelled U.S.—strong in our arms and in our hearts. For if there is one irrefutable lesson that we can learn from the history of the other great nation states before ours-Spain, Greece, and Chinanone ever was destroyed by anybody else's marching legions; each rotted away with moral, social, cultural, and economic decay, almost simultaneously. With a military standoff enforcing military peace, Khrushchev instead reverts to victory through peaceful competition with capitalism. The Communist plan for world conquest has not been changed, only the weapons and tactics have been altered. It is in this volume that he promises to overtake us and then take over the United States within 7 years. bury you," he says. You may gather from this that I have little respect for Mr. Khrushchev's present overtures seeking to lure us back to the summit. That's correct, I have little respect for those overtures. I don't know what we will barter away this time in order to spare Berlin-another blockade, but something. Once I recall we celebrated breaking the Berlin blockade and overlooked the fact that we had lost China. Another time we forestalled a Berlin blockade, but without a shot gave up Tibet. What will we give up this time? Something. It seems to me that every time Jack and

Jill go back up that hill, we are thrust much into the position of the overanxious brideto-be who discovered that marriage licenses were not available on Saturday, and so she asked the minister, "Couldn't you just say a few words to tide us over the weekend?" would I wish to be categorized with those who think the only answer is to drop a bomb on Moscow now. Though I confess some-times, by jing, I listen to this diplomatic doubletalk going back and forth, and I find that some of the fire in the belly that characterized my Pennsylvania Dutch grand-daddy. You know back there around Al-toona some of the Quaker faith used to be attired always in black, even at milking time. I recall this one ancestor of whom it is said, while milking one day, the cow kicked the bucket and splashed milk all over his frock and black buttonless habit. This ancestor stood and sized up the situation and said. "Now, cow, thou knowest that because of my Quaker upbringing it is inappropriate for me to abuse thee physically and, cow, thou knowest that because of my religious persuasion I cannot swear at thee but I wonder. cow, if thou knowest I could sell thee to a southern Baptist who could just kick the hell out of thee."

Perhaps a cardinal weakness in the character of Americans is that we're inclined to take our blessings for granted. "Taking for granted" means that we assume our possessions without any effort on our part, will remain forever intact. This is a basic error of course. We possess nothing. We are cus-

todians of the things, nothing more. We have but to relax our grasp on our blessings to lose them. You ask any wife how long a tender love taken for granted can thrive-no longer than a flower you forget to water. And yet, Americans are oft times inclined to take for granted our loved ones, our liberties, our luxuries, even our jobs. Somewhere a twisted lie was conceived that the world Owes us a living. That's not what the Bible says, you know. It says, "As you sow so shall you reap." But some, peddling a promise of security in exchange for votes, sought to convince the electorate that we didn't want opportunity anymore, we wanted security. They said, you don't want opportunity, that's old hat, you want security. So, we demanded security. We sacrificed quality for equality. We demanded that our employers take care of us, or that Government take care of us whether we sow or not. We took our paychecks for granted. No longer was that reward for honest effort but something the world owed us and should be forced to pay. While we looked the other way, the world picked our pocket and we dared not protest. Similarly one after another of our liberties alipped away. We took it for granted that, freedom won for us at Theonderoga and Valley Forge, would remain forever intact and undiluted. Yet today we're regulated in business, regimented as individuals, restricted by laws piled on laws limiting by taxes how much we can make, dictating through social security what insurance we must buy, prescribing by mandate where Big Government spends our money, negating the climate in Which small business has flourished and thus has made us the powerhouse of this planet

Now maybe, as the dictators say, we are not competent to govern ourselves. tell tell you something. In the beginning Americans under God did. But now we take Him for granted, too, assuming 1 hour each Sabbath will atone for 6 days of pride, passion, and payola. You know, just as surely as I'm convinced that that awesome weapon was first entrusted to us that we might have another reprieve, I am similarly satisfied that there was more reason than met the eye when one day we looked overhead and saw that the first tin moon circling in space was labled, "Made in the U.S.S.R. Then, we were sore afraid. But I wonder if that wasn't once again a beneficent wisdom seeking somehow to show us that we have no corner on industry, that either we're going to get off our cottonpicking posteriors and get back to work again or we're going to follow those other great nation states into the graveyard of ignominious oblivion. If I may paraphrase Mr. Lincoln, or if he had it to say today, "Nine score and 3 years ago our forefathers brought forth on this continent a new nation conceived in liberty, and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal." Now, we are engaged in a great economic war testing whether that that nation or any nation so conceived and so dedicated can long endure. We are met on a great battlefield of that war, Main U.S.A. For here is going to be determined whether government of the people and by the people, and for the people shall or shall not perish from the earth.

I wish so often at times like this that I could yield the floor to a neighbor of mine from Oklahoma, Will Rogers. Of course, I was from Tulsa and he was from Claremore and we were 20 miles and 20 years apart, but whenever anybody becomes as famous as old Will did, anybody within 20 miles is entitled to call him a neighbor. I keep trying to imagine what old Will would say if he were here in my enviable position speaking to you tonight. I know it would be preposterously presumptious for me to try to put words in old Will's lifeless lips unless I were reasonably sure that he would understand, and I am entirely sure that he would. So for the next 3 minutes, more

or less, the words that I speak will be as I would imagine he would like to say them if this were his privilege instead of mine.

"Folks, I guess I ought to come back. Wyatt Earp is back and Matt Dillon and Bat Masterson and a lot of others.

"Do you know why folks nowadays like TV westerns? I'll tell you why. We've got so we can't do much for ourselves, anymore, so we like to watch somebody who could.

"Then a man could solve all his problems kith a gun and a horse; today he needs radar, sonar and an IBM machine.

"We had spacemen, though, back yonder. Cowboys ridin' herd on a quiet night in the middle of the prairie with all the heavens hung out above 'em. A cowboy could pick a star or the moon and go to it anytime he wanted. Must have gone to the moon a hundred times, sometimes twice a night.

"Then we went on those space flights for fun. Today you go on the run, scared. Little wonder. Some radio stations today make more noise just introducing a newscast than we did gettin' out the Claremore Fire Department. News ain't news, anymore. It's a round-the-clock warning.

"Why, you got a generation of parents scared of their own kids. Maybe it happened when you all moved to town. Men build great cities, but cities don't build great men.

"How many boys nowadays have seen a crop come on—and helped harvest it? How many boys know what it is to raise pigeons, to hear a screech owl at night, to be butted by a goat and rassle a calf—that a possum can gnaw out of a wood box and be gone in the morning? That you don't have to sow weeds; you just put down the hoe and they'll choke out the flowers.

"How many boys know what nature always does to a coward or a loafer or a thief? "The big city makes a man think he's

boss—and he's not—He is. That's why the Bible was written by farmers and shepherds and fishermen.

"Also, I figure this juvenile mischief was partly brought on by the safety razor and the electric shaver.

"So, 2 years in a row you had to go back to the one State of Mississippi to get yourself a beauty queen. You know, I remember once back in Claremore we had a beauty contest and nobody won. Nobody even came in second. A traveling man came in third and he wasn't even in the contest.

"So you got that Russian feller, Krewschef, comin' over here apartment hunting.

"I remember once we had an old bull down in the hollow where I used to hunt squirrels. He reminded me of this Krewschef, pawin' and bellowin' all the time. I never could be sure of that old bull, but we had respect for one another. Long as it was that way we never tangled. He always managed to bellow when I was about to shoot a squirrel, but he never charged me.

"But I missed a lot of squirrels.

"So you took in Alaska and Hawaii? I'll say you did. Now they gotta kick into the Federal overseas kitty and provide asylum for their own old used Congressmen. Instead of askin' to be States, Alaska and Hawaii mighta done better by askin' us to make 'em full fledged foreign countries, instead.

"Why did I leave this earth 'before my time," as so many of you kind folks have said? I don't know. A fellow has something to do and he does it. He has something to say and he says it. After awhile there are new things to do and new people to do them, new things to say and new people to say them.

"The old fellow is from a different age and the new people don't understand him. He is the 'old man around the house' who always wants to give advice. A man is seldom old enough to be a philosopher until he has looked into the eyes of his grandchild, and then he is so full of compassion

and has so many warnings that the young'uns don't like to listen. A man had better do what he can and say what he has to say while he has people his own age to listen."

And then Old Will would probably say:
"My time's up. Thanks for lettin' me
drop in like this. Now it's your turn. So
long."

Well, at least old Will was spared the in-dignity of TV. In case I may have aroused any misapprehensions concerning how I feel toward TV and conveyed to some the impression that I don't like it, thats right, I don't like it. Jealousy, partly. I got along so well for many years with radio that I kind of resent this illegitimate stepchild in our midst. Also I seemed to have timed things so badly. Television on the way in at the same time my hair is on the way out. But as some of you can attest, there's one thing about being bald, it's neat. Now, I've been not too secretly hoping they'd discover television causes cancer. You think about it. We could do away with both those evils at the same time and all go back to smoking cigarettes again. Actually, that isn't entirely fair. I understand that the cigarette manufacturers now have solved the cancer threat. The only thing is they've made the filter so long, you're liable to get a hernia from sucking so hard.

You know, there's nothing really so difficult to comprehend in Russia's present peace talk when we realize that she has had to shift emphasis, weapons and tactics because of the military standoff. Russia has everything to gain and nothing to lose from smiling and smiling and disarming us so we will export more and more American knowhow thus to make Russia look good. Have you ever heard the parable which explains why the animals of the jungle remain armed?

Once upon a time the animals were all assembled to a summit conference, to discuss disarmament. The lion looks suspiciously at the bull and declares all horns must be abolished. The eagle looked at the tiger and says, all paws, especially those with claws, must be abolished. And the bear in his turn said, "Let us abolish all such weapons. All that is really needed is a universal embrace." So the rest of the birds and the beasts decided they better remain armed.

If we are agreed up to here that it is necessary for us to keep us strong in order to perpetuate peace, to forestall doom's day until the Russians learn some manners, perhaps we should seek out the source of our strength. Ours is not the first, by George, good government to arise on the world stage. But, as history teaches, each enjoyed about what? A 150 years—that's just about our time in the new world—and then each rotted away. And, it's a cruel paradox that each was destroyed because it was a good government, not because it was a bad It was a good government and it bore bountiful fruit and the people got fat. And when they got fat they began to get lazy. And when they got lazy they began to want to absolve themselves of personal responsibility and turn over to government to do for them things which traditionally they had done for themselves. First, there doesn't seem to be anything wrong with asking government to perform some increasing service for you, but whenever you ask government to do for you, anything which you have traditionally been doing for yourselves, in order to perform the increasing function the Government has to get bigger? Right? In order to support its increasing size it to tax the individual more, so the individual gets littler. In order to collect the additional taxes it has to hire more tax collectors and the Government gets bigger. In order to pay the additional tax collectors it has to tax the individual more. So the individual gets littler and the Government gets bigger until one day the Government is allpowerful and the people are cattle.

The Government is everything and the people are hardly anything at all. That is precisely the way the great nations have gone from monarchy to oligarchy, oligarchy to dictatorship, dictatorship to bureaucracy, and from bureaucracy to pure democracy, where finally the people would cry out from the chaos and confusion of the streets, "God, give us a king." And God would give them a king. a monarchy, and start the whole silly circle over again. Because as anybody who was ever lost in the woods can attest, if you keep turning left you can't go any way but in circles.

I keep remembering the old Mack Sennett comedies where the culprit chased by the policeman would point and say, "He went that-a-way." The policeman would tear off down the street after nobody and the thief would stroll home with the loot. We are chasing Russia and Russia is pointing at the Moon and saying "That-a-way," while Russia prepares to pick up the marbles on planet Earth.

Soviet cars are now moving into U.S. mar-Khrushchev has declared economic war on us and when we strengthen his economy we're helping him win that war and we are thus strengthening his economy. Ten thousand Russian made Moscovitch sedans ordered delivered in Syracuse, N.Y., where a dealer wants to sell them in the United States. But Congress is debating the space race and who will get first to Mars. Some of us are getting ulcers on our ulcers worrying that Russia might get to Mars before we do and the Russians have already landed in Syracuse. Don't think the Soviet press wasn't delighted when that announcement was forthcoming. All 16 of Moscow's newspapers headlined the fact that, "Soviet technical achievements are now such that Americans are having to buy Russian-made cars." In an economic war they construe this to be an American retreat.

Back in Washington military men are being called on the congressional carpet, confronted with the evidence that the Soviets are wining the space race and asked, "Why?" The result is almost certain to be an increased military budget, not because it makes sense, but because it will silence congressional critics in election year. Military men challenged, a military budget, military objectves, and we're not fighting a military war. We are engaged in an economic war, and we're not winning it. In buying cars from the Soviets we are in effect supplying weapons to the enemy-inviting mass unemployment in the American aircraft industry. Cheap foreign labor plus government subsidies have been enabling other countries to build 2,000-mile-a-minute jet airliners now, and we're not.

American manufacturers cannot afford to compete. The Russian and British Governments give tax dollars to the planemakers. CAB says unless our Government now subsidizes our planemakers, American airlines might be buying airliners from Russia in 5 years. I wonder if it isn't time for us to tend now to our homefront economy to keep us strong, to defend us against invasion from without and to think twice about hurling 100 missiles at the sky while Russia carefully tests only 2.

Russia is deliberately trying to sucker us into an astronomically expensive modern arms race. Any worthwhile secrets we discover, she will steal. Meanwhile we could go bankrupt. There is evidence that Russia's much-mentioned giant footsteps in space were made by a boot on a broomstick.

I think we have made two grievous mistakes with our young. We told them half-truths which were in effect false ones. We told our sons, for example, that this country was carved out of the wilderness. This country was not carved out of the wilderness.

This country was hammered and scratched, and dug and clawed out of the wilderness by barehanded men who asked nothing for nothing. We told our young people what a wonderful thing it is to be an American. But we forgot to tell them what a difficult and a demanding and a dangerous thing it is to be a free American and to have to make decisions for yourself.

What a magnificent challenge we could have provided—but instead of that we promised them security from the cradle to the grave.

A boy, needing a chance to prove himself a man, does what? Seeks his challenge elsewhere, beats up old men on the street corners or rapes little girls or tries narcotics or steals cars just for kicks. If the American character has eroded away, then it isn't going to make much difference what we do here or what I say, but I will not believe that.

I get out of the highly industrialized area in which it's necessary for me to spend much time and wade around in the good green grassroots of this country, midst your constituents, and I get a refurbished faith that the American people, when they get mad enough, can do anything. If nothing else ever proved that, Pearl Harbor did. The American people when they get mad enough can do anything.

can do anything.

Sometimes I think that's my main mission in life, just keeping them stirred up. But this needs to be said: If we would keep us strong morally, socially, culturally, economically.

I have touched fleetingly on the delinquency which threatens because we have taken away from American youth a reason for being. That's important you know. What do we have to look forward to, you and I? Three score, maybe 4 years or more. Then probably in pain we will die and our earthly remains decay away. For goodness sake, if that is all there were to it we would be standing in line for the high windows. A man has to have a reason to live and a reason to die. As Whittaker Chambers said so effectively in "Witness," "Communism, a Godless religion, and it is nothing less, gives a man that reason."

Now, with what kind of an affirmative faith of our own are we going to counter that threat. What are we for? And equally important to what Americans stand for, is what Americans won't stand for.

This needs to be said. The broadcasting business has been lambasted with an avalanche of righteous indignation concerning payola. And there is more to come. Being a top target for some wild-eyed

Being a top target for some wild-eyed administrations, I personally have had to stay clean whether I wanted to or not.

So from this ivory tower I could preach a little religion to the diskjockeys who sold out their independence. But I will not. There are too many sanctimonious sinners holding their collective nose over this stink and ignoring their own dirty underwear.

Let us get this out in the open.

In by George almost every industry these days, money under the table is standard operating procedure. If I name only a few for instances, it is only because there is not space to list them all.

In the mattress business, some companies slip a spif of \$10 to \$20 to the store clerk who pushes one product over another.

In the dairy business, all manner of inducements are offered by some companies to store owners to stock my brand, including cash.

Push-money always favors the big fellows who can afford it over the little ones who operate on a close profit margin. Some store owners forbid it, others wink at it, but either way the bribery goes on.

Or the giant industrial combine that says, "You sell your dairy or your grocery to me—or I have the weight, influence and finances to force you to."

A refinement of the protection racket perfected by Capone.

Kick in or get kicked out. Payola.

Salesmen, buyers, purchasing agents; there are lots of hands out.

I am not through.

What about the ludicrously named "flower fund" in the city hall to which workers kick in every month to somebody's political coffers at the risk of losing their jobs. It's a kickback, by whatever name. It's payola.

Newspaper sportswriters on the payroll of big league ball clubs.

For that matter, every tip you give the barber or the doorman is a bribe intended to buy your way to the head of the line.

What about the pork barrel politics of

What about the pork barrel politics of "Til vote for your bill if you'll vote for mine," Mr. Congressman? That's a form of payola.

And so are the promises you make to your constitutents: "You vote for me and I'll get an airbase for your county." (You don't mention, Mr. Congressman, that the money to pay for the airbase is coming ultimately from the pocket of that voter. You let him think it's free. Payola.)

For that matter, when our foreign aiders demand more handouts abroad they always insist it's in our "enlightened self-interest." So if we are bribing allies to allow us military bases in their countries, it's payola.

Don't misunderstand. I'm not saying because everybody does it, it's right. I am saying that we are a pretty miserable bunch of hyprocrites, when our foreign policy and our domestic economy are so entirely predicated on the payoff practice, if we seek to divert attention from this big stain by smearing a handful of dee-jays for "doing what comes naturally" in this rotten climate.

It's time for somebody to rub the smug American nose in the whole nasty mess, so if we have any character left, we can all get back to working our way and earning alliving, instead of trying to beg, borrow or steal it.

If Uncle Sam is ever disgraced and destroyed in the eyes of the world it won't be the Russians that did it.

It'll be because he was lured astray by a low-necked, short-skirted, rose-scented, diamond-necked hussy named, "Something for Nothing."

For months I have anticipated this opportunity to talk tonight to you with anxiety approaching terror.

There is something I want so desperately to say that I fear, trying too hard, I might say it poorly, and to the detriment of the defendant in this case.

To "shuck down to the cob," as we say in the Ozarks, I have carried the plight of the independent dairyman on my conscience for what ails him is symptomatic of a malignancy which has affected several areas of our economy.

I think this can be said of no other issue: There has never been an election campaign in which any candidate for anything ever falled to praise this "small businessman."

And most mean it.

And yet for three recent decades the small businessman in this country has been between the dog and the fireplug, and he has had just about all the soaking he can stand.

I studied and sweated and sought counsel, hoping to come before this impressive assemblage with specific recommendations which would solve all the problems of the independent dairyman neatly and completely by 10 tomorrow morning.

I should have known better. It's not that

But then I had to remind myself, as you must, that nothing worthwhile ever is.

If this appears to be a cowardly passing of the buck, to place the problem in your lap unsolved, it is nonetheless the only honest approach to a solution I know.

But I wonder if, in contemplating the cause and cure, we might not do well to

consider its parallel on the larger world

I do not know when bigness, per se, becomes evil.

I honestly do not know where we draw the line and say this far, no further.

But we have seen that bigness-the corrupt Communist bigness of the limitless hordes of Asia-when they would have engulfed us.

We have seen that Red tide turned back and held back by a technological development which I still believe was a gift from

This "equalizer" has allowed our 7 percent of the earth's population strength sufficient to keep our enemies at arm's length. Which is perhaps quite enough to hope for in our time.

But now another kind of gargantuan growth within segments of our economy threatens to smother the small business tradition which contributed so much toward making us the powerhouse of this planet.

In the dairy industry, a thousand independents have been overrun by the "big four." These are already dominated by the "big two." These have only to become the "big one" and state socialism is effected. We've then had revolution by evolution. Defeat by default. And Khrushchev will have made good his vulgar boast.

Tonight I yield this problem and its inherent challenge to infinitely wiser ones than I. And there is no pretended modesty in what Lsay.

For I still stand in awe of the stature of Our statesmen. I believe with a schoolboy's Confidence that the American dream is still good and mostly because you are mostly good.

I entrust the problem to you with no recommendation for its disposition.

There is no man in this room who would

ask you to subsidize inefficiency.

There is none among us who believes we can make the small man tall by cutting off the giant's legs.

But I earnestly commend to your very prompt consideration the fact that we must enforce international peace as long as an amoral Godless religion threatens us from without.

And we must enforce ethics and morality in our domestic economy as long as an amoral conquest threatens us from within.

For the economic war in which we are engaged is altogether as much a struggle for survival as any military war could be.

As Congressman WRIGHT PATMAN once put

"There's an elephant dancing among the chickens."

Or to say it another way, "among the geese that laid the golden eggs."

At the outset I said storms are a part of the moral climate of life, and that I hoped to be able to satisfy you that you wouldn't really want it any other way. I hope you see what I'm trying so desperately to say, that this little earthly while is a testing time, right?

I mean a paradise is being prepared somewhere and we have to prove here that we deserve to be there. I'm not saying we're Roing to work our way. It is the persuasion of most of us, I believe, that it'll be by grace if we are saved. Yet it's going to be by our Works that we'll be known. We've got to prove here that we deserve to populate paradise. And if it were perpetual sunshine, there would be no victory.

So storms are a part of the normal climate of life. Sometimes we think our generation has been especially plagued with problems, but that's not wholly so. For every generation there have been dark clouds out there on the national or economic or international horizon. Storms sometimes took the shape of a military holocaust or an economic catastrophe, too much rain or too

little, but there have always been storms to test the mettle of men. Young people of every age have wondered if they should pursue an education or not. Young folks have wondered whether they should marry or not, whether they should bring babies into an era of regulation and regimentation-for there have always been these unanswered questions, these dark clouds out there on the horizon. They're a part of the normal year in, year out, necessary climate of life. you and I conceivably could roll out for our youngsters a plush carpet on which they could walk off into a problem-free future, don't vou see, Americans, it would not be in their best interests for us to do so? They deserve a crack at this test too. This is the shakedown cruise. This is where we separate the men from the boys. But if we can revive first in ourselves and then in our youth something of a basic American's creed, which may never have passed the pioneer's lips in this form, but I think he would have sald something like this, "I believe in my God and in my country and in myself, and in that order," then the horizon has never, ever been so limitless. If we can keep United States strong in our arms and in our hearts, thus to hold the Soviet at bay, and simultaneously to discipline ourselves domestically, internally, that we might once again become that beacon light in the fog of confusion which men might follow-as they will. They will follow if we are worthy leaders, but they will not be pushed.

The more I think about it the more I like this idea of an economic war which Mr. Khrushchev has declared. This is the kind of war every American mother's son can wage knowing why. It could be the best thing that happened to us since we dumped that overtaxed British tea into the Boston harbor. If we have left any of that old fire in the belly that characterized our granddaddies, this might be the kind of fight that will get our soft generation off its dead center and back into condition again.

In 7 years that head Red says Russia is going to increase her production 80 percent and wages 40 percent. You understand of course Russia is the promised land. For 30 years dictators have been promising Russians more bacon and beans and shoes for the baby. Dictators have to feed hungry people on polyanna promises because there isn't much else for them to eat. And Khrushchev also has to increase Soviet production in order to stay abreast in the astronomically expensive modern arms race. He didn't choose these weapons he had no choice. To protect himself against revolt from inside and weapons superiority from outside he has to make Russia more productive. Eighty percent more? Perhaps. Of course if you had only one peanut to eat today and you have two tomorrow you're a hundred percent better off tomorrow than today but you're still not very well fed by American standards. Also Russia coming from behind can be expected like an individual who has been ill to gain a lot of weight in a hurry. But if you continue to gain weight at that pace you'd become a monster. But let's assume that 7 years from now he will have increased Soviet production 80 percent. This according to his mathematics will be enough to overtake us. Oh for goodness sake. A year ago at this time the steel industry in the United States had produced 52 percent more steel than the year before. In 1 year. But then come to think of it there were 6 or 7 months last summer when he produced more steel than we didn't he? The forces which have quadrupled our national economy, our output, in the past 50 years are still at it. Our population has doubled since 1909, our production of goods and services has quadrupled. I mean despite depressions and recessions, we've continued to expand our economy an average of 3 percent per year compounding as we go. The Federal

Power Commission says we're outproducing Russia in electric power 3 to 1 and the edge is increasing. Russia is 20 years behind. we're 3 to 1 ahead and our lead is increasing. Now Khrushchev is no fool. He knows we're not going to stand still but he's a politician promising his constituents that the end of the rainbow is in sight. But according to the best estimates, Russia, even if she expands according to plan in the next 5 years, will have a \$401 billion economy by 1905. That's \$401 billion by 1965. Five years she has to get a \$401 billion economy. Ours, if we just keep on keeping on will be a \$510 billion economy by the end of this year. If we keep on keeping on. There is the rub. Orders from headquarters issued February 1959 to Reds in the United States intercepted by the FBI instruct Reds to infiltrate, undermine, and degrade our economic system. You see, he believes while the Russians are chasing our mechanical rabbit he can toss a monkey wrench in the rabbit's machinery.

Through psychological sabotage, Khrushchev is going to stir up all the labor agitation possible in the United States, thus to retard our economic progress. He will make every effort to reduce American workers to a 4-day week or less. He'll contribute whenever possible to restlessness of American workers, urging them to seek higher pay for less production, thus to build a bonfire of cheap dollars under our economic security. Khrushchev declared economic war and yet, did you recognize the gall with which he sent Mikoyan over here, trying to make a deal for steel pipe, sheet steel, and whole chemical factories In exchange for which he wanted to trade us cheap Russian furs and limitless quantities of vodka. Khrushchev might well have written, not only, "we will bury you," but, "we'll get you to furnish the shovel and do the digging." All I'm trying to say, Americans, is that he's on the defensive now.
We've got it made. Unless we do some darn, fool thing and go to sleep like the rabbit who thus was overtaken by the tortoise. Unless we get lazy, and demand longer coffee breaks and earlier retirement and less competition and cheaper dollars. Unless we lie down on the job or get drunk and fall down on it, United States of Americans are not only going to stay strong enough to enforce peace, but we're heading into the most magnificently, prosperous era in the history of the world. Now, don't stop me unless you've heard this lately. Once upon a time there was a wise old hermit who used to live in the hills of Tennessee. He used to be able to answer any questions the youngsters of the community would bring to his hillside cabin. In every community there is one scallawag, one tousled-headed little fellow who is always throwing spitballs at the teacher and who is always getting himself into trouble and always leading others astray. There was one such in this com-munity. One afternoon, he gathered his munity. One afternoon, he gathered his cohorts about him and said, "I have an idea how we're going to fox that old fellow up there on the mountain. He thinks he's so smart. I'm going to catch me a bird and I'm going to hold it in my cupped hands and we'll go up there and ask him what it is. He'll guess right, he always does. He'll say it's a bird but then I'm going to ask him, 'Is it alive or is it dead?' If he says it's dead. I'll let it fly away and prove him wrong. If he says it's alive, before I show it to him I'll crush it to death." youngsters caught a small bird and the ringleader held it in his hands. They ran up to the hillside cabin and rapped on the door. The old hermit came to the door and the boy said, "What have I here, old man?" The old man of the mountain said, "Why it appears to me it's a bird you've caught there boy.' And, the lad said, "But is it alive or is it dead?" The wise old hermit said, "It is as you will, my son." That is the whole of it. Americans, you have here captured the elusive eagle of individual liberty. Now, you

can love it and feed it and watch it fly, or neglect it and starve it and it will die. It is as you will. The future is in your hands. Thank you all very, very much.

Friendly Race Relations in Oklahoma

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. ROBERT S. KERR

OF OKLAHOMA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, May 26, 1960

Mr. KERR. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the Record a column written by my good friend, Ed Livermore, publisher of the Sapulpa (Okla.) Daily Herald, and which appeared in that newspaper under date of May 20, 1960. Mr. Livermore is also president of the Oklahoma Press Association.

Too often in the past, detractors of our country have been quick to seize upon the symbol of "Little Rock" as being a typical example of the alleged friction and bitter feelings between races. I remind them that the story of what has happened at Sapulpa, Okla., is evidence of the kindness and cooperation that actually does exist among so many of our people of different races who have learned to live as friend and neighbors in the same community. In his column, Mr. Livermore shows that the symbol of "Sapulpa" more nearly typifies the spirit of Oklahoma and America.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE EDITOR'S NOTEBOOK (By Ed Livermore)

Perhaps unnoticed by the professional agitators who seem to be making a good living out of racial differences, was the fact that some 400 white people from this community spent last Sunday afternoon helping the Negro population of Sapulpa clean away the debris left by May 5 tornado.

Oklahoma has enjoyed very good results in its integration program. Race riots, such as the people in the northern metropolitan centers constantly fear, are unknown in Oklahoma. It would appear that leaders of both races in Oklahoma have a greater appreciation for understanding and mutual respect than do some of their northern neighbors.

The tornado winds which swept through the colored section of Sapulpa 2 weeks ago yesterday did damage that still is being counted. Citizens of the community already were gathering in the northwest part of town before the winds had died away. A hundred or more residents of this community spent the night helping Negro families find shelter and other necessities that had been swept away by the storm. At midnight the Herald office was receiving many offers of food, clothing, and shelter for the displaced Negro families.

Starting bright and early Friday morning and continuing up to this week's communitywide cleanup, countless people donated of their time to help the families who were hurt worst by the storm. This was in addition to the outstanding efforts of the professional disaster organizations whose personnel have been such a help in this hour of greatest need.

We mention this not to single out anyone, or group for personal credit. We mention it to show that too often the good that people accomplish is unnoticed. The efforts of both races, working side by side on the hillside last Sunday were for more newsworthy than lunch counter sitdown strikes, or the gangster tactics sometimes practiced between representatives of both races in the teeming jungles of the East.

We wonder if such a relation possibly exists between the two races in the so-called liberal sections of the country?

It's one thing to talk in glowing terms of respect, understanding, and human rights—and quite another to put these qualities into action—spontaneously, and without regard to race or color.

Last Sunday afternoon was a prime example of why integration has been without fuss or fanfare in Oklahoma. It's a lesson many other sections of the country would do well to study.

Taking Stock After the Summit Breakdown

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JEFFERY COHELAN

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, May 4, 1960

Mr. COHELAN. Mr. Speaker, since the breakdown of the summit conference, a number of Members, myself included, have called for a full report by the administration on the series of about-face policy reversals and other mistakes which preceded and accompanied that breakdown.

At the same time, however, we must look ahead and plan new action to counter the threats and insults of Soviet Premier Khrushchev, and with that in mind, I submit the following article by Columnist Marquis Childs in which he takes stock of what can reasonably be expected in the way of continuing disarmament negotiations:

THE NEXT MOVES IN THE COLD WAR (By Marquis Childs)

On the day the summit blew up the London Times had in its letters to the editor column a communication with some wise things to say about this business of reacting to the Russians. The writer, William Sargant of the Department of Psychological Medicine of St. Thomas Hospital in London, pointed to the way in which the Soviets succeed in keeping the West off balance by taking first one line and then another by shouting peace one moment and aggression the next. He suggested that this was a deliberate technique patterned after the discoveries of the great Russian scientist Pavlov, showing how animals can be broken down by conditioning them to one set of signals and then deliberately altering those signals.

Pavlov's dogs went berserk when the lights flashed on and off in a different pattern from that to which they had become conditioned at feeding time. We in the West took the Russian soft line on peace and now there is evidence of frenzied reaction to the hard line. The analogy is too close for comfort.

Once again we are rehearing the evil deeds of communism as though we had not long ago had every reason to understand the real nature of the Communist challenge. The Kremlinologists are dredging up old fleshcreeping tales of Stalin's death and Khrushchev's ruthless deeds. It is as though the bogeys had to be taken out of the closet to frighten the children again.

The stress from the Eisenhower administration has been almost entirely on the production of more goods for a consuming public engaged in the pursuit of happiness through gadgetry. Western Europe seems to be following the American lead. With the spread of installment buying a consumergoods boom is developing that resembles the American boom.

Obviously, the West should not and could not, in meeting the Communist challenge, imitate the austere garrison society of the Soviet Union. Khrushchev, in his avowed intention of exceeding the American living standard, has spoken almost enviously of the horn of plenty that spills out in the West. But, nevertheless, a large question remains as to how this lush, freewheeling society reacts to the new signals out of Moscow.

The nuclear test talks which have been going on in Geneva for 18 months are a case study. After the solid months of concentrated effort that have gone into them, with all three negotiators—James Wadsworth for United States, Sir Michael Wright, for Britain, and Semyon Tsarapkin for the Soviets—deeply desirous of achieving an effective system of control and inspection to end testing, neither side wants to be responsible for breaking off the talks. But because political decisions had to be taken at the top on major issues these talks cannot now succeed, and it is vain delusion to pretend that they can.

In Washington the pressure will certainly be great to begin weapons tests, looking to the smaller nuclear arms that are the goal of those arguing for pushing on with the program. There should, however, be no illusions about the consequences if the decision is taken to go on with military testing. The Soviets will immediately follow suit.

In playing the game of the nuclear chipon-the-shoulder the Soviets can always win because they have no inhibitions of conscience or world opinion. Their propaganda will be to the effect that since the United States started it they were forced to follow suit.

The outlook for the 10-nation disarmament conference is even more certainly failure—just possibly the nuclear test talks can be kept flickeringly alive for the next 6 to 8 months while disarmament is bound to grind to a dreary propaganda halt. Due to resume on June 7, the conferees had expected that they would get from the summit a new directive, limiting the objectives in the first phase to what might be at least remotely possible. Without such a directive they will take up where they left off, which was nowhere. That is to say in a propaganda stalemate, with the Soviets demanding sweeping overall disarmament and the West insisting on a step-by-step approach with controls applied as each step is taken.

Turning Back the Pages

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. MILTON R. YOUNG

OF NORTH DAKOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, May 26, 1960

Mr. YOUNG of North Dakota. Mr. President, for more than 30 years far-sighted and public spirited citizens have

been working and planning for the development of the Missouri River Basin.

Thirty years ago the development of this great river and its resources was little more than a dream and only a few realized its great possibilities and what it would mean to the future resources and wealth of the Missouri Basin and the Nation as a whole.

I was happy to read in an editorial appearing in the Minot Daily News of Minot, N. Dak., under date of May 21, 1960, an appropriate tribute paid by a great citizen of Pierre, S. Dak., Mr. Robert B. Hipple, to the late Kenneth W. Simons, who for 18 years was editor of the Bismarck Tribune of Bismarck, N. Dak

Ken Simons was a very good personal friend of mine. I know something of the effective pioneer work he did in securing authorization from Congress to develop the Missouri Basin. I was very happy to note this well deserved tribute paid to my late and respected friend, Ken Simons, by the Minot Daily News and Mr. Hipple.

I ask unanimous consent to have this editorial printed in the Appendix of the

RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Minot Daily News, May 21, 1960] TURNING BACK THE PAGES

At a regional meeting of the Mississippi Valley Association at Bismarck this week, one of the pioneers of water conservation, Robert B. Hipple of Pierre, S. Dak., took occasion to unfold some of the early history of the great movement to make a semiarid area bloom. This man has some basic qualifications in his own right, for he introduced Gen. Lewis A. Pick, Chief of the Corps of Engineers to Gienn Sloan of the Bureau of Reclamation, the fruit of which was the Pick-Sloan plan for the development of the Missouri Valley.

Mr. Hipple took occasion to inform newcomers in North Dakota's water conservation movement and refresh the memory of pioneers, about a man who made a lasting con-

tribution to the cause.

Reference was had to Kenneth W. Simons, editor of the Bismarck Tribune from 1930 to his death in 1948.

Editor Simons preached the gospel of water conservation and probably more than any other single person was responsible for the enactment of the Water Conservation Act by the State Legislature of North Dakota.

He was appointed a member of the first commission and served as vice chairman.

While everyone in North Dakota today is enthusiastically supporting the diversion of the Missouri and the water program in general, that was not the case 30 years ago. Water meetings were attended by a handful of men, who were criticized for fantastic notions.

But the ground was well tilled and the seed of sound thinking finally germinated. The task of converting Congress and the administration today may seem monumental to some, but it was not nearly as difficult as the pioneer work in North Dakota.

Ken Simons and a very small group of men who projected their thinking far into the future, did a magnificent job, receiving little or no credit at the time and unfortunately remaining pretty much unknown to the present generation.

That is why we bow in admiration for the thoughtfulness of a South Dakota gentleman for an appropriate tribute to a man who did an outstanding job.

Mayor Willy Brandt of West Berlin

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. THOMAS J. LANE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 23, 1960

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I include a recent interview in Berlin with Willy Brandt, mayor of West Berlin, by William Randolph Hearst, Jr., editor in chief of the Hearst newspapers:

(By William Randolph Hearst, Jr., editor in chief, the Hearst Newspapers)

BERLIN.—For 2 hours on Friday evening a group of us sat around watching a TV show and later discussing the performers over an occasional glass of schmans.

occasional glass of schnapps.

This is not ordinarily of sufficient importance to base a story on, except that this particular group was headed up by Willy Brandt, the dynamic mayor of West Berlin, and several members of his staff.

And the TV show we watched together was the telecast of Nikita Khrushchev's speech in the East Berlin Sports Palast about a quarter of a mile away—the speech in which he toned down some of his previous tough talk about this beleaguered city.

It was a fascinating experience to sit there with Mayor Brandt and observe his reactions while Khrushchev blasted away on the screen about his intentions toward Germany in general and West Berlin in particular.

Frequently the mayor translated for me, and this was especially interesting when the Communist boss singled him out as his target.

I have news for Chairman Khrushchev. He didn't frighten Willy Brandt very much. In fact, Willy laughed aloud at some of his more outrageous remarks. And the whole room broke into a spontaneous roar when the TV camera, seeking out audience reaction to Khrushchev's victous attacks, focused on a comrade in the midst of a wide yawn.

Not that Willy Brandt doesn't take Nikita Khrushchev very seriously. He is the leader of a city of 2 million people whose existence as a bastion of freedom is threatened almost

daily by the man from Moscow.

So he listened closely to what Khrushchev had to say about his future intentions. When the TV show concluded, we moved into the mayor's office where the latter brillantly and concisely analyzed Khrushchev's speech in response to questions from a Hearst headline service panel which included Kingsbury Smith, publisher of the New York Journal-American, Frank Conniff, national editor of the Hearst Newspapers, and Serge Fliegers, chief of the Paris Bureau of our newspapers.

He also answered for us a wide variety of other questions about international affairs which you will find—and which I strongly urge you to read—in an interview on another

page of this newspaper.

Let me give you a few impressions of this outstanding young leader. He's 46, a tall, fair-haired, well-built, good-looking man. He has a strong face and gives you the impression of personal dignity and a firm character. At the same time Mayor Brandt has an ease of manner and a sense of humor which makes you think you've known him for a long time.

And in truth, we Americans have known him for a long time and have appreciated his courage in standing up to the strain of the continual crisis under which Berlin lives. Willy has visited our country several times and knows a lot about us, too. He speaks excellent English, which makes it easy for us reporters to talk with him.

Willy Brandt is no stranger to totalitarianism, having been chased out of Germany by Hitler as a convinced anti-Nazi. Right now he's the right man in the right spot—a hot spot, to be sure, but one that he can handle.

It's my impression that he's going a long way in German politics and will play an ever more important role in world affairs. He's of the coming generation which will come to the fore in Europe when the great elder statesmen like Charles de Gaulle, Konrad Adenauer, and Dwight D. Eisenhower leave the scene.

At the end of Khrushchev's speech we all got up and walked out in disguest when Walter Ulbricht, leader of the East German Communists, toasted Khrushchev following his speech for waging a war for peace at Paris.

How ridiculous can you get?

As a matter of fact, if he had played the role of the victimized innocent party, he might well have collected a good deal of sympathy around the world, and possibly even some concessions at the bargaining table for himself and his side.

Instead, by his unprecedented insults against President Eisenhower personally, then by refusing to answer De Gaulle's diplomatic notes, and finally by his incredibly rude performance before the press of the world, he affronted not only the statesmen he dealt with in Paris, but the whole of the reading and thinking public of the civilized world.

It is even possible that Khrushchev may lose face in his own world. When the Russian people ultimately learn of his clownish behavior—and they won't learn it from the party-controlled press—they, too, may take a dim view of his Paris antics.

Of course, they can't throw him out, because they don't have any free elections. But one of these days he may find himself no longer riding in that block-long Communist convertible Zil of his, but back behind the wheel of a sputtering, 4-horsepower model T Moskvitch.

A few summit thoughts while flying to Berlin to interview Mayor Willy Brandt:

It's now conceded by practically everybody that Khrushchev went to Paris determined in advance to wreck whatever possibility there existed for making any agreements with the Western allies.

If we had not unwittingly and regretfully handed him a perfect excuse in the form of the U-2 incident, he would have managed to feel insulted and worked himself into a tantrum for some other reason.

That he succeeded in accomplishing his goal is now historical fact.

But what he has just as surely accomplished—although unintentionally—is that, by the heat of his words and temper, he has fused the solidarity and determination to stand together of the three great Western allies.

Even that portion of the free world's press which can usually be depended on to put the United States in the wrong light over the smallest differences between us, and which only a week ago was making some pretty snide remarks about "L'Affaire U-2," were unanimous in their praise of Ike's restraint and dignified conduct in the face of K.'s boorish behavior.

It's like an outsider butting into a family quarrel. K. undoubtedly hoped and sought to divide the allies. After reading the abovementioned press, he probably thought he could join our critics and create a real schism.

From Sumter to Summit

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. A. S. MIKE MONRONEY

OF OKLAHOMA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, May 26, 1960

Mr. MONRONEY. Mr. President, the Old Timer, of the Lehigh Valley in Pennsylvania, often called in recent years, without challenge, the dean of America's working newspapermen, is dead.

One of his friends has said that Brit Roth, of the Allentown Evening Chronicle, lived from Sumter to the Summit. Roth remembered the night a neighbor brought the news that Lincoln was dead; yet he continued writing in the day of rockets and satellites.

His newspaper career encompassed a printer's devil phase in the days of hand-set type, straight reporting after lino-types arrived, and column writing in the present era of teletypesetting with electronic tape. He graduated from newsboy to newspaper office the year Custer made his last stand and Bell invented the telephone. He died last week at 98.

As a former newspaperman, I was fascinated with the story of his life and career as reported by the Allentown morning paper. He covered Presidents from Grant to Wilson.

I ask unanimous consent to include the story in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Morning Call, May 19, 1960]

DEAN OF WORKING NEWSMEN—A LIPETIME SUMTER TO SUMMIT BRIT ROTH, CHRON-ICLE'S OLDTIMER, DIES AT 98

Brit Roth, the Lehigh Valley's beloved "Oldtimer," died last night.

More formally he was Britain Garrett Roth, dean of America's working newspapermen, author of the Evening Chronicle's "An Old-timer Remembers" column. Death came at 9:40 p.m. in the 99th year of an eventful lifetime that began in the same year Fort Sumter was fired upon.

Brit died peacefully in the bedroom of his home at 112 South Madison Street, Allentown, where, 2 weeks ago, he had gone to bed, not sick, but "tired."

Gradually his strength ebbed, although his mind remained sharp and alert. In these fading moments, one of the oldtimer's last thoughts was for his friends in the newsroom.

"Give my regards to the gang and tell them I was thinking of them." he bid one of his last visitors during the past week.

Through the past several months Brit's health had been on the downgrade. Many of his fellow newsmen who visited him at home felt they had seen him in the Call-Chronicle newsroom for the last time.

Today the busy keys of the office typewriters will seem a little muted. Part of the heart, the lifeblood of the newspaper, is

missing. Brit is gone.

For years, there in the corner of the newsroom, Brit had pounded away at his stories with a peculiar, staccato pace that was all his own. It had the same bounce and vitality as his walk.

Each day, until only a short time ago, Brit had made his way jauntily to his post. As the years piled up and his continuing pace

became more remarkable, his arrival in the office became known as "the daily miracle."

No matter how heavy the weight of passing time, Brit never faltered in his optimistic forward look. There were extensive celebrations for Brit when he passed the 90 mark. It was at that time he said:

"At 90 some people only look back with no thought for the future. I like to look ahead. I do not know when my time will come, but until it does I will look toward the future and won't live in the past."

Nor was Erit one to husband his strength, to tread a cautious path in fear of injuring his health. Brit admitted on his 91st birthday that he went to bed late, got up early and ate and drank what he pleased.

Slight of stature—he was only 5 feet 1 inch in height—he never seemed small in size when you were with him.

As a friend remarked on one occasion, "It is strange how so small a body can house so great and youthful a heart."

Although Brit was a person well known and loved in his home community throughout his lifetime, it was during the late years, as he continued active in news writing work, that his fame spread. There never was a challenge raised to his claim as the dean of America's working newspapermen.

On Brit's 94th birthday the story of his life and work was given lengthy coverage in the New York Times.

Two television appearances—one over a nationally aired show were made by Brit on recent birthday anniversaries. He was guest of honor on Philadelphia Channel 3's Open House program when he celebrated his 91st birthday.

Then 2 years later he appeared on the nationally televised "Life Begins at 80" out of New York City. Keen and alert despite his years, he came off top man in a battle of wits with one of the show's principals.

A SIXTH WARD "NATIVE"

Brit was always proud of his claim to having been born in Allentown's Sixth Ward. Actually he was born November 22, 1861, in what was then the Borough of Allentown.

At that time the community had a population just over the 8,000 mark. The Roth homestead was at Third and Liberty Streets.

When Allentown became a city, on March 12, 1867, this area was in the first of five wards. Later the first was divided into the first and the sixth wards and the site of his home fell within the limits of the sixth.

Brit had a seafaring father. He was William Roth. His mother was Maria Wasser. William Roth was a navigator on the old East India Line and in plying between Liverpool and Calcutta he made nine trips "around the Horn." Brit was named after Britain Garrett, head of the East India Co. He was the eldest of 12 children.

From his early Civil War years Brit retained only one vivid memory. That was of one dark night when there came a heavy pounding at the rear door. When his mother opened the door, one of the neighbors, outlined in dim lamplight, said dramatically: "Lincoln was shot."

HIS SCHOOLING

Brit's introduction to education came at the old First Ward School, located in a room above Devenny's saloon at Front and Tilghman Streets.

He went on in the field of higher education to attend Lewisburg Academy (Bucknell University), where he went to school for 2 years. In later years he also spent 2 years attending St. Stephen's College on the Hudson River in Annandale, N.Y.

Hustled back to Allentown from Lewisburg in 1876, by his father, after a window-breaking escapade at the academy, Brit started, at 15, to learn the trade of compositor at the old Chronicle and News.

BROAD CAREER

Eventually his lifetime career in the newspaper field covered work as compositor, columnist, court reporter, church page editor, general duty newsman, music and drama critic. It even included an almost-forgotten stint as a sports reporter.

Brit actually started his newspaper career as a boy when he was a carrier of the old Lehigh Register. He had 84 subscribers on his route. They were so widespread, he used to recall, that it took him a half day to get around.

The year 1876, when Brit became a printer's devil, was an historical one in the annals of the country. That was the year Custer made his famous last stand against the Sioux Indians at Little Big Horn. It was the year Bell invented the telephone. It was the year Wild Bill Hickok killed a man in a gun battle, and it was the year the Centennial Exposition opened in Philadelphia.

ITCH TO TRAVEL

After 4 years as a Chronicle printer, Brit got the itch to travel. His trail led first to New York City, where he became a compositor for magazine publishers J. W. Pratt & Co. Later he was employed by McKesson & Robbins as a typesetter of medical formula books in the Spanish language.

Like many printers and newspapermen of this era, Brit didn't stay long in one place. Hopping a boat, he went to Savannah, Ga. It was too hot for him there so he shifted to Atlanta, and a stint on the Atlanta Constitution.

Next stop in his perambulations was Cincinnati, a lively town, he liked to recall where he worked for the Times-Star. Then he moved on to Troy, N.Y., and was employed there on the Troy Times.

Late in 1902 the old home town beckened and he came back to Allentown and the composing room of the Chronicle once more.

SWITCH TO NEWS WRITING

Then, at the age of 41, he switched over to writing about the news. His first assignment was the community of Slatington.

A short time later, the late George Zimmerman, then city editor of the Chronicle, made him a permanent member of the newspaper's reportorial staff. There were two reporters on the staff, Brit and the late Eugene Quinn, who later became city editor of the paper.

Brit covered everything east of Sixth Street at that time, and Quinn covered the city west of Sixth. Those were the days of daily visits to aldermen, undertakers, and other news sources—all on foot.

During the major part of his newspaper career, however, Brit was the court reporter of the Chronicle. He covered this beat for 32 years and during that time saw much of the city's news history made.

Holding the top spot in his memory was his coverage of the famed Mabel Bechtel murder case. Still unsolved, this mystery gained national attention at the time.

Brit also witnessed the last hanging in Lehigh County. It was that of George Schaeffer, who died on gallows set up in the long corridor of the county prison for the murder of Leopold Erdmann.

FLOOD, FIRE, TRAGEDY

But Brit's beat covered many events, which he chronicled in his own inimitable style. There was the flood of the early 1900's which washed away the Hamilton Street Bridge. There was the fire which destroyed the Bittner-Hunsicker Building.

One of the most tragic stories he was wont to recall was the collapse of a quarry wall near Ormrod. Twenty men died, trapped under falling rock.

Brit was resourceful in getting to the source of the news. One day he got a call that there was a big fire burning out along the Seventh Street Pike. Dashing from the office, Brit jumped into a horse and buggy tied in front. Without waiting for permis sion, he whipped the horses into a gallop and was off to the fire.

"The cop yelled at me as I crossed the square, but I just kept on going," Britt recalled.

GREAT AND NEAR-GREAT

During his years in the newspaper field, he met many of the great and the near-great. At one time or another he covered stories concerning, or met personally. Presidents Grant, Garfield, Arthur, Harding, Taft, Cleveland, Teddy Roosevelt, and Woodrow Wilson.

William Jennings Bryan was the principal in one of his interviews. Pennsylvania Governors Pennypacker and Sproul and Senator Boise Penrose were others of whom he wrote.

Brit also recalled meeting and interviewing Mme, Schumann Heinke and Dr. Thomas Cook, of North Pole fame, who gave Brit an autographed copy of his book.

When Glenn Curtiss attempted a daring flight from the Allentown Fairgrounds to Philadelphia, Brit was there to cover the

event and talk to the famed flier. In 1926 he held up the presses for 2 hours

as he brought in the story of the triple shooting that resulted in the death of Sheriff Mark L. Sensenbach, his deputy, Harry Siegfried, afong with Granville Holben, the man they were trying to arrest.

In the blizzard of 1888 Allentown was cut off from the outside world for 4 days. Business was at a standstill, Brit remembered, and the city was buried under 4 feet of snow.

Brit was already 75-a time when most Persons would be ready to call it quits to a career such as his—when in 1935 he fell and broke his ankle. Bedfast, he called the office and told them to send him a typewriter—and so was born "The Old Timer Remembers."

Through this, his fame spread. He culled from his prodigious memory great events of the past, and made them an interesting sub-Ject for the readers of his column on the Evening Chronicle's editorial page.

The column brought to Brit many new friends, and it was his delight to answer the many letters that poured in to him from these readers.

One of his recollections in these columns was of his stint as a sportswriter when he Went back to Lewisburg in 1911 to see Muhlenburg College and Bucknell University tangle in a gridiron match. The press stand in those days, he recalled, was in the grandstand, and this same grandstand was a hillside overlooking the football field.

NEWSPAPER EVOLUTION

When Brit started as a newsman, stories were written and set in type by hand. Through the years he saw equipment and facilities in the newspaper field evolve into a pattern backgrounded in the electronic age.

Brit lived to see the miracle of sending photographs over the wires—telephoto. He saw linotype operation become even more complex with the advent of teletypesetting, transmission of material set direct by electronic tape.

He was born into the age of candle and kerosene light and an infant telegraph system. He lived to see electricity, the tele-phone, automobiles, and jetplanes, all mighty adjuncts to the speedy transmisison of news.

On his 96th birthday anniversary, Brit was Overjoyed at an invitation to visit the Army's Nike missile station near Norristown, where he was the subject of a feature story.

MUSICIAN AND SINGER

There was another facet of his life perhaps not quite as well known in recent years. That was his abilities as a musician and singer.

Starting in the Grace Episcopal Church boys' choir in 1888, he later became a member of Dr. J. Fred Wolle's Church of the Nativity choir in South Bethlehem.

When Dr. Wolle formed the Bach choir, Brit was a member of the bass section of the Church of Nativity choir that en masse became charter members of the Bach organization.

Brit also at one time sang in St. George's choir in New York City. He was a charter member of the Euterpean Society, later to merge and eventually become the Oratorio

PINAFORE IN DUTCH

As a singer Brit was in the cast of many local amateur musical productions. One that he liked to recall above all others was the production of H. M. S. Pinafore in Pennsylvania Dutch. The company gave over 30 performances all over this section of the country.

Brit became the organist of the Episcopal Church of the Mediator and directed its choir also from 1912 until 1919. He continued membership in this church to his

Many times, especially as he advanced in years, he was feted by fellow newsmen. On these occasions he was showered with gifts in remembrance of his role as the dean of news gatherers.

Perhaps the parties he liked the best were the yearly birthday parties in the Evening Chronicle newsroom. Members of the staff contributed to Brit's ale fund at these parties, bought him a big cake and supplied the coffee for the party in which everyone took a lovous part.

Highlight of these celebrations, for Brit, the feature that always brought a twinkle to his eyes, was the birthday greeting given him by the feminine members of the staff. They all lined up to give him a hearty buss.

Also during these late years Brit was honored with a 50-year pin as a member of Barger Lodge, No. 333 F, and A. M. Brit was a life member of the American

Newspaper Guild and a former member of the Allentown Elks.

He also was affiliated with the Allentown Rotary Club and was an honorary member of the Lehigh Valley Club.

He was preceded in death by his wife, Ellen Belford Roth, and his daughter Ethel, Mrs. Robert Ochs, Sr.

Surviving are his daughter Marjorie, with whom he resided, a son W. Belford, Allentown, Route 2; two sisters, Mrs. Bernard Repass, Bala Cynwyd, and Nan Roth, Allentown; four grandchildren and seven greatgrandchildren.

Services will be at 10 a.m. Saturday in the Episcopal Church of the Mediator, Allentown. Viewing will be 7 to 8 p.m. Friday in the J. S. Burkholder Funeral Home, 1601 Hamilton Street, Allentown.

School Construction Assistance Act of 1960

SPEECH

HON. NEWELL A. GEORGE

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, May 25, 1960

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H.R. 10128) to authorize Federal financial assistance to the States to be used for constructing school facilities.

Mr. GEORGE. Mr. Chairman, I would like to add my support for this legislation to the views already expressed by so many of my able colleagues.

I feel that the time has come—in fact past due-when it is crucial for us to take action. It has been mentioned many times since this debate began that we currently have a backlog need for 132,400 additional classrooms in our elementary and secondary schools. This is an alarming figure but I do not feel that it adequately portrays the situation that actually exists. It is easy to shrug off the problem when you merely look at an abstract number of missing classrooms.

What I feel we should concern ourselves with for a moment is what this shortage actually means in terms of the effects on our children. The Office of Education has estimated from the State reports submitted to it that there are currently 1.88 million children in excess of normal classroom capacity. It has been further estimated that 10 million students are actually being penalized by this shortage. When there are 45 students in a classroom only 15 are listed as "in excess of normal classroom capacity" but all 45 are receiving inferior education due to the overcrowding and to the consequent lessening of the effectiveness of the teacher. This overcrowding means that thousands of children can attend school for only half of the day, and as much as 180 school hours can be lost to the child through such split sessions—almost 2 full months of schooling that the child was entitled to have. Or it means overcrowded classrooms with insufficient individual attention and assistance from an overburden teacher. Finally, it means that thousands of children are attending classes in makeshift or obsolescent facilities. To be even more specific it was reported last fall that in one city the high school students were attending classes in tents and 30,000 of the more than a million public school pupils in the county were attending classes in double shift. This is just one example of the situation that exists in some parts of every State in the Union.

I wonder if my colleagues realize that 10 million students represent almost onethird of the entire public school enrollment. Certainly, when the problem is considered from this point of view-that one-third of all our schoolchildren are being handicapped by this shortagewe cannot dismiss the matter lightly and just say that the State and local governments will eventually take care of the problem. Eventually is not soon enough.

It seems abundantly clear to me that the States and local areas will not be able to erase this deficit. Although they have been making record-breaking school construction efforts for the last few years they are barely able to meet each year's new enrollment and replacement needs. And all indications are that the State and local governments will not be able to continue these record-breaking efforts. In 1957-58 they were able to build 72,100 new classrooms.

In 1958-59 the figure dropped to 70,000. For this year, 1959-60, the figure is expected to drop to 62,700. Many States cannot spend the funds requisite for an adequate educational system because many school districts have no source of taxation by which needed revenue can be raised.

An infusion of Federal Government funds to assist our schools in catching up with this backlog is fully in keeping with our tradition and our spirit as a Nation. The President himself explained the philosophy behind this approach in his special message to the Congress on education on January 12, 1956:

The responsibility for public education rests with the States and the local communities. Federal action which infringes upon this principle is alien to our system. But our history has demonstrated that the Federal Government, in the interest of the whole people, can and should help with certain problems of nationwide scope and concern when States and communitiesacting independently-cannot solve the full problem or solve it rapidly enough.

Clearly, this is the kind of situation we face today in considering the school classroom shortage.

Our State and local governments have demonstrated their inability to meet the classroom needs that arise each year due to increased enrollment and the need for replacement of obsolete facilities. If the Federal Government will help them to to erase this backlog, they may then be able to meet the yearly problem alone.

I would also like to voice my approval for extending this bill to include funds for teachers' salaries as did the measure passed by the Senate. There is an indisputable shortage of qualified teachers across our country. Within the next 5 years 3,300 additional teachers will be needed in the State of Kansas, alone. We cannot hope to attract more qualified individuals into the teaching profession unless the salary level is raised; and the State and local governments cannot concentrate on raising teachers' salaries when they are forced to devote a substantial amount of their budgets to attempting to provide enough classrooms to house their students. I feel that we must assist both with construction and with teachers' salaries at least until the backlog of construction needs are erased.

The primary objection raised to any proposal for Federal funds for classroom construction and teachers salaries is that such a measure would lead to Federal control of education. I would like to take a moment to consider this proposition. For over 10 years we have been allocating funds for classroom construction and for operating expenses-which includes teachers salaries-under Public Laws 815 and 874. Surely these should be good test cases for whether this type of assistance does indeed lead to Federal control. Prior to serving in the Congress I worked as regional attorney approving applications under these laws, and I never saw any evidence of the "creeping Federal control" which the opponents of this bill would have us believe must necessarily follow. Furthermore, it has come to my attention that the University of Alabama's College of

Education recently conducted a survey by means of a questionnaire submitted to a cross-section of school superintendents in more than 3,000 school districts receiving assistance under these two laws. Ninety-three percent of the superintendents felt that this aid had not constituted a threat to State and local control; 5 percent termed the threat "little"; and 2 percent were undecided. None of the superintendents considered the threat great.

The interests of national defense, the danger of the Communist threat, of the need for an expanding economy, and of the need for maximum development of each individual citizen demand that we strive to give each of our students the best possible educational opportunity. They certainly are not receiving this opportunity when they must be taught in overcrowded, obsolete classrooms, on double-shifts, or by overworked teachers. No better investment can be made than in the education of American youth. It is an investment in the future to preserve our democratic way of life. Therefore, Mr. Chairman, I strongly urge passage of this legislation as in the best interest both of the Nation as a whole and of each individual citizen. It is vital and it is necessary.

The Soil-Our Stewardship of God's Bounty

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Thursday, May 26, 1960

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, the observance of Soil Stewardship Week, May 22 to 29, is an appropriate time to recall that we each have a responsibility to care for our inheritance of the soil and to bequeath it a little richer than when we received it to future generations.

Father Francis Hayden, rural life director of the Roman Catholic diocese of New Ulm, Minn., emphasizes the Christian responsibility of soil stewardship in a column in the May 20, 1960 issue of the Catholic Bulletin of the archdiocese of St. Paul and diocese of New Ulm.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that Father Hayden's article be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD. as follows:

CATHOLIC RURAL LIFE-SOIL WE SAVE WILL HELP FEED FUTURE GENERATIONS

(By Francis Hayden, director of Catholic Rural Life, diocese of New Ulm)

GAYLORD, MINN .- To remind us of our responsibility toward God's bountiful land and to make us grateful for its soil and water and crops and forests, which have so comfortably clothed and fed and housed us, the National Association of Soil Conservation Districts has asked us to observe the week of May 22-29, 1960, as Soil Stewardship Week.

The land is our inheritance. It is ours to protect and use but not ours to waste or

It is difficult in this land of surpluses to give serious thought to the word "survival." Yet that will be a serious concern of the generations that will follow us if we do not regard conservation of our land as a matter of conscience.

Plato, one of the greatest of Greek historians, wrote an amazingly accurate and technical account of man-made soil erosion.

He observed that after several brief centuries of deforestation, accompanied by the searing of hillsides and plains with soil-devouring gullies, the Greek farmers finallly were compelled to turn to the sea for a live-

While it converted Greece into a seapower, it likewise marked the beginning of her downfall as a great nation, because Greece became dependent upon other people for her food, fiber, and fuel.

The farmer knows that although ours is an age of automation, there is nothing automatic about what happens between the planting of his fields and harvest time. During that time, there is the unpredictable weather with its hall and drought and floods.

Even in favorable weather, there are the varieties of insects and diseases that destroy the crops. Man's helplessness against these forces of nature has made him realize his dependence upon divine providence.

Thus each year he turns to God as he prays fervently for a good harvest.

It is with humble faith that skillful hands pause from work to be folded in prayer and that sweating brows bow before the God of mercy and goodness as we ask His blessings on our fields.

Prayer will have to be accompanied with care because, if the land is not cared for. we will have wasted fields and impoverished communities.

The National Association of Soil Conservation Districts reminds us:

Where the land is dry and bare the wind lifts its lifeless bulk into the sky and may move it hundreds of miles in the form of giant dust storms. It abrades as it passes. It damages where it falls.

"Rains falling on unprotected land collect and gather force as the water moves downhill seeking outlets in the rivers and the oceans. As the gathering waters speed downward, they cut into the soil, leaving rills which widen and deepen into gullies.

"The unhindered waters dissolve the soil and become mud-laden rivulets and streams. finally they deposit their burden of lifeless sediment over fertile bottomlands and over roads, in harbors and riverbeds, and almost always in a form and manner worse than useless.

"The steward of the soil, by his care, would spare his neighbors near and far from the consequences of such waste.

"The steward knows, as he conserves the soil, that other men and other families depend now and forever on the produce of an ever-fruitful land.

'He recognizes that the earth is the Lords' and that it was placed here for the benefit of all His children. And so the steward serves God as he serves men everywhere.'

Concern for the land belongs to every citizen of our Nation since not only our food and clothing but so much of our raw materials for our factories come from the land.

Even as we write, forest fires are raging out of control in our State, the cause of the fires attributed mostly to carelessness.

As a Christian people, we should all join in prayer for a good harvest and so that carelessness will be replaced by care—care for the richness of the soil, care for our Nation's water supply, care for our forests

and their heauty and materials and finally by a loving care for the generations that will come after us.

The land which we received as our inheritance should be given to the next generation a little richer than it was when we received it if we are to be called good stewards.

Care of the land can best be given by us through our cooperation with the soil conservation districts of our Nation.

Crisis in Camping

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. STUYVESANT WAINWRIGHT

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 12, 1960

Mr. WAINWRIGHT. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include an article from the June edition of Outdoor Life entitled "Crisis in Camping." With national parks becoming smaller and the volume of tourists becoming greater, the areas for camping facilities have dwindled to the extent that the author of this article notes. I think it necessary that we take cogniz-ance of this problem. The article follows:

CRISIS IN CAMPING (By C. B. Colby)

Along with millions of other Americans, my family and I started out this past summer to have a camping vacation. We camped from one end of the country to the other and back again, covering 8,240 miles and visiting 16 States, 8 national parks, 3 national monuments, and 1 national recreation area. We also checked many State and roadside campgrounds along the way.

Our party consisted of my wife Lila, our son Fred, 17 (both veteran campers) and myself. What happened to us during this trip happened to a great many other campers and intended campers: we had trouble finding places to camp, and the problem got worse as the season progressed. Several times we had to give up the idea of camping

and stay in cabins.

Everywhere we stopped, we spoke with campers and camp officials, and almost everywhere the problem was the same-too many campers for the available campsites. Everyone seemed to agree that the situation is rapidly growing worse and will continue to do so unless fast action is taken.

We had one of our saddest experiences When we tried to sign up for a tent site at one of the largest camping areas in Yellowstone National Park. The harried gateman shook his head and said he'd have to send us to the overflow area some miles away. This turned out to be a grove along the bank of the Yellowstone River and was already jammed with tents and a few trailers. There were only two crude and violently malodorous privies for several hundred campers, no water except from the river, and no firewood unless you wanted to hunt for it along the road for half a mile in either direction.

During the night more campers arrived, Pitching their tents between others that Were already too close together. Trailers clanked through the darkness, and by morning even the forbidden field around the grove was filled with desperate campers. Were ordered to be out of there by noon or face arrest.

As we broke camp a day later and moved out, we saw many campers who had slept In their cars by the road, the others lined up for half a mile waiting to get into an already crowded camping area. We also saw many cars filled with camping gear and parked by hotels or cabins where would-be campers had finally found a place to sleep.

At Deer Ridge Junction in Rocky Mountain National Park in Colorado, a frantic father with a car full of crying youngsters came to our cabin at midnight to see if we could direct him to any place where they could spend the night. The nearest campsite was several miles away, and we had already been turned away.

Other campers we talked with there (also in cabins) were pulling out for home. They'd been unable to find a place to camp, or couldn't find ice, milk, water, food, or fuel, within driving distance of any campsite. Almost everywhere we drove on our nationwide tour, conditions were the same.

Camping as a national recreation has grown tremendously during the past 10 years. Among the most important reasons for this boom are the increase in leisure time, more and better camping equipment, more (but not enough) camping areas, more folk talking and reading about camping. In many areas the result is almost chaos.

I was frankly startled by the conditions we encountered face to face in the 16 States we visited on this trip-Michigan, Illinois, Iowa, South Dakota, Wyoming, Utah, Nevada, Arizona, New Mexico, Colorado, Nebraska, Ohio, Pennsylvania, New York, Idaho, and Indiana. I was equally startled by the replies I got after returning home and writing to officials concerned with camping in many of these States, and in other popular camping States that we did not have a chance to visit on this trip-Wisconsin, California, Vermont, Maine, New Hampshire, and North Carolina.

As an example of how fast camping has caught on, take the situation in Pennsylvana. Back in 1949, the State had accommodations for about 350 campers, and a total of 8,000 campers using them during the year. 1959 Pennsylvania had accommodations for 2,000 campers, or roughly 6 times the 1949 number; but by 1958 (latest year for which figures are available as this is written) the number of campers had already increased to 528,872, or about 66 times the 1949 number.

Michigan reports that it had to turn away 40,247 camping families-not just individuals-from State parks this past season. New Hampshire has turned away as many as 200 parties in a single day. New Mexico had 5½ times as many campsites in 1959 as it did in 1949, but more than 10 times as many campers.

New York is another States with serious camping problems.

'Camping is the fastest growing form of outdoor receration in our State," said Gov. Nelson A. Rockefeller in a message to the legislature in March. He noted, however, that "many families must wait on the roadside, sometimes for as long as 2 or 3 days, to gain admission to a public campsite.' also pointed out that at the 38 public campsites in the forest preserve region, many thousands of families had to be turned away last year.

"Over 107,000 persons," he said, "were either without accommodations at campsites, or were shunted to inadequate camping loca-

He quoted a survey by the New York State Conservation Department in stating that 23 new campsites would be needed in the State forest preserve in the next 5 years, and an additional 49 would be needed by 1976, plus 34 in areas outside the forest preserve. would require a total purchase of 89,000 acres by 1976.

To finance these and other outdoor recreation projects, the Governor recommends a bond issue that would be paid off by fees and other charges for use of the facilities. This program cannot be undertaken, however, unless approved by the voters of New York State in the November election.

Wyoming, with a permanent population only about 300,000, had out-of-State visitors totaling 6 million during the combined travel seasons of 1957-58. A large percentage of these visitors, of course, were campers and would-be campers. It is reported that 50 percent of all the visitors Yellowstone National Park (which is predominantly in Wyoming, and under Federal control) were campers, and mostly from out of State. Since Yellowstone has well over 900,000 visitors a year, this means that almost half a million campers arrive during a season and expect to be accomodated. It's a staggering problem, and growing worse every year.

What conditions do campers find when they arrive at a typical camping area, whether State-operated or at one of our magnificant national parks? This past summer on our trip we stayed at many national park campsites and checked dozens more in the places we visited. With some notable exceptions, here is what we found: Sites were terribly overcrowded. weren't enough attendants to cope with the crowds. Food, fuel, and particularly ice, were almost impossible to get. Unless you arrived early and were fortunate, it was difficult to find a spot to camp except in socalled overflow areas. These were generally some distance from the established sites, and conditions were worse than they'd have been in the real backwoods, due to the concentration of campers in one spot.

The results of such crowding were that sanitary accommodations were extremely bad in many places we visited, firewood had been cleaned out within walking distance in all directions, and you either had to use gasoline or propane camp stoves, or buy pressed-sawdust "logs" from a concessionaire. In such areas, campers pitched tents almost on top of each other. Late at night campers with cars full of fussy youngsters were still arriving, driving round and round trying to find an unfilled spot, and many just parking and sleeping in their cars. Then cars started roaring out even before daylight to get in line for a site back at the regular camping area when somebody moved out.

It wasn't unusual to wake up and find a late arrival's car blocking your own, his tent tled to your stakes, or somebody else cooking breakfast on the spot where you had your previous night's campfire, or with his gear piled high on what you had thought was your table. Of course these didn't happen at every campsite nor on every morning, but often enough to take lots of the joy out of camping.

Almost without exception, the National Park Service men we met and talked with were most cooperative and highly efficient. They're dedicated men doing a difficult job under conditions that are often almost impossible. They were simply snowed under by the hordes of campers, all clamoring for a place to stay. Many National Park Service men I talked with at length were deeply concerned about what will happen unless something is done immediately to expand existing camping areas and increase their staffs, as well as adding more personnel for new areas. I heard no complaints about pay or working conditions except that many NPS men resented unwarranted complaints over their inability to find campsites for everybody. Lack of camping space is cer-tainly not the fault of these hard-working and dedicated public servants. They deserve our thanks for handling the situation as well as they have in the face of such

The basic problem is lack of funds. Getting money for new camping areas is a huge and frustrating struggle. For one thing such appropriations are reportedly not so popular with legislators as are funds for projects that are proved votegetters. As one National Park Service official points out, however, funds for new camping areas may well become important votegetters. Another argument often raised against using public money for camping areas is that it appears to be spent for a limited segment of the population. Actually public camping areas are for the use of anyone who cares to enjoy them, just as are so many of the projects that are more popular with legislators.

The State officials concerned with camping, to whom I wrote after returning from our trip, were almost unanimous in their statements that they are handicapped by lack of funds and by lack of interest of the budget planners in the problems of campers.

In answer to my question, "Has the public been oversold on camping?" Robert D. Espeseth, Wisconsin park planner, said, "It is difficult to say whether the public has been oversold on camping or whether the fault has been with the public agencies for not being able to keep up with the demand. We all know that these increases (in campers) were predicted to some extent and that future increases are certain. Still with all this known, money and materials are still not available to the park and recreation agencies throughout the country. I believe that the public has not been oversold as much as our parks and recreation areas have been undersold by the legislators, administrators, and the public through a general apathy and lack of action. We have which could be made available for camping if we could get finances for even the most meager improvements."

Joe M. Clark, superintendent of the New Mexico State Park Commission, emphasizes that it's often hard to provide even meager improvements: "The mere details of grading the sites, building access roads, piping water nearby, and in some cases hauling wood, constructing fireplaces, benches, and tables or shelters, and cleaning the area regularly can be fairly expensive, however well planned

and carefully supervised."

Other letters frankly stated that money won't be forthcoming for additional camping facilities until campers prove that they need them.

One way to get money for developing and maintaining campsites would be to charge a camping fee, or to boost the fee if there already is one. Maine, which has charged \$1 a night per site, finds that this has resulted in an operating loss. Such losses have been made up from a general fund. Other States charge less, and some States or federally operated campsites have no charge other than one for entering the park itself. Fees for camping in national parks cannot be charged without an act of Congress, because part of the original congressional action was to stipulate free camping in all such areas.

Many campers, aware of the cost of building and maintaining camping areas, are in favor of some sort of direct charge. For example, a survey by the Wisconsin Conservation Department in 1958 indicated that 53.6 percent of park visitors had definite ideas on how to finance a better State park system. Forty-six and four-tenths percent had no suggestions at all. Some 19.1 percent of the park visitors favored indirect charges, but 34.5 percent were in favor of direct charges. Visitors suggesting direct charges lined up this way: 17.1 percent were for an annual windshield sticker, 13.1 percent for a daily fee, and 4.3 percent for a higher camping fee.

I am 100 percent in favor of higher direct fees wherever they're justified, and here is why. I'd much rather pay \$1 a night for a good place to camp than I would to avoid the charge but have no place—or a very poor one—to camp. It seems to me that a fee for a designated and exclusive site in a well-run area would be a good invest-

ment any night, as long as the money went for a better camping area. Even if the fee were \$2 a night, it would still make for an inexpensive vacation. With that additional money, much more could be provided for campers

A case in point: many privately owned campsites are springing up all over the country, particularly in the Northeast, and especially in Maine. In that State the private campsite operators have more individual campsites than have all the Maine's State parks combined. Tax money from these privately owned camps goes into the State coffers, so they save the taxpayer money. And for a fee of \$2 a night, you have many advantages in such privately operated grounds. For example, you can reserve a site in advance, usually impossible at a State or federally operated camping ground.

True, many of these private operators also run stores which sell food, ice, fuel, and camping supplies, and they also rent boats. Campers pay extra for these supplies and services. But extra charges for such services are also the rule in public camps. Many public camping areas, however, don't have any of these facilities within miles, and it is of great help to have them close at hand.

One of the greatest problems on our trip was the seemingly simple matter of getting ice for our icebox. In most camping areas, ice was impossible to get, and in others more of our food would have spoiled had it not been for restaurant operators and others who sold us buckets of ice cubes. I still recall with a faint touch of nausea the time I cleaned out an icebox stocked with butter, meat, and milk on the south rim of the Grand Canyon after 2 days without ice at temperatures over 100 degrees.

Before you start out on such a tour, get in touch with the National Ice Association, 810 18th Street NW., Washington, D.C., for a list of ice vendors in the area where you will travel and camp. It may be of considerable help. The New England Ice Association at 132 Center Street, Rumford, R.I., can furnish you with a booklet listing ice vendors throughout the New England area. Although there aren't many of these vendors yet, the list is increasing; knowing where to find one may save you not only money but a mess.

The availability of food, fuel, and ice at all public camping areas would not only be a great convenience, but would also probably have the additional advantage of dispersing the campers and preventing overcrowding in the few areas where such things are already available. I know of no list of all camping areas telling which of these services are available there, but perhaps the future will produce one.

Private camping areas are usually fine for the family with small children who must have fresh milk. Such areas are also usually well run, restricted as to the number of campers, designed for a maximum of privacy, and—if water is handy—you will usually find boats and motors for rent at reasonable rates.

Those who would prefer wilderness camping areas should take into account that many paper and lumber companies have opened up some of their vast holdings of wilderness to campers who agree to be careful with fire and observe company regulations. According to James M. McClellan, chief forester for American Forest Products Industries, 37,708,269 acres of commercial timberlands owned by forest industries are open to the public for camping. These areas, while generally far from stores and other conveniences, offer real backwoods camping thrills.

The situation at National and State parks is not entirely discouraging provided fast and intelligent action is taken and funds are made available, as soon as possible to speed up, the expansion of present areas and

the development of new ones. Right now the National Park Service is spending \$60 million a year on its 10-year Mission 66 to preserve the natural beauties and values of our national parks and monuments, while at the same time providing for their maximum use and enjoyment, according to Conrad L. Wirth, National Park Service Director. We saw substantial evidence of this great project's success at many national parks.

Mission 66 is aimed at handling an anticipated 80 annual visitors to our national parks by 1966. It's reasonable to wonder, though, how this will be possible when last year's 62,500,000 visitors couldn't be ade-

quately handled.

Nobody, of course, can precisely predict the rate of camper increase through the years ahaad. However, with part of this \$50 million a year or small additional funds much more could be done of immediate benefit to the campers who make up a great portion of national park visitors. I'm thinking of such armies as last year's more than 1,200,000 visitors to Yosemite National Park, Calif. Half of them were overnight visitors in cabins or campsites—a staggering number of persons to handle with adequate facilities, and almost impossible under the present conditions.

Many of our national park camping areas are splendid. In this category I'd include Bryce Canyon National Park, Utah; Colter Bay site in the Grand Teton National Park, Wyo.; Camp 15 in Yosemite National Park, Calif. (one of the very first well-planned campsites); and some of those at Mesa Verde National Park, Colo. Many others, however, were poorly planned years ago, and are now impossibly overcrowded and completely inadequate. The latter condition, of course, is not the fault of the Park Service.

In many parks we saw brandnew and elaborately constructed visitors' centers, modern in design and landscaped to perfection. But in one place, right across the road, was a new campsite all finished but unopened for lack of funds for roads and because the toilet and wash facilities were not yet completed. This was on the south rim of the Grand Canyon during the last few days of July-the height of the camping season. The loop roads were in, the spur roads, tables, benches, fire grills and rubbish baskets all installed, but not a single camper could use it. A couple of miles back, the only campground in the area was horribly over-crowded, a line of campers' cars was waiting for somebody to leave. The harried attendant did his best to put them somewhere. Many did as we did and hired from the local concessionaire a rather pitiful cabin that must have been built decades ago.

At Mead Lake in Arizona, we saw mobs of campers crammed into a hot and dusty "jungle" while a few rods away stood a new and vacant camping area complete with tables and benches, but with a "closed" sign unexplainably blocking the entrance.

One thing that would help a lot at many national parks would be for gatemen at the park entrance to be advised which camp areas were full and which could still take a few more campers. At Jenny Lake in the Grand Teton, Wyo., area, we were told to "just drive around and pick out a numbered tent site and then come back and register." We did drive around, and around again, only to find that every site was occupied, and then some. We returned to the entrance and reported this to the young man on duty. "Well, how about that?" he said, and went back to his book. We might have driven halfway to the next tenting area by the time we found out what the gateman should have already known.

The camping sluation is critical, and it's certain to get worse unless campers themselves do something about it. Camping tax-

payers, via letters and telegrams to their governmental representatives, can encourage the earmarking of more money for camping areas in their home States and in national parks. These officials should be encouraged to visit local camping areas during camping seasons to see for themselves the conditions con-

fronting campers.

Joe E. Clark, superintendent of the New Mexico State Park Commission, said in his letter to me, "We anticipate having more campers than we'll be able to accommodate the way we'd like throughout the coming decade." This may easily apply to every decade." This may easily apply to every popular camping State unless we work to offset the crisis in camping.

Let's not allow overcrowding and lack of facilities to endanger one of the greatest mass recreation programs ever taken up by

the American family.

U.S. Participation in International Trade

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, JACOB K. JAVITS

OF NEW YORK

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Thursday, May 26, 1960

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, there is hardly a better way for the United States to sell its goods and its way of life abroad than by increased participation in the international exhibits throughout the world which are organized to bring together the technicians, the busihessmen and the people of many countries. It is for this reason that I introduced Senate Concurrent Resolution 106, to express the sense of the Congress that the U.S. Government and private citizens should provide for increased Participation in international trade fairs. I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a brief summary describing the character of U.S. exhibits at oversea trade fairs in 1960.

Mr. President, I wish to invite attention also to the series of exhibits sponsored and organized by the U.S. Atomic Energy Commission in many countries,

with highly successful results.

A series of exhibits is scheduled in four South American capitals, beginning With Buenos Aires in September, and then in Rio de Janeiro, Caracas, and Lima. Another is planned for Karachi, Pakistan, in November. Right now the AEC has an exhibit in Cairo, capital of

the United Arab Republic.

There is something particularly satisfying in our being able to display the uses of nuclear power in industry, agriculture, and medicine in some of the industrially emerging countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America. We feel strongly that this great new power Source, in the words of President Eisenhower, is "a unifying force when it is devoted to the cause of peace." The Government's attempt to show that the United States has made enormous strides in the development of atomic energy for beaceful purposes ought to be highly commended. Visitors at these exhibits have an opportunity to see how the very

frontiers of scientific agriculture and land development are being pushed forward to provide for the exploding world population. They are showing the world how nations can improve their living standards through better methods of medical diagnosis, by using radioisotopes, and in many other fields.

Commissioner John A. McCone is to be congratulated along with his capable staff for presenting the story of the peaceful uses of atomic energy to a world which longs for the use of the atom for life and an atomic terror of arms in the absence of effective disarmament.

There being no objection, the summary was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

U.S. EXHIBITS SCHEDULED FOR PLACEMENT IN INTERNATIONAL TRADE FAIRS OVERSEAS DUR-ING 1960 BY THE DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE, OFFICE OF INTERNATIONAL TRADE FAIRS

BOMBAY, INDIA-AN EXCLUSIVELY U.S. SMALL INDUSTRIES EXHIBIT, JANUARY 31-FEBRUARY

As in three earlier solo exhibits in India (at New Delhi, Calcutta, and Madras), this one demonstrated devices and techniques believed useful in India's industrialization program. Success of this series of exhibits is indicated by the fact that all salable items were sold, to those who saw values in their adaptation to the developing Indian economy. More than 100 American firms cooperated with their Government to make possible this exhibit, described by one Indian official as "a good effort, indicating a will to help India." That the showing brought close-That the showing brought closeup, personal impressions to a wide range of Indian people is shown by the total attendance at Bombay-1,253,191. (Total for all four exhibits in the series: 2,856,682.)

OSAKA, JAPAN-FOURTH OSAKA INTERNATIONAL TRADE FAIR, APRIL 9-26

The Japanese newspaper Mainichi described the U.S. exhibit as "an abundant array of America's finest and latest industrial products * * * which will find wide applications in Japanese industry." It attracted the largest numbers of the 600,000 visitors in attendance during the fair's first week. U.S. displays were in three major segments setting forth the theme, "Trade, Technology, and Tourism." The first illustrated mutual benefits through relaxation of certain Japanese trade restrictions. Next there were demonstrations of production and toolmaking machinery, automotive repair and maintenance equipment, and testing and quality control instruments. Compact cars, color television tape, and varieties of consumer products added to visitors' interest, and the tourism section sought to encourage a greater exchange of travelers between the two nations since "tourism, too, is trade." American firms were represented.

MILAN, ITALY-38TH MILAN TRADE FAIR, APRIL 12-27

In his report of this fair, John J. Casserly, Hearst Headline Service, wrote: "The United States today is scoring a smashing victory over the Soviet Union at the colossal 38th Milan International Trade Fair." The theme of the U.S. exhibit was "Testing for Quality in Mass-Produced Goods." Demonstrated were interesting devices and techniques used by manufacturers to give assurance to themselves and to buyers of the products that they meet high standards of safety and service, and are so guaranteed. Undergoing tests were home appliances, electronics equipment, food containers, automotive parts, skis, scales, pharmaceuticals, plastics, motors, and lawnmowers. Fifteen American firms provided the demonstrations, as well as displays of television and radio sets, cameras, sports

equipment, and other consumer products. Five million visitors, an alltime record, were expected at the fair, in which 55 nations were represented. Mr. Casserly further wrote: "The simplicity, yet prime importance of the American theme, has won plaudits from all nations. America's pavilion is, by far, the most studied display of the fair.'

CASABLANCA, MOROCCO-16TH CASABLANCA IN-TERNATIONAL TRADE FAIR, APRIL 28-MAY 16

For the first time in the 5-year history of official U.S. exhibits overseas, one industrial area was asked to develop an exhibit representative of this country's many centers of manufacturing and commerce. The port of Philadelphia responded, cities on the upper Delaware River presenting to the port of Casablanca displays of mutual interest, proving that commerce and industry develop with the port. Traced also was the story of Philadelphia, America's "cradle of Liberty," as a means of giving encourage-Moroccans in developing their democratic way of life. There were impressive displays of transportation, industry, and communications. Manufacturing concerns presented areas demonstrating advances made in petroleum uses and products; papermaking, pharmaceuticals, sugar packaging, materials handling, automotive (in-cluding compact cars), pottery, construction, cork products, electronic teaching, home appliances, educational television, telephonic devices, solar energy, steel, automatic food vending, plastics, printing and publishing, The National Aeronautics and Space Agency, and the Air Force provided displays show ing achievements by this country in space research.

POZNAN, POLAND-29TH INTERNATIONAL TRADE FAIR, JUNE 12-26

The U.S. theme for this important European trade fair is "research for better in-dustrial products." More than 80 American firms are cooperating in presenting operating displays which should be of interest to the Polish people. Individual exhibits include fiberglas products, a plastic-tube filling machine, a paint blender, an electronically-controlled kitchen, household appliances, a small library, automotive repair shops, compact automobiles and materials-handling equipment. An agricultural area will show modern aids for the farm. Tourism displays stress means by which Poland can increase its tourist trade. This is the fourth consecutive year of participation by the United States in this fair.

DAMASCUS, SYRIA-SEVENTH DAMASCUS INTER-NATIONAL FAIR, AUGUST 15-SEPTEMBER 10

Here to represent the United States there will be a wide variety of demonstrations, from closed circuit television to recombin-ing of milk for use in ice cream; from the expanded GE House of Magic to a complete sewing machine production line. hibits, selected to meet a broad range of interests, include shops for auto repair, woodworking and metalworking, machines for making plastic products and displays of consumer products. Of interest especially to the young there will be an exhibit with manikins dressed as Roy and Dale Rogers with items of cowboy equipment, amid scenes of American's western areas. An agricultural area will have a crop-dusting airplane and farm equipment. "Magic hands," signed for handling radioactive materials, will draw interest. Our new compact cars, too, will be on display.

IZMIR, TURKEY-29TH INTERNATIONAL FAIR, AUGUST 20-SEPTEMBER 20

The ports of Philadelphia presentations that appeared earlier at Casablanca will again be seen at this port city. In response to a request from the American Embassy in Turkey, an area adjacent to the U.S. Pavilion will show products of American companies having branches in Turkey. Firms in this area will set up their displays independently but will keep them in harmony with the overall design of the official U.S. exhibit.

KABUL, AFGHANISTAN—JESHYN INTERNATIONAL FAIR, AUGUST 23-31

The United States here will present a balanced exhibit of operating agricultural and industrial displays, together with the giant screen production, Circarama, to take visitors on a visual trip across our country. Agricultural exhibits are to demonstrate three means of irrigation, and modern tools and machinery used in growing and harvesting crops. Industrial exhibits include small shops geared to the economy of Afghanistan—for auto repair, the recapping and vulcanizing, sewing (production line), metal and plastics making and woodworking. There will also be cultural and educational exhibits. Other exhibiting countries include Soviet Russia and Red China.

VIENNA, AUSTRIA—INTERNATIONAL AUTUMN FAIR, SEPTEMBER 4-11

This is Austria's major commercial event, visited by more than 650,000 people from some 54 countries, including those of the Soviet bloc. For this reason it is considered ideal for the U.S. exhibits this year to display a "new, aggressive look, with emphasis on sales," as well as to offer presentations designed to bring about better understandings of the American way of life. A central exhibit, placed by the Office of International Trade Fairs (OITF) will emphasize reasons for buying U.S.-manufactured goods, and around the sides of the American pavilion individual firms, contributing to a funds pool in proportion to their space, will show their wares, distribute promotional matter, quote prices and take orders. OITF will, as usual provide general management of the exhibit and pay certain other expenses. Chicago Association of Commerce and Industry has taken a large section of the space and there will also be showings of machinery and consumer goods.

SALONIKA, GREECE—25TH INTERNATIONAL FAIR OF THESSALONIKI, SEPTEMBER 4-25

Largest and oldest in the Balkans, this fair provides an excellent showcase for American goods and way of life in an area where Soviet influence is a factor because of geographic proximity. The U.S. exhibit will include demonstrations of consumer appliances and industrial machines, color television, achievements in electronics and a science presentation. Agricultural interest will be directed to a showing of balanced mixed feeds and the part that research plays in farming. An American prestige automobile will provide contrast with a full line of new compact cars.

ZAGREB, YUGOSLAVIA—INTERNATIONAL TRADE FAIR, SEPTEMBER 10-25

Highlighting this fifth U.S. exhibit at Zagreb will be a complete American drugstore, of the type suggesting a "junior department store." In a demonstration of modern kitchen appliances there will be comparison displays of 1920 and 1960 American kitchens, latest automobiles and trucks, pharmaceutical equipment, auto repair shops, printing and reproduction, electronics, a model chemical plant and a mockup television studio to illustrate the use of television tape recorders. Agricultural equipment will also be shown. Our "Pioneer V" space satellite and a demonstration of an "Aeromobile" will attract special interest,

TUNIS, TUNISIA—EIGHTH TUNIS INTERNATIONAL FAIR, OCTOBER 14-30

The tentative listing of operating exhibits here includes the "GE House of Magic," an "air car," typical American shop windows, shoe manufacturing, a petroleum plant dio-

rama and communications mechanisms. Others include a silicone chemistry display, textile manufacturing, metalspinning, food processing, sugar packaging and a mechanical tudoring machine. Models of the "Pioneer V" and "Tiros" satellites will also be shown.

School Construction Assistance Act of 1960

SPEECH

HON. STEWART L. UDALL

OF ARIZONA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, May 25, 1960

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H.R. 10128) to authorize Federal financial assistance to the States to be used for constructing school facilities.

Mr. UDALL. Mr. Chairman, I am a member of the subcommittee that drafted this particular legislation, and I should like for a moment to attempt to lead this discussion out of the narrow channel in which it rests. The tenor of our discussion would lead one to believe that the only real problem facing American education is that we are short 140,000 classrooms. I think this is a serious problem, but American education faces much greater problems. All of these major studies of American education in the last 2 or 3 years-I refer to the Rockefeller report—and my col-leagues will notice I use that name tripplingly on my tongue-the Killian report, the reports of Dr. Conant, and the White House Conference on Education have all concluded that if we are going to do the type of job we should be doing we must double our outlays for education in the sixties.

And Secretary Flemming last year stated that it was a reasonable goal for us as a people to double teachers' salaries in the next 10 years.

I want to discuss with you a moment these broad goals, because in focusing our attention on the classroom shortage, we are perhaps misleading ourselves as to the scope of the challenge we face.

One basic conclusion of the Rockefeller report was that in the years ahead education will have a strategic importance in our national performance and that what we do, or do not do, in the field of education may very well determine the posture of strength of our country and its capacity to perform great tasks in the years ahead.

Another of the basic conclusions of these reports is that the American people cannot meet these goals unless, in the words of the Rockefeller report, there is a "thorough, painful, and courageous overhaul of local and State taxing systems." This need for local tax overhaul was demonstrated just a moment ago by my colleague from New York, Mr. Goodell, who preceded me in the well of the House. So the time has come when we must face the total problems of American education.

There are, I know, some who feel we are doing a good job in education. I do not. Ours is the richest country in the world—and, whether we like it or not, we wear the mantle of world leadership. If we are to move toward these reasonable goals, it seems to me we must determine now that we are going to spend more for our teachers and our schools. I will confess that on education, I am a spender. I do not think we are spending enough. The best investment we can make is an investment in the minds of our young people.

The details of this bill are based on sound experience. They are based in part on our experience under the landgrant college program, and in part on the system of State aid to education which has worked so well over the years. I am not only against Federal control; I am in favor of maximum local control. This bill provides, for the first time, maximum local control. If an amendment to be proposed by the gentleman from Montana [Mr. METCALF], is agreed to, we will say to each locality: "You decide what your needs priorities are. If you want to build schools, fine-or if you prefer to raise the salaries of your teachers this also is satisfactory." essential point is that these decisions should be made at the local level. This is the very essence of a sound system. It is based on our experience under State aid systems and puts the decisionmaking authority in the school boards where it belongs.

Every time the Congress passes a bill. like the National Defense Education Act, and we, in effect, say, "Spend it for this purpose and nothing it for this purpose and nothing else," we are not putting faith and confidence in local school boards. Therefore I am one of those who will support the amendment offered by the gentleman from Montana [Mr. METCALF], to broaden the scope of this legislation. Let us trust the judgment of the State and the local people. Let them come forward and decide where the money should be spent. I think this is a very basic issue, and whether we thresh it out or not today, it will be on our desks when we return next January. We must have an educational system worthy of our country-one that will enable us develop to the full our human resources. We have voted a bill of nearly \$4 billion earlier today, a public works bill, to develop our natural resources. Our proposal is a modest one, a proposal that we make a further investment in human resources.

Mr. WAINWRIGHT. I wonder if the gentleman will take another minute that I may ask him a question relative to his amendment?

Mr. UDALL. If the gentleman will yield me time for that purpose.

Mr. WAINWRIGHT. Mr. Chairman. I yield the gentleman 1 minute to ask him if he will explain his variant so that we may be able to consider it before it comes up tomorrow.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Arizona is recognized for 1 minute. Mr. UDALL. If the amendment to be

offered by the gentleman from Montana [Mr. Metcalf], does not prevail, the

amendment which I intend to propose, if the opportunity presents itself, will put the teachers' salary local option Which is in the Senate bill into the committee bill. In other words, it is a narrow amendment and would merely give the State and local people the right to decide whether to use the money for construction or salaries.

Mr. WAINWRIGHT. I thank the gentleman.

Resolution To Raise Social Security and Lower Retirement Age by Employees of the Chevrolet Plant at Janesville, Wis.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GERALD T. FLYNN

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, May 26, 1950

Mr. FLYNN. Mr. Speaker, men and women throughout the country realize the problems of the aged. They realize that many of the aged live in want and Drivation. They also realize that many old people continue to work because of economic necessity when they should be living in retirement. This, naturally, means that they are taking positions that younger people could be filling. They realize that this creates unemployment among those under 60 years of age, and they realize that if social security could be amended to provide for retirement at age 60 that it would make it possible for all unemployed men and women under 60 to have a job and it would also make the declining years of our older people more pleasant.

This thought has been expressed by the men and women employed by the Chevrolet Division of General Motors in Janesville, Wis. Their representative, Gaylord Sagen, today sent to me the enclosed resolution to raise social security and lower retirement age. I am setting it forth in full as I believe that it represents the thinking and the aim of working men and women in every State

in the Union:

RESOLUTION TO RAISE SOCIAL SECURITY AND LOWER RETIREMENT AGE BY EMPLOYEES OF THE CHEVROLET PLANT AT JANESVILLE, WIS. Whereas there are better than 3 million

people still unemployed in the United States;

Whereas there will be over a million students graduating from our high schools and colleges each year and these students will be looking for permanent jobs, thus creating more unemployment at that time; and

Whereas industry is continually using more and more automated machinery creating a condition of less employees needed to produce the production needed; and

Whereas there are over 60 million people employed throughout the country, and ac-cording to statistics 10 percent of these people are over 60 years of age. If it were possible for all of the people over 60 years of age to retire this would mean there would be over 6 million people who could retire. they did so it would make job opportunities for all the people who are laid off, and the students who will be looking for jobs in the spring; and

Whereas it is very important something be done to immediately relieve the unemployment we now have, and stop the gradual increase of employment by automation: Therefore be it

Resolved, That Local 95, UAW, go on record of calling on the Congress and the Senate and the President of the United States of America to immediately enact legislation lowering the social security age limit to 60 years of age and increasing the amount of social security to \$240 per month for a married couple, plus \$80 for each dependent child, this additional cost to be raised by increasing the percentages paid by the employee and the employer equally.

Respectfully yours,

GAYLORD SAGEN, Recording Secretary, Local 95, UAW.

Record of Accomplishments of Forest Service of Region 9 in 1959

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. ALEXANDER WILEY

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Thursday, May 26, 1960

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, the preservation of our forest lands is essential if we are going to provide an adequate amount of these resources for the generations of the future.

Over the years, there have, of course, been differing opinions on management and utilization of our forest lands, particularly in our national forests. spite the handicap of differing theories, however, the outstanding leadership in our U.S. Forest Service is enabling our populace to benefit in a great many ways.

Currently, U.S. national forest lands, for example—under the multiple-use theory—are utilized for such purposes as wood, forage, recreation, wildlife, watershed management, and a variety of other

constructive purposes.

Through cooperation with the States and private land owners, also, the Forest Service also is carrying on work in woodland management, technical assistance, cooperative watershed management, tree plantings, utilization and marketing of forest products, and many other such activities.

Today I was privileged to receive from Mr. M. M. Nelson, regional forester, U.S. Forest Service, headquartered in Milwaukee, Wis., a review of the splendid work being carried out by the Forest Service, of the U.S. Department of Agriculture, in region 9-a subdivision of our 10 national forest regions.

Reflecting the constructive way in which realistic efforts are being made, not only to preserve, but also to utilize these valuable resources, I ask unanimous consent to have excerpts from the report printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the excerpts were ordered to be printed in the RECord, as follows:

RECREATION, WILDLIFE, FORAGE, WATER

To facilitate the management of these forest resources so closely interrelated, we have

them grouped in one division. the aggregate as lands and officially as recreation, lands, wildlife, water, and range management. In this area the multiple-use concept is most discernible.

Forest outings

The national forests in region 9 accommodate 5.4 million visits, representing 7.1 million man-days of recreation use. This is a continuing upward trend-7 percent higher than 1958. Picnic and camping use jumped 10 percent over last year.

Skiling interest remains high, as demonstrated by the opening of three new private winter sports developments embracing na-

tional forest lands.

The national forest outdoor recreation survey was initiated to collect and inventory the recreation resources of the national for-This information will serve as a basis for the development of forest recreation plans and to formulate programs. The analysis will include overall coordination of recreation uses according to the multiple-use concept of national forest management. field work started July 1, 1959, and the total project is to be completed by December 31,

The third year of Operation Outdoors was completed in 1959. Under this program 177 family units were rehabilitated and 201 new ones constructed. This is less than planned under Operation Outdoors. Limited funds and increased maintenance caused by heavier use forced us to postpone many desirable projects.

Wildflife-A forest crop

About 2.6 million visitors to the national forests enjoyed the many hunting and fishing opportunities on these public lands. Big game hunters bagged an estimated 48,000 white-tailed deer under the more progressive hunting seasons which the various State conservation departments now provide. Sustained yield management of deer and other wildlife species is becoming a reality as the public more fully accepts the potential of these renewable resources.

Cooperative programs with State conservation departments were expanded.

Forest Service timber management activities improved the wildlife habitat on the 178,478 acres which were cut-over in timber sales, treated by timber stand improvements. or planted to forest trees.

In portions of some of the northern forests of the region excessive deer populations have reduced their food supply to a critical low and have eliminated the reproduction of some of the more valuable timber species needed for future timber supplies. habilitate both the game habitat and the commercial forest resource a reduction to a below normal population is indicated.

Grazing

A grazing conference was held in August at Salem to consider the administration of this resource in the national-forest units in Missouri. Present research programs and needs were reviewed.

The Sheyenne LU project in North Dakota had another successful season under lease to the Sheyenne Valley Grazing Association. Feeder calves from this project have gained an excellent reputation. They command top prices at the annual fall auctions at which stock from this sand-hills area is marketed. The Forest Service concentrated on controlling the remaining sand blows fencing them out of the pastures and seeding them to grasses. In addition, the Forest Service and the association seeded 541 acres and controlled brush and leafy spurge on 920 acres.

Soil and watershed work

Soil rehabilitation and stabilization work was accomplished in 12 projects on the Chippewa, Lower Michigan, Missouri, Shawnee, and Wayne-Hoosier National Forests. Representative projects include: stabilizing 80 acres of blow sand in Michigan; stabiliz ing and improving 2,500 feet of stream channel in Ohio; and controlling 6 miles of gullies in Missouri.

Forest soil surveys were started in region nine in 1959. Soils on 89,000 acres were mapped on the Nicolet National Forest. This survey is a pilot study designed to develop and test methods of classifying and mapping soils and interpreting the results for intensive forestry purposes.

More people want land use permits

Pressures for use and occupancy of national-forest land continued to increase during the last year. Individuals, organizations, industries, and public agencies hold 4,194 permits to occupy and use about 250,000 acres of national-forest land; average increase in number of permits and acreage has been nearly 2 percent per year for the past 5 years. Examples of the more than 100 kinds of permits include mining, pasture, rights-of-way, schools, and summer homes.

Land adjustments assist in management

Within the Boundary Waters Canoe Area (Superior National Forest) continued effort to acquire the remaining private ownership resulted in 15 individual tracts being approved for purchase involving 3,080 acres and a value of \$56.516.

Of 32 tracts purchased 20 were in Ohio

and Indiana.

In addition, 33 land exchanges were made. The United States was offered 10,250 acres in exchange for 8,541 acres.

WOOD-ONE OF THE MULTIPLE USES

Timber resource management plans cover 7,565,000 acres in the national forests of this region. Activities consist of (1) harvesting timber in need of cutting by sale of standing trees to private purchasers, (2) reforestation, (3) timber stand improvement, and (4) control measures to prevent damage to timber crops from insects, diseases, and rodents.

The harvest is below 1958

Although the total timber harvest of 527,000 cords of pulpwood and other products and 73 million board feet of sawtimber is double that of 10 years ago it is 7 percent below the 1958 harvests, with a corresponding reduction in income to \$1,804,000. This fall off was almost entirely in pulpwood. Lower pulpwood demand by the mills was primarily responsible.

Expanded markets for increasing pulpwood supplies needed

Almost 20 percent of the pulpwood produced in the region was harvested from the national forests. More growth in quantity and quality would result if the full allowable cut of mature timber and thinning and improvement cuts could be made. The contribution to the local economy would also be increased immediately and in the future.

In an endeavor to interest expansion and new industries that could use available national forest and other timber, information has been compiled and distributed primarily in cooperation with State agencies to make known the existing opportunities for wood-based industries. Efforts are being continued to achieve a breakthrough of the apparent ceiling that has prevented any substantial increase in the harvest of pulpwood during the last 5 years.

Stand improvement measures such as weeding, thinning, and release from worthless trees is a necessary part of raising timber. Planted trees as well as natural regeneration requires such care. Eighty thousand acres were given this treatment during the year. However, good management would dictate a program of triple this size.

Porcupine damage continues a problem

In addition to the restoration of predators to control the porcupine, one of the more destructive rodents of the forest, direct control measures were required to prevent heavy losses of timber-growing investments. estimated that some 100,000 acres of plantations and young high-valued hardwood stands, subject to severe damage if not protected, were protected by these operations.

Timber growing requires more than harvestina

Harvesting operations of mature, evenaged jack pine stands, for example, require artificial measures following cutting, such as planting and seeding to get a new crop Six thousand acres were planted and seeded during the year following such harvest cutting.

In addition to regeneration measures on recently harvested areas, 10,000 acres of barren lands were planted during the year bringing the total area successfully reforested to date to 827,000 acres. Almost 10 percent of the commercial forest land in the national forests of the north central region remain in need of planting if they are to produce satisfactory timber crops for our future needs. At the current rate over 50 years would be required to get all of these lands into production.

Four forest tree nurseries were in operation to produce the 12 million trees that were An additional 9 million trees were produced in these nurseries for States and other cooperators. The activation of a program to adequately provide for reforestation on the national forests would require the full production of the four national forest nurseries. Such full production would reduce per unit costs. However, with the use of a high proportion of 3- and 4-year-old planting stock it would require several years to bring production up to the requirements of such a program.

BLUEPRINTING THE FOREST

Forest engineering brings the engineers' skills from the drafting board to the remote parts of the region's forests. In this service function the forester and engineer team up to provide improvements needed to carry out multiple-use management on the national forests.

Architectural services and plans were provided for seven ranger dwellings and four garages in 1959. The region's road system required considerable engineering effort. Maintenance at increased standards and rehabilitation of specific roads continued as a large project. Access roads accounted for much of the new construction. Specifically the 1959 region accomplishments are:

 Completing 39.3 miles of new road and reconstructing 44.7 miles of old roads in the forest development system.

2. Rebuilding 20.2 miles of the forest highway system to modern standards.

3. Replacing 13 old bridges with 4 modern bridges and 9 with large metal culverts.

New planimetric maps showing timber types were made for 2,300 square miles of land. Maps for recreation folders for Huron, Chippewa, and Nicolet National Forests, and for the Current-Eleven Point River area in Missouri were completed to give information to visitors in these areas.

INFORMATION SERVICES

The increasing demand for information about the work and activities of the region 9 forests is an indication of public concern for the national forests. In 1959 the trend was sharply upward. There were many more visitors to forest recreation areas, Ranger headquarters, supervisor, and regional offices. Requests for information included all the multiple-use activities found on the forests. Written requests for literature, bulletins, maps, and forest conservation materials required over 4,000 letters. The 429 motion picture prints in the regional library were tightly scheduled to serve a

total audience of a half million people exclusive of TV showings.

Every forest officer has an increasing responsibility to supply the needs of the pub-lic for information. During the past year information and education training sessions were held on all but one of the forests to enhance this public service. Recreation map folders for the Huron, Chippewa, and Nicolet National Forests were published. A special area leaflet on the Current and Eleven Point Rivers National Forest recreational area was released.

THE FINANCIAL SITUATION

During fiscal year 1959 the national forests of region nine produced revenue in the amount of \$1,921,319. Additional revenue in the amount of \$68,668 was realized from lands acquired under provisions of the Bankhead-Jones Act of June 22, 1937. These revenues represent earned income resulting from sales of timber permits issued for grazing of livestock, use of land for private purposes, power generation and transmission. and royalties from mining. One-fourth of the income was returned to the States for distribution to the counties to be used for schools and roads. In 1959 the amount so returned for local expenditure was \$613,106.

Other receipts not classed as income totaled \$700,727 and included amounts deposited by timber purchasers for improvement of lands cut over and for protection or elimination of logging slash hazard, plus other cooperative projects in which the national forests benefit.

PERSONNEL

A program for preparation of individual training plans or career development plans for all employees in region 9 was initiated early in the year and is near completion. A unit training leader has been designated for each forest and regional office division to implement the program.

The region's safety record continued to meet high standards and for the 11th time region 9 qualified for the Chief's Annual Safety Award with an accident frequency rate of 4.93 per million man-hours worked. Motor vehicle accidents were reduced from 15 in 1958 to a new low of 6 during 1959. Early in 1959 the region also received an Award of Merit from the National Safety Council for noteworthy safety performance. and a Second-Place Safety Award in the Wood Products Section of the National Safety Council.

Plans are well underway for operation of the region 9 training camp for orientation of all new professional employees appointed during 1959. In addition, an advanced training session will be held for those graduates of the 1958 junior training camp.

The number of professional foresters on the national forests increased by 17 new foresters who entered on duty following graduation from Forestry Schools of the Middle West. Employment in the national forests continued at a high rate with 1,857 employees on the rolls at the peak of the field season on May 31, 1959.

Special recognition was received by nine regional employees for their extraordinary performance on the job. One received the special distinguished service citation from the Secretary of Agriculture. Two received outstanding performance ratings with cash awards to each. Six employees received special cash awards totaling \$1,650 for general superior accomplishments.

The examining program of Field Board 3. Civil Service Examiners for the Department of Agriculture, continued to expand in 1959. There were 3,926 applications received for various kinds of positions in the Department's Middle Western bureaus, an increase of 17 percent from 1958. The board now services 52 separate appointment establish ments who made 309 appointments to the Federal service in 1959 from their registers.

ADMINISTRATIUP TASKS

Operational services coordinate the internal needs of the organization. Budgeting and work planning is centered here.

An organization study was completed for all districts on the Superior National Forest and one district of the Missouri National Analysis of district workloads is necessary to adjust district boundaries in keeping with increased use of the national forests. There were no district or forest boundary changes made during 1959.

The physical plant

Seven ranger district dwellings and four garages were completed during the year. One dwelling was purchased at Doniphan, Mo. These buildings are part of a program to provide adequate housing for our field men at all ranger headquarters where private housing is unavailable or difficult to obtain. The radio system was improved by shifting one Illinois district system from low to high band. Minor improvements in equipment were added on five forests.

COOPERATING WITH THE STATES AND PRIVATE TAND OWNERS

Forest management progressed

In our nine cooperating States the forest management program advanced in many ways. Three States added wood utilization and marketing specialists to their forestry staffs.

Cooperative training activities continued: The Division of State and Private Forestry of the Forest Service, the States, and research centers together conducted 17 field forestry training schools. And personnel from six States participated in an intensive course on wood utilization and marketing at the Forest Products Laboratory in Madison, Wis.

Watershed management forged ahead

Public Law 566 provides for cooperation between the Forest Service and the States in rehabilitating watersheds on State or private lands. Work on this relatively new program advanced:

1 5: 1959	of 1958
1. Planned and reviewed projects 36 2. Programed22	-12 +22
3. Put into operation 19	+58

Cooperated to protect forests from insects and diseases

To protect white pine from blister rust, wild currants and gooseberries were eradicated from 40,743 acres of private and Stateowned land, and from 3,016 acres of Indian land. In addition, 5,000 trees were treated to test an antibiotic for protection from blister

The Forest Service cooperated with the State forester and State entomologist in spraying 7,240 acres to control spruce bud-

States and private landowners planted more land to trees than last yearacres with 112.5 million trees. More can be planted in 1960 when 130 million trees will be available.

The CFI (continuous forest inventory) included consultations with five industrial and three public agencies on the expanded use of punch card data. Three machine processing jobs were completed, involving 2 million acres and 4,500 permanent plots. More than 115,000 individual tree records were completed. pleted or planned for on machine cards. Contracts to solve special problems by use of electronic tabulating machines increased.

Protection from fire was difficult

With the exception of 1952, the States in region 9 had the worst fire conditions in record. Dangerous fire conditions developed in Missouri in March. Wisconsin and Minnesota suffered extensive losses during a short period in the spring.

Training in 1959 emphasized fire behavior to improve the ability of firefighters to forecast dangerous fire conditions. This training helped save lives of firefighters.

Address by Gov. J. Millard Tawes Before the Governors' Conference on the Appalachian Region

> EXTENSION OF REMARKS OR

HON. JOHN R. FOLEY

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday May 26, 1960

Mr. FOLEY. Mr. Speaker, on Friday, May 20, 1960, the Honorable J. Millard Tawes, Governor of Maryland, convened an 11 State Governors' Conference on the Appalachian Region at Annapolis, Md. This historic inaugural meeting was called by Governor Tawes to exchange views among the chief executives of all States wherein lies the great Appalachian mountain range. These views were focused on the economic and social problems of the citizens of the represented States who reside in the mountain area. In defining the mutual problems found in the 11-State chain, Governor Tawes set forth certain basic principles applying to Federal-State relations that are of timely importance. For this reason, I have included the full text of Governor Tawes' address in the Congressional RECORD, as follows:

ADDRESS BY THE HONORABLE J. MILLARD TAWES. GOVERNOR OF MARYLAND

First of all I want to welcome you to Maryland. I know many of you had to take time from busy schedules to be here today. That fact is, I believe, ample testimony to the importance of the matters we are here to discuss.

As I am sure you are aware, we have a great deal of ground to cover in a very short time. For this reason, I shall be brief, as I know we all want to allow as much time as possible for exchange of ideas.

I would like to explain at the outset exactly what led to my request for our discussion of the problems of the Appalachian area on an interstate basis. Quite frankly, my concern began with the problems of my own State.

For some time, our westernmost counties have not fully shared in the economic gains of Maryland. This has been brought about by a combination of circumstances which you are all familiar-the decline of the coal mining industry, fewer jobs in railroading, and a reluctance on the part of new businesses to locate in the mountainous terrain of the Appalachian region.

Since becoming Governor, I have been visited by many conscientious and concerned citizens of our western countles, who discussed their problems with me and asked what I felt could be done to promote the development of their region.

promised them I would look into the situation and do my best to help.

However, the more I examined the problems of our western Maryland counties, the more it became obvious that these problems were part and parcel of an economic and social pattern which is common to most of the Appalachian area. As a matter of fact, many of the citizens of our western counties look much more to the North-toward Pennsylvania-and to the South-toward Virginia and West Virginia—than to the rest of our State. In so doing, they are following the natural contours of the mountains and valleys of the Appalachians.

In this situation, it seems logical to me that maximum benefits could be gained for our western countries only by including them in a program to rebuild and revitalize the economy of the entire Appalachian re-

Moreover, here in Maryland, only a relatively small portion of our State lies within the Appalachian region, and I knew that, in our neighborhing States to the North and South, there existed a vast reservoir of experience regarding the problems of this re-gion, as well as large numbers of trained and dedicated people whose work in the Appalachian area over a longer period of time had given them a fund of knowledge which was greatly superior to our own.

This, therefore, was the beginning of the line of reasoning that led me to invite all of you here today to this meeting.

However, there was an additional consideration, which seemed to me to be of considerable importance. Up to now, almost all of the efforts to help find a solution to the problems of the Appalachian region have come from one or the other of three different sources-the individual States, the Federal Government, or private groups, organizations and foundations. All of these have been doing excellent work, but it seemed to me that they woud be able to function more effectively if the States that comprise the entire Appalachian region could get together and give a visible and forceful demonstration of their united concern. Such a demonstration would underline their determination to work together in order to bring the Appalachian economy into line with the prosperity that exists throughout most of our Nation.

It seems to me that all of the States represented here today, working together, can serve as a vital force in seeing that the potentials of this region are no longer overlooked and in speeding up the timetable of economic development.

To my mind, it is shameful and intolerable that, in 1960, there should be children in the United States who are suffering from malnutrition, and entire families who are living on Government subsistence handouts which are below normal nutritional needs. It is intolerable that we should have American communities where the family incomes are so low that children can't go to school because of lack of clothes and shoes.

The real tragedy of this area, indeed a tragedy for the Nation, is the appalling waste of the area's greatest resource-its people. We, in Maryland, are convinced that we cannot long endure such waste. On the contrary, the time is long overdue that we strive to provide economic opportunity to all our citizens. The inexorable pressures of the 20th century permit no less.

How much better that we join together to make this area a contributor to the national wealth rather than a receipient of inadequate and demoralizing public assistance. How much better that this area be the home. the workshop, and the play yard for a po-tentially highly skilled and talented people who need only the opportunity to produce.

I view the Appalachian region, with its 10 million people and 130,000 square miles, as one of America's last great frontiers. am convinced that the people in this room welcome the challenge and hold within them the keys to solutions.

I look forward to joining with you in a great effort.

I do not feel I need to go into detail about the specific factors which make up the complicated economic and social mosaic of the Appalachian region. I am sure all of you are more familiar with them than I. They will be summarized very briefly for you in a few minutes by consultants to our Maryland Department of Economic Development,

One thought, which I would like to express, is that too often in the past, particularly at the governmental level, we have tried to solve the problems of the Appalachian region in the form of stop-gap, emergency programs. Of course, these programs, especially insofar as they relieve human suffering, are essential.

Therefore, I was disappointed over the President's veto last week of the distressed area legislation, but it seems to me that we can never arrive at a permanent solution to the problems of the region until we stop thinking of the mountains as a "distressed area" and begin to think of them as an underdeveloped region with vast untapped human and natural resources—a region that can find its rightful economic level only through a plan of overall economic development, programed for a period of 5, 10, or even 20 years.

Such a program must concentrate on curing the disease, not treating the symptoms. It must aim towards breaking down the interlocking obstacles of terrain and isolation which underlie and aggravate—and, in some cases, directly create—those chronic and recurrent economic problems with which we are all too familiar.

All of us are aware, I believe, that improving the economy of the Appalachian region would also have a most favorable impact upon the remaining areas of all of our States. We here in Maryland, for example, are very much aware that the Appalachian mountain area forms a significant part of our economic hinterland, and any improvement in conditions in the mountains will be felt promptly in our coastal ports and trading centers. I am sure this is equally true for those States whose eastern portions lie in the mountains and whose western lands project along the great river valleys of the South and Midwest.

One of the encouraging aspects of the Appalachian picture is that the unfavorable economic conditions are not uniform throughout the area. Certain of the urban centers have recently begun to share a bit more in our Nation's overall prosperity, and I would hope that, with encouragement, this trend could be strengthened to the point where these cities could become centers of employment and thus forces for economic development for ever larger areas.

Bad as conditions may be in certain areas of this great region, they are not nearly as bad as some sensational reports would portray them. Whatever course of action is taken, it must be positive—not negative. It must be designed in a way which will point up the facts of our great potentials and not be aggravated by bad advertising of conditions which can and—I am sure—will be corrected in response to the intelligent leadership of government in partnership with private enterprise.

But, as I have said, I cannot begin to touch on all the intricacles of the problem, nor do I wish to preempt the time which we have to discuss our ideas together.

Americans cannot afford to be complacent about economic hardship and distress anywhere in the world, much less in the very heart of our country. Nor can we allow oursclves to be defeated by the difficulties of the problems we face.

I believe that the time is ripe for the launching of some forceful interstate action in regard to the pressing problems of the Appalachian region, and I am most hopeful that this conference will be the seedbed out of which will grow a new awareness of our obligations to the mountain areas of our States.

The Armed Forces: Defenders of Peace

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. GERALD R. FORD, JR.

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, May 26, 1960

Mr. FORD. Mr. Speaker, in an address at Savannah, Ga., last Saturday Gen. Lyman L. Lemnitzer, Chief of Staff, U.S. Army, discussed "The Armed Forces: Defenders of Peace." General Lemnitzer pointed out that to succeed in deterring war we must have the capability to win war. I was also impressed by the strong case which General Lemnitzer has made for our mutual security program. He says that—

My colleagues of the Joint Chiefs of Staff and I all agree that none of us would want to see a single dollar added to his own specific service budget if that dollar had to be subtracted from the mutual security program.

The full text of the general's speech follows:

THE ARMED FORCES: DEFENDERS OF PEACE

It gives me great pleasure to return to Savannah. This city offers a visitor a memorable combination of warm hospitality and beautiful and historic surroundings. combination is difficult to match and impossible to excel. For a member of the Armed Forces, there is an additional appeal. All of the military services have installations in this general vicinity-I have in mind not only Hunter Air Force Base, of course, but Parris Island and Fort Stewart as well. military personnel who have served at any of these posts have strong and happy associations with Savannah. I have personal knowledge of this feeling from my own experience. During late 1940 and early 1941 I happen to have taken part in the planning for and construction of what was then known as Camp Stewart. As you know, this has now become one of the Army's permanent installations.

In addition to all these reasons, I particularly value my opportunity to be here on this special occasion. I want to take this occasion to express to you my appreciation for the interest shown in the Armed Forces by the people of Savannah. This interest has been amply demonstrated by the impressive way in which you have observed Armed Forces Day. From such interest, the members of the Armed Forces draw renewed inspiration in fulfilling the many requirements of their vital tasks.

In considering a subject for my remarks tonight, it seemed to me that nothing could be more suitable than to talk about the Armed Forces with regard to the most fundamental of their tasks. The subject which I have chosen, therefore, is "The Armed Forces: Defenders of Peace."

Armed forces, of course, are designed for war. Therefore, it might seem at first glance that to speak of them as means of preserving peace is a contradiction in terms. On the contrary, however, our country has no aggressive designs on anyone. For us, the prime reason for having armed forces is to maintain peace—on acceptable terms.

It is unfortunate but true that the world exists today in a state of continuous tension. This tension is given intensity by military potentialities which have been created by advancing technology. Describing the situation, President Eisenhower has said:

"With both sections of this divided world in possession of unbelievably destructive weapons, mankind approaches a state where mutual annihilation becomes a possibility. No other fact of today's world equals this in importance—it colors everything we say, everything we plan and everything we do."

What makes this situation most alarming is the stated objective of international communism. That objective is world domination. It is pursued by every possible means—political, economic, and psychological. Underlying all these is military force which is massive in size, global in scope, modern in armament, and versatile in capability. The influence of this military strength is not restricted to the possibility of active hostilities. The threat which it poses provides the force behind the pressures of the cold war.

We are making every effort to find peaceful solutions to the problems that are the sources of tension in the world. Our effort must—and will—continue. As an underlying requirement, however, we must have the manifest ability to defend ourselves against attack. Such an ability is essential to insure the preservation of those principles of liberty, justice, and human dignity to which we and other free world nations are dedicated.

This ability stems from strength. I want to state emphatically that it is not the purpose of our strength to threaten anyone. However, we must have the types and level of strength which hold out the clear promise of certain retribution for any attack upon us. In so doing, we not only protect ourselves, but we gain time to continue the search for peaceful and acceptable solutions to the sources of world tension.

In other words, the objective of our strength is to deter war. However, to succeed in deterring war, we must have the clear capability to win a war if one is thrust upon us. This objective is expressed in the theme of Armed Forces Day—"Power for Peace."

I want to make it clear that the strength I refer to is not solely military. It includes the economic resources and structure which make us able to produce and support the necessary military forces. It includes the determination to uphold our cause which makes us willing to expend the effort—and make the sacrifices, if need be—for the support of the military forces we require, and to use those forces if we must. Finally, our strength includes the military power—the product of our economy and our determination—which makes us ready to defend ourselves and our principles effectively and promptly against any military threat.

The effectiveness of our security does not depend solely on the existence of strength. There is also a requirement for a sound method for the employment of the strength we maintain. In other words, we must have a valid, well-thought-out strategy.

After World War II, when we were forced to recognize the emergence of the Communist threats to peace, the United States was faced with a choice of two basic strategies.

We could withdraw into ourselves, behind the no longer effective barriers of the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, into Fortress America. The Fortress America strategy has been aptly described as "taking our first stand in the last ditch." In my opinion, such a strategy would provide a guarantee of defeat, and mean the loss of all the values and principles for which we stand.

In contrast, we could adopt a forward strategy, in which we would draw the line against aggression along the outer barriers of the Free World. It is this strategy which we adopted.

In doing so, we adopted its corollary the concept of collective security. This concept is both necessary to and made posby our forward strategy. Collective security is therefore an absolutely inseparable element of our own nationl security. Through it, we gain enormously in strength and effectiveness.

Let me describe some of the assets we

gain through collective security.

Associated with us for mutual defense are some 45 free nations located throughout the world. These associations are based on shared interests and shared devotion to common principles. They have made pos-sible the creation and maintenance in peacetime of actively functioning organlastions to permit successful combination of all our efforts and operations in war. have in mind such organizations as the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), Organization of American States (OAS), the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO), and the Australia-New Zealand-United States Pact (ANZUS Pact). all of these call for maintenance of military force organizations in being. However, they have made it possible to establish agreed provisions for the creation of such forces when needed. They have brought into being an important degree of mutual understanding and standardization of practices, weapons, equipment, and doc-trine. All this would be invaluable in case of war.

A vital element in the development of a Working collective security system has been our mutual security program. I want to say more about the military aspects of this program later. For the time being, I merely Want to point out that the mutual security program is based on economic as well as military cooperation. Economic strength, as I have already indicated, is an essential element in military effectiveness. Military strength depends upon economic stability At the same time, there is a reciprocal relationship economic stability requires adequate security, which depends to a great degree on military strength. This rela-tionship points up the importance of mili-tary tary strength in resisting the many forms of cold war pressure.

It is impossible to overemphasize the importance to our defense of collective security, or of the mutual security program which ands so greatly to its strength. colleagues of the Joint Chiefs of Staff and I all agree that none of us would want to see a single dollar added to his own specific Service budget if that dollar had to be subtracted from the mutual security program. Collective security, indeed, is the cornerstone of our total security effort. President Eisenhower put it very clearly

When he recently said:

"If nations friendly to us are weakened and imperiled, so are we.

If other friendly nations are strong and free, our own strength and freedom are more

"If other nations prosper, so do we." Now, in order to develop, with our allies, the type of military force which can effectively deter war, we must first identify the forms that war could take.

Most conspicuously, everyone is aware that Soviet aggression could take the character of what has been called "general war." That is, it could entail all-out, global attacks upon the United States and the other free world nations. Such a war could include attack by nuclear or thermonuclear weapons, delivered by long-range bombers and missiles. However, it would not be restricted to such attacks—or finally decided by them. It would also involve naval operations to isolate the United States and our overseas allies from each other. Further, it would involve offensives by combined air, sea, and ground forces to seize control of

land and people throughout the world. deed, these offensives would be the indispensable prerequisite for the aggressor to achieve his objective; their success would be essential to his victory. The Soviets them-selves have made clear their belief that the final decision in war would be determined by the combined operations of land, sea, and air forces. The types of force they have developed-strategic missiles, offensive ground forces, and strong submarine fleets-are additional indication of the form they conceive that general war would take.

Aside from being general in scope, the Communists could also launch war that would be geographically limited. Within the area in which it was fought, however, limited war could be conducted with a wide variety of degrees of intensity. It could vary from a small-scale clash to war on the all-out geographically confined scale of the Korean War. It could be either nuclear or nonnuclear. Even though such a war might not directly threaten our own territory, it would pose a danger which, although indirect, would be gravely menacing. This is so because, over a period of time, Communist absorption of allied nations one by one would weaken the free world as a whole and ieopardize the strength of the free world's collective security. As the President pointed out in the statement I quoted, our national security would be affected accordingly.

I have pointed out that successful deterrence of war requires the ability to win. However, this ability must be credible to the potential aggressor. That is, it must exist in terms which he considers valid. For that reason, we must insure that we have the types of military force which are clearly capable of defeating the forces he maintains, in the type of operations in which

he would employ them.

Among the requirements we must meet, therefore, is to provide the capability to retaliate surely and effectively against a strategic nuclear attack. The purpose of this capability is to insure that a prospective aggressor will see no advantage in aggression-to make the price of such attack too heavy to be offset by what the attacker might conceivably hope to gain.

With this, we must have the capability to protect ourselves against attacks, if deterrence fails, so as to minimize their effects. This capability is essential for us to survive and retaliate against a massive blow de-

livered by surprise.

In addition, we must have the capability not only to retaliate strategically, but also to continue the struggle which would be necessary-after the opening blow upon usto defeat the enemy's forces wherever they have attacked.

Finally, we must be capable of responding promptly, effectively, and appropriately to attacks which are geographically localized. We must be ready to take effective counter action throughout the globe, in operations involving either nuclear or nonnuclear

All of these capabilities require forces in being; armed with modern weapons; manned by trained and dedicated soldiers, sailors, airmen, and marines; properly deployed and available to fight effectively in any type of war, large or small, nuclear or nonnuclear, anywhere it may occur. Beyond this, these capabilities require a foundation of psychological and moral strength based on the conviction and the determination that we will prevail.

In order to meet these requirements, the Armed Forces are fulfilling a number of broad, interrelated tasks. These tasks are mutually supporting and mutually depend-

The first of these which I shall discuss is the provision of secure, strategic retaliatory forces. These forces include the missiles and bombers of the Strategic Air Command, the

fighter-bombers of Tactical Air Force units overseas; and Navy carrier-based aircraft. The Navy's Polaris submarines will soon be added to this array of power.

An esesntial element of the effectiveness of these forces is provided by the defensive measures we take to achieve their security. These measures insure our ability to retaliate effectively even if we are attacked by surprise. In part, this security is achieved by the mobility, dispersion, and diversification of our retaliatory forces. These factors would greatly complicate the task of any planner trying to develop an attack which would be assured of sufficient success to justify being launched. In addition, security is provided by the active defenses we maintain to intercept and destroy an attacking force before it could reach its targets. These defenses consist of the combination of Air Force and Navy early warning systems, Air Force interceptors, and the Army's surfaceto-air missiles. Currently, we are working on development of a weapon-the Nike Zeus-for defense against attack by missiles. All these defensive forces are united into a coordinated, centrally directed organization-the North American Air Defense Command (Norad). Included under the operational control of this organization are not only all U.S. air defense forces, but also the air defense units of Canada as well. The commander of Norad is Gen. Laurence Kuter, of the U.S. Air Force. His deputy is Air Marshal C. R. Slemon, of the Royal Canadian Air Force.

The next major task which the Armed Forces are carrying out is the maintenance of forward deployments. That is, forces of all military services are stationed, alongside forces of our allies, in key strategic locations overseas. In the European area, we have the 6th Fleet in the Mediterranean, the 7th Army in Germany, and Tactical Air Force units for essential air support. In the Pacific area, we have the 7th Fleet in Far East waters; the 8th Army and Tactical Air Force units in Korea; a Marine Corps division in Okinawa, where it is soon to be joined by a reinforced airborne battle group of the Army; and an Army division-the 25th-in Hawaii. These forces provide clear evidence to our allies-and also to our potential enemies-that we are able and determined to act promptly and effectively against any military aggression. As such, they make a vital contribution to the deterrence of war-limited or general-and to the strength of the collective security system. They also contribute to the strength of allied resistance to the Communists' cold war opera-

It would be unsound, of course, to spread our military forces thin so as to try to have some strength everywhere. Indeed, there is no need for us to do so, because we have allies throughout the world. However, Communist aggression could occur in any number of widely separated areas. We must therefore be ready to come to the assistance of our allies in case of attacks upon them in areas where we do not have American forces deployed. Also, we must be able to reinforce the units we maintain overseas if they should be attacked. To meet this requirement, the Armed Forces carry out the next of the broad tasks which I mentioned. This is the provision of strategic reserves. These are centrally located forces of all the military services which can be rapidly dispatched wherever they are needed to conduct any type of operations required. Our strategic reserves include Tactical Air Force units in the United States, Fleet Marine Forces, and the Strategic Army Corps. In addition, there are the Army division in Hawaii and the Marine Corps division on Okinawa-together with the Army battle group which will soon join it there. Although I mentioned these forces in connection with forward deployments, they also are a valuable asset in our total strategic reserve capability.

The need to provide continuing support to our forward deployments and to move our strategic reserves promptly in case of mili-tary emergencies points up the next major task which the Armed Forces are carrying This task is the provision of the capability to maintain a steady flow of men, weapons, equipment, and supplies over the air, sea, and land lines of communication from the United States to the combat zone. This flow must continue despite an enemy's efforts to block it. Therefore, this capability not only requires transportation, but also requires the effective protection of the air, sea, and land routes over which this transportation moves. The Military Air Transport Service, the Military Sea Transport Service, the Army's Transportation Corps, and the joint defenses of transportation lanes and facilities against air and submarine attacks all contribute to the accomplishment of this vital task.

Still another broad task which must be performed is the maintenance of the ability to augment our peacetime active military strength if war breaks out. The requirement to expand would occur even in the case of comparatively small-scale operations. It is not restricted solely to mobilization of military forces, but includes actions to insure production of the equipment and supplies necessary to carry out the operations to win the war.

In part, this task is performed by stockpiling equipment, maintaining plans for conversion of industry to military production, and providing both active and passive protection of industrial, communications, and population centers against attack. In this connection, civil defense activities have a direct influence on our military effectiveness. This is because they can minimize the effects of enemy blows. A clearly effec-tive civil defense, therefore, contributes to the deterrent effectiveness of our total military effort.

For the initial mobilization of military manpower, the Armed Forces look to their respective reserve components-the Army and Air National Guard and the Army, Navy, Air Force, and Marine Corps Reserves. These organizations provide trained, ready individuals and units. Speaking of the Army, about which I naturally have most detailed knowledge, we have reserve component forces built around 37 combat divisionsfrom the National Guard and 10 from the Army Reserve. In every respect, their organization parallels that of Active Army units. Their readiness and training are at the highest peak in our peacetime history. They provide an invaluable asset both for the rapid expansion of active forces in case of war and for any emergency or disaster occurring in the United States.

The final major task of the Armed Forces which I shall discuss is cooperation with our allies. All of the previous tasks which I have mentioned contribute to the achievement of this cooperation. What I have specifically in mind, however, is the activity of the Armed Forces in connection with the military aspects of the mutual security program. Under this program, we are assisting in the development of the military strength of 42 Allied nations. Even a brief tabulation of the forces the nations participating with us in this program are maintaining provides some impressive totals. Their ground forces consist of no less than 5 million men. Their navies comprise 2,200 combat ships. Their air forces have more than 25,000 aircraft, and about half of these are jets.

All of the U.S. Armed Forces are assisting in the development of Allied strength under the mutual security program. The Army alone, through its Military Assistance Ad-visory Groups and Military Missions, is as-sisting in the training of the equivalent of approximately 200 Allied divisions. These, with their counterparts in the other types of military forces, constitute a vast contribution to the sum of free world military They are an important element in the ability to achieve the common goal, which is to deter the Communists from risking military aggression.

To sum up my remarks, I want to stress the major points in what I have said this

evening.

Most basically, the object of all our military effort is to prevent war. To do so, howstrength which is capable of winning war if deterrence fails. Our ability to win must be clearly evident, which means that it must stem from the type of forces which the prospective enemy recognizes will insure the defeat of any military aggression he might consider undertaking. The more clearly we consider undertaking. The more clearly we possess this ability, the less likely we are to be called upon to employ it.

In developing military strength, we have joined with the other free nations of the world in a cooperative effort to insure our common defense through collective security. This collective security system provides the foundation of our own national security system. It represents a vast, widespread, and impressive total of strength. In contributing to this strength, we threaten no nation. The purpose of our effort is to deter war by promising the sure defeat of aggressive attack upon us or our allies.

The forces which make up our military strength are versatile, flexible, and powerful. They require—and include—the strengths and special capabilities of all our Armed Forces, organized under the type of control and coordination to insure their most effective employment in combination. Where appropriate, they are united under centralized direction with the forces of our allies. I can assure you that the maintenance and continuing improvement of this combined capability is the object of the fullest energles of all your Armed Forces.

Sustaining the Armed Forces are the understanding and support of the people of the United States, whom the Armed Forces serve. Such understanding and support provide the indispensable source not only of the material effectiveness of the military services, but also of the moral and psychological strength of their individual members. The interest of the people of Savannah, which you have so clearly displayed in your observance of Armed Forces Day, is an impressive manifestation of the understanding and support to which I refer. These, in turn, are a reflection of something of the most profound importance—the American dedication to the principles on which this Nation was built and for which it stands today. This dedication gives unmistakable proof of the firm determination of the American people to uphold these principles against any threat the future may bring.

The union of this national determination with the military strength represented by the united capabilities of our combined Armed Forces and those of our allies provides the vital source of our power-and. through it, our surest hope for peace.

It's Still Our Money, Mr. President

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. THOMAS F. JOHNSON

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, May 26, 1960

Mr. JOHNSON of Maryland. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks I wish to call to the attention of my colleagues an excellent article which recently appeared in the largest daily newspaper published in the First Congressional District of Maryland.

Mr. Oscar Morris, editor of the Salisbury Times, consistently brings to the public timely editorials of national concern. His excellent article is as follows:

IT'S STILL OUR MONEY, MR. PRESIDENT

Every time President Eisenhower goes out of his way to blast Congress for looking crosseyed at his newest foreign aid proposal, he leaves the impression that Congress is trespassing on his territory.

We resent the impression and are curious about the psychology that causes Mr. Eisenhower to make it. He of all recent Chies Executives has tried to show respect for the prerogatives of the legislative branch.

Every Representative and Senator has the duty to watch over public money. The executive branch can propose how money should be spent, but only the legislative branch can dispose of the money. Thereafter, it still has the duty to keep track of the way the money is spent and to call the executive branch for an accounting if there have been improper practices.

It has been our feeling throughout the foreign aid program that there should have been more accounting—that many of the practices that have flourished under the happy guise of a freehanded "Uncle Sugar" could not have withstood the kind of scrutiny that U.S. taxpayers customarily give to domestic spending.

We have felt this way in spite of the standard theme that the foreign aid program is a bulwark of the ideals of America in a world under pressure to accept authoritarian rule. We believe in the theme. But that does not bar the belief that Congress would be doing less than its duty if it failed to keep the foreign aid program under critical scruting and to hold the executive branch responsible

or its handling of the people's money.

U.S. taxpayers are putting up the money, not their Federal Government. This is help from the American people—a people-to-peofle to the head of the height treated as ple program. Instead of its being treated as a sacred cow that cannot be touched on penalty of committing some mysterious crime, the foreign aid program should be viewed as a continuing investment in American security, made with the full approval and the complete understanding of Congress.

Dirty Business

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. ROBERT N. GIAIMO

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 26, 1960

Mr. GIAIMO. Mr. Speaker, on May 1 last, this Nation observed Law Day as proclaimed by the President. Occurring as it did, on May 1, Law Day dramatized the contrast between the American concept of freedom and fair play under law and the suppression of individual freedoms by the Communist societies.

Traditionally, May 1 is a date on which the Communist world parades its military might, symbol of its philosophy of rule through force, fear, and intimidation. In the United States, May 1 has now become a day for a demonstration of a different sort, in which the people may reaffirm their faith in the rule of law as the best safeguard of human dignity and human rights. Among these rights and International Understanding Fostered by essential to that basic human dignity is the right of a man to his privacy. The law should stand as a shield for the individual against the acts of those who would invade his privacy and set up spies within the walls of his very home. Certainly, Mr. Speaker, the law must not, itself, set up Trojan horses in American homes. Certainly, this House must be vigilant against such an abuse of the American spirit of justice.

Mr. Speaker, I call the attention of the House to an editorial which appeared April 16, 1960, in the New York Times. It outlines a duty for this body to perform. I hope that the next Congress Will take note of it and set about correcting the situation described in the article Which I ask be inserted into the RECORD

at this point:

DIRTY BUSINESS

The conflict between Federal and State law on the dirty business of wiretapping must be resolved, and it ought to be resolved in favor of congressional legislation authorizing strictly controlled use of wiretapping limited to certain types of crimes and only

on court order.

New York State, for example, permits its law-enforcement officers, under statutes adopted as recently as 1958, to wiretap under controlled conditions and to introduce in the courts evidence thus obtained. Yet the U.S. Supreme Court has interpreted the Federal Communications Act of 1934, the basic law on the subject, as prohibiting wiretapping by either Federal or State officials, and prohibiting the use of wiretap evidence in Federal courts—while leaving it open to State courts to use such evidence despite the expressly illegal action (under Federal law) of their officials in obtaining it. In its decision this week in a wiretapping case the U.S. Court of Appeals thus refused to enjoin New York officials from introducing Wiretap evidence at a State trial; and it did so, of course, in full recognition of the fact that wiretapping violated Federal law and that such evidence could not be used in Federal courts.

This situation, under which State law enforcement officers (in the five States that permit wiretapping) can violate Federal law and yet get away with it and even have their evidence admitted in State courts, is anomalous and absurd. It is worse than that, for since no State officers have been Prosecuted by the Federal Government for Wiretapping (nor is it likely that they would be), the Federal Government is thus conniving in the commission of crime and in the breakdown of respect for law at the very

heart of the law-enforcement process. And yet it is not the State officers operating under State laws who are to be condemned, but rather the inaction of Congress in straightening out the wiretap mess.

Every believer in civil liberties and in the right of the individual to privacy and the protection of his person dislikes the idea of wiretapping, electronic eavesdropping and similar method of crime detection. Yet as Alan F. Westin of Columbia University Points out in an article in the April Commentary, it is only unreasonable searches and seizures that were outlawed in the fourth amendment. "It is not outside traditional justice for the conversations of those who communicate with a person reasonably suspected of criminal activity to be subject to a search," he points out; but of course the search, and the the search must be strictly limited; and the limitations must be enforced. The act of 1934 never envisaged the conditions the police and the courts are faced with today in the field of wiretapping; Congress has the duty to clarify it and bring it up to date.

International Crossroads Breakfast-

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. FRED SCHWENGEL

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 26, 1960

Mr. SCHWENGEL. Mr. Speaker, on Thursday, May 19, I called attention to some of the many expressions of friendship and understanding which have been generated through the international crossroads breakfast at the Washington YMCA. These expressions have come from around the world in the form of letters to Mr. Paul Brindle, who has been in charge of this effective people-to-people program for better understanding.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include additional excerpts from letters which I feel speak so eloquently for the effectiveness of this program.

These excerpts follow:

Robert G. Sutton, senior lecturer, School of Architecture and Building, University of New South Wales, Australia, recalls:

"Although it is over 2 years since I made your acquaintance at the International Crossroads, it seems as if it were only yesterday. I shall never forget the thoughtful friends I made and the hospitality extended to me wherever I went in America. Believe me, I am looking forward to 1965, when I again expect to visit you. If you were to ask me of my main impression of my travels, I must say that America and Australia are the two closest nations in their way of life. We are more American in our way of thinking than we are English, and with the increasing investment of capital by many of your U.S. companies, we are like a younger brother to your country."

Cyro A. Moraes, general secretary, YMCA, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, says:

"Let me congratulate you and your group for 14 years of existence. It is not easy, I am sure, to keep a group like yours going for 14 years and still making the breakfast worthwhile, interesting, instructive, and a blessing to those who attend. All of you are to be sincerely congratulated, and may God bless you all as you celebrate your 14th anniversary * * . There is one thing that perhaps you folks back in Washington do not realize as well as we do, and that is that Washington, D.C., must be not only one of the crossroads of the world, but the crossroads, since the United States is the undisputed leader of the free world."

Dr. E. M. Blaiklock, head and professor of Classic Department, University of Audiand,

New Zealand, writes:

"The 9 years since I spoke to your breakfast gathering have abundantly reinforced my thesis of that day. The world's only hope is the Christian faith. It is the only dynamic counter to communism, the solution to the race problem, the one final hope of peace."

P. G. Gollerkeri, M.D., professor of bacteriology, Kasturba Medical College, Mangalore, India, comments:

"A particular emotional cord in my being gets an occasional thrill whenever you write to me, and a whole train of pleasant and interesting memories is set in motion in my mind. Not the least vivid of these is the unforgetable crossroads breakfast meeting, with the actively humanistic contacts made with the national representatives of so many countries and cultures coming together for

a tete-a-tete palaver in this unique session across the breakfast table. I think it is a grand idea of yours, fostering, as it does, a degree of international amity and good will, socially, culturally and politically, and a mutual exchange of ideas on a variety of topics peculiar to each country.

"In a month or two, my son, a doctor of medicine, is due to go to the United States. I have described to him in glowing details your country and your city, and I am sure he will add himself to the considerable total of your international crossroads member-

ship."

Dr. S. Thomas Edwards, board of directors, YMCA, Bombay, India, says:

After mentioning many of the current troubles throughout the world. Dr. Edwards said: "The world is at a crossroads and at cross purposes. It is in this context that I look at the valuable efforts but with much too small an area of understanding the International Crossroads Sunday Morning Breakfast is making continuously. On the 14th anniversary day, I would wish your institution should grow in strength and spread with branches all over the world as a peace agent through better understanding and mutual trust. May God bless all those who take part in the Sunday morning breakfast and fit them for the noble purpose."

Raimo Raevuori, principal, Adult Evening School, Jarvenpaa, Finland, writes:

"I can assure you that my spiritual tles with the United States, established during my visit over there, are as firm as ever, and I am following developments in your country with keen interest, not only news in Finnish newspapers, but through 'Life' and other periodicals, too."

Prof. C. Rajagolalan, professor of geology, Alagappa College, Karaikudi, India, com-

"The day is still green in my memory. was on the forenoon of June 21, 1958 (Saturday) that, while trying to enter his office room in the somewhat ill-lit corridor of YMCA, Mr. Paul Brindle almost collided against a tall, slim, middle-aged foreigner. Mr. Brindle promptly apologized and invited the alien into his office and explained his mission about the crossroads breakfast the next day."

The professor goes on to explain that he changed his travel plans, at Mr. Brindle's urging, to join the breakfast, which was a profitable experience. He ends with a prayer to give long life to the chairman of the

Crossroads.

Dr. Hans Dietrich Ahrens, Essen-Werden, Germany. (Dr. Ahrens is active in public relations work, and because of his work pertaining to the improving of United States-German relations, he was appointed chair-man of the all-German committee of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce in Germany.)

"When I was honored at the local YMCA at Kassel, near the Soviet zone, border of my divided homeland, last Sunday, my thoughts went back to a wonderful meeting which you directed in Washington in 1948. I am still very grateful for the splendid spirit which prevailed in your group. More strength to the great work of international understanding as performed by yourself and your friends. Spiritual force alone will eventually overwhelm the force of Marxist atheism.'

Toshihiko Suzuki, Osaka, Japan (international student of Westinghouse Electric) states:

"I notice that year by year the number of people attending the International Crossroads Sunday Morning Breakfast is increasing. I am certain that the meeting contributes very much for good understanding among nations,"

Valentin Soine, director general of the prison administration, Ministry of Justice, Helsinki, Finland, recalls:

"Ten years have passed away since I was there-I have had opportunity to make visits to many other countries in Europe in the last 10 years-but the greatest benefit from my trips I have received in the United States. a country which in its many States has so large a variety of solutions to problems of the life. During that time I was there, I won also many good friends which I bear in mind my whole life. I feel real happy to know that you continuously, during so many years, have gathered foreign people around the Sunday breakfast table to find good fellows and to spend a moment with them in front of the face of our common Lord. My kindest regards to all of them who are sitting round the breakfast table.

Mats Blom, vice president, Ostagota-Lantmannens Centralforening, Norrkoping,

Sweden, relates:

"Let me thank Paul and his helpers for the very good idea to keep an open table for us traveling young people. It is easy to feel lost in big cities, but this gathering together makes us feel at home and helps make friends, which is most important. The Crossroads is a grand project, and I hope you will continue the open breakfast for many years to come."

Dr. B. N. Ghosh, biochemist, Calcutta,

India, comments:

"During my stay in the United States and Europe, I had the opportunity to meet various people in my personal capacity, as well as through various organizations, and I must admit that the Crossroads Sunday morning breakfast is one of such unique organization, where people from all over the world can meet-on the way to human destiny, irrrespective of their caste and creed, color, views and belief."

Dr. S. V. Desai, an authority on agricul-

ture, Bombay, India, states:

"I wish I could join you all on the annual session of May 1. As distances are long and expenses are prohibitive, I shall be with you in spirit only. The ideals of Crossroads International are very pleasing, and a visitor to Washington finds himself in the midst of friends on a Sunday morning when all are making themselves merry in their own circles. The pleasure the Crossroads gives to the lone visitor cannot be lightly taken. May your meetings grow larger and larger and attract large groups of visitors to find their bearing in the great country."
Rev. J. K. W. Mathieson, Methodist Peace

Memorial Homes for Children, Victoria, Aus-

tralia, writes:

"The occasion in May 1957, when I had the privilege of being a first-timer at the breakfast was one of the highlights of my tour abroad. It is good to know that the movement continues with such vigor and appreciation. I am sure that all who have had the experience of attending such a breakfast must feel it to be an inspiration to international thinking and cooperation. I hope that at some future time, I may again share in this fellowship."

A. Gunamony, Trivandrum, South India, recalls:

"I must congratuate you on bringing together men from distant parts into your International Crossroads and giving them the thrilling experience of the Sunday morning breakfast.

"I came to the United States in March 1955, on the basis of an international fellowship awarded by the YMCA, and being an absolute stranger to your country and your town, the fellowship I enjoyed in the International Crossroads made a lasting impression. I met men from different countries and it was an enriching experience. You are rendering a great service to visitors to your country by giving them this experience of pleasant fellowship, a discourse by some outstanding person, and a delicious breakfast, all within 1 hour or so."

Dr. G. D. Boaz, professor of psychology, University of Madras, India, comments:

"I really enjoyed that 1 hour 11 years ago spent at one of the sessions of the Inter-national Crossroads breakfast. Let us be able to say this about more hours of our

Mr. Sulaiman, Green House, Kamalapur, Dacca-3, Pakistan, writes (Mr. Sulaiman is editor of a fortnightly magazine, published in Dacca, capital of East Pakistan)

"Thanks to the Crossroads idea, I am sure this will help to develop better understanding between the people of various countries, which is essential to maintain peace in these days of nuclear competition between the big nations!

P. J. Daniel, Mavelikara, Kerala, India.

'I am a constant traveler in my own country and I speak to large audiences sometimes. I lose no opportunity to tell the people about America. The memory of my short stay at the YMCA in Washington, D.C., is pleasant, The International Crossroads Sunday morning breakfast is one of the manifold features of good will and the genuine fellowship a visiting foreigner sees in America."

Shyam Sundar Misra, social and welfare worker of the Servants of India Society, Cut-

tack. India, comments:

While staying at the YMCA, I became a regular member of the International Crossroads Sunday morning breakfast and derived great pleasure and benefit from that cosmopolitan gathering. Indeed, nothing else succeeded so much as did these occasions to implant the 'one world' idea in my mind."

Haanken Chr. Mathiesen, Jr., Tonsberg,

Norway, writes:

"I still think the Crossroads is a great institution. It is the only institution of its kind with which I keep in contact. I should like to be with you, and I wish you luck going into the future."

Kao Ki-ming, architect and city planner,

Taipei, Taiwan, writes:

"You are certainly giving a valuable contribution to the cause of world peace. we know that world peace cannot be achieved by war, but only by mutual understanding among peoples. It is a tragedy of our time that the world is divided into two camps, certain nations into two sectors, and certain facilities into two parts. The Chinese people, as the American people, is a peaceloving people. During this 50 centuries of history, the Chinese people has always fought for the peace and against tyranny. We hate the despotism and the war. at present, the United States is obviously the the Western World, China has leader of always been in the past and will be in the future the leader of the East. Though the Chinese nation is now unfortunately divided into two sectors, but history has proved that the division of China has always been temporary. No doubt China will be unified and it will again assume the leadership in Asia in the near future. I'm convinced that the world peace can never be achieved without the hearty cooperation of our two great peoples. So the mutual understanding and friendship between our two nations is primordial for the world peace. As a humble Chinese citizen and friend of the United States, it is my earnest desire to follow you. Dear Mr. Brindle, in the dedication of promoting friendship and mutual understanding among nations for the ultimate cause of world peace."

Gunnar Jansson, National Staff Swedish

YMCA, Stockholm, writes:

"I must say that one of the great experiences during my visit to the United States, 4 months in 1957, was to take part in your Crossroad Sunday Morning Meeting. What I most appreciated was the fine spirit of real love and friendship that met all of us who were there for the first time. We felt like old brothers coming back from a long journey and you embraced us all to your warm

"I have just played the tape recording of your Easter session which you sent for our International Affairs Conference on May 14. 15. By means of the tape you put us directly into your midst and we feel the oneness across all borders that unite us in the International YMCA which has the fine motto: "That they all may be one."

Salute to Schell City

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. WILLIAM J. RANDALL

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, May 26, 1960

Mr. RANDALL. Mr. Speaker, I have asked unanimous consent to make this insertion in the Appendix of the RECORD, because I honestly believe I have an opportunity to say just a few words about a small community in the Fourth Missouri District which is unique so far as its determination to set about solving its own problems and refusing to yield to the temptation to give up the struggle.

Schell City is a community of 450 people in northern Vernon County on the south side of the Osage River. It has recently been the object of a long feature story in the Sunday edition of the Springfield (Mo.) News and Leader. Springfield is the nearest metropolitan center to Schell City. Earlier the Daily Mail of Nevada, Mo., the county seat of Vernon County, had published a lengthy feature story similar to that in the Springfield paper.

Noteworthy are some of the descriptions by the Springfield News and Leader which heads its editorial "The Schell City Story: A Village Wakes Up." In the language of Mayor Warren O. Haddix:

We woke up to the fact the town was dying and we decided we weren't going to let that happen.

I said previously that what is happening to Schell City may be unique, and I meant that about a year ago on the Senate side of the Congress, Senator KARL MUNDT, of South Dakota, offered a bill which would create a commission to study the problems of small towns. After adjournment, the residents of this community invited their Congressman to appear before a meeting of the Schell City Lions Club and were interested in a cosponsorship by their Congressman of a similar bill on the House side. No such bill was ever prepared and introduced and the clear implication is that the people of this community decided they would not wait for any further studies, but would set about to rejuvenate their own town by their own efforts through cooperation and mutual help without the necessity of any outside assistance.

The first step was the formation of the Schell City Industrial Development Committee. They made a few simple Industrial Development surveys and found there was an ample labor supply and set out to locate a garment factory. The committee found that the pump in the middle of Main Street was not an adequate source of

water, and proceeded to install a fine, modern water system. Dial telephones became a reality and was another item of progress together with the purchase of new fire equipment. There has just been completed a new brick post office building, with a concrete parking lot, to be dedicated on May 29. It is the privilege and pleasure of their Congressman to participate in the dedication ceremonies. A newspaper office has just been opened, and in April the first edition of the Schell City Ledger to be printed in the town in 12 years came off the press. Then this progressive community discovered it did not have a doctor, once having had five doctors but the last one had passed on more than 5 years ago. The committee approached the Sears-Roebuck Foundation who helps find physicians for rural areas and the business people of this "Never say die" town proceeded to form a corporation and sold shares at \$25 each in the amount of \$35,000 to obtain a medical center. The center will be ready for occupancy in 8 weeks. The American Academy of General Practice in its March convention in Philadelphia pronounced this medical center as the most dramatic and artistic recently undertaken in the United States.

The Schell City Lions Club has been very active in this community rejuvenation, and in the midst of this program, was organized and chartered. One of the first moves of this club was to lead a cleanup, paintup campaign and suggested that some of the old fashioned wooden store awnings that dated the buildings be removed. Then quickly came the countersuggestion that these should not be removed as it might spoil the unique architectural features. The club and the citizens promptly decided to accent these old awnings by repairing and building more, and also to continue such signs as General Store painted flat above the awnings in the old time way. Thus, the new look for Schell City will be that of an antique nature, interesting enough to attract comment and lure visitors.

The Lions Club members look forward to the time that there may be an interesting museum in town. The M.K. & T. Rallroad Station may someday serve as such a museum, as mainline passenger trains between St. Louis and Galveston do not presently schedule a stop at Schell City.

Why so much publicity about this movement? Because, I repeat again, it is unique when a small community is determined to improve its town with no help but its own. The industrial development committee expects to maintain this publicity to attract visitors to its historic sites, but will continue to look for industry which it confidently expects to attract. After the new doctor, there will have to be a prescription shop. There seems to be no end to their plans and promotions.

Both Mayor Haddix and Adrian Lasley, president of the Lions Club, say that the nearby city of Nevada is becoming worried for fear these progressive citizens will try to move the county seat to Schell City.

Citizens of Schell City, your Congressman and all those who have been interested observers in your most progressive program of self-help, repeat "We salute you, Schell City."

Defense Secretary Receives Merited Praise From Senator

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JAMES B. UTT

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, May 26, 1960

Mr. UTT. Mr. Speaker, ever since Thomas S. Gates, Jr., was appointed Secretary of Defense there has been a noticeable and justifiable sense of confidence in the manner in which the responsibilities of that high office are being exercised. The quiet, businesslike, and thoroughly knowledgeable manner in which Secretary Gates directs the incredibly vast and unsurpassably important activities of the Department of Defense has resulted in complimentary observations by the public, the press, and Members of Congress. Significantly, the complimentary comment has not been limited to members of one political party.

A highly noteworthy observation on the manner in which Secretary Gates is performing his duties was made recently by the distinguished Senator and majority whip from Montana, the Honorable MIKE MANFIELD, in remarks on the floor of the Senate. The constructive nature of Senator Manfield's comment was the subject of a lead editorial in the San Diego Evening Tribune of May 16, 1960. This editorial, in pointing out the authoritative remarks of Senator Mans-FIELD, and the commendable actions of Secretary Gates which prompted those remarks by the Senator, underlines the fact that the present Secretary of Defense, Thomas S. Gates, is directing the Pentagon with a degree of knowledge and firmness that warrants the admiration of all those who seek a strong national security. Also, as the editorial further indicates, the observations by Senator Mansfield demonstrate a welcome and constructive fairmindedness in defense matters.

In view of the importance of this editorial, I recommend that it be carefully read by all those interested in national security:

DEFENSE SECRETARY RECEIVES MERITED PRAISE
FROM SENATOR

As a general rule, a Democrat doesn't go out of his way to praise a high official in the Republican administration.

It's happened before, of course, but the occasion is sufficiently rare for notice and comment. The principals in a recent gesture of this sort are Senator MINE MANSFIELD, Democrat, of Montana, and Defense Secretary Thomas S. Gates, Jr., Republican.

MANSTELD inserted in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD an article from the Wall Street Journal, entitled "Managing the Pentagon." Written by Louis Kraar, it primarily is devoted to analyzing the work and methods of the Defense Secretary.

Reprints of articles are placed in the Congressional Record as "extension of remarks" by Congressmen. Consequently it is obvious that the Montana Democrat concurs with the favorable estimate of Gates made by the newspaper.

made by the newspaper.

Mansfeld said: "The article points out that, although it is late in the history of this administration, the most costly and most complex department of the Government is now beginning to function more effectively. Mr. Kraar attributes the improvements to the knowledge, hard work, and innovations of Gates.

"He notes particularly that the civilian secretary sits in with the Joint Chiefs of Staff and personally helps work out interservice problems, rather than permit them to fester in unreconciled differences."

The admiration of Gates' handling of the tough Pentagon job is shared with Mans-FIELD by others in Congress who initially looked upon his role primarily as that of caretaker.

But the performance of Gates was no surprise to those who had watched closely his sure and knowledgeable handling of previous assignments as Under Secretary of the Navy, and then Secretary before stepping up to the Pentagon post.

Gates is well known and respected in San Diego.

The Defense Secretary has won the praise of the Democrats under particularly trying circumstances, and this makes it all the more notable.

America's arms policy was high on the list of the Democrats' election-year issues. But, Kraar reported, Gates' "detailed grasp of arms questions has gone far in blunting attacks on the President's defense program by Democrats in Congress."

His innovation of sitting in with the Joint Chiefs should strengthen the functioning of this essential body.

The essence of the Joint Chiefs concept as opposed to the allen and dictatorial single command—is that it encourages the free give and take of expert views of the highest ranks in the various services.

Naturally, differences arise. If they didn't, one might easily suspect that we already have, in effect, the same deadly single-mindedness that has been the downfall of autocratic systems.

In the past, these differing views were passed along to the absent civilian secretary of defense in sheafs of lengthy "position papers."

Now, with Gates sitting in, he can hear the arguments firsthand and help to clear up the problems quickly.

America is fortunate in having a man of Gates' caliber in the position he occupies, and it is gratifying that this fact is appreciated by leaders of both parties.

Summit Post Mortem

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF TLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, May 3, 1960

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, grassroots public opinion, reflecting as it does the true sentiments of Americans in relation to the recent Soviet-torpedoed summit conference, is clearly shown in community newspapers throughout the country. I submit for the record an editorial from the Chicago Daily Calumet

of May 20, which, I believe, is worthy of attention:

SUMMIT POST MORTEM

With the summit conference, or the lack of a summit conference now history, some salient facts are emerging that are both alarming and reassuring.

In the first place, there can be no doubt that international tension is as keen today as it was before the conference. But then no one in his right mind expected it to be any different anyway.

different anyway.

The Russians cannot afford to lessen tension. They have too much invested in tension to give it up so easily.

On the other side, we have the fact that Khrushchev realizes that he can no longer strut like a peacock upon the stage of world opinion without being recognized for the jackass he is. The reaction of the free world to his scuttling of the summit conference should restore our faith in the intelligence of our allies. They diagnosed him for exactly what he is—a hatchet man.

If nothing else, the summit conference may have unified the western world behind the knowledge that we are indeed dealing with international screwballs in the cold war with the Russians. We must be prepared for anything, for sconer or later they will throw anything at us.

Despite his almost comic performance, Khrushchev must be regarded with the same respect one would accord a mad dog loose in a children's playground.

Waterway User Charge Bill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JAMES E. VAN ZANDT

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, May 26, 1960

Mr. VAN ZANDT. Mr. Speaker, on Wednesday, May 25, I introduced H.R. 12395, a bill to establish the Inland Navigation Commission and to authorize the provision and collection of fare and reasonable charges for use of inland waterway navigational improvements, constructed, maintained, or operated with Federal funds, and for other purposes.

Representing as I do, from the standpoint of population, the largest railroad population in the United States H.R. 12395 was introduced to eliminate an inequitable situation that discriminates against the Nation's railroads, and users of the highway system of the Nation.

If H.R. 12395 is enacted into law inland waterway users would pay a user's charge to the Federal Government and thus remedy the existing evil of unfair competition that exists in our present nationwide transportation system.

From the earliest days of the United States, Congress has expended public funds for the improvement of navigation on inland waterways. In the early period of our history these expenditures were relatively small.

These expenditures have greatly increased over the years, however, and as they have increased the justification for them has become increasingly weaker. The country is now fully settled and en-

joys an efficient and mature transportation system. Government spending for all purposes is at a very high level. So are taxes. Use of tax revenues to improve inland navigation, once a public benefit, has become a public burden. General tax revenues that should be spent for general public purposes, or conserved to permit tax reduction, are being spent instead to provide special benefits to identifiable classes of our citizens who could easily pay the cost of those benefits wherever they derive from economically sound projects. And, of course, in situations where this would not be the case the improvements should not be made. The time has come to put the Nation's inland waterways on a sound economic basis by imposing compensatory user charges to be paid by those who directly benefit from these expenditures and thus to remove an unjustifiable burden from the taxpayers and the Treasury.

There is almost no dispute as to the correctness of the user charge principle. Presidents Franklin D. Roosevelt, Harry Truman and Dwight D. Eisenhower have all publicly urged the imposition of such charges for the use of publicly provided transportation facilities. Virtually all economists who have considered the question have advocated such charges; and the Transportation Association of America, through its carrier, shipper, user and investor panels-excepting only the waterway panel-has endorsed the principle. Agreement in principle, however, is of no avail without a means of putting the principle into effect. This bill is such a means of effectuating this principle as respects inland waterways. It does not extend to other types of transportation facilities furnished at public expense because it seems probable that adequate charges for use of those facilities will ultimately be collected by other means. Commercial users of the highways furnished at the expense of the United States do not now contribute in just proportion to their use, but the Federal Highway Act of 1956 provides the necessary machinery for adjusting highway user charges to that end. And officials of the airline industry have expressed their willingness to pay user charges through other special means. For that reason, the present bill is confined to inland waterways. The need in the case of waterways, in other words, appears more clear cut. No user charge of any kind has been paid by those who operate on inland waterways and spokesmen for the waterway industry have even opposed the user charge principle. Such an attitude is completely without justification.

The bill would establish an Inland Navigation Commission consisting of five members, three to be full-time and two to be ex officio the incumbents for the time being of the positions of Secretary of the Treasury and Comptroller General. The Commission thus formed is directed to estimate the cost of inland waterway improvements as defined in the bill, the nature and extent of the use that will be made of such waterways, and to impose on users fair charges

which will approximately compensate the United States for that cost. Provision is made for periodic revisions of charges as experience dictates. No effort will be made to recover costs already laid out in projects no longer used and useful. Users will be asked to pay only for the remaining undepreciated cost of projects now useful, the cost of future projects amortized over a period not to exceed 50 years, and current maintenance and administrative costs.

In performing this task the Commission is authorized and directed to obtain the fullest possible information and to consider any information or views that may be submitted to it by interested persons. It may make reasonable classifications of users, vessels, and types of use. It must publish its orders and determinations to the end that all affected persons will be well aware of their obligations thereunder.

Charges imposed on owners and operators of cargo vessels are to be based primarily on ton-miles. The Commission will also be at liberty to consider and apply any other relevant criteria, such as those specified in the St. Lawrence Seaway Act. There are in addition certain flat charges to be imposed on all vessels. Pleasure craft and Governmentowned vessels, as well as commercial vessels, are included. This is necessary to eliminate the possibility of discrimination against any particular class of operators that might otherwise exist. is the intention of the bill, however, that the Commission shall impose on pleasure craft only such limited charges as are appropriate to the nature of the use made by such craft of inland waterways and the improvements therein.

The scheme of user charges set up by the bill does not contemplate the imposition of charges that vary with the cost of particular works used by particular vessels. Any attempt to establish specific charges for the use of specific locks, dams, channels, and the like would be wholly impractical. Instead, an overall approach has been used whereby the total cost of all inland waterway navigation facilities will be recovered through charges that are uniform throughout the country for the same classes and types of operations. In this way the aim of reimbursement will be achieved through fair and moderate charges that are nondiscriminatory, and no major economic dislocations will ensue. This is exactly the principle applied to financing of the highway program.

The Government is given authority to collect moderate fines for failure to obey the lawful orders of the Commission and to collect by civil action any user charges unpaid. Users are given a right to appeal to the courts from any Commission order they deem unlawful or otherwise improper.

Enactment of this bill would greatly improve the transportation system of the United States and would benefit the general taxpayers. The existence of free facilities at the disposal of waterway operators, moreover, has proved to be a discriminatory burden to other forms of transportation, such as railroads and

pipelines, that pay their own costs plus taxes in addition. Users of inland waterways are an identifiable group entirely able financially to pay the full costs of transportation and, in the case of commercial operators, to pass along to their customers an appropriate portion of those costs. It is an illusion to assume that subsidized transportation by inland Waterway is cheap. In fact, much of it is expensive and wasteful. Transportation subsidies that are not related to economic needs generate excessive capacity which becomes a costly drain on national resources. And, in any event, free facilities enjoyed by waterway operators create wasteful distortions in the economy because each shipper's decision to use water transportation is almost al-Ways dictated at least in part by considerations of special cost benefit provided by taxpayers rather than by the true cost advantages of that mode of transportation. Enactment of the bill Would, therefore, constitute a significant step toward a national transportation system that conforms to economic reality.

Attention is invited to the fact that all of the dates in the attached bill have been corrected so as to advance each date by 1 year:

A BILL TO ESTABLISH THE INLAND NAVIGATION COMMISSION; TO AUTHORIZE THE PROVISION AND COLLECTION OF FAIR AND REASONABLE CHARGES FOR USE OF INLAND WATERWAY NAVIGATIONAL IMPROVEMENTS CONSTRUCTED, MAINTAINED, OR OPERATED WITH FEDERAL FUNDS; AND FOR OTHER PURPOSES

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,

Section 1. Short Title.—This Act may be cited as the "Inland Navigation Act of 1960."

Sec. 2. Policy.—It is hereby declared to be the national policy to recover the cost of certain inland waterway improvements, to the extent that they are used and useful in navigation and are provided in whole or in part through the expenditure of Federal funds, by requiring payment from the users thereof of fair and reasonable user charges that will in the aggregate approximate the otherwise unreimbursed cost thereof to the United States.

Sec. 3. Definition.—For purposes of this Act,

(a) "capital cost" means the cost to the United States or any of its departments or agencies of constructing, reconstructing (including interest during construction or reconstruction at a rate per annum equal to the weighted average rate per annum paid by the United States on new issues of debt securities, of maturities exceeding five years, during the calendar year next preceding the calendar year in which expenditures are made or to be made, plus one-half percent per annum to cover the administrative cost of borrowing), or procuring any improve-ment to any inland waterway used or useful for navigation of such nature as to be properly attributable to capital account under generally accepted accounting principles, including, without limitation, dams, locks, bridges, cuts, fills, dump areas, rights of way, relocations, lighthouses, channels, canals, buildings, offices, docks, piers, and pilings;

(b) "Commission" means the Inland Navigation Commission established hereby;

(c) "cost," when applied to inland waterway improvements means the Federal funds Paid out or to be paid out in any given Period for

(1) operating and maintaining inland waterway improvements for purposes of navigation (including all administrative elements thereof);

(2) administering and enforcing this act; (3) amortizing over a period not to exceed fifty years from date of the respective expenditures (including interest on the unamortized portion at the rate specified in (a) hereof) the capital cost of inland waterway improvements paid out subsequent to December 31, 1960; and

(4) amortizing over a period not to exceed thirty years from December 31, 1960 (including interest on the unamortized portion at the rate of 4 percent per annum) the approximate undepreciated capital cost of inland waterway improvements used and useful for purposes of navigation at such date, which cost may be considered equivalent to any estimate thereof that may be furnished to the Commission by the Chief of Engineers, United States Army;

(d) "Federal funds" means public monies or credits of the United States or any of its departments or agencies, whether directly paid or applied for purposes mentioned in this act or indirectly so paid or applied through non-Federal agencies;

(e) "improved," when applied to any waterway, means one that has been or is being partly or wholly constructed, maintained, operated, marked, deepened, widened, or otherwise altered in aid of navigation with Federal funds;

(f) "improvement" means any thing or service supplied to or for any waterway in aid of navigation by expenditure of Federal funds:

(g) "inland waterway" means any use and useful improved waterway or portion thereof the improvements to which are primarily for the use of vessels other than oceangoing vessels, except the Great Lakes and their interconnecting channels, the St. Lawrence Seaway, and international boundary waters;

(h) "vessel" means every description of water craft or other artificial contrivance used, or capable of being used, as a means of transportation on water;

(i) "waterway" means any navigable river, lake, canal, channel or other body of water, natural or artificial, located in the United

SEC. 4. COMMISSION.-

(a) To carry out the policy set forth in Sec. 2 hereof there is hereby established the Inland Navigation Commission, consisting of five Commissioners, three of whom (one being designated as Chairman) shall be appointed by the President by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, and two of whom shall be ex officio the incumbents for the time being of the offices of Secretary of the Treasury and Comptroller General. The Commissioners so appointed by the President shall continue in office as designated by the President for terms of two, four, and six years, respectively, from the effective date of this Act. Their successors shall be appointed for terms of six years in the same manner as the Commissioners originally appointed, except that any person appointed to fill a vacancy occurring prior to the expiration of the term for which his predecessor was appointed shall be appointed only for the remainder of such term. No more than two of the Commissioners, excluding Commissioners ex officio, shall be appointed from the same political party. Each Commissioner shall receive basic compensation at the rate of \$20,000 per annum. except that Commissioners ex officio shall receive no additional compensation for their services as such.

(b) Three Commissioners shall constitute a quorum. The principle office of the Commission shall be in the District of Columbia. The Commission shall have an official seal, to be kept in the custody of its Chairman or such officer as he shall designate, which shall be judicially noticed.

Sec. 5. General Powers of Commission.—
For the purpose of carrying out its functions the Commission—

(a) May sue and be sued;

(b) May adopt, amend, and repeal bylaws, rules, and regulations governing the manner in which its business may be conducted and the powers vested in it may be exercised:

(c) May make and carry out any contracts or agreements deemed necessary or desirable

in the conduct of its business;

(d) May appoint and fix the compensation, in accordance with the provisions of the Classification Act of 1949, of such officers, attorneys, and employees as may be necessary for the conduct of its business, define their authority and duties, and delegate to them powers vested in the Commission; and

(e) May make rules, regulations and orders respecting the issuance of licenses and the establishment of charges and requiring the filing of reports by owners, operators, trustees, agents, masters, or charterers of vessels subject to the provisions of this Act in such form and of such content as will aid it in performing its duties hereunder.

SEC. 6. USER CHARGES .-

(a) On or before December 31, 1961, the Commission shall estimate, for each of the calendar years 1962, 1963, and 1964, (i) the approximate cost of inland waterway improvements, (ii) the probable character and extent of the navigational use to which inland waterways will be put by all users, including the United States, the States, and their agencies and instrumentalities, (iii) the probable classes and numbers of users thereof, and (iv) the numbers and types of vessels which will probably navigate inland waterways. Every third year thereafter the Commission shall make like estimates for succeeding three-year periods.

succeeding three-year periods.

(b) The Commission's estimate of the approximate cost of inland waterway improvements for the respective calendar years 1962, 1963, and 1964 may, in the Commission's discretion, be based on the cost thereof for the respective calendar years 1958, 1959, and 1960 as determined by the Commission. Each estimate made every third year thereafter may likewise be based on the cost thereof for the three calendar years immediately preceding the year in which such

estimate is made.

(c) On or before December 31, 1961, on the basis of the estimates provided for in (a) and (b) hereof, the Commission shall determine, subject to the provisions of section 7 hereof, the kind and amount of charges which, when imposed on persons (including the United States, the States, and their agencies and instrumentalities) expected to use inland waterways during the calendar years 1962, and 1964, will yield amounts approximately equal to the estimated cost of inland waterway improvements for that period. Every third year thereafter the Commission shall make a like determination for each succeeding three-year period.

(d) In making the estimates provided for in (a) and (b) hereof and the determinations provided for in (c) hereof, the Commission may use information assembled by its staff or by any other agency of the United States, reported to it by users, or submitted to it at any public hearings it may hold for the purpose. The Commission is hereby authorized to avail itself of services, information, or personnel furnished, on a reimbursable basis when appropriate, by the Corps of Engineers, United States Army, the Maritime Administration, or any other de-partment or agency of the United States. The Commission shall publish in the Federal Register, not later than six months after the making of any estimate or determination provided for by (a), (b), or (c) hereof, an order summarizing the factual basis of each such estimate or determination and the projections and assumptions which may form a part of such basis. The Commission shall afford interested persons an opportunity to submit written comments thereon and shall consider such comments in making subsequent estimates and determinations.

(e) In determining the form and amount user charges to be imposed (subject to sec. 7 hereof), the Commission may establish reasonable classifications of users based on character and extent of estimated use, and types of vessels used, or to be used, and may establish charges varying as among such classifications; but there shall be no variation in form or amount of user charges by reason of particular inland waterways used or to be used. The Commission shall take into account the amounts, if any, by which estimates made under (a) and (b) for prior periods shall have proved excessive

or inadequate.

(f) Determinations of user charges made in accordance with this section shall be published as orders of the Commission in the Federal Register not later than January 15 next succeeding the making of the determination and shall be prominently displayed, in appropriate form, in United States Post Offices and other public places as soon thereafter as may be. Payment of not less than one third of such user charges shall be required not later than June 30 of each calendar year succeeding such determination and shall be made to the Treasury Department pursuant to regulations to be promulby the Secretary of the Treasury. Such payment shall be evidenced by a license or licenses to be issued by the Commission; but the Commission may by order exempt any person or class of persons from the licensing requirement if, in its judgment, the necessity for obtaining or displaying such license would be unduly burdensome and would not further the purposes of this

(g) The owner, operator, trustee, agent, master, or charterer of any vessel subject to this Act shall be liable for payment of the charges imposed by the Commission under this Act.

(h) As soon as practicable after its organization the Commission shall compile and publish in the Federal Register a list of the inland waterways or portions thereof comprehended by this Act and may thereafter from time to time amend or modify such list.

SEC. 7. MEASURE OF USER CHARGES .- User charges imposed hereunder shall be meas-

ured in the following manner:

(a) Cargo vessels.—Cargo vessels of more than five gross displacement tons shall be subject to charges based primarily on tonmiles. To the extent that information deemed reliable shall be in the possession of the Commission, charges may vary according to classes of vessels and classes of cargo carried or to be carried.

(b) Passenger vessels.—Passenger vessels certified for the transportation of 10 or more passengers for hire shall be subject to charges based primarily on passenger-miles.

- (c) All Vessels.—In addition to the charge or charges measured in the manner set forth in (a) and (b) hereof, vessels shall be sub-
- (i) a flat charge per horsepower, in the case of self-propelled vessels of more than 50 installed horsepower; and
- (ii) a flat charge per foot for each foot of overall length, in the case of all other vessels exceeding 30 feet in such length.
- Apportionment.—The Commission shall initially fix charges under (c) hereof calculated to yield approximately 10 per centum of the aggregate cost to be recovered

in any given period. The Commission shall initially fix charges under (a) and (b) hereof to recover the remaining 90 per centum of such aggregate cost at levels such that the aggregate receipts attributable to vessels subject to (a) shall bear approximately the same proportion to those attributable to vessels subject to (b) as the aggregate gross displacement tonnage of vessels subject to (a) to that of vessels subject to (b). In 1965 or thereafter the Commission may by order establish percentages or proportions differing from those specified in this section, and may fix charges accordingly.

SEC. 8. PENALTIES AND ACTIONS.

(a) On and after July 1, 1962, it shall be unlawful for any person to operate any vessel on any inland waterway unless an appropriate license or exemption therefrom has been issued in respect of such vessel, and such license, if any, is carried thereon, and is shown on demand to any person thereunto duly authorized by the Commission. The owner, operator, trustee, agent, master or charterer of any such vessel shall be liable to a fine of \$250 for each offense, each day of operation or use on an inland waterway to constitute a separate offense. Such fine may be recovered in any district court of the United States for the district wherein the defendant resides by action of the United States attorney for such district on information of the Commission.

(b) Willful failure to file any report required by the Commission pursuant to section 5(e) hereof shall subject the offender to a fine of not to exceed \$1,000. Knowingly false statements as to material facts made in any such report shall subject the maker thereof to the penalties imposed for perjury

in the courts of the United States.

(c) The Secretary of the Treasury is hereby authorized and directed to collect by civil action or suit in admiralty instituted in any district court of the United States in which the defendant resides or the vessel is located any and all charges established by the Commission that may be due and unpaid. Such civil action may be taken against any of the persons liable for payment of such charges or fees, but the availability of such action shall not constitute a bar to a suit in admiralty against the vessel.

SEC. 9. REVIEW .- Any person aggrieved by an order of the Commission may apply to the Commission for reconsideration of such order. The Commission shall have power to grant or deny such application and to abrogate or modify such order. Its action in so doing shall become final and conclusive thirty days after notification thereof shall have been published in the Federal Register unless within that period a petition for review shall have been filed by a person aggrieved by such action in the United States Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia Circuit or in the United States Court of Appeals for the circuit in which such person resides. Such court shall have the same jurisdiction and powers in this regard as in the case of petitions to review orders of the Federal Power Commission now or hereafter provided by law. The judgment of the court shall be final subject to review by the Supreme Court upon certiorari or certification as now or hereafter provided by law. The filing of an application for reconsideration shall not operate as a stay of the Commission's order, unless otherwise ordered by the Commission; and the filing of a petition for review shall not operate as such a stay, unless otherwise ordered by the court.

SEC. 10. REPEALS .- All acts, resolutions or parts thereof inconsistent with this Act are hereby repealed.

Hunger for Peace Disturbed by Evil Forces

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 26, 1960

Mr. FLOOD, Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Rec-ORD. I include the following address delivered by Attorney Louis G. Feldmann. national commander in chief of the Veterans of Foreign Wars, at a meeting of the Greater Hazleton (Pa.) Veterans Association on Tuesday evening of this week. Commander Feldmann was born and reared in my congressional district and is a resident of Hazleton, also in my district. Commander Feldmann's fine address appeared in the Plain Speaker of Hazleton on Wednesday, May 25, 1960.

The address follows:

HUNGER FOR PEACE DISTURBED BY EVIL FORCES FELDMANN SAYS HERE

In his keynote address before the Greater Hazleton Veterans Association in Genetti's Pennsylvania Room last night, Attorney Louis G. Feldmann, national commander in chief of the Veterans of Foreign Wars, explained the role of American veterans in the free world fight against Communist treach-

The speech was heard by millions of persons in foreign nations via the Voice of America radio network last night. The ad-

dress follows verbatim.

All of us, at one time or another, by our devotion to the cause of liberty, guaranteed America's security; the future well-being of our people, and what we believed would be the freedom of our children's children.

Although our wartime service terminated. our duty to protect and to preserve the integrity of our Nation has not ended.

Our hard-earned victory over those forces of evil is becoming precariously imbalanced Our desire to live in peace and to guide ourselves to our chosen destiny is disturbed by evil forces more menacing and challenging than those of the enemies we defeated.

This new, yet old enemy, represented by the international Communist conspiracy that calls itself a government, headed by Soviet Premier Khrushchev, watches for an oppor-tunity to ensnare us. It is treacherous, wily, full, of plots and is more powerful than

Whether we acknowledge it or not, because this evil is rampant in the world, we are at this moment at war. The only difference between this cold war and a hot war, is the

absence of continuous shooting.

Daily throughout the world there are casualties and deaths in Khrushchev's cold war. There are those lost in action, and men. women and children driven to despair and death and ruthlessness and terror beyond human endurance.

Khrushchev leads the spy network directed from Soviet Embassies throughout the world. With members of the Communist Party they keep active the cold war in all its vicious, wicked ramifications.

Khrushchev's cold war aggression includes the secret probing for weakness in our military, diplomatic, economic, political, and scientific fields, and in the spiritual life of our citadel of freedom. If we would not

perish, we must be invulnerable in all these, regardless of cost.

This is some of Khrushchev's duplicity: He uses cunning and deceit in diplomacy, instead of frankness and truth;

He interferes in our political life, instead of minding his own business;

He directs the stealing of scientific secrets that are proclaimed Soviet inventions; and

He tries to weaken us spiritually by preaching the false doctrine of peace to entice our clergy, instead of working honestly in the

interest of world peace.

This is the Khrushchev whom the world saw at Paris working at Communist deceit, blackmail, misrepresentation, and doubledealing in promising the free world peace and friendship, while secretly planning continuation of the cold war.

This is the Khrushchev who not so long

ago came here and enjoyed the hospitality, honors, and distinctions accorded men of in-

tegrity, decency, and goodwill.

This is the same Khrushchev who was a Stalin aide when he murdered millions of his countrymen in the inhuman purges in the Soviet Union in the late thirties; same Khrushchev who holds the great Polish people in chains, and who cold-bloodedly ordered the slaughter of Hungarian patriots, Workers, and defenseless students and schoolchildren simply because they wanted to be free.

This is the Khrushchev of consummate deceit who poses as a good family man; who countenances the destruction of all religions and who tried to deceive the vast majority of our people, who are religious, by piously imploring: "As God is my witnesss, my hands are clean and my soul is pure."

How hypocritical can even a deceitful man

be? Pilate, too, after the crucifixion, washed his hands and professed they were clean.

This is the Khrushchev whose every act Our war veterans must watch.

He has continually stated West Berlin must be a free city. By this he means it is to be Sovietized; made part of East Germany because it is antagonistic to communism's planned march to victory over the free world.

Khrushchev's admission for the first time that West Berlin is "antagonistic" should be remembered as a one-word summarization of Lenin's fundamental guide of communism that jeopardizes free people everywhere.

Lenin said, "As long as capitalism and socialism exist, we cannot live in peace; in the end one or the other will triumph—a funeral dirge will be sung over the Soviet Republic

or over capitalism." This is what Khrushchev meant when he said West Berlin is "antagonistic." stark, menacing word provides a club to his conduct in wrecking the summit meeting when the free world refused to hand over the city in which we have a legal right to remain by virtue of our war victory, as well as a moral right in defense of freedom.

Khrushchev will continue to strike at West Berlin with all the stubbornness and tenacity of a woodpecker until it falls into the Communist orbit. Or, seeing it cannot be obtained by persistence, he might try to take it by force that is implicit in his threat to turn it over to his East Germany puppet regime. East Germany is as much a part of the Soviet Union as is, for instance, the Ukraine.

He has also said he would back up with force East Germany's right to the city.

Khrushchev's walking out of the summit should not be too surprising. This is the common practice of the Communists at any conference with non-Communist world representatives. They did it at the old League of Nations; they continually do it at the United Nations when decisions are against their conduct. Now they have practiced it with With humiliation to the heads of state in a gigantic propaganda forum provided by the

free world. They have no intention of reaching agreements for a peaceful world, and in this they follow Lenin's dictum that there can be no peace between capitalism and socialism so long as either exists.

What to expect of Khrushchev and the international conspiracy was made clear by President Eisenhower on his return to Washington from the summit conference deliberately torpedoed by Khrushchev. The President said, "We can be watchful for more irritations, possibly other incidents that can be more annoying, sometimes creating real problems."

When the President of the United States warns us to be alert, it is the duty of all war veterans to close ranks and rededicate themselves with a fervor and determination to be free comparable to that of our Forefather-patriots who originally made us free.

While we have no fear of Khrushchev, the Communists nor anyone else, we nevertheless cannot compromise with communism nor patriotism.

We are Americans or we are not.

We cannot live half-free with our spirit crushed like the millions now in bondage in the Soviet Union, its satellites, Red China, or in Cuba

Our hard-earned peace of World War II has become a Communist-directed cold war. And in it all of us must be as equally alert today in defense of our forms of liberty and freedom: those whom we love, our homes, our property and ourselves, as we were vigilant in uniform.

Those of us who have the honor to stand on the ramparts of freedom, probably mankind's last refuge, have the responsibility to preserve in peacetime what we saved in hu-manity's name in wartime. This is the war veterans' inescapable peacetime duty.

We must make America more impervious to the tensions of the cold war about which

the President spoke.

Veterans can strengthen our country by deepening and broadening our community services to reach more and better our distressed and unfortunate people.

It is our duty as good citizens to help curb all forms of juvenile and adult delinquency. We must help assure all the rights to others we conceive in social, economic, and polit-

ical justice, or accept the consequences Above all, we must make our Nation morally and spiritually stronger through a resurgence of religious beliefs within all faiths to make more positive the brotherhood of man. We can renew and revitalize these efforts within our posts. Here we can, by sheer numbers, become a tremendous force for good in our communities.

Unfortunately, some war veterans have drifted from their post as a focal point of their strength. By returning to it and con-solidating their individual capabilities and efforts, the farce and effect of their work would be felt across the Nation. Then we would be stronger and more resistant to the Communist cold war's effects about which the President said we must be watchful since they will "sometime create real prob-

We must be prepared to give every ounce of energy to fulfill our complete obligation to our country so that all we cherish survives. In doing this we will be remembering our

obligations to our dead comrades' sacrifices

for our own freedom. We cannot forget we owe allegiance to the cause of the 131,000 of our comrades who were killed in World War I; or ignore our solemn obligation to the 409,000 of our fathers and brothers who died for freedom's sake in World War II; or deny our unpayable debt to the 54,000 American youths who perished from this earth in the war in Korea—started with Khrushchev's knowledge and approval, and waged against all free peoples with Moscow's deadly assistance.

We must not abandon the memory of our comrades-ever.

We must serve them in their silence as faithfully as they served to protect our free-

This is our duty to our comrades and to ourselves in this time of crisis that may determine whether we shall be free or whether we shall be slaves.

We can help ourselves by being loyal to American ideals and institutions; by being loyal to our President.

We can strengthen our Nation by avoiding harsh criticism of our foreign policy, and by not apologizing for its objectives. In this we can be guided by the Democratic and Republican national leaderships' support of the President in his travail.

These times call for the deepest resolve. They instill in us devotion to the purposes and objectives of the Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States. We cannot ignore our own Constitution.

This is the meaning of a veterans' duty in times of so-called peace that Khrushchev and the international Communist conspiracy denies to all the world's people who agonizingly cry out for real peace.

I ask you to go out and get more members to help us in our great and never-ending work for our comrades and for the preservation of our liberty and our freedoms.

Comrades, I shall do my duty-and alongside me, will be you.

Farm Problem: One Way To Deal With It

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. W. R. POAGE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, May 26, 1960

Mr. POAGE. Mr. Speaker, it is not too often that one of the great news magazines gives a factual report of the farm situation. We often read stories of the profits made by some great corporate firm in California, of some industrial wheat producer in Montana, or some alleged victim of our farm program.

It is, therefore, indeed a welcome variation to find a splendid factual report in the current copy of U.S. News & World Report. I recommend this report, which is based on the studies conducted by the Iowa State University at Ames. It is short and simple. I believe that it is something which all of us can understand and which is of vital importance to all of us, regardless of whether we live in the city or in the country.

This report shows very clearly just how a return to unlimited plantings would weaken our entire economy. I recommend the article to each Member for most careful reading.

Here is the article:

FARM PROBLEM; ONE WAY TO DEAL WITH IT

AMES, IOWA .- Is there any practical way to solve the farm problem-to end the piling of one vast surplus of grain on top of another? If so, what would the solution cost?

These are questions of interest to taxpayers early in a new growing season. ready, official crop reports point to another big surplus of wheat in the making. All signs are that corn and other grains also will be produced in excess of needs.

To find out if there is an answer to the problem of ever-mounting grain surpluses, U.S. News & World Report turned to the farm economists at Iowa State University. The economists, in turn, spent weeks feeding the facts of the problem into the university's electronic brain. From the answers that the machine supplied, they were able to draw a wide range of conclusions.

Two basic questions were asked of the machine. The questions and the answers, shown for you in the accompanying chart, were these:

1. What would happen if the Government got out of farming, doing away with controls and price supports?

Answer. The result would be wheat crops averaging 1.4 billion bushels yearly in the 1960's, compared to average crops of 1.1 billion bushels in the 1950's. Corn crops in the 1960's would average 4.1 billion bushels, compared to 3.4 billion bushels in the 1950's. Prices of farm commodities would fall sharply from present levels.

2. What would it cost the Government to idle enough land to control production and keep farm prices from falling below certain

levels?

Answer. At a cost of \$1.3 billion a year, enough land could be retired from use to cut production of wheat and corn sharply, bring an end to the piling up of surpluses, and permit present grain surpluses to be reduced to manageable levels by 1970. Price of wheat could be held at \$1.50 a bushel, corn at \$1.30 a bushel. Livestock prices would be firmed, too.

TWO HUNDRED MILLION LESS

The annual cost of \$1.3 billion to reduce grain production compares to an average cost of 1.5 billion to support the prices of wheat and corn in the years 1957 through 1959, a period in which surpluses of wheat and corn increased sharply. The 1.5 billion includes losses on sales of surplus grain, cost of storing and handling, payments for idling land, value of grain given away or sold for foreign currency to countries short of dollars.

In this study, the Iowa economists ap-proached the problem of surplus farm production in the same way industry approaches the problem of keeping its surplus producin hand. First they determined the capacity of the farm plant to produce. Then they calculated how much that capacity would have to be cut back to bring farmers certain levels of price.

The study dealt with wheat and corn, the big headaches in the surplus problem at this time. Other grains fed to livestock-oats, barley, grain sorghum—were included be-cause, like corn, their major use is for livestock feed. They must be considered as part

of the corn problem.

It was found that farmers, if free to run their plant at full capacity, would sow an average of 225,2 million acres each year to wheat, corn, oats, barley, and grain sorghum combined. The machine was asked how much that acreage would have to be cut back to limit production enough to bring farmers an average price of \$1.30 a bushel for corn and \$1.50 a bushel for wheat. The answer was a cut of 62.5 million acres.

If the Government financed this acreage cut by renting land from farmers and putting it in a soil bank, rental payments would average \$20.80 an acre for grain land idled. On that basis, the cost figures out to \$1.3 billion a year.

AT PREVAILING PRICES

The electronic brain calculated that a soil bank of this size would hold grain production down enough to limit supplies fed to livestock, thus keeping markets for livestock and livestock products from being glutted. Prices paid to farmers would be held close to

those now prevailing, except for beef cattle.
As shown in the chart at the right, hogs would bring an average price of \$16.50 a hundredweight, compared to the present price of around \$15.50. Milk would bring an average of \$4.10 a hundredweight, compared to \$4 now. Eggs would be 37.5 cents a dozen, compared to 36 cents; broiler chickens, 16.6 cents a pound, compared to 17.7

Beef cattle would drop from the present average of \$21.70 a hundredweight to \$17.65 a hundredweight. Explanation for this sharp drop is that beef cattle numbers now are at an all-time high. This, the economists say, means heavier marketings in the years ahead, forcing prices down.

A FREE MARKET

In making their study, the Iowa economists assumed that farmers would sell their products on a free market. There would be no price supports guaranteed by the Government. Participation in the soil bank by farmers would be voluntary, with the Gov-ernment "rental" price set at the level needed to net some farmers a better return than they could get by cropping their land.

Under this system, farmers with the most productive land would tend to keep their land in production, while those with lessproductive land would be attracted into the soil bank. As an example, a farmer growing corn in central Illinois, where land is rich and rainfall dependable, would be less likely to sign up for the soil bank than a farmer in northern Michigan, where growing of corn is less profitable.

A soil bank of 62.5 million acres, found to be required to keep wheat at \$1.50 a bushel and corn at \$1.30 a bushel, compares to a soil bank of 28.5 million acres already in operation. The present soil bank, however, contains many kinds of farm land. Total acreage that has been retired from growing grain is 17.2 million acres. All of the land in the soil bank outlined in the Iowa study would be taken out of grain production.

REDUCING THE SURPLUS

The soil bank of 62.5 million acres allows for grain exports to continue at current levels. It also allows for reducing today's grain surplus by releasing it gradually into the open market over a period of 10 years. The goal would be to bring wheat supplies down to 500 million bushels and stocks of corn and feed grains down to 20 million tons. These amounts generally are considered sufficient to guard against drought or other emergencies.

Liquidation of surplus grain by the Government could be used to offset the cost of the soil bank in either of two ways. There could be a "payment in kind" program, by which farmers could get part of their pay ments for idling land from grain stocks held by the Government. Or the surplus grain could be sold in the open market and proceeds used to defray soil-bank costs.

BLOW TO RURAL BUSINESS?

A soil bank of the size suggested by the Iowa study would mean less business in many rural areas. Demand for fertilizer, gasoline, machinery, many items would be cut. To spread this blow more evenly, the economists assumed that no more than 50 percent of the land in any one county would be idled. They also asked the electronic brain to compute the cost of the soil bank if no more than 25 percent of the land in any one county was idled. This would force the cost of a soil bank of 62.5 million acres up to \$1.5 billion a year.

A finding not shown in the accompanying charts is that cost to the Government would be considerably less if target prices for corn and wheat were set at lower levels.

The electronic brain was asked how much acreage reduction would be needed to keep the average price of corn at \$1 a bushel and wheat at \$1.15 a bushel. The answer: full capacity for grain production of 225.2 million acres would have to be cut by 36.3 million acres. Annual cost to the Government would be \$342 million. The necessary "rental" payment per acre would be much less than \$20.80, because farmers could net less by growing grain for the lower prices and would be willing to rent their land to the Government at a lower price.

With grain bringing less, livestock prices

would drop, too.

A MASSIVE STUDY

Conclusions drawn in the Iowa State University study were based on a mass of data, assembled by the economists and fed into the university's electronic brain. In the most detailed breakdown ever made of the Nation's farming areas, the United States was divided into 104 separate growing regions on the basis of soil and chinace.
was the broad base for the entire study. gions on the basis of soil and climate.

problem was assembled. In determining production, normal weather was assumed, trends in increased use of fertilizer, weed and bug killers, and other aspects of farm technology were projected. In determining future de-mand for farm products, the Nation's growing population, increasing per capita in-come, and changing eating habits were con-

All these factors were cranked into the electronic brain. The answers that came out indicate once more than American farmers, unless held down by some means of production control, will outproduce their markets in the years ahead.

AN ELECTRONIC BRAIN LOOKS AT THE FARM PROGRAM

The problem: Overproduction. If present controls and price supports were removed, the machine finds, wheat production would shoot up from an average of 1.1 billion bushels a year in the 1950's to 1.4 billion a year in the 1960's. Corn production would climb from 3.4 billion bushels in the 1950's to 4.1 billion in the 1960's.

Here, roughly, is what would happen to prices by the mid-1960's:

	Prices now	Prices with no controls
Corn (bushei)	\$1.05 \$1.82 \$15.50 \$21.70	66 cents. 74 cents. \$10. \$11.51.
pounds). Milk (100 pounds) Eggs (dozen) Broiler ehickens (pound)	\$4 36 cents 17.7 cents	\$2.66. 27.2 cents- 13 cents-

And: If Government attempted to sup port prices above levels expected by mid-1960's, surpluses would become an even worse problem than they are today.

One way out: Build a bigger "soil bank," taking a total of 62.5 million acres out of wheat, corn, other grains. Remove today's price supports, but keep existing surpluses from depressing the market.

Cost: \$1.3 billion a year, or 200 million less than the cost of present price supports for grains.

Here, again roughly, is what would happen to prices by mid-1960's:

	Prices now	Prices with big soil bank
Corn (bushel)	\$1.05 \$1.82 \$15.50 \$21.70	\$1.30. \$1.50. \$16,50. \$17.65.
Milk (100 pounds) Eggs (dozen) Broiler chickens (pound)	36 cents 17.7 cents	\$4.10. 37.5 cents. 16.6 cents.

And: Today's surpluses could be worked off gradually over the next 10 years. No new surpluses would develop.

Jobs After 40

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. CRAIG HOSMER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, May 24, 1960

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Speaker, the Journal of Lifetime Living recently published a survey on why employers turn down older workers. Its figures for the various reasons given by employers were the following:

Increased pension costs, 65 percent.

Hard to train, 40 percent.

Think they know too much, 33 percent. Not enough pep or ambition, 8 percent. Poor job performance, 3 percent.

It followed these reasons with facts rebutting every one of them. This welcomed information was set forth in the following article entitled "Who's Too Old To Work?":

WHO'S TOO OLD TO WORK?

Why is it so much harder to get a job after 40? Survey after survey has been made on the subject, but one significant fact stands out: Employers just don't know and must be sold on the advantages of older employees.

The Nation's bosses may argue, for example, that hiring older workers increases Pension costs; that after 40, men and women are harder to train, think they know too much, lack pep and ambition, and show Poorer job performance. By and large, it's Just not so, but employers have to be convinced. And one of the latest to join the campaign of education is the Fraternal Order of Eagles.

Under the guidance of program chairman Robert W. Hansen, the organization, which has some 800,000 members, distributes a portfolio designated to give employers as

Well as legislators the facts.

In a period of full employment and ex-Panding production, of course, the problem of placing older workers isn't too severe. But when a job squeeze is on-and when even slight changes are indicated on the economic barometer-it's the older worker Who feels it first. It's little or nothing more

than calendar age which does it. Yet—
"We all suffer," notes an Eagle bulletin prepared in cooperation with the Building Service Employees International Union.
"Our taxes are raised to pay for public assistance and unemployment compensation for people who should be a part of the work-

ing force.
"Consumers in general suffer. It has been estimated that the value of goods in the United States could be increased by \$5 billion." a year if older people who want to work and are able to do so were given jobs."

This is one of the most telling arguments, but others are more direct. For example, most of the building union's 250,000 employees are over 40, and the record shows that they work hard, pull their own weight on the Job, and are praised as skilled, dependable Workers. Says the union's bulletin:

The older worker produces more, with less spoilage, than the younger, less experienced

His safety record is better; he has fewer accidents.

His judgment is better, and he gets along more easily with his fellow workers.

He is more dependable; he is absent from

the job less often.

He is loyal. He stays with the company longer and respects its policies more. More-over, pension and insurance costs are not sig-

nificantly greater than for the older worker. And older workers "are fully as trainable and adaptable as the younger workers. Their job motivation may be greater because they know the importance of being self-support-

WHAT ABOUT PENSIONS?

One of the toughest nuts to crack has been the employer contention that engaging older workers increases the cost of company pension plans. Spearheading the campaign to break down the age barrier, this publication queried Secretary of Labor James P. Mitchell.

"Pension costs seem to be more of an excuse than a basic obstacle," Mr. Mitchell told the Journal. "While there is obviously a difference in premiums, particularly under insured plans set up like annuities or with more or elss fixed benefits upon retirement, the fact is that over two-thirds of the covered workers are in plans without such rigid benefit formulae."

He estimated that from 20 to 25 percent of the nonagricultural working force is covered by private pension plans. But in some fields, such as the steel and automobile industries, coverage runs from 70 to 90 percent. specific annual premium costs of an annuity of \$100 a month would be, by comparison, \$326 for a worker hired at age 30, \$508 for one taken on at 40, \$668 at 45, \$939 at 50, and \$1,486 at 55.

"But this is not in any sense a typical cost picture under private pension plans," the Labor Secretary pointed out. "Only a small proportion of the plans affecting an even smaller proportion of the covered workers are set up on this basis. Increasingly, private pensions provide benefits based on a percent of terminal earnings (last 5 or 10 years) per month, multiplied by the number of years of service. The ultimate cost to an employer under this type of plan is not much different for workers for one entry age or another, particularly when increases in earnings for long-time employees is one of the variables on which current costs are

Mr. Mitchell stated that vested pension plans, permitting an older worker to obtain accrued benefits when he leaves an employer, can help a significantly large number of seniors find new jobs with companies having retirement plans. But while he felt that vesting could be made a legal requirement of all company pension plans, he doubted the advisability of proposing it. "Vesting," he said, "has profound implica-tions from the viewpoint of labor mobility. It also presents a serious problem in new plans where there is a vast backlog of past service liability."

WHAT ABOUT LEGISLATION?

The Eagles' campaign to end job discrimination against workers over 40 stresses National and State legislation banning the practice. Many authorities feel, however, that efforts to coerce employees would prove ineffective, except insofar as it would call attention to the problem. For instance a Journal survey of employment agencies brought this typical comment: We think that any laws to this effect would be bypassed. Age stipulations, it was felt, are too easy to evade by advancing a different excuse for failure to engage a worker. However, many States have adopted such restraints, national legislation is pending in Congress, and new pressures to enact it can be expected this year.

Meanwhile, the Eagles and others are pressing forward on all fronts. It's a good

Compliments in the foregoing article to the Fraternal Order of Eagles for its work to dispell job discrimination on the basis of age are not the only the Eagles have received. Many labor groups have joined in commending the Eagles on their magnificent efforts. Here are samples:

Printing pressmen: "You are performing a great public service in your Eagle cam-paign for a fair employment deal for hundreds of thousands of Americans in the prime of life who are barred from jobs merely because of arbitrary age restrictions by many plants."—Thomas E. Dunwody, president, International Printing Pressmen & Assistants' Union of North America. New York Council: "Let me compliment

the F.O.E. for constant attention given to the matter of aging population. Legisla-tion is necessary that would make it an untion is necessary that would make it in em-lawful employment practice for an em-ployer to refuse to hire, to discharge, or otherwise to discriminate against any in-dividual because of his age."—Louis Hollander, president New York State CIO Council.

Electricians: "I believe that arbitary discrimination against workers solely on the basis of age shows an appalling disregard for human needs and human dignity. I want to commend you on the leadership which is being taken by the Fraternal Order of Eagles in this important issue."-Gordon of Eagles in this important issue.—Gordon M. Freeman, president, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers.

Pennsylvania Council: "The Eagle pro-

gram to focus attention upon the problem of the workers over 40 is highly commendable. The Eagles are embarking upon a great effort to correct this abusive avoidance of full utilization of available manpower resources."-Harry Boyer, president, Pennsyl-

vania CIO Council. Radio Workers: "We agree 100 percent with the need for the all-out campaign your organization is starting to enact State and Federal legislation barring discrimination against the employment of men and women over 40 years of age."—Joe Swire, pension director, International Union of Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers, AFL-CIO.

New Jersey Federation: "We are pleased to note the interest taken by the Eagles in the elimination of job discrimination against men and women over 40 years of age, and I am certain it will be highly beneficial."-Louis P. Marciante, president, New Jersey State Federation of Labor.

Hotel employees: "I am acutely conscious of the growing problem of finding jobs for our older citizens, including those who, having passed the age of 40, are ready for the ash heap in the view of many shortsighted employers."—Ed S. Miller, general president, Hotel and Restaurant Empoyees and Bartenders International Union.

Indiana Federation: "I have known for many years the interest that the Eagles have taken in social legislation. I am sure that your organization is most capable of carrying on a campaign in the interest of men and women past the age of 40"-Carl H. Mullen, president, Indiana Federation of

Insurance workers: "Good luck and God bless your efforts. What is needed is simply some action, some pressure to have the rights of this vast segment of the citizenry pro-tected. The Eagles have commenced playing a key role in providing such action and pressure."—William A. Gillen, president, Insurance Workers of America.

Ohio Federation: "I congratulate the Fraternal Order of Eagles for recognizing the serious significance of existing arbitrary job-age ceilings that reflect on the welfare of every American worker."—Michael J. Lyden, president, Ohio State Federation of Labor. Foundry workers: "I certainly am proud

to learn that the Eagles are interested in this question. You can rest assured that our members will go the limit to help workers in maintaining employment so that they can properly raise families in our great coun-"-Chester A. Sample, president, International Molders and Foundry Workers Union of North America.

Cardinal Cushing's Warning

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. PHILIP J. PHILBIN

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, May 18, 1960

Mr. PHILBIN. Mr. Speaker, every thoughtful American should have the privilege of reading the splendid statement on the summit conference and the Communist conspiracy recently appearing in the celebrated Boston Globe contributed by his distinguished and beloved eminence, Cardinal Richard J. Cushing of Boston.

This statement is factual, realistic, and forceful and it embodies a sound policy toward communism for this great Nation to follow. Indeed, if we had followed this policy in the past we would not now be confronted with the problems that have arisen from the collapse of the summit conference.

Cardinal Cushing is a great and farsighted man, a loyal and devoted American, an acknowledged outstanding spiritual leader. In his admirable statement he has pointed up succintly the aims, the techniques, methods, and dangers of organized communism.

In a relatively short period of time, Americans have witnessed our foreign policy undergoing various apparent changes. Basically, our Nation has embraced and pursued a policy of appeasement of world communism. Only the form of this policy has changed from containment, so-called, to peaceful coexistence.

Every sensible, sane person and government wants to avoid war and protect freedom and that is not an issue so far as the foreign policy of this country is concerned, because that policy is and should be predicated on that objective. As we all know, the real Russian objective in this regard is no different, because the Soviet also wants to avoid war, even though it does not want to install a true, just, lasting peace at this time.

The Soviet policy, as Cardinal Cushing so well points out, is based on keeping the cold war going, and it takes the form of promoting, wherever it can, dissatisfaction, unrest, disgruntlement, violence, and civil insurrection in as many places as possible throughout the world.

The Soviet policy is characterized, too, by incessant saber rattling, or I should say in this advanced day, missile rattling, although there is every evidence to believe that the Soviet's much-vaunted claims to superiority in the field of rockets and missiles is another one of those myths set up by Russian propagandists and parroted by those in our own country who are adherents or sympathizers of the Communist system, or some collectivist system closely resembling it.

I will not take the time here to recount the series of myths, misrepresentations, lies, deceits and frauds regarding missiles, comparative education and the comparative strengths of communism versus free enterprise. The enormity of some of these claims and contentions is staggering, and even more so is the gullibility of a great many Americans who are falling prey to many of the brash, unfounded claims of Russian propaganda.

Cardinal Cushing, with his great prescience and patriotism, is literally a Daniel come to judgment, and I hope his words will be widely read and taken to heart by the American people:

[From the Boston Globe, May 25, 1960] RUSSIANS LURED, TRAPPED UNITED STATES IN PARIS, SAYS CARDINAL CUSHING

(Cardinal Cushing says the U.S. participation in the Paris summit conference is due to the same misunderstanding of communism which led to inviting Khrushchev to visit this country last fall. He calls for a new U.S. approach to the Communists because of the treatment accorded President Eisenhower at Paris.

(In an exclusive article for the Boston Globe, the prelate says the wrecked summit conference surprised and saddened the American people.)

(By Richard Cardinal Cushing)

When the recent Paris summit conference, so highly publicized as the road to peace, resulted in utter wreckage, the American people were taken by a sad surprise.

Our hopes had been raised by the preliminaries, notably by the fraudulent visit of Khrushchev to our country which laid the foundation for the debacle that followed.

We had been seriously misinformed by those who did not consult the documents which come from Moscow which advised the comrades of the world how to betray the people of the free nations.

These documents are readily accessible.

For some strange reason, the critical analysis of them by much of our press, our radio and television, has been denied the American people.

If this was not the case, we would have known in advance that the summit conference was a trap laid for the United States and that any other summit conference will be the same, so far as the present record of the Communists indicates.

We have been warning that "peace" means one thing for the Kremlin and its followers and another thing to us.

It is the double-tongued use of this term by the followers of Marx and Lenin which forecasts that the summit, if held, would be a failure or perhaps a colossal defeat for the free world.

When we yielded to the spirit of appeasement—which Moscow quickly dubbed "the spirit of Camp David"—we prepared the way for a defeat by Khrushchev, either in the form of our complete or partial capitulation to Moscow's demands for the betrayal of Berlin, for unilateral disarmament, or for the plan of Moscow to put the blame for wrecking the conference on us.

If we learn from our experiences to resist further appeasement, we must recognize the Communist definition of "peace."

Such recognition is long overdue, for the term has been used over and over again to befuddle us as a nation and to bring about our great retreats for the alleged sake of "peace."

The importance of this recognition becomes all the more urgent today since the Communist Party in our own midst has raised this slogan in the Worker of May 22: "Let the Plain People Speak for Peace."

This is the title of the leading editorial which follows on the heels of the summit debacle.

In that editorial we read:

"The Paris Summit Conference was doomed to failure by Washington, by the deeds of the present administration. "Now the tension builders and war provocateurs who boobytrapped the summit by a series of calculated moves are busily trying to enmesh our people in a web of lies, to keep the cold war, to put the blame for the failure of the summit conference to get underway on Khrushchev and the Soviet Union."

And lo and behold. Since Khrushchev and Soviet Russia are blameless in Communist eyes, it is our own Government which must be accused of causing the blowup at the summit conference which Khrushchev had planned to scuttle from the very beginning.

FROM "PEACE" TO CONQUEST

Be it established once and for all that when the Communists, both in the Kremlin and here, refer to "peace" or "peaceful coexistence" they have no other idea in mind but the conquest of the world by Soviet power.

Anyone who knows the fundamental philosophy or world outlook of Marxism-Leninism knows that.

For "lasting peace" will come about only, in the Communist lexicon, when the earthly paradise or Communist society has been established.

We could go further and demonstrate another principle of Communist teaching, particularly stressed by Lenin and expressed well by a leading directive article in the Peiping Review for April 12, 1960.

That article incidentally is entitled "Im-

That article incidentally is entitled "Imperialism—Source of War in Modern Times—and the Path of the People's Struggle for Peace."

And "imperialism," under Lenin's definition, is precisely the name given to "the bourgeois nations" or what we call the countries of the free world.

It is they who are to blame for all war and the Socialist countries are brazenly declared to be immune from any blame at initiating war because—believe it or not—they do not engage in "exploitation of man by man."

From that viewpoint we can comprehend that the attack on Finland, Korea, the Baltic countries, and all other war assaults by Soviet power are always blamed on the other side, on the victim of Soviet aggression.

Moscow confirms this double-tongued definition of "peaceful coexistence" over and over again, but notably in the March 1960 issue of International Affairs coming here from the Soviet Capital.

There it is said quite boldly that peaceful coexistence cannot exist in the realm of ideology.

And to give the comrades the full understanding of what is meant by this peculiar statement, Khrushchev himself, is given as the authority.

There Khrushchev is quoted as saying:
"In matters of ideology, we have always stood, and will continue to stand, like a rock, on the basis of Marxism-Leninism". Then it is added that "communism is the most humane ideology," whose lofty character will conquer the whole world. That is the true aim of peaceful coexistence

Accordingly, it is reported quite sharply that peaceful coexistence does not mean any retreat from socialism in the peoples democracies nor does it mean that capitalism is granted immunity in the rest of the globe.

To make the matter even clearer, it is stated emphatically that peaceful coexistence is "by no means tantamount to a recognition of capitalism's immortality in the countries where it obtains today"

In other words, communism's fundamental world outlook contemplates peaceful co-existence as a means of strengthening Soviet control over the captive nations and as the means of extending Soviet control by infitration and subversion (leading to violent overthrow) over the rest of the world

Such being the case, the "peace" sought for at the summit conference by the Kremlin was to be the expansion of Soviet do-

Out of our own experiences, we should have known in addition that the word 'peace" in Communist mouths is one of those exhibits of "Aesopian language" designed to trick and trap us.

It was in the name of peace that we were tricked at the end of World War II. We were deceived into aiding Soviet con-quest of all the nations now behind the

Iron Curtain.

It was in the name of peace that Joseph Stalin conducted the cold war, for the purpose of consolidating his control over the satellite nations and of laying the foundation for further Soviet expansion.

Through this cry of peace Stalin was able to create enough uncertainty and delay in American policy to achieve his goal of fastening his iron heel upon Eastern Eu-

rope and much of Asia.

With this new cry in 1960 by the Com-munists and their friends that a Moscow-made "peace" should prevail as the policy of the United States, we should be mindful of the true significance of what "peace" means to them.

We must realize once and for all that peace is not attained by appeasement. We must recognize that the time has come for us to take a firm stand, such as formerly Won for us an honorable period of peace in our stand at Quemoy and Matsu and for

We must dedicate ourselves to the proposition that we will not disarm one lota without a policing system which is foolproof

and complete.

In the light of these thoughts, the lesson of the summit conference that never started should also prompt us to present to the World the great moral issues involved with Soviet barbarism.

Emphasis on such issues is not only demanded by justice and the sense of true Peace; it would also put the Soviet dictatorship at a distinct disadvantage. It would Dut the Kremlin on the defensive.

Why then cannot we of the United States of America raise in a sharp and world-resounding way the question of the captive

nations?

At every turn, we are presented with the pathetic faces of those million who have been betrayed into Soviet hands ironically in the name of "peace."

Again we might ask: Why do we not raise before the world the whole issue of the bloody religious persecutions which are going on everywhere behind the Iron Curtain?

There is no excuse for the half-hearted Protests we have made, when we consider the huge noise that Khrushchev makes over the slightest of incidents.

The Wisdom of Youth

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. JOHN R. FOLEY

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, May 26, 1960

Mr. FOLEY. Mr. Speaker, I share with Our colleagues the advantages accruing from a discussion of issues with constituents through the mails. Often a particular piece of correspondence stands Out for its clarity and logic. Recently I received a number of fine letters from students attending Leland Junior High School in Bethesda, Md., where they took

part in what was apparently a most stimulating discussion on the United States in the world of today. Under leave to extend my remarks. I am proud to include comments and suggestions extracted from these cogent letters. This is truly a case of learning from the wisdom of youth:

"Improve our educational facilities. Many of today's students will be in tomorrow's race with Russia"-Mike Baker.

"I feel that if the school year were divided into thirds and two-thirds of the pupils were going to school at all times, children could get a better education"—Gregory Berryman.

"My opinion is that instead of using the money unwisely we ought to have higher taxes and use the money for our country's needs. Then it would help the health, edu-cation, and welfare problems"—Christina Bradley.

"More civil defense work, that is, more active and frequent drills would cause more people to think seriously about it and do something"-Alan Cohen.

"After all, there aren't too many better ways of spending money than spending it to keep our country free"—Marc Cooperman.

"I think the United States should continue the program of sending food and clothing to the other countries that don't have enough of these things"—Lula Dortch.

"It is also very important that everyone of age vote. Because this is the basis of democracy, it is essential that everyone do so"—Sandra Engler.

"Concerning the problem of unemploy-ment, I think there should be schools to teach certain skills. In these the unemployed would be taught trades that need workers"—Robert J. Goldstein.

'I think that unless we get organized and quickly, Russia is going to win a silent and secret war, a war of disorganized and lazy people (namely, Americans), and eventually the space race"—Elizabeth Anne Hall.
"Since the individual countries want to

keep control over their schools, I think that the Senate and the House of Representatives should parcel out money to the countries as they see fit"-John N. Lockard.

"If the American people would give up some of the luxuries of their soft living and donate funds to the space budget, I am sure they would benefit from that donation in the

years to come"-Mimi Michelet.

"In a general sense I am for foreign economic aid and against foreign military aid. I feel that economic aid will keep us political friends with the countries we help, but only if it is handled with the utmost of care. In other words to help but prevent resentment between countries. This type of assistance has helped curb Communist expansion"-Roger M. Moak.

'If we were to pay our teachers adequately throughout the country, it would help produce the caliber individual we want for our children in the educational department"-

Martin M. Metz.

"If we are going to keep a strong and democratic Nation, children should be educated so that they can carry on our democ-

racy wisely and justly"—Lisa Nurick.
"For our own security, we cannot let ourselves become weaker than the Soviet Union, and be unable to defend ourselves against communism"-Beth Nordbeck.

"Let us give increased aid to the new African nations. If we help them and show them the right way, without threats, they will become valuable allies in democracy"— Paul R. Panitz.

"We should not be as selfish. We should not spend all of our money on ourselves; instead we should contribute to hospitals, schools, charities, and especially toward helping undernourished countries. By contri-

buting to these poorer countries, we would spread the thought of peace throughout the free world"-Steve Rosenberg.

"I think it would be a good idea to try and cut down on the red tape that now prevails in the space projects"—John J. Thompson.

"It is the overall defense of our one Nation, not the glory of any one service, that is necessary"—Sharon Yager.

"My suggestion for Congress would be to have more discipline and less politics in their daily work"-Dee Zimmerman.

RCA Praises Wilkes-Barre Cooperation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, May 26, 1960

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, as the Members of this body know, my congressional district, comprising Luzerne County, has suffered serious economic difficulties for many years, especially caused by the recession in the anthracite coal industry, our major industry. In view of the many thousands of men who are unemployed in my district, you can well imagine how heartening it is when a company of the stature of RCA decides on locating an installation in my area, thus affording gainful employment for many who, otherwise, would continue on the rolls of the unemployed. The new RCA plant is now in the process of construction and we are looking forward with great anticipation to the day in the near future when its operation will get underway. We, in Luzerne County, are delighted to have RCA join the Greater Wyoming Valley com-munity. In line with this happy development, I include, as part of my remarks, an interesting newsstory from the Wilkes-Barre Times-Leader of Tuesday, May 24, 1960:

RCA PRAISES WILKES-BARRE COOPERATION-OTHER FACTORS ALSO CITED IN SELECTING LOCAL PLANT SITE

HARRISEURG, May 24.—Pennsylvania's continued economic health depends on the maximum use of every remaining industrial site in the State, says a prominent consultant engineer.
Michael Baker, Jr., head of a firm bearing

his name at Rochester, Pa., added yesterday that competition for new industry is tough

and is getting tougher.

He spoke at a panel session on industrial sites and buildings during the fourth annual Pennsylvania industrial development

clinic, which ends today.

Clifford L. Jones, Hazleton, also a member of the panel, said partially constructed buildings that can be finished quickly give a community an advantage in seeking industries that are in a hurry for more space.

The clinic was inaugurated in 1956 when the State established a program to assist local areas overcome unemployment problems through the Pennsylvania Industrial Development Authority.

Norman Caplan, communications products manager for the Radio Corp. of America, said RCA chose Cannonsburg and Wilkes-Barre for plants costing \$6 million because of an unsurpassed spirit of cooperation by public officials, labor leaders, business and industrial neighbors and residents.

He said the firm also was guided by these points in its selection of the two sites:

Proper educational, recreational, and living facilities to atttract engineers to the area.

A good labor supply, including women "who have proven time and again more stable on certain types of jobs and frequently are more dextrous."

Transportation facilities.

Adequate water and electric power.

Needed: A Tax Incentive for Home Improvements

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. BOB CASEY

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, May 26, 1960

Mr. CASEY. Mr. Speaker, there are today approximately 660,000 units of private housing in our Nation that are standing dilapidated—and vacant.

In addition, there are 4.5 million occupied homes that are deficient in some major respect so as to render them substandard.

This is a frightening situation, especially so when Congress is called upon annually to vote millions of dollars for public housing and urban renewal projects.

I, and the people I represent, believe that the Federal dole is not the answer. We believe the answer is to provide an incentive for these people to maintain and repair substandard dwellings.

Today, I have introduced legislation which I believe will go far toward ac-

complishing that objective.

This is a multipurpose bill. Basically, it will permit income tax deductions as an incentive for home and property im-

provements.

This is the tradition that has made our Nation great. In contrast, the philosophy of the Federal handout is sapping the vitality and independence of our people. I believe the finest objective the Federal Government could set would be a goal of permitting our people to help themselves, thereby regaining a feeling of independence and pride.

But there is more involved here than the basic difference of philosophy of government.

In addition to providing an incentive for home and property owners, this bill if enacted would give a tremendous shot in the arm to our sagging economy. Plumbers, electricians, carpenters, roofers, glaziers, paperers, contractors, hardware and lumber stores, all phases of the building and construction industry would benefit from a surge of business. So much so, I believe, that most of the revenue loss generated from passage of this bill would be recaptured in rejuvenated business activity, increased income, and profits.

In addition—and this is no small matter—our State, county, city, and school governments would benefit tremendously as substandard housing is repaired and its valuation is increased on the local tax rolls.

Here, indeed, is where the Government and this Congress can enact legislation and properly assert the claim of "Federal aid"—for this is the type of "aid" I believe most Americans would prefer we dole out: aid our citizens and our local governments to help themselves.

Let me briefly explain the provisions of this bill. It would permit a taxpayer to deduct a maximum of \$750 during a taxable year for expenditures made to repair or improve property used as his principal residence.

In addition, the owner of rental property would be permitted to amortize over 60 months the expenditures made for repairs, replacements, or improvements intended to increase the livability, utility, safety, or value of property. Improvements or additions which would increase the total amount of floorspace used for dwelling purposes would not be deductible.

As you well know, under our existing Internal Revenue Code, a homeowner cannot deduct any expense for major improvements to his home. He can—if he itemizes deductions—subtract only the interest paid on a loan for such improvement or repair.

Nor do landlords have an incentive to repair substandard housing. While they can declare depreciation—they are not permitted to deduct expenses for capital improvements such as remodeling, replacing a roof, and so forth.

Is it any wonder that so much of our greatest national asset, our housing, is substandard?

The answer is obvious—and the fault is ours. Through our restrictive tax laws, we have built in an incentive for home and property owners to keep housing substandard, for they can ill afford to make the needed repairs. Do not think that we are not paying for such shortsightedness. Reflect but briefly on the billions spent in the past decade for public housing and urban renewal.

Let me set forth a few statistics that point to the great need for this legislation:

In the 1956 National Housing Inventory, nearly 2 million owner-occupied housing units were reported to be dilapidated. Of this number, 1.7 million were occupied by owners whose annual incomes were less than \$6,000.

Is it not obvious that these people—battling the high cost of living, inflation, and day-to-day expenses—cannot afford and have no incentive to make extensive repairs to their substandard dwellings?

This same survey showed that another 4.5 million homes are deficient in some major respect so as to be substandard.

The occupants of many of these dwellings in need of repair are our elderly citizens—and those with large families who can afford no better. The enforcement of housing codes to bring such substandard housing into the realm of safety imposes a severe financial strain upon their limited resources. Passage of this bill will not only offer them an incentive, but a measure of financial and tax relief as well,

Equally important as the rehabilitation of existing substandard housing is the prevention of deterioration and decay in homes that are not yet blighted. How many homes in each of your districts are now in need of paint and repair—and how long will it be before they become part of a slum? While we have spent billions battling the effect, we have neglected entirely the cause.

There will be those who argue that passage of this bill will "cost" the Federal Government severely in tax returns—that the answer lies in heavy Federal spending for urban renewal and public housing, programs on which billions of tax dollars have been lavished. A fallacious argument, indeed. The street of the Federal dole is a street of no return. It has but one destination: fiscal insolvency, dependency, bureaucracy.

I sincerely believe the bill I have introduced today points the way to a sensible and equitable solution to one of our Nation's most pressing problems, that of adequate and safe housing for our citizens. By passage of this bill, we can extend the hand of cooperation to our people and our local governments, who need it most.

I strongly urge my colleagues here to consider the measure closely and join with me in seeking its early adoption.

Guided Missile Runs Wild—Shot Down by Jet Fighter

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. DONALD L. JACKSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 26, 1960

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Speaker, an interesting dispatch came over the Associated Press wire last Saturday May 21 reporting an incident that occurred during a crowded Armed Forces Day demonstration. Quick action by the U.S. Air Force averted an accident and pointed up the effectiveness of our air-to-air missile defense against possible enemy missile attack. The Falcon missile that destroyed the wayward Matador, incidentally, is radar-guided. It was produced in my district by the Hughes Aircraft Co.

The dispatch follows:

ALAMOGORDO, N. MEX.—A big Matador missile got away and was shot down Saturday while an Armed Forces Day crowd watched.

Maj. J. D. Fowler, flying an F-106 jet fighter, caught up with the jet powered guided missile and bagged it with a Falcon rocket.

The Matador, which is supposed to have a system to destroy itself if it goes wild, went into the desert about 8 miles northwest of Belen. The town is roughly 125 miles north of the Air Force Missile Development Center, where the Matador was launched. The Matador launching was not part of the program, but the visitors attention was called to it since the launch site was in view. The big Matador, the size of a jet fighter, was to be tested over the huge White Sands Missile Range. A program to

check out the missiles has been underway there many months.

A pilot in an F-100 "chase" plane was flying near the missile when it went wild. Chase planes are sent along to shoot down Matadors if the built-in destruction system doesn't work.

But the chase plane couldn't catch the Matador. So the pilot radioed to Holloman Air Force Base, where the missile center is

located, for help.

Major Fowler, who had just made a showy pass over the crowd and was circling high Over Mescalero, about 50 miles northeast of the base and about 75 miles southeast of the Matador and the chase plane, went after the missile.

He caught up with it and blew it up with the Falcon.

The Matador was not carrying an explosive warhead.

Hidden Tax Incubus

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. THOMAS B. CURTIS

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 26, 1960

Mr. CURTIS of Missouri, Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include an editorial which appeared in the St. Louis Globe-Democrat of Monday, May 23, 1960:

HIDDEN TAX INCUBUS

A man buys a suit. He grumbles over having to dig deeper for the State sales tax. His temper would come to a rapid boil if he knew that the store price included no less than 115 other taxes.

A woman buys a hat. She pays 150 taxes. At the grocery store a single egg represents 100 taxes; a loaf of bread, 151.

Taxes on your house and property? You don't realize a fraction of the levies the house is costing you. To be exact, 600 taxes, according to Tax Foundation, Inc., an independent tax research firm.

The cost of government represented by this never-ending round of taxes has built up until it takes a bigger chunk of a family's

income than the food budget.

In 1950, the Nation spent \$58 billion on food and tobacco, when tax receipts were \$55 billion. Last year, food cost \$85 Government operations cost \$124 billion.

Director of the Budget Maurice H. Stans said recently the Federal Government "is piling up c.o.d.'s for the future at an

astounding pace."

As the Globe-Democrat recently noted editorially, a variety of present Federal obligations with huge unexpended balances in defense spending come to a total of \$98 billion for future spending.

Add this \$98 billion to the \$290 billion current debt and to the \$350 billion of future obligations such as retirement, veterans' compensations, social security—and you get the "almost incredible" total of \$750 billion.

(The quotes are Mr. Stans'.)

In the previous session of Congress, more than \$326 billion was allocated over an average 5-year period for major new spending

In the final analysis, it is only the people who pay the taxes. Much of the income tax of business and corporations is included in the cost of doing business and is passed on somewhere in the wholesale and retail transactions to the customer.

Most increases in prices on conusmer goods are caused by tax measures.

Our representative form of government was created through resistance to tax oppression. Taxes today dominate the lives of every American man, woman, and child.

The citizens alone have the final say on government spending. How much longer will they permit their incomes to be eroded by myriads of tax bites they feel but never

Continuing Aid

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON, SILVIO O. CONTE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 26, 1960

Mr. CONTE. Mr. Speaker, I submit this for the Appendix to the RECORD because it is another example where, when logic and intelligent reasoning are applied over partisan considerations, the conclusion is the only one at which one can arrive.

The editorial follows:

[From the Boston Herald, May 10, 1960]

CONTINUING AID

The President has won the first round in his foreign aid fight. The \$4 billion authorization bill agreed to by the House and Senate conferees is only \$88 million short of the White House request, which is a better than average response.

But the big test, as Mr. Eisenhower is well aware, comes on appropriations, not authorizations. And foreign aid opponents are hoping to knock \$1 billion out of the spending program when it reaches the House

Appropriations Committee. Was the President justified in urging Congressmen to lay aside party interests on this issue and vote the full program? We think so, and we hope the House and Senate lead-

ership will take this view also.

Foreign aid is, of course, not above controversy or criticism. The way it is administered, what it costs, to whom it goes, the emphasis on military as distinguished from economic aid, these and other questions need to be discussed fully and freely. But the underlying issue-whether to continue foreign aid in an adequate and meaningful way is no longer debatable.

This is the last year of the Eisenhower aid program. The President in 1961, whether he is Mr. Nixon or one of the Democratic hopefuls, is bound to have different ideas, just as Mr. Eisenhower had different ideas from Mr. Truman. But these differences don't and won't go to basics. The foreign aid program, which was launched by the Democratic postwar administration, has been carried forward in all its essentials by Mr. Republican administration, Eisenhower's and will continue to be carried forward by the next administration, whether Democratic or Republican.

It is this continuity which Congress is being asked to preserve now. The President is pleading, not for the superficials, but for the backbone of foreign aid. A \$1 billion cut would break that backbone.

"It would be," as the President warned, "for America and all the free world, a crushing defeat in today's struggle between communistic imperialism and a freedom founded in faith and justice.

"It would mean, within a matter of months, new international tensions and new national problems of the utmost gravity for everyone of our citizens.

"It would mean the virtual abandonment of an effort which has yielded our Nation greater benefits in security, better neighbors, and opportunities for expansion of profitable trade than has been achieved by any comparable expenditures for any other Federal

This is too much to destroy in the name of partisanship. Congress must face that fact.

Open Skies

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. WILLIAM E. HESS

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVE

Thursday, May 26, 1960

Mr. HESS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include the following editorial, from the Taft broadcasting in Cincinnati.

This editorial was telecast on WKRC-TV on Monday, May 23, and broadcast on WKRC-Radio four times on Tuesday, May 24, and was seen and heard by an estimated 349,778 persons,

The editorial follows:

In our country everyone is privileged to make suggestions. Tonight we have a suggestion for the President of the United States, and we've never been more serious.

Mr. President, we suggest you issue an invitation to the Soviets to fly one of their own unarmed reconnaissance airplanes over the United States at a time and place of their own choosing. Khrushchev has rattled the saber and accused us of aggression because an unarmed plane flew over 1,200 miles of sacred Russian soil. Our proposal can show the world that no truly peace loving people have anything to fear from aerial inspection.

Mr. Elsenhower has forthrightly urged a policy of "open skies" to guard the world from surprise attacks. And for 4 years our own planes have flown photo missions along and across Soviet borders. Of all these flights the Russians have complained of only one * * * presumably because of all these flights they have been able to stop only one. Meantime, Russian espionage has run riot around the world. But Soviet spies have preyed upon the treason of other citizens, and the misuse of diplomatic missions.

Today, any nation's air space can be violated by American or Russian satellites every few minutes. Unarmed aircraft differ from satellites only in terms of altitude. We cannot permit accusation by altitude to frighten us to the brink of war * * * or worse yet, the brink of surrender.

How could we be sure a Soviet reconnaissance flight would not turn into a bomb-ing mission? One way would be to inspect the plane before takeoff. As a practical matter for the U.N., we could be sure that if the Russians wanted to launch a sneak attack, they would not depend upon a single small airplane to do it. America's massive retaliation strength would make this suicidal for them.

The great challenge is that, through such an invitation to the Soviets, the United States can show the world it means every word it says in behalf of peace. It would demonstrate that a strong free nation has nothing to fear from aerial scrutiny.

Maybe Russia is not even capable of answering this challenge. More probably, the fear of divulging its own weakness is too great. Our proposal demands that those who talk of peace while sharpening their knives either put up or shut up.

We would like you to let us—or better still, your representatives in Washington know what you think of such a proposal.

Mutual Security

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. DONALD L. JACKSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, May 26, 1960

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Speaker, those who were disappointed with the early collapse of the Paris summit meeting were those who have come to believein vain hope rising out of other disappointments-that there had been a real change in Soviet objectives and attitudes.

There have been other periods of socalled thaw in the cold war, but while personalities change with each successive Communist regime, Soviet objectives do not. I would like to point out the relentless consistency of Soviet aggressiveness as evidenced by their actions since World War II:

Pressure exerted on Iran for the maintenance of Soviet forces in the north of Tran

Territorial demands on Turkey, including claims to bases in the straits.

Fostering of guerrilla warfare in Greece and support for the Communists who were stirring up civil war.

Seizure of control of the countries of eastern Europe, culminating in the coup d'etat in Czechoslovakia in 1948.

The rejection of the Marshall plan and subsequent efforts to cripple the economic recovery of the West.

The organization of the Cominform. Violations of the Potsdam agreement. The year-long Berlin blockade.

The blocking of peace treaties with former enemy countries.

The ruthless suppression of the Hungarian revolt.

The continued maintenance of large Soviet forces throughout eastern Europe and the building up of "satellite" forces.

The endlessly recurrent abuse of the veto in the United Nations.

The deliberate avoidance of a realistic program for the ban of nuclear testing. The rejection of realistic proposals for

disarmament and control.

The thwarting of the summit conference in Paris this month by means of insults and threats of a nature seldom, if ever, voiced by the premier of one power to the chief of state of another.

This catalog is by no means inclusive of all Soviet-inspired or sponsored aggressions; equally noteworthy are the proxy pressures against the United States and the free world recalled by Korea, Quemoy, Matsu, Tibet, Vietnam, Laos and the Indian border.

These actions demonstrate less variation than consistency in the pressure pattern of Soviet diplomacy. That these 15 years of Soviet probings and seizures have been no more successful than they have, can be attributed solely to the resolution of the United States and its free world partnership. But even this partnership, were it sustained by determination alone, would be in-sufficient to contain and repel the tide

of communism. The resolution of any alliance must, in the final analysis, be based on economic stability, internal security, and military capability to resist overt aggression. The mutual security program helps to provide these essential elements of national strength to those underdeveloped nations who could not otherwise support the burden of modern armaments or dare to stand alone against the Russian colossus.

The events of the last few days have proven the solidarity of our mutual commitments to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. There can be no doubt that this solidarity is possible because of the strategic posture of our allies and ourselves are able to create in the Soviet mind. However, we are at a critical time in the history of our mutual security program-there are those who would, in effect, withdraw their support from our President at a time when political unity is most needed both at home and abroad. There are those who would weaken free world solidarity, if not hasten its actual destruction by opposing the President's budget request for the mutual security program in the coming year. Not only would failure to support the program retard the modernization of allied forces and deny them more effective weapons when they need them most, but it must even appear to our allies that the United States is beginning a withdrawal to its ramparts behind the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans.

It is one thing to tingle with patriotic outrage here in the United States while the President is insulted in Paris: it is quite another to hear your country threatened with a Russian rocket salvo when your country happens to be within marching distances of the Cossack. It is not enough to admire the courage and steadfastness of those friends who are so much closer to the embrace of the bear than we are ourselves; they must be given tangible evidence of our faith in their loyalty to the cause of freedom and human dignity.

There can be no question of hesitancy on our part at this time. The President. the Secretary of State, the Secretary of Defense and the Joint Chiefs have all been emphatic and unanimous in their espousal of the mutual security program. I say that the Congress must also be unanimous in its support of this program in its entirety. To do otherwise may embark us on the fatal path to peaceful nonexistence.

Yes for Jobs To Help Youth

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. JOHN V. LINDSAY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, May 25, 1960

Mr. LINDSAY. Mr. Speaker, today's issue of the New York Herald Tribune has an editorial entitled "Yes for Jobs To Help Youth." I call the attention

of my colleagues to this editorial which comments on New York State's new agency established for the purpose of finding work for youngsters between the ages of 16 and 18 who are out of school and want a job. The editorial follows:

[From the New York Herald Tribune, May 26, 1960]

YES FOR JOBS TO HELP YOUTH

YES spells Youth Employment Service. This is the new State agency, established with \$250,000 Federal funds, which has the objective of finding work for youngsters be-tween ages 16 and 18 who are out of school and want a job.

In New York City the program seeks to assist 10,000 persons through 23 community centers. And if this amount of energy can be directed to constructive purposes, it follows that the State will have curbed a lot

of juvenile delinquency.

As Governor Rockefeller points out, an "immense reservoir" of young people is building and has got to be used to good ends. Find jobs for them, he says, "and one of the most critical problems of youth can be solved."

But YES, for all its affirmative call, is only the connecting mechanism between boy (or girl) and job. Somebody else still has to provide the opportunity. Here the challenge is up to the business community.

"I urge," says the Governor, "every businessman in the State to help." It's an appeal that every employer should heed. Where the youngster has the will to work, by all means give him the chance.

Nik's Quick Switch

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, May 26, 1960

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, public opinion, reflecting as it does the true sentiments of Americans in relation to the recent Soviet-torpedoed summit conference, is clearly shown in an editorial from the Chicago American of May 23.

which, I believe, is worthy of attention: NIK'S QUICK SWITCH

A quick switch typical of Soviet maneuvering, Nikita Khrushchev has suddenly taken pressure off the Berlin issue. shattering the summit meeting with his screeching denunciations of the United States and threats to foreclose western rights in West Berlin, Khrushchev stopped off in East Berlin on his way home and said there was nothing to worry about-yet.

He offered to hold off action on a sepa rate peace treaty with East Germany until after another summit meeting, to be held with President Eisenhower's successor representing the United States. He promised to do nothing to sharpen East-West conflicts in the meantime.

But Khrushchev laid down two conditions: The new summit meeting must take place within 6 to 8 months, and the west must take no "unllateral action" on Germany before then.

The speech was plainly designed to bring about a sudden lessening of the tension that Khrushchev had carefully built up at Paris. [At the same time, the Communists reacted with astonishing mildness to the forced landing of an American Air Force C-47 in East Germany; this was a fine opportunity to denounce the United States but the Reds didn't take it.]

The technique of building up painful tensions and suddenly relaxing them is a fundamental part of soviet psychological warfare.

C. L. Sulzberger, foreign news analyst of the New York Times, has pointed out that this technique has a scientific basis. The Russian biologist Ivan Pavlov discovered that the nervous stability of animals could be broken down by subjecting them to contradictory signals; by mixing "go" and "stop" signals for instance, he could put dogs through successive states of hysteria, apathy, and complete submission.

Refinements of Pavlov's techniques were used by the Chinese Reds in brainwashing American prisoners of war in Korea. The parallel in Soviet policy, alternating shocks and tension with soothing speeches, is certainly no accident.

Khrushchev kept cold war initiative firmly in his own hands. His warning against unilateral action by the West was Purposely vague; he can accuse the West of violating his terms any time he chooses.

The Berlin speech also kept progress toward peace firmly tied to further summit meetings. The reason is obvious: Such meetings give Khrushchev virtual control of the whole international situation, as he demonstrated in Paris.

The first and essential conclusion from all this is that there must be no more summit meetings. Such meetings put Western negotiators under the worst possible handicaps. They dangerously involve national prestige: put a premium on haste (Western heads of state can't take an indefinite leave of absence from their jobs, and must con-clude within days matters that would normally take months of negotiation; they sub-Ject the negotiators to an unholy glare of Publicity; and they make the free nations' leaders look like dictators settling the fate of the world. Summit meetings are ideal for Khrushchev and deadly for the West.

The second conclusion is that we should stop reacting to Khrushchev's signals, ignore the day-to-day zigzags of the Communist line, and concentrate on stopping the Communists' unchanging drive toward world domination.

Education Debate

SPEECH

HON. JAMES G. FULTON

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 25, 1960

Mr. FULTON. Mr. Speaker, at this point I should like to call to the attention of the Members a telegram which I have received from Mrs. Horace H. Johnson, president of the Pennsylvania Congress of Parents and Teachers. Mrs. Johnson lives in Bridgeville, Pa., near Pittsburgh, and the telegram was sent from a meeting of the congress which was being held in Philadelphia on the event of our consideration of the education bill in Congress.

The telegram is as follows:

PHILADELPHIA, PA., May 24, 1960. Hon, JAMES G. FULTON, House Office Building, Washington, D.C.:

As president of the Pennsylvania Congress As President of the Pennsylvania Cong. of Parents and Teachers I respectfully re-quest that this telegram be read on the floor of the House on Wednesday when Federal support for education is being debated and discussed.

The Pennsylvania Congress strongly favors Federal support for education as provided in the Senate bills, as amended by Senator CLARK, of our State. Our State congress ioins the National Congress of Parents and Teachers in pressing for passage of a measure at this session of Congress which will provide Federal moneys to school construction and/or teachers' salaries. The great majority of our 2,500 local unit leaders express a concern for the need for Federal support to aid in financing educational programs in their communities. This is an appeal to the Congressmen from Pennsylvania to vote for a measure which will provide Federal support for construction and/or teachers' salaries.

Mrs. Horace H. Johnson. President, Pennsylvania Congress of Parents and Teachers.

New China Policy Needed

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. DANIEL K. INOUYE

OF HAWAII

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, May 26, 1960

Mr. INOUYE. Mr. Speaker, while the attention of the whole world is focused upon the events that recently transpired in Paris, and while world peace appears predominantly dependent upon securing mutual understanding between the West on one hand and Russia on the other, there lies on the western basin of the Pacific Ocean, a country seemingly ignored in the light of recent world political developments-a country which could well present a potential threat to peace and security just as much as Khrushchev has done in the past week.

I refer to Red China, a country of 600 million people. It definitely is not a sleeping giant. To the contrary, it is building up its militia and its economy, and it is my humble opinion that we cannot forever continue to pretend, policywise and objectively, that it does not exist.

On April 27, 1960, and prior to the scheduled summit conferences, Mr. George Chaplin, editor of the Honolulu Advertiser, addressed the Honolulu Chinese Chamber of Commerce on the subject of the need for a new policy in China, The broad but concise treatment of this subject by Mr. Chaplin is, I believe, most thought-provoking and under leave to extend my remarks, I am including it in the RECORD for the consideration of my colleagues.

The speech follows:

NEW CHINA POLICY NEEDED

(By George Chaplin, editor, the Advertiser) The China mainland today is in a great upheaval, a vast revolutionary process that

will strongly affect the future of the world. It holds great danger for us-and yet we have a policy that pretends that the 640 million people in Communist China simply don't exist. It is predicted, by the way, that those 640 million will become 1 billion-a thousand million-perhaps 20 years hence.

I am convinced that the next President of the United States-whether Republican or Democratic-will have to formulate the beginnings of a new China policy. The realities of the times-our own protection and the free world's-require it.

Mao Tse-tung once said that Red China's military force "is the chief component of the

political power of the state."

Red China today has the world's fourth largest air force-2,500 planes, of which at least 1,800 are jets. Red China has a regular army of 21/2 million men, with millions more in the reserves and in the militia.

Red China has a navy which is relatively small—but still the largest native naval force

in the Far East.

Overall, Red China's strength is described by one authority as "now probably stronger than the military establishments of all the non-Communist nations of the Far East, southeast Asia, and south Asia combined."

In the face of such strength can we seriously conclude with Russia any plan to reduce our conventional arms—without Communist China being an active party to such an agreement? Can we afford to cut our strength unless both major Communist powers in the world do the same?

On the nuclear front, there is the same

question, perhaps more vital.

Since October 1958, talks have been going on at Geneva between our country and Russia on a treaty to ban nuclear testing. an agreement is reached, the next objective will be the dismantling of the nuclear weapons themselves.

Assuming a foolproof system can be worked out between our Nation and Russia, we no longer are the exclusive members of the Atomic Club. France has formally applied for membership with two big bangs in the Sahara—and who can doubt that Communist China, which already has an atomic reactor, will soon be making her own largescale nuclear noises?

Does anyone really think we can leave Communist China out of nuclear agree-ments—and for a moment be safe?

It took sputnik to teach the American people that the Russians are capable of great technical achievement. Will we have to be taught the same kind of lesson by Communist China?

The winds of change are blowing around the world-often at gale force-and we ignore them at our risk.

How did Communist China get that way? What forces produced a tyrannical Red government in a land that has one-fourth of the world's people, three times the population of the Soviet Union, an area onethird larger than the continental United States and, seven times that of all the Russian satellites combined?

CHINA'S ROAD TO COMMUNISM

(By George Chaplin, editor, the Advertiser) How did the Communists come to control China? Let's take a brief look at history:

Until the Opium war of 1839, China lived in isolation, a world order of its own. Then came western penetration-economically, politically, culturally-and over decades China became, in effect, a tributary to the

In return for superior technology, Western Powers (mostly European) demanded and received special privileges. The result was to intensify existing problems-and fill the air with doubt, uncertainty and revolution.

Sun Yat-sen, who felt gradual self-government should succeed the monarchy, ranged the world during his 16 years in exile, seeking support for his cause.

The Tung Meng Hui, which supported Sun, planned a major uprising for December 11, 1911, but the Double Ten explosion in a Hankow arms plant in October set off the revolution prematurely.
Sun Yat-sen was in the Brown Palace

Hotel in Denver, Colorado, when he read of

this. Eleven weeks later he reached Shanghai, the Manchu dynasty fell and Sun was president of the new republic.

Unfortunately, he was more "an evange-list of freedom" than a political realist. "He could neither command troops, organize a bureaucracy, nor win the confidence of the Western Powers.

In August 1912, he tried to bolster his position by forming the liberal elements of Tung Meng Hul into the Kuomintang-but he was outmatched by his military opponent, Yuan Shih-kai, who forced him into exile in Japan.

Yuan set about to restore the empire, but revolts broke out, a few months later World War I erupted. Yuan was forced from office and China soon fell into 10 years of anarchy under the regional war lords (the tuchuns).

The Kuomintang stronghold was in Canton. There in 1921, Sun Yat-sen presented his great creed—the Three People's Principles—nationalism (Min Tsu), democracy (Min Chuan) and livelihood (Min Sheng). In 1924 he conferred leadership on a former artillery cadet, Chiang Kai-shek, and named him to head the new Whampoa military academy to train officers.

The year before he has sent Chiang to Moscow to study, but Chiang was not impressed. That same year-1923-Sun met with the Soviet diplomat Adolf Joffe, and the revolutionist Michael Borodin was invited from Moscow to Canton as political adviser of the Kuomintang. He was able to bring Chinese Communists into the party and install Russian military advisers on the staff of the Whampoa Academy."

The Russians were able to exploit the unrest in China and "the inequality of treatment which China continued to suffer within the family on nations."

This was 1923. Five years earlier, in the spring of 1918, only a few months after the Bolshevik revolution in Russia, Chinese intellectuals at Pelping University had formed a Marxist study club.

In 1920 Russia sent two agents to China to aid in organizing the Chinese Communist Movement. One group was set up in Peking, another in Shanghai and a Communist cell was set up in Paris by students including one named Chou En-lai.

The Communists tried from the beginning to use the Kuomintang-seeking open alliance at the top, infiltrating from the bot-Chiang recognized the danger and in the years after Sun's death battled the Reds vigorously.

Came September 1931, the Japanese invasion of Manchuria, the cutoff of the border province of Jehol in 1933, the invasion near Peiping in 1937, precipating the war that lasted until August 5, 1945. China had to battle for her life.

For Mao Tse-tung and his Communists the long crisis provided a real opportunity and every situation was used to advantage. Mao played it cleverly, pretended support for Chiang, as did the Russians. But the sharp differences were always there.

The United States sought to mediate between the Nationalists and the Communists without success. The Wedemeyer Report to President Truman criticized both the Communists and the Kuomintang-the Communists because they were bound to the Soviet Union and wanted China to be a Communist state, and the Kuomintang for "reactionary leadership repression and corrup-tion" which, he said, "had been responsible for a loss of popular faith in the govern-

In urging aid for China, Wedemeyer emphasized that "Chiang Kai-shek must concentrate upon political and economic reforms if communism were to be stopped." Chiang "hesitated to undertake the necessary reforms." He lost his soldiers, his rifles-and public support.

In October 1948, the Nationalist defenders of Mukden went over to the Communists. January 1949, Tientsin fell. Peiping without a fight the same month, Shanghai in May, Canton in October without a fight.

Chiang began his rule-by-exile, on Formosa

CHINA'S COSTLY CLIMB TO POWER

(By George Chaplin, editor, the Advertiser)

A decade ago, on October 1, 1949, a quartermillion people packed the city square of Peiping to see the new Communist government take over.

The Reds promised full freedom-freedom to think, to speak, to publish, to assemble, to worship, to demonstrate. These were false promises, never allowed to become realities.

On that day not yet 11 years ago, Communist control had been extended to over one-fifth of the world's surface and to nearly one-third of the world's people.

Mainland China was practically in ruins from the long years of civil war and of invasion. Farm production was poor, famine was widespread, there was little industry. most of the roads and railways were beyond

The Communists set about to build China into a major industrial power-as quickly as possible, without regard to human cost.

Last year, industrial output was more than 10 times the 1949 figure. Tillman Durdin, southeast Asia correspondent of the New York Times, writing recently in the Atlantic, said Red China's scheduled output of industrial-grade steel last year was 12 million tons, 13 times the peak output of 1943.

"Today the country mines four to five times more coal annually than during the best pre-Communist year and claims to have surpassed the output of the United States. The regime maintains that Shanghai alone now turns out more textiles than all of the United Kingdom.

"Communist Chinese factories make industrial chemicals, locomotives, power generators, machine tools, automobiles, steel plants, airplanes, ships, electronic equipment-a wide range of the products of an industrialized economy."

Factories, mines, highways, airports, flood control systems—these all cost tremendous sums. And yet "during this last 10-year period, Communist China has had less than the equivalent of 500 million American dollars in foreign credit to assist in its economic upbuilding. The remainder of the capital goods used in its economic program has been paid for out of exports

In other words, the vast development of China has mostly been built out of human sweat and human endurance. The Red leaders converted prodigious human effort into capital. The emphasis on agriculture has been more to pay for industry than to improve living standards.

As a result, consumer goods are short, food and clothing are sharply rationed, and many go hungry. One workman, asked by a French visitor whether he wanted better housing or more leisure, replied: "We would so much like a little more pork."

The drive to extract the most from the human resources led to the communes 2 years ago, the compacting of 750,000 collective farms into 26,000 heavily regimented rural

Peking pushed too hard, too fast-there widespread complaint-mostly about breaking up families-and the government eased up a bit. But in production it still came out ahead.

It was the old Leninist technique of "two steps forward and one step back." ple are squeezed beyond their limit, then the pressure is reduced-but just a bit.

There obviously is much discontent in Red China, but life is so closely regulated by the Government it has little chance of being translated into action.

One of the secrets of the Reds has been the elimination of privacy. Today, reports an Atlantic article by Harriet C. Mills, a teacher of Chinese at Columbia University, a longtime China resident and a prisoner 1951-55 of the Communists, "every office, factory, shop, school, cooperative, mune, military or residential unit in China is divided into ostensibly voluntary small study groups of about 6 to 12 persons (hsueh-hsi)."

Under this system—this machine—of thought control "there is tremendous pressure both to fall in line and to want to fall

For the last 10 years "the Chinese Communists have been conducting the greatest campaign in human history to reshape the minds of men."

Mao Tse-tung said: "Thought reform is a protracted, gigantic and complex task. As the struggle will continue to experience ups and downs, we shall have both tense and slack moments during our work and shall have to proceed in a zigzag."

Only once did Peiping permit open criticism of the regime—the Hundred Flowers period of 1 month, from May 8 to June 8. 3 years ago. The criticism came mostly from intellectuals-and the Government. once it saw who the complainants were, quickly cracked down. Since then, no public criticism.

The fact is that despite the official toughness there is apparently a strong national pride in physical achievement. For China is on the way to becoming, in perhaps another 20 years, the third strongest industrial power in the world, next only to us and Russia.

Cyrus Sulzberger, chief foreign correspondent of the New York Times, wrote in a recent book: "The incredibly enormous state of mainland China will almost surely be the greatest superstate existent when the 21st century rolls around." That 21st century is just 40 years away.

To combat this, we have used a negative policy, one that seems to pretend that Red rule of China is a nightmare which will pass with the dawn, some future dawn.

If that policy were working, if Red China were not steadily growing in strength, and thus in danger to us, perhaps it could be defended. But it is not effective.

OUR CHINA POLICY MYTH

(By George Chaplin, editor, the Advertiser)

Our Asia policy is based on our China policy—and that China policy in turn has been constructed around a befuddling myth-that Chiang Kai-shek and his troops would return from Taiwan-"the Terraced Bay"-to the mainland, there to be greeted and aided by a mass revolt against the Communist government.

Chiang, now past 70, still has his generals and admirals-almost 600 on the active list, and another 350 retired but available.

He has a well-trained army-although & third of it is composed of Formosans who while living better than ever under U.S. financed Nationalist rule, have no deep ties with the China mainland and no zeal for battling over it. I might add that had the land reform program in Taiwan been applied by Chiang in China proper, he might have saved his nation and himself.

Now Chiang is left to his aging dreams and his final hopes. He commands, without benefit of public election, a semi-Socialist state which owns its major industries and spends 75 percent of its income on defense.

Chiang would like to see the now-andthen exchange of shells over Quemoy and Matsu develop into large-scale battle. are determined to prevent this -- and yet we

still play a Dulles-type brinkmanship as long as we permit those just offshore islands to symbolize our stand against Red China.

I would favor holding Formosa at all costs, including all-out war. But not Quemoy and Matsu. The problem is that having got ourselves stuck politically on a couple of "nearly indefauthle". of "nearly indefensible" and strategically dubious islands, how do we get unstuck in a way that is not obviously yielding to Red pressure? That's one of a long list of dilemmas the next President will inherit.

Even tougher questions are whether we should recognize Red China and whether the United Nations should admit her to membership. Our Government's policy is no, on both counts-although more and more officials privately concede that both U.S. rec-Ognition and U.N. admission are inevitable. The nub is when and under what circumstances.

Peiping today, although ostracized by us, has made effective contacts especially in the Afro-Asian nations and the Middle East. There she has diplomatic relations with Cambodia, Indonesia, Burma, India, Ceylon, Nepal, Afghanistan, Yemen, the United Arab Republic, Iraq. Morocco, and the Sudan.

She has lost some ground over the brutality in Tibet and the Indian border clashes, but wishful thinking should not inflate our

estimates of how much.

In foreign trade, most of Communist China's volume is with Russia and Eastern Europe-but she also deals with more than non-Communist countries or areas, largely Asian and African, to whom she sells textiles and other goods, both consumer and capital items. Japan and other industrial nations are beginning to feel this competi-

Between 1954 and 1957," according to an Atlantic article by Doak Barnett, State Department aid now with the Ford Foundation, "Communist China's trade with the underdeveloped nations of the Far East and southeast Asia rose by more than three-Quarters, at a rate over three times as fast as the increase of Japanese trade with the

Peiping is also active in foreign aid-\$750 million in grants and \$150 million in loans since 1953 to North Korea, North Vietnam, and Outer Mongolia, \$30 million to Hungary and now grants or loans to such countries as Ceylon, Cambodia, Burma, Indonesia, Egypt, and Nepal (whose King visited Hawaii some days ago).

Red China's major export, however, is trouble—the hope of stirring revolution and expanding the scope and influence of com-

munism.

This inevitably brings up the question of the 12 to 13 million oversea Chinese—10 million of them in southeast Asia—and the com-Petition between Peiping and Taipei for tehir allegiance.

It is argued by many that U.S. recognition or U.N. admission of Red China would en-courage the oversea Chinese—the hun-

chiao to become a fifth column for Pelping. The oversea Chinese are talented and skilled people for the most part, many with large commercial holdings. They know the facts of life. They know that Chiang holds no future for them, only futility, and they are beginning to learn, too, that the Communist government is more interested in manipulating and exploiting them than in protecting them.

I agree with Robert Elegant, Newsweek's Hong Kong bureau chief and an able student of the Orient, that "the immediate aim of American policy should be to neutralize (the overseas Chinese) politically so that they will no longer serve as a channel for Communist conquest."

And that "our ultimate aim must be to encourage assimilation (in the lands where they are living) if possible and accommodation where assimilation is impossible."

This would be a long, complicated, and tedious process—encouraging the oversea Chinese to give their political loyalty to their local governments and encouraging their local governments to accept it—but it is important and needed and we should get on with it.

At the same time, we should continue to build the free world's physical strength in southeast Asia to assure more security against the Red Chinese.

Any changes in our China policy should be to strengthen the mutual defense of free nations in the path of Communist China.

TIME FOR A CHANGE ON CHINA

(By George Chaplin, editor, the Advertiser)

Our lack of contact and communications with Peiping seems to me to be highly dangerous-for it is more important to keep a close eye on an enemy than on a friend,

We have an open-door policy with nations that are friendly to us—and, in the case of Russia, with one that is highly unfriendly. Churchill once said Russia under Stalin was a riddle wrapped in a mystery inside an enigma. So is Red China under Mao.

We've learned a great deal about Russia by direct contact. When it comes to Red China, we try to observe what's going on by looking through a small crack in the bamboo fence at Hong Kong or depending on reports from other nations.

We should seek unofficial contact with Peiping on various levels-through the exchange of newsmen, students and scholars, economists, sociologists and anthropologists, technicians, and tourists.

Last November a report prepared for the U.S. Senate Committee on Foreign Relations urged "proposals for exchange of scholars and commercial representatives" be our country and Communist China. between

"The United States dealt with Russia on these levels years before we recognized the Stalin regime."

"The Untied States has validated passports for 30 American newsmen to go to Red China, but Peiping-which invited them in the first place-now refuses visas, insisting on reciprocity, that we permit Red Chinese newsmen to come to America.

This would require a-waiver of our lawswhich the State Department some months ago said it was prepared to recommend to the Attorney General. Thus far, Peiping has not publicly reacted to that statement.

We ought to continue our efforts-for we have nothing to hide from Pelping's newsmen; Peiping has much to hide from ours. Isolation operates to Peiping's advantage, to our disadvantage.

Our ignorance of day-in-day-out operations in Red China is not adequately relieved by information we get from foreign legations in Peking, or from mainland China's technical journals or from foreign newsmen. We need our own observers at firsthand.

With unofficial contacts, U.S. recognition of Red China would still be a long time coming. We certainly should not rush into it. At the same time, we should disabuse ourselves of the notion that recognition means approval. We recognize the Governments of Communist Tito in Yugoslavia and Fascist Franco in Spain-and of course, Red Russia.

In not recognizing Red China, we have also persuaded the United Nations not to admit her. And yet, interestingly, this is what John Foster Dulles wrote in his book War or Peace" in 1950, reissued in 1957 after the Korean war:

"All nations should be members (of the UN) without attempting to appraise closely those which are good and those which are bad. Already that distinction is obliterated by the present membership of the United

"Some of the present member nations, and others that might become members, have governments that are not representative of the people. But, if in fact they are governments—that is, if they govern—then they have a power which shuold be represented in any organization that purports to mirror world reality.

"If the Government of China in fact proves its ability to govern China without serious domestic resistance," wrote Dulles, "then it, too, should be admitted to the United Nations. However, a regime that claims to have become the government of a country though civil war should not be recognized until it has been tested over a reasonable period of time."

Dulles, prior to confirmation as Secretary of State, ran into some resistance on this view. According to Cyrus Sulzberger, chief foreign correspondent of the New York Times, "he gave private assurances" that he to forgo this position and he was willing accepted Walter Robertson as Assistant Secretary in charge of Far Eastern Affairs.

As recently as 3 years ago, Robertson was saying that "Mao has no more real influence than the first taxi driver who goes by out-

Secretary Dulles has passed on and Robertson fortunately has left office. Secretary Herter may have different views on what the best interest of the United States and the free world demands in the way of policy.

Our insistence that Nationalist China be seated as one of the five permanent nations on the Security Council was born of our affection for the people of China-and without sufficient awareness of the realities. for we overestimated Chiang's strength and underestimated Mao's.

There are many, especially in Europe and among the Afro-Asians, who now favor a two-China approach. They would keep Nationalist China in the Security Council and admit Red China to the General Assemblywhere its representatives would have to stand up in the chamber of nations and defend their position themselves, rather than having Russia as agent and spokesman.

Neither Taipel nor Peiping likes the two-China approach. Some feel that Red China would not accept U.N. admission on such terms and also would not accept U.S. recognition—on the premise that psychologically she can better promote her hate America campaign from her present posture of iso-

There are no easy answers on our China policy. Our present one is negative. We need one that is positive, one that will not reduce our strength or our allies' but will increase it.

Such a policy would have to be evolved slowly and carefully. It is time to get started—and I believe we will see some moves in this direction in the next administration.

Education for Survival

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. ROBERT W. LEVERING

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, May 26, 1960

Mr. LEVERING. Mr. Speaker, as we debate the matter of further Federal aid to education, which by the way we have had in many forms since the founding of our Government, it seems to me the question is not whether we are going to continue having schools-for of course we will. It is not a question of whether we are going to continue to support our schools by taxation-of course we will continue to do this. The real question, it seems to me, is whether we will continue to support our schools primarily from taxes on real estate or whether we will help support them from taxes on income. In Ohio, 68.4 percent of the school tax dollar is obtained from the local school districts and of this 90 percent comes from taxes on real property.

Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I include the following excerpts from remarks by the late Senator Robert A. Taft of my State of Ohio on March 23, 1948; in support of Federal aid to education:

WHY MR. TAFT CHANGED HIS MIND

Four years ago I opposed the bill on this subject; but in the course of that debate it became so apparent, upon further study, that that was not the fault, necessarily, of the States where they lived, but rather of the financial abilities of the States that I could see no way to meet the condition which now exists regarding illiteracy in the United States and lack of education in the United States without some Federal assistance, particularly for those States which today are considerably below the average of wealth in the United States.

TO KEEP AMERICA FREE

I do not think I can exaggerate the necessity of education. Primary education lies at the basis of all forms of republican government. A government depending on the making of decisions by the people and depending on their intelligence can exist only if the people have some ability to understand the problems of government which are presented to them. Unless there is a satisfactory educational basis, there cannot possibly be hope for success in any democratic form of government where the people are expected to rule and to decide the questions which are placed before them.

THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT MUST HELP

In matters affecting the necessities of life—and I should like to confine it so far as possible to the necessities of life, namely, to relief, to education, to health, and to housing—I do not believe the Federal Government can say it has no interest, and say to the people, "Go your way and do the best you can." I do not believe we should do that. Because of the way wealth is distributed in the United States I think we have a responsibility to see if we can eliminate hardship, poverty, and inequality of opportunity, to the best of our ability. I do not believe we are able to do it without a Federal aid system.

STRENGTHEN ALL STATES

I do not believe that even the wealthier States are able today to do all the things the people want them to do. They are not able to do it simply because the power of the States to levy taxes is very limited and unsatisfactory. We may approach the prob-lem in some other way; but I do not know of any State aid program which has undertaken to exclude any State from some participation in the program. I believe that the general principle holds true, that if we are to do it at all, we must include all the States, including the wealthier ones, My theory is that if we do not undertake a Federal aid program, we shall have a national program forced upon us. I think it would be far better to strengthen the Statesthe strong States as well as the weak States.

NO OTHER WAY

It is popular to provide for public works. Public works are nice things; we can see them. But when it comes down to the basic necessities of life and the basic elements of human welfare and human progress, there is nothing more important than education. It does not have the glamour that

other things have, but it seems to me we must go forward in the field of education for our people and I know of no way of going forward in that field to any substantial degree without providing some Federal financial assistance.

SAFE FROM FEDERAL CONTROL

In my opinion, those of us who are interested in seeing that the power of the Federal Government does not increase are on sound ground in supporting the granting of Federal aid to enable the States to do what is necessary to resist Federal action, and then to insist that there be no interference with the power of the States to require their governments to administer their own affairs.

A LONG HISTORY OF U.S. EDUCATION SUPPORT

I should like to point out that Federal aid to education is not new in principle, that the Federal Government has always shown an intense interest in education throughout the United States. The Land Grant College Act provided an endowment to support at least one agricultural and mechanical college in every State. Furthermore, we have made appropriations for agricultural experiment stations. We have extended Federal aid for programs of cooperation with the State in extension work in agriculture and economics, and also in agricultural and industrial courses in secondary schools. Of course, going back to the beginning, it will be remembered that practically all public lands, I think, were distributed on condition that one section, sometimes two sections, in every township should be set aside to be sold and used for the purpose of local education. So, the general interest of the Federal Government in education cannot be questioned from a historical standpoint.

IT CAN BE DONE

But I believe very strongly indeed that in this field and in health and other fields dealing directly with human welfare, we must work out a sound system of improvement. I think that the best form we have today is the form of Federal aid to the States, leaving complete control of the administration of the funds and the administration of the programs, for which they must have the primary responsibility, in the hands of the local communities.

A FUNDAMENTAL AMERICAN PRINCIPLE

I think we have a tremendous obligation to provide equality of opportunity to the children of the United States. When the Declaration of Independence said that all men are created equal, it perhaps made an extreme statement; but I have always felt that what was meant was that all men in the United States are entitled to equality of opportunity. No child can have equality of op-portunity, in my opinion, unless to start with, he has a basic minimum education. There are many children who may have the mental capacity or the mental brilliance to rise above that handicap; there are many who will educate themselves; but I think they comprise a very small proportion of the total. The ordinary child who receives no education is, in effect, condemned to a life of poverty, a life on the basis of a low standard of living, a life of little interest, and a life which is of little value to the people of the United States.

I feel very strongly that we in this country have an opportunity which no other country has ever had, because of our tremendous productive ability, to see to it that equality of opportunity is afforded to all children born in the United States, or at least to aim in that direction and to achieve that end as closely as possible by administrative methods.

PEOPLE ON THE MOVE

Today people move all over the United States, so there is a national interest in the basic education which they have received.

DEMANDS OF THE PEOPLE

The people have become more and more interested in the action of States and localities in various fields. The demands for State action have constantly increased, until today I believe that even the wealthier States are not able to meet the demands the people themselves make upon them in the particular fields which are their primary obligation.

Summit Conference

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 3, 1960

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, grass-roots public opinion, reflecting as it does the true sentiments of Americans in relation to the recent Soviet-torpedoed summit conference, is clearly shown in community newspapers throughout the country. I submit for the RECORD an editorial from the Orland Park Herald, Tuesday, May 19, which, I believe, is worthy of attention:

It is a tossup as to which burns us most—the United Nations or the Moscow mobsters led by Nikita Khrushchev.

The United Nations has never been of any use in promoting peace and curbing aggression or war and we doubt that it ever will accomplish anything along the lines for which it is intended.

The American people were smart enough to stay out of the League of Nations following World War I. That was another body that falled to accomplish anything. And probably the greatest disappointment to its members was the fact that Uncle Sam was not there to pick up the check.

It is possible that had radio and television been available during World War I the League of Nation propagandists might have won us over. Americans were more independent minded then than now but we were a gullible lot too. Just look at the vote Wilson got when he ran for his second term on the slogan—"He Kept Us Out of War."

We didn't have a chance, however, when the United Nations was hatched. Years of brainwashing by F.D.R. and his New Dealers left us easy prey for the machinations of the one-worlders, do-gooders and pacifistic peace-at-any-price star gazers and we joined

That was a sorry day. So far the only purpose served by the U.N. has been to provide the commies with a distributing center for their propaganda and cover for their spies and a place for incompetents, uplifters and phonies to find jobs at sizable pay. The American taxpayers are footing most of the bills and if we got out the U.N. probably would collapse because the race of other members to dodge the check.

The U.N. has been bumbling along for more than a decade now, sometimes scolding, sometimes even shaking a finger at people and nations that flout its edicts and no one pays any attention. Nine observers sent to the Middle East as observers for the U.N. were killed, several of them having been deliberately murdered. And the U.N. never even said:

"Oh my goodness, fellahs, you shouldn't have done that."

It is reported that the Russians have taken over the U.N. news service so handouts and news releases made available through this service carry Red propaganda to all parts of the world. There are many papers that use

this U.N. news service. We have been re-ceiving a column in the mail-free of charge-which stems from the U.N. news service but we throw it away.

The Russian chief, Nikita Khrushchev, is constantly rattling missiles and telling the rest of the world what it must do. If any-thing should happen to him and the remainder of the Red heirarchy we hope it will not be trivial.

It is difficult for a family newspaper to refer to Khrushchev in apt phrase but we think that the creator of the comic strip Moon Mullins has been doing very well. In case you haven't been reading the strip recently it is now showing a sequence in which men from the State Department have called on Kayo Mullins in effort to persuade the lad to change the name of his dog, a bad mannered, oversized pooch.

The name-why Nikita, of course. Subtle,

these cartoonists.

Sentry in the Sky

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN V. LINDSAY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, May 25, 1960

Mr. LINDSAY. Mr. Speaker, this morning's New York Times carries an editorial entitled "Sentry in the Sky." This is a fine comment on the launching in orbit of Midas II and I recommend it to my colleagues:

SENTRY IN THE SKY

The launching in orbit of Midas II as part of the Air Force program to devise space sentries that would give a speedy warning of a surprise missile attack has definitely Opened a new era in the building of a powerful global defense system for ourselves and the rest of the free world. It promises for the near future-not more than 2 to 3 years hence and possibly sooner—to provide the free world with an early and effective warning system that would make it extremely difficult for a would-be aggressor to launch a surprise attack with intercontinental ballistic missiles.

The 3.000-pound instrument package of Midas II, the heaviest so far of any U.S. satellite, functions by detecting with its infrared sensors (namely, detectors of heat waves—the heat given off by a missile's engine exhausts. In this manner Midas will track a rising rocket for as long as its missile engine burns, or about 5 minutes. This information, relayed to ground stations, would give the missile's approximate course. Radar screens would then refine the information for a quick and accurate fix of the missile's course, thus greatly increasing the chances of accurate aiming by antimissile missiles.

The detection of the heat radiation from the exhaust flames of a ballistic missile as soon as it was launched would provide a warning time of approximately half an hour for a long-range ballistic missile with a range of 6,400 miles, instead of the 15-minute alert warning of possible attack that is now the basis of U.S. defenses. While half an hour may seem all too short a time in which to prepare to ward off a large-scale longrange missile attack, it nevertheless represents a doubling of the warning time.

Rowever, the added 15 minutes is only a small part of the story. The Midas is only one of several projects, some of them recently accelerated, in our efforts to seek protection. tection against a surprise missile attack, the greatest danger facing the free world. In announcing the Midas, information was also given out on a sister project, a space sentry named the Samos, which would carry longrange wide-angle cameras. The Samos, when perfected, will be a veritable "eye in the sky." More than any other instrument now in operation, it would make such efforts as U-2 information-gathering flights over the Soviet Union wholly obsolete.

The promise held out by the Samos is veritably breathtaking. Since the launching of a large-scale missile attack would necessarily take weeks of intensive preparation. it would be indeed extremely difficult to hide such preparations from the all-seeing "eye-in-space." It would therefore give us, and the free world, early warning not in terms of half an hour, but would reveal to us weeks in advance a potential enemy's aggressive plans. This in itself promises greatly to reduce the element of surprise, and thus to deprive a would-be aggressor of one of his most potent advantages

Unlike the U-2, which can be shot down, the Samos will be practically invulnerable against an enemy's effort to prevent it from doing its job. It would be practically impossible to send up a satellite to shoot it down, for an enemy would not be able to determine its position when orbiting over his territory. In the first place, the launching of such a satellite need not be made public, so that its very existence would not be known. Secondly, the taking of pictures is a silent operation, undetectable from the Thirdly, the sending down of its information electronically will not take place until commanded to do so when it is U.S. territory, so that its signals could not be interfered with. One such "eye-in-thesky" could thus do the job of hundreds of manned U-2's in complete safety.

All in all, the launching of Midas II marks veritable revolution in the building of the defenses of the free world. It, and Samos now in the making, are two of our newest shields to protect us against surprise attack. They thus serve as two of the most powerful weapons for the preservation of peace.

There Is Still an Urgent Need-And There Is Still Time To Enact a Depressed Areas Bill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. SAMUEL S. STRATTON

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 26, 1960

Mr. STRATTON. Mr. Speaker, as one of the coauthors of the so-called depressed areas bill, S. 722, one who fought hard to get this bill adopted by both Houses of Congress, and as one who knows something of the long, hard job it was just to get this piece of legislation to the floor, I was as distressed as I know most of us were by the President's heartless veto of this urgently needed

I appealed personally to the White House to get the President to sign the bill. I made a personal visit to the President's counsel to present the facts about the need for this legislation in my district, and the wide bipartisan support which it has in these communities which I represent which have been so hard hit economically. In spite of these efforts, the President, as we all know, vetoed the

bill. And just the other day the other body failed to override the vetoalthough, Mr. Speaker, I am frank to say I was most heartened to see that both of the distinguished Senators from my State of New York who visited my home city last January to see our plight there in Schenectady at firsthand voted to override the veto.

But what do we do now, Mr. Speaker? Where do we go from here? I know the tremendous job we faced in just getting S. 722 to the floor for a vote. We had to use a rarely employed parliamentary device to do it—Calendar Wednesday—a device that cannot be used again this year. It took us over a year just to accomplish that operation. I wonder how we can hope to do the same thing all over again.

Nevertheless, Mr. Speaker, several Members on the other side of the political aisle, including the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. WIDNALL] and my very close friend the gentleman from Pennsylvania Mr. [VAN ZANDT] with whom I had the honor to serve in the southwest Pacific in World War II, have introduced legislation which they tell us has the support of the White House and would be acceptable to the President as a compromise bill. While this legislation does not in my judgment go far enough, because it eliminates from any consideration the great industrial city of Schenectady which has lost some 18,000 factory jobs in the past 6 or 7 years, I want to make it clear that I am prepared to support these bills. At least they will make a start in the right direction. At least they will provide some measure of relief for two other communities hard hit by unemployment in my district. Amsterdam, and Gloversvill-Johnstown.

And so, Mr. Speaker, I want to urge all Members on my side of the aisle to put aside partisan considerations and join in supporting these bills. It is much more important that we have a bill than a political issue, because the people in my area are hurt and they are hurt hard. and they cannot keep on waiting much longer. Let us get together and adopt these compromise bills. Let us all join hands, and perhaps, with the support of the leaders on both sides, if we can get that support, we can pass them by acclamation in a single afternoon.

Under leave to extend my remarks, Mr. Speaker, I desire to include at this point a thoughtful editorial that appeared recently in the Amsterdam Evening Recorder in my district, urging us in the Congress to support these compromise bills. In the wise words of the editorial, which I hope all of my colleagues will take the time to read, "Half a loaf is always better than none." The editorial follows:

DEPRESSED AREA PROBLEM

Those Members of Congress who were unsuccessful in obtaining President Eisenhower's signature on the bill which would have provided economic assistance for depressed areas now have an opportunity to demonstrate their sincerity.

To replace the \$251 million measure which was vetoed because of what was termed "excessive spending," the administration has submitted a substitute bill calling for \$180 million. While the revised version might not be nearly as vote-attractive in an election year, the administration maintains it would meet existing needs. Surely those in depressed areas are more concerned with some form of assistance than with political implications.

The original measure would have provided aid for areas which were not even aware they had been designated as "distressed." Some of them openly resented their inclusion in

this category.

The substitute legislation is based on proven conditions. It would provide funds for rejuvenation of slack industries in regions where economic difficulties exist and the people want to be helped.

If those who supported the original relief bill are as concerned with the public welfare as they would have us believe, they can prove it by backing the down-to-earth measure

offered by the administration.

The question of aid to depressed areas has been discussed at great length and the need in various localities has been established. Since there is no reason to resume the timeconsuming debate, there is still plenty of time for legislative action before Congress adjourns for the summer.

Due to industrial shifts and other economic factors there are parts of the Nation, including much of our own Mohawk Valley, which need help now. There should be no delay in providing such assistance. Half a

loaf is always better than none.

Interstate Commerce Act

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF HON. DANIEL D. ROSTENKOWSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, May 26, 1960

Mr. ROSTENKOWSKI. Mr. Speaker, I would like to introduce two bills-one to repeal section 203(b)(6) of the Interstate Commerce Act, as amended, relating to the so-called motor-carrier agricultural commodities exemption, and the second to amend the Interstate Commerce Act so as to extend to the railroads a conditional exemption from economic regulation comparable to that provided for motor carriers when engaged in the transportation of ordinary livestock, fish or agricultural commodities.

It will be seen immediately that these bills embody objectives that directly clash with one another. They are intended to do so. And I offer them not to confuse my colleagues but to give you a clear choice as to which path to choose in eliminating a grave inequality of treatment as between different modes of transportation which exists in the present law.

These bills are being introduced because it is believed that this exemption from regulation has been extended far beyond its original and only justifiable purpose, which was to help the farmer by exempting from economic regulation the initial movement of his products from the farm to first markets.

Because of the steady broadening of this exemption to include even factoryprocessed products moving in commercial channels, regulated carriers such as the railroads today find themselves se-

verely handicapped in competing for traffic in agricultural commodities. Their rates are rigidly controlled and are required to be openly published, while the rates of exempt motor carrier haulers are not subject to any control and need not be made public. The regulated carriers thus have no clear idea of the kind of competition they are up against—though the exempt hauler knows precisely. As a consequence, large and ever-growing volumes of important traffic have been diverted to exempt truckers. And the impact on the Nation's basic carrier-the railroadsgrew more and more serious as the courts expanded still further the scope of this exemption.

Proposals to remedy this situation have been advanced by a number of public interests, including the Interstate Commerce Commission and various shipper groups. These suggestions were discussed during the course of hearings conducted in 1958 by the Subcommittee on Transportation and Communications of the House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce. As a result, the Transportation Act of 1958 included a provision which amended section 203(b) (6) to halt further expansion of the exemption and to return to economic regulation the transportation of frozen fruits and vegetables and imported agricultural commodities.

This was constructive action. But it was only one short step forward. While the 1958 amendment presumably has halted further significant expansion of the agricultural commodities exemption list, the widespread diversion of traffic in products already exempted from regulated carriers to exempt haulers con-

There are two ways to resolve this intolerable, unequal competition. One is to repeal the exemption outright and allow the traffic by all carriers to be regulated equally. The other is to extend to the railroads the same kind of exemption from economic regulation now granted motor carriers engaged in the transportation of ordinary livestock, fish, or agricultural commodities. I offer separate bills to accomplish each of these objectives

I urge that the House of Representatives give these proposals every consideration in the interest of establishing conditions of fairplay and equal opportunity for all transport competitors.

Abraham Lincoln and Stephen Douglas

SPEECH

OF

HON. PETER F. MACK, JR.

OF TITINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, May 18, 1960

Mr. MACK. Mr. Speaker, all of us in Illinois, as throughout the Nation, Democrat and Republican alike, revere the memory of Abraham Lincoln,

It is fitting, therefore, that, although a Democrat, I feel privileged to join in

this tribute to Lincoln on the occasion of the 100th anniversary of his nomination by the Republican Party of 1860 as its candidate for President of the United States.

However, I cannot let this occasion pass without paying tribute to another great American, another stalwart son of Illinois, that great leader of the Democratic Party, Stephen Douglas.

If, as many historians say, Lincoln's debates with Douglas gained him national stature and led to the presidential nomination, it was because Douglas already had risen to preeminence in the political life of this country.

It was the mark of the man that Douglas, once Lincoln became Chief Executive amid the flames of civil war, forsook partisanship and loyally supported his Commander in Chief.

An interesting account of this final episode in the stirring life of Illinois' "Little Giant" is given in the following account prepared at my request by Mr. John T. Rodgers, editorial specialist with the history and government division of the Legislative Reference Service of the Library of Congress:

ABRAHAM LINCOLN: STEPHEN A. DOUGLAS

The great political battle, formally opened by the ominous "House divided" speech at Springfield, Ill., on June 16, 1858, was at last decided-insofar as it could lawfully be decided-by the returns as they filtered through from the North on the evening of November 6, 1860.

And the defeated-but still indubitably great opponent of that most fateful political field? I cannot, I feel, do better than to quote from Miss Tarbell's "Life of Lincoln," which, after three score and 5 years, still casts an indefinable charm. Speaking of the inaugural ceremonies on that foreboding March 4, 1861, Miss Tarbell writes:

"A few moments' delay, and the movement from the Senate toward the east front began, the Justices of the Supreme Court, in cap and gown, heading the procession. As soon as the large company was seated on the platform erected on the east portico of the Capitol, Mr. Lincoln arose and advanced to the front, where he was introduced by his friend, Senator Baker, of Oregon. He carried a cane and a little roll-the manuscript of his inaugural address. There was a moment's pause after the introduction, as he vainly looked for a spot where he might place his high silk hat. Stephen A. Douglas, the political antagonist of his whole public life, the man who had pressed his hardest in the campaign of 1860, was seated just behind him. Douglas stepped forward quickly, and took the hat which Mr. Lincoln held helplessly in his hand. 'If I can't be President,' he whispered smilingly to Mrs. Brown, a cousin of Mrs. Lincoln and a member of the President's party, 'I at least can hold his hat.'
"'Douglas' conduct cannot be overpraised,'

wrote the 'Public Man' in his 'Diary.' him for a moment in the morning, when he told me that he meant to put himself as prominently forward in the ceremonies as he properly could, and to leave no doubt on any one's mind of his determination to stand by the new administration in the performance of its first great duty to maintain the Union,"

"Immediately after the firing on Fort Sumter, Douglas accompanied George Ashmun to the White House, at the latter's sug-gestion, to assure the President of his support. He was cordially received and heard the President read a draft of the proclamation calling for 75,000 volunteers to suppress rebellion. His only criticism was: 'I would make it 200,000.' Otherwise their accord was complete. In the columns of the newspapers next morning Democrats read the President's proclamation and a dispatch (written by Douglas) announcing the determination of Senator Douglas fully to sustain the President in the exercise of all his constitutional functions to preserve the Union. From this time on Douglas was in frequent conference with the President. It was on Lincoln's advice that he left the Capital to rouse the people of the North-West to the seriousness of the crisis. He spoke twice on the way, both times with obvious emotion, deprecating secession and pleading for the support of the Government at Washington. On April 25, he made a remarkable speech to his own people in the capitol at Springfield. Fifty years later, men who had been his political opponents could not speak of it without emotion. 'I do not it is possible,' wrote Horace White, for a human being to produce a more prodigious effect with spoken words' (Herndon-Weik, Lincoln II, 126-27). His great sonorous voice reverberated through through the chamber until it seemed to shake the building, stirring men and women to a frenzy of excitement. In a few weeks that great voice was still. Stricken soon after with typhoid fever, he battled resolutely as ever with this last foe, but succumbed on June 3, 1861, his last words a message to his two boys bidding them to obey the laws and sup-Port the Constitution."

Thus did not the least of the sons of nlinois pass over the Great Divide, his last thought—his very last breadth—in support of the Union he so dearly and zealously loved.

Some Wise Thoughts on Voting

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES O. PORTER

OF OREGON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 23, 1960

Mr. PORTER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I include the following editorial which appeared in the Grants Pass (Oreg.) Courier, of May 18, 1960. Editor Paschal Wilson commented on the value of the individual vote which Oregonians then were to cast 2 days hence in the Oregon primary. That primary is ended but the wisdom of the editorial is still worth sharing with my colleagues.

Editor Wilson noted:

It would be well to remember * * * that we are in the most severe time of testing in our history and not even the smallest community, let alone any State of the United States, can escape the pressure from without we are feeling within our form of government.

PRIDAY, A DAY FOR SERIOUS THOUGHT

Another day and then ballot-casting time. Who to vote for in the primary? Not much deciding on the Republican side. Quite a lot in the Democratic lineup.

It is essential, if the county has the kind of government it needs, that the voter—the men and women who pack the big stick at least at election time—vote for the best qualified candidate. It doesn't follow that just because a candidate is already holding office he should be automatically returned. Neither does that fact mitigate against his remaining in office.

But if an officeholder's record, his personal attitude toward the public, his efficiency and courtesy in dealing with the public are noticeably lacking, then it is the responsibility of the voter to find another candidate that more nearly measures up.

The county, the city, the State government must have in the several offices in those setups, men and/or women who have love for their residential community, for the people who hire them to do a job; the candidate is normally receptive to suggestions, courteous and extremely handshaky but too often when he or she is placed in the office they seek, their attitude undergoes a change and they sometimes feel they are overlords and the people the underlings when, in fact, it is the other way around. The officeholder is a servant of the people and should with humility and appreciation of the mandate of the people conduct the office assigned by the majority or plurality of votes, as the case may be. There's a vast difference between dignity in office and servility, however, but they go, in a manner of speaking, hand in hand.

So, it would be well to remember in Friday's primary voting that we are in the most severe time of testing in our history and not even the smallest community, let alone any State of the United States, can escape the pressure from without we are feeling within our form of government.

We want loyal, steadfast, dependable, honest, courteous men and women, able to handle not only the job they seek of the voter but undeniably and wholeheartedly inclined to the kind of governmental arrangement our Founding Fathers set up for us and which has weathered many a test to still maintain the standards we pride in a free nation.

Basically, the right of the people to select whom they will have to serve them is as much a part of the life of the respective communities as their religions, and the mandate of the people should be a sacred trust in the eyes of those they favor. But first and foremost is the responsibility of the people to choose rightly.

Farm Policy Comment

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. HARLAN HAGEN

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 26, 1960

Mr. HAGEN. Mr. Speaker, I first invite the attention of the Members to an article by Charles B. Shuman, president of the American Farm Bureau Federation, entitled "The Quest for the Holy Grail":

THE QUEST FOR THE HOLY GRAIL (By Charles B. Shuman)

According to legend, many knights of old sacrificed their fortunes and their lives in a gallant but fruitless search for the Holy Grail. Clad in shining armor, the Crusaders of the Middle Ages also attempted the impossible—to convert unbelievers to Christianity by force of arms. Later, through hard work, good deeds, and love—not force—a relatively few missionaries were successful in carrying God's word into every corner of the world.

Agriculture's modern quest for the unattainable is the equally fruitless search for a "sound, workable Government farm program."

How many years of declining farm prices and discouragingly low income must we endure before politicians learn, as most farmers already know, that there "ain't no such thing"?

There are many areas for proper and valuable Government activity in agriculture research, education, market information, and others.

On the other hand, the numerous Federal Government attempts to establish prices, control production, and subsidize farm family income have failed in their purpose and have created huge price-depressing surpluses.

We have tried almost every political panacea imaginable—quotas, allotments, income payments, export subsidies, high price supports, two-price plans and other schemes to replace the market price system.

Why is the search for a sound, workable government price fixing or income support program so hopeless? The market price has proved to be the only satisfactory means of letting producers know which commodites are needed and which are being rejected by consumers.

Any government action which interferes substantially with the operation of market prices inevitably will result in both surpluses of unwanted goods and artificial scarcities which force substitution and loss of markets. This is because administered prices reflect the bureaucratic or political decision of a few officials while the competitive market reflects the demands of many millions.

Again the cry goes up—let all farm organizations get together, compromise their differences and agree on a farm program. The policies of the farm organizations are developed by the members; thus any compromise (except within these policies) would be a from the top down betrayal of the trust placed in leadership. Furthermore, the minority farm organizations would be very unlikely to agree to a vote on policy proposals in proportion to their paid membership since three-fourths of all organized farmers are in Farm Bureau.

Finally, a patched together compromise of conflicting policies would very likely result in increased Government intervention in agriculture—the very thing we must avoid if we want to secure improved farm family income.

Yes, a sound, workable Government program is agriculture's holy grail—a phantom, will-o'-the-wisp that can never be attained because it replaces God-given economic processes with manmade political power. When farmers turn from the temptation of using compulsion to secure their fair share of national income and return to using their ingenuity and organizational abilities to produce and market their crops to all consumer needs throughout the world—only then will they truly find the holy grail that rewards those who serve.

I next refer to an article which appeared in the May 15, 1960, issue of the Fresno Bee. This article stresses the self-help actions of the California cotton industry, under the caption "Shortage of Acala Fiber is Predicted":

SHORTAGE OF ACALA FIBER IS PREDICTED

SHAFTER, KERN COUNTY.—"I believe there will be a shortage of San Joaquin Valley cotton on the market this fall even though we stand to produce more fiber than ever before. The demand will exceed the supply."

Even for a man sold on the qualities and yield of California's famed Acala 4-42 cotton, this is a whale of a statement. Especially in the light of increased acreage this year which may bring the valley's 1960 crop up to some 1,800,000 bales or better.

CONVINCING POINTS

But John Turner, director of the U.S. Cotton Field Station at Shafter, backs up his prediction with some pretty convincing points:

"In the last 5 years there has been a big upsurge in raw cotton for fabrics," he observed, "for instance, the wash and wear apparel requires a fiber 20 percent stronger than that used in regular cotton fabrics.

"Acala cotton definitely leads the field in this quality, along with uniformity and spinning quality. With this increasing wash and wear popularity, the mills must use finishes which take away much of the strength of the original fiber. This is where the extra strength of Acala pays off," he said.

BUYERS PRAISE COTTON

But this is not just Turner's opinion. He wrote letters to 9 major mills which buy a total of 600,000 bales from California each year, or about one third of the State's crop. He asked the mills how they felt about California's Acala cotton, and more specifically, what their ideas were about any abandonment of the State's one variety law.

"Some mills even went so far as saying they would withdraw their buyers from this area if other varieties were introduced," Turner explained as he thumbed through a sheaf of replies from the mills.

"There is an urgent demand for your cotton. Even though there is a freight disadvantage, we paid 2 to 3 cents a pound premium for Acala last season. It would be a serious mistake to abandon your single variety program," Turner quoted from one letter.

"When we want exceptional strength we must turn to the irrigated Acala," wrote one buyer. Another said, "We specify in our contracts for purchasing California cotton that this cotton must be grown in the San Joaquin Valley. We are interested in purchasing cotton grown only from Acala 4-42 seed."

Others replied that it would be a great calamity if the valley's one variety proposition should fall through. A final letter points out that "we think the Imperial Valley cotton in the same grade and staple is very much inferior to the San Joaquin."

Turner explains that such demand for Acala, resulting from nearly 30 years of experimentation and breeding, has not always been the rule.

IMPROVED STRAIN

"Through the 1940's, mills used only about 35 to 40 percent California cotton blended with southern varieties to get uniformity and strength. Acala had the strength, but impurities caused by immature fiber, called neps, presented spinning problems," Turner said.

"Through breeding and learning more about growing our crop with irrigation, we eliminated the neppiness and broadened our markets," he added.

"Acala, always a longer staple, has become a trademark," he said, "even though the present Acala no more resembles the Acala of the 1920's than the touted Deltapine does our Acala. In the last 15 years technologists have developed tests which can check the fiber features needed to offer best spinning characteristics such as elasticity, and fineness, adding more fuel to the demand for our cotton."

I next refer to an article appearing in the May 9 issue of the same paper under the caption "California Tops United States in Cotton Acreage Yield":

CALIFORNIA TOPS UNITED STATES IN COTTON ACREAGE VIELD

California last year was first in the Nation in the average yield of cotton, second in total production and fourth in total acreage.

This was reported in the U.S. Department of Agriculture in its final report on the Nation's 1959 cotton crop.

The Associated Press reports California produced 1,922,000 bales on 875,000 acres, an average of 1,051 pounds an acre, the USDA said.

TEXAS ACREAGE

Texas' plantings totaled 6,350,000 acres and it produced 4,416,000 bales. Its average was 334 pounds an acre, far below the national average of 462 pounds an acre.

The total national production was 14,-551,000 bales on 15,090,000 acres. The income was \$2,281,300,000 from the bales and \$232,039,000 from 5,989 tons of cottonseed.

The average returns to growers were 31.4 cents a pound for the cotton lint, compared to 33.23 cents in 1958, and \$38.30 a ton for cotton seed, compared with \$43.80 in 1958.

OTHER FIGURES.

The harvested acreage, the average yield an acre and the production, respectively in the other States last year were:

North Carolina, 390,000 acres harvested; 395 pounds per acre and production 322,000 bales.

South Carolina, 565,000; 353 and 417,000, Georgia, 655,000; 381 and 521,000. Tennessee, 510,000; 620 and 660,000. Alabama, 835,000; 412 and 718,000. Mississippi, 1,460,000; 514 and 1,460,000. Missouri, 398,000; 610 and 508,000. Arkansas, 1,300,000; 568 and 1,544,000. Louisiana, 490,000; 481 and 492,000. Oklahoma, 625,000; 292 and 381,000. New Mexico, 198,000; 782 and 323,000. Arizona, 383,000; 893 and 715,000. Virginia, 16,000; 378 and 12,600. Florida, 26,500; 244 and 13,500. Illinois, 2,200; 343 and 1,600. Kentucky, 7,900; 631 and 10,400. Nevada, 3,400; 848 and 6,000.

Health Benefits Bill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. LEE METCALF

OF MONTANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, May 25, 1960

Mr. METCALF. Mr. Speaker, today I have introduced in the House of Representatives a health benefits bill which is summarized as follows:

The bill provides basic health benefits as a matter of right to all persons aged 68 or over, starting July 1, 1961. It contains parallel but separately financed provisions for those covered by old-age, survivors, and disability insurance and for all those without such coverage.

I. VOLUNTARY HEALTH BENEFITS THROUGH THE OASI SYSTEM

1. For 9 million persons aged 68 or over who are eligible for OASDI monthly benefits, the bill provides either specified health benefits or, if they prefer, a \$4 increase in their monthly cash payments.

2. The benefits would be paid as a matter of right without a means or income test, utilizing the economical machinery of the OASDI system.

3. Health benefits would include up to 365 days of hospital care, 180 days of skilled nursing home recuperative care, and 365 days of visiting nurse services. Certain special hospital services would be covered in addition to those usually rendered; namely, laboratory and X-ray, private nurses, and physical restoration.

4. A physician's certification of the need for care would be required, and, for hospital care, beneficiaries would have to pay an initial deductible of 3 days or \$100, whichever is less, repeated after 24 days.

5. The long-range cost is estimated at between 0.45 and 0.5 percent of payrolls but would be less in early years.

6. Contribution rates would be increased in 1961 to meet the estimated cost as follows: One-quarter percent increase for employers and employees, and three-eighth's percent increase for the self-employed, on earnings up to the ceiling of \$4,800. No expenditures from general revenues wold be required for persons covered by OASDI.

7. A Federal health benefits trust fund would be established similar to the OASI

trust fund.

8. The Secretary of HEW would consult with a representative advisory council before making regulations. He would be authorized to utilize State health agencies and voluntary nonprofit organizations in the administration of the program.

9. Agreements relating to the provision of services would be made with the hospital, nursing home, or visiting nurse service agency or with its authorized representative. Any qualified provider of services would have the right to participate, and individuals could choose among them. The method of determining the amount of payments would be based on the reasonable cost of rendering the services.

10. Nothing in the act shall be construed to give the Secretary supervision or control of the practice of medicine or the manner in which medical services are provided.

II. COMPARABLE HEALTH BENEFITS FOR PERSONS NOT ELIGIBLE FOR OASDI

- 1. Persons aged 63 and over not eligible for OASDI benefits would receive identical health benefits through a parallel program financed from general revenues. More than 2 million persons would be aided in this manner. No income or means test would be applied.
- 2. The cost for them would be about \$60 a year each. The total Federal outlay of between \$150 million and \$200 million a year would be offset by substantial savings in outlays for public assistance and care of veterans.
- Authority is provided for necessary annual appropriations from the general funds of the Treasury.

III. RESEARCH AND DEMONSTRATION

1. The bill would direct the Secretary of HEW to conduct research on the health care of older persons and on improvements in the quality and efficiency of health services.

2. The Secretary is also authorized to conduct appropirate demonstration programs on how to meet the health needs of older persons as effectively and efficiently as possible in their communities.

Action for Foreign Policy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JAMES G. FULTON

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 26, 1960

Mr. FULTON. Mr. Speaker, with the recent passage into law of the Mutual Security Authorization of 1960 and the approaching congressional action on the mutual security appropriation, I would like to call to the attention of the Congress and the American people an excellent and well prepared statement by Attorney John K. Tabor, of Pittsburgh,

Pa.

I believe this statement should be read with interest so that the views in this statement might be carefully considered:

PITTSBURGH, PA., May 20, 1960. Re action for foreign policy. Hon. JAMES G. FULTON Congress of the United States, House of Representatives, Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN FULTON: On behalf of the members of action for foreign policy, I forward a memorandum on the balance-ofpayments question as it relates to the appropriations bill for the mutual security pro-

gram, fiscal year 1960-61.

As you know, action for foreign policy is a group of Pittsburgh business and professional men and educators, of both political parties, who meet regularly to study cur-rent issues in the foreign policy field where legislative action is involved. The conclusions and recommendations in the enclosed memorandum are the product of such a study.
Yours very truly.

JOHN K. TABOR.

MEMORANDUM

Appropriation bills for the mutual security program will soon be considered by the Congress. Opponents of these bills argue that these programs should be curtailed be-cause of a dangerous increase of the imbalance of payments. They point out that in 1959 the imbalance rose to \$3.7 billion from the 1958 high of \$3.4 billion.

We respectfully submit that the balance of payments problem is being adjusted by other appropriate measures and that reduction of the mutual security program, in any event, will not in fact substantially reduce the U.S. payments imbalance.

Without any substantial change in the mutual security program for the fiscal year 1959-60, the Commerce Department reports that during the first quarter of 1960 the deficit was cut by about \$400 million. It is estimated that the deficit in the balance of payments may be reduced this year to approximately \$2 billion to \$2.5 billion, a sharp drop from \$3.7 billion in 1959 and \$3.4 billion n 1958.

Even if there were the prospect of no alleviation of the problem of the balance of payments we believe that the mutual security program should be supported for reasons of national policy independent of the current balance of payments deficit situation. Mutual security program is a vital instrument of U.S. foreign policy in strengthening and developing the free world, and it should not be emasculated for fiscal reasons short of a national emergency which in it-

self will threaten national security.

Significantly, the contribution of the mutual security program to the deficit is relatively minor. The vast portion of foreign aid which is recorded under the balance of payments accounting system as foreign payments returns in the short-term as receipts to the United States. For fiscal year 1960 it be the United States. For iscal year 1900 is a setimated by Mr. John O. Bell, of the State Department's Office of Deputy Coordinator for mutual security, that only \$150 million of the nonmilitary part of the mutual security. rity program payments abroad will fall to return as balance of payments receipts to the United States in the short term. The rea-son for this is that foreign beneficiaries of mutual security program funds buy substantial quantities of goods and services in the United States and remit mutual security program funds or credits created in turn by se funds, in payment.

One of the reasons for the balance of payments deficit has been a decline in U.S. exports. Realizing this, President Elsenhower and the executive branch announced on March 17, 1930 the establishment of a naon March 17, 1960 the establishment of a national export expansion program by which

the Departments of State, Commerce, and the U.S. Export-Import Bank initiated a series of coordinated measures to enlarge American export business and thus to overcome the balance of payments problem by the affirmative steps of increasing the amount of American business overseas and amount of American jobs thus created. Over the long term it should be noted that the mutual security program develops foreign markets and thus should increase American exports and thereby our payments posi-

Another aspect of the balance of payments deficit should be noted in the words of Mr. Carl P. Blackwell, Director, International Economic Analysis Division, U.S. Department of Commerce, who says that "It is essentially a matter of short-term deficit for long-term gain." Thus in 1958, \$1.1 billion in U.S. direct private investment abroad was recorded as outgoing payments. Actually this amount classed as an "expenditure" is a long-term capital investment abroad which will some day return substantial dividends and royalties to the United States as balance of payments receipts. Meanwhile, this outflow of capital is of great strategic and humanitarian value to the United States and the free world.

CONCLUSION

For the foregoing reasons we urge that the Congress take all appropriate action to reduce the balance of payments deficit by measures designed to strengthen and enlarge American exports; and we oppose as unwise and shortsighted alleged solutions of balance of payments problem by curtailment of the

mutual security program.

Respectfully submitted.

Stanley Ruby, Stephen Blickenstaff,
Robert E. Mertz, Oscar S. Gray, William J. Barton, Chandler G. Kitchum, Thomas M. Kerr, Samuel K. McCune, Putnam B. McDowell, Stanley Shep Ungar, John K. Tabor, John B. Henderson, Kenneth S. Smith, Albert M. Pitcher, Jr.

THE SIGNERS

Stanley Ruby: Fellow scientist, Westing-house Electric Corp., Radiation and Nucleonics Laboratory.

Stephen Blickenstaff: Program director, program Instep (Indian steel training and educational program), Carnegie Institute of Technology.

Robert E. Mertz, Esq.: Attorney, Buchanan, Ingersoll, Rodewald, Kyle & Buerger.

Oscar S. Gray: Secretary-Treasurer, Nuclear Materials & Equipment Corp., Apollo, Pa.

William J. Barton: Assistant to the president, Alcoa International, Inc.

Chandler G. Ketchum: Partner, Babb & Co. (insurance brokers).
Thomas M. Kerr, Jr., Esq.: Attorney, West-

inghouse Electric Corp.
Samuel K. McCune, Esq.: Partner, Kirk-

patrick, Pomeroy, Lockhart & Johnson. Putnam B. McDowell: Vice President,

Pittsburgh Coke & Chemical Co. Stanley Shep Unger: Personnel manager,

Fashion Hosiery Shops. John K. Tabor, Esq.: Partner, Kirkpatrick,

Pomeroy, Lockhart & Johnson. John B. Henderson, Esq.: General atterney,

Aluminum Co. of America. Kenneth S. Smith: Staff reporter, Wall

Street Journal.

Albert M. Pitcher, Jr., Esq.: Attorney, Westinghouse Electric Corp.

The above individuals speak only for themselves, and they do not purport to express the views of the businesses and firms with which they are associated.

H.R. 12255

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CORNELIUS E. GALLAGHER

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 26, 1960

Mr. GALLAGHER. Mr. Speaker, recently, I introduced a bill, H.R. 12255, which would make health benefits part of the social security system. Any person eligible for old-age survivors or disability benefits would also be eligible for health benefits. These benefits would include 90 days of hospital care per year and 120 days nursing home care per year—less any days of hospitalization.

We know, of course, that millions of our senior citizens need help and they need it immediately. There is no doubt in my mind that the strength of our democratic system of Government depends upon our ability to meet the needs of the people as they arise, and not later. Every delay simply means that thousands, if not millions, of people will find their anticipated later years somewhat tarnished if they are denied the feeling of security that comes from the knowledge that medical aid will be available to them.

I would like to include as part of my remarks a resolution which was recently passed by the General Assembly of the State of New Jersey. I concur wholeheartedly in this resolution:

A CONCURRENT RESOLUTION MEMORIALIZING CONGRESS TO ENACT LEGISLATION PROVIDING HOSPITAL, SURGICAL, AND NURSING HOME BENEFITS TO OLD-AGE SURVIVORS INSURANCE

Whereas 500,000 New Jersey men and women, having passed the age of 65, require more than 21/2 times as much hospitalization as the general population; and

Whereas more than half of the aged population have incomes of less than \$1,000 per

year; and

Whereas access to the highest quality health care should be the right of the elderly under circumstances which promote self-respect and encourage independence: Be it

Resolved by the General Assembly of the State of New Jersey (the Senate concurring):

- 1. The Congress of the United States is memorialized to enact amendments to the Social Security Act so that old-age and survivors insurance recipients will receive hospital, surgical and nursing home benefits as a benefit right.
- 2. An authenticated copy of this resolution be forwarded to the U.S. Senate and House of Representatives.
- 3. Copies of this resolution be forwarded to the President of the United States and to the Members of Congress elected from New Jersev.

MAURICE V. BRADY, Speaker of the General Assembly.

Attest:

MAURICE F. KAIP, Clerk of the General Assembly. GEORGE HARPER, President of the Senate.

Attest:

HENRY H. PATTERSON, Secretary of the Senate. Internatioal Crossroads Breakfast-Part III

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. FRED SCHWENGEL

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 26, 1960

Mr. SCHWENGEL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I desire to bring to the attention of the Members more excerpts from letters which have been received as testimony to the effective role the international crossroads breakfast plays in promoting better understanding among the peoples of the world. These letters come from the farflung corners of the earth, and even though I can't include them all, I do want to mention the names of many of the others who have written:

Dr. Italo G. Gabrielli, assistant professor, Institute of Physics, University of Trieste, writes:

"I enjoyed indeed the meeting among people coming from each region of the world, realizing the need, the joy, of mutual knowledge, of putting down boundaries of doing of this small world the peaceful garden of the whole mankind. God helps the men who put together their energies for a better, more human, and more Christian world."

Robert McLaughlin, Sydney, New South Wales, Australia, writes:

"The 'Crossroads' is a wonderful idea and could only have evolved in the minds of idealists. As I passed through your city as a tourist on Sunday, July 7, 1957, I had never heard of your organization until a kindly spoken gentleman approached me-a some what homesick fellow at the time-in the hall and extended me an invitation to your weekly functions. I can assure you, Mr. Brindle, it gave my morale a terrific and much needed boost that morning. As far as I can now remember, the inviter was a reasonably tall soft-spoken man, with black reasonably tail soft-spoken man, with black hair and without affectation. Does this description identify the person I can still recollect fairly clearly? I was asked to say a few words but I was caught unawares. But not so the next time, which I hope to be during mid-1961, and possibly next Sepember when I will be able to speak for 3 or 4 minutes on our fair land down under. I talked to your guest speaker, Hon. FRED SCHWENGEL, for a few minutes after the breakfast that morning."

Kin'ichi Komada, dean, faculty of education, Kyushu University, Fukuoka, Japan, comments.

"I am very happy to realize that the friendly relations between your country and our country has been promoted these days. I often recall of the nice days I spent in America. I have a wish to visit your country again after my position as dean has expired. And how I wish to meet you all again at the international crossroads.

Jose R. Collante, treasurer, Province of Tarlac, Philippines, adds:

"As a message to the people of the world. I should say that there is no better motivating force to bring about the real peace in the hearts of men than the building up of goodwill between neighbors. The world has so shrunk now that everyone is a neighbor to each other. On that score, it behooves that every individual should cultivate that virtue of friendship which can make people forget their animosities and remember the sweetness of friendship to all those that cross and pass the International Crossroads of

International Understanding Fostered by Washington, D.C., YMCA. I extend to them the felicitations and greetings of goodwill of the people of the Philippines."

Esteban A. de Ocampo, professor of history and political science at University of the East and at the Manuel L. Quezon University, both in Manila, reports:

"I remember very well that I was privileged to attend two Sunday breakfast meetings there: first, on November 14, 1954 when Dr. Lyle W. Ashby of the NEA spoke on American education; the second, on March 6, 1955 when Senator Roman HRUSKA of Nebraska was the guest speaker.

"I wish I could come to the United States again this year—the "Visit American Year" and renew acquaintances and see and learn more of your huge industries, your low-cost housing projects, your superhighways and freeways, your imposing buildings, your well-stacked libraries and museums, your clean cities and communities, your well-kept streets, your advanced educational institutions and other cultural centers, your friendly people, and also feel once more the spirit of freedom and independence. In all my classes and even outside the classroom I have always emphasized these points, and I always ended my talks with the statement that "the Filipinos have no better and sincere friends in this world than the Americans."

"My most sincere congratulations to the Crossroads in its 14th anniversay."

Hans Mikolsen, Bergen, Norway, writes:

"It is now 11 years since I visited United States. The years are going fast. After my studying trip in your country I succeeded in advancing to supervisor by the telecommunications at the weather bureau in western Norway. My job is to take care of all reports being available for weather forecast.

Sorab K. Direcha, president, Lions Club of Bombay, writes:

"I send to you my best wishes and felicitations. Our respective countries since the visit of President Eisenhower have come closer together than ever before and I do feel there is far more awareness and appreciation in the States now of our difficulties, our wants and our aspirations than there ever was before."

Ugo M. Colombo, director of public assistance, city of Milan, Italy, writes:

"It is a pleasant for me to remember so many friends as you and all the life members; and it is an honor to send my news to you and your distinguished fellows assembled in Washington, D.C., that we from Italy, consider the pilot center of peace, progress, and liberty."

Dr. Mohamad Javad Meimandi-Nejad, University of Tehran, Iran, writes:

"My thoughts are with you on many occasions, especially on Sunday mornings and on Moslem equivalents, i.e., Friday mornings, and always miss the wonderful fellowship, lectures, prayers you and your colleagues brought to the group to lucky people who became members of the breakfast club. The breakfast club is but another significant way you have contributed to make the lives of your friends and acquaintances rich and worth sharing with others.

"I can say with proud assurance that you
"I can say with proud assurance that you are doing what many a saint has done. sow love where there is a vacuum of feeling; you sow hope where there is aimless wandering; you sow joy where there is need for joy; and you sow faith in the hearts that seek it and in the hearts that wonder what It is

"To have shared your thoughts, your knowledge, and your feelings persistently with at least 12,000 peoples of all religions, creeds, countries, colors and races, and to have created mutual relations between them is a work of marvel, one that merits thanks, wishes, applauses and spread."

Other messages of a Similar Congratulatory Nature came from:

V. K. Pillai, medical doctor, Kerali, India. G. Oungre, French Branch of Kodak, Vincennes, France.

Robert H. Orgill, inventor, Australia. David Hudson, Lusaka, North Rhodesia. Gonzalo Ruz, medical doctor, Mexico, D.F. Jamshed Aga, architect, Bombay, India. C. L. Chatterjee, Jabalpur, India.

P. H. Kong, executive secretary, Joint Telecommunications Conference, Taipei.

Shiro Takahashi, associate general secretary, YMCA, Yokohama.

C. S. Parthasarathy, assistant chief, Irrigation Planning Commission, New Delhi.

Dr. D. R. Malhotra, metallurgist, Ajmer,

Chul Soon, Yim, Seoul, Kerea.

Jung Kil Oh, Reconstruction Bank, Seoul,

George Peters, dean of engineering, Baurat.

Germany.
Luther B. Cox, professor, Inter-American
University, Puerto Rico.
Diebaro principal of institute,

Uruguay.

Gustav-Adolf Gedat, member Bundestadt,

Germany.

James D. Forsyth, banker, Australia. Charles G. Provancem, diplomat, Karachi, Pakastan

Jiichiro Takeo, philosophy student, Japan. Dr. A. Henry Tanner, Zurich, Switzerland. Carlos Orozco, Mexico, D.F.

Bernard Furrer, Glattsburg, Switzerland. Mario I. Riosa, senior solicitor, U.S. Lines Company, Manila.

Moyses Silveira, president, Baptist College, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil.

Dr. W. H. Chadha, import-export, Bombay. Torgny Lange, Llons Clubs, Sweden. P. M. Mathew, director of agriculture.

Kerala, India.

John Rooney, general secretary, YMCA Durban, South Africa. Arne Haider, Forester, Osla, Norway. Major E. Aboujaladi, Iranian army.

Teheran.

Hans-Peter Zander, student of classics and

philosophy, Germany.

Matthew H. Connor, Ottawa, Canada.

N. P. A. Beaching, school principal, Eng-

Charles Genaux, professor, University of Alaska.

Max Elberg, patent attorney, Paris, France. Dr. Alan G. Maclaine, television education. N.S.W., Australia.

Long-Distance Phone Rates

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. EMANUEL CELLER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, May 11, 1960

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the REC-ORD, I include the following Robert S. Allen-Paul Scott Report, which appeared in their syndicated column of May 25,

ROBERT S. ALLEN-PAUL SCOTT REPORT

Washington.—Long-distance users are in for some surprisingly good news.

The Federal Communications Commission, under strong congressional prodding. is planning a new slash in rates charged by the American Telephone & Telegraph Co. and its affiliating companies.

Still to be determined is the amount of the reduction and whether the FCC should set the new rates by public hearings or by negotiations with the companies.

These and other details are to be ironed out at a special Commission meeting FCC Chairman Frederick Ford is calling for June. That's what Ford is reporting to other high Government officials who inquire about the Commission's long distance telephone ratemaking plans for 1960.

In these backstage talks, Ford reveals that the FCC is now studying a number of rate reduction proposals and that he expects the

Commission to act affirmatively before fall.

The FCC Chairman reports that the plan receiving the Commission's greatest attention is a proposal to slash rates \$70 million year offered by Representative EMANUEL CELLER, Democrat, of New York, chairman of the House Antitrust Subcommittee. This proposal has the support of the FCC's own ratemaking staff.

Representative CELLES, whose prodding was responsible for a \$50 million a year cut in rates last September, is basing his new reduction demand on studies by his staff of the interstate earnings of A.T. & T.

Earlier this month he fired off a letter to Ford contending that these studies show that the Bell System's rate of return for interstate services still is at an unduly excessive level.

Representative CELLER pointed out that the A.T. & T. earning rate climbed to nearly percent (of the book cost of facilities) in April, or to a level approximately 11/2 percent above the 6½ percent rate that the Commission set as reasonable.

He also presented Ford with figures to show that the net income of A.T. & T. is now running above the level of last September whan the FCC ordered the \$50 million re-

In reply, Ford assured CELLER that "This matter is receiving the Commission's immediate attention," and that action can be ex-Pected after the May earning figures are available.

Ford also voiced the Commission's con-cern about the present level of A.T. & T. earnings, stating:

"The interstate operations of the Bell System have been producing a ratio of net operating income above the level the Commission anticipated would result from the reduction.

Where Is the Justice?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. FRANK J. BECKER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 11, 1960

Mr. BECKER. Mr. Speaker, I am in-Serting in the RECORD today an article appearing in two weekly newspapers in my district; namely, the Long Island Graphic and the Roosevelt Press. This article written by Charles W. Koenig is an on-the-spot witness of a rally held in Washington, D.C., on Sunday, May 15. This is a true reporting of a situation that I believe should never be permitted to occur anywhere in this country, far less than in the Capital of this Nation. I believe further it should open the eyes of all Americans that in our Nation we have many hatemongers and it is my fervent opinion that they can be weeded out and exposed for what they are. I further subscribe to the last paragraph of this article, "It Could Happen Here," and I am sending this with a forwarding letter to the Attorney General for immediate investigation and whatever action within the law that it is possible to

The article follows:

WHERE IS THE JUSTICE? (By Charles W. Koenig)

As America makes plans to pay tribute next Monday, Memorial Day to her fallen and endeavors to hold high the torch of faith and freedom passed on to her by our honored war dead-we (members of this newspaper's staff) report a situation we feel should be brought to the attention of every loyal American.

About a week ago one of our Washington, D.C. associates telephoned to report an open air rally was being planned by a group of young men and women. He informed us the rally would be held on May 15 in a park directly in front of the Department of Justice Building, and stated he believed the rally of such importance it would prove of in terest to every loyal American regardless of the area in which he lives.

And his tone was that of the sickened.

STAFF CONFERENCE CALLED

I immediately called a conference with members of my supervisory staff. Moments later the decision had been made. Even though our newspapers mainly are local in nature, somehow we sensed the item we were about to report definitely would prove of great importance to all Americans—and especially to the futures of their children.

And so, armed with pencils and copy paper, business manager and political columnist Harold W. Gierie, Oscar Mendelis and myself departed for Washington on the morning of Sunday, May 15. Unfortunately, heavy traffic forced us to arrive at our destination a half-hour late—but in sufficient time to see and hear enough to make us wonder if per-haps many of those we will honor next Monday had been called upon to spill their blood

YOUNG WOMAN HYSTERICAL

Approaching the park our attention was drawn by a commotion—a young woman (perhaps 21 or 22) being assisted by two policemen. In reportorial terms her condition safely could be described as hysterical. If facial expression can be described as pleading, this young lady was possessed of that expression. We who had traveled from a small, Freeport newspaper office felt compelled to ask: "What's the matter, Miss?"

In a loud, sobbing, hysterical voice she replied: "Murderers. Liars. Please, please, won't someone stop them?-they murdered my whole family." And although we were standing in bright sunlight, we were chilled-chilled as only one can be after hearing the anguished cries of one of God's children. We helped quiet her, and one of the many uniformed policemen stepped forward and gently escorted her from the

But if we were chilled by the soulful screams of the young lady, it was warmth compared with the cold, clammy sensation which overpowered us as we neared a wooden stand upon which stood a tall, loud-voiced man of about 30 ranting into a microphone. And it was as though part of a horrible dream when we read the block-lettered sign, suspended above his read. It bore but three words, The first, in small letters, read "American." The third, in equally small letters, read "Party." The centered word, in very large letters, read "Nazi."

Our gaze was held, ladies and gentlemen, "American Nazi Party."

And we knew why the sickened tone of the telephone voice of our Washington associate, for we-three mature adults, each a father possessed of loved ones, each a loyal and proud American-were chilled, were sickened, and we were frightened.

A TERRIBLE DREAM?

Turning slowly, Mr. Gierie looked at me-I looked at Mr. Mendelis-and in amazement we looked at each other. Could it be possible? Was it a terrible dream-or were we actually witnessing our beloved America

again being threatened by nazism. were no swastikas emblematic of the National Socialist German Workers' Party of the Third German Reich. But, ladies, and gentlemen, on that Sunday afternoon-in the shadow of the Department of Justice Building—the concepts of dread nazism were being espoused by a man whose identity we only could establish as "Rockwell."

ALL FAITHS ATTACKED

Dumbfounded, we stood there and listened as he heaped every possible blame on the Jews. He accused them of "pulling in the Negroes and urging them to 'rise up"." He stated "Washington is full of Jewish lobbyists, industrialists, and public speakers-and Jews such as Anna M. Rosenberg sent to spread filthy propaganda."
This man, in whose presence we stood in amazement, screamed to his audience that "David Sarnoff, also a Jew, head of the television industry, has given orders to coat all TV commercials for the same propaganda purpose." His shrill voice pierced the air as he shouted: "The Germans didn't murder 6 million Jews. They were sent to England, and most of them to the Bronx." He ranted about the overpowering aims and the hidden intents of other faiths-and indicated nazi-"the cure-all for our troubled ism to be

Ladies and gentlemen, suddenly espouser of dreaded nazism explained-believe it or not-"I am for America and America is for Americans only." And then chilled blood grew colder as he stood upright, shot his right hand into the air-and voice which must have wilted the wreath on the grave of our Nation's Un-known Soldier—pierced the air with: "Sig Heil!

Thirty of his cohorts responded in gesture and cry: "Sig Hell."

And as Rockwell stepped from the platform, a few persons from the audience removed the banner and stand-and strode from the park-with the espouser of nazism leading the pack.

CAN WE AFFORD TO FORGET?

Ladies and gentlemen, this is not fiction. It is cold, startling fact. We were there. We saw it. We heard it. And we were sickened by what we heard and by what

We are mature, reasonably intelligent, and not inclined to be alarmists. Nevertheless we still are frightened by what we saw and heard. And we cannot help but wonder whether those of our Capital have forgotten the Bund meetings of Yorkville and Madison Square Garden. Have they forgotten the gas chambers? Have they forgotten the indig-nities heaped upon Christian and Jew in Nazi prison and slave labor camps? Where are those whose loved one's blood was turned loose by Nazi bayonets? Is the potential danger to our American way of life-the evil we saw and heard in our Nation's Capitalbeing engendered without challenge by efforts of the Veterans of Foreign Wars, the American Legion, the Jewish War Veterans, and other organizations regarded as respected watchdogs of our Nation's internal security?

IT COULD HAPPEN HERE

Just as strongly as we believe in the tenets of Americanism do we believe God created Hell for persons such as Rockwell, No one more than he who serves in the newspaper profession realizes the importance of free speech. But it does cause one to be sickened when he views the injustice of permitting supporters of Nazism to espouse their venom under protection of free speech—for they are turning one of our treasured freedoms into a weapon tipped with deadly poison.

This is happening, ladies and gentlemenin a park-in front of our Nation's Department of Justice Building. It could happen in front of our own town hall. Pray that it

Daily Digest

HIGHLIGHTS

Senate passed 55 bills on calendar call, and recommitted bill to permit serving of oleo in Navy.

House passed school construction assistance bill.

Senate

Chamber Action

Routine Proceedings, pages 10329-10344

Bills Introduced: Nine bills and one resolution were introduced, as follows: S. 3593-3601; and S. Res. 328.

Page 10331

Bills Reported: Reports were made as follows:

H.R. 11045, to permit the conversion or exchange of policies of national service life insurance to a new modified plan, with amendments (S. Rept. 1485);

S. 2869, to restore the size and weight limitations on fourth-class matter mailed to or from Alaska and Hawaii which existed prior to their admission as States (S. Rept. 1486);

S. 2893, to permit weekly publications to suspend publication for not more than two issues in any 1 calendar year without loss of second-class privileges (S. Rept. 1487);

H.R. 6830, providing for uniformity of application of postal requirements respecting disclosure of average numbers of copies of publications sold or distributed to subscribers (S. Rept. 1488); and

H.R. 10996, authorizing use of certified mail for service of matter required by certain laws to be served by registered mail (S. Rept. 1489).

Authority To Meet: Committee on Foreign Relations was authorized to meet during session of Senate on Friday, May 27.

Page 10363

Oleo—Navy: By voice vote, Senate adopted Thurmond motion to recommit to Committee on Armed Services S. 2168, to permit the Navy to serve oleomargarine as part of its authorized ration. This action was taken after Senate adopted, by 48 yeas to 32 nays, Proxmire amendment that no oleomargarine shall be acquired for use by Navy unless Secretary of Agriculture certifies (1) that no purchases of milk or dairy products will be made in fiscal year for price-support purposes, and (2) that acquisition will not contribute to a surplus of milk or dairy products. Senate tabled motion to reconsider adoption of Proxmire amendment.

Pages 10344-10346, 10348-10349, 10354-10355, 10358-10363, 10388

Call of Calendar: On call of calendar, 55 measures, of which 27 were private, were passed as follows:

Without amendment and cleared for President:

RFC—payment in lieu of taxes: H.R. 9983, extending period for which payment in lieu of taxes may be made with respect to certain real property transferred by the RFC to other Government departments;

Veterans—service-connected: H.R. 113, providing that a service-connected disability in force for 10 or more years shall not be severed except when based on fraud;

Veterans—dependents: H.R. 276, relating to the effective date of additional compensation for veterans' dependents;

Veterans—death benefits: H.R. 641, to make uniform the marriage date for veterans' service-connected death benefits;

Veterans—dependency and indemnity; H.R. 7502, to amend the basis for certifications with respect to basic pay for dependency and indemnity compensation award purposes;

World War II—aviation: H.R. 9785, to equalize insurance benefits for certain World War II aviation students:

Veterans—children: H.R. 9788, to bar duplicate benefit payments to children of veterans;

Veterans—insurance waivers: H.R. 10703, to grant a waiver of national service life insurance premiums for certain totally disabled veterans;

Veterans—children benefits: H.R. 10898, to provide \$12 for each additional child in excess of three as additional compensation for seriously disabled veterans;

Auto exhausts: H.R. 8238, authorizing a study, from the standpoint of public health, of substances from automobile exhausts;

Railroad—indebtedness: H.R. 11405, relating to the income tax treatment of certain discharges of indebtedness of railroad corporations; and

Private bills: 16 private bills, H.R. 1402, 1463, 1519, 3253, 3827, 4763, 8798, 11190, 1542, 3107, 7036, 8217, 8806, 9470, 9752, and 10947.

Appendix

A New Honor for Senator Bartlett

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. WARREN G. MAGNUSON

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Friday, May 27, 1960

Mr. MAGNUSON. Mr. President, a new honor, that of doctorate of laws, has been conferred upon our colleague, Senator E. L. (BoB) BARTLETT of Alaska.

This is even more meaningful when We consider that the high honor was given by the University of Alaska.

None can know more than Alaskans themselves the key role played by our distinguished colleague in achieving statehood and bringing Alaska into the family of States in our Union.

Thus my pleasure at this time to ask the unanimous consent that the remarks made by Senator BARTLETT on the memorable occasion when this doctorate of laws was presented to be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address Was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

REMARKS OF SENATOR E. L. BARTLETT, UNIVER-SITY OF ALASKA, MAY 23, 1960

I take my theme this day from the recent and alarming events which have so shattered the hopes of the world for peace. We had looked forward with a measured degree of optimism to a lessening of tensions which have been building up over the years, layer by layer, almost to the breaking point. Now the leader of the Soviet Government has, in response to God knows what pressures or desires, seen fit in loud and angry and unreasonable words to end the summit conference, which he was so instrumental in promoting, even before its real beginning.

The hard truth is that we are now living

in a world at war.

There is an unalterable conflict between our beliefs and those the Communists live by. Necessity may reduce the overt expressions of that conflict and practicalities may compel the Soviet to deviate at times from the rigid Communist creed. The conflict between their creed and ours, however, is as basic and enduring as the conflict between truth and error.

We regard communism as merely a varlation on the age-old theme of dictatorship. But, in presenting their beliefs to the yetuncommitted peoples, the Communists have great advantage. That advantage lies in the fact that communism is a system worked out to every detail. This system, besides the utopia it promises, has very concrete ideas readily adaptable for every nation and people. Moreover, the uncommitted peoples, yearning for some change in their present conditions, can identify the Communist cause with a new and promising fulfillment of their just aspirations. It is more difficult for them to understand that ours is a dynamic, progressive society which changes to meet new problems without losing faith with the basic principles that gave it birth.

Democracy, of course, is not primarily a system at all but a set of values

The chief of these values is that the individual human being is a creature of infinite worth; government therefore must protect and aid the individual. Some concessions may be asked of him, but he must never be sacrificed for the good of the State, the future, the proletariat, or any cause Our ideas of self-government, whatsoever. majority rule, popular sovereignty, all derive from the concept that government is an instrument for service.

Communism does not believe in the individual except as a finite part of the whole, existing for the State rather than the State for him. Democracy offers a method of making community decisions and a climate for ideological competition. Ours is the faith of Milton: "Let truth and falsehood grapple; whoever knew truth put to the worse in a free and equal encounter?"

We can explain ourselves only by our example. Since one of our beliefs is in local self-government, government by those most nearly concerned whenever possible, the achievement of statehood by Alaska marks a very important step in the kind of demonstration I have in mind. This, then, is an awesome duty of Alaska as a new State. We must, having in mind all the accumulated experiences of democracy to this time, fash-ion a State which shall so nearly express

our beliefs that we can show the world a model workshop wherein the values we honor are practiced.

Our Founding Fathers committed these United States to what they believed the best possible government. If we still believe in that commitment, we must strive to express it in our daily lives.

In this respect, Alaska is no different from older States, except in this: We are, as a new State, less hampered by traditions that may be confused with righteousness because they are old. We can look more clearly on every proposed new step and decide whether it truly fulfills our beliefs. And it is our duty to make such a searching appraisal of each

The decade of the fifties in America has been characterized as one of self-indulgence. Our people, especially the young, sought escape from the burden of worry and responsibility imposed upon a free people in a cold war in a nuclear world. Our mood, in fact, was almost reminiscent of the attitude which pervaded America in the twenties. We sought refuge in suburbia, a washerdrier, two cars, a secure job, a ranchhouse. It is interesting and it may be fruitful to ponder the reasons for that mood. sacrifices made necessary by war are gladly rendered by Americans. But the sacrifices of sustained, conscientious citizenship in a troubled world are less dramatic, though equally important. These sacrifices we did not make in the fifties.

The sixties must be different. The world does not owe us happiness-we owe it and ourselves service of the highest moral order. Our two-car families must not think of the years ahead as a time to acquire their third car. We must be willing, if necessary, to sacrifice all these comforts for the values we honor. It may be that in the years to come, we shall have to make such sacrifices to maintain freedom in a world at strife. It is well to remember that Russians are devoting far more of their national production to science, to capital improvements, to their military establishment and to education and far less to consumer goods than we. must reject absolutely the contention expressed recently by an important U.S. official that we are in business to produce consumer goods and as long as they are coming out in volume, all is well in America. Was this the reason for the sacrifices at Valley Forge, was this why our countrymen have always gathered in collective nobility when our Nation has been threatened and they were taken to the summits of endeavor by great leader-ship? The question answers itself.

We have boasted before the world of the material comforts, the consumer goods our system has given us. This is very well if we mean to say to others less fortunate,
"We shall help you too to attain this high
standard of living." But we must take care
to avoid a misconstruction of our way of life. The beauty of America does not lie in material wealth. It lies in freedom. We cannot pause for the leisurely enjoyment of our riches when half the world is hungry for food and freedom. We cannot pause, because the Soviet Union will not wait for us. But more important, we cannot rest because in so doing we deny what we stand for-equality and freedom of all men. lier I referred to the "sacrifices of conscientious citizenship." But as good a justification for freedom as any other is that the democratic process is a happy process for the fortunate citizens who practice it. It sharpens wits. It offers a test for lungs and voices and hearts. Democracy not only promotes wiser decisions, but general wisdom and creative habits which democratic citizens can apply in all their activities and

Democracy is based on the idea that each man should have a voice in his government. But he must exercise that voice conscientiously or the rights, with their duties, may be lost. This is a world in which we have to work for our blessings and the highest values depend on the most work, eternal vigilance, exacting effort. "No man is an island entire unto himself." No man can construct a private peace. Each is his brother's keeper, and it is of real importance to us if these brothers are starving in India or suffering under tyranny anywhere-or if our own legislature or city council is neglecting public welfare in favor of some special interest. Should we falter, should we neg-lect our duty in this world so interdependent, we will build our peace and happiness on shifting sands. We are all part of one another; the world is too closely knit for any isolated, self-absorbed success. And oddly, the interdependenece, which all of us would concede, seems easier to apply and less demanding as we speak of our brothers starving in India than as we speak of our disenfranchised brothers in the South. The moral requirement on our part, I submit, is essentially the same.

Government has become highly complex, and it is increasingly difficult to fulfill that primary duty of sustaining the human dig-nity of the individual. In his time, Jeffer-son could say that the least government is the best, because America was then an agricultural community in which each family was largely self-sustaining. But the industrial revolution has changed all of that. It is not so much a case of protecting management from labor, or the other way around, as a case of protecting us all from an industrial complex which will control us if we don't control it.

We, as a people, must be prepared to act to protect individuals and groups against pressures that would curtail freedom. Unfortunately—and this is what Thomas Jefferson feared-a government that is strong enough to protect the individual is apt to interfere with our freedoms. We must be on guard, because there are voices occa-sionally heard insisting we abrogate our inheritance of freedom as a means of erecting a bulwark against communism. Yet we must remember what we primarily oppose in communism is not an economic system, but a concept of society in which the individual is not a real entity—a society in which only the whole people, the State, is possessed of rights. In this connection, the ordinary use of the word "freedom" is not sufficiently extensive. The inroads which modern so ciety can make upon precious individualism, are not solely, or even principally, in the form of political restrictions upon those rights found in our first 10 amendments. They may instead take the form of pressures for conformity, or of the insiduous appeal of mass media. But in a political sense, it is on the State and local levels where the heritage of human rights can be most effec-

tively assured or abrogated. We in Alaska

must watch carefully. In this country, the most important field in which we carry out local self-government is education. Instead of being federally controlled, our schools are controlled by the towns and school district and the States. We must teach our children at every age how valuable our freedom is and how could be lost. Our children must have the fervor and vision of our forefathers if we are to keep the liberty they won us. We must love freedom and live so as to preserve it. Our example should verify our children's Where we have imperfectly fulfilled our democracy, we must perfect it, or, at a minimum, will to our children such love of liberty that will lead to correction of our mistakes and the changes necessary in a changing world, so that whatever economic and social changes the world makes, democracy itself will remain invincible. Indeed, teaching the young that freedom is a precious heritage may have far-reaching benefits. The mind that regards liberty as a precious legacy from preceding generations will be a mind which will hold in proper reverence the legacy of our arts and letters, our sciences and philosophy, our religions and our ethics, our language and our sport.

To fulfill our role as a State, Alaska is committed to act with intelligence, honesty, and vision. Should any of these be lacking we shall surely fail, even if we possess all other attributes in their highest order.

It is surely obvious that the complication of today's world demands clear intelligence. Nor is there today, nor was there ever in the past, any substitute for honesty, true dedication to a high moral order, and willingness to put service to such moral precepts ahead of personal gain or wishes. Vision is that combination of thought, diligence, and imagination behind all action.

If vision means this and not nonsense as the modern derogatory use indicates, let us, then, be visionary. Part of my vision for Alaska is this: The University of Alaska can well be the point from which these virtues come. A university in its highest function is surely a mighty force injecting moral value, intelligence, and vision into the life of the State. A university should be especially the point of a vision in our society. Nowhere else is there so nearly the perfect atmosphere for thoughtful, clear examination of our goals and our methods. Nowhere else is there the accumulation of material—the recorded thoughts of all men in this search

for the good. But more than all else the university is the home of that rare creativity kindled by the friction of young enthusiasm with mature minds—the flash that comes when age-old values or deep, valid thoughts or new perceptions fire in receptive and inventive brains. And the university is the place where an exchange of ideas is natural and itself creative. The thinker is the hardest working among all workingmen. And we need men who can and will think overtime.

This is a time of crisis when you who can think must make the commitment to intelligence, honesty, and vision and go out to lead our State and people to such fulfillment of democracy as will stand proudly before the world and before our own most critical examination.

Farm Legislation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. E. Y. BERRY

OF SOUTH DAKOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Friday, May 27, 1960

Mr. BERRY. Mr. Speaker, I have asked consent to insert in the Record portions of two letters I have recently received from people in my district that, in my judgment, are too important to be filed away in my files without passing these thoughts on.

The first is from a friend of mine by the name of Evan McDonald. Part of his letter reads as follows:

Am against all bills such as H.R. 10363—the family farm bill—as socialistic. Socialism is a share the poverty system, where the government owns all the wealth and has complete power, the individuals sharing their poverty and hopelessness with each other. In fact, have always been against the New Deal trends and mean all of them.

I don't think the weak are made stronger by making the strong weaker. I believe in individual security, although the United States didn't become a strong Nation except by facing hard work, insecurity, and willingness to take their chances, win, lose, or draw even.

The second letter is from a rancher friend of mine by the name of Arnold Benson. Part of his letter is as follows:

I am writing in regard to a bill known as the family farm bill, H.R. 10363. This bill would, as I get it, tell us when and how many cattle we can sell and how many we can keep.

This is pretty well regulated by nature and not by some book-educated, drugstore cowboy. I don't believe in any Government supports and I'd like very much to run my own outfit if the Federal Government would just stay out of my business.

We cattlemen don't want any floors, ceilings, marketing quotas or supports. We pay our taxes and face blizzards and heat waves, get bucked off, and have horses fall on us. We don't cotton to any white collar telling us from behind a shiny desk, that was paid for out of our taxes, how we should run our outfit. We get the rough end of it and don't like any part of it.

I don't have a big outfit, but it isn't carrying any mortgages and I don't think I need any help in running it, especially from any socialistic thinker like the guy that dreamed up this mess.

I believe that you well understand the ranchers' problems and what they put up with. They're a breed all their own and from your newsletters, I certainly believe you are on our side, and right now we need all the help you can give us. We talk about this great free Nation of ours, but is it? I spent 4 years in the Army in World War II and 3 years in Europe supposedly fighting for a freedom. This kind of bill doesn't fit the kind of freedom I had in mind.

I am not the only one who feels this way. Many will sit back against the corral fence while the branding irons heat (it happened yesterday) and talk against it, but not to write to you and other Congressmen and tell them of their opinions.

Dignity and Restraint Was Eisenhower's Paris Stance

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. FRANK J. LAUSCHE

OF OHIO

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Friday, May 27, 1960

Mr. LAUSCHE. Mr. President, much has been written, and much has been said on the subject of the incidents leading to the collapse at the summit. Accusations and blames have been directed, and praise and confidence has been expressed. Manifestly, our own President, Mr. Dwight D. Eisenhower, has overwhelmingly been heralded both by our own citizenry and by those of other free and peace-seeking nations throughout the world, for his unwavering stand against the personalized attacks by Mr. Khrushchev.

This thought and view is ably expressed in an editorial appearing on May 20, 1960, in the Pompano Beach (Fla.) Town News.

In order that Members of Congress and others may have the opportunity to read this excellent editorial, I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Appendix of the Record.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

DIGNITY AND RESTRAINT WAS EISENHOWER'S PARIS STANCE

A phrase in one of the news-packed Paris dispatches stands out with suggestion that we pause to consider the shattering personal blow delivered to one man.

The man is President Eisenhower. The blow—deliberate and vicious sabotage of his personal dream of bringing honorable peace to this country and the world.

We need not be of his political party to offer sincerest sympathies and condolences to the supreme commander who did so much to engineer a great war victory for us and then—with the horror of it ever fresh in mind—dedicated himself to peace.

It is to be expected that the collapse of the summit conference in Paris will be used by political opponents as a shaft in weeks to come, when preelection fervor grows warm and the great parties aline their campaign shock troops.

But to their everlasting credit and his, homefront political opponents have shown the President and the world that they are Americans first, political contestants next. At this moment all of us are willing to stand up manfully and share the bitter cup with our President.

That's as it should be. His experience at Paris was less a defeat than a withdrawal into the fortress of unified Western peace doctrine with the drawbridge raised against a frenzied marauder from the steppes below.

The dispatch that sticks in mind is counsel from Paris by UPI's Harry Ferguson—"If you like Ike, now is the time to tell him

For, Ferguson says, no man ever needed consolation and sympathy more than does the old soldier "who dreamed of becoming the President of peace and in 2 terrible days * * * watched his dream dissolve in the acid of Russian invective and insult."

Well, Mr. President and General, you have more than our consolation and sympathy.

You have our deepest respect and gratitude for the great dignity and restraint exerted in our national behalf in what otherwise could have become a snarling pit of international degeneracy.

Too Much Revenue Siphoned Away From States to Federal Government

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, DON L. SHORT

OF NORTH DAKOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Friday, May 27, 1960

Mr. SHORT. Mr. Speaker, during the Year and one-half that I have been in Washington, as a Member of Congress, it has been most disturbing to me to Witness the never-ending stream of peo-Ple descending upon our Nation's Capital with the hope of finding someone here to solve some problem they have back home. Usually the solution they seek is financial assistance. People have learned that Washington provides the easiest source of money ever conceived by human beings and there is a great contest to see that everyone gets his fair share. Need is no criteria since John Doe feels he is just as entitled to some of his own tax dollars as Richard Roe.

Washington also uses the devious desire of matching State or local funds with Federal grants. We hear the argument that, "We cannot afford to pass up this opportunity to receive outside assistance." Overlooked is the fact that in many cases Federal specifications increase the cost nearly as much as the

Federal assistance.

We should give some thought to the reaosn for all this and it can be found in the simple fact that too much of our tax revenue is being siphoned away from the States to the Federal Government. When States have problems such as education, which we were considering here on the floor yesterday, it is quite natural that States think of Federal aid when their local source of revenue has been exhausted. Would not a most logical solution, to many of the revenue problems of States, be to return to the States sources of revenue now appropriated by the Federal Government? I am thinking specifically of such taxes as excise taxes on transportation, communications, tobacco, and so forth. Collecting this money in the States, taking it to Washington, and then returning a portion to the States that make the loudest appeal just does not seem very practical to me.

I enjoyed reading an editorial in the June issue of Successful Farming magazine which comments frankly on this subject. I commend it to all those concerned with the future welfare of this great Nation:

Years ago, groups of Americans packed up their families and household goods and headed West. These people were the leaders of what a few years later was to become a great movement. Why did these people go into this vast, unmapped wilderness? There were many reasons, but the main attraction was opportunity. Opportunity was there if a man had the foresight and the strong hands to seize it. These people wanted to be independent, masters of their own destinies.

Today, there is another movement of Americans—but in the opposite direction. This movement is to the East and the end of the trail is in Washington, D.C., the seat of our sprawling Federal Government. One reason for the movement is the same as it was for the pioneers—opportunity. But there the resemblance ends. The opportunity is of a different nature and the strong hand that seized opportunity in the West years ago seems now to have been replaced by many descendants with hands turned palms up.

It is an amazing and almost frightening experience to visit Washington today. With little effort, you will discover that great numbers of people are there for only one reason—they have a problem and they want the Government to solve it for them. It is just that simple.

I have sat and listened to many groups discuss their particular problems. Too many times these discussions are ended by someone proposing that a representative delegation go to Washington and ask for help. So, the delegation travels East only to discover that the idea of having the Government solve their problem is not a unique one. They immediately run into countless other delegations who are also asking Government to solve their problems.

Somewhere along the line, many people have gotten the idea that Washington holds the answers and that all you have to do is turn over your problems to "big Uncle" and he'll solve them. Representatives from agriculture are not alone in this belief. All segments of our economy are involved, some far more than others.

Strange as it may seem to some people, our Government did not originate the phrase, "It is r ore blessed to give than to receive." How often have you heard, "If I don't get my share, someone else will." This is certainly not an attitude that is conducive to solving problems, yet it is the attitude of many individuals and groups of individuals today. They want something for nothing—the prize without the price. There is an idea that the Federal Government does things with "free money"—that if Uncle Sam does a job it doesn't cost anything.

Is it old fashioned or naive to believe that maybe a little more work and a little less running to Washington might solve some of these problems? Admittedly, Government can and should help, but there is a difference between helping and doing the entire job. Government should do those things that we can't do for ourselves, or in cahoots with our neighbors. I have been in countries where the government does make all the important decisions for its people. It was not pleasant.

The trail to Washington gets wider and deeper each day, just as the pioneer trails did with the movement of people West—but again, there is a difference. The pioneers hit the trail expecting hard work, while today too many taking the Washington trail expect to get out of it.

DICK HANSON.

A Proud Anniversary

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. HARRISON A. WILLIAMS, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, May 27, 1960

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. Mr. President, May 28 is a day of special significance to ∆rmenians and to all persons who believe that freedom should be preserved in small nations as well as large ones. On May 28, 42 years ago, the Armenians declared their independence. Given encouragement by Woodrow Wilson and others who knew of her centuries-old struggle for justice and self-determination, Armenia became, at long last, a nation. Within a very short time, however, this nation became the first victim of Soviet aggression.

Mr. President, May 28 has not been forgotten. Each year, Armenian-Americans and others keep the memory alive and vivid. An article in the Hairenik Weekly of May 19 expresses this determination in very positive terms. I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in

the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

A PROUD ANNIVERSARY

This is the season, the month of May, when the freedom-loving Armenians of the world will be making their customary pilgrimage to their sacred shrine. They will be observing the anniversary of May 28, the glorious day of Armenia's proclamation of her independence after six centuries of submission to the foreign yoke.

Forty-two years ago, on May 28, after a bloody last-ditch stand against their executioners, the barbarian Turks, and after having victoriously repuised them on the battle-fields of Sardarapat and Karakilliseh, the Armenians proclaimed to the world that they now were a free people with an independent homeland.

The Turk, the former tyrant now vanquished, was the first to recognize that independence, soon followed by the United States and almost all the rest of the world powers.

Today, 42 years after that auspicious event, it remains entirely to the realm of hypothetical speculation as to what actually might have happened had an industrious and creative people like the Armenians, riding on the crest of their spiritual resurgence, been allowed to work out their destiny without outside intervention. This much is certain, however, that, based upon the positive achievements of the brief span of time it was permitted to live, and assuming that the civilized nations had kept their faith, the tiny republic of Armenia would have made phenomenal strides in the task of national recovery, and today, as a proud and independent member of human society, would

have occupied a seat in the United Nations Organization, and would have been a powerful voice for truth and justice in that great

Areopagus.

The coincidence of the liberation of the Armenian people and the emergence of the Marxist-Leninist ideology which denies the concepts of freedom and national independence as bourgeois superstitutions must be regarded as the greatest irony of fate which, unfortunately, proved costly to the Armenians, because it deprived them of the fruits of their centuries of struggle.

The termination of the independent state through the joint Turco-Soviet conspiracy and the perfidy of the nations in 1920, costly as it was to the Armenians, did not, perhaps, fully comprehend the Armenian loss. Far greater than the physical loss was our spiritual loss. The Soviet takeover of Armenia brought about the great apostacy which was far worse than material considerations.

When a people lose their faith in freedom and national independence, they are indeed to be pitied, because there is no salvation for a people who part with their sanctities.

For the people of Soviet Armenia who live under the terror and are unable to give free expression to their aspirations we cherish only full sympathy. We understand their plight and we commiserate with them. We knew that, were they free to express their will, they would renounce the tyrannical regime and would choose their independence. We know that, with us, they would be celebrating the anniversary of May 28 today.

But we have little sympathy, much less patience, for those traitors to the nation who live in the free world and yet have turned their backs on their people and who fanatically support an alien regime which

destroyed their independence.

We are fully aware of the magnitude of the struggle which has engulfed the world as a result of the menace of the new ideology, and we know that there is a host of small nations like us who lost their independence to the Soviet but who tenaciously observe each year the anniversary of their independence.

We are not so naive as to believe that, because we pertinaciously cherish the memory of a day which is dear to our hearts, we shall make a dent on the fortunes of the world. The fight for freedom and independence is now out of our hands and it has become the problem of the free world.

But we are firm believers in the internal values and in the eventual triumph of right. We shall hold the fort, and we shall support the free world until the victory is won, no matter how long it will take. We shall continue the fight until Armenia's freedom is restored.

Veterans of World War I

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. MARTHA W. GRIFFITHS

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, May 27, 1960

Mrs. GRIFFITHS. Mr. Speaker, recently a good friend and constituent of mine, Mr. G. Edwin Slater, appeared before the national Democratic platform panel on behalf of the Veterans of World War I.

Briefly and succintly, he cited the needs of our approximately 2,700,000 living World War I veterans regarding hospitalization, pensions, and social security. His statement follows: ON PENSIONS AND SOCIAL SECURITY

I appear before this distinguished panel representing the veterans of World War I, a national veterans organization chartered in 1958, and whose membership has now grown to approximately 200,000 members. We have units called barracks in every State of the Union, most of the territories and even a barracks in Dublin, Ireland. Our fast growing ladies auxiliary has a membership approaching 40,000 members.

The veteran of World War I is of the average age of more than 65 years and falls into

the category of the aging citizen of America.

The problems of the aging citizen of America today are of the greatest concern, not only to the Congress of the United States but to the people of the country generally, and it has been reliably reported that there are approximately 17 million such persons. this number, approximately 2,700,000 are the remaining ranks of the 4,791,000 veterans of World War I known as the "forgotten men of 1917-18." These are the men who fought and won the first great war which was supposed to have made the world safe for democracy. These are the men and women to whom this country once pledged that their sacrifices would never be forgotten. These are the men who fought in a war where medical and service records were not considered as important as they were in later wars and as a result their medical and service records are complete and inaccurate, leaving countless numbers unable to establish service-connected disabilities because of that fact. Remember, too, that mustard and phosgene gas were used as a weapon in World War I, and the number of those veterans whose lungs and respiratory systems were affected by gas cannot now be determined because of their incomplete and inaccurate medical records.

When the veteran of World War I was discharged on his return from service, he was only given a \$60 bonus, plus his current pay, less any deductions and returned home to start life anew. Did he have a job when he returned? Did he have 52 weeks to find a job and draw a cushion of \$20 each and every week until the time he could land a He did not. For him, there was no education and vocational training, business and farm loans, unemployment compensation and social security. His service pay, a base of \$30 per month had not permitted him to build up a financial reserve sufficient to carry him through the dips of our national economy for the next 20 years, during which period of time, he had to battle his way through panics, depressions, recessions and economy acts. During his service in the Armed Forces and after, he had consoled himself with the thought that in all previous wars, a grateful Nation had eventually compensated those men who had offered their lives in the defense of their Nation and for their economic losses sustained as a result of their military service by granting them a pension, the justification for which goes back to the days of the early history of their country when George Washington in his farewell address said:

"We hold that the legislature has the right to pass such laws as those here in question upon the theory that it is not, indeed, consistent with reason or justice, to expect that one set of men should make a sacrifice of property, domestic ease and happiness, encounter the rigors of the field, the perils and vicissitudes of war, to obtain those blessings which every citizen will enjoy, in common with them, without some adequate compensation. It must also be a comfortless reflection to any man, that after he may have contributed to securing the rights of his country at the risk of his life, and the ruin of his fortune, there would be no provision made to prevent himself from sink-

ing into indigence and wretchedness in his old age."

And in our own time, a former President of the United States, said:

"We believe that military service in time of war is extraordinary service which transcends the normal duties of citizenship and consequently entitles veterans with honorable service to special consideration."

Where was the compensation which had been afforded the veterans of other wars? Only halfhearted, inadequate, unsustained, stopgap programs of a temporary nature were started.

We must remember that for the veteran of World War I, social security deductions did not start until January 1, 1937, and for the self-employed and those engaged in agriculture not until 1955. Many therefore have not been able to build up a sizable account under the social security act, thereby limit-At his ing their benefits on their retirement. present age, the veteran of World War I is unable to obtain employment and faces his declining years with insufficient funds to provide himself with decent housing, proper nutrition, adequate medical care or necessary recreation. Today, the veteran of World War I, together with his wife, numbering nearly 5 million persons, is bitter, disillusioned and feels that the Nation is grateful to the veteran of all wars except the one in which he served.

The belief that the veteran of World War I is entitled to a pension for his war service has been expressed by the fact that 60 Members of the Congress of the United States from both sides of the House have introduced identical bills calling for the payment of \$100 per month for the veteran of World War I.

Think, if you please, what such a pension would do for the economy of America. It would relieve local, State, city, town, and governmental agencies of the responsibility of providing for relief and medical care for those men and their families. It would provide better housing, better clothing and better nutrition for the aging veteran and nearly all industry and business will directly or indirectly benefit thereby. It would tend to make economically free Americans of them and would redeem the promise of his country to take care of those who bore the battle.

You ask what would be the cost? Based on our research and on best statistics available, approximately 1,250,000 veterans of World War I would be added to the present pension rolls for a total cost of \$1,500 million and this sum will decrease at the rate of approximately \$200 million annually based on the fact that 14,000 died in January 1960 for an annual death rate of 168,000; and as time goes on, the death rate will accelerate and the cost will decrease.

ON HOSPITALIZATION

In your consideration of the hospital and medical needs of the aged of the Nation, we the Veterans of World War I ask your special consideration of our hospital medical needs. There are approximately 2,700,000 of our number alive today and of the average age of more than 65 years. We are the men and women who fought in a war where medical and service records were not considered as important as they were in later wars, leaving a countless number unable to establish service-connected disabilities because of that fact. Ours was a war in which mustard and phosgene gas was used as a weapon, materially affecting the lungs and respiratory systems; the number of those veterans affected thereby cannot be determined. These, too, are the veterans who returned from service without the special benefits received by veterans of subsequent wars to rehabilitate and establish themselves.

Please remember that the great depression struck the men and women of this group wiping out life savings necessitating their making a new start in life 20 years after their discharge from World War I. The men and women of World War I, now retired or facing retirement, who live on social security benefits and, in many cases on meager savings, cannot possibly present day terriffic cost of hospital and medical expense and cost of drugs. We are of the age group who need and require medical and hospital care, together with expensive drugs and prescriptions.

Will you compel this martyred generation of veterans, the ones who fought the first great war—the war to end all wars—and won it, to pauperize themselves in order to take care of their hospital and medical needs in their dying days? Remember the words of he who spoke, "Take care of those who bore

the battle."

Death of Noble Kahikina Kauhane

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. OREN E. LONG

OF HAWAII

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Friday, May 27, 1960

Mr. LONG of Hawaii. Mr. President, Hawaii lost one of her most devoted and respected leaders last Thursday in the passing of Noble Kahikina Kauhane. Mr. Kauhane descended from a Hawaiian family long prominent in the life of our islands. He served for the past 16 years on the board of supervisors, how called the council, of the city and county of Honolulu. His record on the council was exemplary. Despite a stroke Which he suffered in 1955, with courage and dedication to his public office he continued to serve on the Honolulu council as its senior member.

The Honolulu Advertiser and the Honolulu Star-Bulletin paid tribute to Mr. Kauhane in these editorials, which I call to the attention of my colleagues. They help express my personal feeling

of loss at his passing.

I ask unanimous consent that the editorials be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorials were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

From the Honolulu Star-Bulletin, May 21, 1960]

DEATH OF A DEVOTED PUBLIC SERVANT

The city-county of Honolulu and the State of Hawaii have lost an able, conscientious and devoted public servant.

Noble K. Kauhane, senior member of the city council, attended two long meetings by the council last Tuesday afternoon and Tuesday night.

He died late Thursday afternoon. He had never recovered from the disability he suffered in 1955 when he was stricken with mild cerebral apoplexy. But for more than 5 years he endeavored faithfully to carry on his his public duties. His colleagues and the Voters of the island supported his painful Yet purposeful efforts.

Noble Kauhane came from a line of Hawallans prominent in their generations. He Was a descendant of alli, or royalty, and his name—Noble—was given him because a grandfather, the Reverend James Kauhane, had served in the House of Nobles, one branch of the Hawaiian Legislature.

All Hawaii can honor this kamaaina-son of the soil—and join in extending to his family sincere and deep sympathy. He has left a legacy of good deeds and stanch serv-

[From the Honolulu Advertiser, May 21, 1960] NOBLE KAUHANE

Noble Kahikina Kauhane, dean of city councilmen, was a dedicated and selfless public servant, a courageous son of Hawali with a deep sense of personal duty.

A fellow councilman paying tribute said: "His entire term of office will be a record that most probably never will be approached

for good legislative service." This is a strong statement but it is supported by a 16-year career as supervisor and councilman which sought only the public interest. From the time he first was elected to the board of supervisors in 1944, observers spoke of his steadying influence on his colleagues. And he often was their conscience.

In 1955 the onetime athlete suffered a severe stroke. His recovery was long and arduous. But he was a deeply religious man and he was blessed with a devoted, solicitous family. He went on to give 5 more years of high service to this community.

Councilman Lemke said: "Noble's loss is

going to be felt."

His is no idle tribute; it is a statement of fact. We mourn that loss and we mourn the man.

Was Nikita Influenced by Adlai?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. CHARLES E. GOODELL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Friday, May 27, 1960

Mr. GOODELL. Mr. Speaker, an article has come to my attention which appeared in the Chicago Daily News for Tuesday, May 16, 1960. There has been a great deal of controversy surrounding the build-up to the abortive summit conference. Some of the commentators on both sides appear to be interested in exploiting this situation for political purposes. In this connection, their statements can be discounted perhaps as having been colored by the passion of the moment. But it troubles me when any comments with reference to dealing with Communist governments exhibit a naive and unrealistic conception of Communist motivations. Let us criticize openly what we each consider to be mistakes when we see them in either foreign or domestic policies. But let us not mislead our people into believing that the leaders of the Kremlin respect anything except strength in the free world. President Eisenhower led up to the summit with strength and maintained that strength and dignity throughout the flasco perpetrated by Khrushchev in Paris.

I ask unanimous consent to insert a news story at this point, which I hope does not actually reflect the views of Adlai Stevenson, one of the leaders in the great Democratic Party:

[From the Chicago Daily News, May 17, 1960] WAS NIKITA INFLUENCED BY ADLAI?

(By William H. Stoneman)

Paris.—A startling statement by Soviet Premier Khrushchev expressing hope that he could do more business with one of Ike's successors than with Ike himself is being connected by imaginative Europeans with an interview recently given to a French newspaperman by Adlal Stevenson.

In an interview published by the Paris-Presse-l'Intransigeant on Saturday—the day of Khrushchev's arrival here—Stevenson was quoted as willing to make concessions to the Russians on a number of points.

One of Stevenson's alleged statements which startled and disturbed members of the American delegation to the summit indicated that he favored concessions on Berlin in return for an agreement with Russia on cessation of atomic tests.

One concession he was quoted as favoring was reduction of American forces in West

Berlin from 11,000 to 7,000.

Of more importance was his suggestion that a disarmament accord might be sought on the basis of the Rapacki plan under which forces would be reduced by both the East and West in the area of Central Europe.

This has been opposed by the Western powers because it might involve retirement

of American forces from Europe.

Stevenson was quoted as being willing to

face this eventuality.

"I think Europeans—Germans, French, and British—should be in a position to defend themselves in Europe," he was quoted as saving.

The Weizmann Institute: Another Example of Israel's Pioneering Spirit

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. KENNETH B. KEATING

OF NEW YORK

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Friday, May 27, 1960

Mr. KEATING. Mr. President, one of the often overlooked aspects of the miracle that is Israel today is that country's significant efforts in the field of science. During my several visits to this bastion of democracy in the Middle East I have had an opportunity to study firsthand the tremendous work being accomplished in a number of fields by the dedicated people of Israel.

Not long ago I visited the famous Weizmann Institute of Science in Rehovat as the guest of my old friend, Abba Eban. the director of the institute and formerly the distinguished Israeli Ambassador to the United States. He is now a member of Premier Ben Gurion's Cabinet.

Chaim Weizmann was a renowned scientist when Israel was scarcely more than a dream. His trailblazing experiments helped the cause of democracy in two world wars-with munitions in the first, with fuels and synthetic rubber in the second. He left his glory behind to follow his heart to Palestine to help create, in the desert, an oasis of science, and to set the stage for the tremendous industrial growth that has flowered in that oasis.

If one visits the National Amphitheatre which adjoins Chaim Weizmann's garden-grave on the hilltop at Rehovat, one can read these words carved on a memorial tablet. They are in the words of Chaim Weizmann:

I feel sure that science will bring to this land both peace and a renewal of its youth, creating here the springs of a new material and spiritual life.

The Weizmann Institute, now 10 years old, is not a teaching institution, but a research center. Its principal building, significantly enough, is the Institute of Nuclear Science, with two stories underground and two above. Its department of isotopes has received worldwide recognition by its formulation of a new method of using radioactive isotopes to find sources of water. This has tre-mendous potential not only for Israel but for other parched-earth countries across the world.

In the department of nuclear physics a number of experts are working on projects dealing with nuclear structure for the U.S. Air Force and for our Navy. Ninety-five percent of the entire world's supply of heavy oxygen comes from the institute which supplies the needs of the United States, Britain, and practically

all of the free world.

The impressive thing about the Weizmann Institute is that it is unique in its part of the world. There is no other scientific research center between Rome and Tokyo that compares with it. It serves not only as a main factor in Israel's own industrial development problems, but its influence is certain to radiate throughout the Middle East, Africa, and Asia. Israel is the immediate benefactor of this magnificent institute, but all humanity is the ultimate benefactor.

A major part of the institute's effort is in the field of pure science. There is another great center of learning that concentrates in the field of applied science. This is the Technion, or the Israel Institute of Technology at Haifa. No less an authority than Dr. James Killian called Technion the M.I.T. of the Middle East.

At the Technion an important area of research is the technology of food and of the byproducts of Israel agriculture. But here, too, we have the entire gamut of the teaching of science, with special emphasis in all the fields of engineering. And both the Technion and the institute are supplemented by such dynamic and purposeful organizations as the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, with its faculty of science, Hadassah Medical School, and faculty of agriculture; the agricultural research station and the Israel Atomic Energy Commission at Tel Aviv.

Mr. President, in Israel, as in no other country, science has been the great tool-a tool inspired by necessity and forged by human spirit—a tool that has created, in so brief a space of years, the unprecedented economic and industrial

pheonomenon that is Israel.

A recent article in the Washington Post outlined many of the activities of the Weizmann Institute, to which I have referred. It is further evidence of the scientific progress of Israel, and I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Washington Post, May 15, 1960] ISRAEL'S SCIENCE LENDING A HAND

(By Eleanor Templeton)

TEL AVIV.-"No modern statesman can afford to be scientifically illiterate." The man who expressed this conviction from behind his desk at the Weizmann Institute of Science in Israel is no stranger to Washingtonians and other Americans as a statesman. He is Abba Eban, who was for 10 years Israel's Ambassador to the United States and her Chief United Nations Delegate.

Today, back in his home country, Eban is adding to his political achievements that scientific literacy he considers so essential by serving as president of the Weizmann Institute, which is held by many to be one of the 10 great scientific institutions in the world. At the same time, as a member of the Israel Government Cabinet, he remains active in statecraft. He finds the two roles

wholly compatible.

For it is abundantly clear, says Eban, in a country like Israel-small, poor in natural resources and still counted among those new nations struggling for survival—that the need to utilize the benefits of scientific knowledge is as vital as the need to produce food. In fact, even in the production of food Israel could not succeed without the application of scientific methods, nor could any other principal phase of the economy prosper without the intensive and ingenious exploitation that only science or technology can bring about.

Actually, this principle already has been applied to such an extent in Israel that she now possesses the capacity, and the desire, to help other new nations facing similar

difficulties.

Indeed, Eban believes that among the host of awakening nations in Asia and Africa there are those whose need of an assist from science is even greater than Israel's. For in too many cases political freedom has not brought with it freedom from famine and want, or from many diseases for which cures were found long ago, or from ignorance and inexperience in applying modern technology to agricultural and industrial development,

To these nations Israel can offer a uniquely direct and effective kind of aid. Because, thinks Eban, "the pioneering momentum which marks Israel's development * * * may be more instructive for other small nations than any example which they could find in the life of rich and powerful coun-Israel has shown that "every nation-be it small and young-can develop a scientific tradition and join the scientific movement of our times."

By way of giving realistic expression to this philosophy, the Weizmann Institute is now preparing for an event in which a nice blending of science and statesmanship is admirably exemplified. This is the Interna-tional Conference on Science in the Advancement of New States, to convene at the

Institute in August.

The idea for this conference occurred to Eban while he was still on duty in Washington, but after he had been president of the Institute (in October 1958). As plans for the event took shape, there were doubts about getting a satisfactory response to invitations to attend, which were sent to some of the world's foremost scientists and to top officials of many govern-Perhaps these eminent persons would consider Israel a bit presumptuous in calling a meeting of this nature. But doubts disappeared as the acceptances came in. The roster of delegates will be a brilliant one.

The degree of this brilliance has in fact presented something of a problem—this because the scientific experience of many of the delegates is considerably greater than that which a number of the Asian-African representatives have had opportunity to acquire, and the light of this experience could prove too dazzling for some.

To avert this, there will be a serious effort to keep the proceedings on a level which will have practical meaning to delegates from the less developed countries, and to concentrate the agenda on basic problems common to new nations and societies.

These are problems of agriculture and industry, such as the development of land and water resources and unconventional sources of power like solar energy; problems of nutrition and public health; and the problem of providing new nations with scientific personnel before the educational facilities of the countries themselves can

produce such specialists.

The August gathering will be the third international congress of scientific importance to be staged by the Institute since 1956, when it was the site of the Congress of the International Union of Macromolecular Chemistry. In 1957, it was host to some of the world's foremost nuclear scientists at a conference of the International Union of Physics. This is recognition of a high order for an institution which, only a little more than 10 years ago, began expanding in order to meet the requirements of contemporary scientific reesarch and application.

Young as it may be, however, the Institute has an illustrious tradition to live up to. For it stands as a monument to the first scientist-statesman of the era in which he

lived-Chaim Weizmann.

As a scientist, Weizmann, working for the British Government during World War L made discoveries in technological organic chemistry which contributed significantly to the Allied victory. During this time, he also exhibited his extraordinary gifts for statesmanship, working with enormous effectiveness to bring about events which eventually led to the establishment of the State of Israel. He then became the new state's first president.

Weizmann had long believed that a small country like Israel had especial need of a chemical research institute in which the raw materials of the land itself could be studied and exploited. Happily, his idea was accepted wholeheartedly by devoted friends in England-members of the Marks, Sieff and Sacher families-and with their help the Daniel Sieff Research Institute was founded in 1934. It was housed in a modest two-story building in the village of Rehovoth, where a small agricultural station already existed.

There were, of course, countless difficulties and frustrations to be overcome-including such basic defects as shortages of water, gas and chemicals. Nevertheless, work at the new Institute was notably productive, and from the beginning it vindicated Weizmann's faith. So much so that a decade later, when a group of American friends asked him how they could best honor him on his 70th birthday, Weizmann had but one request: that something be done to enlarge the scope and aims of the Daniel Sieff Research Institute.

From this suggestion came the Weizmann Institute of Science as it exists today. Formally dedicated in November 1949, it now comprises a complex of seven major buildings, plus service and housing facilities. dispersed over a specious, orderly, and verdantly beautiful campus.

As for the staff, it has grown from 10 scientists to 245 (permanent and temporary). There are 60 research students in the gra uate school, which awards a doctor of philosophy degree. Technicians, administrative and maintenance personnel add another 400 workers to the total.

A number of the scientists on the staff are internationally renowned in their fields. Well equipped today with the latest and most complex tools of modern science, they have achieved outstanding results, especially in research on cancer, genetics, plastics, and isotopes. (In connection with the latter, a process developed at the institute now supplies 95 percent of the world demand for heavy water, an essential element in nuclear research.)

All in all, around 90 projects are presently underway, including assignments from the U.S. Air Force, Navy, and other American Government agencies.

This rather breathtaking 10-year advance has taken place without being a financial burden to Israel or drawing on public funds.

Monetary support comes largely from British and American philanthropists, and its flow is kept fresh and recurrent mainly by the imaginative fund-raising tactics of a former theatrical producer from New York, Meyer Weisgall, who is now chairman of the executive.

The fact is that in all its branches the institute is well endowed, even more with talent than with material means. There is every reason to expect that in the forthcoming conference this already famous scientific organization will take one more significant step toward fulfilling the role for which it was created.

This, in the words of Abba Eban, is to utilize science "not as an aim in itself, but as a tool destined faithfully to serve the nation—and the entire family of nations as Well."

Ribicoff Lauds Devon Pupils at Rededication of Revolutionary War Monument

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. ROBERT N. GIAIMO

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, May 27, 1960

Mr. GIAIMO. Mr. Speaker, at a time when our medias of mass communication appear to be largely preoccupied With the asocial acts of our youth, I was Breatly pleased to read a story published by the New Haven Evening Register that depicts the activities of a group of youngsters in my Connecticut community who, as Gov. Abraham Ribicoff has said, belie "the talk of the shallowness and incompetency of our teenagers." These youngsters turned to our Nation's rich heritage of history for an activity which has not only benefitted their community but, indeed, our Nation as well.

Mr. Speaker, I ask that the following article from the New Haven Register of May 25, 1960, be inserted in the Record at this point:

RIBICOFF LAUDS DEVON PUPILS AT REDEDICA-TION OF REVOLUTIONARY WAR MONUMENT

Milporn.—"Look to the students and children if you really want an explanation of our national purpose and dedication."

Several hundred youngsters and adults heard Gov. Abraham Ribicoff say that Tuesday afternoon at the rededication of Liberty Rock in Devon.

The rededication of Liberty Rock—a Revolutionary War landmark—was sparked by 30 students in the seventh grade social studies class of Mrs. Marguerite Devlin at Lenox Avenue School.

Local and State dignitaries attended the flag-raising ceremony rededicating the rock,

which is adjacent to exit 34 of the Connecticut Turnpike.

IMAGINARY TOUR

The students of grade 7-1 "rediscovered" the long-neglected site as part of a class project last fall in which students imagined they were taking Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev, then visiting the United States, on imaginary tours through New England.

When the Connecticut tour was mapped out, the class rediscovered Liberty Rock.

The class, led by Mrs. Devlin, then began a project to rededicate the landmark and as part of it invited Governor Ribicoff to attend the ceremonies.

Speaking at the 40-minute rededication ceremony, the Governor declared that he sits in his office day in and day out with many problems and many cares, "but with few moments of great inspiration."

However, he said, "I was inspired and thrilled by the letter" from the students on their rededication plans.

He praised Mrs. Devlin as a "teacher with imagination, understanding, and love in her heart for her pupils. How lucky her pupils are to have such a teacher."

The Governor said further that this project "belies the talk of the shallowness and

incompetency of our teenagers."

Mrs. Devlin thanked the Governor for attending and for his devotion to youth.

"You stand 10 feet tall today in the minds and hearts of my pupils," Mrs. Devlin told Governor Ribicoff.

FLAG IS RAISED

A 49-star flag, the gift of Freelove Baldwin Stowe Chapter of the DAR, was raised at the site by Priscilla Bradford, one of Mrs. Devlin's students, and Mrs. Kenneth Bissell, historian for the DAR chapter.

The flag will fly there until the Fourth of July when the new 50-star flag becomes official. Supplying the flagpole was the Devon Lions Club.

With a color guard from the Milford Nike Station present, the ceremonies were opened with an invocation by the Reverend Alfred Bradford, father of Priscilla Bradford, and minister of the Devon Union Church.

A welcome to those attending the ceremonies was given by Mary Pfeil, one of the students, who also is president of the Rock Watchers' Society.

This society will bear the responsibility of maintaining the rock and it will be passed each year to the new grade 7-1 of Lenox Avenue School.

In accepting this responsibility for the society she said, "It is our patriotic duty to accept the challenge as modern minutemen."

Another student, Louise McCaulley, gave the history of the rock.

She said scratched on the rock was the date 1766 and the name of Peter Pruden, who was a founder of the Liberty Men, a forerunner of the Minute Men.

The rock stands on the north side of Bridgeport Avenue and during Revolutionary War times was the highest point in the area.

USED AS LOOKOUT

Deep in woodland, the rock was used as a lookout point during the period when the British had brought Fairfield under fire and Devon residents feared an attack.

A metal plaque, donated by Devon VFW Post 7788, has been attached to the rock and is enscribed:

"Liberty Men 1766; Minute Men 1776; Liberty Rock DAR September 7, 1897."

The last date refers to the original dedication by the Milford DAR chapter.

A tableau scene, atop the rock, with a 13star fiag being unfolded was presented by six Revolutionary War costumed seventh graders:

David House, Norman Lofgren, Robert Williams, Peter Craig, Wayne Hawkins, and Walter Oshetski.

Accompanying fife and drum music was by Judy Pinco, Howard Pennington and Susan Henchman.

Also speaking at the affair were Mayor Charles R. Iovino, School Superintendent Joseph A. Foran, and Lenox Avenue School Principal Carl Andreas.

The benediction was given by the Reverend Gladstone Stevens, pastor of the St. Andrews

Episcopal Church, Devon.

Following the ceremonies, Governor Ribicoff was introduced by Mrs. Devlin to each of her students.

Americans Warned of Impending Water, Shortage

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. ALEXANDER WILEY

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, May 27, 1960

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, the creation of ever-improved programs for utilizing, conserving, and finding new sources of the valuable resource, water, liquid gold, is essential to the future of our country.

We recall that Secretary Seaton, of the Department of the Interior, has estimated that by 1980, the United States will have to turn to ocean water for the needs of our people, as well as for water for industrial and agricultural purposes.

We recognize, of course, that we must not wait until we run out of water, before we start to do something about it. Rather, the task is now to lay constructive plans to provide us with the necessary resources of water for the time when we shall need it. For this reason, I join in sponsoring proposed legislation to carry forward the program to find more inexpensive ways of transferring saline or brackish water into water suitable for industrial and other consumption purposes.

The Congress, I believe, should give early approval to the pending legislation, S. 3447, for this essential program.

Recently, the Christian Science Monitor published an article, by Bert Collier, entitled "Americans Warned of Impending Water Shortage." The article reflects the need for a program to provide for water needs of the future; and I request unanimous consent that this article be printed in the Appendix of the Record.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Americans Warned of Impending Water Shortage

(By Bert Collier)

Bal Harbour, Fla.—Interested listeners at the American Water Works Association convention at Bal Harbour were warned that the United States is rapidly running out of water.

But a vast amount of research is being done.

Harry A. Farber of the U.S. Public Health Service said new tools, new know-how, and more money were being made available constantly to apply to the problem. "The number of water resource agencies and research centers is growing," he told AWWA delegates at the Americana Hotel. "They will put to work more scientists and engineers who can provide the type of research information that is needed. These are hopeful signs."

Can they come up with answers in time? They must, said Theodore M. Schad, staff director of the Senate Select Committee on National Water Resources. The need is

GREAT NEED SIGHTED

"The United States is rapidly approaching the time when we will need and use all the water we can possibly get from every conceivable source," he declared, "from the conservation of streamflow, the greater use of underground sources, the salvage of previously used waters of every sort and from the most rigorous elimination of waste in water storage, transportation, and use."

In only 20 years, said Mr. Schad, at least 5 of the 22 water resource regions into which the United States has been divided for the committee's study purposes will have water needs exceeding the supply, even with wholesale reuse.

"This will necessitate the importation of water from other river basins," he said, "or the making of decisions as to which uses would have to be forgone.

DAMS AND RESERVOIRS

"Furthermore, the 17 more adequately watered regions face the need to build systems of dams and reservoirs for virtually complete control of riverflows such as only the more arid regions of the West have experienced. This nationwide study of water needs versus supplies, the first of its kind ever made, tells us that we are approaching a strange, new day in our land when we must create a planned sufficiency of water, rather than passively enjoy a natural abundance of the resource as in the past."

Studies of the Senate select committee indicate, said Mr. Schad, that the national water needs by 1980 will approximate the 600 billion daily supply which some experts estimate is the present limitation with present techniques. It represents about half the total outflow of all the Nation's rivers.

"The answer is that we are going to have to use our available waters over and over again," he said, "cleaning it up each time just as we send our dirty shirts to the laundry."

PLANNING ACCEPTED

"If our water development is planned wisely, we should have a sufficient amount in most places, though not all the things people will want to use water for."

This projects us 20 years into the future.

Beyond that, who knows?

Equally as important as total supply is state of water systems which supply the Nation's communities. Raymond J. Faust, AWWA secretary, reported that 57 percent of all distribution systems need improvement, presenting a capital need estimated at \$5 billion.

Considering that only between \$400 million and \$500 million was spent last year, said Mr. Faust, "the industry has been retrogressing in its ability to meet its needs."

ESTIMATES CITED

This critical demand for improvements comes at a time of tremendous expansion. Estimates are for a national population of 285 million in 1980. Most of this growth, however, will be dependent on public water systems.

systems.
"It is conservatively estimated," said Mr.
Faust, "that \$16,500 million will be needed
to provide water to this increased population."

Combined plant deficiencies and expansion needs conservatively will call for \$1,060 million a year for 20 years.

But this isn't the end. "Perhaps the greatest challenge of all is that of quality water," said the AWWA official. "Today very few supplies in this country qualify as quality water."

Mr. Faust estimates that plant construction and other improvements to insure quality water would cost about \$15 a person served, or a total of \$1,900 million.

Putting these three needs together, and projecting them for 20 years means, said Mr. Faust, that the water industry in the United States is faced with an annual construction job of \$1,115 million.

"The water industry has met and conquered many challenges in the past," he said. "For this the industry can rightly receive a hearty well done. Nonetheless, its largest problems lie ahead. I hope we are prepared to meet them."

Dedicated Ladies of the National Council of Jewish Women

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. SEYMOUR HALPERN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, May 27, 1960

Mr. HALPERN. Mr. Speaker, as a Member of this House—the core of free, representative Government—and cognizant of the rights and responsibilities of our free system, I try as much as possible to keep abreast of issues through the varied media of research, of public expression and viewpoint, and through resolutions and statements of our numerous public-spirited organizations and groups.

In the carrying out of this objective policy, I constantly come into contact with many fine organizations—one of these is an outstanding body of dedicated ladies—the National Council of Jewish Women. Through personal meetings with its representatives on national as well as local levels, and through analyses of the council's legislative program, I have been impressed by the enthusiasm, public spirit and dedication of these women.

I thought it most appropriate to describe their outstanding work to the House and, in so doing, bring to the American people thorugh the forum of its Congress a summary of the council's admirable activities.

The National Council of Jewish Women has a membership of 110,000 women in 240 sections throughout the country. Organized in 1893, the council has devoted its energies to a program of service, education, and social action to stimulate the individual and the community to advance the democratic way of life. It is dedicated, in the spirit of Judaism, to the well-being of Jews and their neighbors of all faiths, in American communities, in the Nation and throughout the world.

The council's interest in education, in social and economic advancement, in government, is identical with the interest of all Americans who are resolved to live in freedom and to build on the demo-

cratic foundation of our country. The dignity of the individual, the importance of the family, the liberty to believe and to speak without restraint or coercion, are part of the Jewish faith as well as of our American heritage.

Councilwomen sponsor—sometimes by themselves, sometimes working with religious and civic organizations of other faiths—more than 900 community services throughout America for better education, health, and welfare.

Through an oversea program, the national organization trains professional and volunteer leaders for the welfare and educational services in Israel and other Jewish communities abroad.

The women contribute their efforts on a voluntary basis, and their programs have encompassed many fields—education, juvenile delinquency, the elderly, housing, immigration, mental health, civil rights and liberties, and welfare services, particularly in undermanned communities.

The council has provided services, centers and motor corps projects for severely handicapped children. It has sponsored teenage recreation centers. It has provided job placement services and workshops for the elderly. It has helped to organize citizens' housing councils in communities as a means of alerting public awareness to pressing housing needs.

These and many other outstanding services of the council have fully merited for it the national recognition which it has justly received.

Correlative with its great programs is the spirit reflected in the resolutions adopted by the council at its 23d convention in Los Angeles. Defining the council's position on important public issues, they form the basis for the council's program of study and action. Encompassing American foreign policy, economic policy, government, human rights and democracy, individual and social welfare, immigration and naturalization, Israel, Judaism, Jewish life, public education, and women's rights, they assert the membership's belief in the fundamental strengths of the democratic life.

In promoting the spirit and practice of democracy, of service, of brotherhood, the council has contributed magnificently to the development of our great traditions of free government.

Ground Breaking Ceremonies for Century 21 Exposition

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. WARREN G. MAGNUSON

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, May 27, 1960

Mr. MAGNUSON. Mr. President, a few short days ago Seattle, Wash., witnessed the ground breaking ceremonies for the Colisesum 21 Building, a key part of the mammoth science display

which will be opened to the world on April 21, 1962.

On that occasion, many notables of our generation had an important part to play, both in arranging the program and carrying it forward.

Gov. Albert D. Rosellini of Washington State played a major role. So did former Seattle City Councilman Alfred R. Rochester, now executive director of Century 21 Exposition Commission.

But we from Washington State can never forget the words uttered that day by Dr. John P. Hagen, Director, Office for the United Nations Conference, National Aeronautics and Space Administration.

The enormity of scientific achievement already made and the challenge still confronting us is made clear in Dr. Hagen's address. I ask unanimous consent that Dr. Hagen's address be printed in the Appendix of the Record.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Speech at the Official Groundbreaking Ceremony Coliseum Century 21, Century 21 Exposition, Inc., Seattle, Wash., May 12, 1960

(Dr. John P. Hagen, Director, Office for the United Nations Conference National Aeronautics and Space Administration)

(Acknowledge person introducing, pay respects to Governor of the State of Washington and other dignitaries present.)

We are here today to assist the State of Washington and the city of Seattle in their preparation to recognize the heritage of the Past, to pay tribute to the technological revolution of this century, and to take a long look forward to the hopeful promise of century 21. In this age of technology, more than in any other time in our history, tomorrow's achievements are made possible only by today's discoveries.

Time telescopes today's living. Our ancestors learned to dig from the earth energy from the sun arriving millions of years ago and stored in the form of fossil deposits of coal. The coal age took 2,000 years to develop.

A major revolution occurred when James Watt discovered a means to convert the thermal energy of burning coal to mechanical energy. His steam engine, once perfected, was put to all sorts of tasks in new industries and in transportation. With the introduction of steam, our scale of living was vastly increased. The coal age had taken 2,000 years to develop—the steam age now took 100 years for its development.

Not more than 20 years ago scientists, working in laboratories in many countries, probing at the atom to learn its secrets, developed techniques which made it possible to discover the means to unlock the atom and release the tremendous energies contained therein. This had its first use unfortunately as an instrument of destruction, but now is hopefully being turned to peaceful uses. The coal age took 2,000 years, steam 100 years, but the nuclear age took only 20 years to develop.

Within the last few years, we have learned how to overcome the forces of gravity, have established stations in space and are engaged in an aggressive program to take advantage of this new capability to expand our knowledge of the universe, to prepare to explore the nearer objects in the solar system and to bring them into our zone of experience. The coal age took 2,000 years, steam 100 years, nuclear 20 years, and now in less than 10 years the space age has become a recogniz-

able factor in today's pattern of life. Time is indeed telescoping today's living.

So it is with the Pacific Northwest. The groups in this area were admitted as States to the Union less than two generations ago. Now this is one of the fastest growing areas in the United States—almost twice the rate of national growth. This is a tribute to the energy, the courage, and the wisdom of the people and its leaders both here and in the Nation's Capital.

Century 21 is the century of hope. Man, if his wisdom controls his desires, has it within his power to remold the world.

Look back a moment at century 19. We see a picture of a world containing vast, fertile, unoccupied areas, a world living in a partially agrarian existence and a world whose inhabitants could look forward to a short life span.

But now at the middle of century 20, the world finds itself in a population squeeze. Because of scientific and technological improvements in health and sanitation, we have increased birth rates and longer life expectancies. According to the U.S. census, the birth rate in the United States alone is equivalent to creating the population of a new city of 35,000 persons each day. This sudden filling of the earth has created a demand for a degree of order not earlier required.

In century 20 the productivity of the individual has increased and along with this has come an increase in the average consumption of goods and services. Communication and transportation have been revolutionized so that the world has become closer knit. Seattle was rebuilt in 1889 after a destructive fire. Every spot in the inhabited world today is more accessible to the people of Seattle than New York and Washington were in those days.

What can we foreseen for century 21? There is the pressing need for the expansion of means to satisfy the physical needs of food and shelter for our growing population. We must expand our capabilities for taking care of the intellectual needs of our children and of ourselves through better schools and universities and through better facilities for adult education. Most importantly, we must do more in planning and thinking and doing in satisfying our spiritual and moral needs. The fast changing world presents us with new and unforeseen situations which try our nature and force us to make decisions which can only be right if based on a strong spiritual and moral background.

What could be more fitting than to explore the 21st century? What could better epitomize the spirit of the Pacific Northwest than to portray for all the world to see and hear the dynamic, forward march of a confident America.

Today we break the ground for the century 21 exposition in which private citizens and the State and the Federal Government joint hands to chart the future. Inded we recognize that the expansion of America cannot stop with the arrival of yesterday's settler nor with today's newborn. Indeed, man's urge to grow physically, mentally, and spiritually compels him to explore upwards into space itself. What peaceful uses does the exploration of space hold for us?

We live here on the surface of the earth and stretching out above us is the atmosphere containing the oxygen which supports our life. The atmosphere serves as a shield between us and the atomic-sized missiles and the strong ultra-violet and X-ray radiations that fly about through space. While the atmosphere protects us, it also denies us the opportunity to study these radiations and to see the universe in its full splendor.

We have now overcome this barrier and can send our observing instruments into space. In the past 2 years we have made a significant advance in the knowledge of the universe in which we live and we in the United States can take pride that we with our space effort have led in the expansion of scientific knowledge. We now know more about the true nature of interplanetary space and with Pioneer V are learning new things each day. We know more about the shape of the earth and the structure of its atmosphere and with Vanguard I are still improving this knowledge. We have begun to apply this new technique to bring real advantages to your way of living. Thros I, the meteorological satellite, has demonstrated and is still demonstrating that, by observing the worldwide weather picture in a way that was never possible before, we can design and put into space systems which will make possible a great improvement in our understanding and prediction of the weather.

We are on the verge of conducting an experiment, called Echo, with a 100-foot satellite sphere. This experiment, if successful, will pioneer a means to vastly improve long-distance communications. We think of a future possibility of instantaneous worldwide communication through this medium in space.

It is our place to continue the scientific program directed toward the expansion of our knowledge of the physical universe and to convert this knowledge through technology toward the improvement of our everyday living.

We are planning toward the exploration of the solar system. Pioneer V, now more than 8 million miles from the earth and still sending back scientific data, is our first real step in this direction.

We will next probe the moon and the nearby planets with unmanned vehicles observing them with television and sampling their surfaces. Life may well exist in one form or another elsewhere in this universe. One of our greatest achievements will be to determine if this is so. Out of this exploration could come better understanding of the secret of life itself and a better understanding of the origin of our solar system and universe.

A social and moral reawakening is needed. Man is only a temporal creature. He is but one possible organism in one of many worlds, in one of many solar systems, in one of many galaxies. Man has always been afraid of his new inventions and has been perversely adamant about adapting himself to the new and technically more advanced environment he creates. This problem has been more severe in this last 50-year span, with more advances coming in this one generation than came in all the centuries since the Dark Ages. This extends from the very small to the very large. In this generation, we have unlocked the atom and have found there things such as electrons, protons, and neutrons that we can only partially describe with mathematics, but we do not understand these things in the sense that we understand the thing, "chair" or "table." We have begun to map our own galaxy of stars and, where once we were impressed with its immensity, now we blithely think of it as one of many hurtling at tremendous speeds through space space whose boundaries we have never seen and perhaps never hope to

Man will have to grow spiritually to reap the benefits of century 21 and to adjust himself to the new way of life.

Never before in the long pages of history has man become so conscious of his power of self-destruction and of his lack of power of re-creation. It is but an accident of time and place that genetically he exists at all.

As he faces century 21, let him be unafraid of the new technology. Let him grasp the new concepts of time, space, and matter—and that from these elements and his faith in his fellow man—he will leave an enriched heritage for those who follow him.

Corps of Engineers' New Dredge Commissioned

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. WILLIAM E. MINSHALL

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Friday, May 27, 1960

Mr. MINSHALL. Mr. Speaker, on May 17, the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers' new \$10 million dredge, the Markham, was commissioned in the Port of Cleveland. The distinguished guests for this occasion were the Honorable Wilber Mr. Brucker, Secretary of the Army, and Lt. Gen. Emerson C. Itschner, Chief of the Corps of Engineers. An armada of ships wearing the flags of many nations sail the St. Lawrence Seaway, and maintaining and improving the facilities for transportation via the Great Lakes-St. Lawrence navigation system is of paramount importance both nationally and internationally. The Corps of Engineers is to be commended for their role in making this fourth seacoast a reality, and under leave to extend my remarks, I am pleased to present to my colleagues the text of the speeches of Secretary Brucker and General Itschner at the commissioning ceremonies:

REMARKS BY LT. GEN. E. C. ITSCHNER, CHIEF OF ENGINEERS, U.S. ARMY

Today we pass another milestone in the more than a century and a quarter of civil works activities by the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers on the Great Lakes.

A new dredge has been commissioned into service that is larger, more modern, and able to do a better job, than any dredge we have previously used on the Great Lakes.

The Markham is a completely new ship, designed by the Corps of Engineers, and constructed, under contract, by Avondale Marine Ways Inc., of New Orleans. It has cost a little more than \$10 million. This modern plant will be able to handle three times the quantity of dredged material in its hoppers as could the largest dredge heretofore used by the Corps of Engineers on the Great Lakes. There will be significant savings in time and money.

We are signally honored today by the presence of the Secretary of the Army. The Honorable Wilber M. Brucker is well known on the Great Lakes, as a distinguished son of Michigan and former Governor of that State.

As Secretary of the Army, Mr. Brucker has been a vigorous and consistent supporter of the civil works program of the Corps of Engineers, because he knows well the great contribution this peacetime program makes to the wartime strength of the Army he proudly heads. It gives me the greatest pleasure to introduce to this gathering, the Secretary of the Army, the Honorable Wilber M. Brucker.

REMARKS BY THE HONORABLE WILBER M. BRUCKER, SECRETARY OF THE ARMY

It is a pleasure to take part in these ceremonies commissioning a new U.S. Army dredge. It is named the Markham in honor of the late Maj. Gen. Edward Murphy Markham, Chief of Engineers from 1933 to 1937, and it will supply a pressing need for more modern dredging equipment in the essential task of maintaining connecting channels and harbors of the extensive Great Lakes-St. Lawrence River navigation system. I know that General Markham, one of the

foremost contributors to the Corps of Engineers proud tradition as a leader in civil works projects, would be proud that his name has been given to this vessel which represents another forward step in engineering efficiency.

General Itschner has described how the Markham will add to the speed and effectiveness of dredging operations here, and we shall all look forward to the benefits

expected from its use.

The need to find new and better ways of doing our work has always been one of the driving forces behind the U.S. Army, and the Corps of Engineers has been particularly outstanding as a pioneer of new methods and developments. For almost 185 years, the Corps of Engineers has had a special place in the American march of progress as an agency to which soldier and civilian alike could look for leadership, advice, and assistance in carrying out major technological tasks.

The Corps' role today typifies its traditional service to our country. It is the primary engineering and consultation agency in our world-wide system of national defense in an age when technological capability is a matter of decisive importance to military power. Here at home the Corps of Engineers is also charged with the responsibility for assuring that the development of our water resources will support the requirements for the economic expansion which is so vital to our survival.

Here on the Great Lakes, new vistas are opening up. With completion of the St. Lawrence Seaway, this northern border has become in truth the Nation's fourth seacoast. Cleveland and the other harbors on the lakes have become or will become world seaports. Local governments and private enterprises are beginning to improve their port facilities in order to take full advantage of the vast new opportunities for growth and the expansion of commerce. The Federal Government, through the Army Corps of Engineers, also in conducting surveys, making plans, and beginning construction to provide improved navigation channels, more modern locks, and other facilities.

With so many governmental and private agencies contributing in such a manner, we can all look forward confidently to a future of expanded commercial and shipping activity which will bring increased economic growth to the entire region.

There is an important national security aspect we must also keep in mind. This inland sea, stretching 2,300 miles from Duluth to the St. Lawrence Gulf, provides a channel into the Nation's heartland which is free from the threat of enemy submarines,

Iron ore for steel, a key strategic material in war, can continue to move from our midwest ore deposits. Labrador ore also can move upbound through the Seaway and Great Lakes to America's steel manufacturing centers.

If war should come again—and we devoutly hope it will not—this shorter, more protected oversea route will facilitate the shipment of men, munitions, and other wartime supplies eastward, and will increase generally the war goods production potential of the whole mid-continent area.

I am proud that the St. Lawrence Seaway went forward to reality during my tenure as Secretary of the Army, and I should like once more to congratulate the Corps of Engineers for doing it again when called upon to design and construct the United States portion of the project. Such developments will have even greater and more far-reaching benefits than we can now calculate. They prove once again that our progress is limited only by our energy and vision.

In the hope and confidence that this new dredge, the Markham, will contribute im-

measurably to the continued improvement of our vital Great Lakes-St. Lawrence River navigation system, I now commission it in the service of the U.S. Army and the Nation at large.

Problems of Migratory Farmworkers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. HARRISON A. WILLIAMS, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, May 27, 1960

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. Mr. President, the migrant worker in the United States today often experiences hardship, danger, and exclusion as he travels from one State to another, from one crop to another, each year. In many parts of the Nation, however, he also experiences something more—community concern about the problems which face him and members of his family.

The Senate Subcommittee on Migratory Labor spent 3 days in southern Florida last week, and there we saw evidence of this community concern in abundance. We heard from educators who were appalled at the difficulties encountered by children of the migrants. Members of the migrant ministry told us about efforts to give some meaning to the few leisure hours of the workers. A professor described an all-out response by government and citizens to alleviate hardships during this year's freeze. In other States the subcommittee has heard similar testimony. It has become increasingly obvious that any Government effort to help the migrant must have the understanding and support of private groups and individual citizens. That understanding is gradually increasing. The subcommittee has received much help from witnesses who believe that well-planned Federal programs can be helpful to those who deal locally with individual problems faced by the migrant.

A most perceptive editorial in the May 28, 1960, Saturday Evening Post, describes one of those problems. In its final line it sums up the basic challenge. It says: "What is most needed now is that the country recognize the existence of the problem."

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Post's excellent editorial be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

CHILDREN OF MIGRANT WORKERS POSE A

From your car or bus or train, as you move through one or another part of the country, you may sometimes see men and women and even children working in the fields. These may be among our vast number of migratory farmworkers. They are absolutely needed for the heavy seasonal demands of agriculture. But they are now a problem.

First of all, what about the children? It is reckoned that there are 500,000 adult migratory workers and 100,000 children. Not only do many of the children work in

the fields at an early age, but the great majority get very little schooling. Suppose a child is in school for 3 weeks in one place, and then the family moves on to work in another State. How can children's studies in one State be coordinated with their studies elsewhere?

As for the adults, they generally have a hard life. Secretary of Labor Mitchell calls them the "excluded Americans." Their anhual earnings are low, and housing and sanitary conditions are often unpleasant. The Federal and State governments give financial protection of different kinds to most workers, but the migrants nearly every-Where are left out in the cold. They are frequently barred from a community's health and school facilities.

Their employers are often called exploiters. This sweeping charge is unfair. Nobody with a knowledge of human nature will be astonished to hear that some growers are indifferent to the welfare of the migrants. But Senator Harrison A. WILLIAMS, of New Jersey, chairman of the Subcommittee on Migratory Labor, finds encouraging efforts by some growers to provide good housing despite slim profit margins.

Seasonal farmworkers are to be found in all our States. In some they are few; West Virginia has only 130. But 16 States have more than 10,000 each . Texas has 95,000, California 60,000, Michigan 46,000, New York 28,000.

Gov. David L. Lawrence, of Pennsylvania, has told the Senate subcommittee that migrants pick one-fourth of his State's fruits and vegetables. He urges Federal laws to protect them, arguing that a State cannot be expected to raise its farmers' costs higher than those in other States. Senator WIL-LIAMS proposes to begin with a modest pro-"States and localities," he says, "cannot absorb large numbers of migrant children into their existing, educational systems for relatively brief periods of the year." urges that the Federal Government provide matching funds to help defray the added expense during the regular school session.

The whole matter is very complex, and there are practical barriers. What is most there are practical barriers. needed now is that the country recognize the

existence of the problem.

Government Services and Assistance to the Domestic Minerals Industries

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. WAYNE N. ASPINALL

OF COLORADO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, May 27, 1960

Mr. ASPINALL. Mr. Speaker, on May 19 there was addressed to me by Gerald D. Morgan, the Deputy Assistant to the President, a letter transmitting a compilation of the activities of Government agencies affecting the domestic minerals industries. The information submitted by Mr. Morgan is not a complete answer to the request of the Congress contained in House Concurrent Resolution 177, 86th Congress, 1st session, but it contains useful information bearing on pending legislation, and suggests the need of additional legislation.

Under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the letter and enclosure from Mr. Morgan:

THE WHITE HOUSE, Washington, May 19, 1960.

The Honorable WAYNE N. ASPINALL, Chairman, Committee on Interior and In-

sular Affairs, House of Representatives, Washington, D.C. DEAR MR. ASPINALL: In view of the House

Concurrent Resolution 177 of last year, you may be interested in the attached compilation of reports by the various Government agencies on their several activities affecting the minerals industries of the United States. Sincerely.

GERALD D. MORGAN. The Deputy Assistant to the President.

ENCLOSIDE

Section 1 of House Concurrent Resolution 177 requested reviews of existing programs of the departments and agencies of the executive branch for the purpose of increasing the activity of the domestic mining and mineral industries; advice on actions taken or proposed toward this end; and submission of any necessary reorganization plans or legislative recommendations.

A survey of several Government agencies reveals that many programs of the Government provide services and assistance to the domestic minerals industries and to mining communities. A few of these render di-rect assistance; most of them have an indirect effect: their total contribution is substantial. Any modification of such programs would, of course, have to be consistent with the primary objective for which they were established.

It has not been possible to explore all of the factors contributing to unemployment in mining communities nor to review in detail all of the programs of the Government which might be used to assist in some way. Programs which have been reviewed are primarily those which help areas of persistent unemployment to create new job opportunities, those which benefit small business concerns, and those which contribute generally to economic growth and stability.

STOCKPILING

Under the strategic stockpiling program (Public Law 79-520), substantial quantities of many materials were purchased from domestic mines. These purchase programs helped to maintain a high level of production for much of the mining industry. In some instances, mining camps that had been shut down were reopened, and even new mines were opened up. This program is now practically completed, and stockpiling requirements largely met. The stockpiling program, however, is under continuous re-

DEFENSE PRODUCTION ACT

The stockpiling program has been supplemented by domestic mineral production programs conducted under the Defense Production Act of 1950, as amended. This act provides all needed authority for any additional programs that might prove necessary for the maintenance of a satisfactory level of domestic metal and mineral production for defense.

Although plant-expansion programs for mineral production ended with the fulfillment of stockpile needs, the Government is still under contract to purchase from two producers such copper as cannot be sold on the market. These are new enterprises whose creation was connected with a Government program, one employing 2,600 workers and the other 1,200 workers. At one, the San Manuel enterprise in Arizona, a whole new community has sprung into existence.

Proposed legislation to amend and extend the Defense Production Act of 1950 will be transmitted to the Congress at an early

URANIUM

The uranium industry of the United States was created in response to the Federal atomic energy program. While sufficient reserves have been developed and stocks accumulated to lead to an easing of this program, many mining camps, with their ancillary community activities, continue active. In 1959, almost 7 million tons of ore were treated, employing 3,185 workers in addition to those engaged in mining and transportation; plant investment in the industry totals more than \$156 million.

MINERAL EXPLORATION

The Department of the Interior administers a program under Public Law 85-701 whereby the Government participates financially in the cost of mineral exploration in the United States. If mineral reserves are found and a mining enterprise created, the Government's financial contribution is returned in the form of royalties on production; otherwise, no repayment is required. This program is designed particularly for the small miner. The program was reviewed in late 1959, and the Office of Minerals Exploration in the Department of the Interior is being reorganized in order to improve the program.

RESEARCH IN MINING AND EXPLORATION

The Department of the Interior through the Bureau of Mines and the Geological Survey conducts a continuing program of research on exploration, mining methods, processing, utilization of low-grade ores, new uses for metals and minerals, and similar items. Work by the Geological Survey has had a direct influence on discovery and creation of new mining activity; examples are, the discovery of rare-earth deposits in California, zinc in Tennessee, and lead in Wisconsin. The work of the Bureau of Mines on titanium has been directly responsible for the creation of a titanium industry in the United States. The Bureau's work has also helped create an industry for zirconium and hafnium, both needed in atomic energy. The oil shale program of the Bureau has advanced the possibility of a new industry to the point where it is now a matter of competitive economics. The programs of these offices are under constant review and revision toward the end that American mineral resources make their maximum contribution to the American defense and economy.

COAL RESEARCH

The Bureau of Mines conducts extensive research to develop new or improved techniques that will assure wise utilization of coal. Much of this research is of mediumand long-range character. In order to provide for desirable research oriented toward development of immediate new uses, the administration has endorsed legislation that would give the Department of the Interior authority to contract for coal research. This is embodied in H.R. 3375 now pending in the

CONSERVATION OF HELIUM RESOURCES

The consumption of helium has increased fivefold since 1950. Its use in industrial and medical research, and its essential military uses make it increasingly valuable. The known supplies of helium are limited. Nevertheless, some four billion cubic feet of helium are wasted annually as the natural gas containing helium is consumed.

The Department of the Interior has requested legislation to conserve 32 billion cubic feet of helium. H.R. 8440, H.R. 10548. and S. 3376, and other similar bills, have been introduced and hearings held. It is hoped that a satisfactory measure can be approved during the present session of the Congress.

EXPANSION OF EXPORTS

Under the leadership of the Department of Commerce, and with interdepartmental assistance, a comprehensive program to increase exports is being undertaken. Meascontemplated or underway include stimulation of domestic business interest in the exports market, providing greater detail on a product basis of foreign demand, arranging for greater development and wider dissemination of trade leads, and increased activity by the Foreign Service on behalf of U.S. business in foreign sales efforts. Furthermore, special studies of foreign markets, including those for iron and steel products and aluminum, are about to be made for the benefit of industries concerned. These activities will be supplemented by an expansion of existing programs for distribution of foreign market surveys and foreign dispatches covering market developments.

In addition, meetings with some 40 industries are being held to obtain suggestions regarding measures which would serve to expand exports. Consideration may be given to suggestions for easing foreign risks resulting from acts of foreign governments. Such meetings are not scheduled for the extractive industries but joint sponsorship of them with the Department of the Inte-

rior might be arranged.
Since producer and consumer durable goods form a large portion of exports and since these items involve substantial quantities of various types of metals, the extractive industries would benefit ultimately from any increase in exports resulting from these activities.

AREA ASSISTANCE

The Office of Area Development of the Department of Commerce carries the principal responsibility for providing Federal assistance to area development groups in their efforts to strengthen the economic bases of their communities. An illustration of its direct assistance to mining is its work with the Anthracite Institute. Its help to the institute in presenting to Government fuel experts the economic advantages of anthracite-using equipment in Government installations brought about a substantial increase in anthracite sales. The major contribution of the area assistance program, however, would be to those mining communities which face the task of providing new job opportunities in new industries.

The Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs in its report on House Concurrent Resolution 177 emphasized the widespread effects of mine shutdowns and depressed domestic mineral production. These range from business failures and blighted communities, to a general depressing effect on the national economy and a threat to national security. The decline of ore grade, the increased productivity of labor in mining and milling, the changing character of industrial demand for mineral raw materials, and the fact that mines inevitably play out often mean that a mining community must increase and diversify its economic opportunities if it is to hold its people.

The Office of Area Development provides a variety of technical services to help communities in this endeavor.

The Department of Labor also aids community organization with on-the-job training, and the Small Business Administration provides financial assistance.

Legislation is needed to strengthen these programs. H.R. 4278 is designed to enable the Federal Government to stimulate and complement the efforts of communities to help themselves, to promote maximum participation by private financial institutions and by State and local agencies to encourage the creation of new job opportunities, and to provide technical aid for the diversification of single-industry communities.

Programs of the various Federal agencies in this area are under the continuous review and coordination of the interdepartmental Committee to Coordinate Federal Urban Area Assistance Programs.

SMALL BUSINESS

A substantial segment of the American mining industry is composed of small business concerns. For this reason, the Small Business Administration has been asked to review its program with special reference to small mining establishments. Many small but efficient mines are now closed because their capital was insufficient to enable them to survive the period of low prices of the past 2 years.

The Small Business Administration is authorized to make loans to business enterprises, including mining companies, in accordance with the provisions of the Small Business Act. Loans may be made by the agency to finance business construction, conversion, or expansion; to finance the purchase of equipment, facilities, machinery, supplies, or material; and to supply working capital. The Small Business Administration attempts to aid the mining segment of the ecoonmy in every way possible by the extension of sound loans to eligible applicants.

Since the inception of the agency through March 1960, the following loans have been approved to industries classified as mining:

Type of business	Number of loans approved	Amount
Metal mining	11 49	\$692,000 5,392,000
Crude petroleum and natural gas production or extraction	84	6, 830, 000
Mining and quarrying of non- metallic minerals, except fuels	187	9, 373, 000

The Government's programs affecting small-business concerns were subject to review by a Cabinet Committee appointed May 31, 1956. Many of the problems dealt with by this Committee are problems of the domestic mining industry. The Committee's recommendations, especially those relating to Federal taxes, should improve the economic conditions of many small mining industries.

SPECIAL TAX PROVISIONS

There are several major tax relief provisions that are available exclusively to taxpayers in the natural resources industries. These provisions are the percentage depletion allowance; the permitting of the deduction of exploration and development expenditures; the exclusion from gross income of certain grants to taxpayers by the Federal Government to encourage exploration, development, and mining of critical and strategic minerals; the treatment of coal royalties under certain conditions so as to give rise to capital gain rather than ordinary income; and the limitation on the amount of tax which may be imposed in the case of a sale of oil or gas properties.

No recommendations are offered at this time for legislation to modify these provisions.

AGRICULTURAL BARTER

The barter program of the Department of Agriculture has at times provided considerable assistance to the domestic mining industry. By removing spot surpluses of metals and minerals from world markets, the barter program has helped stabilize world prices.

Unfortunately, it is not always possible to provide this assistance. The barter program has as its objective the increase of exports of agricultural commodities. Minerals and metals can be accepted in exchange for agricultural commodities only where

such action increases foreign purchasing power and channels the use of that purchasing power to the purchase of agricultural commodities from this country.

An interdepartmental committee is responsible for advising the Secretary of Agriculture what minerals may be listed for barter.

FORMAL REVIEWS OF MINERAL PROGRAMS

Programs directly affecting the minerals industries have been reviewed in considerable detail over the past 6 years.

In 1954, a Cabinet Committee on Minerals Policy made a comprehensive review of pertinent existing legislation and Government programs developed pursuant thereto. The recommendations of this Committee have largely guided the administration's policies and programs during the past 5 years.

The report of the Cabinet Committee on Minerals Policy was complemented in 1955 by the report of the President's Advisory Committee on Energy Supplies and Resources Policy.

These reports and recommendations led to several important developments in programs affecting the minerals industry.

The strategic stockpile was strengthened by the establishment of long-term objectives, later changed to maximum objectives.

The Office of Minerals Mobilization was created in the Department of the Interior. The Office of Defense Mobilization delegated to this office the task of conducting a continuing and systematic commodity-by-commodity analysis of the mobilization base for all of the strategic minerals.

A review of the tax structure led to further consideration by the Congress and the approval in the 1954 Revenue Code of a number of revisions in depletion allowances and other revisions in the tax structure affecting the minerals industries.

The committee recommended and the Congress later enacted legislation to provide a permanent program of financial assistance to private industry for exploration.

to private industry for exploration.

The research work of the Geological Survey and the Bureau of Mines was accelerated by increased appropriations.

The mining laws were revised to make possible a greater use of the public domain. A Government fuel-purchasing policy was

developed.

The program of voluntary curtailments of oil imports and later the present program of import quotas on both crude oil and oil products were established.

LONG-RANGE MINERALS PROGRAMS

During 1956 and 1957, several extensive reviews were made within the administration of Government programs specifically affecting the development of domestic mineral resources. These reviews were for the purpose of enabling the Secretary of the Interior, in behalf of the administration, to lay before the Congress any legislation needed to bring about long-term improvements in domestic mining.

These reviews took the form of discussion by representatives of the major governmental agencies concerned and a formal review by the Advisory Board on Economic Growth and Stability, a consultative body of the Council of Economic Advisers.

Several legislative proposals grew out of these reviews but only one recommended measure was actually enacted by the Congress. This was Public Law 701, 85th Congress 2d session, a bill to provide financial assistance to exploration. This action had been previously recommended by the Cabinet Committee.

Proposals to provide a sliding-scale excise tax on lead and zinc and incentive payments to stimulate production of certain minerals were not exacted by the Congress.

were not enacted by the Congress.

In connection with the development of these long-range proposals, the Secretary of

the Interior reviewed with congressional committees the status of all important mineral commodities, providing summaries of salient data for each commodity.

SPECIAL STOCKPILE ADVISORY COMMITTEE

The Special Stockpile Advisory Committee was established October 31, 1957, to advise the Director of the Office of Defense Mobilization on the adequacy of the Government's Policies and programs for stockpiling Strategic materials.

The committee was under the chairmanship of Holman P. Pettibone. Its report, submitted January 28, 1958, reviewed in considerable detail the Government's stockpiling Program and offered several recommendations.

These recommendations have been taken into account in the Government stockpile planning.

TARIFF COMMISSION REVIEWS

Two investigations by the Tariff Commission, reported in recent months, furnish excellent reviews of three mineral commodities: fluorspar, lead, and zinc. These are being reviewed within the administration and recommendations will be transmitted to the Congress if indicated.

OTHER COMMODITY ANALYSES

The Department of the Interior has completed a review of developments in 1959, commodity by commodity. A summary of the salient features of this review, "Minerals and Metals Commodity Data Summaries," is attached.

CONTINUING REVIEWS

Machinery of continuing reviews includes numerous interdepartmental committees, Among those whose work is most directly concerned with the mineral industries and the economies of mining communities are: Committee to Coordinate Federal Urban Area Assistance; Advisory Board on Economic Growth and Stability; Interdepartmental Committee for the Soft Coal Industry; Helium Policy Group; Interagency Materials Advisory Committee.

SUMMARY

Many activities of the Government directly or indirectly affect production and employment in the minerals industries. The domestic and foreign trade policies of the Government, the provisions of the Internal Revenue Code, the actions of the Securities and Exchange Commission, the Federal Power Commission, and other regulatory bodies, the mining and mineral leasing laws, and the mobilization programs for the country's security are among those which perhaps most directly affect the minerals industry. These programs cannot be quickly altered to provide special assistance to the minerals industries without distorting the objectives for which they were initially established. Certain agencies are giving particular consideration to the minerals industries to see whether their programs might be pointed more sharply toward assistance to these industries.

For example, in connection with the new export promotion program, the Department of Commerce is giving special attention to minerals and to manufactured products which are fabricated from domestically mined metals.

The Department of Commerce is also reviewing its services to depressed areas to see whether programs, in cooperation with States and local communities, could be strengthened to attract new industries and create new job opportunities in mining communities.

The Small Business Administration is reviewing its services to the mining and minerals industries and making a special effort to bring its program to the attention of the mining industry.

Interngency groups operate to keep under continuous review the stockpiling program and the agriculture barter program. The Department of the Interior maintains a comprehensive and continuing appraisal of the Nation's mineral position with respect to both domestic resources and foreign supply. It also reviews annually its basic research and development programs designed to achieve an orderly and wise use of the Nation's mineral resources. In the long run, what lies beneath the surface of the earth, and man's ingenuity in discovering and extracting it, will determine the economic health of American mining.

Attention should also be called to several measures now pending in the Congress which have been proposed or strongly endorsed by the administration.

The enactment of legislation to conserve the Nation's helium resources is of paramount importance.

The pending measure (H.R. 4278) to strengthen programs of aid to depressed areas in a sound manner is directed specifically to some of the problems described in the report of the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs to accompany House Concurrent Resolution 177.

The enactment of H.R. 3375 would add significantly to the contributions which research can make in strengthening the coal industry.

The extension of the Defense Production Act, together with necessary amendments, is also essential.

In the course of continuing reviews of programs effecting minerals industries, additional legislation will be offered in specific cases where indicated.

Mutual Security Aid: Appropriations Still Needed

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. ALEXANDER WILEY

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Friday, May 27, 1960

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, in the aftermath of the Paris meeting, during which Mr. Khrushchev torpedoed world hopes of progress toward peace, we are still attempting to assess the real meaning of the tough line adopted by the Soviet Union.

In the face of threats and the brandishing of missile-nuclear power by the Soviet Premier, however, we cannot afford to sit by quietly awaiting a decision by the Communists as to just how world affairs will be conducted in the days ahead. Instead, we must: First, continue our relentless, dedicated efforts to find a peaceful solution to the differences arising among nations, particularly between the East and West blocs; and, second, at the same time we must take a new look at our defenses, as well as our overall free world security system.

Through the years, the mutual security program, of course, has served as the backbone of our allied defenses. In the face of the continued—and perhaps greater—belligerency by the Communist bloc, can we afford to let the foundation crumble? Definitely not.

The mutual security program, by a wide consensus, recognizably has provided us with more powerful defense, deployed in strategic places, than could

otherwise be obtained from expenditures in other ways.

Wisely, the Congress proved, for the most part, the authorization of additional funds requested by President Eisenhower for strengthening this program.

Currently, the appropriations bill is before the Foreign Aid Subcommittee of the House Appropriations Committee.

In the face of the Communist effort to try to humble us before the eyes of the world, this would be a poor time, indeed, to cripple this significant program which undergirds the strength of the Western World.

Recently, I was privileged to participate in a public service program, sponsored by the AFL-CIO, on the need for continuation of a strong mutual security program.

At this time, I request unanimous consent to have two items printed in the Appendix of the Record: First, excerpts of my interview with Harry W. Flannery, Radio Coordinator of the AFL-CIO program; and second, an editorial, from the Christian Science Monitor, entitled: "Aid: Appropriations Still Needed."

There being no objection, the excerpts and the editorial were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WASHINGTON REPORTS TO THE PEOPLE—AFL-CIO PUBLIC SERVICE PROGRAM

MUTUAL SECURITY NOW A MUST

Mr. Flannery. And now to the office of Senator Wiley in the Old Senate Office Building. Senator Wiley, what is the outlook for extension and expansion in the mutual security program. It's been a long and contro-

versial issue in the Halls of Congress and

the country.

Mr. Whey. Well, as you know, Congress approved—and wisely, I believe—authorization for over \$1.3 billion in additional funds for mutual security, raising the ceiling to over \$4 billion as requested by President Eisenhower. That action, I believe, speaks for itself. We recognize, of course, that getting approval of appropriations is far more than mere authorization. Through the years, however, the mutual security program has proved to be the backbone of the allied defense—helping to "hold the line" against Communist aggression in Greece, Turkey, Iran, Laos, Korea, Taiwan, and elsewhere in the world.

Mr. Flannery. Do you feel, then Senator, that the rumored \$1 billion cut in appropriations is not likely to materialize?

Mr. Wher. I am not a prophet. I recognize, of course, that this is an election year. Consequently, it would be even more difficult than usual to predict what Congress will do—if that is possible at all. However, I think new conditions in Europe have made it almost so that the appropriations will go through. Overall, I expect Congress will act in a responsible way in providing the needed money for the program.

Mr. Flannery. What effect, if any, do you feel the Khrushchev sabotage of the summit conference will have on congressional action on the program. We've already touched somewhat on that. Would you say anything further on that?

Mr. Wher. Yes, the renewal of the tough Stalinist line—as evidenced by Khrushchev at the Paris meeting—will, I believe, add new emphasis to the need for maintaining strong, effective cooperation among the free world nations to "hold off" Communist aggression.

The Khrushchev tantrum in Paris provided one more bit of evidence that the East-West struggle—rather than diminishing—will in all likelihood continue sharply on all fronts in the future.

Mr. Flannery. Do you see any need for farreaching changes in the mutual security

program

Mr. Wh.ey. We recognize, of course, that the program needs flexibility in channeling efforts and money to spots of special need or crises. The military, for example, provides the front line of defense. For the long run, however, economic, technical, and similar types of assistance will prove equally valuable. For illustration, the technical assistance programs help the people of less-developed nations to live better; to wipe out disease, poverty, and starvation; to eradicate the trouble spots of unrest by the have nots; incidentally the targets for Communist infiltration.

These programs can do much to brighten the outlook and hasten the achievement of independence, especially for the newly emerging nations; too, it will create better standards of living, and capability for making a contribution to world betterment by the less developed nations, particularly in Africa,

Asia, and Latin America.

Naturally, too, we must keep a watchful eye on how the money is handled. Over the years, the mutual security program has received endorsements of enlightened lead-

ers of both political parties.

Incidentally, organizations like the AFL-CIO are doing a splendid job—not only in supporting the program—but also in creating great public understanding of the need for the program as well as its operation and purposes.

Mr. Flannery. A new part of the program within recent years is the Development Loan Fund. I imagine you consider this as a very important part of the program too.

Mr. Wher. Yes; we should see that money is loaned where it can really create production that is needed in that nation.

Mr. Flannery. And as a result, not only provide for our defense but for the improvement of the world as a whole.

Mr. WILEY. Well, that's the objective.

Mr. Flannery. Overall, then, you feel that a continuation of the program is essential

to our security?

Mr. Wher. I certainly do. The program reflects a realistic effort to fulfill our responsibility as a world leader; in addition, it represents self-interest in providing our Nation with greater protection at less cost than could otherwise be obtained.

Overall, the money earmarked for the mutual security is a good investment in peace, defense, and stability of the world for the

future.

Recognizing that communism is a great and powerful force, that will not, one night, magically disappear; we must gear our programs to live with, and supercede in accomplishment, the Communist system.

I am confident we can do the job successfully.

Mr. Flannery. Thank you very much, Sen-

Mr. Wiley. Thank you, sir.

Mr. Flannery. These interviews were with Senator Alexander Whley, Republican, of Wisconsin, and Senator John Sparkman, Democrat, of Alabama. To keep up to the moment on major issues before Congress, your moderator, Harry W. Flannery, invites you to be with us each week at the same time as your radio station and the AFL-CIO bring you Washington reports to the people.

[From the Christian Science Monitor, May 23, 1960]

AID: APPROPRIATION STILL NEEDED

Year after year attention has to be called to the difference between "authorization" and "appropriation" in connection with providing funds for the U.S. mutual security program. Congress on May 12 completed passage of the Mutual Security Act of 1960 authorizing appropriation of \$1,366 million for defense support, technical cooperation, special assistance and other programs in addition to \$2,720 million of authorizations for military assistance and the Development Loan Fund carried over from previous years. The uninitiated might assume that this

The uninitiated might assume that this made the money available. But not so. Actually not 1 cent of this money can be spent until it is included also in an appropriation duly passed by both Houses of Congress, after consideration by their committees and signed by the President.

When President Elsenhower signed the authorization bill he expressed a hope that Congress would show "the same high degree of responsibility" in voting the appropriations for which it had paved the way.

Two weeks earlier he told a dinner gathering in Washington that trends were developing in this connection which were profoundly disturbing. He referred to "groups strategically situated in Congress," notably in the Appropriations Committee of the House of Representatives, which have proclaimed it as their purpose to slash these "foreign aid" appropriations by more than a billion dollars.

This would mean a 25 percent cut in a program that corresponds to approximately one-tenth of the national defense budget or one-twentieth of the total Federal budget. Even much lesser cuts, the President implied,

would raise grave problems.

Today it is being reported that sentiment in Congress since the breakdown of the intended summit conference at Paris inclines toward a strengthening of American defenses. This could easily become a mistake if it took forms which conveyed an impression that the United States was becoming more warlike or aggressive.

It could also become extravagantly expensive if it concentrated on armaments to be built and operated by the United States alone. But the mutual security authorizations include \$2 billion of carryover for military assistance to countries allied with the United States. This money, often multiplied many times over by the contributions of those countries to their own defense, assists them in keeping their military establishments up to date.

In addition, there is defense support for exposed nations carrying a heavier defense load than their resources will sustain. And technical assistance which expresses America's friendship even to nonallied countries whose understanding means much in the free world's contest with communism.

Altogether, it would be difficult to see where America, through Congress, can make a better investment in security and good will than by making full appropriations for the aid program that Congress has authorized.

A Letter by William Bernard to Washington Young Friends, an Organization Opposed to Military Service

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JOEL T. BROYHILL

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 4, 1960

Mr. BROYHILL. Mr. Speaker, I should like to take a few minutes to read to my colleagues a letter addressed to the so-called Washington Young Friends, an organization which recently sent a letter to thousands of young, impression-

able boys in the Greater Washington metropolitan area urging them to attend meetings of the group, to become conscientious objectors, and to refuse military service under a provision of our Selective Service Act exempting from military service persons who are conscientiously opposed to participation in war because of religious training or belief

Mr. William Bernard, the young man who wrote the response I shall read, is now completing his junior year at Washington and Lee High School in Arlington, and is active in athletics as well as being an excellent student. He is vitally interested in world affairs and in the activities of our Federal Government, and plans to study law in one of our Virginia universities after graduation.

Mr. Bernard has a summer laboring job in Alaska, and is looking forward to working in our newest State and assisting in the financing of his future education. I believe he is a fine example of American youth, and that the sentiments he expresses in this letter are worthy of note by all who are or might be persuaded to become conscientious objectors merely to avoid meeting an obligation they owe this great Nation. The letter follows:

ARLINGTON, VA., May 4, 1960.

WASHINGTON YOUNG FRIENDS,

Washington, D.C.

GENTLEMEN: Today I received your letter urging me to become a conscinctious objector and I hasten to reply that I will be 18 on June 2 of this year and I am proud to be able to sign up for the draft and to enlist in the Marine Corps and its reserves. Unlike you I pray that I may serve my country and humanity, not that I may destroy my country and the dignity of man.

You say that one loses some of his freedom while in the military service. Having a rather conservative outlook upon life, I too am worried about the loss of freedom and individual liberties but I can also see a bigger picture—one of tyranny. Is it not better to give up temporarily a small morsel of freedom to your country than to give it all to the international Communist conspiracy?

We are faced with the gravest problem in the history of the world for if Russia wins all mankind loses. Communism corrupts all phases of society and totally destroys them, economically, socially, politically, and

morally.

You say wars are useless and I agree but how would you like to live under Hitler. Mussolini, Stalin, Khrushchev, or any other sadistic, tyrannical, blood-and power-thirsty dictator? When backed into a corner by a despotic society there comes a time when freemen must fight or die if not for themselves for future generations. How could we have stopped Hitler, Mussolini, and Tojo without a strong efficent military?

Your philosophy urging revolt against the draft cannot serve our country, the world or even religion. Since when has God helped those who won't help themselves?

You say it is wrong to kill and I agree but is it right to throttle the world with tyranny, slave labor and firing squads in order to seifishly refuse to serve our Republic and human dignity? Don't forget who the world's champion butchers are; Stalin and Mao Tse-tung.

No thinking freedom-loving person wants to kill anyone or battle anybody without a good reason. But, when Pearl Harbor was attacked what were we to do? When somebody pulls a knife on you what are you to do? When a country declares war on you again and again for over 40 years and the philosophy has done the same for nearly a hundred years do you love them and forget their name is Judas?

Communism must be defeated to have civilization, religion and mankind for none of them exist in a true and honorable form under communism. There is an old saying fight fire with fire and how can we serve liberty by placing it upon the chopping block and giving the enemy a sharp ax?

Patrick Henry once said, "Peace, peace when there is no peace," and also, "Give me liberty or give me death."

I am a conscientious objector to everything that sells our free Republic short. Very truly yours,

WILLIAM BERNARD.

The Summit Meeting

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. ALEXANDER WILEY

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Friday, May 27, 1960

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, this morning, the Secretary of State, the Honorable Christian A. Herter, appeared before the Foreign Relations Committee and gave a very illuminating statement. I understand the statement was first released to the press.

I believe this statement by the Secretary of State and the President's remarks of the other evening, over the radio and television, give the complete story. From these two statements, the people of America can obtain all the facts necessary to be had in connection with the socalled flasco at the summit which was caused by Khrushchev.

I ask unanimous consent that the statement by the Secretary of State be Drinted in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the state-ment was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STATEMENT OF THE HONORABLE CHRISTIAN A. HERTER, SECRETARY OF STATE, BEFORE THE SENATE FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMITTEE, FRIDAY, MAY 27, 1960

I. THE GENESIS OF THE SUMMIT A. The threat to Berlin

In order to understand what happened in Paris we need to look back over the preceding 18 months.

In November 1958, the U.S.S.R. began a strategy directed toward altering the situation in Berlin and East Germany in its favor. If the Western Powers refused to give up their present position in Berlin and make West Berlin a so-called free city, the Soviet Union stated its intention to proceed unilaterally at the end of 6 months, turning over full sovereignty to the so-called G.D.R. and thereby confronting the Allies with the alternative of capitulation or resort to force which would be met by Communist force.
Though the strategy as it unfolded proved to be more flexible than its original statement, it is still the official policy of the U.S.S.R. Its force lies in the Soviet ability to threaten Berlin, where we are morally committed but physically exposed.

The Western Powers, of course, promptly rejected the Soviet proposal and reaffirmed their determination to stand by Berlin.

In the months that followed, while the U.S.S.R. elaborated and pressed its strategy, the Western Powers concerted their plans meet it. They sought to engage the U.S.S.R. in negotiation, thereby clarifying its intentions and either attaining solutions acceptable to the West or, as a minimum, convincing it that unilateral action against Berlin would not be sound.

B. Engaging the U.S.S.R. negotiation

It was by no means a foregone conclusion that the U.S.S.R. would negotiate on an acceptable basis. In January 1959 the U.S.S.R. proposed a conference to adopt a peace treaty with the two parts of an indefinitely divided Germany. The Western Powers continued to maintain that a peace treaty could be negotiated and signed only with a unified Germany, hence that the reunification of Germany must be settled first. They also maintained that the only proper solution for Berlin lay in its becoming the capital of a unified Germany, and therefore they were unwilling to discuss Berlin as an isolated issue. But the U.S.S.R. had held for some time that reunification was solely the business of the Germans and therefore refused to discuss it.

The West persisted during February and March in its efforts to get the Russians talking somehow. It proposed a meeting of Foreign Ministers, with the prospect of a possible summit meeting when due preparations had been made. The U.S.S.R. had repeatedly indicated a desire for one since 1956. Finally a compromise agenda, which did not prejudice the substantive views of either side, was adopted for a foreign ministers' meeting and a date was set in May, shortly before the expiration of the original Soviet deadline for meeting their arbitrary demands on Berlin.

C., Foreign ministers' deadlock

During the intensive preparations for the meeting the Western Powers developed a new version of their basic position regarding Germany, which was submitted at Geneva as the Western peace plan. It consisted in approaching the unification of Germany through a series of stages, thereby offering the U.S.S.R. a chance to adjust its position gradually to the eventual loss of its hold on East Germany which free elections would presumably bring. The plan showed flexibility and imagination; it appealed to world opinion, but its rejection by the U.S.S.R. was nonetheless flat. The U.S.S.R. stuck adamantly to its previously announced proposals for a peace treaty with a divided Germany. Thus the basic positions remained totally unreconciled.

Finding no progress possible on Germany, Western Powers and the U.S.S.R. explored the possibility of an interim agreement on Berlin which, without contemplating a basic solution of Berlin as a separate issue, would do something to mitigate difficulties which the U.S.S.R. professed to find there. Though some progress was made in this direction, the U.S.S.R. insisted on language which would have implied the eventual erosion of the Western position in Berlin. Accordingly, despite the labor of 3 months with only one short adjournment, the Foreign Ministers' meeting ended in deadlock.

D. High-level trips

The failure of the Foreign Ministers' meeting did not result in a war crisis, however, because a parallel train of events had meanwhile brought hope in a different direction. We took the opportunity of Mikoyan's visit to the Soviet Embassy here in January to arrange informal exchanges of views between the Soviet leader and top U.S. officials. This was followed in June and July by further visits and exchanges of Kozlov to this country and the Vice President to the U.S.S.R.

The fact that these visits took place without public incident and made possible somewhat more realistic communication than usual with the Soviet leadership seemed to offer a possibility—only a possibility, of course—that means of avoiding war and eventually getting Soviet-Western relations into some what less dangerous shape might be found by developing these informal contacts.

Accordingly, the President decided to go ahead with a move which he and his advisers had long had in mind when the time seemed right. He invited Chairman Khrushchev to visit this country, and the visit was an-nounced before the Foreign Ministers ended their Geneva meeting.

During that visit no progress was made, or indeed expected, on resolving outstanding problems, but a somewhat greater degree of mutual understanding was seemingly tained, particularly on the need to settle international questions by peaceful means rather than by force. There was also a suspension, later publicly acknowledged, of whatever was left of the Soviet ultimatum on Berlin.

E. Preparation for the summit

After the Khrushchev visit it was judged feasible and desirable by the Western Powers to move toward renewed discussion, this time at the summit. Some flicker of hope for progress on Berlin had appeared at Camp David, whereas Geneva had ended in deadlock. During his American visit Khrushchev had also evinced an interest in the equally vital field of disarmament, and even though disarmament talks were to start in the Committee of Ten at Geneva it was felt that Khrushchev might reserve his constructive moves, if any, for the summit.

Accordingly, after due consultations among the Western heads of government an invitation to a summit was sent to Khrushchev and accepted by him, and after some difficulty over earlier dates the time was finally set for May 16. This move found broad support in Western public opinion.

There ensued an intensive and protracted series of preparations on the Western side. involving repeated meetings not only of the Foreign Ministers and of NATO but even of the heads of government. Within our own Government we also studied most carefully the possibilities of making progress not only on Berlin and Germany but most particularly in disarmament, as well as other aspects of general Soviet-Western relations.

At the December meeting of Western heads of Government a consensus emerged that the May summit might be only one of series of such meetings, and that it would be largely exploratory. Some modest progress was hoped for, but no major solutions on any front. But if a beginning could be made, the series of talks, possibly in a grad-ually improving atmosphere over the years, might do substantially more.

F. Summit prospects dimmed

In the first weeks after the Khrushchev American visit there was a general improvement of atmosphere and people began talking, partly in hope, partly in some confusion, about "detente." There were comparatively conciliatory speeches on each side; there was progress in the test-ban talks at Geneva; was progress in the cest-ban talks at Geneva; a new Soviet-United States cultural agreement was signed November 21, and on December 1 the United States, the U.S.S.R., and other powers signed the Antarctic Treaty.

But clouds began to gather even then, One of the earliest signs was the strong Soviet protest on November 11 against West German plans to build a broadcasting sta-West Berlin. Another was tion in Khrushchev speech on November 14 which was harder in tone, boasted again of Soviet missile prowess, and began a concentrated attack on Adenauer and the German Federal Republic which later increased and seemed to be a central feature of Soviet presummit tactics. The reason for this attack is still a matter for speculation. Perhaps they thought it would undermine the Western position on Berlin by helping to divide the Western Allies. It had no such effect of course, but naturally rallied us to speak out in defense of our German ally.

Khrushchev as early as December 1 also began repeating his threats to sign a separate peace treaty with East Germany. He repeated these threats in his speech to the Supreme Soviet on January 14 and in his remarks during his visit to Indonesia and other countries in January. On February 4, the Warsaw Pact powers issued the first formal blocwide commitment to sign a separate GDR peace treaty. Thus Khrushchev's threatening Baku speech of April 25, though it was the most sweeping since February 1959, was only a harsher version of what he had been saying for months before. I shall make full documentation on his speeches available to the committee.

Not until April did we reply at length to this mounting crescendo of Soviet statements. We did so in order to keep the record straight—notably in the speeches of April 4 and 20, which Khrushchev attacked for starting arguments that he in fact had begun.

The unity of the four Western Powers on Berlin meanwhile presumably signaled to the U.S.S.R. that prospects for eroding the Western position or obtaining Soviet terms on Berlin remained slight. President de Gaulle and other leaders were quite firm in discouraging expectations on this front. The NATO Council in Istanbul May 2-4 also reaffirmed the Western position on German reunification and regretted Soviet refusal to discuss specific practical measures of disarmament. Thus as the summit drew near the prospects for important agreement seemed slender, so long as the U.S.S.R. remained committed to driving the Western Powers out of Berlin and to discussing disarmament in terms of general principles rather than concrete steps.

The Western outlook consistently remained, however, that the summit would be worthwhile. It would afford an opportunity for an exchange of views which would clarify each side's position; it might contribute to some reduction of tensions over Berlin and narrow some of our differences on disarmament. It could be at least a small first step in a long process of improving Soviet-Western relations.

II. THE U-2 INCIDENT

On May 1 occurred the unfortunate failure of an intelligence mission. The U.S.S.R. at once seized on it to complicate the approach to the summit. With regard to the role of the U.S. Government in this matter, I cannot hope to improve on the lucid and straightforward account which the President gave to the Nation Wednesday night. I will, therefore, not attempt to go into detail, although I am of course ready to answer questions concerning my responsibilities.

Here I would only like to reemphasize four central points which stood out in the President's account:

- 1. The U-2 program was an important and efficient intelligence effort. We knew that failure of any mission under this program would have serious consequences but we considered that the great benefit derived justified the risks involved.
- 2. The decision not to suspend this program of flights, as the summit meeting approached, was a sound decision. Conditions at a later season would have prevented obtaining very important information. There is never a "good time" for a failure of an intelligence mission. We believe it unwise to lower our vigilance because of these political negotiations.

3. Initial statements by the U.S. Government properly sought first of all to protect the pilot, his intelligence mission, and everything connected with it that might still be kept secret. But when it became clear that plane and pilot were in Soviet hands we believed the Congress and the American people should be given the facts. Thus up to May 7 U.S. statements followed the general line of the cover story, and thereafter were adjusted to the situation as it developed.

4. Since the U-2 system had been compromised, it was discontinued as any other intelligence mission would be in such a case. Announcement of its discontinuance was withheld until the President could convey

the fact personally in Paris.

Based on these four points, I believe most Americans will agree that the main course of our actions, given what we knew at any particular time, was sound. In particular, I have doubts that any alteration in the language of U.S. statements would have made any difference in the arbitrary Soviet demands which followed.

III. THE EVENTS IN PARIS A. Narrative

I should like to give you an account of the major developments at Paris. I shall be as brief as possible, since the details have been widely publicized. But I would like to tell you of those events which in my opinion had a detriment effect there, and particularly those which influenced the decisions of the President.

On my arrival in Paris on Friday, May 13, there was already considerable speculation at the news that Mr. Khrushchev was arriving in Paris on Saturday rather than on Sunday, the day on which the President and Mr. Macmillan were due to arrive.

Mr. Khrushchev's statement on arrival at Orly Airport gave no indication of his subsequent position. It was mild in character and conveyed the distinct impression that he would proceed with the summit conference despite the U-2 incident. Subsequent events showed that this was deliberately designed to conceal his real purpose.

On Sunday at 11 a.m., at his request, Mr. Khrushchev, accompanied by Foreign Min-ister Gromyko and Marshal Malinovskywhich is in itsself an unusual procedure which I shall revert to later-called on President de Gaulle at the Elysée Palace. During this meeting he left with President de Gaulle a memorandum setting forth the conditions which would have to be met by the United States before Khrushchev would be prepared to attend a summit conference. The French delegation provided a copy of this memorandum to the American delegation early that afternoon. The memorandum was subsequently presented by Mr. Khrushchev, without change, as the opening part of his statement to the four-power meeting on Monday morning, May 16.

After visiting President de Gaulle Sunday morning, Khrushchev called on Prime Minister Macmillan at 4:30 p.m. on the same day and read the same statement of position to him.

The copy of the statement received from the French delegation was, of course, the subject of immediate consultation with the President and with members of the American delegation as to its significance and meaning.

It was our general conclusion, subsequently borne out by the facts, that the position and totally unacceptable demands set forth in this document had been drawn up in Moscow prior to Mr. Khrushchev's departure. In this sense it represented a fixed Soviet governmental position from which even Mr. Khrushchev would not have the authority to depart while in Paris.

I might digress here to observe that it had been our experience at previous conferences with the Soviets, at least since the death of Stalin, that the Soviet representative, no matter how highly placed he might be, was bound by the collective decisions on basic policy matters made prior to his departure from Moscow. Any substantive changes in these positions apparently required reference back to Moscow before they could be undertaken.

I should like to emphasize the opinion which was thus unanimously arrived at in the American delegation, since it bore directly upon the position which the President took at the meeting on Monday morning.

It was out of the question, of course, that there should be any acceptance by the President of the humiliating and arrogant conditions of Mr. Khrushchev. We had very much in mind, however, the importance of showing the world that it was Mr. Khrushchev, and no one else, who was placing this summit

conference in peril.

The President, therefore, decided before the Monday meeting that the proper course of action, consonant with the great responsibility which he bore and the seriousness of the issues which were to have been discussed at the conference, was for him not to engage in vituperation with Mr. Khrushchev but to demonstrate the restraint and dignity which was incumbent upon the office he holds and which befitted the leader of a great country.

In connection with this decision, the President resolved to announce to the conference his previously taken decision to suspend further flights of U-2 aircraft over the Soviet

Union.

Although the original intention had been to restrict the first meeting of the conference at the summit to the chiefs of state and heads of government and their interpreters, the President, on learning that Mr. Khrushchev wished to bring Foreign Minister Gromyko and Marshal Malinovsky, asked Secretary Gates and me to accompany him to this meeting.

I do not need to describe this meeting in detail beyond saying that Mr. Khrushchev read a statement which, with interpretation, took fully an hour. He read this entire statement from a prepared text before him. The first part of this statement was the memorandum which he had left with President de Gaulle, plus certain additions which were in the same vein as regards the United States and which referred to Soviet willingness to hold a summit conference within 6 to 8 months. The major addition was the cancellation of the invitation to the President to visit the Soviet Union.

Apart from his statement, which was made public, the President only once joined in the ensuing discussion—in order to make clear to Mr. Khrushchev and his colleagues that the suspension of the U-2 flights was not merely for the duration of the conference but for as long as he was in office.

The balance of the discussion at this meeting, which I should point out was the only during the entire period in Paris at which the Soviets were present, was largely devoted to attempts by President de Gaulle and Prime Minister Macmillan to dissuade Mr. Khrushchev from the irrevocable step of publishing his abusive statement, whose unacceptable conditions would render impossible any conference at the summit, and to Khrushchev's adamant insistence that he would publish this statement and do so at a time of his own choosing. The meeting broke up on the basis of a suggestion by President de Gaulle that the conferees should reflect on this matter for 24 hours and then examine the situation.

This meeting completely confirmed our conclusion of the night before that Mr. Khrushchev was operating within the fixed limits of a policy set before his departure from Moscow. It is significant in this connection that the statement he issued later that day, Monday, May 16, which was identical with the one he had made at the Con-

ference, took no cognizance whatsoever of the discussion at the conference, and in particular of the President's statement concerning

the suspension of U-2 overflights.

The rest of the proceedings in Paris were anticlimactic. It was apparent to all the Western representatives that there was no possibility of a summit conference short of a changed position on Mr. Khrushchev's part. On Monday Mr. Macmillan visited Mr. Khrushchev in a fruitless effort to persuade him to withdraw his impossible demands.

On that same day President de Gaulle decided, with the agreement of the President and Prime Minister Macmillan, to call a session of the summit conference for 3 p.m. on Tuesday, May 17, which was after the 24-hour recess which he had proposed on Monday. He sent invitations in writing to the three other participants.

The President, in accepting, made clear his view that acceptance by the Soviet repre-sentative would mean that the Soviets had abandoned the demands which the President had previously found completely unaccept-

able

Mr. Khrushchev did not show up at the appointed time for the Tuesday meeting. After a great deal of telephoning between the Soviet Embassy and the French Foreign Office it became clear that he was refusing to attend a summit conference and would only join in what he termed a preliminary meeting to ascertain if conditions could be created for a summit conference. By this reference to 'conditions" he obviously meant the acceptance by the United States of all of the conditions he had set forth previously, and indeed he so stated in a written communication to President de Gaulle later that same day.

In the light of Mr. Khrushchev's refusal to attend the summit conference, except on terms which all three Western representatives deemed unacceptable, the three Western heads of government met briefly at 9:30 p.m., on May 17 to approve the final tripartite communique, a copy of which I should

like to insert in the record.

Thus the summit conference was ended by Soviet intransigence before it began, without addressing the great international issues with

Which it was supposed to deal.

The following day, Wednesday, May 18, was marked by tripartite meetings of the Western heads of government and their Foreign Ministers to consider the situation. In these meetings we sought to analyze the reasons for the Soviet attitude, prospects for the future, and the measures that the three Western Powers might adopt.

This day was also marked by Mr. Khrushchev's press conference, which was fully reported by press, television, and radio. It was apparently an unparalleled performance of vituperation, abuse, and loss of temper. It should be noted, however, that despite the apparently uncontrolled nature of his remarks and actions at this press conference, Mr. Khrushchev was very careful not to commit himself to any specific course of action in the international field.

B. Analysis

We have naturally given a great deal of thought to the reasons for this extraordinary action by the Soviets in coming all the way from Moscow to Paris for the sole purpose

of sabotaging the conference.

I should like to say right off that there are many obscure aspects of this Soviet behavior and that we do not know all considerations and factors which went into its determination. We probably never shall. I hardly need to emphasize here to the members of this committee the complete secrecy in which decisions are arrived at in the Soviet Government and in the hierarchy of the Communist Party, which is the effective ruler of that country. It is only possible to try to deduce from Soviet actions, after they are taken, the considerations which brought them about. What I give you now, therefore, is at best a tentative estimate of why the Soviet Union behaved as it did. an estimate which may have to be revised in the light of further information and future

There is one thing, however, that can be regarded as certain: This is that the decision to wreck the conference was made prior to Khrushchev's departure from Moscow. At no point during his stay in Paris-neither when he disclosed his true intentions to General de Gaulle at 11 a.m. on Sunday the 15th nor subsequently-did Khrushchev deviate 1 inch from his demands that the United States (1) denounce the overflights. (2) apologize to the Soviet Union, (3) punish those "directly responsible," and (4) promise not to repeat these flights. Neither the statement made by the President at the one meeting held on Monday nor the serious and responsible efforts of General de Gaulle and Mr. Macmillan in bilateral talks with Mr. Khrushchev before and after the President's announcement of suspension of flights could persuade him to withdraw these unacceptable demands. Indeed, it is a logical deduction from his behavior in Paris that he had no authority to modify his position to any significant degree.

The fact that he was accompanied everywhere, and literally everywhere, by Foreign Minister Gromyko and Marshal Malinovsky is an interesting sidelight on this point. There is much speculation as to this change from his previous attitude during his visits both to the United States and France, when he insisted upon having meetings alone with the President and with President de Gaulle. with only interpreters present. The best guess as to the significance of this new factor is that (1) in view of the brutal and threatening attitude he adopted at Paris it was considered desirable to have some tangible evidence of Soviet armed strength in the person of Marshal Malinovsky. Secondly, Gromyko and Malinovsky would be able to testify upon return to Moscow that he had stuck strictly to the agreed position.

It also seems certain that the decision to cancel the invitation to the President was made before Khrushchev left Moscow.

As to what led the Soviets to this extreme position, in regard to the summit meeting which had previously appeared so much desired by Mr. Khrushchev, we enter into the realm of pure speculation, as I indicated earlier. The most we can hope to do in the absence of reliable information is to evaluate the elements and factors which appear to have entered into this decision. I shall try to list them briefly.

1. There was considerable indication, particularly during April, that Mr. Khrushchev had concluded that there was little likeli-hood of his having his way, particularly in regard to Berlin, at the summit. Evidence of Western determination and unity on this point in speeches and statements by Western leaders appears to have brought him to this conclusion. Thus in his Baku speech on April 25, he not only reiterated with the utmost finality his position on Berlin, including his intention to conclude a separate peace treaty with the East German regime, but he also began for the first time seriously to cast doubts upon the success of the summit. By this, of course, he meant success on Soviet terms.

2. Although the evidence is highly inconclusive, there are a number of indications that Mr. Khrushchev's conduct of Soviet foreign policy, particularly his overperson-alization and in Communist eyes overcommitment through personal visits to the United States and France, was arousing at least serious questioning if not opposition in the Soviet hierarchy. It would seem a logical deduction that some of the opposi-tion to his conduct of foreign relations which was openly voiced by the Chinese Communists found a sympathetic response among some of his associates, and very probably among the Soviet military.

3. It was against this background that the U-2 incident occurred.

A combination of these three factors in our judgment is what resulted in the definite and brutal decision to disrupt the Paris Conference. To determine how each of these factors should be weighed is, for the moment, beyond our reach.

The U-2 incident was most certainly seized upon and magnified beyond its true proportions as a justification for this decision. It is debatable whether it would have been possible for Mr. Khrushchev to devise another pretext for so radical and violent a

position.

It might well be that a lack of success at the summit would have confronted Khrushchev with a much more difficult choice, from his point of view, than no conference at all. He and his associates may have therefore much preferred to avoid facing the consequences of failure of negotiation by the simple expedient of torpedoing the conference.

It may seem incredible to you that responsible leaders of a great power should have come all the way to Paris merely for the purpose of wrecking the conference, thereby incurring worldwide condemnation of the Soviet Union and enhancing the sense of unity and purpose among not only the Western Powers represented there but also the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and free nations everywhere.

I believe the answer lies in a basic miscal-

culation in Mr. Khrushchev's and the Sovi-

et's thinking.

Mr. Khrushchev undoubtedly hoped-and this explains his early arrival in Paris—to divide the allies and isolate the United States. He anticipated that the United States would refuse the demands he had set forth and that the conference would then collapse, with the United States bearing the responsibility for the rupture before world opinion.

His plans miscarried because our two allies stood solidly and loyally with the United States and refused to be parties to Mr. Khrushchev's scheme. The result, as the whole world knows, was that the position which Mr. Khrushchev brought to Paris resulted in the complete isolation of the Soviet Union rather than the United States and in placing the responsibility for the disruption of the conference squarely where it belongs—on his own shoulders.

This estimate of the reasons for Mr. Khrushchev's behavior is strongly supported by the attack which he made at his press conference on General de Gaulle and Prime Minister Macmillan for what he termed their lack of objectivity, lack of will, and sub-servience to the allied relationships—in other words, in plain English, for their solidarity with the United States, their loyalty to our common purpose, and their refusal to play the Soviet game.

IV. THE FUTURE

What conclusions should we draw for the future?

I believe the signs are that there has been as yet no radical alteration in Soviet policy. though we can expect the continuance of a propaganda effort designed to split off the United States from its allies. This conclusion is supported by Mr. Khrushchev's Paris statements, including those at his press conference. It is supported, somewhat more specifically and definitely, by the statements which he made in Berlin on his way home.

We must remember, however, that, given the nature of the Soviet state, the men who run it can meet in secret at any time and change existing policy without public debate or even foreshadowing any such change. It is for this reason that any statement about a phase of Soviet policy must be regarded as qualified, with no certainty that it will remain valid in the future.

Thus, though the world's hopes have been keenly disappointed by the fact that the summit conference was not held as planned, the signs so far are that the basic realities of the world situation have not been greatly changed. Whether this continues to be so depends, as I have indicated, on actions of the leading Communist countries.

Provisionally, however, I conclude that the implication for U.S. policy is that the main lines of our policy remain sound and should be continued. The lesson of Paris is that we should prosecute those lines with renewed effort. Proponents within the Communist bloc of an aggressive course must not be encouraged by signs of weakness on our part. Proponents of a peaceful course should be encouraged by our readiness to get on with outstanding international business in a sober and rational manner.

We must remain prepared to withstand aggressive pressures, not only in Berlin but also elsewhere. I trust that our evident readiness will deter such pressures.

Among the lessons of Paris, the most important for the free world including ourselves, it seems to me, is fresh realization of the dangers we face and consequent need for closing of ranks and moving ahead with our own and our allies' programs for strengthening the free world. We came back from Paris with a keener sense of what it means to have allies, and I am sure that our alliances will take new life from this experience.

At the same time I would stress equally the need to expand imaginatively and generously our collaboration with the newly devel-

oping countries.

On both accounts I hope the Congress will give wholehearted support to our mutual security programs as authorized by this committee, which are now more important than ever.

We must continue, as the President has said, to seek in a businesslike way to make progress on outstanding preblems with the Soviet Union. We intend to go ahead with existing negotiations, to stand by our commitments, and to foster open communication and peaceful exchanges. Above all, we shall not cease from the most determined, patient, resourceful endeavor to find ways to bring the arms race under control and thus to meet the nuclear menace that hangs over mankind.

I believe in this period it is incumbent upon us, all of us, to keep a calm and steady gaze on the world scene and to avoid actions, statements, and attitudes which might tend unnecessarily to increase international tension. If such an increase is to occur, it should be clearly the fault of the Soviets and we should not do them the favor of providing pretext for action by them which would have this effect.

We should not define as hard or soft our attitude or policy toward the Soviet Union. To do so is not only to deflect our gaze from the grim reality that confronts us, but even more to plunge us inevitably into fruitless and damaging domestic recrimination. We must now, as in the future, maintain a vigilant, calm, and resolute posture and, insofar as it lies in our power to do so, be accurate in our estimates and effective in our actions,

I would close in expressing the hope that we will not become so fixed in preoccupation with the Soviet challenge as to lose sight of our own constructive purposes—which are larger and more important than merely resisting or reacting to external threats. We have our own vision of the future toward which we want to see the world evolve. We have our own programs for helping to bring that future about—for holding high the light of freedom, for sharing its message and rewards with emerging

nations, for trying to create an international community in which the rule of law will replace the rule of force. It is to these programs that our talents and energies should be rededicated in the uncertain times that lie ahead.

What Is Communism?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JOEL T. BROYHILL

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 4, 1960

Mr. BROYHILL. Mr. Speaker, I should like to call the attention of the Members of this House to an editorial that appeared in the Alexandria (Va.) Gazette on May 23, 1960. It seems to me that this editorial presents a particularly well-reasoned statement of the issues and problems involved in the important question of increasing the knowledge of our citizens, and particularly our children, of Communist propaganda and policies. The editorial reads as follows:

WHAT IS COMMUNISM?

At its meeting last week the Fairfax County School Board went on record to have instituted in the county high schools, a course of study that would instruct as to the meaning of communism. Col. Waldron Leonard, a member of the board, made the suggestion. For some time he has been disturbed by the effect that communistic propaganda has been having upon the minds of some of the youth of our land. He feels that in order to combat the evil effects of the political, social, economic and nonspiritual aspects of communism, it is most important that its true meaning be taught and understood.

The admonition "to seek the truth and the truth shall make you free" led to Colonel Leonard's suggestion and the action of the county school board. So often are we misled by labels that misrepresent products, ob-

jectives, ideas, and ideals.

We cannot ignore the great conflict in the world today between a society that recognizes the dignity of man and his relationship with his God, and a godless, materialistic society that makes of the individual a servant and instrument of the state. To some, communism is made to appear as a perfect social order. To others, it evidences a political philosophy that is used by would be tyrants to destroy the rights, responsibilities, hopes, and aspirations of the individuals.

It must be recognized that some risk attaches to the teaching of the meaning of communism in our public schools. The subject to be taught is one thing—the method employed in the teaching of the subject is something else. A responsibility will rest upon the school board and the superintendent of schools to make sure that well qualified instructors are chosen for such classes. As it is imperative that the real meaning of communism be understood, the risk of having the course slanted must be assumed and guarded against. The personality, thinking and the understanding of a teacher becomes, in varying degree, a part of a course of instruction and give to it color as well as substance.

In our daily lives we are being continuously confronted with the facts of life. Our problem is to discern the facts—distinguish them from fiction—and to properly interpret them in their relations, one to another. Every individual hopes that society will permit and afford him a better way of life. This being a common aspiration of man, some of those

who would give direction to the development of a better social order will emphasize objectives and make reckless promises for their realization. We note little disagreement between political leaders, whether on the local, State, National or world levels, as to objectives. Who can publicly be opposed to the ideals of peace and prosperity—to freedom, justice, and the opportunity for the individual to develop his or her full potential? It is when we come to the means and methods to be employed to attain these objectives that wide differences of opinion appear and are advanced.

A few years ago we heard much about the Four Freedoms. Only the idealist and the optimist can hope that these freedoms will ever be realized. Their attainment presupposes a complete transformation of the nature of man—the elimination of selfishness and his ambition for power. Is there any evidence today that a communistic social order has or can cause to be made such a miraculous change in man?

In recorded history, the nature of man has not changed materially. What changes that have taken place in different forms of society, have been occasioned primarily by self-interest. Wars, with their destruction of life and property, show how easy it is for us to revert to the laws of the jungle if self-interest so dictates. Our search for a utopian social order, whether called communism or by some other name, should not lead us to accept false promises—promises of a way of life that will not and cannot be realized.

There are more aspects to the Communist philosophy of society than just the promise of a better economic social order. ing that a Communist society could provide better for the economic wants of man, what price does the individual pay in order to accomplish such an end? What happens to the dignity and meaning of the individual society? One who teaches the in such a meaning of communism in our public schools must know the subject and be well prepared to answer all of the questions of an awakened and inquiring student mind. Much good can come from such a course if the teaching differentiates between what communism promises in theory and what it provides in performance. Those interested in our schools and what is being taught, should be concerned with how the new course of study will be presented.

Neighborhood Center of Philadelphia

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. HERMAN TOLL

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 26, 1960

Mr. TOLL. Mr. Speaker, on Monday, May 23, I had the pleasure of attending the dinner celebrating the 75th anniversary of the Neighborhood Center of Philadelphia at the Sheraton Hotel. The main speaker on this occasion was Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt, who was also celebrating her 75th year.

The Neighborhood Center today gives guidance to the young and old of all races and creeds, and provides them with the facilities which will contribute to their enjoyment of wholesome leisure. The aim of this great organization has changed from the original concern with the economically and socially underprivileged to helping people of all ages

and all classes to self-realization, self-direction and wholesome citizenship, regardless of their social class, economic circumstances or racial origin.

The current president, James E. Sax, and the executive director, Dr. Julian L. Greifer, conduct the program of Center. The Center has a branch in my district at 820 Vernon Road, where it serves the neighborhood of Mount Airy, West Oak Lane, and Temple Stadium. Its head-quarters are in the district represented by my distinguished colleague, Congressman William J. Green, Jr., at 6600 Bustleton Avenue, Philadelphia.

I congratulate the officers of the Neighborhood Center of Philadelphia, the directors and the people who have worked so hard to establish such a worthwhile organization, which is a model for a number of similar centers

in the country.

Testimony of Ray W. Macdonald

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, ALVIN M. BENTLEY

MOF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Friday, May 27, 1960

Mr. BENTLEY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to revise and extend my remarks in the Appendix of the Record, I wish to include the following text of testimony presented by Mr. Ray W. Macdonald, a director and vice president of Burroughs Corp., before the Senate Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce. Mr. Macdonald appeared before this committee during hearings on U.S. foreign trade and investment abroad and I believe all Members of this body will find

his comments most interesting since they

reflect the policies and planning of a

large and important manufacturing firm.
The testimony follows:

Mr. Chairman, members of the Senate Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, my name is Ray W. Macdonald. I am vice president of the Burroughs Corp. of Detroit and general manager of the corporation's international division. Pertinent to our present discussion is the fact that I am presently a director of the Committee for a National Trade Policy and am chairman of the World Affairs Committee of the Detroit Board of Commerce.

I am indeed pleased to have the opportunity to appear before your committee to express my views on U.S. foreign trade and some of the broad implications of U.S. investment

abroad.

In order to give an adequate sense of economic perspective to the subject and, in particular, to deal with the question of U.S. investment in oversca productive facilities, as suggested by your chairman, I believe that we must first consider the larger subject of U.S. business abroad and its problems and motivations.

Typically, U.S. investment in oversea productive facilities has been made to serve markets which otherwise could not be served directly from the United States. In the immediate postwar years, severe dollar shortages existed in many countries, resulting in import restrictions on many of the products

exported from the United States. This required the establishment of productive facilities within the dollar-short areas in order to supply them with products originally of U.S. design. The alternative of not taking such action would have been the complete loss of these markets to foreign based competitors.

As you know, many of these countries have strengthened their economies and have, in recent years, removed or reduced these restrictions. However, the requirements and preferences of the consumer in these countries—in many cases—have developed not only for products of U.S. design, but also for a different type of product from those manufactured in the United States. In addition, transportation factors, wage costs, and other similar economic reason dictate that individual foreign markets be served mainly from within those markets.

With the economic resurgence of Europe and many of the other countries of the world in the years following World War II and the recent creation of the Common Market, rising incomes have created a tremendous potential for manufactured products. This potential will, undoubtedly, be satisfied and it seems clear that if U.S. investment is not made in these areas, someone else will make it. This, in effect, has been true in our industry. In spite of the investments made abroad by U.S. office equipment companies. a total of 81 competing firms are actively selling adding, calculating, and accounting machines in oversea markets. Of these 64-almost 80 percent-are European based companies, many of which have entered the market during the postwar period. They were encouraged by enormous pentup de-mand, the difficulties and cost of importing from United States and the relative slownes of U.S. based companies to create adequate production facilities within the trading areas.

I believe that U.S. companies would not normally make an investment abroad if the foreign markets can be served from the United States. The U.S. companies would prefer to maximize the return on their U.S. investments through manufacture for oversea requirements in their U.S. factories. The expense, efforts, and hazards of creating new organizations and skills are too great for them to prefer otherwise. In the most basic terms, American companies' products, organizations, management and technical skills, investments and, finally, their stockholders, are primarily centered in the United States. In order for an American company to successfully invest in production facilities abroad, it must develop or acquire a costly and specialized management team to plan and administer such operations. It is, therefore, much simpler to serve these oversea markets from the home base, if at all possible.

In almost all cases, therefore, the creation of manufacturing facilities abroad should not be termed a movement or export of U.S. facilities, nor the accompanying export of U.S. jobs.

In regard to the quustion of movement of investments to industrialized or underdeveloped areas raised by your chairman, I should say this is really relative to the potential market for the goods to be manufactured. Producers of complex manufactured goods, of which office equipment is an example, do not tend to invest in either plant or extensive marketing operations in underdeveloped countries. These industries tend to expand into the more developed economies which have real need for basic and more advanced equipment. In our case, markets are located in the industrially developed areas, such as Western Europe, Britain, or in the partially developed areas like Brazil, where we have a small plant. On the other hand, I believe that the investment demands of the underdeveloped economies centers around the basic industries such as power, transportation, metals, building and construction materials, and around those basic consumer products such as textile.

A consideration of major importance is the trend for U.S. manufacturing companies to manufacture abroad their simpler or less complex products. The oversea production of such products does not demand the levels of skills or capital investment or depth of managerial experience that are vital to the production of the more sophisticated products we are currently making in the United States. Burroughs is a good example of this. While our oversea manufacture has Burroughs is a good example of shown a substantial growth, it has concentrated on production of the simpler products. Foreign-based companies are already in production on such products with a lower wage cost than a U.S. plant. We have the choice of losing this market completely-a market which we historically developed-or creating oversea plants to compete with foreign-based producers. In the United States, on the other hand, we have tended to shift our emphasis to development of new, highly sophisticated products such as electromechanical and electronic accounting machines and electronic data processing equipment. These, Burroughs is exporting in increasing numbers. As evidence of this, the value of our exports has more than doubled in the past 7 years. At the same time, we engaged in extensive creation of new plants abroad.

Likewise, even though the office equipment industry, as a whole, has invested extensively in foreign markets, it continues to increase its U.S. exports. In 1959, its exports were valued at over \$145 million, a rise of over

60 percent since 1950.

There has been concern expressed in some quarters about the decline in exports and the rise in imports of some of the simpler types of office equipment, such as adding machines and typewriters. However, if we view the entire industry, we can see that the emphasis has been transferred to the more sophisticated type of products such as accounting and bookkeeping machines, punchcard equipment, electronic computers and other data processing equipment. Exports of these products have shown a rise, since 1950, of 150 percent. Furthermore, the difference between the exports and imports of office machines, or the so-called "balance of trade," has shown a net increase for the office equipment industry as a whole. I am sure that this technological revolution has affected many other industries in the United States.

In some markets abroad, some restrictions—such as unreasonably high tariffs and/or quantitive restrictions and/or local taxation—still exist against the free importation and sale of U.S. products. This inhibits the maximum growth and exports of our advanced industries. We feel that it is in the interest of the American economy to negotiate for the continued reduction and elimination of such barriers. Such negotiations involve the recognition of the rights of others to export to us, and we must, therefore, be prepared to accept imports.

The development and evolution of more sophisticated products, plus merchandising methods, management techniques and innumerable other services upon which the U.S. economy depends, forms—for the United States—the real basis of the traditional economic concept of comparative advantage. These capabilities constitute a very significant part of what we export both literally and through the advanced products and services we send abroad.

As we have demonstrated in the past, I believe that America can maintain and expand its competitive position in world trade if it continues to concentrate on research, technological improvements and the con-

stant introduction of newer and better products. We may no longer export large volumes of basic or simple manufactured products. These exports are being replaced by
increasing volumes of products in the form
of advanced products, and services in the
form of management and technical knowhow and patents—which return funds to the
United States in the form of royalties, fees,
and increased dividends in the same manner
as exports. We, of all peoples, should not
try to resist technological change and its impact on trade patterns. Rather, we should
welcome it and maximize its potential advantages to us.

This change in the structure of trade, we know, is true even here at home. The horse-drawn buggy gave way to the automobile. Certainly some buggy manufacturers had to learn new skills. But all of us have profited immensely from the change and ad-

vancement in our standard of living and the power for growth the change has given our economy.

Particularly significant is the fact that our labor force, as a whole, has the potential for further upgrading in terms of capability and earnings. The great number of engineers, professional people, managers, skilled and semiskilled workers, has become the dominant creative factor in our economy. Meanwhile, the number of nonskilled workers has diminished.

In summary, I should like to emphasize that I strongly believe it is in the best interest of the United States to foster a policy of further opening all the markets of the free world to our technologically advanced products. Any attempt to improve our international balance of payments through restrictive trade policies would do incalculable harm. Policies which would restrain the

importation of products of oversea workers, when these imports are used to pay for the advanced technological products of our highly skilled industries, as well as the exportable production of our farms, our mines, and our forests-which still constitutes a major portion of our total annual exportswould be disastrous to our economy. Its consequence would be the decline of American industrial efficiency and competitive vigor. Rather than being concerned about whether some products may be priced out of world markets, we should concern ourselves with being sure that we do not make a hasty move to fence out competition, because this same fence would fence in the exports of our vigorously growing and technologically advanced industries. I believe the same would hold true for our technologically advanced farms, mines, and forest industries.

Total U.S. office equipment exports, 1950-59

[Thousands of dollars]

100000			300	Assembly parts for	Building			Typewriters			
Year	Bookkeeping and account- ing machines	Adding and calculating machines	Punchcard equipment and elec- tronic com- puters	bookkeeping, adding, cal- culating, puncheard, and electronic computers and used and rebuilt bookkeeping machines	Addressing and dup- licating machines and parts	Cash registers and parts	Standard	Eléctric	Assembly parts	All other machines and parts	Total
1950	18, 517 18, 929 . 19, 629 18, 720 22, 828 25, 294 25, 602	14, 749 21, 617 14, 172 13, 110 13, 726 14, 945 14, 477 15, 016 11, 227 11, 389	8, 010 9, 371 4, 952 4, 895 5, 663 5, 673 6, 633 11, 158 26, 382 31, 274	14, 538 19, 444 15, 153 15, 743 16, 927 20, 646 26, 893 29, 201 28, 490 37, 261	3, 696 4, 597 3, 913 3, 682 3, 883 4, 700 6, 289 7, 490 6, 985 7, 080	6, 160 8, 054 6, 756 6, 736 7, 990 8, 559 9, 038 8, 402 9, 294 8, 619	19, 450 26, 179 16, 275 12, 733 11, 805 10, 986 10, 985 19, 726 4, 091 3, 503	1, 196 1, 317 1, 426 2, 318 2, 118 2, 415 3, 558 4, 385	2, 654 3, 933 3, 819 5, 016 5, 914 5, 983 7, 897 9, 011 7, 039 8, 468	6, 821 7, 909 3, 967 4, 473 5, 012 5, 148 6, 810 8, 178 9, 118 9, 339	90, 493 119, 621 89, 132 87, 334 91, 066 101, 768 116, 434 127, 199 126, 376 145, 472

Source: Department of Commerce Report FT-410.

Total U.S. office equipment imports, 1950-59

[Thousands of dollars]

Year	Bookkeeping machines and parts	Adding, calculating machines, and parts	Duplicating machines and parts	Cash registers and parts	Typewriters	Typewriter spools and parts	All other machines and parts	Total
1950 1081 1952 1953 1954 1955 1955 1956 1957 1958	117 696 531	2, 204 2, 771 4, 837 2, 701 4, 525 6, 474 6, 989 11, 455 11, 823 18, 970	128 441 617 1, 132 1, 291 1, 300 1, 795 1, 976 2, 083 3, 040	127 462 1,010 1,591 1,478 2,323 2,476 3,280 3,608 6,173	1, 746 2, 762 2, 196 4, 586 5, 503 7, 728 12, 798 16, 987 19, 626 20, 208	30 86 159 141 149 222 230 275 303 212	197 124 83 218 607	4, 48 6, 74 8, 93 10, 81 13, 47 18, 51 24, 58 34, 34 37, 85 49, 35

Source: U.S. Department of Commerce Report FT-110.

Selected U.S. office equipment, imports and exports, 1950-59

[Thousands of dollars]

	107					1	Thousands	or domars]			ALC: U				11
Year	Bookkeeping, accounting, puncheard, and electronic computers and parts				calculating and parts	machines	Cash r	ogisters an	d parts	Typewriters and parts			Total 4 categories		
	Imports	Exports	Net exports	Imports	Exports	Net exports	Imports	Exports	Net exports	Imports	Exports	Net exports		Exports	Net exports
1970	224 117 606 531 182 174 289	36, 963 47, 332 39, 034 40, 267 41, 310 49, 147 58, 820 65, 961 76, 164 87, 271	36, 709 47, 108 38, 917 39, 571 40, 779 48, 965 58, 646 65, 672 76, 033 87, 125	2, 204 2, 771 4, 837 2, 701 4, 525 6, 474 6, 989 11, 455 11, 823 18, 970	14, 749 21, 617 14, 172 13, 110 13, 726 14, 945 14, 477 15, 016 17, 166 16, 807	12, 545 18, 846 9, 335 10, 409 9, 201 8, 471 7, 488 3, 561 5, 343 (2, 163)	127 462 1,010 1,591 1,478 2,323 2,476 3,280 3,608 6,173	6, 160 8, 054 6, 756 6, 736 7, 990 8, 559 9, 038 8, 402 9, 294 8, 619	6, 033 7, 502 5, 746 5, 145 6, 512 6, 236 6, 562 5, 122 5, 686 2, 446	1, 776 2, 848 2, 355 4, 727 5, 652 7, 948 13, 028 17, 262 19, 989 20, 420	22, 104 30, 112 21, 200 19, 066 19, 145 19, 269 21, 000 22, 152 14, 688 16, 356	20, 328 27, 204 18, 935 14, 339 13, 493 11, 321 7, 972 4, 890 (5, 301) (4, 064)	4, 361 6, 305 8, 319 9, 715 12, 186 16, 927 22, 667 32, 286 35, 551 45, 709	79, 976 107, 115 81, 252 79, 179 82, 171 91, 920 103, 335 111, 531 -117, 312 129, 053	75, 61 100, 81 72, 93 69, 40 00, 98 74, 99 80, 66 79, 24 81, 76 83, 34

Source: Department of Commerce Reports FT-410 and FT-110.

Burroughs Corp. comparison of U.S. exports and imports, 1952-59

[Thousands of dollars]

	Total exports !	Total imports	Net exports
1962 1963 1964 1965 1966 1968 1967 1967 1969	10, 045 11, 060 11, 362 15, 971 16, 460 15, 225 17, 571 20, 312	2, 888 1, 796 1, 381 1, 108 618 378 756 770	7, 157 9, 264 9, 921 14, 863 15, 842 14, 847 16, 815 19, 542

¹ Including shipment of equipment, parts, supplies to anada and international subsidiaries and dealers.

American Public Power Association

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. AL ULLMAN

OF OREGON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, May 27, 1960

Mr. ULLMAN. Mr. Speeker, under leave to extend my remarks, I want to insert in the RECORD the following excerpts from an address to the 17th annual convention of the American Public Power Association, held here in Washington earlier this month. They are excerpts from the address by Mr. Paul Phillips, president of the United Papermakers and Paperworkers, and they deal With the vital interest of labor in lowcost power:

LABOR'S INTEREST IN LOW COST POWER (By Paul L. Phillips, president, United Papermakers and Paperworkers, May 5, 1980)

Ladies and gentlemen and fellow creepers, working people, union members or not, have a greater stake in low cost power than any other group. There's a simple reason: working people need more income for better livand the cost of energy has a lot to do with their living standards. The cost of electricity in the home fixes a limit on its use as a labor saver, a convenience, a creator

of comfort and energy.

The cost of power to industry and Government shows up in taxes and the price of every article purchased. Moreover, the availability of an abundance of low cost Power creates jobs at the same time it elimi-

nates the most brutal drudgery.

People who have long been comfortable and who read the "we never had it so good" press of this country, tend to conduct their discussions of need and poverty as though they were strictly problems of foreign countries—mostly the new nations freed from colonial control.

Those of us who work day in and day out

with working people know better.

Last year, 14 percent of all U.S. familiesabout one of every seven—had incomes below \$2,000. Over one-third of all families had incomes under \$4,000.

This poverty, plus our congested streets and highways, croding cities, crowded schools, polluted water, and air—all are evi-Gences we are somewhere short of utopia.

All of us here agree that there can be no increase in productivity without adequate supplies of energy and that if the cost of that energy is too high, it cannot be utilized.

In normal times—and let us hope the past 8 years will not become the norm—the role the consumer-owned electric systems in this country is to serve as a form of competi-

tion in the electric industry, to perform that essential yardstick function without which we have no way of measuring the degree of inefficiency, waste, and stupidity which exists in the private monopolies of the

electric industry.

I need not tell you that without the pioneering efforts of the very earliest municipal systems—systems organized at the birth of the electric industry-the spread of electricity would have been incomparably slower. Few people realize the early mu-nicipal systems did much the same job for many small towns that the REA co-ops were to do for farmers a half century later.

You know, and more people must be told, that if it had not been for Ontario Hydro, for Tacoma and Seattle, and comparable publicly owned systems the electric industry would be decades behind its present level and

would remain a semiluxury.

As long as any part of the electric industry is privately owned, the only dependable means of forcing it to function in a reasonably satisfactory manner is with the yardstick. The private companies can cry enough water to float Sam Insull to Greece about a 30-inch yardstick or a 20-inch yardstick, but we all know that they are influenced every day by the grim reminder that they sell too little power at too high a price.

Regulation of monopoly is not enough. Regulation will not get the job done. Regulation cannot give us low-cost power because low-cost power is the product of creative intelligence and desire. In the absence of these things—and their absence is a relatively absolute certainty where private monopoly exists—the only alternative is the existence of public, consumer-owned systems which can be used as an example to bring some degree of efficiency into the monopoly sector of the industry.

How many people recall that in 1929 there was a controversy in the Federal Power Commission and that the trouble seemed to arise from a recalcitrant bookkeeper by the name of William V. King (he was actually chief accountant) who kept refusing to agree to the issuance of licenses to power companies for one reason or another, including one to the Niagara Falls Power Co. simply because it had claimed a \$77 million net investment, including \$32 million as the value of the water that the Government gives them.

I encountered this story in Judson King's book, "The Conservation Fight," and thought to myself for a moment, "Well, things are a lot better than they were in those days when that company was trying to saddle the consumers with \$32 million in water."

But my cheerfulness was short lived because I recalled that within the decade of the finagling fifties under Ike with rapid tax writeoffs and accelerated depreciation, we have set up the machinery for turning over to the power companies about \$52 billion. And worse, the Congress has never even held a hearing on the bill introduced by Senator Magnuson to overturn the Federal Power Commission's interpretation of the law.

Let's just take a current bill which may very well slide through this Congress-this so-called upstream benefits bill. Under this bill a power company can amble down to this packed Federal Power Commission and get itself a license to build a dam on a river. It may be a runt dam and wasteful because there is no law against that as the friends of Hells Canyon know. But they cannot only get a license to use a part of the public domain for purposes of private profit, but under this bill they can levy a tribute against every consumer of Federal power.

I submit that the forebears of the Niagara-Mohawk Power Co. and all their contemporary brethren were pikers, from Muscle Shoals to Teapet Dome, compared to the sponsors of the upstream benefits bill.

These antisocial scoundrels spend vast quantitles of money-wrung from the housewife's washing machine—to prevent the compre-hensive development of the Nation's rivers. Then, since they know that this represents waste so incredible that their fingers itch to get hold of the power, they come in with this scheme to subsidize private construction of dams.

When I spoke at the first meeting of the Electric Consumers Information Committee here in Washington in 1952, I had with me a couple of electric bills from two of our members. One lived in Thorold, Ontario, and the other in Niagara Falls, N.Y .- just 15 miles apart. At that time the American was paying 60 percent more than his Canadian brother for the same amount of electricity.

Last year, same towns, the American would pay 81 percent more for 100 kilowatt-hours (\$1.95 versus \$3.54), and 45 percent more for 500 kilowatt-hours (\$7 versus \$10.14).

But what is the difference between being taxed by an inefficient government (and I am not really talking about our own here because except for the Pentagon, I think the Government operates pretty efficiently). and being taxed by a power company.

Oh, all the difference in the world, of course-because you have to pay taxes. You

have no choice.

Well, try cutting off your electricity. you were willing to do so, you'd be able to save money not only on power bills but you could probably live cheaper in a bachelor apartment somewhere after your wife threw you cut.

Electricity is an absolute essential of modern living, just as essential as government, and we have a right to get both of them as economically as is humanly possible.

Since 1947 the average level of electric rates has gone up 12 percent. The regulatory agencies are really doing a job—out of 577 applications for rate boosts, they have granted 515, have 27 pending, and the companies have withdrawn 13. But hear thisthe regulatory agencies denied 22—repeat, 22—out of the 577. The companies which turned in those 22 must have used the wrong form or left off the board chairman's signa-

I want to speak a moment about the Potomac River, because it was originally a beautiful river. It can be again, as it flows by our Nation's Capital, but the stench of it should not fill the great room where Abe Lincoln sits brooding.

For almost 40 years, beginning with Senator Norris and running right on down to the present Potomac River Development Association, the people have been trying to harness this river and clean it up. There have been some sewage filtration plants built, but

The main reason the Potomac River is a filthy sewer which runs at flood sometimes and at others is little more than a smelly trickle is because the private power companies would rather have it this way than place their monopoly privileges in jeopardy.

If the antimonopoly preference clause in Federal law were stricken from the statute books, the overwhelming bulk of the opposition to comprehensive development would vanish. The real enemics—the effective practitioners of sabotage on river developmentare the private power companies. The railroads, the coal companies, the defenders of the polluted primeval spaces, the politicians who cry about inundating farmland are all largely impotent except insofar as they are given political strength by the power trustthe power trust and that fraternity of its cousins and its uncles and its aunts-the General Contractor's Association.

So the battle for comprehensive development is a battle with the forces against whom Teddy Roosevelt, Gifford Pinchot,

George Norris, and 10,000 other leaders great and small have warned us—the private monopolists who own and operate the private companies and those cash register artists, the big contractors.

Three-quarters of our hydro capacity is

wasting.

The rivers of this Nation belong to all of the people and should be developed with a view to the greatest good to the greatest number. They must be developed by public agencies, preferably the Federal Government.

The power which flows from this development must be made available to nonprofit agencies on a preferential basis. The preference clause is an antimonopoly clause, and in a broad sense, its protection is as vital to the private companies as to the public and cooperatives systems.

Nobody in America can afford monopoly in the electric industry and you, and the rural electric cooperatives, and the Federal and State agencies in the power field are the indispensable ingredient in the industry. We must cease to hem and haw, apologetically, about championing Government own-

ership in the electric field.

The advantages of public ownership in the electric industry run to things other than direct yardstick effects on eleteric rates. In 1959 TVA rejected bids from Westinghouse and General Electric for some large generating equipment and accepted the bid of an English company at savings of 40 to 50 per-cent. TVA was damned for selling American security down the river and wiping out jobs for American workers. Westinghouse printed a map which showed, I assume truthfully, that practically all foreign manufactured generating and large-scale transmission equipment was operated by consumer-owned systems. They gave away more than they intended to. What they revealed was that the private power companies, operating as they do on a cost-plus basis, do not care how much their equipment costs.

What happened, of course, was that GE and Westinghouse had increased the prices on heavy electrical equipment by 50 percent during a period when other prices were rising

about 5 percent.

I am proud that the AFL-CIO and particularly the union most vitally affected by this dispute, Jim Carey's IUE, stood its ground in the face of corporation pressure and pointed out that even if the Westinghouse workers worked free on the contract, the British company would still have won the bid. They pointed out that the danger of imports to security or employment did not spring from the work of creeping socialists who like to buy equipment at a low cost, nor union workers who like to make good pay, but was the result of monopolistic price fixing.

The purposes you serve, and the ends we seek are the same. We have not been doing as much as we could to bring about an abundance of low-cost power, and I doubt that you have. Give us your assistance in finding ways to do more and do the job better. We will always stand ready to assist consumer-owned electric systems to survive, and grow, because they are essential to abundance.

Tax Havens Abroad

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. H. R. GROSS

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Friday, May 27, 1960

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, big profits and little or no tax is the lure that is at-

tracting more and more U.S. firms to tax havens abroad.

That is, in part, the introduction to an article in the May 30, 1960, issue of U.S. News & World Report.

The article makes no mention of the passage of H.R. 5 in the House of Representatives, a bill to further encourage the flight of capital abroad, probably because U.S. News & World Report was being printed on the day that legislative action was taken.

The article follows:

TAX HAVENS ABROAD

American companies by the hundreds are now setting up shop abroad, making big profits, and paying out little or none of these profits in taxes.

How? Simply by setting up subsidiaries in a foreign "tax haven" country.

These countries collect a small tax—or sometimes no tax—on profits of subsidiaries of U.S. corporations. Likewise, the U.S. Treasury imposes no tax so long as a subsidiary's profits are not sent back to the U.S. parent company.

U.S. parent company.

As a result, many U.S. concerns, through subsidiaries, are getting to keep 70, 80, and even 100 cents of each dollar of profit. This money is being used to expand sales organizations, research projects, and productive

facilities abroad.

Moreover, after a few years, it is possible for the U.S. parent company to liquidate the foreign subsidiary, bring home the profits that have been built up and pay the U.S. Treasury a capital-gains tax of only 25 percent.

NEEDED: CAREFUL PLANNING

There is nothing automatic about these benefits. To get them takes careful planning to set up the right kind of business organization—and to locate it in the right country.

In the first place, to avoid paying a U.S. tax which can run up to 52 percent, the American concern must set up a separate company abroad. If it merely opens up a branch or handles its business through an oversea agent, U.S. taxes must be paid annually on the foreign income.

Then there is the selection of a country which will give the most favorable tax treatment while meeting other requirements for

operating a business.

Take Switzerland: It provides a good example of how—and why—U.S. companies are moving abroad in record numbers these days.

There are now 365 American businesses in Switzerland. In Zurich alone, the number of U.S. firms has passed 200—almost doubled within the past year.

Some U.S. businesses have set up Swiss holding companies which own the stock of still other subsidiaries in Holland, Belgium, Germany and other countries. Others are trading companies, directing from Switzerland the export sales of the parent U.S. company. Still others are Swiss branches of American subsidiaries incorporated in other "tax haven" countries around the world.

A POPULAR BASE

Switzerland is popular as a foreign base for several reasons: It is close to major European market areas; it is politically and economically stable, and it offers excellent banking and credit facilities. Also highly important are its low taxes.

Switzerland imposes no tax on holding-company income earned outside the country. Thus, a Swiss-based U.S. holding company can bring profits into Switzerland from plants operated by subsidiaries in France or Germany without paying any tax to Switzerland. Of course, the operating subsidiaries pay taxes in France and Germany.

On income that is subject to Swiss taxes, the maximum Federal rate is only 8 percent. Even when you add taxes imposed by the individual cantons, Swiss tax lawyers say the total tax bill often amounts to less than 15 percent of profits. Since no U.S. tax must be paid, that leaves 85 cents on each dollar for expansion or for loans to other subsidiaries that might need financial help.

OTHER "HAVENS"

In addition to Switzerland, there are more than a dozen other "tax havens" around the world.

For example, Bermuda and the Bahamas do not levy income tax on corporations. Puerto Rico offers a special exemption from corporate taxes for 10 years.

U.S.-owned holding companies in Liechtenstein and in Luxembourg are free of any

income tax.

And in Canada, Honduras, Liberia, the Netherlands Antilles, Uruguay, Panama and Venezuela, there is no tax on the income earned outside those countries by U.S.-controlled companies.

Figures on the number of U.S. companies operating abroad are not available. Talk with tax lawyers and accountants, however, and you find that more and more U.S. companies are seeking out "tax havens" in every part of the world.

How do U.S. tax officials feel about this

trend?

Said one Revenue Service official: "Tax havens are perfectly legal—and who can blame an American company for using any legitimate avenue to hold down its tax bill?"

CRACKDOWN ON EVADERS

However, the Government is keeping a sharp eye out for cases where a U.S. company sets up a foreign subsidiary solely to beat the U.S. tax collector.

beat the U.S. tax collector.

Tax agents have cracked down on some of these schemes in recent months. Here is the most common device: A U.S. parent company, instead of selling its product for 10 cents aplece in a normal commercial deal, might sell it to a wholly owned subsidiary in a tax-haven country for, say, 5 cents.

At that price, the parent company would show little or no profit, but the subsidiary would do very well. In effect, the U.S. parent firm would be diverting profits abroad where they would be free of U.S. tax—an illegal act.

In another case turned up by investigators, the U.S. parent company paid unusually large sales commissions to its foreign subsidiary—thus pushing most of the profits abroad. The tipoff came when the parent company, which had been making sizable profits each year, began to report to the Revenue Service that its earnings were barely large enough to meet expenses.

ly large enough to meet expenses.

Tax officials are quick to emphasize that the great majority of U.S. companies moving operations into tax-haven countries are "strictly on the up and up."

Government officials expect that growing competition in world markets will force more and more U.S. companies to move abroad where labor costs—and taxes—are lower.

where labor costs—and taxes—are lower. Sums up one Treasury official: "Tax havens have only begun to become popular."

Postal Rate Increases

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JAMES C. OLIVER

OF MAINE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, May 27, 1960

Mr. OLIVER. Mr. Speaker, on May 26, Mr. Bernard E. Esters, of Houlton.

Maine, appearing as chairman of the legislative committee of the National Editorial Association, made a forceful and convincing statement before the House Post Office and Civil Service Committee in the interests of the small-town press of America against proposed postal rate increases in second-class postal rates.

In the interests of informing the membership of the House, and the Nation as a whole, of this factual and objective presentation, I am privileged to include Mr. Esters' statement, herein:

Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, my name is Bernard E. Esters. I am the publisher of a weekly newspaper in Houlton, Maine. I would like first to express the thanks of the members of the National Editorial Association for the indulgence of this committee in permitting us time to present the views of the small-town press of America, for which this association is the only national voice, on the matter how before you.

I appear at this hearing as chairman of the legislative committee of this association and as a weekly newspaper publisher. I am privileged this morning to be accompanied by the executive vice president of our association, Mr. Edgar S. Bayol, of Washington, and by Mr. Walter Potter, of Culpeper, Va., president of the Virginia Press Association and cochairman of the legislative committee of the National Editorial Association.

It will be our purpose to outline in as brief detail as possible the opinions of small-town newspapers on proposed adjustments in second-class potal rates. These opinions are reflected in replies to a questionnaire circulated to our complete membership, in letters from publishers and in personal interviews. They represent a factual as well as a documented estimate of the impact on these thousands of small but vital newspaper operations across the country that will be caused by increases in second-class postal rates as proposed by the Post Office Department.

At the outset I would like to make it very clear that the National Editorial Association is far from an affluent newspaper trade association even though it is the largest association of its kind in this country.

Hence, we are proud to inform this committee that the entire survey from which will be drawn the facts and figures that will follow, was done at a cost that will add less than \$1.500 to our deficit at the end of fiscal 1960. We ask that you compare this figure with the \$137,000 reportedly paid by the Post Office Department for the McKinsey & Co. study which will, we assume, be chargeable to that Department's deficit, on which so much stress is being laid in these hearings.

Contrary to what this committee may have been led to believe by previous testimony from those favoring upward postal rate adjustments, and by material contained in the study of the "impact of postal rate increases" prepared by McKinsey & Co., smalltown newspapers across the Nation, in every congressional district and in practically every county, are expressing very grave concern that the increase in second-class postal rates and the accompanying request that the free-in-county privileges be abolished, will cause serious and burdensome hardship.

I can also state very frankly that we are not only greatly disturbed, we are deeply shocked, at what appears to be an irresponsible assumption in the McKinsey & Co. study which declares that the newspaper publishing industry can "apparently adjust to postal rate increases with no serious difficulty."

This, I solemnly assure your gentlemen, a gross misstatement, a conclusion en-

tirely unwarranted by the facts as we have found them.

There is no information anywhere in this published study that will reveal the identity of the weekly newspaper publishers who, when interviewed by McKinsey & Co. representatives, "generally expressed little concern that an increase in the scale proposed would cause them any particular difficulty."

Such modest anonymity is quite unlike weekly newspaper publishers as we know them. He is the exception in the weekly, semiweekly, and small-town daily field, with whom we are familiar, who will be bashful about identifying himself with an opinion, especially on a matter of this gravity.

And when these replies are quoted as stating that "they have had to adjust to large increases in their chief costs, paper and wages" and "Hence 'they' felt that minor increases in subscription rates that would be necessary to cover increases in postage would be passed on to the subscriber," we cannot help but become more skeptical.

As I say, we do not know nor will we be told, apparently, the identity of these publishers casually referred to as "they." I might also add that we could easily doubt their existence in the light of the overwhelming testimony that has flowed in a steady stream into the Washington office of the National Editorial Association from publishers in 49 States saying just exactly the opposite.

These responses came to two questionnaires which were sent to 5,057 small-town
newspaper publishers when we first were
warned of the intention of the Post Office
Department to seek drastic increases in postal rates and when it was also realized that
these increases, if granted, would be far more
burdensome on small-town newspaper operations than the advance publicity by the
Post Office Department would have everybody
believe.

For instance, when we had an opportunity to study the actual bill and read the fine print, so to speak, and then applied the schedule of rates to a few newspapers with which we were familiar, we were astounded to find that, instead of the 40-percent increase we had been told we might expect, the increase was more likely to be 600 percent.

However, we will go into the facts which these questionnaires revealed later on in this testimony. Suffice it to say at this point that we, as of May 10, have receive a total of 1,900 replies to these questionnaires, or a remarkably high response of 38 percent.

It is our intention to confine our testimony strictly to those provisions of this postal rate increase measure which directly affect our membership—namely, those dealing with second class—and to show to you what great harm such increases would work on our people, if they are enacted.

We are supported and encouraged by two fundamental principles that are so well established they call for little or no elaboration.

The first, which has been recognized time after time by the Congress, is that the postal system of the United States was originally conceived as a public service, instituted and operated for the benefit of all people.

The second is that newspapers are quasipublic institutions—independently owned and operated to be sure, but dedicated to the service of their people and their communities.

Since before the founding of this country and continuously to this day, all branches of the Government as well as the public, have recognized that free and independent newspapers are essential to the growth and to the welfare of this Nation.

The principle that the post office is a public service is abundantly supported by the great volume of testimony given before previous hearings by the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service, particularly that

which in large measure resulted in the passage by the Congress of the Postal Policy Act of 1958. I am sure you are familiar with its well-documented findings which are, in principle, no less true today.

The principle that a newspaper is indispensable to the welfare of the Nation and thus susceptible to fosterage by the postal system was well expressed by Senator Hardwick, of Georgia, when he was a member of the Senate Post Office Committee. In a statement made before the Senate Committee on Finance on May 28, 1917, he said:

"The principle is that under a free government the diffusion of news and intelligence among the people is indispensable, and in order to promote it the postal system should carry matter of this kind at a very nominal rate, even if a heavy expense to the Government is thereby entailed."

Even our Postmasters General have, on occasion, supported this principle. In his annual report for the fiscal year 1901, Postmaster General Charles E. Smith stated it as follows:

"Our free institutions rest on popular intelligence and it has from the beginning been our fixed and enlightened policy to foster and promote the general diffusion of public information.

"In harmony with this sound and judicious policy," Postmaster General Smith went on to say, "it (meaning the Congress) has deliberately established a low rate of postage for genuine newspapers and periodicals with the express design of encouraging and alding the distribution of the recognized means and agencies of public information. It is not a matter of favor but of approved judgment. It is not for the publishers but for the people."

We would like at this point to comment on an inference in testimony previously presented at this hearing which would suggest that "advances in communications and transportation, the spread of news and educational media, and the growth of the postal service since the mid-19th century have been so extensive as to make obsolete virtually all of the considerations which prompted within-county rates."

If we are to assume that advances in communications mean the development of radio and television, plus the expansion of daily newspapers and the growth of national magazine circulation and if we are to assume that advances in transportation mean the development of the airplane, we still are undable to accept any glib conclusion that the importance of the role of newspapers in the dissemination of vital information, has diminished to the point of becoming obsolete.

If anything the importance of newspapers has increased. And more particularly is this true of the hometown newspaper. To illustrate this point I have here for your examination just a few typical examples of the many thousands of dollars' worth of free space given away by hometown newspapers to inform their readers on matters of vital importance to the Government of the United States and its various departments.

It would be folly for us to contend that radio and television do not have their place in the social, commercial, and economic life of many American families. But to suggest that these comparatively young media of communication can supplant newspapers and/or other printed media to the extent that these media now fill no useful purpose in the widespread dissemination of valuable news and information is an utterly felse assumption that will be indignantly denounced by every newspaper and magazine in this country regardless of size and frequency of issue.

It would be pertinent, we believe, to inquire what means the Government and its agencies at all levels would use to get their messages to the people of rural America if the smalltown newspapers were put out of business in great numbers.

Any increase in the burden of costs could make it necessary for them to curtail use of the flood of free Government releases each week to devote more space to income producing advertising or more interesting and important local news.

A case in point is the exhibit I just offered in evidence, the recent 5-column-by-10-inch mat offered for newspaper use by the Census Bureau entified "Have You Been Counted," and designed to assist in the mopup tally of persons whom the regular census enumerators may have missed for one reason or another. Such distribution could hardly have been achieved by radio or television.

I am not aware of the extent to which large daily newspapers used this free matorial. I am quite sure that weekly and small daily newspapers of the size that make up the membership of the National Editorial Association used it extensively. Some even informed us they used it twice instead of the one-time insertion that was requested.

This amount of space in these newspapers could profitably be sold at a price varying between \$30 and \$60, depending on the advertising rates of the individual newspapers. If only one-half of the newspapers in our class in this country used this mat and if we assess an average of \$40 as a reasonably representative cost of the space involved, we come up with a figure of more than \$1½ million of donated space for this one public service alone.

This amount of space given away by a newspaper costs each one of them money they will never be able to recover, either from advertisers whose paid message this free space may have displaced or in the loss of the normal costs from rent, heat, light, taxes, labor, depreciation, paper and all of the other costs that go into every column inch of white space in every issue of a newspaper regardless of whether that inch is occupied by material that is paid for or by material from which there is no income.

The foregoing example is but one isolated case in a continuing parade of services to government donated by smalltown newspapers and not available on an equivalent basis in any other medium of communication.

Among the other services to government that will be jeopardized by any act or law which might have the effect of reducing the number of newspapers available to provide such types of service as the one just mentioned would be the frequent airmail releases that come from the Post Office Department, including information by which publishers of newspapers would be better prepared to fight the Department's battle for higher postal rates, including those proposed for their own publications.

The list of such "information services" can be expanded to almost any extent. Smalltown newspapers are being constantly importuned by the Savings Bond Division of the Treasury Department to encourage more widespread buying of war bonds by the public; civil defense is a constant supplicant for free space to get its messages across in the areas served by our small newspapers; the Department of Agriculture, both State and National, the recruiting services of all branches of our Armed Forces, the Departments of Commerce and Interior, and so on, ad infinitum.

And now, gentlemen, we believe it is important to tell you something of the current economic status of America's hometown press that has very pertinent bearing on the additional costs of doing business which this legislation proposes to impose on them.

The National Editorial Association, as an integral part of its function, maintains the Weekly Newspaper Bureau, a special department devoted to research. It was my privilege to have had a part in founding this bureau more than 15 years ago.

This bureau works in close cooperation with newspaper association managers, which is, as its name implies, the National Association of Press Association Executives. For the past 9 years the two organizations have conducted an annual weekly newspaper cost study.

This is a nationwide study designed to learn, for comparative purposes, the average income and the average expenses in all principal categories for weekly newspapers in six different circulation brackets. It is the only national study of its kind and is highly regarded in the industry.

This ninth study covers the year 1959 and gives a remarkably reliable picture of the financial condition and the economic position of the average weekly newspaper. Its findings are not for general publication, but we have obtained permission from the cost study committee to excerpt some of the data and to provide each member of this committee with a complete copy of the 16-page analysis for further examination.

May I emphasize again that this is the ninth annual study. It was made in the customary manner entirely without regard to any question of higher postal rates. It was not made to prove anything. Its purpose this year, as last year, and as it will be next year, is to provide a yardstick by which a weekly publisher can measure his particular operation in his circulation class. Thus he may be enabled to correct defects in his own operation, to his profit.

In the cost study newspapers were divided into six groups according to circulation, as follows:

Group 1: Under 1,000 circulation.

Group 2: From 1,000 to 1,500 circulation. Group 3: From 1,500 to 2,000 circulation. Group 4: From 2,000 to 3,000 circulation. Group 5: From 3,000 to 4,000 circulation.

Group 6: Over 4,000 circulation.

Now let us consider the average total income for newspapers in each group. And we ask that you take especial note of the fact that, in the great majority of cases, this income includes money received from printing and other sources as well as from advertising and circulation.

In group 1—newspapers under 1,000 circulation—the average total income in 1959 was only \$14.417. The average net income, including an allowance of \$4,500 for the publisher's own salary, was only \$5,392. After deducting this very low publisher's salary allowance, the average net income was the munificent sum of \$892 for 12 months of hard work.

In group 2—newspapers with 1,000 to 1,500 circulation—the average total income was \$33,327. The cost study analysts allowed this publisher \$5,000 as a salary allocation and, after that, the average net income, over expense, was \$1,499.

For group 3—1,500 to 2,000 circulation—we find an average gross of \$47,709. An allowance of \$6,000 was made for the salary of the publisher—perhaps slightly more than he paid his linotype operator but probably less than he paid his shop foreman, reducing the average net to \$2,206, or 4.6 percent of his gross.

In group 4—2,000 to 3,000 circulation—which, incidentally, probably represents the middle 60 percent of weekly newspapers, the average total income reached a figure of \$66,949. In this bracket a publisher salary allocation of \$6,500 was made after which the net average income figured out to \$2,873, or 4.3 percent.

In group 5 things appear to get considerably better. This group comprises papers with 3,000 to 4,000 circulation. Here we find an average total income of \$120,571. The publisher was allowed \$7,000 for his annual salary and his net then turned out to an average of \$9,036 or 7.5 percent.

In the top group, 6 newspapers having more than 4,000 circulation, we find the

elite of the industry. At least in terms of dollars. However, it is estimated that less than 15 percent of the country's smalltown newspapers are in this category. In this bracket the average total income was \$172,-190, the publisher was allowed \$7,500 and the average net return, after expenses, was \$10,580 for the year, or a percentage of 6.1.

From this survey it is amply clear that the vast majority of the weekly newspapers of the country are struggling to put out their papers and still earn a modest living. It is also very clear they have a very thin margin between income and costs and any increase in expenses can easily result in a serious dislocation. Every item of expense, then, is significant. No expense, however small it may be considered to be, will fail to have a telling, even a possibly disastrous, effect on their security and welfare.

And now, Mr. Chairman, may we return

And now, Mr. Chairman, may we return to the industrywide questionnaires to which we referred earlier. The information derived from it is completely documented and substantiated by facts. It is utterly devoid of conjecture or unwarranted assumption.

As had been said before, these questionnaires were sent to 5,057 smalltown weekly, semiweekly, and daily newspaper publishers. As of May 10 when this tabulation was made we had received 1,900 replies, or a rate of return of 38 percent which is without precedent in this association and many, many times higher than the normal rate of return.

These questionnaires asked, among other things, the amount, in dollars per week, the proposed increase would cost the publisher for mailing his newspaper under second class. In order to insure against error, we requested him to go to his post office and have the appropriate clerk figure what his rates would be, as compared to what he is now paying, if and when the new schedule went into effect.

When we determined the information sought in the first questionnaire would not be sufficient to measure the true extent of the dollar impact, we circulated a second questionnaire to the same list. On this one we sought to learn:

- Does the publisher addressed favor or not favor elimination of the free-in-county privilege?
- 2. How much of an increase will the proposed new rates make in the publisher's weekly postage bill for second class mail?
- 3. How much of the increase will be represented by elimination of free-in-county?

The 1,900 replies from both questionnaires were placed in the hands of a professional data processing concern in Washington and the results were put on IBM punchcards and the data tabulated. The results are available for the study of any member of this committee, or of the Congress, who may be interested. Primarily, however, we ask you to remember that these returns are not from a handpicked group of newspapers. They are from newspapers in 49 of the 50 States and in numbers amply large enough to qualify as a sample that is "unquestionably representative."

The first questionnaire brought returns from 601 newspapers—with no separation of weeklies from dailes. It showed that the average dollar increase per newspaper would be \$30.46 per week or \$1,583.92 a year. This amounted to an average increase of 350 percent.

The second questionnaire is based on replies from 1,299 newspapers of which 1,203 are weeklies and 96 are dailies. It showed that the average dollar increase per newspaper for second-class postage would be \$39.86 per week or \$2,072.72 a year. This amounted to an average increase of 244 percent. Somewhat higher you must agree than the "about 40 percent" estimated by the Post Office Department.

Incidentally, the information also revealed that the average dollar increase for hometown dailies would be \$68.45 a week or \$3,559.40 a year—up 145 percent. For weekly newspapers the average increase would be \$37.57 a week, or \$1,953.64 a year, or an increase of 252 percent.

The second questionnaire also produced some very interesting information about the free-in-county newspaper mailing privilege. It showed, for example, that 65 percent the increased costs for newspapers that would result from the new schedule, would be caused by elimination of free-in-county; the remaining 35 percent would result from the

proposed new per copy rates.

This survey also settled beyond a doubt the opinions of newspapers on the question of whether or not the free-in-county mailing privilege should be continued. For the benefit of the Post Office Department we can report this opinion as emphatically in the affirmative by the overwhelming margin of

81/2 to 1.

Of all newspapers queried, 86.6 percent favor retention of free-in-county and only 10.7 percent are willing to lose it. Of the weeklies, 87 percent are for retention, 10.2 percent are against it. Among dailes the Percentage is 81.3 percent favoring retention and 16.7 percent against.

Reference has already been made at this hearing to a poll indicated as having been taken by the National Editorial Association Which included a question designed to reflect an opinion on retention or abolition of the

free-in-county mailing privilege.

The use of the word "poll" to describe this activity, in an article in the National Publisher magazine for October 1958 was an unfortunate choice of words even though it was qualified by the adjective "informal." misunderstanding of our intentions could quite easily result, and apparently did, from this terminology.

We considered this more in the light of a restricted inquiry which went to a small percentage of members. It was really a limited sampling of opinion on various probable legislative trends to provide guidance in establishing a policy to be followed by the legislative committee, of which I was then

chairman.

Such sampling of opinion among key people is not uncommon prior to the opening of a session of the Congress. The results in this particular case turned out to be so inconclusive they were of no use whatsoever. I might explain that this same sampling also include questions designed to bring out information we thought might be of value to our committee. These, likewise, elicited a very unsatisfactory response.

So, as far as my personal knowledge is concerned, the National Editorial Association has not, at least within the last quarter of a century, been a party to an industrywide Poll of any significance on the free-in-county mailing privilege. Certainly none to compare in scope and response to the one just concluded, the results of which are made a part of this testimony We regret that a contrary impression may have been created.

You have also heard testimony, I am told, to the effect that a State press association Passed a resolution directed to the Congress requesting that the free-in-county mailing Privilege be abolished. The State in question was Wisconsin and this action was taken by the association's board of directors in Feb-

ruary 1958.

It should be emphasized that this resolution was a board action and not an association action, which is quite a different matter. This may account for the revealing replies from publishers in the State of Wisconsin in answer to the NEA questionnaire. Now, and we have the records to show it, 75 Percent of that State's newspapers are against giving up free-in-county mailing privilege.

Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, I would not wish you to infer, from the lengthy testimony that you have been considerate enough to listen to so far this morning, that the smalltown newspapers for whom I speak, disclaim interest in or willingness to use the material so gratuitously offered by Government at all levels. Millions and millions of dollars worth of free space is donated every week by our news-paper members of the National Editorial Association and those who are not members, for every conceivable type, variety, kind, and degree of public service. It is our devout wish that we be allowed to continue to do so.

But, we cannot help but wonder, as we contemplate this public service contribution which has been going on for as long as there have been newspapers, just how these mes-sages, this information, this educational material, this patriotic utilization of newspaper space, considered to be so critically important to our various levels of government, can so efficiently and effectively be delivered to their intended audiences if newspapers are forced to go out of business by oppressively high costs, from whatever source they may come, including higher postal rates.

In the foregoing, Mr. Chairman and gentlemen, we have tried to emphasize and explain the precarious and insecure economic condition the hometown press of America finds itself in today and the very damaging effects the exhorbitant postal rate increases will have on its future welfare as a whole.

Now may we take up some impressions in the McKinsey & Co. study which we honestly believe to be erroneous and entirely unwarranted by the facts. Let us examine two specific cases, those to be found on pages 2-21, 2-22, and 2-23 of the McKinsey & Co. study.

Here we find an example of what purports to be a typical weekly newspaper of "about 1,000 circulation." The report goes on to give the following breakdown of income and expenses:

Advertising revenue_____ \$15,000 Subscription revenue 2,940 Newstand revenue_____ Total revenue_____ 19,085 3,800 Printing costs_____ Part-time help_____ Total

Postage: First class_____ Second class_____ Total postage____. Owner's salary, charged to news-

Then, the report concluded, "As these figures show, the cost of postage-at either present or proposed levels-is not a major factor in the economics of this business.'

With this naive conclusion I would like to very vigorously dissent. May I, as a weekly newspaper publisher for more than 30 years, tell you that no operation of which I have knowledge keeps its records in such neat and limited categories. Almost all small-town publishers in all circulation brackets operate printing departments in connection with their newspaper. The result is a far more complicated and certainly a more comprehensive balance sheet than the abbreviated form we are asked to accept.

This example would almost lead to the accusation that this case is an entirely fictitious one especially since we are asked to believe that "part-time" help costs an even \$3,000, almost as much as an even \$3,800 for printing costs.

The examples given you from the 1959 cost study showed a publisher of a news-paper of about 1,000 circulation to have a total average income of—not \$19.935—but only \$14,417, a slight difference of \$5,218, or 26 percent.

Next, this mythical newspaper divides its subscription revenue and newsstand revenue into separate figures. This may be done in very rare cases but it certainly is neither common nor necessary. Income from selling newspapers, no matter how they are sold, all goes into one circulation revenue account, with no division for newsstands. newspaperboys or mail. This lumping of such income will be found to have been done by all newspapers reporting in the annual weekly newspaper cost study.

Also, the McKinsey report newspaper took in \$4,085 for circulation, or more than 20 percent of its total revenue, whereas the average weekly newspaper in the annual cost study reveals subscription revenue to account for only 10 percent of its total revenue. This \$4,085 income from subscriptions is also an interesting figure especially if we look at the \$1,145 of newsstand revenue which goes with it. If this proportion is correct it means that this mythical publisher receives a net return to himself of 11 cents per week per copy for the 200 copies he sells at newsstands or through carrier

This indicates the odd retail price of 14 cents per week per copy of an eight-page newspaper if, as the report states, the ven-

dor's margin is 3 cents per copy.

If there is a weekly newspaper in the United States that sells for this price or that receives this high percentage of gross income from this category of circulation, we believe it is an extremely execptional case.

We next direct your attention to that nice, round figure of \$3,800 for printing costs of producing 1,000 copies of an eight-page weekly newspaper, 52 weeks a year. means an average cost per week of an amaz-

ingly low \$73.

Even if you know nothing about printing, gentlemen, and I am sure many of you are quite familiar with it, you must certainly wonder what kind and size newspaper can be produced for this kind of money. I am sure every member of the National Editorial Association, even those who have wellequipped printing plants, would like very much to get this publisher's secret or, bet-ter still, acquire his services, at the same

This same balance sheet, or profit and loss as it should be called, blandly ignores such essential items as depreciation, utilities, taxes and rent, repairs and upkeep of machinery, costs of automobile, reserve for the inevitable bad debts and many other costs that have to be paid every week by every publisher if he expects to remain in business. These costs add up to at least 25.2 per-

cent among the newspapers in the 1,000 circulation class reporting to the annual cost study. All of which makes the McKinsey statement completely unbellevable, especially since, on top of everything else, the operator of such a small business can take for him-

self \$9,000 a year.

9.000

When it comes to postage costs the Mc-Kinsey study says their newspaper will be required to pay an extra \$230 a year if the proposed rate schedule is adopted. However. a study of the answers to the NEA survey reveals the average weekly newspaper, in all circulation brackets, will be called upon to pay \$37.57 more each week or a total of \$1 .-953.64 a year. We cannot see how the Mc-Kinsey paper can escape a similar increase. But, if he has a secret of such value, we hope he will share it with the rest of his fellow publishers who certainly can use it.

I will not bore you further with an itemized analysis of the second typical weekly newspaper example given on page 2-22 of the McKinsey report. It is subject to the same oversimplification and miscalculation that is true of the one just analyzed.

The most significant fact of this example is that it selects a mythical weekly newspaper of 2,200 circulation. According to National Editorial Association calculations for dues purposes, this is the exact size of the average weekly newspaper in this country. On the basis of our proven returns, which we can substantiate by actual figures, the average paper of this size will be called upon to pay \$1,953.64 a year and not the \$400 assumed by McKinsey and company.

We have no wish to be unfair or unjust in our analysis of these examples, apparently taken from the air, as compared to those for which we have documentation. However, we cannot escape the conclusion that, for \$137,000 of the taxpayers' money the Post-master General should have received more

accurate figures.

Lest there be any thought that I, as the person selected to present the foregoing testimony, am an alarmist or have overstated the case, I would like, with your permission, to make some verbatim quotes from voluntary letters received in the National Editorial Association office on this very grave matter.

Some of these statements may be from publishers in your own State, district, county, or town, but they are typical and selected at random from the many hundreds we

received.

Newspaper in Upper Marlboro, Md., the Enquirer-Gazette: "Needless to say, adoption of these increases, especially the removal of free-in-county privilege, would be disastrous to all and many small weeklies will be put out of business.

Newspaper in Cortland, Nebr., the News: "I am glad you are taking this matter up, because if this goes through hundreds of small town newspapers are going to quit business, being forced out by the Government."

Newspaper in Corydon, Ind., the Corydon Democrat: "In spite of the claims that there is something wrong about delivery of mail to rural subscribers free, there are still valid claims for it. As intended by the legislators who originally enacted the law, carrying news of county business, community affairs, political announcements and other local educational service is a logical and important governmental function.

"In this county, as in many others, the number of postal employees and carriers

would not be changed in any way if there were no local newspapers to handle." Newspaper in Ithaca, Mich., Gratiot Coun-ty Herald: "Most weeklies feel that they have gone about as far as they can in advancing subscription and advertising rates to cover increasing costs including increasing postage rates, and small weekly papers are the ones which will be hardest hit by the proposals. Unless it is the deliberate purpose of the Post Office Department and the proponents of this bill to place small papers of the Nation in jeopardy, we believe any plans for further advances in secondclass rates should be abandoned."

Newspaper in Terra Bella, Calif., the Terra Bella News: "This would increase my costs. to a point where I would seriously consider

going out of business."

Newspaper in West Branch, Iowa, the West Branch Times: "The proposed increase could easily put this newspaper out of business."

Newspaper in Welsh, La., the Welsh Citizen: "This would crucify many of we smaller papers whose profit margin would virtually vanish. Since our advertising and subscription rates are based on old mail rates this would be a foul blow."

Newspaper in Wahoo, Nebr., the Ludi Printing Co.: "Present mailing costs are \$880 annually. Under the proposed increase my

costs would amount to more than \$1,700 an-

Newspaper in Kansas: "Our newspaper is almost driven out of business now by high cost of labor and stock.'

Newspaper in Minnesota: "If we understand correctly, will have to pay 2 cents each on all local copies delivered by letter carriers in the suburbs. Most of ours run over 2 ounces 5,000 copies 2 cents equal \$100 per week. Now costs about \$8 per week including some 165 copies at zone rate. Adding \$92 to our costs would boost subscription price at least \$1.50 per year."

In closing, Mr. Chairman, we would like to emphasize again that the services which the weekly newspaper industry, through its individual newspapers, renders to its communities and its governments, local. State and national will I am sure continue just so long as there are newspapers in existence. There is no threat of reprisal, real or implied, in these comments. The stark and simple facts are, however, that declining income and the ever-narrowing margin between profit and loss that confronts all small town newspaper operations must force them to adopt new and more drastic economy measures to keep their businesses solvent and protect their own livelihood as well as the livelihood of those to whom they furnish gainful weekly employment.

We must protest as naive and entirely un-realistic, the assertion that, because we have been able thus far to absorb or pass on larger increases in costs of doing business, we can just as easily continue to do so by accepting with good grace this drastic increase in postal rate costs that is far higher than its proponents would have the country believe.

There is a limit to which our businesses, or any other business, can go in absorbing higher costs, and still remain in business. Many of our papers have long since reached the point of no return, so to speak, in high subscription rates and high advertising rates. Additional charges just cannot be made for the pure and simple reason that neither readers nor advertisers will pay them.

And so, Mr. Chairman, and members of the committee, while we recognize and deeply appreciate the problems of finance with which the Postmaster General is confronted and while we respect his earnestness in trying to resolve them, we, as small-town newspaper publishers, have no wish nor do we have the financial resources to help to the disproportionate extent that this rate schedule would insist that we do.

We are flattered at the many insinuations that our small business enterprises are as profitable as has been inferred in the verbal evidence and in the McKinsey study placed before you. But we must insist, gentlemen, that adoption of this schedule will work a very serious hardship on us and on the people of the United States.

At no time in the history of this great country of ours has there been a greater need for a free and unfettered press. We ask, gentlemen, that it be permitted to continue to serve the people and the country-and that this very damaging legislation be not approved by this committee.

Students, You're Suckers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. FRANK T. BOW

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, April 28, 1960

Mr. BOW. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include an excellent editorial from the Enquirer of Cincinnati, Ohio, May 20, 1960:

STUDENTS, YOU'RE SUCKERS

The idealism and energies of youth are wondrous to behold.

But it makes a saddening picture when these qualities are recruited to serve the ugly intentions of men who despise the idealism they are prostituting.

We wonder how many students in the crowd pictured at San Francisco, after a battle with police outside the hearings of the House Un-American Activities Committee, realized they were being used by the Communists.

Perhaps none-and more's the pity.

They were holding aloft a placard read-g: "Witch Hunters Go Home."

Inside the city hall, a procession of witnesses were following the familiar fifth amendment response to questions concerning subversive activities.

The House Un-American Activities Committee does not question people aimlessly. It isn't hunting for witches. It is trying to shore up the defense of the Nation against a deadly fifth column.

In the ordinary course, the committee fol-lows a well-established trail of subversive or espionage activity. The witnesses sub-pensed have been found, through painstaking check by the Federal Bureau of Investigation, either to be participating in a subversive activity or else to have knowledge of

The typical witness who resorts to the fifth amendment does so for a very practical, rather than idealistic, reason. He knows certain evidence exists. He knows if he denies it under oath, and the facts show he

lied, he is subject to prosecution for perjury.

Alger Hiss, the extent of whose harm to
the Nation was immense, could not be convicted for wartime spying because he was not unmasked in time. But he was dealt with on the perjury count, and served a prison term in consequence. Later, party instructions went out to "take the fifth amendment" and answer no questions.

The gullible boys and girls of the San Francisco Bay area aren't likely to be proud. in time to come, of their role in calling members of the House committee "witch hunters." The sabotage of this commithunters." The sabotage of this commit-tee—which consists of men of unassailable character-has been one of the prime objectives of the Communist Party in the United States for several years. Professional Communists have followed the committee throughout this country, to Latin America and elsewhere, reviling the members and obstructing wherever possible the legitimate work of the committee.

When the "pros" do it, they know what they are doing. When students are tricked into the act, it compounds a tragedy.

These young people should know that they

are serving a cause which believes in using tanks and the hangman's noose on such as

Baring Criticizes Report of Secretary of Commerce

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. WALTER S. BARING

OF NEVADA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Friday, May 27, 1960

Mr. BARING. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, upon receipt of a copy of a report from the Department of Commerce on my bill H.R. 9802, before the House Public Works Committee, to prohibit the Secretary of Commerce from approving plans, specifications, and estimates for a specified portion of a route on the Interstate System in Nevada, and to prohibit further obligation or expenditure of Federal funds in connection with such route, I addressed a letter to the chairman of the special committee investigating the Federal aid interstate highway program, and another letter to the chairman of the full House Public Works Committee, explaining the many errors in the report submitted by the Secretary of Commerce. The full content of both letters follows:

MAY 18, 1930.

Hon, Charles A. Buckley, Chairman, Committee on Public Works, U.S. House of Representatives, Washington, D.C.

DEAR COLLEAGUE: I am attaching a copy of a letter I have addressed to Congressman JOHN A. BLATNIK, who is not only chairman of the subcommittee investigating the interstate highway program but who also chairmanned the subcommittee of the House Committee on Government Operations, which subcommittee investigated the Reno

situation. As I told Mr. BLATNIK, I am really tired of being dictated to by the executive branch of the Government. No bill receives a favorable departmental report unless it reflects the policies of the present administration, and even a bill such as H.R. 9802, which would simply freeze further funding of a section of interstate highway which represents overpayment of millions of dollars based on falsification of scientific data, is Violently opposed by the Department.

I firmly believe that a general review of the development of and the use of cost-benent ratio should be scheduled before your subcommittee, because, I would say without hesitation, the abuse of cost-benefit ratio is responsible for more planned waste in the interstate program than the lack of ade-quate Federal controls, or in fact any other area of inquiry that might be scheduled by your subcommittee.

Again, I officially request the opportunity to appear before the John Blatnik subcommittee to testify on this subject.

Sincerely,

WALTER S. BARING. Congressman for Nevada.

MAY 18, 1960.

Hon. John A. BLATNIK, Chairman, Special Subcommittee, Public Works Committee,

U.S. House of Representatives, Washington, D.C.

DEAR COLLEAGUE: I have carefully read the eport of the Secretary of Commerce on my bill H.R. 9802 "to prohibit the Secretary of Commerce from approving plans, specifications, and estimates for a specified portion of a route on the Interstate System in Nevada, and to prohibit further obligation or ex-Penditure of Federal funds in connection with such route."

This report is nothing but a lot of gobbledygook. First of all, I should like to make reference to House Report 202 of the 86th Congress, 1st session, which is a report based on hearings before your sub-Committee under the House Committee on Government Operations during the early months of 1959 in Reno. Now, let us take accernal of the points covered in your report:

The Secretary of Commerce in his letter of May 12 stated that "the action of the State and of the Bureau of Public Roads was supported in a report by the Committee on Government Operations of April 23, 1959,

and based upon a hearing held by that committee in Reno in February, 1959. The committee also found that there had been no illegal procedures followed by either the State highway department or the Bureau of Public Roads in the selection and approval of the route."

On page 15 of your report, in discussing "notice of public hearings" you comment that "the above notice could hardly be described as being 'chuck full of information.'
The designation 'IN-001-1(12)' may have some significance to the State highway department, but very little to the public the newspaper notice in itself would appear to be insufficient." For legal purposes an insertion in a newspaper is sufficient public notice. I doubt seriously whether distribution to a subscription list, as was done by the chamber of commerce would satisfy the legal concept of "public notice."

2. On page 17, of your report, in discussing "Line J-Verdi: Coercion and Pressure," you commented "The statements contained in the telegrams addressed to the Washoe County Board of Commissioners from officials of the Bureau of Public Roads were obviously designed to influence action that accorded with earlier State and Bureau of Public Roads approval of line J. Certainly a local body faced with a telegram that line J is the 'only location acceptable for the expenditure of interstate funds' has little room for deliberation." You attached no sinister motives to the action of the Bureau in the above regard. I do not believe that the Bureau's motivations had anything to do with the matter. Influence is influence, coercion and pressure remain unchanged by motiva-tion, and the fact remains that the Bureau of Public Roads did coerce or influence, as you may wish to label it, the board of county commissioners in their approval of line J-Verdi. This is clearly contrary to the spirit of the Federal Aid Highway Act of 1956-58.

3. The Federal Aid Highway Act of 1956-58 requires that the economic impact be considered in route selections. On page 14 of your report, under the caption "Economic you commented that "Except for Effects." some testimony on tax revenue loss to Reno, as the result of approval of the Third Street route, the record contains little discussion of the economic effects with respect to the Sparks area presented by witnesses supporting the routing in that area; but testimony of local and State officials is silent on this point." Now, the Secretary of Commerce states that "The committee [Committee on Government Operations] also found that there had been no illegal procedures followed by either the State highway department or the Bureau of Public Roads in the selection and approval of the route." My bill, H.R. 9802, covers both line J-Verdi and Third Street, Reno. I maintain that the Secretary's report is not based on fact and, therefore, has absolutely no value. ther, I have had computed the cost-benefit ratios based on accepted mathematical formula and the figures presented to your committee by the Bureau of Public Roads and shown on page 10 of House Report 292 and found that the cost-benefit ratio of 4.6, line O, as tabled, is grossly exaggerated and I have charged that the Bureau of Public Roads falsified scientific and engineering data in their testimony before your com-mittee. This charge remains unrefuted and has for the past several months. Yet in you note that in matters requiring technical knowledge great reliance is placed on expert opinion and that "the failure of the North Rim proponents to present expert opinion to support their position in this very technical matter militates against according greater weight to this position.

4. Again on page 17 of House Report 292, "line J—Verdi: Coercion and pressure," you

say "the record is not clear as to why the State approved line J in advance of the public hearings nor why the Bureau of Public Roads had acquiesced (on February 21, 1957) in State approval in advance of these hearings." I am at an absolute loss to know why in your judgment this was not immediately recognized as a violation of law. Under Section 116.1: Declarations of Policy With Respect to Federal Aid Highway Program, subparagraph (c) Public Hearings, it is clearly stated that "any State highway department which submits plans for a Federal aid highway project involving the bypassing of, or going through, any city, town or village, either incorporated or unincorporated, shall certify to the Commissioner of Public Roads that it has had public hearings, or has afforded the opportunity for such hearings, and has considered the economic effects of such a location." This requires no further comment or clarification, the law is clearly stated and the facts are clearly in violation and again the Secretary of Commerce, based on House Report 292, said that "the committee also found that there had been no irregular procedures followed by either the State highway department or the Bureau of Public Roads in the selection and approval of the route." This statement was again lifted from the committee report.

I maintain that our leading engineers and other so-called experts are charged with a very grave responsibility, and falsification of technical data is a violation of the highest order. The selection of the Third Street route was accomplished largely through the submission of technical data, while the failure of the North Rim proponents to present expert opinion to support their position in this very technical matter militated against according greater weight to that position. Distorted and falsified expert opinion is far more damaging than no expert opinion at all. We must raise the moral fiber of our country, both at public and private levels, and I sincerely trust that, in your further investigations of the interstate highway scandals you will look beyond the word of so-called experts and no longer accept their word in blind faith. I shall, of course, continue to oppose any further planning or construction of that section of interstate highway described in my bill, H.R. 9802, with all the strength that I possess.

I am tired of having Congress run by reports from bureaus within the executive branch of the Government. Congress enacts laws and in the final analysis it is the people who pay the bills and if we in Congress are to consider the views of the executive departments, it is their responsibility to report to us truthfully and accurately which. in the instant case, the Secretary of Com-merce has failed to do. Since cost-benefit ratios are given so much credence in the selection of specific routing I urge that your

subject.

Sincerely,

WALTER S. BARING, Congressman for Nevada.

P.S.—Please consider this as an official request to appear before your committee on cost-benefit abuses.

committee make a thorough study of the

Bomarc B Scores New Successes

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. THOMAS M. PELLY

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, May 18, 1960

Mr. PELLY. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, I include for printing in the RECORD a dispatch which has just reached me of another Bomarc B successful firing. Obviously, technical difficulties which were encountered in earlier tests have been eliminated:

Two USAF IM-99A Bomarc air defense missiles successfully defended the country against a simulated sneak attack on the U.S. mainland this morning when they scored explosive detonation intercepts on a supersonic missile target and a remote-controlled jet fighter target.

Radar picked up the subsonic target approaching the United States at 30,000 feet. The first missile was fired via the SAGE system. The second, and even greater threat, was a supersonic missile spotted by radar at 19,000 feet. The second Bomarc was sent to destroy this new target. Within minutes, the two Bomarcs intercepted the two targets. Proximity fuses triggered warheads as they passed within several feet of their targets. Had the Bomarc missiles been equipped with atomic warheads both targets would have been destroyed.

Dr. Eric A. Walker, President, Pennsylvania State University, Lauds National Defense Education Act as a Highly Successful Program of Educational Benefits and Urges Continued Support by Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JAMES E. VAN ZANDT

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, May 27, 1960

Mr. VAN ZANDT. Mr. Speaker, the success of the National Defense Education Act of 1958 is being acclaimed throughout the Nation by educators and students who have been the beneficiaries of a law that was enacted for the purpose of strengthening the national defense and encouraging and assisting in the expansion and improvement of educational programs to meet critical national needs. Among the enthusiastic supporters of the National Defense Education Act in the field of education is Dr. Eric A. Walker, president of the Pennsylvania State University located in my congressional district.

The law enacted by the 85th Congress is known as Public Law 85-864 and is a comprehensive program whose features include loans to students in colleges and universities, financial assistance for strengthening science, mathematics, and modern foreign language instruction. The law also provides for national defense fellowships, guidance, counseling and testing, and identification and encouragement of able students. Research and experimentation together with area vocational education programs and science information service are among other features of the National Defense Education Act.

According to Dr. Walker the students at Pennsylvania State University have benefited tremendously during the 1959-60 academic year. He reports that lively interest was shown in graduate fellowships and the guidance-counselor institute, as evidenced by the number of inquiries and applications received by the Pennsylvania State University.

In a letter to me dated May 17, 1960, President Walker stresses "the most spectacular results were the loan programs," and he proceeds to give an interesting berakdown of the number of requests and the number of loans granted to men and women.

Dr. Walker, who is recognized as being among the Nation's leading educators, concludes that the National Defense Education Act is highly successful and has benefited hundreds of students. At the same time he points out that many students could not be helped because of the limitation of funds available to be loaned.

Dr. Walker's interesting and informative letter follows:

PENNSYLVANIA STATE UNIVERSITY. University Park, Pa., May 17, 1960. The Honorable James E. Van Zandt, House Office Building, Washington, D.C.

DEAR JIMMIE: Some time ago I wrote you a letter suggesting certain modifications in the National Defense Education Act. Now that we have nearly 2 years of experience administering certain provisions of the act, we want to tell you that it has been a successful program and we strongly urge your continued support.

The students at the Pennsylvania State University have benefited tremendously during the 1959-60 academic year by the provisions of the act.

1. During the 1959 summer session, 40 teachers participated in a guidance-counselor institute. This number was selected from 226 applications received from 22 States. In addition, there were 472 other inquiries from 35 States. The amount allocated for this institute was \$35,696.

2. Nine national defense graduate fellowships, four in philosophy and five in political science, were awarded during this school year. These fellows were selected from among 35 actual applicants and there were many more inquiries. Each fellow received a stipend of \$2,000 plus tuition and certain dependency allowances

3. We requested 20 fellowships for a general program in the preparation of college teachers but were not awarded the program. During the time of negotiations, more than

50 applications were received.

4. The university was awarded five separate research projects with a total allocation of \$420,400. These projects relate to the effectiveness of teaching and involve varying numbers of faculty members and graduate students.

5. The most spectacular results were the loan programs:

Men: 962 men requested loans totaling \$611,716. The average loan request was for \$635.87.

Loans were approved for 573 students and the total amount loaned was \$214,180. The average loan was \$373.78; and the range was from \$100 to \$1,000.

Women: 365 women applied for loans in the amount of \$117,763. The average loan request was for \$322.63.

Loans were approved for 329 women to the extent of \$69,035. The average loan was \$209.33, ranging from \$50 to \$1,000.

Thus, it is clear that hundreds of students have benefited directly and materially from the NDEA. In addition, many students could not be helped because of the limitation of the funds available to be loaned. Should you have any questions concerning our experience with the act, we shall be glad in-

deed to hear from you. We appreciate your support for this splendid piece of legislation. Sincerely yours,

ERIC A. WALKER, President.

When Will the Editors and Publishers of This Country See Through the State Department's Flimsy Excuses for Not Arranging a Newsmen Exchange With China?

> EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. CHARLES O. PORTER

OF OREGON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Friday, May 27, 1960

Mr. PORTER. Mr. Speaker, if the Department of State wanted to arrange it, a newsmen exchange with China could be a reality in a very few days. However, the administration insists that the Chinese journalists should file individual applications but the administration refuses to agree to exchange a certain number of newsmen with China.

I wonder how long the editors and publishers in the United States will allow the administration to get away with their protestations that the fault is with the Chinese Government, not with itself? Not much longer, I sincerely hope, because now more than ever we need to increase our communication with China.

We need China in any disarmament agreement. With increased communication it may be that we stand a better chance of averting war with China.

Of course, it is clear why the administration does not want to have a newsmen exchange, despite their statements to the contrary. The administration knows that the present China policy of "containment by isolation" could not survive very long after our top journalists began sending back their own dispatches from China about conditions there.

Under unanimous consent I am including hereafter a copy of my letter of May 4 to the Secretary of State, a copy of a news story in the New York Times for May 3, 1960, Assistant Secretary Macomber's reply of May 19, and my letter of May 24 to the Secretary:

> HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, Washington, D.C., May 4, 1960.

Hon. CHRISTIAN A. HERTER,

Secretary of State, Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. SECRETARY: I enclose a copy of a New York Times story (p. 2), May 3, 1960, about the status of the proposed United States of America-China newsmen exchange I assume that the account is accurate and that the source is the Department of State.

As I have stated to you previously, it seems clear that if the administration really wanted a newsmen exchange with China, it could be arranged. I agree that the Chinese could if they were eager for this exchange, arrange for their newsmen to file individual applications.

It is true, of course, that the Chinese could file individual applications. It is also true that we could sign an agreement with China for such an exchange on given number basis-If it is legal, as I believe it is, for the

Department of State to agree to give favorable consideration to an individual request for a visa, then it would seem legal to make an agreement to do this for any reasonable number.

If it is not legal, and if in fact we do want an exchange of newsmen with China, then the Department of State should request the Congress to revise the law appropriately.

The proposed concession would cost us nothing. It might gain us an opportunity to have an exchange of newsmen, a valuable first step toward decreasing the chances of war and increasing the prospects for peace.

If the Chinese should refuse to make such an agreement, the proof of their unwillingness could be communicated tellingly to all the world.

Our officials say that we want the newsmen exchange with China. Our clinging to a frail technicality seems to contradict those words and to demonstrate an unwillingness on our part to make the exchange a reality.

Therefore, I urge that you consider carefully making an agreement along the lines requested by Premier Chou and at last bringing about an exchange of newsmen between the United States and China.

Sincerely,

CHARLES O. PORTER, Members of Congress.

[From the New York Times, May 3, 1960] U.S. BELIEVES CHOU HAS KILLED HOPES FOR NEWSMEN EXCHANGES

Washington, May 2.—Premier Chou En-lai is regarded here as having killed any linger-ing hopes that U.S. newsmen might soon admitted to Communist China.

Officials say the Premier made it unmistakably clear in Nepal Thursday night that Peiping wanted to use the issue of the newsmen to force the United States into de facto recognition of the Communist regime. They said the way had been open for a long time for Chinese and U.S. reporters to re-Port from each other's countries, if that was all Peiping was interested in.

At Katmandu, Nepal, Premier Chou was asked whether U.S. correspondents would be permitted to visit Communist China.

According to a broadcast from Peiping, Mr. Chou answered, "The two Governments must sign an agreement on the mutual ex-change of news correspondents" before any exchange of reporters could take place,

EQUAL NUMBERS ASKED

For some time the United States has been discussing the matter with the Chinece in Each time the subject is raised, Peiping demands a U.S. pledge that an equal number of reporters from the two countries will be admitted.

The United States has replied that its immigration laws prohibit a blanket promise that any given number of visa applications would be approved without reference to the individuals concerned. The United States has said repeatedly, however, that it would give favorable consideration to any application from the consideration of the consideration from t tion from bona fide Chinese newsmen.

NO OTHER PACT KNOWN

Washington concludes that Pelping is not interested in news coverage but only in using the issue to press for a formal agreement with the United States. Peiping has no such agreement with any other country, as far as is known here.

Also at Katmandu, a reporter asked if he could visit Tibet. Mr. Chou inquired if he was Nepalese. The reporter said he was Indian

"Oh, that is another matter," Mr. Chou replied. "You will have to wait for some

The Premier then said that Prime Minister Jawaharol Nehru of India had just

described China as "an aggressor" and that the Chinese were "very much distressed" by that attitude.

> DEPARTMENT OF STATE, Washington, May 19, 1960.

Hon. CHARLES O. PORTER,

House of Representatives.

Dear Mr. Poeter: I have your letter to the Secretary of State of May 4, 1960, in which you raise the matter of a possible U.S. agreement with Communist China to permit a reciprocal exchange of newsmen.

In reply to your question concerning the accuracy of the May 3 New York Times item outlining the Department of State's posi-tion on this matter, I refer you to the De-partment's Press Release No. 203 of April 20, 1960, a copy of which I am enclosing for your information. It was stated therein that:

"It should be noted that the United States has never had such an agreement [for a reciprocal exchange of newsmen] with any other country. Nor has the Pelping regime apparently found it necessary to conclude such an agreement, even with those countries where it has no diplomatic relations and where journalists of its official New China News Agency operate, i.e. France and Cuba. It is obvious that Peiping is seeking to use the issue of news representatives in an effort to force the United States into a formal agreement to improve the prestige of the Chinese Communist regime."

Chou En-lai's words in Katmandu make it clear beyond any shadow of doubt that the Chinese Communists are, in fact, attempting to exploit the exchange of newsmen issue for political purposes. It is equally clear from Chou En-lai's words that the Chinese Communists are not interested in helping to bring about a relaxation of tension between the United States and the Pelping regime by means of an exchange of this nature. pointed out in both the New York Times item and the Department's press release, if the Chinese Communists were sincerely interested in mutual news coverage, they long since could have taken advantage of the provisions which already exist under U.S. law to arrange for entry of their newsmen to the United States. The Department's views concerning its obligations under the law are as

quoted in the press release.

The United States is, of course, anxious to take every feasible and practicable step toward bringing about a decrease in the chances of war and an increase in the prospects for peace. With respect to your suggestion that an exchange of newsmen might be such a step, you might be interested in knowing that the Chinese Communists have recently forcefully reiterated their absolute rejection of peaceful coexistence between themselves and what they term the im-perialists (their expression for the United States and its allies) as a matter of basic Communist doctrine. In an article published in the Chinese Communist Party Central Committee journal Red Flag on April 15, 1980, the leaders of the Peiping regime wrote that as dedicated Marxist-Leninists they believe in the absolute correctness of Lenin's teachings, and hence maintain that as long as imperialism exists, war is inevitable between it and the socialist countries. (In this latter category they include only themselves, the Soviet Union, and the other countries of the Communist bloc.) Accordingly, Peiping's leaders called for a protracted struggle against the United States and Its allies which would be "bloody and bloodless, violent and peaceful, military and economic, educational, and administrative," and in which an outright war between imperialism and socialism should be regarded as just.

With respect to the Chinese Communist position (now stated categorically by Chou

En-lai) that the United States must sign an agreement on the mutual exchange of newsmen before such an exchange can take place, the Department of State considers this unreasonable because, as mentioned above, such an agreement is not necessary and the United States does not have agreements with other countries on the exchange of newsmen. So far as we can determine, neither does Communist China. If a country with which the United States had friendly relations were to advance some reason why a special agreement on newsmen were necessary, we would of course give such a request sympathetic consideration. However, in this case we have consideration. However, in this case we have a regime which is avowedly our enemy de-manding without real justification that we depart from our usual practice and make a special exception in its favor. At the same time this regime rejects out of hand our contention that an equitable basis for admission of newsmen exists within our legal framework without a special agreement. We are forced to conclude that the Chinese Communists are not interested in the issue of newsmen except as a political weapon and that were such an agreement to be signed. there would still be no assurance that our newsmen would be admitted to Communist China. Having erected one artificial barrier, the Chinese Communists could easily find other pretexts to keep our newsmen out. I think that the above considerations,

which argue strongly against our submitting to the Chinese Communist demand for a signed agreement on newsmen, argue even more strongly against requesting special legislation designed to make possible the signing of such an agreement.

I trust that the foregoing information will be of use to you. Please inform me if I can be of any further assistance in this matter.

Sincerely yours, WILLIAM B. MACOMBER, JR., Assistant Secretary.

MAY 24, 1960.

Hon. CHRISTIAN A. HERTER, Secretary of State, Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. SECRETARY: Thank you for Mr. Macomber's letter in your behalf dated May 19, 1960.

It is plain from this letter that there is no legal reason why an agreement cannot be made with the Chinese for a newsmen exchange. I repeat my recommendation that we make this agreement and either bring about this exchange or, if the Chinese on some pretense balk, demonstrate dramati-cally the bad faith of the Chinese Communist government.

No one denies that the Chinese Communists are guilty of many unreasonable acts and issue many unreasonable statements.

Mr. Macomber's objection to making such an agreement is that it is "unreasonable" because no such agreements have previously been made by the United States, and China has not asked for such an agreement from other nations. What difference does another "unreasonable" position make?

If we believe that a newsmen exchange is in our best interests, and I do—and our Government says it does—then I say we should make a "special concession" and depart from our usual practice.

If the Chinese erect another artificial barrier, as they may well do, let us deal with it in due course. I repeat, if our Government wants a newsmen exchange with China, we ought to agree to the Chinese terms asking for an agreement. I hope the matter will be reconsidered.

Very truly yours,

CHARLES O. PORTER, Member of Congress.

Consumers Pay for Brainwash Job by Private Utilities

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. LESTER R. JOHNSON

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 16, 1960

Mr. JOHNSON of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, it has long been my contention that electric consumers should not have to pay to be brainwashed by the utility industry. During the 85th Congress, I introduced two bills which provided that the cost of the private power companies' propaganda advertising campaign could not be passed on to their consumers and could not be deducted from taxes as an operating expense. Unfortunately, Congress did not act on these measures, and the consumer continues to foot the bill for his own brainwashing.

An editorial in the May 23, 1960, issue of the Capital Times, Madison, Wis., calls for an investigation of the activities of the power lobby. Under leave to extend my remarks, I would like to include this editorial in the Record:

TIME FOR A THOROUGH PROBE OF UTILITY LOBBY ACTIVITIES

The revelations about relations between members of the Federal Power Commission and natural gas agents raise the question of whether it is not time again for another thorough investigation into the activities of utility interests.

utility interests.

Public Power, the publication of the American Public Power Association, has a lead article in its most recent issue calling for such a probe on the grounds that the "brainwashing" activities of the power lobby far exceeds anything done in the scandals that shocked the Nation a quarter of a

century ago.

Twenty-five years ago the Federal Trade Commission investigated utility activities and came up with some shocking findings about the use of money to influence politics and public opinion. Crude bribery of public officials was shown, as well as the use of money to pipe propaganda into schools and churches.

In recent years the utility industry has been conducting a massive propaganda campaign to equate public ownership of utilities with "socialism." This strategy was devised for the electric companies advertising program (ECAP) by the big advertising agency, N. W. Ayer & Son, Inc.

A public opinion poll showed that the public favored specific public projects such as TVA and REA, but opposed socialism. So the fight began against socialism.

No one knows how many millions have been spent on this campaign to discredit public power projects by equating them with socialism. The advertising agency has estimated that \$100 million has been spent in newspaper advertising alone. Millions more have gone into national media, such as magazines. The FPC has said that 26 ECAP ads in the Saturday Evening Post cost \$1,996,000.

It is known, however, that this cost has been passed on to the consumer in the rates he pays. These costs are included as part of the cost of operation and are deducted from taxes.

Not satisfied with the millions they were spending on ECAP, the utilities formed a second propaganda organization called the public information program (PIP). The public relations firm of Bozell and Jacobs was retained to handle the propaganda.

The public pays the cost of this program, as well. As Senator Kepauvez has put it, the consumers have been paying for their own brainwashing.

Congress, which always seems so eager to investigate anything that will produce a crop of headlines, could serve a good purpose by looking into this situation. But it won't,

More Support for a 5-Year Census

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. STEWART L. UDALL

OF ARIZONA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 9, 1960

Mr. UDALL. Mr. Speaker, the intense eagerness with which Americans are awaiting the results of this year's decennial census to learn the population of their communities and States is an indication of how vital these data are to the business community, school planners, and governmental units.

But in many of our States—those which are growing most rapidly—this year's figures will be outdated almost before the final figures attain general publication

in atlases and encyclopedias.

For that reason, my bill (H.R. 1976) to conduct a population census every 5 years is attracting increasing attention and support. As evidence of this, I am inserting at this point, under leave previously granted, editorials from a Phoenix, Ariz., television station, KOOL-TV, and from the Arizona Daily Sun, whose publisher, Platt Cline, is a newspaperman who has witnessed at first hand Arizona's phenomenal growth over the past 15 years.

The editorials follow:

There's a plan under consideration in the U.S. House of Representatives that seems to have considerable merit, especially to citizens in the fast-growing State of Arizona. This bill would empower the Federal Government to take a limited census every 5 years, instead of the current decennial census.

Arizona's congressional Representative from the second district, Stewart L. Udall, has introduced such a bill, but expects no action on it this year. However, it has been sent to a House subcommittee and hearings will be held later this year on the proposal. There is plenty of time to consider the proposal carefully since the first 5-year census under the new bill would not take place until 1965.

But, it seems like a good idea to start thinking about the matter now so it can be pushed when Congressman UDALL introduces it again next year following the hearings. The story of growth revealed by census statistics is interesting, but—more than that—the story is extremely useful to business, industry, and Government at most levels.

In Arizona, for example, the distribution

In Arizona, for example, the distribution of State shared tax revenue depends on the latest census figures. But, the continuing important and rapid shifts of population throughout the Nation, particularly in Arizona, may make these 1960 totals outdated long before 1970 rolls around. In fact, 15 Arizona communities have had special censuses since 1950 in order to get more up to date totals.

Though increasing their share of the State sales tax may have been the primary reason,

a more realistic total was sought for other reasons, among them the need for a larger work force in order to attract industry. Businessmen and manufacturers are shifting locations and establishing new plants almost as rapidly as individuals are changing their places of residence.

Imagine the distorted picture a manufacturer would get if he had only the 1950 census to go by: Yuma, 9,145; Winslow, 6,518; Flagstaff, 6,771; Prescott, 6,764; Tucson, 45,454, and Phoenix, 106,818—to name just a few. The Director of the Census has stated that a 5-year census would be very valuable and said it would cost less than half of the \$118 million appropriated for this year's census. Many Arizona cities: Tempe, Coolidge, Tucson, Sierra Vista—plus other cities have offered support for this plan along with numerous municipal leagues and other organizations.

A resolution adopted by the American Municipal Association says in part: "Because of the continuing high rate of population increase and the highly mobile nature of our population, we recommend to the Congress that they institute a quintennial full census of the population."

What do you think?

[From the Arizona Daily Sun, Apr. 4, 1960]
LIMITED 5-YEAR CENSUS

Congressman Stewart Upall, Democrat, of Arizona, has introduced legislation providing for a limited census each 5 years.

If this measure became law, it would be of vast benefit to Arizona and other fast-growing States in the Southwest and West.

ing States in the Southwest and West.

The totals resulting from this year's census may be as out of date in 2 or 3 or 5 years as the 1950 figures become in the early fifties.

As UDALL pointed out, imagine the distorted picture a manufacturer would get if he had only the 1950 centus to go'by: Flagstaff, 6,770; Winslow, 6,581; Prescott, 6,764; Tucson, 45,454; and Phoenix, 106,818.

This year the towns and cities listed above will show immense gains over the 1950 figures. And there is no reason to believe that they will not continue to grow at their present rate, at least for a time.

It would seem that the census bureau would have some scientific system of sampling population on a limited basis that would provide really accurate figures for the totals.

At any rate, UDALL's proposal is of great importance to Arizona, and it is gratifying to learn that there is strong support in Congress for the measure.

Let's Pinpoint the Need in Medical Care

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. HOWARD W. ROBISON

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, May 26, 1960

Mr. ROBISON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the REC-ORD, I include the following editorial from the Binghamton (N.Y.) Press, May 11, 1960:

POLITICIANS SEEK VOTES, NOT SOLUTION

The issue of medical care for the aged passes from preliminary skirmishing to the main battle which will be waged more to the end of buying votes than to solving a serious social problem.

A phase of the battle will be joined when the American Medical Association plays host on Friday to social welfare specialists of labormanagement, government, and various health

insurance groups in Chicago.

The AMA stands adamantly opposed to the Porand bill, and well to the right of the administration's voluntary Medicare proposals. Its own program has as principal features expansion of voluntary health in-surance and prepayment plans, such as Blue Cross, and liberalization of existing old-age assistance programs.

The Forand bill would extend the social security system to provide medical care for persons over 65. The program would be financed by raising the social security payroll tax by 14 of 1 percent each for employers and employes.

The Eisenhower plan calls for Federal and State subsidies of insurance systems to be established by the States. The estimated cost of \$1,200 million a year would be shared equally by the Federal Government and the States.

In an election year the emotion-charged issue is certain to get progressively hotter. The problem of providing medical care for those over 65 is yet to be clearly defined. Instead of such definitions, the issue is becoming a political football, with the possibility that legislative action to be taken will have greater focus on gaining votes than on solving the problem in its true dimensions.

The problem could be solved by pinpointing the need and meeting that need, without founding a huge new bureaucracy which in natural course would evolve socialized medicine. A

At the moment the prospects are that the Democratic majority, not seeking a solution but a campaign issue, will pass a Forand-type bill, which the President will veto. Then in the campaign will come great hue and cry over the failure to meet a need, Which the politicians themselves never recognized as more than an issue for political exploitation.

Postmaster General Summerfield Defends Request for Equitable Postal Rates

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. EDWARD H. REES

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Friday, May 27, 1960

Mr. REES of Kansas. Mr. Speaker, on May 25 there appeared an advertisement in the Washington Post and other newspapers that criticized the Postmaster General with respect to his proposal for increased postage rates. I addressed a letter to General Summerfield asking for an explanation if he cared to make one. I am including a copy of my letter to the Postmaster General, together with his statement in reply thereto:

MAY 26, 1960.

Hon. ARTHUR E. SUMMERFIELD, The Postmaster General, Post Office Department, Washington, D.C.

DEAR GENERAL SUMMERFIELD: The Business Mail Foundation, 130 East 59th Street, New York, N.Y., has inserted a full page ad on page D-5 of the Washington Post for Wednesday, M. C. and March Dogs. day, May 25, 1960, entitled, "How Much Does Your Mail Mean to You?"

It seems to me that several of the statements contained in this full page advertisement are conflicting with some of the testimony that has been presented to our Committee during the current hearings on the proposed postal rate increases.

I would appreciate receiving your comments on the contents of this advertisement. With kind person regards, I remain

Sincerely yours.

EDWARD H REFE

STATEMENT BY POSTMASTER GENERAL ARTHUR E. SUMMERFIELD IN RESPONSE TO AN IN-QUIRY FROM CONGRESSMAN EDWARD REES OF KANSAS, RANKING MINORITY MEMBER OF THE HOUSE POST OFFICE AND CIVIL SERVICE COMMITTEE

A selfish interest group which is enjoying a huge, hidden postal subsidy at the expense of all American taxpayers has today begun a campaign to perpetuate that subsidy by attacking without conscience the U.S. Post Office Department, and thus the U.S. Government.

The attack is made in full page advertisements by a group of members of the direct mail industry, whose enjoyment of postal rate subsidies has totaled hundreds of millions of dollars during recent years.

This advertisement is an insult to the intelligence of the Ameriacn people and the Members of Congress. It is filled with misstatements of fact, false innuendoes, and

muddled doubletalk.

It piously masquerades as a statement in the public interest, never once making reference to the special purpose of its sponsors, which is to persuade public taxpayers to continue paying a large part of the sponsors' own postal costs.

It does not state, for example, that 75 percent or more of all the mail handled by the Post Office Department is business mail. does it state that the great bulk of the responsible business community of the Na-tion has expressed its support of the postal rate increase sought by the Post Office De-

partment.

The Eisenhower administration and the Post Office Department will continue to fight for equitable postage rates on all classes of mail which will place the Department on a more nearly self-supporting basis, by elim-inating these unconscionable subsidies and providing fairer treatment to the American taxpavers.

Port of Baltimore

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. DANIEL B. BREWSTER

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, May 24, 1960

Mr. BREWSTER. Mr. Speaker, the House of Representatives has passed the 1961 public works appropriation bill. The bill includes a \$1,500,000 appropriation to begin work on the widening and deepening of the Baltimore channel. It also contains the sum of \$103,000 for additional studies and planning for improving the Chesapeake and Delware Canal. Both of these sums are grossly inadequate, if we consider the importance of the projects to which they are assigned.

The urgent necessity for deepening and widening the Baltimore channel and the Chesapeake and Delaware Canal has long been recognized. The increased use of large deep-draft vessels in world trade makes the improvement of these two vital arteries imperative. The depth of the present Baltimore channel is 39 feet, with a general width of some 600 feet. The Chesapeake and Delaware Canal is presently 27 feet deep, with an average width of 250 feet. The volume of traffic in the canal exceeds the safe capacity of that waterway, and there has been an unfortunate record of long delays, groundings, and collisions.

The U.S. Corps of Engineers, after extensive studies and surveys, has strongly recommended that Baltimore's channel be deepened to 42 feet and widened to 800 feet. The Corps of Engineers has also recommended that the Chesapeake and Delaware Canal bewidened to 450 feet and deepened to 35 feet. These improvements would mean tremendous savings to ship operators, and would benefit not only the Port of Baltimore, but also the Port of Philadelphia, and all others using these waterways.

Congress recognized the need for the improvement of the Chesapeake and Delaware Canal in 1954, when it authorized the deepening of the canal from its present 27-foot depth to a depth of 35 feet, and its widening from 250 to 450 feet. In 1958, Congress also authorized the deepening of the main channel in the Chesapeake Bay and Baltimore Harbor proper from 39 to 42 feet, and the widening of the channels from 600 to 800 feet.

Sufficient funds, however, have never been authorized for these projects. The Baltimore Harbor project has the highest benefit-to-cost ratio, almost five to one. of any such project in the United States. In addition, the Maryland Port Authority and Maryland industries are spending millions of dollars to improve the facilities of the port. This tremendous expenditure of money and effort will be of limited benefit unless the channel is improved to allow the full range of modern vessels to enter the port and use its facilities

The world seaport of Baltimore is the largest bulk cargo port in the United States. It is the second largest seaport in the United States in terms of total tonnage of shipping using the port. Baltimore Harbor has the largest combined deep draft ore carrier and tanker traffic in the United States.

Baltimore's facilities for the handling of bulk cargoes is unequalled in any other port in the United States. The port area contains four huge modern ore plers, three large coalbins, three waterfront grain elevators with more than 13-million bushel total capacity and extensive modern facilities for the handling of fertilizer, chemicals, produce, and similar commodities.

The Locust Point Marine Terminal of the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad is the largest privately operated marine terminal in the United States. The terminal yard has a capacity of 3,500 freight cars. There are 10 piers, a grain elevator with storage capacity of 3,800,000 bushels, a latex storage and receiving plant with a capacity of 1,750,000 gallons, and many other facilities. The Sparrows Point plant of the Bethlehem Steel Co. is the largest steel plant in America and the largest tidewater steel plant in the world. This huge plant requires over 30,000 tons of iron ore per day in order to fulfill its annual capacity of over 8 million tons of

steel ingots. The list of similar and related port facilities and industrial plants is almost endless. In addition, Baltimore offers the finest facility on the east coast for the repair and servicing of merchant ships. The plants of the Maryland Shipbuilding & Drydock Co. and the Bethlehem Sparrows Point Shipyard make Baltimore one of the major shipbuilding and ship repair centers of the world.

Baltimore's port is unique among North American seaports in that it has two deepwater routes to the sea. The northernmost route is through the upper Chesapeake Bay and thence through the Chesapeake and Delaware Canal to the Delaware Bay. The other route is the southerly course down the Chesapeake Bay to the open ocean at Hampton Roads, Va.

The port of Baltimore, with its maritime and related commercial activities, is the dominant factor in the economy of the entire State of Maryland. The maintenance and expansion of the port is vitally important to the job security of some 600,000 persons employed in the Baltimore metropolitan area. Over onethird of Baltimore's industrial employment of 200,000 is direct port-connected employment. These waterfront industries employ over 65,000 persons who annually earn over \$350 million in wages and salaries. Less directly, Baltimore's harbor is responsible for the employment of thousands upon thousands of people in inland areas of our country who work for freight forwarding and handling concerns and the countless industries who depend upon Baltimore as a source of vitally needed raw material.

In the 250 years of its existence, well over a billion tons of cargo from all over the world have flowed through this port in a constant stream, feeding the insatiable raw-material appetite of America's industrial complex. Each year some 6,000 ships carrying over 30 million tons of export-import cargoes serve this inland port. Baltimore has achieved worldwide recognition for its use of modern methods and facilities in cargo handling and its impressive record for safe and speedy servicing of vessels at its piers. The port of Baltimore can berth over 90 cargo-going vessels at the same time.

Baltimore offers special handling for specialized cargoes. The bulk sugar pier of the American Sugar Refining Co. has made possible the import of bulk sugar where previously all sugar had to be shipped in in bags. The new \$4 million fruit pier, owned by the Maryland Port Authority, can accommodate 50 freight cars and handle over 4 million bunches of bananas a year. All areas of the port offer integrated rail-to-ship and truck-to-ship piers for fast, efficient handling of cargo.

Maryland's congressional delegation has vigorously urged the adequate financing of port improvements. Last year the needed appropriation was denied because of the President's announced policy of opposing any "new starts" in public works projects.

This year the President's budget recommended \$1,500,000 for the Baltimore Channel project, and \$103,000 for the C. & D. Canal project. These requests are shortsighted, unrealistic, and woefully inadequate. Experts agree that at least \$7 million is needed this year to even begin to ease the Baltimore Channel problem.

The administration's request for \$103,-000 for the C. & D. Canal project makes even less sense. This amount will only be for some additional planning studies; no construction work will be begun this year. The time has come to stop studying the problem and come to grips with it. The district engineer has stated that \$1,200,000 can be effectively used at once to start work on improving the canal.

In addition to their tremendous economic importance, both the canal and the harbor project have particular significance from the standpoint of national defense. Use of the canal saves 286 nautical miles on the trip from Baltimore to Philadelphia. It also provides a protected inland route between the naval bases at Philadelphia and Hampton Roads, Va.

During World War II and the Korean conflict the port of Baltimore was extensively used for the shipment of equipment and munitions to our troops overseas. Our country becomes increasingly more dependent on foreign sources for strategic raw materials—particularly iron ore and petroleum. It is surely in the interest of national security that these materials continue to flow freely through this port.

In 1958, the Public Works Committee authorized \$28,161,000 for improvement of the Baltimore Harbor channel. To date not one penny of this money has been spent. It we proceed at the snail's pace indicated by the President's request, it will take 18 years to complete the work.

In April of this year, the Maryland delegation, the chairman of the Maryland Port Authority, and representatives of Maryland industrial and maritime interests, appeared before the Appropriation Committee's Subcommittee on Public Works and testified in detail as to the value and vital importance of these projects, and the need for increased funds.

In spite of the longstanding support of the Corps of Engineers and the overwhelming evidence in support of the request for increased appropriations, the committee did not see fit to grant the increases so earnestly sought. I am sure the committee's decision was strongly influenced by the impending threat of another "no progress is allowed" veto. This opinion is borne out by the fact that the bill, as passed, contains no increases over Presidential recommendations for construction work.

Last year this Congress overrode the President's veto of the 1960 public works appropriation bill. My State received almost nothing from that bill, but I voted to override because I was convinced that the country's best interest would be served by a passage of the bill.

I intend to ask Maryland's Senators to urge their Senate colleagues to increase the appropriation for the port of Balti-

more. If they are successful, I believe my colleagues in the House will recognize our need and approve the increased appropriation.

Speech by Mrs. Philip Graham Before the Health and Welfare Council of the Greater Washington Area

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. RICHARD BOLLING

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, May 27, 1960

Mr. BOLLING. Mr. Speaker, the following important speech was made by Mrs. Philip L. Graham before the annual conference of the Health and Welfare Council of the Greater Washington area at the Hotel Statler-Hilton on Friday, May 6, 1960:

Early this year, the Washington Post carried a column by Bill Gold in which he indulged in his customary mock projections about the course of news events during 1960.

Now Bill Gold cannot only be hopelessly optimistic but also dead wrong about when the Washington Senators are going to make the first division—but one of his forecasts for 1960 is already painfully true.

for 1960 is already painfully true.

As he reported, for every other month of the year "a survey indicates that facilities at Junior Village are hopelessly inadequate."

They are, they have been, and it appears that they will be. Even if the Congress decided to appropriate the millions of dollars already requested for new buildings at Junior Village, this center for dependent and neglected children will be not only filled but will continue to be overcrowded before the last brick is laid.

We are spending and will have to spend more money for buildings down at Junior Village when we should be spending to keep children from ever going there.

We have no present alternative to asking Congress to build more buildings at Junior Village because so far, as a community, we have found no way to reverse the depressing trend of mounting admissions. And, frankly, I wonder if we ever will.

There is an impressive and ominous absence of citizen interest in such problems as Junior Village.

Many of you here today have become practically kissing cousins because you haven't been willing to forget the problem. You see each other coming and going from every meeting in town and your devoted efforts haven't been enough to reduce—even by one—the number of children going to Junior Village, or to make even a small dent in the tragic situation they symbolize. So I think we might as well all give up.

We can join the vast majority who don't seem to care if the Capital of this Nation is run down and neglected and poverty stricken—and voteless.

Or we can decide that the vast majority would care, if they really knew the plight of the District.

We can decide that we must create vast new legions of kissing cousins who will come and go from every meeting in town and will be sufficiently vocal to convince the District Commissioners and Members of Congress that the District should not become a pest hole, for heaven's sake, and time for action was yesterday. It was many yesterdays ago—3 years of them, in fact, when the late Miss Patricia Morss of the Department of Public Welfare asked some of us

in the Health and Welfare Council to look into the alarming number of children in Junior Village and the even more alarming

numbers pouring in.

She hoped we could find out why there was a 900 percent increase in the population at Junior Village in little more than a decade. She hoped we could find out why these children weren't going out of this tem-Porary shelter care as fast as they were coming in, and what kind of care they were getting while they were there. Now a 900 percent increase in children in this form of shelter care in a decade seems alarming enough

But what the Junior Village committee found in its long study of the problem of dependency in Washington simply dwarfs that figure and staggers one's imagination. Junior Village is now regularly housing more than 400 children-with a capacity for 240. Some 100 more children are in emergency foster homes. A similar number have been sent to Children's Center, to be housed in the same quarters with children whom our juvenile courts call delinquent. But this is only the head on the boll of poverty and dependency here in Washington. Think about it for a moment. Four hundred children at Junior Village is 1 percent of our problem of dependent and neglected children.

We have more than 10,000 families in Washington living below minimum subsistence standards. These 10,000 familles have 42,000 children. These 42,000 children are living in families too often composed of one parent. They are depressingly familiar with the trials of hunger, bad health, illiteracy, jail, and drunkenness.

These are our dependent children, judged by the definition we applied in the Junior Village report. Our definition was "that combination of social and economic factors Which render a family inadequate, and which passes this inadequacy along as a grim heritage from one generation to another." This is an appalling statistic. Dependency is an appalling problem.

What can be done about it? What can we do about it now? Let's face it: There is nothing we can do that won't require money, time, and effort and-most painful of allthought. We have already more than enough honthought in this field. There are endless meetings which have no real point and which achieve their goal perfectly. There are endless conversations about multiproblem families, hard-core families, and reaching the hard to reach. People continue to say we need the family approach and, in the next breath, let's apply to a foundation.

There is a project on dependency of some kind nearly everywhere you look. Money has been spent in great quantities on research, on pilot projects, and on efforts some of which are good, and some fruitless.

It seems to me we have reached the time when we need, in many social science fields, to distinguish between elaborating the obvious through more talk and facing the simple, obvious, and monstrous problems which no amount of just talk will solve. For example, in the District, dependency has two aspects. One is economic. It is perfectly obvious that as long as families break up because of poverty alone, we won't have a real program to prevent dependency here.

But that is what is happening. District restrictions on aid to dependent children do keep some families off public assistance. It probably keeps welfare expenses down-in this category. Of course, it turns public assistance investigation units into spies, who are supposed to find out whether an ADC mother has a beau on the premises so that he could be designated an acting father or stepfather. And the net effect is that the District too often is taking money out of its other pocket to keep children either in

Junior Village or in foster homes, deprived of their natural ties with their own mother.

We don't give financial aid to a family where the father is unemployed if he is em-ployable: We seem to have the philosophy that it is cheaper to break up a perfectly good home where the father, even when he is employed, may not be able to earn quite enough to feed, house, and clothe his children, and hurl those children into the maelstrom of Junior Village.

In addition, we are struggling, as most other places are, with the 1-year residence law requirement. I am sure you were moved as I was by Governor Rockefeller's position on the so-called merits of residence restrictions.

Now, \$111/2 million is a lot of money, and that was what we paid in the District for public assistance last year. But it doesn't measure up to expenditures for public assistance elsewhere.

Measured in terms of personal income, the District was spending 16 cents per \$100 of personal income, compared to 45 cents for the United States.

And the resulting lack of even adequatemuch less generous public assistance to children here continues to compound the dependency problem.

We have another problem common to all big cities-suburban growth. In the last 40 years, the District population has doubled, and the suburban population has increased eight times. Now we have only 43 percent of the metropolitan area population. have 86 percent of the area's nonwhite popu-One-half of our people and twothirds of our children are now Negroes.

This population shift is, I think, fairly typical in large cities. It means that a large percentage of our people are faced not only with problems of poverty, but such problems compounded by blas in employment and housing, and a lower level of education. In the District, there is another side to it. now lack, and probably always will, the kind of industry which can employ large numbers of unskilled laborers.

And what can we do about all this?

We must face each problem with a budget hopelessly imbalanced by inadequate Federal payment, set at the whim of each succeeding Congress.

We cannot raise taxes from people who earn their money here but live in the sub-urbs. We must beg for our health, school, and welfare budgets before District committees, composed of members who represent areas often far removed from the District of Columbia.

It is very hard to explain to an uninterested Congress that we must spend money in welfare to save money. It is hard to con-vince our own Commissioners, beset as they are by requests from every department.

It would be easy to be completely discouraged in the light of these hard realities. There seems to be no money to meet our dependency problem. But I suspect that the money to do at least what other areas already have done probably is there.

In Minnesota, for example, the goal is that no dependent child shall be in an institution, either public or private. And I've been told they have reached that goal. Judge Waxter can tell us more about the Baltimore situation, very close to home, and more parallel to our own, but I understand it has only one public institution for dependent children, which houses only 48 children.

In many places in this country, institutions are being streamlined to serve the special needs of children who can benefit from group care-those who are emotionally disturbed, some older children, retarded children. We can hope that Junior Village some day may serve such purposes as these.

But what can we do about that part of dependency which is not due to economic factors? What about the families which

would fall apart no matter how much money was spent to keep them together? This is an immense and exciting field. There is much to be learned. Our concepts of what is best for such families are changing very rapidly. Many professionals are hard at work on possible answers, but they are baffied. And believe me, if they are baffled, a lay person in this field can be as bewildered as Alice in Wonderland. We need to keep asking questions until we do get answers. One basic question is, Where do our welfare services fail?

They aren't reaching the number of families who need them and ask for them. And there are untold numbers of families who have fallen below the level of even being able to ask for help, much less of finding it and going after it. These are people who don't have the carfare, or perhaps, the clothes, or even the energy to take a bus or streetcar to a family agency or the Depart-ment of Public Welfare. For some of them, it is an extreme effort to get a basket, a number, and find the right line for surplus food.

These are our multiproblem, hard-core, hard-to-reach families. You are undoubtedly familiar with the study by Community Re-search Associates in St. Paul about 10 years ago which showed that 6 percent of the families took over half of the health and welfare dollar. St. Paul is still experimenting with ways to help these families.

Several agencies, both public and private. are contributing caseworkers to a unit which is using a family approach, with so-called aggressive or assertive casework, with these families in St. Paul.

The philosophy is that one worker makes an approach to a family, rather than many workers from different agencies. The family worker doesn't wait until the family breaks up but tries to help the family that looks headed for trouble.

In Cleveland, the Welfare Federation is planning to pour existing welfare resources of the city into an area of urban decay, and adding a whole new specialized family service center to deal with the hard-core families in this tract where 85,000 people live. They are planning research to design special programs and evaluate the project as it moves ahead.

California has issued a report which shows that raising the amount and caliber of casework service in public assistance in the end reduced the caseloads in one county-Marin. Minnesota is thinking of switching its public welfare methods to the family approach, even though the amount of reorganization this would entail staggers the imagination.

All these and many more are portents of an exciting new trend. In the District, there has been some progress since we finished our Junior Village report last summer. has been a small increase in public foster home boarding rates, and also in boarding rates for children the Department of Public Welfare places in public institutions.

The Department has funds for an increase in staff and there have been some administrative changes within the Child Welfare Division and at Junior Village.

The Health and Welfare Council has completed the comprehensive metropolitan area study of children away from homes that other members of this panel will discuss. The neighborhood houses have been studying their programs with a view to greater revised services. The Department of Public Welfare has conducted a successful venture with the National Capital Housing Authority in using caseworkers in housing projects.

The three family service agencies, the neighborhood houses and the Department of Public Welfare, as well as some of us who worked on the Junior Village report, are in the process of working out a plan for taking service to the neighborhoods.

As it stands, our project is both incomplete and unfinanced, but our present idea is to put social workers under the roof—if they will have them—of some neighborhood houses, the general theory being that it may be the agencies, not the families, who are hard to reach. These caseworkers would be both workers and community planners and out of their experiences and advice we hope will come a broader effort. It is a practical way of finding unmet needs, we feel. And since public and private agencies and the neighborhood houses are working together on the project, all are ready to profit from whatever changes in service might be indicated as a result of this experiment. It might be changes in the Department, in the family agencies, or in the neighborhood houses themselves or in all three.

At any rate, it is a start. And it is a start which, while it has research and experimental aspects, will also be serving some families and some groups as it progresses.

In the final analysis, I would say that dependency is composed of two failures by the community.

The first failure you can call what you will-moral, ethical, religious. It is a failure of feeling, not a failure of thought or technique. The simple fact is that even as we approach the end of the second millenium of the Christian era, we are not yet become civilized enough to want to help the unfortunate.

The second failure, as I have already tried to say, is a failure of thought and technique. We really know nothing about this failure by itself. That is to say, we only know that we have very complex social science problems in trying to alleviate dependency in a community with no strong desire to help the unfortunate. We read in the literature, and we say in those inbred meetings of ours, that the problems would still be complex if we had all the money and all the resources imaginable. We say this but we do not know this and we cannot know, since such circumstances have never existed.

The more I think about our thinking, the more I wonder. And the more I wonder, the more I suspect that one single, simple resolve of the community would eliminate most of the complexity and elaborateness of welfare activities. These are said to be times of great crisis in which we stand for the value of the individual as against the Communist creed. And yet in our own towns and villages and cities we fall to stand for the value. of the individual.

These are times in which we are hearing much about a so-called religious issue in our presidential campaign. How ironic to call religious an issue that divides the brotherhood of man. I suspect that we may all have become so secular, so wrapped in technology that we shy away from using words that are not technical.

But just for a closing moment I shall suggest that we demean ourselves, cheapen our decency, and lessen our spirit when we say that dependency arises from "budget prob-lems" or "lack of research" or "limited com-munity facilities." It is better to be blunt. In a society as rich as ours dependency arises from selfishness, from stupidity, and from a refusal to believe in the brotherhood of man.

Jobs After 40

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. CRAIG HOSMER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, May 24, 1960

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Speaker, the Fraternal Order of Eagles has for some

time carried on an effective, nationwide campaign to eliminate job discrimination against workers over 40. The Eagle magazine published an excellent article by Judge Robert Hansen detailing what the campaign is and why it is being carried on. The article is as follows:

[From Eagle magazine, February 1958] WILL YOU BE THROUGH AT 40? (By Judge Robert Hansen)

Dee Floyd had gotten "riffed."
"Riffed" is navy yard slang for being laid
off due to a "reduction in force." The late 1957 cutback at the U.S. Navy Yard in Bremerton, Wash., had cut Dee Floyd and a thousand others adrift.

So Dee Floyd went looking for a job. He was a machinist by trade, a member of the Machinists Union for many years. He was skilled, trained and experienced. He was in the best of health-but he was 38 years of

After a November meeting of Bremerton Aerie, Dee Floyd told his fellow Eagles what happened to him on his job-hunting expedi-

"Today I went to six employers in and around Seattle looking for a job as a ma-chinist," Floyd said. "They wouldn't even take my application. All six told me that I was too old—that they weren't hiring ma-chinists who were at or near the age of 40." The Eagle machinist had encountered first

hand a hard fact of American economic lifejob discrimination based on age. To many employers, an over-40 worker is considered obsolete. He was manufactured too long ago. He's out of date. In fact, in many lines of work, persons who are 30 or 35 years of age are considered "too old" to be em-

The case of Dee Floyd illustrates the problem of hundreds of thousands of Americans barred from jobs because of their age. Here was a skilled craftsman, with years of valuable experience, being told that he was too old to work at his chosen trade. Here was the head of a family, with three children (the oldest getting ready to go to college), being told that he was too old to provide for their support. Here was a man in the prime of life, able and willing to work, being told that he was too old to be hired for work which he could easily do.

"Don't worry about me. I'll take care of myself," Dee Floyd told the writer. He probably will, being that sort of a fellow.

Early last summer, a shoe factory closed its doors in Portsmouth, Ohio. The picturesque river community made the Nation's head-lines, back in 1937, when its floodwall lost a bitter battle with the surging waters of the Ohio River. But there were no headlines when the Selby Shoe Co., one of the oldest manufacturing establishments in the locality, went out of business. That was news mainly to 1,700 men and women who lost their jobs in the closing.

Today, months later, many hundreds of these shoe workers are still out of work. Most of them have exhausted their unemployment benefits and are still out of work. Most of them find no jobs open to them because they are over 40 years of age.

Emerson T. Pence, secretary of the local CIO council and an active Eagle member, reports "a very serious unemployment prob-lem." That is why, joining many other community labor groups, the Portsmouth CIO Council has endorsed the Eagles jobsafter-40 campaign and is circulating Eagle petitions for congressional action to end job discrimination based on age.

The problem of hiring restrictions aimed at barring older workers is nothing new. When the textile plants and shoe factories of New England were relocated, thousands of older workers, many of them Eagle members, were left stranded. When the diesel engine supplanted the steam locomotive, thousands

of railroad employees and coal miners, many of them Eagle members, found starting over an assignment made more difficult by age limits on job applicants. In this era of mergers and plant shifts and automatic machinery, hundreds of thousands of displaced older workers are up against the no-helpwanted barrier to over-40 job seekers.

Help wanted ads in the daily newspapers tell the story:

"Company representative: Prefer men under 35."

"Machinist: \$125 per week. Age to 40."
"Radio parts salesmen: 21 to 40. High school graduate."

"Automotive executive: Must be top-notch. Age to 35."

Advertisements like these appear every day in newspapers across the country. It is puzzling that, until recently, so few were outraged by the social tragedy and economic waste involved in the undisguised discrimination against the older worker. Perhaps, we are so accustomed to reading the used car sales ads that we agree that a worker produced in 1918 or 1922 is as out of date as a 1928 or 1932 automobile. This theory of human obsolesence is unsound as well as unfair.

Every study and survey has revealed that older workers do as well or better than their younger associates. "Myths," columnist Roscoe Drummond termed the reasons often given for not hiring over-40 workers. And myths they are. Government surveys and university research has clearly established that older workers have less accidents, are less prone to accidents, are more stable and dependable, equal or surpass younger workers in productivity and overall performance.

Even the widespread notion that increased pension costs follow hiring older workers is without basis. A dominionwide survey made by the Canadian Government finds such in-creases "insignificant in proporation both to the total wage of the worker and to the total cost of providing pensions." A wellknow pension planning counselor, quoted in American Business magazine's recent survey, states: "Within the last 2 years we have participated in a study by the U.S. Department of Labor on the influence of pension costs on the hiring of older persons. We feel that these costs are more imaginary than real."

Most private pension plans are based on a ercentage of average earnings multiplied by the number of years of service. Almost, with-out exception, they are supplementary to social security. The older entrant into com-pany service gets a smaller pension when he retires, but, to quote Albert Q. Maisel in American Weekly article on the subject. "Getting a smaller pension is far better than being barred from employment and getting no income at all."

The recent report of the Canadian Government, prepared by members of the Departments of Finance, Insurance, National Health, and Welfare, and Labor, summarizes the case for the older worker. "There is an increasingly wide measure of agreement today that for most types of jobs the performance of workers in their middle years compares more than favorably with the performance of younger persons and that older workers are often steadier and more reliable on the

These findings do not pit older workers against younger workers, except in the sense that the ability to perform the duties of the job should be the determining factor as to who gets the job. The Eagles jobs-after-40 campaign seeks, not preference for older workers, but asks for older persons an equal opportunity for employment in competition with other workers of similar qualifications. Removing upper-age limits in hiring would insure that job applicants, young or old, were considered for hiring as individuals, and not as members of a group.

How is this to be done? The Fraternal Order of Eagles proposes a fourfold program to eliminate the arbitrary barriers against hiring over-40 workers. Here is that program:

1. Federal and State legislation outlawing discrimination based on age.

2. State and community committees to enlarge job opportunities for older workers.

3. Insistence that public agencies abandon upper age limits in civil service entrance examinations.

4. An educational campaign to convince managements, labor and the general public that age barriers in employment are unsound and unfair.

The immediate objective in this long-range campaign is the passage of legislation at the 2d session of the 85th Congress to prohibit unjust discrimination in employment because of age. Several measures, including the proposed National Act Against Age Discrimination in Employment, introduced by Senator Jacob K. Javirs, of New York, will be before the Congress. In effect, they will seek to make it unlawful to refuse to hire, discharge or otherwise discriminate against any one because of his age. Probably, Federal action will be limited to field involving Interstate commerce or employers having defense contracts with the U.S. Government, as this is likely the limit of congressional authority in the field.

Currently, the Fraternal Order of Eagles is aiming at 500,000 signatures on petitions urging congressional action on behalf of the

lobs-after-40 program.

In addition to the support from international union presidents, State and local labor bodies, the Eagles jobs-after-40 campaign has been given the endorsement of many prominent public officials. U.S. Senators, Governors of many States, Members of Congress, mayors and local officials have commended the FOE for the jobs-after-40 effort. Editorial support from daily newspapers and national magazines has been evidence of widespread concern for the plight of the older worker in our economy.

A recent report of the U.S. Employment Service reveals that generally more than half of all job openings specify upper age restrictions. The same report comments:
"Most older jobseekers are out of work through no fault of their own, e.g., the firm may have changed locality, and consolidation and change of management may have

eliminated their jobs."

There is every reason to believe that the problem of reemploying the over-40 workers is getting worse, not better. Back in 1951, an analysis of "Help wanted: male" advertisements in the newspapers of an eastern metropolitan area revealed that 38.2 percent of the ads carried age restrictions.

Last year, the U.S. Department of Labor checked the same newspapers in the same area. The proportion of want ads limiting Job openings on the basis of age had soared to nearly 60 percent.

Large industries seem more prone to insist that the men and women they hire be under 40. The larger corporation is more likely to hire on an entirely impersonal basis, and to lay down fixed and arbitrary hiring

procedures for local plant managers. The Vice President of the United States RICHARD NIXON, commenting on the Eagles Jobs-after-40 campaign said, "The Fraternal Ordan Translation of the Company of the Co Order of Eagles deserves the gratitude of every American for its jobs-after-40 cam-Palgn."

The Eagles jobs-after-40 campaign is not Just a matter of exposing the misconceptions upon which present prejudices against hiring older workers are based. It is not just a matter of preventing the economic waste involved when needed skills are lightly discarded. It is not just a matter of preventing hardship, the social tragedy involved in arbitrary age barriers.

The Eagles jobs-after-40 campaign is a resolute affirmation of the right of every person, regardless of his or her age, to equal opportunity in employment. Losing a job is a serious matter, but being denied a job because of one's age strips one of self-confidence and self-respect. When an employer says to job applicants, "Sorry, you are too old," he does more than deny them a job. He strips them of their sense of worth and leaves them with a feeling of failure.

The Fraternal Order of Eagles believes that this is not just Dee Floyd's problem-not just a community problem for Portsmouth, Ohio. It is a national problem that calls for national action. That is why the Eagles have launched this all-out campaign for national, State, and local action to end job discrimination against older workers.

Once before, on behalf of senior citizens and their right to live with dignity and selfrespect, the Eagles led a fight for pensions and social security.

Today and tomorrow, on behalf of middleaged workers and their right to live with dignity and self-respect, the eagles lead the fight to end job discrimination based on age.

School Construction Assistance Act of 1960

SPEECH OF

HON. GRAHAM A. BARDEN

OF NORTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 26, 1960

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H.R. 10128) to authorize Federal financial assistance to the States to be used for constructing school

Mr. BARDEN. Mr. Chairman, I have tried to listen to every word of this debate. I am bound to report that some of the conclusions and statements I am unable to agree with, and some I am unable to substantiate with statistics, but I know how confusing statistics are and how easy it is to mix them up; so I pass

I am opposed to this bill. I have no hesitancy in making my reasons absolutely clear. I should know just a little bit about the field of education. I know something about going to the one-room schoolhouse. There is one thing about it, the quality of education was tops, and when I moved to the city, according to my age I was in about as good shape as those who had been in the marble building. I entered the seventh grade and was one of the youngest to do so. I think that was of great importance, for I felt that I was not entirely out of place.

There are some things about this bill that we just must consider whether we want to or not. During the depression in 1933 I had a rough experience. I was chairman of the legislative education committee in my State, and I had my troubles there, but we kept our school doors open; we paid our schoolteachers; we improved the grade of education, even though we had to impose a sales tax during the depression to take up the IOU's we had given to the schoolteachers. We did it. We still have a fine school system and we are still keeping it up.

I am not given to taking much time answering somebody else's speech, but my friend, the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. Madden], has done right much back talking with me about the subject we are now discussing. On yesterday he recited a very sad plight of affairs existing in Indiana and he told us how many thousands and thousands who had no schoolrooms were contributing to juvenile delinquency, and what a horrible, horrible state of affairs they were in. Of course he, as usual, had to throw a few uncomplimentary references and inferences to the poor South.

I began to think about the poor unfortunate children of Indiana and interestingly enough, I found the poor little State of North Carolina has approximately the same population. The population of Indiana is 4,581,000, North Carolina, 4,549,000. That is pretty close.

Then I went further and I gained this information with reference to the responsibilities of the two States in the way of outstanding bonds, not including these toll road bonds that are paying for themselves: I found that there were actually \$500,000 outstanding in the case of Indiana. I found North Carolina has full faith and credit bonds outstanding to the extent of \$258,985,000. I further found that the great State of Indiana has neither individual nor corporate income taxes. North Carolina has both. I also found the public school indebtedness for the State of Indiana was nil. I found the public school indebtedness of the State of North Carolina to be \$55 -095,000, and that just winds up a \$50 million bond issue which we passed and will pass another one if it takes that to educate our children. And keep them from going through the horrible experiences that Mr. Madden said the children of Indiana were experiencing. Although the total personal income, 1958, for Indiana, \$9,118 million; North Carolina, \$6.297 million: which means that Indiana tops North Carolina approximately \$3 billion

I found the personal income average for the State of Indiana was \$1,990, for the State of North Carolina \$1,384. The population I just gave you.

Total assessment of property subject to general and local taxation, Indiana \$7,453 million, North Carolina considerably less, \$6,696 million.

But I did not stop there. I heard so much about Gary, Ind., I have been through Gary though I did not see much of it on account of the steel mills, smoke stacks, oil wells, and so forth, that I just wanted to follow it right on down.

I found that in the case of Lake County, in which Gary is located, property subject to a general property tax was valued \$755,890,000, and poor little Craven County, my home county, \$40 .-283.000.

Now, I am not going to dwell on that further, but I say to you when you begin to cry over something. I think you better find out what you are crying about and who is to blame. Now, it may be that these thousands of children without school facilities are contributing to juvenile delinquency, and I would not dare say anything ugly either way, but I am not so sure that there are not one or two or more adult delinquents who are not interested enough in their children to pay enough to give their children the kind of education they either deserve or have a right to expect.

Mr. Chairman, why do they not love their children like we do? Is it only poor people that love their children? I do not think so. I do not think so. Now under this bill we reach into the Treasury and start something that, in my opinion, once we do, we will rue the day. We, under this bill propose to take \$325 million the first year, and what do we do with it? We sit down with a pencil and divide it up. Is there any criteria of need? No. And, that would be a brutal operation. Once that program is adopted here, then why do not all the committees get together and divide up what money there is in the Treasury; divide it up and let us adjourn and go home. It would make just as much sense. And why was this plan adopted? All I know is what the proponents said in committee and that was, "That if every State was not given money they would not get the votes to pass the bill."

Now, I want to say this, and I should have said it, I guess, in the beginning. All of you know that I am on the way off the stage, but I am not on the way out when it comes to being interested in my Government and the kind of Government I will pass on to my children and to my fine grandchildren. Let us pass them something besides debt and more of it, that I doubt they will ever be able to take off of their books. Too many people spend too much time talking about their ancestors and not enough time thinking about the kind of ancestors they are going to make.

Now, I want them to have just as good schools as anybody, and if it is within my power, I am going to see to it that they have them.

Now we come to a little bit more on this money business, and somebody in this House ought to think about it. Out of that money, where do you think part of it goes? Oh, a sum, between \$1 million and \$2 million, goes to the District of Columbia. Now, how many pockets is the District of Columbia supposed to get money out of? Just last year the Congress appropriated for operating expenses in the District of Columbia \$45,232,700 and for construction \$3,571,000, which made roughly \$50 million. Now they have a supplemental program in for about \$3 million more. Now, let us let the District of Columbia keep on getting this money from the Committee on Appropriations after they have studied it and see what they think their needs are and so forth and not go putting them in this grab-bag bill for a part of this \$325 million a year.

Now, I want to mention something else. I know there is control in this bill. And, I know there is not a person in this House but what has made speeches that they are for Federal aid without any Federal control or interference on the part of the Federal Government. Well, let us refer to the proposed bill itself.

The first thing, the Commissioner gets hold of the money. Then the States make their applications for it. From there on the Commissioner writes the rules; what kind of reports they write and what kind of reports they should make to him, and then the States must make a report to him as to their manner of handling it, and he writes out the rules and regulations with reference to the kind of reports that they should send in for information.

Now, this is odd and strange in that the States must certify that they will have procedures—I want to be accurate on this—they have got to certify to the Commissioner that certain procedures have been established.

Procedures have been established under which such payments will be so distributed that priority is given to local educational agencies which have the greatest need for school facilities and which in terms of the economic resources available to them are least able to finance the school facilities.

Why did the not put that in the bill somewhere, except for telling the States what they have got to do with reference to distributing this and that it must go to the needlest ones?

Then the say in here that if some school district thinks that it has not been treated right, they will be afforded a hearing. That is all the description you have of it. I do not know who is going to have the hearing or review it. I do not know whether they can appeal or not. I do not know anything except that it is a little window dressing which is too far along in the bill it should be in the beginning when they are dishing out the taxpayers' money.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. Barden] has expired.

Mr. KEARNS. Mr. Chairman, I yield the gentleman 10 minutes.

Mr. BARDEN. I do not believe the taxpayers of my district, or the rest of the country, expect me to come up here and handle their tax money in any such careless manner. Think of the piles of money that you will be pouring into these areas because they say they need more money, when they have not done their duty by their own children. If we keep this up, every bit of it will show up again in the coming tax bill, and every time you funnel more and more of the school setup into Washington, mark my word, you will have less and less efficient schools. That is something nobody seems to think about.

We have had the idea here in recent years that if something terrible has happened, the thing to do is to appropriate millions of dollars and everything will be all right. But we have learned better than that. If we know anything we know that it is not how much money you spend, but the final answer, concerning how much good or bad you have done, is how you spent that money.

There is another item of Federal control. There will not be one dollar of this money spent for construction without the Secretary of Labor fixing the wage rate of the man who works and draws the money. The Secretary of Labor also fixes his classification. And yet they say

there is no Federal interference or control. You show me the man in any outfit who controls the spending of the money and I will show you a very import man. So that is it.

There are other ways of providing fair wages. We know them. You could take your unemployment setup, where they register, and there would not be any trouble finding out the prevailing wage. There is not one Member of this House who does not know that any State Government construction or Federal Government construction is more expensive and higher wages are paid than in private construction. We all know that. We also know that when wages are fixed by the Secretary of Labor, the building costs from 15 to 27 percent more to build. We all know that. I have tried every way in the world I could to work that out. I have hoped for 25 years that we could do something in this field and not pull the Federal Government into it. I think the Federal Government's nose is already too far into our educational system, and it has done already almost if not irreparable damage. Put its nose in further and you will aggravate and multiply the ills and troubles we already have.

You say, "How can we get the Federal Government out of it?" What is the answer? It is easy. If this House wants to pass a bill and take the Federal Government completely out of it it can do it. It is as easy as that. I did it. I offered a bill to the committee. Honestly, I believed it was going to be completely unanimously accepted, until one man said, "Well, where is the Davis-Bacon Act?" The man who made the motion to approve it was listening, and he said, "Well, it isn't in there." My answer was, "Certainly it is not in, it is out"; and the proposal was defeated 24 to 4

The following was my proposal:

PAYMENTS OF STATE ALLOTMENTS

SEC. 104. The Commissioner shall pay the State allotment for any fiscal year, or so much thereof as the State educational agency requests, to the State educational agency upon certification by it that the amount to be paid does not exceed one-half of the cost of constructing the school facilities for which such funds are to be expended. Funds paid to a State educational agency under this section shall be expended solely for construction of school facilities in the State, and shall be used to pay not more than one-half of the total cost of constructing all school facilities in the State which are assisted under this title.

JUDICIAL REMEDY

Sec. 105. (a) The district court of the United States for any district in which the capital of a State is located shall have jurisdiction, as provided in this section, to grant appropriate relief in any case where any funds paid to the State under this title have been or are about to be expended in violation of this Act.

(b) An action under this section shall be brought in the name of the United States by the U.S. attorney for the district involved, and shall be brought against the State. The Federal Rules of Civil Procedure shall apply.

(c) The court may grant such temporary relief or restraining order as it deems appropriate pending final disposition of any action under this section. If in any such action it is determined that any funds paid

to the State under this title have been or are about to be expended in violation of section 104, the court shall grant a permanent injunction or other appropriate relief.

I do not think the Davis-Bacon Act is that important.

Then in an attempt to arrive at an honest prevailing wage rate I proposed the following:

SEC. 106. (a) The Commissioner shall not make any payments under this title to assist in financing the construction of any school facilities project, except upon ade-quate assurance that all laborers and mechanics employed by contractors or subcontractors in the performance of work on such project will be paid wages at rates not less than those prevailing for similar work in the immediate vicinity; for the purposes of this section the prevailing rates shall be those which are certified by the State employment office as being those contained in the most recent applications for employment at similar work in such vicinity on file with the nearest office of the State employment service as of the time the project is first advertised for bids or negotiated as the case may

(b) The Commissioner shall reimburse, through the Department of Labor, each State employment service for such tional administrative costs as may be in-Volved in furnishing the necessary wage data to contracting officers, contractors, and subcontractors.

This subject of education would be enough for the best equipped committee in this House, without the Labor Committee, too. I say to you in all frankness and with as much honesty as I ever spoke in my life, for the good of this country I hope this Congress will someday make two committees out of this Education and Labor Committee. I presided over the Education Committee long before I did the joint committee. We passed some wonderful legislation that is still on the books. The Davis-Bacon Act, under the Secretary of Labor, just costs about 25 to 30 percent more to build a school building; that is all it costs, because you do not think a contractor is going to be numskull enough not to add a few hundred thousand dollars on when he does not know what wages are going to be fixed by the Secretary of Labor and who is going to handle the classification of his workers and, of course, with the Secretary of Labor, regardless of the party they may be affiliated with, is controlled by the labor union heads. At least, this has been true for 25 years to my own personal knowledge.

We talk about spending money. This will not break us. As far as that is concerned, as I have said before, you can misspend, you can overspend, you can overappropriate, and we can recover. But when you begin to put forces in operation affecting our basic institutions, the educational system of this country, no, you will not get them back, and you will not do any good. I know the history of what the expenditure of money mis-

spent means.

We sometimes hear the statement, "Oh, well, the Federal Government does not spend enough in the field of educa-There is a report showing the ex-Denditures of the Federal Government in the field of education, a summary of which was prepared by one of the finest

research men I have ever known. He is with the Congressional Library. Mr. Charles Quattlebaum has just furnished me, under the definition of "educational" which Mr. Webster provides, that every one of these departments-even though the soldiers' educational program, the GI program, is just about out: so it constitutes a very, very small amount of the expenditures-even with that the Federal governmental departments are now handling and spending \$3.618 million.

I hope I shall be able to organize the committee before I leave to put some order into chaos. These departments are sending people to be educated at Government expense, and it ought to be stopped; that is all. I want them to have what they need. That is why this investigation has been made at my request by Mr. Quattlebaum for this year. Let us be honest with education and with educators.

Mr. Chairman, the bill can be drawn so there will not be any Federal control, if, first, we want to, second, leave selfish minority groups out, and, third, put education first when we are writing an education bill. You can write an authorization bill, state what the money is for and what it shall be spent for. Turn that money over to the men who have built this fine educational system of ours over a period of over 100 years, and they are the State officials and the folks who have built the buildings and run the schools. They know more about these problems than the folks who have never had any experience along that line. Turn the money over to them. Confer jurisdiction on the Federal district court in the capital of every State. Give them the jurisdiction to see to it that the money is spent for the purposes for which it was appropriated just as other dollars of the taxpayers are spent for the Federal Government-just as honestly and strictly for the purpose for which it is intended. Keep the Commissioner of Education and the HEW and all the rest of the bureaucrats out of it. Let that money be protected just like any other Federal dollar will be protected.

Some people get very much disturbed on the question of integration. Nobody has ever heard me make a speech on that, and I do not like to discuss it, for those who talk most about it know least about the actual problem. I had a school building built right near my home out of these Public Laws 874 and 815, the impacted school area laws, and they named that school for me. It is the only school in eastern North Carolina that is integrated, so I suppose that makes me a liberal. I do not know that it did, but I just thought I would mention it. I heard enough about it for a while, so I, too, talk about it a little bit just for fun.

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. Was there any truth in the rumor-

Mr. BARDEN. Just a moment, I want to know if you are friendly first.

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. I am friendly. I just wanted to know if there was any truth to the rumor that when that was announced, you got a hammer and a chisel and headed down there to take your name off.

Mr. BARDEN. No. There is nothing to that. I am in favor of school buildings.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from North Carolina has expired.

Mr. KEARNS. Mr. Chairman, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman.

Mr. BARDEN. I wish to thank my friend from Pennsylvania, the ranking minority member of my committee, so much

Mr. BECKER. Mr. Chairman, will the gentlemen yield?

Mr. BARDEN. I yield to the gentleman from New York.

Mr. BECKER. For years I have listened to the debate on previous bills, and I have listened to the debate on this bill over the past few days about the need for education; and the need for education has been used as a weapon for this type of legislation. Yet, Mr. Chairman. is there one word in this bill that deals with the quality of education or the standards of education, as was so well pointed out by the president of the University of Maryland only last week referring to the low standards today? Is there anything in this bill along that

Mr. BARDEN. No; there is not anything along that line in this bill. And maybe there is no place for that in a construction bill, but we are going a little bit haywire on this subject of thinking that just because we spend a million dollars, we have improved everything. You are 1,000 percent right when you call to our attention, that the quality of education is simply being forgotten.

Mr. BECKER. That is what I wanted to point out.

Mr. BARDEN. I think this NEA outfit has just totally gotten their minds off the track. Where they used to be working, and working to improve education, now they are just about as powerful a lobbying outfit as I know of and their love for the schools has seemed to change to dollar marks in their eyes. I think there is room for them to do better than they are doing and contribute more to education.

Mr. BECKER. If the gentleman will yield for one more question, I have school districts in my congressional district that have the rates today and they have not got the money to build more schools where they have 10, 12, 13 and 14 schools, where the rates today are up to \$38 per \$100 on the assessed valuation for schools. There is nothing in this bill to reimburse them or help them pay on the bonds that they issued for their schools: is there?

Mr. BARDEN. No, absolutely not, unless the debt is incurred, after this bill becomes a law. Then they can get some payment on the interest on money that is provided after this bill is enacted. And you are rendering a real service to your people to let them know the real truth early.

Mr. BECKER. But they will have to pay these appropriations, will they not. just the same?

Mr. BARDEN. Of course. And, for instance, you might give some thought to this: We pass a bond issue of \$50 million. In addition to that, my county passed one for \$2 million. In addition to that, we are assessed 34 cents last year for schools. Now we are pretty well spent out. We will never catch up, but we are pretty well up. There will not be much spending for a while.

Mr. ARENDS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

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Mr. BARDEN. I yield to the gentleman from Illinois.

Mr. ARENDS. Like the gentleman from North Carolina, I am opposed to this legislation. Basically, if the people throughout the country would do as the people have done in my State, there would not be such a proposal as this before us.

I hold in my hand a tax receipt paid in the month of May. This is on 160 ncres of land and is a tax receipt for \$900. This amounts to about \$5.62 an acre, which is about 70 cents for every dollar cpent for school purposes. We are not complaining about these taxes. We are glad to pay them. To us the education of our youth is of primary importance. I wish to emphasize that if people in the respective States made the same effort that is being made in my State, we would not have this problem before us as a national question.

Mr. BARDEN. Let me say this. In behalf of the people in the various States-and I think this deserves to be said when so much has been said about what they are not doing. In the outset

of this bill it says:

The Congress finds that despite sustained and vigorous efforts by the States and local communities which have increased current school construction to unprecedented levels.

Well, they have. I have some figures between 1950 and 1960. They are building 67,000 classrooms per year. According to that and I do not know which one of these figures you want to take. One says 132,000 a year. If that is true, we are just about catching up. If it is 300,000, we can catch up in about 5 years. So the people back home are doing much more than talking, and I believe they will do better if we let them alone. America is still the greatest Nation on earth, with the finest educational system on earth. We must not sell America or its people short.

Address by the Honorable Leonard J. Saccio, Deputy Director of the International Cooperation Administration, Before the Michigan Conference on International Development

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. ALVIN M. BENTLEY

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Friday, May 27, 1960

Mr. BENTLEY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to revise and extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I wish to include the following address by the

Honorable Leonard J. Saccio, Deputy Director of the International Cooperation Administration, before the Michigan Conference on International Development, on May 15. This speech was forwarded to me by the International Cooperation Administration with the request that I consider its inclusion in the Con-GRESSIONAL RECORD in order that it might be brought to the attention of all Members of this body.

Address by the Honorable Leonard J. Saccio, Deputy Director, International Cooperation Administration, Before the MICHIGAN CONFERENCE ON INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT, ON MAY 15, 1950

Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen, the subject "American Foreign Economic Aid Today," is among the most important subjects now confronting the American people. It involves issues which are directly and vitally related to the security of our coun-They are issues which will greatly affect American life throughout the remainder of this century, and national survival will depend upon their intelligent solution.

From the standpoint of the United States, two central, related problems dominate the The first problem is international scene. The first problem is the great and growing power of a billion people whose autocratic rulers aspire to a Communist-controlled universe. This power is political, military and economic, and it manifests itself in each of these forms. istence, and its dangerous implications, are evident on every side. Hardly a day goes by without new evidence of the magnitude and character of this problem, and of its implications to our own future as a free

The other central problem is less well understood, but of equal importance with the threat of militant, expanding Communist power. This problem arises from the growing desires of a billion and one-half people who are struggling to realize great expectations-political, social and economic-which they now believe are within their reach. These expectations are part of deep social revolutions which are now sweeping the less developed countries, and in many areas the desire to satisfy expectations is closely associated with their newly won political inde-

The peoples of Asia, Africa, and Latin America are determined to improve their standards and ways of living and they will press fiercely toward this goal. not tolerate political leaders, political institutions, ideologies, or economic systems which fall to provide clear and early evidence that they can contribute concretely and swiftly to the realization of their minimum aims.

The key question-from our standpoint as well as from theirs-is whether this inexorable force will find its fulfillment in the framework of free and independent socleties or under some form of tyranny, including the Communist yoke. The answer will turn largely on whether the some 75 less-developed nations, which are now in-dependent or are on the verge of independence, can in fact satisfy the rising expectations of their citizens through free institutions, of business and of government. I am confident that most of them would prefer such a course; but I am equally confident that if, for any reason, this course should not succeed, the inexorable forces of unsatisfied desires and frustrated hopes will seek other outlets.

If the choice of many nations should be for communism, the strength of the Communist bloc would become overpowering. On the other hand, if we can help the less developed nations to achieve their goals while still retaining their independence, the ca-

pacity of the free world to counterbalance Soviet power will be immeasurably increased.

These two problems transcend all the Unforother problems which face us. tunately they do not lend themselves to easy or to quick solutions. They will be with us for more than years or decades; they will color the character of our lives for at least the balance of this century. One thing is certain: the surest course to national disaster—and I am speaking literally, and not just figuratively-is to ignore existence.

The mutual security program, in con-junction with other related activities, and our own national defense program represent the principal instruments with which the United States, in concert with other free developed nations, can deal with these two central problems. They may be imperfect, and at times poor and ineffective, instruments. But no one, to my knowledge, has ever suggested rational and workable substitutes

Aid through the mutual security program plays a specific, direct and extremely important role in strengthening military defenses. A substantial portion of all our economic aid is designed to support the military forces of friendly nations. In the judg-ment of our Joint Chiefs of Staff, these forces represent an indispensable part of our defensive shield.

You and I, as armchair strategists, may visualize the war of the future as a battle in outer space, fought with mechanically directed missiles and rockets that are powered and warheaded with nuclear explosives. However, our highest military leaders believe that the large, widely dispersed, and strategically situated forces of our allies are essential. They stress the danger of brushfire wars and they point to the opportunities for local Communist aggression which weakness in Communist-bordering countries might invite. They are convinced that these allied forces are as necessary as our own, both as a deterrent to aggression and as a major military asset in the event that the deterrent should fail.

Such forces cannot be effective forces unless there is a continuing flow of assistance from us. In the case of developed nations, this can largely be limited American-made advanced weapons. For our less developed allies, more is required. They find it impossible, even though weapons are provided through military assistance, to carry the economic burden, to pay the costs, of maintaining large forces in

Of the approximately \$4.2 billion requested by the President for mutual security purposes during the year beginning July 1, nearly \$2% billion are directly related to the creation and maintenance of forces considered essential by our military leaders. Of this amount, \$2 billion will be employed within for the purchase—almost entirely the United States-of military equipment and for military training. The bulk of the military aid will consist of advanced weap ons for our NATO allies and of all types of combat materials for other selected countries which are associated with us in regional security or mutual defense agreements.

This equipment and training will be pro vided to some 40 nations with combined forces of more than 5 million men and possessing 30,000 aircraft and 2,200 combatant vessels. Numerically, these allied forces are twice the size of our own. They are, for the most part, strategically located in areas contiguous to the Soviet bloc where it would be impracticable, and prohibitively costly, for the United States to maintain forces of comparable strength.

The remaining \$725 million is for economic aid to a dozen countries which could not, without this added economic support, maintain the 3 million men whom they now have under arms. By far the largest proportion of this sum will go to Korea, Vietnam, Turkey, Pakistan, and Taiwan—nations supporting forces that are disproportionately large in relation to their economic capabilities.

No comparable expenditure for our own Military Establishment could compensate for the security which is provided by the allied divisions, squadrons, and fleets whose effectiveness depends on the ald proposed.

The indispensability of the balance of our economic aid is unfortunately less well understood. It is too often viewed as a pure act of charity, unwarranted when we have so many worthy needs at home; as something which saps the strength of our own economy in a futile effort to strengthen the economies of ungrateful and lazy people abroad who should solve their own difficulties. Nothing could be further from the facts. The survival of this Nation, and of its economy, too, depends upon this assistance.

Most of the less-developed countries cannot, without outside help, satisfy within the foreseeable future the minimum desires of their peoples. The reasons for this condition involve two basic deficiencies which are characteristic of underdevelopment: First inadequate capital, and second, a lack of the skilled human resources and of the political, social, and economic institutions which are necessary for the establishment and the operation of a modern society. The nature and implications of these deficiencies deserve careful analysis since they are at the heart of the justification for much of our foreign economic aid.

In nations where the average per capita income ranges from \$50 to \$200 per year, the possibility of large voluntary saving is small. It is virtually impossible if a nation must currently respond to the pressing, politically insistent demands for significantly increased consumption.

There is, of course, one way in which saving can be accomplished—through the application of stringent, and often cruel, authoritarian techniques in the forced mobilization of the nation's physical and human resources. The enjoyment of increased consumption is deferred by using force, and the cost of doing so in human life and human misery is ignored, or explained away as the price of progress. Abhorrent as we may find them, Communist methods have produced the appearance of remarkably rapid growth in those countries where they have been employed.

We must recognize that the only presently practical alternative to this enforced accumulation of capital is the massive transfer of capital from external sources.

The problem of accumulating capital in less-developed countries would be difficult even if it could be assumed that populations would remain static. But we are now in the most gigantic population explosion in history, and its greatest impact is in the less developed countries. In some areas an increase in population unmatched by increases in production of food and other items is now causing a decline in already low standards of living.

In the case of human capital, the problem is somewhat different and more difficult to deal with. The developed nations do have economic resources which can be physically transferred. But helping to upgrade another society's manpower resources and to modernize its institutions is not so simply accomplished.

The American foreign economic aid program attempts to deal frontally with both the financial and the human elements of the problem of underdevelopment.

To help provide the necessary physical resources, above and beyond those which may be provided through private investment, the U.S. Government engages in several foreign economic aid activities. We are the largest single contributor to the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, and will shortly make our initial contributions to the newly formed International Development Authority and the Inter-American Development Bank.

Through its several surplus agricultural programs, the United States enables many less developed countries to devote slim foreign exchange resources to purchase of capital equipment rather than to the purchase of essential foods.

The Export-Import Bank is an important source of capital.

Finally, because these other sources are inadequate, and in many cases also inappropriate to the needs, there is the economic aid which is provided under the mutual security program.

Within the mutual security program, the Development Loan Fund is the principal vehicle for extending capital assistance. This fund was created to help countries which cannot obtain adequate credit on bankers' terms. It lends funds to finance developmental projects. Its loans are generally long term, carry relatively low-interest rates, and may be repaid in the borrowing country's local currency—\$700 million of the President's \$4.2 billion appropriation request is to provide further necessary capitalization for this Fund in the coming year.

Our primary approach to the problem of human capital lies in the programs of technical cooperation. It may well be that this is the most important long-run component of our foreign aid effort. There is a growing belief on the part of many economists that human capital may be the most critical element in the growth of nations.

The rate of development in our own country, and the remarkable recent progress in countries like Mexico and Japan, cannot be fully explained by increases in the investment of capital nor in man-hours worked. The explanation apparently lies in the steady improvement in the quality of human resources.

Unfortunately mankind has had no significant prior experience with technical cooperation on a massive, cross-cultural basis. We know very little about the process of economic growth, and even less about the ways in which one society can help another society acquire skills and knowledge, particularly a society which is at a different stage in economic development and possesses an entirely different cultural heritage. This is a largely unexplored frontier of knowledge, and those who are engaged in technical cooperation are in a very real sense pioneers.

Our experience with technical cooperation has already taught us one important lesson: The process of helping others to acquire skills, values, ideas and attitudes, and to adapt them to their own cultural settings, takes time. Our initial expectations that technical programs would result in rapid transformation of other societies were born of ignorance. The habits, patterns and institutions of a culture do not always change quickly. If we expect to make a real contribution to the economic and social progress of less developed peoples, we must reconcile ourselves to a sustained and long-term technical assistance effort, and we must organize ourselves accordingly.

The three universities which are sponsoring this conference have been extremely active in helping our Government in the technical cooperation programs. Together they are working with ICA through a dozen contracts. These contracts involve diverse activities such as work in the field of public administration in Brazil, Vietnam, and Ja-

pan, and assistance to education in Thailand and Nigeria. They are also hosts to more than 1,700 foreign students, many of whom receive their training as part of the technical cooperation program. In addition, they are doing important research—in the development of new techniques, in the training and orientation of personnel for oversea service, in the problem of intercultural communication, and in methods for evaluating technical assistance programs. We in ICA are most grateful for their extensive and continuing support.

We have been prone to assume that the mere transfer of information, skills, or knowledge would, by itself, have some miraculous catalytic effect. Often technical advice cannot be effective unless accompanied by some physical or financial resources. For example, when we demonstrate the use of better seed, the value of fertilizer, or the proper method of establishing a health center, the effectiveness of the demonstration will often depend upon the provision of enough seed, fertilizer, or medical equipment to permit the widespread practical application of the knowledge conveyed.

Moreover, many countries find it impossible to finance the local costs of measures which are necessary to spread the benefits of technical assistance. For example, they often cannot underwrite the domestic costs of building the schools or constructing the clinics that are necessary to disseminate widely, or to employ on a large scale, advice provided them in the fields of health and education.

These are some of the problems. We do not have all the answers, yet, but, constantly searching for answers, we have learned much—about other nations, about the world, and about ourselves.

Before concluding, I would like to say a few words about the role of the university in this important mutual security undertaking. The universities are already making large and important contributions, but there are several areas in which the university community as a whole could perhaps do more. In the first place, I would like to see the university community drawn more fully into the process of aid policy formulation. Conferences like this one can be extremely useful in this respect.

Some way must be found to enable universities to release their most talented and valuable faculty members for substantial terms of service overseas. We must also find ways by which the leaders in business, trade unions, and the several professions can be recruited for similar tours of duty.

A second area in which the universities might do more is in those phases of the foreign aid program for which they have operational responsibilities. For example, more attention should be given by institutions to the adaptation of courses to meet the particular needs of students from other cultures. Courses tailored to fit the requirements of an American who will spend his life working in an American setting will not always be helpful to the individual who comes from, and will return to, a radically different environment.

A third area is the university contract. I think we are all still woefully ignorant of the circumstances under which, and the manner in which, this important device can be used with greatest effect. I therefore welcome the information that one of the universities involved in this conference is about to evaluate its own experience with such contracts.

Finally, I think the universities have a responsibility for helping to develop, and then for carrying out, educational programs that will produce an increasingly large supply of Americans who are eager and qualified to engage in this difficult job.

I recognize that the great universities are neither unaware of, nor unresponsive to,

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these several responsibilities. I mention them in order to stress the high importance which we in ICA attach to the role of the

universities in our work.

I return now to the theme with which I began. The world situation is one that will require the extension of foreign economic assistance on a very substantial scale for the remainder of the 20th century. There is no alternative course if we wish to survive as a free Nation. This aid program will be costly, but we can afford its costs far better than we can afford the disastrous consequences that would flow from either its cessation or serious cuts.

One further word. To me, the present situation, despite its vast and difficult problems, represents the most creative and constructive opportunity that man has ever had—the creation of free and equal societies

in a world at peace.

School Construction Assistance Act of 1060

SPEECH '

HON. ROBERT N. GIAIMO

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 26, 1960

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H.R. 10128) to authorize Federal financial assistance to the States to be used for constructing school facilities.

Mr. GIAIMO. Mr. Chairman, those of us who are concerned about the status of public education in the United States in the 1960's think in terms of the population explosion, the increase in school population, the availability of properly trained and qualified teachers and the existence of the physical facilities needed to properly house and teach this growing school population.

Those of us who come from New England have always prided ourselves on our concern for the educational needs and requirements of our young people. Historically, New England has always given special emphasis to the problems of public school education, and it is my fervent hope that it shall always continue to

do so.

Too often, however, I have heard the comment made that New England does not need Federal aid or, as some prefer to say it. "Federal interference"; it is agreed that New England can and will provide for the public school needs of its young people without the need of Federal financing. Perhaps this might be so but only at such an increased tax burden as to make one wonder whether the region or parts of it would actually undertake such a burden.

The educational needs of the New England region in the decade 1960-70 are staggering in terms of classroom needs, teacher salaries and fiscal expenditures. In reviewing these figures, I want to stress the fact that these requirements are just to maintain the level of education as it has been. There are many of us in New England who are not satisfied with the qualitative level of public education and want to see it improved even

though we realize it can only be done at increased costs. We want the best education available for our children, not some toned-down substitute designed to fit into a predetermined arbitrary budget. We from New England simply will not accept the proposition that America cannot afford to give its children the best education possible.

The Federal Reserve Bank of Boston. recognizing the problem of education in the sixties has recently compiled some statistics which it has written in its monthly publication, New England Business Review of March 1960. I should like to give you some of these statistics.

The elementary school population in New England had its greatest increase in the 1950's as a result of the postwar population explosion, but the high school population will have its great increase in the 1960's.

The elementary school population will increase by 7 percent in the 60's, but the high school age group is expected to increase by 27 percent. New England had 2,030,000 elementary and secondary school students both in public and private schools in 1955-56, the last year for which complete statistics are available. and will have an estimated 2,677,000 in 1970. In New England, a higher proportion of the school age population than in the Nation as a whole attends school and attends school for longer periods.

In 1958 there were 70,500 classrooms available in New England for public elementary and secondary education. The U.S. Office of Education estimates that this was 7,000 short of the number needed to eliminate overcrowding and to replace unsatisfactory or obsolete facilities. By 1970 it is estimated that we will need an additional 13,000 classrooms. Thus to eliminate the existing shortage and to take care of the projected increase in enrollment we will need over 20,000 classrooms in New England by 1970. If we adjust for the elimination of unsatisfactory classrooms and for the establishment of regionally integrated schools rather than the smaller inadequate secondary schools, we will need approximately 27,000 classrooms by 1970.

In the fall of 1958, New England employed 71,000 full- and part-time teachers in public elementary and secondary schools. In the 10 years from 1960 to 1970 we will need 19,000 additional teachers.

In addition, the replacement of teachers in public elementary and secondary year at conservative estimates. means that New England will need in the period of 1958 to 1970 approximately 98,000 additional teachers.

This need for new teachers will be in the face of increasing demand for educated persons by industry. At current salary rates it will be very difficult to compete with industry for these 98,000 well-educated people.

These figures compiled by the Federal Reserve bank of Boston give us a good idea of the problem facing us in New England in the next 10 years. My estimate is that these problems are even greater when we look at the Nation as a whole.

The problem then is what do we as a Nation propose to do about this constantly growing problem?

It is so easy to say it is a local problem-it is a State problem-this cures nothing. The fact of the matter is that we must recognize that American public education needs financial help. It needs it just to keep up with minimal future needs. It needs it even more to provide the proper quality of education to which American boys and girls are entitled.

The cost of financing this tremendous growth in New England education and, in fact, throughout the entire Nation will have to be borne by the taxpayer. There is no other soltuion. Our New England States are limited in how much more money can be raised by real property taxes. Real property taxes by their very nature must be reasonable. To increase them unreasonably would have severe economic results. The possibility or wisdom of increased sales taxes or State income taxes is extremely doubt-

There is no doubt that the Federal Government has preempted the tax field through the operation of the Federal income and inheritance tax laws. I believe that Federal taxation is the most logical and the most equitable way of raising revenue. I further believe that the most logical and equitable manner of financing the great educational growth necessary in the period 1960-70 must be through Federal financing. There just is no other practical way.

The objection of some that Federal aid means Federal control is not a valid one. It avoids the issue; it beclouds the one existing problem; namely, that the States need help. The pending legislation has ample safeguards to assure local and State control.

If we are in favor of an adequate public school system in the decade ahead of us, we must insist upon Federal participation through financial aid.

Library Services Act

SPEECH

HON. FRANK T. BOW

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 19, 1960

Mr. BOW. Mr. Speaker, we shall soon be called upon to extend the so-called Library Services Act. Our friends on the other side of the Capitol already have done so. The other body passed their bill on the Consent Calendar-another 5 years of grants-in-aid to the States at \$7.5 million annually.

My good friend from Ohio, a former Member of this House, Cliff Clevenger, said many times:

There is nothing as permanent as a temporary agency in Washington.

Cliff was a statesman with rare insight into things to come.

The RECORD for May 26, 1960, on page 10402, contains the passage of the bill by the other body. Listen to this language, Mr. Speaker:

Prolonging the life of this law is necessary if we are to carry on the great effort to bring better public library service to the rural areas of the Nation.

I am sometimes impressed by the New York Times editorials. This is what they said in 1956, as shown in the Congres-SIONAL RECORD of May 8 of that year:

The library services bill is now before the House. The list of sponsors is bipartisan.

This bill would grant a total of \$7.5 million a year for 5 years to States matching the grants. The objective is to bring books and other library services to rural families Who have none at all, and to improve library services for an additional 53 million Americans whose libraries are inadequate. The States and localities will have complete authority under the program established by the

In the great cities we are accustomed to Impressive library service. Our cousins in the villages and on the farms are entitled to it too. This legislation would stimulate the extension services of the various States and the regional cooperative services based on metropolitan centers. The funds proposed are modest, the period limited. It is believed that local communities in rural areas, having tasted the advantages of good libraries, would then wish to continue the services with local and State funds.

There are some, I am afraid, who rather blindly follow this great newspaper of metropolitan New York. May I say, Mr. Speaker, I cannot be counted among those who follow them down the aisle. You see, they said, "the period limited."

Now, in the RECORD of May 26, 1960, is another editorial which I include with these remarks:

[From the New York Times, Feb. 12, 1960]

FOR RUBAL LIBRARIES

Public Law 84-957, which expires June 30, 1961, is known as the Library Services Act. It was enacted in 1956 to provide such services to raral areas of the United States. The act authorized \$7,500,000 annually for 5 years for grants-in-aid to the States.

Behind these sentences lie 4 years of constructive activity by the State library ex-tension agencies, which by means of State and Federal moneys have brought library services to 30 million Americans in communities of 10,000 or less that never had any library service or enjoyed only inadequate services. The Library Services Act has brought to Alabama four new regional libraries, to Idaho the first trained administrator for the State library, to Mississippi a statewide conference on book selection, to Ohio bookmobile grants to five counties, to West Virginia centralized book-ordering Bervices.

The multiplicity of libraries in the great urban centers dulls the senses to the want of the rural areas. In order to help the rural areas continue their newly established services S. 2830 has been introduced in Congress. This bill is an amendment to the Library Services Act. Its purpose is to ex-tend for 5 more years the authorization for appropriations in order to continue the services already developed and also to bring them to at least 40 million people who as yet have not received them. Unless S. 2830 is acted on favorably in this Congress there will be no consideration for funds for library services for the 1961-62 fiscal year. It is hoped that this bill, which has the backing of 52 Senators, will find the remaining support necessary for enactment.

May I say, Mr. Speaker, "consistency, thou art a jewel."

In 1956 the Times said:

The funds proposed are modest, the period

In 1960 they say:

Unless S. 2830 is acted on favorably in this Congress there will be no consideration for funds for library services for the 1961-62 fiscal year. It is hoped that this bill, which has the backing of 52 Senators, will find the remaining support necessary for enact-

The debate, as is found in the RECORD of May 8, 1956, is most interesting. May I quote what some of my colleagues had to say at that time:

The gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. COLMER!

The passage of the library services bill would mean a greatly accelerated program of library development in my State during the 5 years of the program. This legislation will provide the stimulation needed to increase the interest and support necessary at the State and local levels so that our public libraries can take their important place in our educational system.

The gentleman from Georgia [Mr. LANDRUM]:

Emphasize again, will you, that this bill is for a 5-year period and is to serve as a stimulus only. It is hoped and believed by those who appeared before this committee that these subdivisions of the States and the States once the service becomes available, the people will not be without it again.

The gentleman from Arizona [Mr. RHODES ::

This is a program which lasts for 5 years.

The gentleman from Alabama [Mr. ELLIOTTI:

If we pass this bill, providing the small amount of \$71/2 million per year for 5 years, I want to hazard the prediction that at the end of the 5-year period the system of rendering library services by bookmobile will have spread all over rural America.

The gentleman from Mississippi [Mr.

The people know of the terminal phase of this legislation. Already their plans have been laid with that in mind. They have known that what State aid they had, small as it has of necessity been, involved in the ever-present necessity of supporting them-selves. With Federal funds, they face the same realistic approach.

The gentleman from Nevada [Mr. Youngl:

The library services bill will stimulate library development during its 5 years. We are for the library services bill, because it is terminal legislation.

The gentleman from New Hampshire [Mr. MERROW]:

This development needs to be done on a large scale throughout the country and can be brought about within the 5-year program of the library services bill. Such systems will be able to carry on the services after the Federal help is withdrawn.

The gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. PERKINS1:

The proposed program would be limited to 5 years. We have proof that after this period a rural library service program is most likely to be continued through local and State support.

The gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. THOMPSON]:

I firmly believe that if our people are provided for a period of 5 years with good libraries staffed by well-trained personnel dedicated to serving the people, they will never want to do without them again. I believe that when Federal funds cease after the 5th year, the States and the communities will somehow find other sources of revenue to continue the services they have learned to appreciate.

The gentleman from West Virginia [Mr. Burnside]:

It provides a terminal date of 5 years from passing for the completion of the program. It is not the beginning of a continuing Federal-aid program. Community and leaders as well as librarians are convinced that the help over a 5-year period will reduce the problem for the States and local governments to where they can easily finish the job in this generation.

The gentleman from Oklahoma IMr. ALBERT]:

It is contemplated that during the 5-year period the States and local communities will develop their own library-service plans which will permit the Federal Government to discontinue its work in this field.

The gentleman from Alabama [Mr. ROBERTS1:

The duration of the program is 5 years. This is adequate time for the States to undertake positive programs. It is anticipated that once the programs are started during the 5-year period, Federal assistance will no longer be needed.

The gentleman from California IMr. ROOSEVELT1:

All we are trying to do is to stimulate the States in helping them move forward and getting started those that have not started.

The gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. BOLAND]:

There is no doubt it will demonstrate the tremendous value of a good library system resulting in the local communities carrying the load when the Federal grants have ceased.

The gentleman from Arkansas [Mr. Hays]:

It cannot be overemphasized that the purpose of this grant-in-aid is to stimulate a service, not to underwrite it or to permanently assume a share of it. I am sure we all applaud the 5-year limitation. As a member of the Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, I became somewhat familiar with the Federal Government's involvement in grant-in-aid programs which were difficult to terminate and this bill may help to reverse that tendency.

It is also interesting to note that the former Representative from Massachusetts, Mr. Heselton, closed the debate with a speech in which he said:

I wish I could believe that this will be only a 5-year temporary program of Federal assistance with the result the majority of the committee foresees that it will be "carried on in the future by State and local communities without Federal assistance." That is not the record, the undisputed history of Federal assistance programs. Even though few of us may be here to make the further decision, I venture to suggest that in 1961 Congress will be asked to continue the program, unless we here this afternoon decide that this is the time when we must make the full results clear, of the constant impairment upon the self-respect, the initiative and the incentive of our own people, through their State and local governments, when they can do as well or better for themselves than they can through the Federal Government.

No prophet ever uttered a more truthful statement.

Now, Mr. Speaker, in my State of Ohio, we have an intangible tax law. Last year Ohio paid \$31,308,102 in intangible tax and from this amount \$21,261,612, or 67.91 percent of the total, was distributed to libraries.

Yes, Mr. Speaker, we are told we must pass on Federal funds for the States or our people may become illiterate. Even though \$21,261,612 goes to our libraries from State funds in Ohio, I guess I am supposed to believe that they could not operate without the \$270,635 Ohio receives in this grant-in-aid.

Ridiculous? Of course it is ridiculous. Do we believe in States rights or do we not? If we do, we must recognize State responsibility. And I submit that one

of those responsibilities is to take care of our libraries. How about endowments? I wish we could list them State by State, county by county. Grants-in-aid are the Frankenstein that has devoured self-respect, self-government, and Federal fiscal responsibility. Let us face up to it now.

I include in my remarks an article covering the intangible tax distribution in Ohio. I hope my colleagues will read it. Do they, or do you, Mr. Speaker, think we need an extension of the temporary Library Services Act.

INTANGIBLE TAX INCREASES—MUNICIPAL PARTICIPATION DECREASES

A recent news release from the office of State Auditor James A. Rhodes disclosed that public libraries received more than twothirds of the \$31.3 million in county intangible taxes paid by Ohioans last year.

Reports filed with State Auditor James A. Rhodes by county auditors on the distribution of the intangible taxes paid at the court houses show that libraries received \$21,261,-

612 out of the \$31,308,102 distributed. This was 67.91 percent of the total, and a quarter-million more than they got in 1958.

City and village governments received \$8,251,114 or 26.35 percent; county governments, \$1,558,077, or 4.9 percent.

The State of Ohio received \$78,339.84 for administrative purposes, and the balance of \$158,959 went mostly to park districts, or was not distributed.

The libraries' share of the county intangible tax ranged from 27.9 percent of the total in Geauga County to 99.75 percent in 10 counties as follows: Allen, Gallia, Guernsey, Hocking, Lawrence, Morgan, Paulding, Perry, Vinton, and Warren.

Cuyahoga County which collects more than one-fourth of the county intangible tax topped all the large counties in the amount and the percentage that went to libraries, \$6,981,000, or 87.21 percent of the total distributed.

In Hamilton County libraries got 37.21 percent; in Franklin, 81 percent; Lucas, 74.83 percent; Montgomery, 66.14 percent; Summit, 65.2 percent; Stark, 73.38 percent; Mahoning, 81.77 percent.

County	Total distribution	Public libraries	Percent to libraries	Cities and villages	County	Total distribution	Public libraries	Percent to libraries	Cities and villages
dams	\$7, 250, 87	\$6, 526, 29	90.00	0	Licking	\$190, 820, 61	\$99,000,00	51.88	\$65, 543, 42
llen	233, 067, 40	232, 484, 74	99, 75	0	Logan	43, 172, 95	39, 130, 00	90. 63	2, 913, 83
shland	112, 187, 50	52, 733, 39	47.00	\$50, 309, 46	Lorain	362, 808, 64	332, 143, 73	91.54	23, 990, 42
shtabula	144, 503, 99	128, 290, 38	88.77	0	Lucas	1, 676, 942, 24	1, 254, 938, 00	74, 83	346, 358, 93
thens	61, 131. 78	47,000.00	74.75	11, 691, 73	Madison	34, 630, 65	24, 675, 13	71. 25	6, 568. 9
uglaize	86, 699, 55	40, 496, 05	46, 70	35, 986, 75	Mahoning	700, 478, 45	572, 816, 80	81.77	7, 910. 40
lelmont	128, 552, 12	125, 205, 75	97, 39	2, 410, 18	Marion	98, 522, 63	55, 067, 35	55, 89	29, 130, 3
rown	20, 815, 21	16, 037, 40	77.04	3, 520, 78	Medina	118, 519, 26	66, 028, 11	55, 71	30, 780. 24
utler	437, 290, 02	293, 500, 00	67.11	127, 873, 18	Meigs	14, 414, 44	8, 878, 72	61, 60	1, 933, 80
arroll	31, 427, 32	17, 694, 78	56, 30	8, 509, 04	Mercer	70, 684, 52	50, 257, 81	71.10	15, 250, 00
hampaign	56, 908, 30	38, 923, 20	68, 39	11, 689, 98	Miami	224, 079, 58	139, 441, 46	62,22	60, 759, 90
lark	252, 646, 26	185,000,00	73.22	48, 916, 20	Monroe	10, 535, 77	8, 400, 00	79.72	2, 902, 4
dermont	88, 830, 40	64, 375, 62	72.47	8, 317, 97	Montgomery	1, 722, 484, 17	1, 139, 320, 00	66.14	484, 281. 6
linton	61, 258, 52	40, 982, 08	66, 90	16, 123, 30	Morgan	11, 027, 08	10, 999, 52	99.75	0
olumbiana	221, 775, 90	162, 900, 00	73, 45	49, 078, 76	Morrow	18, 169, 37	7,500.00	41.27	6, 566, 4
oshoeton	88, 745, 42	55, 000, 00	61.97	27, 324, 11	Muskingum	151, 822, 63	76, 450, 00	50, 25	53, 151.4
rawford	112, 576, 93	38, 234, 85	33, 96	67, 389, 32	Noble	6, 186, 10	4,000.00	64, 66	1, 435, 5
uyahoga	8, 004, 802, 21	6, 981, 000, 00	87, 21	995, 885, 90	Ottawa	55, 079, 25	40,000.00	72. 62	7, 856, 77
arke	72, 425, 47	66, 244, 41	91, 46	6,000,00	Paulding.	15, 913, 61	15, 873, 82	99, 75	0
Defiance	50, 104, 87	45, 579, 62	88, 87	3, 900, 00	Perry	23, 709, 26	23, 649, 99	99, 75	0
Delaware	82, 089, 64	50, 240.00	61, 20	13, 009, 19	Pickaway	41,077.02	31,600.00	76, 92	1, 564.00
rie	204, 384, 07	107, 500, 00	52, 59	82, 058, 91	Pike	6, 349, 41	6, 250, 58	98. 44	0
airfield	128, 883, 91	59, 760, 00	46, 36	55, 793, 13	Portage	151, 675. 07	128, 350, 42	84, 62	13, 138. 1
ayette	30, 424, 55	20,005,77	65.75	8, 270, 49	Preble	32, 893, 42	22, 209, 32	67.51	3, 820.0
ranklin	2, 174, 309, 57	1, 762, 015. 75	81.03	367, 332, 94	Putnam	30, 725, 26	16,000.00	52.07	12, 212, 1
ulton	51, 825, 27	51, 619, 19	99.60	0	Richland	339, 938, 56	172, 700, 00	50, 80	122, 853, 4
allia	20, 638, 19	20, 586, 60	99.75	0	Ross	101, 767. 48	66, 573, 80	65, 41	28, 939, 2
eauga	209, 314, 20	58, 439, 63	27. 91	38, 633, 60	Sandusky	107, 873. 34	97, 549. 34	90.42	7, 256. 2
reene	108, 712, 21	45, 501.00	41.90	38, 829, 08	Scioto	106,001.95	72,000.00	67. 92	29, 337, 6
uernsey	50, 933, 43	50, 806, 09	99.75	0	Seneca	116, 148, 88	80, 300, 00	90. 42	31, 412, 3
familton	5, 915, 486, 28	2, 201, 553. 94	37. 21	3, 420, 418. 24	Shelby	66, 087, 45	53, 325, 00	80.68	9, 765. 0
Iancock	178, 879. 25	82, 720, 00	46, 24	89, 091, 67	Stark	932, 329, 91	684, 200, 00	73.38	154, 208. 6
Iardin	43, 839. 78	35, 320, 59	80. 56	5, 409. 60	Summit	1, 596, 658, 57	1,041,043.00	65, 20	448, 831. 2
farrison	25, 892, 09	24, 270, 99	93. 73	1, 556. 38	Trumbull	392, 030. 61	211, 917. 82	54. 05	97, 754. 9
lenry	20, 889, 98	29, 183, 30	97.63	0	Tuscarawas	161, 122, 81	105, 711. 44	65. 60	# acc "
lighland	52, 282, 76	24, 823. 00	45, 88	20, 470. 56	Union	86, 203, 74	27, 830. 00	76. 87	6, 222. 7
locking	14, 513, 67	14, 477, 39	99.75	0	Van Wert	42, 495, 38	37, 300, 00	87.77	0
folmes	25, 702, 15	14, 725, 32	57. 29	4, 648, 39	Vinton.	4, 428. 67	4, 417. 60	99. 75	0
luron	95, 543. 39	81, 107. 00	84. 89	11, 884, 48	Warren	84, 007, 84	83, 797. 83	99. 75	
ackson	33, 408, 30	15,000.00	44, 89	18, 019, 22	Washington	103, 378. 76	71, 200. 00	68. 87	23, 781, 11
efferson	192, 112, 46	90, 487, 95	47, 10	92, 264, 47	Wayne	179, 762. 84	87, 978. 76	48. 94	71, 533. 1
nox	90, 874, 88	43, 400, 00	47.75	35, 301, 29	Williams	72, 742. 18	58, 124. 37	79. 90	14, 435. 9
ake	549, 156, 36	262, 900, 00	47. 87	207, 995, 56	Wood	413, 825. 00	297, 992. 74	72.00	39, 380. 10
awrence	28, 607, 38	28, 535, 86	99.75	0	Wyandot	27, 872, 94	21, 421, 12	76.85	3, 419, 47

The Summit Conference

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JAMES C. OLIVER

OF MAINE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Friday, May 27, 1960

Mr. OLIVER. Mr. Speaker, it seems to me that the debacle at Paris when the highly publicized summit conference was sabotaged by the arregant, contemptuous and bellicose Khrushchev should and must alert us to the urgent need for our awakening from the attitude of complacency which has characterized our defense efforts of the past several years.

Wishful thinking and hoping for that period of peace and tranquility which we envision in the words of the scheming Soviets—namely, peaceful coexistence—has deadened us to the realities of this period of the world's history in which challenges and repeated challenges have been and will continue to be thrown at us.

It is inconceivable to me that any American who is willing to face up to the facts of life can conclude that we have any course of action open to us except more defense efforts as well as a deeper realization that we must fortify ourselves for more intensive psychological warfare.

Our increased defense efforts must include among other items:

First. The more rapid expediting of the modernization of our Army and an increase of divisions.

Second. An increased expansion program of Polaris submarine construction and implementation.

Third. An expediting of our program for nuclear propulsion for air and space craft.

Fourth. More urgency in our efforts to develop our space reconnaissance capability. Without reconnaissance capability, being practiced to its ultimate, we are, indeed, asking for another Pearl Harbor. The American people and the people of the free world for that matter must be informed of the difference between espionage and reconnaissance. The first being Soviet in its implications and the latter, being American. We need

more information through reconnaissance.

To supplement these views, Mr. Speaker, I submit, herewith, my radio speech of May 22, 1960, over station WGAN of Portland, Maine, through the courtesy of the Gannett Publishing Co. and its able and alert Washington correspondent, May Craig:

BROADCAST OVER STATION WGAN RADIO, PORT-LAND, MAINE, MAY 22, 1960, BY HON. JAMES

Ladies and gentlemen, in the light of the World-shaking events of the past week at Paris, there can be only one subject to dis-cuss with you today, my friends. That sublect, of course, is the torpedoing by Khrushchev of the long-publicized and, in most quarters, the desperately desired summit

conference of the Big Four.

I have used the words "in most quarters' advisedly, because the people of the world had been sold on the hope that this meeting of the leaders of the four big powers of the world could, and would, in some magical manner, pull a rabbit out of the hat and irreconcilable, as it seems to me, issues Would be amicably settled. At the least, the people of the world had been brainwashed with the illusion that a summit meeting could result in a relaxing of tensions between the free and the regimented worlds.

Inviting Khrushchev to visit America, Without first obtaining from him some promise, for what it may have been worth, was the first mistake that our policymakers made. Then, after his arrogant and contemptuous attitude had been completely displayed, and we had been influenced to overlook his boasting and his insulting conduct while he was a guest of the President, the Madison Avenue soap-selling technique came into full tempo. Remember the hog-Wash which sounded the theme song of the spirit of Camp David. The beautiful dove of peace was flying at the masthead of practically every newspaper in America. The summit conference was to be the culmination of the dedicated efforts for settlement of these issues which have continued to bedevil the world in the form of the cold war. The irreconcilable ideologies of the socialistic-communistic and the capitalistic camps Were to be submerged in compromise. erybody was to save face. Nobody would be an appeaser. In short, the wonderful rabbit was to jump out of the hat.

But the leopard never had changed his spots. Khrushchev never did have any intention of yielding by one inch. His intentions, in my opinion, were as always to play the Western World for suckers. He intended and did use the sounding board of the stillborn summit conference for the purpose of throwing his weight around. He merely rebeated in a more vigorous and a more insulting technique the same attitude which he expressed while on his visit to America as

the guest of our President.

I took the position, then, that we were making a mistake in our invitation to him to visit this country. We now find our gullibility being paid off with insults such as no head of a great power would ever have thrown at another great power, unless he was prepared for the showdown of war.

The Russia of today has not changed one tota from the Russia of Stalin, so far as its basic objectives are concerned. We never learn a lesson from being kicked around. When Stalin was as truculent, as demanding, and as doublecrossing as Khrushchev is today, we swallowed his insults in our efforts to get along with him.

These butchers in the Kremlin remain butchers and compromise is practiced by them in only one way, and that is down a one-way street in which they are determined to control the right-of-way. Our yielding and mild policy for the hope of cooperation only results in continued yielding. Peace-

ful coexistence in the language of the Soviets means only one thing, and that is on terms to be established by the Soviets in their own hest interests.

We cannot placate an attitude of implacability except by yielding our own self-respect. They are hard and we have been soft. They know where they are going and use every devious and calculating means to get there. We indulge in wishful thinking and fail to evaluate the hard, uncompromising determination of these ruthless despots. They are surging ahead with everincreasing momentum while we are beguiled along the primrose path of complacency and ill-advised optimism.

It is no surprise to those of us who evaluate the Soviet leadership as unscrupulous, cunning, crafty, and tough dedicated men without any consciences whatseoever that Khrushchev would act like a Hitler. Any man, drunk with power, is certain to throw his weight around when he believes that he is serving his purpose in so doing. should blame ourselves for allowing ourselves to be such dupes, as we have been.

Khrushchev is still feeling his first sputnik, which our present leaders did their best to downgrade. The Soviet shot at the moon; their photographing of the back side of the moon; their latest space vehicle which could mark another first in the very near future; their progress in the sciences, including oceanography with which I have some familiarity, and their drive with purpose to goals which we had estimated as unattainable for them for many years have combined to develop the arrogance which Mr. K. threw without restraint at our President and at us at the Paris debacle.

Once again, let me refer to the kind of peaceful coexistence which the Soviets envision by citing these words of Lenin: "The existence of the Soviet Republic side by side with imperialistic states for a long time is unthinkable. One or the other must triumph in the end. And, before that end supervenes, a series of frightful collisions between the Soviet Republic and the burgeois states will be inevitable." Khrushchev has openly stated that Soviet Russia will never abandon its goal of world conquest. It is true that he may not have used those exact words; but, he did state at the National Press Club, last September, while he was the geust of the President that "the foreign policy of the Soviet Union is founded on the Leninist principle of peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems." In the light of this stated philosophy which dominates the Soviet consecration to its goal and objective, is there any further need to beat our brains out, trying to find some other hidden or farfetched motivation for Khrushchev's brutal and barbarous treatment of the United States at the Paris fiasco? It satisfies me to take him as he is and not get all confused by trying to think of him as something different. He represents an economic and governmental system which is directly and completely the antithesis of America. As the leader and spokesman of this system he has boasted that "we will bury you." This is reason enough for me to be convinced that we should not fool ourselves any longer with wishful thinking that we only need to close our eyes to the realities of the world in which we now live and the big bad wolf will go away.

We have been badly shaken by this episode: but, we asked for it. We probably will be shaken again and again and again during these next few days, weeks and months. To me, this means that we must be tough without being truculent. We must be resolute without being rabid. We must be persistent without being punitive. Khrushchev is rattling his rockets. To me, this means that we must transform our complacency of dream world thinking into an attitude of action. We are in a race for survival whether we like it or not. The

true face of the Kremlin was displayed at Paris.

In short, the United States and our allies, as well, must heed these storm warnings. Mr. K. has been acting, under instructions from the Kremlin, like a hurricane and if we have the commonsense to meet this challenge, we must batten down the hatches. It will be wise, in lieu of speculating why "Khrush" blew his top to check ourselves, for the purpose of urgent correction, and examine: (1) the reasons why we have slipped in prestige during the last 5 years among them being psychological negativism, loss of dynamism, the obvious subordination of defense needs to the sacred cow of the budget and refusal to acknowledge that we are in a contest in space as well as in every other phase of our national being.

Crying national crocodile tears over the U-2 affair, in my opinion, only helps Khrushchev to inflate this cause celebre to a manifest absurdity. One has only to know that the Soviets are making regular reconnaissance flights over England every day in order to place this defense activity of ours in its proper perspective. This is not the most sordid crime of the century. If we were not using every logical and possible means of gaining information concerning the activities of this avowed enemy of America, we would, indeed, be derelict in our responsibility even to the point of treason. do we think that we should have a guilt complex because of this effort to protect our own country against a communistic dictator-ship which has looted and murdered across half of Europe? Have we forgotten Budapest? Have we forgotten the murder of East Berliners who were fighting for freedom? Do we have to apologize to ourselves or to the world which knows from firsthand experience in practically every corner of the globe of the operation by the Soviets of the most massive and, yes, the most malignant espionage system ever known in the history of the world? I think that we should not be beating ourselves over the head for acting in our own self-defense which is, by the same token, the defense of the free world. These cries of Khrushchev are just so much public relations fakerism and we certainly are ridiculous if we continue to upgrade them to anything different by our own breastbeating.

Khrushchev, in my opinion, never did have any intention of making the summit conference a success in causing international tensions to relax, except upon his own terms. If this could not be done, then, he intended to do just what he did: Namely. use it as a sounding board for world attention and propaganda by telling off the three leaders of the Western World.

The U-2 episode only served to make his objective, more attainable and in his viewpoint, more justifiable.

The real issue is where do we go from here? How do we pick up the pieces? ment on the halting of nuclear and thermonuclear testing, moves toward sincere mutual disarmament, and relaxing of cold war tensions are still on our agenda. But, I fear, that Khrushchev and the Kremlin will, and as a matter of fact, already have, planned more moves of brinkmanship. The free world must be prepared to withstand more shocks of psychological warfare.

It could be that, within the next few days, the Soviet space vehicle will reenter the earth's atmosphere and make a landing with the first spaceman of all time as we know it. If this is accomplished, the impact on the world and, upon us, will be catastrophic. How will we protect and harden ourselves against this further softening technique of the Communists?

What happens when, as, and if these possible and even probable acts of brinkmanship develop, namely:

1. The signing of a separate peace treaty with East Germany and the subsequent acts of harassing and closing off the Berlin high-

way and air corridor?

2. The march of North Koreans into South Korea?

3. The military aggression against Quemoy and the Matsu Islands?

4. Increased over acts by Castro?

5. Further agitation and overt acts in Panama?

6. Stepping-up tensions in Turkey and in strategic areas of the Near East?

Are we prepared, psychologically and militarily to stand up resolutely against these acts of aggression, directed toward softening

us up for the kill?

The communistic art of disarming an opponent with smiles and tokens of good will and then, at the proper psychological moment of withdrawing, scowling and threat-ening have been well demonstrated by the visit of Khrushchev to our land, followed by the phony talk about disarmament and world peace in the spirit of Camp David, then, concluding in the fiasco of the Paris summit conference.

This should be sufficient indoctrination for us in communistic cunning to prepare us when more of the same treatment falls

on our collective head.

The only answer for us is to get the big-gest possible stick at the earliest possible date, speak softly but resolutely, say what we mean and mean what we say, fully realizing that further appeasement can only mean living on our knees for generations to

The Soviets respect nothing except power and strength, both mental and physical. Our leaders must measure up to this yardstick or else.

This, my friends, is what the U-2 incident and the collapse of the summit mean to me.

School Construction Assistance Act of 1960

SPEECH OF

HON. HAROLD D. DONOHUE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 26, 1960

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H.R. 10128) to authorize Federal financial assistance to the States to be used for constructing school facilities

Mr. DONOHUE. Mr. Chairman, because of the overwhelming evidence on record showing the urgent need of improving school facilities throughout the Nation, I rise in support of this bill granting reasonable Federal assistance to the States for such purpose.

In the development of a legislative proposal toward law enactment, it is our democratic custom to afford opportunities for advocates and antagonists to submit their evidence and views through committee congressional There is no need for me to recount the convincing mass of statistical, and other objective evidence, presented by the foremost educational authority in the country and contained in the record of committee hearings, over the past several years. Their concrete facts and figures leave no question about the great deficiency of educational facilities around the country.

There is also no need for me to reiterate the testimony of the multitudinous officials of States and municipalities demonstrating that their various States are wholly unable to provide, from their own drained resources, the urgently required improvements in school facili-

The two basic factors involved are the need for school improvements and the inability of the States to construct them. Since these two factors have been proved beyond question, it appears to me that there should be no reasonable doubt that this measure should be approved.

With full realization of the consequences that may follow from the collapse of the Paris summit meeting, there ought to be no uncertainty about the imperative necessity of accelerating our preparations to meet the Russian Communist on every front, including the educational front. Realistically admitting our past mistakes and factually facing the import of a long, continuing cold war atmosphere, let us wisely now take the steps to guarantee that our youth will be adequately trained to meet and beat the Communist challenges in the future.

There can be no better or wiser economic planning for the future security of America than a reasonable investment for the superior schooling of the country's children. Let us endorse and approve that practical investment today.

If we can afford to generously grant, in Christian concern, many billions of dollars for the advancement and training of people in undeveloped countries throughout the world then surely we can afford to provide reasonable assistance for the training and development of the children of the burdened American taxpayers.

Today, the "Edmonds"-Tomorrow. World Trade

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. AL ULLMAN

OF OREGON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Friday, May 27, 1960

Mr. ULLMAN. Mr. Speaker, last week the destroyer U.S.S. Edmonds made its way up the Columbia River to the inland port city of The Dalles, Oreg. My colleagues will be interested in the following editorial from the Dalles Optimist. which points out that this historic visit of an American fighting ship some 185 miles upstream from the mouth of the Columbia marks the creation of a new ocean waterway of great importance to the future of the Northwest and the Nation:

[From the Dalles (Oreg.) Optimist, May 19, 19601

TODAY, THE "EDMONDS"-TOMORROW, WORLD TRADE

Arrival of the U.S.S. Edmonds, a destroyer escort of the U.S. Navy, in The Dalles this Friday for a 3-day stay, with open house aboard the vessel on Saturday—Armed Forces Day-marks a definite milestone in the long and varied history of this century old city.

For one thing, it marks acceptance by the Navy of the existence of a usable channel from Vancouver upriver to The Dalles for vessels of this size—in the case of the Edmonds, more than 300 feet in length with a draft of 16 feet.

With completion of the deep-draft (27 feet) channel next month, port of The Dalles will technically be in position to serve the commerce of the inland empire region. Ac-tually, this is not the case since it will first be necessary to construct suitable facilities before the potential commerce of the region can be moved from The Dalles into world markets.

However, potential commerce is already here since savings can be achieved by Harvey Aluminum by the movement of alumina to The Dalles by ship and shipment of other cargoes to their plant in the Los Angeles

Outbound cargoes of wheat for the Orient also are potentially available for return cargo on alumina ships since savings are possible. In industry and commerce, that's reason

As the potential of these two basic cargoes is realized, commerce will be expanded to s wide range of export commodities produced in the interior.

Thus, the arrival of a naval vessel here is symbolic of future commercial use of this new seaway which will be of vast importance to the economy of the region, largely dependent upon marketing of wheat.

Strangers to Portland, no doubt, are always somewhat amazed to find oceangoing vessels in the snug harbor provided by the Willamette River, and during rose festival time, to note the presence of destroyers and cruisers. But Portland is truly a maritime city, and the same some day can be said of The Dalles, 86 miles farther up the Columbia-great river of the West.

Flags will be flying on the U.S.S. Edmonds in The Dalles harbor as that vessel on Friday afternoon becomes the symbol of a new age of waterborne commerce for the city and region. All of us should join in welcoming the officers and crew of the Edmonds, and we're sure the reception, both official and public, will be a rousing one. This is an auspicious occasion, not unlike the arrival of the first trains a half century or more ago over highways of iron.

In the wake of the Edmonds will move the commerce of an empire over the waterway afforded by Bonneville Pool.

This week bids were called by the Corps of Engineers, U.S. Army, for modification of the channel just below Bonneville Dam to permit the easy passage of large vessels through this area now made difficult of passage by strong crosscurrents.

This project of the engineers is solidly based on the economics of the situation. promising numerous benefits to those of us who live and work in the area east of the Cascade Mountains.

The Dalles for more than a century has been a crossroads of commerce, first as the point of contact between stagelines into the interior and the river boats which first plied the Columbia.

Now railroad and truck and buslines serve the commercial and transportation needs of the area on land, and barge fleets handled by diesel-powered tugs, move waterborne commerce up the river as far inland as Pasco, and out of The Dalles to all parts of the west coast and even to Hawaii.

The potential for development of port of The Dalles as a world port clearly is here How soon that time is coming will depend upon the vision and energy of the port commissioners and their staff, and of the foresight of the people of the port district.

Opportunity is knocking. The development of suitable deep-draft facilities must not be long postponed.

Appendix

Address by Adm. Arleigh A. Burke, Chief of Naval Operations, at New Castle, N.H.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. STYLES BRIDGES

OF NEW HAMPSHIRE

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, May 31, 1960

Mr. BRIDGES. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the Record a speech delivered on Thursday, May 26, at New Castle, N.H., by Adm. Arleigh A. Burke, Chief of Naval Operations.

Admiral Burke's address was made under the auspices of the New Hampshire Apprenticeship Council, chairman of which is Mr. James P. Lynch, a distinguished publisher of my State, and was attentively received by several hundred representatives attending the 16th Annual Eastern Seaboard Apprenticeship Conference from a large number of Eastern States, as well as from our neighbor, Canada. I had the pleasure of introducing Admiral Burke on this occasion, and of hearing his remarks in person. His forceful and penetrating analysis of the strength we enjoy as a free society justifies his reputation as one of this Nation's distinguished military

I believe that Admiral Burke's remarks Warrant the attention of all thoughtful Americans.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

It is a pleasure to be with you today. Your annual conference renders a great service, not only to yourselves and to industry, but to the Nation as well.

Your efforts to meet America's continuing and growing need for skilled craftsmen are truly commendable. The need for skills has kept pace with rapid advancements in science and technology, and with the increasing demands for goods and services throughout our economy.

The marvelous improvements, so characteristic of American industry, automation, machines of increasing capability and complexity, bring with them an urgent requirement for more and more skilled workers.

Even in this age of wonders, there is no simple button to push which then provides the necessary skills. It takes education and training, and much conscientious hard work. Your continuing interest in apprenticeship programs shows your clear understanding of the need for skills, and the way to get them.

All the armed services, too, feel the pressure of technology; for we depend greatly on highly complex equipment and weapons systems, all vital to modern warfare.

This basic need for skilled, highly qualified workers, in the military, in industry, in every flield of technical endeavor, has been even further magnified by the grave competition

thrown at us by Communist imperialism. Fortunately, competition is as American as the hot dog. We are good, extremely good, at it. We know how to compete, and we know how to work to win. Even so, and especially now, there is no room for complacency, or for apathy. The challenge is great.

Our ability to produce, to sustain our economy, to meet the needs of national security, while still guaranteeing the basic freedom and dignity of each man, has been challenged. We have been challenged by a monolithic, tightly controlled despotism, whose unwavering goal is the overthrow of freedom, the subjugation of all mankind.

That this goal is unchanging, could be no more clearly illustrated than in the events of recent weeks. Communists may blow hot, or may blow cold. Their tactics may change with the seasons; words of apparent sweetness may give way to words of wrath and anger. Compliments may be followed by insults, deep insults. Our friends may be threatened. Through it all, despite all the appearances of change, the godless goal of world empire remains constant and unremitting.

In this competition, each side is significantly different in nature. We have different needs, and different responses to them.

Our societies are radically different. We are blessed with an open society—a democracy. The Communists, wherever they are in power, have exactly the opposite, a closed society—a despotism.

The open society is the guarantee and hallmark of internal freedom. Freedom to speak, to act, is the stamp of democracy; the key to individual freedom, full freedom. Such freedom can only exist in an open society, where the voice of the people is heard, and heeded.

People, everyday people, men, women, and children, all mankind, deplore and denounce military aggression. As a result, the open democratic society, where people have so great a say in their government, in their national policies, is not militarily aggressive.

But, because the American people are vitally interested in the defense of so wonderful a country as ours, they do take a deep interest in military affairs.

In our country, military affairs are constantly under scrutiny. They are discussed in our newspapers; debated in the Halls of Congress, and in public forums throughout the land. The location of airfields, missile sites, and bases, the nature of new weapon systems, arms reduction or buildups, are all in the public domain. No one need fear surprise attack from our democracy.

By contrast, the Soviet society is fully closed, secretive, suppressing all but the one authorized viewpoint. There is no debate. There is nothing to debate.

The Supreme Soviet, which the Communists would have the world believe to be the equivalent of our Congress, is a mere rubber stamp. It meets a few days every year, and unanimously, and invariably, approves everything that the Communist leaders deign to present to it.

In such a society, opposition is suppressed; freedom is suppressed; truth is suppressed; news is suppressed. The ruling clique supplies the information. It prefers to disclose only what it feels is safe for the people to hear—and that is very, very little.

The clique dares not allow people to learn the facts about how others live, the wonderful blessings of freedom. People are allowed to view civil affairs only through "Lenincolored glasses," and those glasses are supplied by the party.

The secrecy that veils Soviet military af-

The secrecy that veils Soviet military affairs is even greater—completely opaque. Soviet rulers do not let people know the vast share of the Soviet gross national product, which goes into supporting those forces, in a land where so much is needed by so many.

Secretive as this closed society is, Communist writings and actions leave ugly openings in their Iron Curtain. Korea, Vietnam, Matsu and Quemoy, Tibet are no secrets.

Matsu and Quemoy, Tibet are no secrets. You cannot hide communism's goal to dominate the world under the butchered bodies of Budapest. It is the aggressions of the past that make the free world worry in the present, that make us suspicious of Soviet actions in the future.

Because the Soviet Union can carry out military preparation in such great secrecy, because Soviet leaders threaten smaller countries so often, the free world must stand alert against surprise attack.

Just as the natures of democracy and of totalitarianism differ, so do their military needs. An open society requires armed forces only to protect the country and its interests. The size of such forces is determined by this need alone, and nothing more. Because its policies are historically, fundamentally, and clearly nonaggressive, these forces are all any democracy needs.

When democracy is left unthreatened, when there is no threat to freedom, when peace really exists, democratic countries tend to reduce their armed forces. Every time international threats dwindled, every time international trust grew, the United States cut back on its Armed Forces. Our forces were reduced to virtually nothing after World War I. After World War II, they also contracted greatly.

This is the automatic response of democracy, when trust and confidence exists among nations. Trust is the basis for any type of arms reduction.

In contrast to the open society, the closed society must maintain large military forces. It needs them, it has to have them, to keep the people in line, to make them obey. This is particularly true for captive peoples like the Hungarians, or the Poles, or the Latvians, or the Rumanians, or the Czechs.

Even though necessary to Communist rule, the very existence of sizable military force in the hands of political conspirators, blatantly aggressive by their own doctrine, constitutes a threat to free men, to independent nations everywhere.

Such forces, along with Soviet words and Communist deeds, further destroy trust; but not inside the Soviet Union. Man cannot destroy something that does not exist—and trust has never existed in that land, nor in any other land where the Communists have seized power.

Because of their lack of trustworthiness, their aggressive doctrine, their military might, the world mistrusts the Soviets' intentions. It watches every Soviet action with the greatest of attention.

As President Eisenhower said in a recent press conference:

"No one wants another Pearl Harbor, This means that we must have knowledge of the military forces and preparations around the world, especially those capable of massive surprise attack."

In this respect, despite all of its many, many disadvantages, the closed society does have one edge over the open society.

The leaders of a closed society need never fear surprise attack from an open society. This feeling of security however, must be concealed from the people; for fear is an integral part of totalitarian control. Mythical aggression must always lurk just around the corner, to justify the vast arms expenditures, to breed hatred of differing philosophies, and to divert unrest.

Yet, to the leaders, it is obvious that in an open society, preparations for a surprise attack would be immediately evident. It does not take any extreme measures to determine this. It is evident on all sides.

On the other side of the coin, in the closed society with its fetish for secrecy and concealment, military preparations can be—and are—screened from all outside eyes. The tightest of security measures prevail, in peace or war.

Thus militarily, Communist massive, repressive secrecy appears to serve them well. In addition to feeling secure from a surprise attack from us; in addition to knowing where fixed American land installations are located; in addition to being able to pinpoint such installations, the Communist hierarchy can also feel relatively certain that American knowledge of Soviet military installations is incomplete—and that it is likely to remain incomplete.

Despite this, the net advantage, and it is a great one, is to our side. For, with the plentitude of military information available in our open society, comes the certain knowledge of our great strength.

As long as the rulers of the Communist empire are aware of our strength, they will not, they dare not, attack the United States. They dare not because they know with certainty that any attack on the United States will, surely and inevitably, result in their own destruction. And they know it—even better than we do.

This is so now, and we are assuring it for the future. We are assuring it for the future, not by engaging in any needless arms race, but by creating capabilities, weapon systems, which cannot be destroyed by anything the Communists can do. Because they cannot destroy such systems, because no matter what they do there will always be significant American retaliatory strength on hand, including powerful nuclear weapon delivery capabilities, they will not dare to

To insure that such systems retain their invulnerability, to guarantee the inevitability of our strength to strike back against an aggressor's attack, we need not adopt the repressive tactics, the secrecy, and concealment, of a closed society. Rather, we may look to the seas, to the natural concealment so abundantly, and uniquely available to us.

God has been most generous to this country. In addition to all other resources, He has given us two-ocean geography. These two oceans provided the road for America's development, and long served as barriers to foreign aggression. Now again, they can contribute to our Nation's security. All we must do is exploit them.

Exploit them we have; and exploit them we will. The seas have never been more important, or more militarily useful to this country, than they are today, as we move into the ballistic missile era.

This is true because ballistic missiles cannot hit moving things; they cannot hit things whose location is unknown. At sea, every ship moves; its location changes constantly. There are 140 million square miles for movement, and dispersal.

Our fleets today, our powerful, versatile attack carriers with their naval aircraft, capable in nuclear, or nonnuclear conflict; our Navy-Marine amphibious teams; screening and supporting ships; all of our naval forces, constantly, without special provision or direction, exploit their inherent mobility. No aggressor would put their address on his ballistic missiles, because it would be useless. Naval forces won't be at that address; they will be someplace else.

Further, by using submarines as launching platforms, we achieve complete concealment. This concealment, behind a curtain of blue water, compounds an aggressor's difficulties in wiping out military strength. This is precisely the reason for the Navy's fleet ballistic missile system, that marvelous combination of long cruising, nuclear-powered submarines and solid propellent, nuclear tipped Polaris missiles.

This wonderous system will add greatly to our Nation's assured retaliatory power. It will shortly provide a strong element of invulnerability to our Nation's mix of nuclear delivery systems. By doing this, the fleet ballistic missile system also adds to the effectiveness of our deterrence of nuclear war.

This seagoing deterrent presents to the Soviet leaders a curtain of uncertainty. The locations of our naval units, held secret in the ocean's deep, are not vulnerable to Soviet espionage; even as extensive as that has been shown to be. The Soviets can never know where all our submarines are. Not knowing where they are, the Soviets will never be able to wipe out our total seagoing deterrent.

The strength of all our naval weapons systems, dispersed, moving at sea, add their capabilities to the land-based strengths of our able Army, and powerful Air Force. Together, our services form the world's most effective defense team. This team reflects all the great strengths of the open democratic society, which they serve.

May God—who has so blessed us—grant that these wonderful United States continue to fiourish in strength, in prosperity, and above all, in the freedom we enjoy today.

The Crisis on the Commuter Railroads— No. 8

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. DONALD J. IRWIN

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, May 31, 1960

Mr. IRWIN. Mr. Speaker, in the Washington Post this morning there was an editorial on the attitude of some railroads toward passengers which deserves attention from all of us concerned with the plight of our Nation's faltering passenger lines. The piece relates that a New York City official has cited various needs of railroads and it goes on to add that improvement in passenger relations is also necessary. I agree wholeheart-edly. As the representative of a congressional district in Connecticut which faces serious problems because its 35,000 rail commuters are not getting the safe. adequate, and efficient commuter service they must have to get to and from work daily, I have studied a railroad's operations and seen a similar attitude displayed toward passengers, not by the working trainmen but by management. Revision in this attitude is essential if railroads are to make a go of it with any degree of success. I have introduced legislation to help our commuter railroads and transit systems and have inserted a series of articles in the RECORD bearing upon the subject. Legislation aimed at preventing discontinuance of passenger service if such discontinuance is not in the best interest of the public has drawn my support. Railroads need help, yes, but they must realize that they have got to start helping themselves and the best place to start is in the area of passenger relations—on the part of the management as well as the men who run the trains. Under permission previously granted, I include the editorial:

DOWN WITH PASSENGERS

"The railroads," said the peppery and astringent New York public servant, Robert Moses, the other day, "should have more tax exemption, Federal, State, and local; no contributions to pay for grade-crossing eliminations, even when they include incidentally some permanent plant additions; maybe more postal revenues; maybe some advances and loans of public funds at low interest rates for genuine improvements, which in the end will be amortized; and in some cases higher passenger and freight rates; and always fairer treatment by regulatory agencies."

But, Mr. Moses added, "above all they need less whining and crying and more brains and self-reliance." Amen to all of this.

If we may say so, though, some of the railroads need a bit more. The roads that are intent on getting out of the passenger business cannot be induced really to like passengers, we suppose; but they badly need to learn that if they treat passengers as lepers the public disgruntlement will affect them in many other ways. Take an instance that actually happened on a nearby line. The train was an hour and a half late, and a passenger complained politely to the conductor that the only reason he had taken the train was to be on time for an appointment. "Listen, bub," the conductor snarled, "if you want to be on time take the airlines and don't bother me."

Youth Looks at Her True Security

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. HIRAM L. FONG

OF HAWAII

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, May 31, 1960

Mr. FONG. Mr. President, recently Miss Kathleen Gomes of Honolulu. Hawaii, won the statewide speechwriting contest sponsored by the junior chamber of commerce. Theme of the contest is "My True Security." Next month, along with other State winners, Miss Gomes will participate in the national finals.

That our youth should take an active interest in current events and give serious thought to their personal as well as national security is heartening indeed—for the future of our great Nation will rest upon today's youth.

There is maturity of thought and great wisdom reflected in Miss Gomes' speech. It would be well, in these troubled times, for the people of the United States, nay the people of the world, to read and consider what she has written.

I ask unanimous consent, Mr. President, that Miss Gomes' winning speech be printed in the Appendix of the Record.

There being no objection, the speech was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

MY TRUE SECURITY-THE AMERICAN WAY

Can one have true security in an age in Which innovations and new fashions appear almost daily? Do advances in scientific and medical technology, which have done much to strengthen America's standing as one of the leading nations of the world, guarantee security? One reads constantly of open heart surgery being performed successfully in case after case; of polio, once a crippling menace to young and old, being conquered through the astounding discovery of Dr. Salk; of satellites now spinning in orbit around our planet at tremendous speeds. Indeed, the space age just dawning, brings with it golden opportunities for many to gain world prestige and recognition, for surely within our time, man will reach out and step by step conquer other planets—perhaps the entire universe. Does the knowledge of this mad race into space with its inevitable grasping and grabbing give a sense of security? Has not history taught us what havoc was wrought among the powers of the world through the imperialism of the 18th and 19th centuries? Will conflicts over planets be less menacing? I think not.

Quite recently, a well-known bank advertised on a billboard: "There is no security in the world like a good bank account." What must have been the thoughts of the refugees who came to America from the countries of Europe where they had had very good bank balances indeed. They must have thought quite bitterly of this type of security.

In the face of such facts, can one hope for a true sense of security? Again I ask if these modern wonders in such a chaotic world as ours guarantee security to you or to me? Does the prolongation of my life through a successful heart operation bring me a feeling of security when I know that that same life could be snuffed out in a matter of seconds by an H-bomb? Does the thrill of an anticipated trip to Mars compensate for the ever-increasing threat of communism—the terrible fear of awaking some morning to find my home gone; my family dispersed; my church destroyed; my identity lost? How can one, indeed, build a sense of security? In fact, can it be done?

Yes, one can develop a sense of security in spite of all the above mentioned calamities—for true security does not lie outside of oneself, but way down deep within—way down deep where I am assured that I am an individual, different from everyone else; that I have a destiny to fullfill, a role to play that no one else can accomplish—that I am a somebody—therein, lies my true security

And here in America, where communism is still only a threat, I have the opportunity to work and develop myself as I am, and not with the self that other people think I am. And I must make it the very best self that I cm. I must build a strong, spiritual citadel where sound principles, noble feelings, high aspirations, and lively faith rule the inner me. I must practice the tradition of free men—that is I must attempt to advance in wisdom and fortitude; to surmount temporary obstacles with faith and valor; to live the Christian principles of honesty, loyalty, and decency; to take the firm,

united stand against communism; to remain forever loyal to God and my country through the American way of life.

That then, is building security, my security. And if the inner me is strong, if I grow to my full stature, then true security is assured for me and for posterity.

Consequences of the Development of Bigger and Fewer Farms

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. FRED MARSHALL

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 31, 1960

Mr. MARSHALL. Mr. Speaker, the June issue of the County Agent, Vo-Ag Teacher magazine includes an interesting insight into the so-called farm problem which should concern consumers as well as farmers.

In his Washington Today column, John Harms comments on one of the very real dangers of driving farmers from their farms. Concentration of the production of essential foods and raw materials in the hands of fewer and fewer farmers cannot help but have serious consequences for the consumer. Under unanimous consent, Mr. Speaker, I include Mr. Harms' remarks in the Record:

All the ballyhoo over the accumulation of expensive farm surpluses the past few years, now rising to a new crescendo, has almost completely obscured an even more momentous farm problem with much deeper meaning to the alleged irate consumers. That is the development of bigger and fewer farms, Conceivably this development could have far greater impact on consumers all along the line than the problems of storing abundance.

To date very little public attention has been directed to the trend toward fewer farms as a matter of public concern—and aside from what this trend is doing to the smaller farmer. Yet, over the long pull this could very well turn out to be a much more expensive proposition for consumers as consumers (and not taxpayers) than the surpluses have.

We've heard estimates from highly responsible government and private experts that by the year 1970—or earlier—there will be no more than 500,000 farmers producing most of the food and fiber in this country and getting at least 90 percent of the farm income from sales. As a matter of fact, some well-known prognosticators believe the 1960 census will show that 10 percent of the farmers now produce almost 70 percent of the annual farm sales. (Census results will be published several months from now.)

This is a concentration of power which fairly staggers the imagination. For example, it is considerably easier for a smaller group of enterprisers to band together into bargaining and marketing cooperatives or associations than it is for 4 million farmers to do so. With organization, the next step could very well be farmer control of production—not only to reduce surpluses but to raise prices. This would be in addition to effective bargaining power these farmers might have if they acted in association.

During the current period of development in the food industry, chainstores pretty well call the tune on farm prices, according to some economists. A concentration such as here outlined in the agricultural industry could reverse the current situation. It could eventually mean that farmers would be in a position to pass along costs—and indeed share in the national economic prosperity. This, in turn, would mean first buyers would be paying more for farm produce, and a chain reaction would be set off reaching right out to the ultimate consumer.

Food prices now are at reasonable levels, still city folks are incited to anger over both food prices and surplus costs. Question that comes to mind is whether they would be happier with a public policy dealing with abundance—even though it cost tax dollars—or in paying higher out-of-pocket food prices. Agriculture definitely is drifting in this direction and there is very little on the horizon to indicate a change in direction.

An Open Letter to Nikita Khrushchev

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. KARL E. MUNDT

OF SOUTH DAKOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, May 31, 1960

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. President, the wrecking of the summit conference by Russian Distator Khrushchev has shocked the world. Public opinion in this country—and, I am confident, public opinion throughout the free world—is strongly asserting itself in support of the President.

As demonstration of what I believe is a typical reaction of the American citizen, I wish to call to the attention of my colleagues a most interesting letter of one of my constituents in South Dakota, who addresses his remarks as an "open letter" to Mr. Khrushchev.

I might point out that the author of this letter is not an American by birth, but one of those many millions of citizens who came to this country and adopted it as his homeland.

The author is Peter Legeros, of Brookings, S. Dak, a gentleman whom I am proud to call a dear friend. Mr. Legeros, one of many South Dakotans of Greek ancestry, is a patriotic American of the first order.

His love for this adopted homeland has been demonstrated frequently and is well known to his fellow citizens in Brookings County.

I bring this letter of Peter Legeros to attention, because I believe it is eloquent testimony to the dedication and desire of not only Mr. Legeros, but all Americans, to stand firm and remain free in the face of threats from a tyrannical system such as communism.

Mr. President, I request permission to have the letter of Mr. Legeros, as carried in the May 22 issue of the Brookings Register, Brookings, S. Dak., printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

To the Epiroa:

This is a letter to Mr. Khrushchev.

You are drawing attention at the summit conference by faults—hiding your own, telling the world how good you are and finding fault with everybody else.

Yes, we are all sinners. That's why we came to the summit conference to stop spying and fear and the fighting of hot and cold wars which have continued for the past 20 years because we don't trust one another.

It is needless to repeat how much America has done for peace and how it has helped others. If it weren't for America, perhaps there would be no Russia today. America has sacrificed greatly during the last 40 years for freedom, but today, Mr. Khrushchev, you have the nerve to insult America in public. But as you insult others, you really insult yourself.

We excuse your ignorance. Because you are behind the Iron Curtain you believe

people know nothing about you.

America is made up of the children of all nations and has become the mother to all nations. Every nation in the world has profited from America, where many, many thousands of people have come to find peace and freedom and happiness.

People from many nations have found freedom in the land over which the American flag flies-a flag alone among flags which have the sovereignty of the people. He who lives under it and is loyal to it is loyal to truth and justice everywhere.

PETER LEGEROS.

BROOKINGS.

U-2 and Khrushchev Nonsense

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. WINT SMITH

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, May 31, 1960

Mr. SMITH of Kansas. Mr. Speaker, much comment has been heard and a great deal written about the recent incident in Paris-most generally labeled "The Summit Conference That Failed." It is well known that the men supposed to ascend to the summit never got off the banks of the lazy flowing Seine through the city of Paris. Recently I received a letter from an attorney, Charles A. Walsh of Concordia, Kans. Mr. Walsh has set forth some very pertinent ideas in regard to this Paris conference. In the letter accompanying this article he says this:

The wild reactions now visible indicate very clearly that Khrushchev's direction to his helpers in this country have already had "Dump Nixon" is again a part of the plan now in operation. Of course, every effort will be made to forestall his nomination, and to get internationalist, Rockefeller, to head the Republican ticket. GOLDWATER is even less acceptable to the appeasers than Nixon. Already the propaganda hounds of the press and radio are baying for Nixon's

It is apparent to me that the political propaganda of the Communist Party is already active in an endeavor to influence both political conventions. Those who are grown up politically, know that the Communist Party works very effectively inside of the Democratic and Republican Parties. It occurred to me in the course of the preparation of the material I am sending, that the leftist elements of the Republicans would try to make another "dump Nixon" attempt. The first intimation to that effort came yesterday when Rockefeller announced that he would accept a draft by the Republican National Convention. Although Nixon seems to have more than enough votes to secure

the nomination on the first ballot, we can be sure that powerful influences are now at work to undermine and destroy him. The internationalists and the Red appeasers cannot forget that he is the man who, more than anyone else, was responsible for the exposure of Alger Hiss. Accordingly, we can expect to see a fight made on Nixon by the same old Nixon dumping crowd.

Already Adlai Stevenson, Paul Butler, Senator Kennedy, Chester Bowles, and Senator Fulbright, all of whom are able to qualify as internationalists, extraordinary, and appeasers plenipotentiary are busy making trouble and intimating that they can qualify in the Roosevelt tradition of Communist ap peasement. This is not a pretty picture, but it is the ugly shape of things as they exist.

Here are Mr. Walsh's observations. I commend them most highly because it proves that citizens of the high plains of mid-America can see the international pitfalls even clearer than international experts who are inclined to look too often through the rose tinted glasses on the one-world aspect:

II-2 AND KHRUSHCHEV NONSENSE

It now seems clear that the U-2 incident which was seized upon by Khrushchev as a cause celebra was in fact only a trifling incident in the world struggle now in progress. The incident was deliberately blown up by Soviet propaganda into a great mountain of evil and wrong on the part of the United States. It was used as a handy instrument to insult the President, humiliate the American people, and kick over the keg of moonshine diplomacy, called the Summit Conference. The whole Khrushchev tantrum at the summit reminds one of the town bully publicly insulting the mayor, setting all the dogs barking, and breaking up the town picnic be-cause the mayor would not apologize for stepping on the cat's tail.

The trifling character of the U-2 incident has been publicly disclosed by Khrushchev himself. Khrushchev knew of the photographic missions of our Air Force over Soviet territory for a long period of time. When he visited the Presidetn at Camp David last fall, he was tempted to speak to Eisenhower about the matter. He disclosed this at his news conference in Paris. He said that he finally decided after considering it, not to bring the matter up. He said that he and the President were on friendly terms, so he decided that the matter could wait. He was then busy practicing the Camp David spirit. He said that the President was addressing him as friend in the Russian language, and that he was returning the salutation in English. Only one conclusion can be drawn from this remarkable acknowledgment, and that is that while Khrushchev was irked and annoyed because our photographic planes were flying over Russian territory almost at will; and he was also further annoyed, because Russian defenses were not equal to the task of bringing them down. However, he then needed to promote a friendly understanding. While Khrushchev was visiting at Camp David, he did not need a peg upon which to hang a series of insults. He had no occasion then to smash the dishes, break the furniture, or blow the house off of the foundation. Instead, he was anxiously endeavoring to bring about a summit conference. He was purring like a Communist kitten in capitalistic sunshine, and hoping that the President could be coaxed into another diplomatic corner.

We must bear in mind that Khrushchev and the First Minister of Britain were, during those months, brusting at the seems, so to speak, organizing another high-hat go, at ersonal diplomacy, with our President and the President of France. In view of all these circumstances and the pattern of other

events, something more than the flight of an Air Force photographic plane over Russian territory is needed to make a sensible appraisal of the Khrushchev reasons for wrecking the conference.

The spirit of Camp David" was touted throughout the world as a new era in the cold war; but the "spirit" lost a great deal of its appeal long before the scheduled meeting at Paris. For some weeks before May 16 there were a great number of symptoms evidencing Soviet displeasure with the prospects of the projected summit meeting. While it is true that the British Prime Minister continued until the last to coze appeasement from all his diplomatic pores; but the German Chancellor, President de Gaulle, and to a lesser extent, our President gave every appearance of standing firm and standing for no further Communist appeare-Khrushchev and his advisers tainly did not like the looks of the situation. They reacted in typical Communist fashion. They incited their stooges and dupes into a general pattern of rioting. The fomented riots in South Africa, Korea, Turkey, and San Francisco. Everywhere the pattern was the same. Students were incited and inflamed against wrongs or supposed wrongs of constituted authority. Khrushchev was show-ing Communist teeth everywhere. Those events were staged for the purpose of letting the people of the world know the capacity of the Kremlin for making trouble.

Then the U-2 incident came upon the The plane came down on Russian territory on May 1; however, it was substantially a week before the incident began to take shape as an important event. It was about 5 days later before Khrushchev even mentioned the incident. It was then seized upon by the Red rulers as a suitable means with which to damn America and the Presi-

dent of the United States.

There are all sorts of speculations concerning Khrushchev's motives for breaking up the conference. Khrushchev himself worked assiduously for months to bring about the meeting which he himself destroyed. was this done? It was done because at one time it suited the Kremlin's purpose to hold the conference and at the time appointed for the meeting, it no longer suited the plans of the Kremlin. Since Khrushchev knew about our photographic planes flying over Russia for some 4 years, the flight of the U-2 over Russia on May 1 was only a pretext for the performance of Khrushchev at Paris in May. Khrushchev is certainly not the person to be howling about spying since tens of thousand of his subjects are pursuing that as a vocation. He might be likened to the man who murdered his parents and then asked for sympathy because he was an orphan.

In view of these considerations, the U-2 incident at most is a trifling matter; and to consider it of special importance, is to take No adult Rusian propaganda at face value. should be fooled by this thing. And no one should be fooled by the breastbeating of Adlai Stevenson and Walter Lippmann. They easily qualify as internationalists and appeasers in the first magnitude.

It is sufficient explanation for Khrushchev's conduct to remember that he needed some sort of an ass to beat, someone to insult, and some pretended outrage to upset the conference. In this connection, the U-2 incident was a convenient diplomatic

windfall which served his purpose.

The rulers of the Kremlin knew that they had nothing to gain by the Paris Conference-A delay was needed and a hope was entertained that the next tenant of the White House will have more inclination to appease ment than its present inhabitant. shchev, in fact, said this at his "press conference." He not only blamed the President, he insulted and abused him in the worst fashion imaginable. Never in the history of the country has our Chief Executive been subjected to insults such as were heaped upon him by the Kremlin boss. Khrushchev also made it clear that he despises the Vice President. A week or 10 days before the Paris Conference, the President mentioned that Vice President Nixon might be asked to sit in at the Conference in case the President was called away. Khrushchev took note of this, and stated that to allow the Vice President to participate in the Conference would be like "sending a goat to take care of the cubbage."

Whatever Khrushchev's attitude toward Eisenhower may have been in Camp David, he decided to throw him out of his diplomatic baggage like he might dispose of a ragged shirt. He made it very clear that he hopes for a later summit meeting, and that the presidential election is a matter of vital concern to him and to the Communist Party.

Among the major purposes Khrushchev achieved in Paris last week was to notify the world and the Communist Party of the United States, in particular, that the new Hitler in Communist demonology is President Eisenhower and the new Himmler is Vice President Nixon. Thus, Khrushchev added two names to the Communist litany of demons. This was his way of taking part in American politics. It was his way of telling the Communist world and the Communist Party of the United States, its fellow travelers, dupes, and fringe adherents, that they are to effect a change in the political climate of the United States. It was his way of telling them that the President is a discard and the Vice President unacceptable. Likewise, it was his way of saying that political talks and summit meetings, must be held on the terms of the Kremlin. It ought to be clear by this time that diplomatic interwith political crocodiles like the Communists, is nonsense. Those who remain addicted to the belief that headhunters and cannibals will give up their first principles if You talk to them in a friendly fashion, are still convinced by their own propaganda.

Khrushchev did a masterful job of telling all and sundry that talks at the summit cannot be resumed until there is a change of political climate in the United States. In effect, he told his stooges here to go to work and elect a respectable President of the United States, who can be invited to confer with Communists. He made it clear that Franklin Roosevelt was acceptable as a U.S. President. By inplication, it was clear to his adherents in the United States, that they must work for the election of a President.

dent who follows the Roosevelt tradition. It is abundantly clear that Khrushchev's hand is in our political pottage; and it will be well for us to keep that in mind. It would also be well, to watch the propaganda and comments of the leftist section of the Dress. You may rest assured that the Kremlin will make no further public statements about the presidential election in the United States. In fact, the Kremlin will deny that it is even interested. That is surely a part of the plan. That will be the best way of furthering the fortunes of Moscow's candidate. Certainly no further public directions to Communist adherents in the United States are necessary. They know what they are expected to do. If future orders from the Kremlin are necessary, they will not be made public.

In connection with this, it will be interesting to see how the Kremlin job is done. This year in America, Walter Lippmann can be counted on to set the pattern. Joseph Alsop, Drew Pearson, and Doris Fleeson may be relied upon to carry the political torch for candidates with liberal leftist orientation.

Those with liberal leftist orientation.

Those who have been the public apologists and supporters of Alger Hiss, William Remington, Owen Lattamore, and Dr. Oppenheimer can be counted upon to make clear by their writings which of the candidates for the presidential nomination are acceptable

to Khrushchev, and which of the nominees can be sure of an invitation to Moscow, and accepted as a participant at another summit conference.

Opportunity

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. ALEXANDER WILEY

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, May 31, 1960

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the Record an article entitled "Across the Editor's Desk," written by Dick Hanson, and published in Successful Farming for June 1960.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be pritned in the RECORD, as follows:

Across the Editor's Desk (By Dick Hanson)

Years ago, groups of Americans packed up their families and household goods and headed west. These people were the leaders of what a few years later was to become a great movement. Why did these people go into this vast, unmapped wilderness? There were many reasons, but the main attraction was opportunity. Opportunity was there if a man had the foresight and the strong hands to seize it. These people wanted to be independent, masters of their own destinies.

to seize it. These people wanted to be independent, masters of their own destines.
Today, there is another movement of
Americans—but in the opposite direction.
This movement is to the east and the end of
the trail is in Washington, D.C., the seat of
our sprawling Federal Government. One
reason for the movement is the same as it
was for the ploneers—opportunity. But
there the resemblance ends. The opportunity is of a different nature and the strong
hand that seized opportunity in the West
years ago seems now to have been replaced
by many descendants with hands turned
palms up.

It is an amazing and almost frightening experience to visit Washington today. With little effort, you will discover that great numbers of people are there for only one reason—they have a problem and they want the Government to solve it for them. It is just that simple.

I have sat and listened to many groups discuss their particular problems. Too many times these discussions are ended by someone proposing that a representative delegation go to Washington and ask for help. So, the delegation travels east only to discover that the idea of having the Government solve their problem is not a unique one. They immediately run into countless other delegations who are also asking Government to solve their problems.

Somewhere along the line, many people have gotten the idea that Washington holds the answers and that all you have to do is turn over your problems to big Uncle and he'll solve them. Representatives from agriculture are not alone in the belief. All segments of our economy are involved, some far more than others.

Strange as it may seem to some people, our Government did not originate the phrase, "It is more blessed to give than to receive." How often have you heard, "If I don't get my share, someone else will." This is certainly not an attitude that is conducive to solving problems, yet it is the attitude of many individuals and groups of individuals today. They want something for nothing—the prize without the price.

There is an idea that the Federal Government does things with free money—that if Uncle Sam does a job it doesn't cost anything.

Is it old-fashioned or naive to believe that maybe a little more work and a little less running to Washington might solve some of these problems? Admittedly, Government can and should help, but there is a difference between helping and doing the entire job. Government should do those things that we can't do for ourselves, or in cahoots with our neighbors. I have been in countries where the government does make all the important decisions for its people. It was not pleasant.

The trail to Washington gets wider and deeper each day, just as the pioneer trails did with the movement of people West—but again, there is a difference. The pioneers hit the trail expecting hard work, while today too many taking the Washington trail expect to get out of it.

The Medical Care Issue

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. THOMAS B. CURTIS

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 31, 1960

Mr. CURTIS of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Congressional Record, I wish to include an editorial which appeared in the Gary Post-Tribune of Thursday, May 19, 1960, entitled "The Medical Care Issue":

THE MEDICAL CARE ISSUE

The tumuit in Washington over medical care for the aged has subsided for the present, and it's become more apparent as to what has been going on. The problem is not so much care of the aged, but who is going to develop a campaign issue, phony or otherwise, in the presidential year.

It was strange how the furor over medical care suddenly boiled up in Washington. At one time we got the impression that everyone over 65 must be participating in a barrage of demands that Congress act. "The old people are on the march," was the word.

What was the fact about this march? Well, apparently that it never took place, and that the flood of entreaties to Capitol Hill was a contrived affair.

Representative Thomas B. Curis, Republican, of Missouri, a member of the House Ways and Means Committee, had a good bit to say about it in the House the other day.

There hadn't been any plans for the committee to consider social security legislation this year, Curtis said. Then COPE, the lobbying arm of the AFL-CIO, decided to make the Forand medical care bill its 1960 issue. COPE had decided to keep hands off the Labor Reform Act, according to Curtis, because Jimmy Hoffa, of the Teamsters, was going to work on it, and COPE needed something else to shout about.

So the barrage of mail on medical care began. But according to CURTES, practically none of it came from older people who presumably were in such great need of aid.

"It consisted almost entirely of mass printed postcards requiring the sender only to add his name and address." Curris said. "Most of the cards were sticker-addressed to the Congressman. An analysis of my mail and the mail of the Congressmen I checked with at random demonstrated that almost all of it was COPE inspired."

After the Forand bill and the Boggs bill, a watered-down alternative, were voted down by the Ways and Means Committee, CURTIS reported, the mail dwindled away to a trickle "and at the present time it is practically nothing."

So much for the march on Washington. It apparently was not a bona fide demand by the aged for action in their behalf.

CURTIS points out why. The most needy aged group-those on relief and not receivsocial security-would have gained nothing from the Forand bill. The second group, persons on social security, are more interested in relaxing the \$1,200 limit on their supplemental earnings. If they can earn more without losing their social security, they don't need Federal aid. For the others who are aged, private health insurance is easily available.
(Insurance statistics show almost half

those over 65 now have some form of private health insurance, with the percentage rap-

idly increasing.)

CURTIS does admit catastrophic health insurance is needed for the aged. But he points out that the Forand bill offers just the reverse; its hospital benefits would stop after the first 60 days.

Unfortunately, the contrived barrage on Congress did have an effect, even after the Forand and Boggs bills were sidetracked. President Eisenhower was induced to let Secretary Arthur Flemimng go to the Capitol with a hastily drafted substitute and the issue is stirring again.

The Forand bill would pay for medical care through social security. It would cost about \$1.1 billion a year and would mean an extra quarter-percent payroll tax on both em-ployees and employers. The twofold administration plan would cost perhaps more, but with States and Federal Government sharing the bill. It is planned more to handle catastrophic illness, but it is a cumbersome affair.

Neither the Forand nor Flemming proposal should be attractive to either the aged or the taxpayers generally. There is a problem to be faced, but these are not good answers. Nor is the answer likely to be found during the welter of partisan debate in a campaign

Manned Bombers Remain Important

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. E. L. BARTLETT

OF ALASKA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Tuesday, May 31, 1960

Mr. BARTLETT. Mr. President, in the Washington Post for May 29 there was printed an article by Mr. John G. Norris, military affairs reporter for the newspaper. It was entitled, "Don't Write Off Soviet Bombers, Generals Plead." I suggest that all who are interested in the defense of the United States-and that should mean every last one of us-should read that article. Its theme is, of course, in harmony with expressions made before the House Appropriations Committee earlier this year by General White, Chief of Staff of the Air Force, in stating that for a long time to come a principal threat will come from the big Russian manned bomber

Mr. Norris quotes General Kuter, commander in chief of the North American Air Defense Command, as saying:

It is not generally realized that the Soviet bomber force could drop hundreds of megatons of bombs on the United States in 1970 even if they never built another bomber.

Since this is the case, the recent decision of the Air Force to to reduce very significantly the fighter-interceptor strength in Alaska by removing one of the two squadrons becomes even more puzzling-and alarming. It has even been said a Russian bomber fleet, if the decision to attack should be made, would not come over Alaska. Who knows? Has anyone on the other side told us that? This is too great a gamble because it involves not only the security of Alaska, but of all the States to the south. Once in Russian hands, our great Air Force bases in Alaska could be used against the American people with dreadful effect. Obviously, two fighter squadrons were not sufficient to do adequately the job which requires doing in Alaska. Now, with one of the two on the way out, our defense line there has been thinned to the point where it cannot offer effective protection. The withdrawal decision should be reversed, and immediately.

I ask unanimous consent to have Mr. Norris' article printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

DON'T WRITE OFF SOVIET BOMBERS, GENERALS PLEAD

(By John G. Norris)

President Eisenhower, in justifying American spy flights over Russia, said that they were necessary to prevent "another Pearl Harbor." While agreeing completely on that point, many top military men fear that some other presidentially approved actions may be inviting such a disaster.

Recent talks with officers at the North American Air Defense Command (Norad) in Colorado Springs and elsewhere reveal deep concern over recent major air defense cutbacks and the Nation's failure to push ahead full speed with missile defense and

aerospace detection systems.

They see Russia's manned bomber force as a continuing deadly threat to the United States at least through the 1960's, and they worry over the Pentagon practice of paying for new offensive missiles by canceling longplanned defenses.

BOMBERS AND THE SEVENTIES

"It is not generally realized that the Soviet bomber force could drop hundreds of megatons of bombs on the United States in 1970 even if they never built another bomber." said Gen. Laurence S. Kuter, USAF, commander in chief of Norad.

"Although we expect the bomber threat to become secondary to the missile threat in about 3 years, it still could be fatal and it cannot be ignored because of the ascendancy of a new and still greater threat."

Kuter also terms it "inconceivable" that the United States is not building a defense against ballistic missiles as fast as possible. He said that he "strongly" favors spending the \$137 million which Congress voted last year to get the Army's Nike-Zeus antimissile missile ready for production. The administration has withheld the money, maintaining that Zeus has not yet been proved and is not too promising.

'The side that gets a reasonably effective aerospace defense will gain a tremendous advantage," Kuter added. "It is unthinkable that the Russians should be first. That would automatically make them far stronger and enable the Kremlin to blackmail, possibly dictate to and obviously to attack the West.

The President has repeatedly dismissed as parochial the warnings of generals who speak up publicly against cuts in the programs for which they are responsible. But there is some reason to believe that he as well as Congress may have been overly influenced in this case by the old saw "the best defense is a good offense."

Here are the basic facts about the Soviet manned bomber threat and the greatly cur-

tailed program to meet it:

Russia now has between 130 and 170 long-range Bison and Bear bombers and about 1,100 medium-range Badgers. The Bison is similar to the American B-52 and the Badger to our B-47, while the Bear is a turboprop that is particularly effective at low altitude. Ground-level attacks beneath enemy radar are the chief threat today, and the Bisons and Badgers also can make such 'Braille bomber" strikes.

Khrushchev has said repeatedly that bombers are obsolete and that Russia will replace its warplanes with missiles. But few American military men believe that he will forgo the advantages of a mixed attack system. Many suspect that he is trying mousetrap the United States into dropping its air defense guard, for it is known that Russia has built prototypes of supersonic bombers and could well build them in some quantity.

AGE IS NO FACTOR

At any rate, existing Soviet heavy bombers, like our B-52's are counted on as being an effective weapon into the 1970's, improved by air-to-ground missiles and electronic countermeasures. The Badger, capable of long-range missions by using one bomber to refuel another in the air, should last until the lat 1960's. The Russians have always retained old weapons as long as they were of any use.

A year ago, American air defense chiefs were optimistic that they could handle Soviet bombers if they came under the buildup then being made. Perhaps they talked too confidently to Pentagon chiefs who, faced with the rigid administration budget ceiling, had to take from Peter to pay Paul in meeting the heavy and rising

missile costs.

Air defense leaders still say that they could cope with a Soviet attack today. But because of the cutbacks, they fear what might happen when Russia gains a big ICBM superiority. A followup Russian bomber attack. after a missile strike against Strategic Air Command air and missile bases and air defense centers, might get through to wreck cities and kill millions of Americans.

The several adjustments in air defense announced this year and last add up to a major reduction. First, Norad accepted a curtailment in orders for Century Series supersonic interceptors at the time the 2,000-miles-per-hour, long-range F-108 interceptor was ordered. The F-108's specific mission was to shoot down enemy bombers before they could get within range to fire their Hound Dog-type air-to-ground missiles.

Then the F-108 was canceled and Century Series interceptor orders were further re duced. Radar coverage of the Atlantic and Pacific flanks of the Arctic early warning line was cut, over Kuter's protests. And the original 40-missile-base Bomarc program, planned to back up the F-108's and provide defense in depth over all inhabited areas of North America, has dwindled almost to zero.

BOMARC FIASCO

Five Bomarc A bases are nearly completed along the Atlantic coast. The 400-mile Bomarc B—with double the range of the A and the ability to "look down" and destroy lowlevel attacking planes—has been successfully cut back. The administration now wants to build only 10 Bomarc B bases mounting 30 missiles each, 2 of them in Canada and the remainder protecting a defensive "island" in the Northeastern United States.

Some minor improvements in manned interceptors were proposed by the administration when the latest Bomarc cut was announced in April. Many of the missile sites in the previously planned chain along the Atlantic and Pacific coasts and the Canadian border are now in various stages of construction, representing millions of dollars in Wasted effort.

Then this month, a House committee cut out the entire Bomarc B program. If the Senate goes along, this will leave a huge gap in continental air defenses. Dissatisfaction with the early results of the test program, and what Air Force officials feel is an unjustified belief that the missile will not pan out, contributed to the congressional decision.

The successive Bomarc cuts have had a farreaching impact in Canada, which earlier scrapped a Canadian-designed 2,000-milesper-hour fighter to adopt the American Bomarc. Anti-American feeling there has increased.

Equally important as weapons in modern air defense is a centralized and secure system providing positive command of both missiles and interceptors. In World War II, when antiaircraft gunners and pilots fired at bombers they could see, there were many instances where they mistakenly shot down their own planes.

Today, enemy bomber targets are simply bilps on a radar screen to a pilot or missile crew. Ground commanders in control centers, with the aid of complex computers, can tell which bilps are friendly and which are the enemy. North American air defense now has such control centers, but they are all above ground and would be easy to destroy.

Funds have been voted to build an underground headquarters for Norad in the mountains near Colorado Springs and a \$1 million road has been built to the site, but the money for this nerve center has been withheld. A saboteur with a bazooka could destroy the present headquarters from across the street.

Last month, the Pentagon canceled well-advanced plans to build underground "super SAGE control centers" to replace the existing vulnerable regional centers. The funds were diverted to speed up construction of the ballistic missile early warning system (BMEWS), military satellite development and the building of more offensive missiles.

Reasons given were expected delays in the SAGE electronic brain system and the need to "shift emphasis from the bomber to the more pressing missile threat." But the underlying cause was the administration's ironclad defense budget ceiling, under which a Weapons system with a lower priority must be eliminated whenever funds are needed for something new.

Because there may be a more pressing need for one system than another, however, it doesn't necessarily follow that the latter isn't needed at all. The hardened underground SAGE control centers seem to be essential for many reasons.

With their communications links, they might serve as the Nation's remaining defense and governmental headquarters after an initial nuclear attack in which Washington and alternate control points were destroyed.

They might prevent the chaos that would result it isolated Nike-Hercules batteries and interceptor planes started firing blind at bombers they thought were enemies about to drop hydrogen bombs but which actually were outward-bound SAC bombers.

Further, the underground centers could have housed two other types of admittedly essential control systems—air traffic and space surveillance.

It is admitted by all that a common system for the Federal Aviation Agency and Norad is required both for surveillance and identification of planes entering and traveling over the Nation's airspace and to control the increasing number of faster jet civilian planes that will be flying soon.

Scrapped with the SAGE underground system was a joint FAA-Norad program for

such a control system.

FAA will have to go ahead and finance some sort of substitute system in which the military will participate. Like the abandoned joint system, it will need many additional radars, computers, and communications—probably fewer and less effective than the hardened, fully automatic system that was planned, but which might well in the long run cost as much as the abandoned program.

As for space surveillance, it is conceded by everyone that a complete national system must be established

At present, there are very sketchy, largely uncoordinated and completely unhardened pieces of such a system. Air Force research has a surveillance center in Massachusetts, the Navy has one at Dahlgren, Va., and NASA is building one in Maryland. BMEWS stations, which can see both missiles and satellites, will come under Norad when ready.

An early Government decision to set up such an integrated space surveillance system—with a determination on who is to run it and allocation of funds for the job—seems a vital necessity. Norad officers feel that they are the logical ones to handle such a network, piping in the raw facts by computers to other agencies needing them instantly. At least, someone should be given the role, they say.

the role, they say.

"We feel," said Lt. Gen. Robert M. Lee, deputy commander of the Continental Air Command, "that the dropping of the super SAGE and Norad underground control centers and the accompanying automatic command control systems means that we are destroying the base or paltform for growth for the even more sophisticated command and control systems that will be required in the future."

It may be that the air defense cuts are sound. Both Bomarc-B and the super SAGE centers could not be operational for several years. But it is clear that money was a determining factor in the reductions.

To date, a majority in Congress and among the American people has accepted President Eisenhower's insistence that there must be a fixed limit on military expenditures, and that he and his subordinates know best what dedefense forces are needed. Democrats on the Hill have disputed this, but the administration largely has prevailed.

As a result of the U-2 snafu and collapse of the summit meeting, renewed attacks on the fallibility of administration decisions are expected when the immediate need for national solidarity in the face of Khrushchev's insulting remarks to the President has passed.

Several prevalent policies and attitudes then may come in for an "agonizing reappraisal" both within the administration and in the Congress. One is the widespread belief that because the missile age and space age have opened, it is sound to scrap older weapons—such as air defense—to pay for newer ones.

Another is the place that defensive systems should occupy with respect to offensive ones. There has been a growing feeling among many civilian political leaders that strategic retaliatory forces need only be devised to deter war on the ground that allout war would be so horrible no one would start it.

Military men note that Russian military policy is to maintain balanced power both to deter major war and to win it should the big weapons be launched. Another question expected to be debated is whether the low priority now given many limited war forces should be raised.

Too, military men long have been privately questioning the greatly expanded role of the militarily inexperienced scientist in the life-or-death decisions on weapons systems.

Because of the vast complexity of new weapons and splits over them in the Joint Chiefs of Staff, White House and Pentagon leaders have been relying more and more on the advice of their scientific advisers. Their answers to many of the military questions may be increasingly challenged.

Perhaps the most fundamental question to be reexamined, however, is whether the Nation can afford no more than the present level of defense expenditures—an accepted principle of the present administration which largely has brought about the risks being taken in air defense and many other military programs.

Support Our President

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. DONALD L. JACKSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 31, 1960

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to revise and extend my remarks in the Record, I wish to include the following editorial from the Santa Monica (Calif.) Outlook of May 20, 1960:

SUPPORT OUR PRESIDENT

As President Eisenhower comes home from the Paris conference that was torpedeed by Premier Khrushchev, all Americans should lay aside party differences to welcome him.

Dwight D. Eisenhower has done more than any man in our time to seek peace with freedom. As the man most responsible for the security of the free world, he went to Paris to propose a practical plan of gradual arms reduction under international supervision, that called for regular checking of the nuclear weapons and armed forces of the major powers, and the final banning of all such weapons.

Our country has made such proposals many times. The Russians have always rejected them. This time, the issue had been so clearly drawn that Mr. K. would have had to "fish or cut bait" in any real talks at Paris.

Also, Mr. K. would have had to back down on Berlin. He is probably under strong pressure from Russian military heads to go through with the Red program of cutting off and communizing West Berlin.

It is transparently clear to the world outside the Iron and Bamboo Curtains that Mr. K. seized on the spy plane incident as a pretext for calling off the summit talks and evading the issues. But his Hitler-like rages and tirades seeking to inflame the Russian people against us, he has unmasked himself and the true aims of the Kremlin.

As regards the intelligence flights over Russia, we should be thankful that they have been carried on for 4 years, for the protection of the free world. Mr. K. will not start a war if he knows we are forewarned by our intelligence reports.

The patient and courageous President whom he insulted and abused returns today to Washington. The Nation should show him that at this time we are not Republicans or Democrats, but united Americans who will uphold human freedom, human honor and decency, against any threats which a power-mad dictator can make.

The Peacemakers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. ALEXANDER WILEY

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Tuesday, May 31, 1960

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, in a world faced with difficulties and dangers, it is always most welcome to learn of constructive, creative efforts-by individuals dedicated to bettering human life-to create an improved, more peaceful

Today, we are hearing a great deal about Khrushchev, Castro, Mao Tse-tung and other troublemakers and dangers to peace.

Unfortunately, we hear and read less of those individuals around the globe giving of their time, talents, energies to serving-not increasing troubles formankind.

On Sunday, the American Weekly published an informative article entitled "The Peacemakers" by Martin Scott. Reflecting the way in which such individuals, including the distinguished Dr. Schweitzer-in the farflung corners of the earth-are dedicating their lives to serving mankind, I ask unanimous consent to have the article printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE PEACEMAKERS-THEY DON'T MAKE AS MUCH NOISE AS THE TROUBLEMAKERS-BUT THEIR WORK IS MUCH MORE ENDURING

(By Martin Scott)

On this Memorial Day, when we pause in recollection of the men and women who gave their lives for their country, the world divided-as it has been since the first Memorial Day, as indeed it has been since men first had occasion to form themselves into

Yet in recent years it has become increasingly clear that these divisions are not primarily political and national. broader and simpler divisions—s and simpler divisions-so broad, in fact, that to those who see the cobalt bomb and the robot missile presaging the end of man's tenure upon the earth, it is almost as though the prophecies in the Bible are coming true, and that the human race is locked in a final gigantic struggle between good and evil.

This apocalyptic conflict involves, on the one hand, the peacemakers-those selfless men and women who rise above all national considerations to dedicate their lives to serving mankind according to codes of morality and decency that are older than any political system.

On the other side are the troublemakers, who throw up the smoke and fire, the noise and the commotion, thereby attracting the most attention. Peacemakers are content quietly to pursue their humanitarian dreams. Because they are so quiet, we often tend to overlook them.

That is why, on this Memorial Day, as we remember the dead and their deeds, it might be well to remember the living-and to dedicate the day to them as well.

Dr. Albert Schweitzer is perhaps the greatest current symbol of mankind's desire for a better world. Since 1913 he has maintained his hospital in Lambarene, in French Equatorial Africa, ministering to the flesh on one hand and inquiring into the spirit on the other.

To the man who won the Nobel Peace Prize in 1952, all violence is repugnant, including the recent attempt to assassinate Hendrik Frensch Verwoerd, Prime Minister of South Africa, and a prime troublemaker.

It was thinking of this kind that led Schweitzer to call for the ending of all nuclear tests.

When he was criticized for this stand, he answered his critics with his usual calm. Similarly, when physicians from the outside world carped at the sanitary conditions of his hospital, he explained that he "had not wanted to introduce the people to techniques and tools upon which they might learn to depend, and which would be unavailable to them in their own communities.

Similar charges have been leveled by outsiders at other great medical pioneers, including Dr. Tom Dooley, the former Navy doctor whose two tiny hospitals in remote Laos have become modern legends. Dooley knows that the vast majority of his outside critics have no notion whatever of the extent of disease and suffering in the land he has

chosen to serve as a peacemaker.

To the true peacemakers, conveniences and comforts are secondary to the real needs of

the living.

Dr. Bob Pierce, known as the jet-propelled minister, president of World Vision, Inc., of Pasadena, Calif., once put this another way: "There is not a single surgeon in the entire kingdom of Nepal-a nation of about 8 million people. Our problem is to find those people a surgeon. Once he gets there and starts doing the work so urgently needed, we can worry about getting him sanitary conditions to work in.

Dr. Pierce's World Vision makes it possible for people in the United States to support more than 150 Korean orphanages occupied by 14,000 children who otherwise would be hungry and homeless. It supports hospitals, missions, schools, and pharmacies in 24 countries.

Not all the peacemakers have chosen to work in remote areas. In the town of Huy, Belgium, lives Father Georges Pire, winner of the Nobel Prize in 1958, who operates Aid to Displaced Persons, which feeds, clothes, and houses refugees from Eastern Europe who are unable to emigrate to Western Europe because of age, illness, or handicaps.

Ironically enough, with Father Pire and Dr. Schweitzer as his predecessors, Russia's Khrushchev now is reported to be angling for a Nobel Peace Prize. How he has expunged Hungary and the other satellite countries from his conscience is not clear.

Meanwhile, the contrast between Father Pire's gentle and loving methods of handling refugees and those of another man with a refugee problem, the Egyptian Gamal Abdel Nasser, is clear. In many ways, Nasser is doing his best to aid his country-but he must be classified as troublemaker, if only because he will stop at nothing to gain the narrow ends he believes in.

His Western counterpart is the rebel leader. Fidel Castro. Hailed as a hero for his defeat of Dictator Batista, Castro at first appeared as a force for good in Latin America. came the ugly tales of mass executions and reprisals, of the imprisoning of innocent American citizens; and these were followed by intimations of Communist domination in his party.

In another small country not too far from Castro's Cuba, five men willingly gave their lives as peacemakers. These were the members of the Missionary Aviation Fellowship, who tried to carry practical Christianity to the primitive Auca tribe of Ecuadoran Indians-and who were savagely slaughtered.

Their martyrdom was not in vain. Soon after they were killed, two of their widows and the sister of one took up residence among the Aucas. The work they began as peacemakers is going on, near the hole that was dug for their common grave.

The members of this tiny mission would be astounded at the thinking behind the words of Mao Tse-tung, the leader of nearly 600 million Chinese. "A revolution cannot 600 million Chinese. "A revolution cannot be carried out softly, gradually, carefully, considerately, respectfully, politely, plainly, or modestly * * *."

Mao is, in the opinion of many, not merely the foremost troublemaker in the Far East. but the mose dangerous man in the corld.

But near him, too, is a peacemaker. Her ame is Lillian Dickson. The wife of a Caname is Lillian Dickson. nadian Presbyterian minister (although she is an American, born in Minnesota), she continues to minister to the needs of the aborginal peoples who live in the Formosan mountains. They are victims of tuberculosis, leprosy, fevers, plagues, and hideous skin diseases

Until Lil Dickson began her one-woman mission, they had nobody to take care of them. Today they have clinics staffed by doctors. They are being treated; some are being cured. They have the beginnings of a school system. They have begun to learn something of man's capacity for kindness as well as cruelty.

Miles to the south of Seoul, Korea's capital. two brothers are carrying on their tasks as peacemakers. They are Drs. Howard and Samuel Moffett. Educated in the United States, they went back to minister to Korea's physical and spiritual needs. Single-handedly—although he would deny it—Howard Moffett has built a children's hospital in Taegu. Dr. Sam, a missionary in China until the Communists drove him out, returned to Korea after being offered the presidency of one of the largest theological seminaries in the United States.

All over the world-even in Communistdominated countries where they are working underground—the peacemakers are making Memorial Day a day to honor the dedicated living as well as the heroic dead.

A Bill To Amend the Land Laws of the United States by Repealing the So-Called Pittman Act

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. WALTER S. BARING

OF NEVADA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, May 31, 1960

Mr. BARING. Mr. Speaker, I introduce for proper reference a bill to amend the land laws of the United States by repealing the so-called Pittman Act.

The Pittman Act, passed in 1919, has never served the purpose for which it was intended. Although it was expected that this legislation would induce people to come to Nevada and develop the land and water resources of great unoccupied areas, it has failed to accomplish this goal in any manner. The records of the Bureau of Land Management disclose that in the 40 years of its existence 2,619 applications have been filed. Of these, only 32 were successful in securing patents. One thousand seven hundred and sixty nine have been canceled and 818 are now pending. Most of the entrymen have filed on the maximum allowable under the law, 2,560 acres. The result has been a temporary entry in which areas valuable to the livestock, wildlife, and recreational uses are destroyed or severely damaged and then abandoned.

This legislation has been endorsed by resolutions of the Nevada State Legislature, the Nevada Soil Conservation Districts, the Nevada Cattlemen's Association, and similar organizations having to do with the operations of the public domain. I urge its early consideration and enactment.

Recognition of Red China

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. STYLES BRIDGES

OF NEW HAMPSHIRE

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, May 31, 1960

Mr. BRIDGES. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the Record an editorial which appeared in the New York World-Telegram for April 23, 1960, entitled "The Case Against Red China," together with an announcement under date of April 21, 1960, of the appointment of the distinguished Senator from New York, the Honorable Kenneth B. Keating, to the steering committee of the Committee of One Million.

As a member of the Committee of One Million, which is unalterably opposed to the recognition of Red China by the United States as well as its admission to the United Nations, I am much pleased to invite the attention of my colleagues and the American public to the acceptance by Senator Keating of this important assignment.

Senator Keating's penetrating indictment of the Communist regime in China Warrants careful reading by all Americans

There being no objection, the editorial and announcement were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the New York World-Telegram and the Sun, Apr. 23, 1960]

THE CASE AGAINST RED CHINA

In joining the steering committee of the bipartisan Committee of One Million (against admission of Communist China to the United Nations), Senator Kennerh B. Keating aptly stated why Red China is unfit to be admitted to the U.N. or recognized by the United States:

"The Chinese Communist regime has had a consistent record of aggression abroad and brutal tyranny at home. Within the past 12 months they have committed acts of massive genocide against the Tibetan people. Within the past weeks they have imprisoned a distinguished American elder churchman, Bishop James Edward Walsh. Within the past days, the leaders of Communist China have once again bitterly attacked and threatened our country.

"With such a record, and no indication of change, it is inconceivable to me how any American can call for the admission of this atheistic aggressor into the U.N. or recognition by our country of one of the greatest tyrannies the world has ever known. To pursue such a course of appeasement would betray our heritage of freedom and, in the long run, would result in strengthening our avowed enemy and weakening ourselves."

Refusal to appease Red China, he declared, is the way to maintain "the position of our allies and friends in Asia and, more impor-

tant, their confidence in the honor and integrity of our country."

That succinctly states the case—and leaves no room for rational rebuttal.

KEATING JOINS LEADERSHIP OF BIPARTISAN ANTI-RED CHINA COMMITTEE — WARNS AGAINST APPEASEMENT OF PEIPING

April 22: Senator Kenneth B. Keating, Republican, of New York, today joined with other Republicans and Democrats in the steering committee of the Committee of One Million (Against the Admission of Communist China to the United Nations). committee is headed by Warren R. Austin, former Senator from Vermont and first U.S. Ambassador to the U.N., and Joseph C. Grew, former U.S. Ambassador to Japan and Under Secretary of State. In addition to Senator Keating, other members of the steering committee are Senator Paul H. Douglas, Democrat. of Illinois; Representatives Walter H. Judd, Republican, of Minnesota, and Francis E. Walter, Democrat, of Pennsylvania; former Democrat Governor of New Jersey and Secretary of the Navy Charles Edison; former Senator H. Alexander Smith, who recently served as special assistant to the Secretary of State.

In accepting membership on the steering committee, Senator Keating said: "I am honored to join in this bipartisan movement which is dedicated to maintaining the security and honor of our country through its stand of refusing to strengthen Chinese Communist tyranny through any steps of appeasement. I am convinced that the overwhelming majority of the American people support our stand of opposition to the admission of Red China to the U.N. and/or recognition of the Peiping regime by our Government. Our present China policy is in the great tradition of bipartisan action. This policy was created and is maintained by both political parties working together.
The membership and support of the Committee of One Million and the numerous resolutions of both Houses of Congress over the past years are demonstration of this This policy has been successful and will continue to be successful in that it maintains the position of our allies and friends in Asia and, more important, their confidence in the honor and integrity of our country.

"The Chinese Communist regime has had a consistent record of aggression abroad and brutal tyranny at home. Within the past 12 months they have committed acts of massive genocide against the Tibetan people. Within the past weeks they have imprisoned a distinguished American elder churchman, Bishop James Edward Walsh. Within the past days, the leaders of Communist China have once again bitterly attacked and threatened our country. With such a record, and no indication of change, it is inconceivable to me how any American can call for the admission of this atheistic aggressor into the U.N. or recognition by our country of one of the greatest tyrannies the world has ever known. To pursue such a course of appease-ment would betray our heritage of freedom and, in the long run, would result in strengthening our avowed enemy and weakening ourselves."

The Committee of One Million, with offices at 343 Lexington Avenue, New York City, was organized in 1953 to "mobilize and articulate American public sentiment against admission of Communist China to the United Nations, recognition of the Pelping regime by the United States, or any other steps which would build the power and prestige of Red China." In 1956 the committee was instrumental in successfully conducting a campaign to include almost identically worded planks in the Republican and Democratic national platforms opposing the admission of Communist China to the U.N. The com-

mittee plans to undertake a similar campaign this year. In addition to such specific campaigns, the committee carries out a nationwide educational and informational program on Communist China and on current trends in United States-China affairs. Its work is supported through public contributions.

Among the members of the Committee of One Million are Senators Styles Bridges, John M. Butler, Robert C. Byrd, Everett M. Dirksen, Thomas J. Dodd, Ralph E. Flanders, Barry Goldwater, Spessard L. Holland, Jacob K. Javits, Mike Mansfield, A.S. Mike Monroney, Karl E. Mundt, James E. Murray, Hugh Scott, Margaret Chase Smith; Bishop Fred Pierce Corson, Mr. Henry R. Luce, Representative Joseph W. Martin, Jr., Adm. Arthur W. Radford, and Gen. James A. Van Fleet. Gen. George C. Marshall was a founding member of the committee and served actively until his recent untimely death.

Fifth World Forestry Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. LEON H. GAVIN

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 31, 1960

Mr. GAVIN. Mr. Speaker, from August 29 to September 10, the Fifth World Forestry Congress will be held at Seattle, Wash. The theme of the congress is "Multiple Use of Forest Lands"—a concept with worldwide application. As you know, a bill to authorize that our national forests be managed under principles of multiple use will be before the House this week.

In connection with the coming World Forestry Congress, I include a news release issued through the facilities of the U.S. Department of Agriculture:

FORESTERS OF 60 NATIONS TO TOUR THE UNITED STATES

Over 8,000 miles of the American scene will be on parade late this summer when professional foresters from more than 60 nations visit 7 major regions of the United States for a firsthand look at America and her forests, forestry institutions, and forest industries.

The foresters—many of them world famous in their respective fields—will be in this country as delegates to the Fifth World Forestry Congress at Seattle, Wash., August 29—September 10, 1960.

Congress officials have announced that two pre- and five post-congress tours will be available to special groups of the nearly 2,000 foresters attending. A special tour of British Columbia will be offered by Canada. In addition, 6 all-day and 9 half-day tours are scheduled during the 2 weeks the congress is in session to give delegates an opportunity to visit major points of interest within 250 miles of Seattle.

The Fifth World Forestry Congress—the first was held in Rome in 1926—will be the largest international gathering of foresters yet held. It is the first for which the United States has been host and the first to be held in the Western Hemisphere. Preparations for the congress are being made, in collaboration with the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, by an organizating committee of 44 forestry experts appointed by the Secretary of State with the Chief of USDA's Forest Service, Dr. Richard E. McArdle, chairman.

Many of the delegates will travel halfway around the world to attend, and for many it will be their first visit to the United States. "Because we want our visitors to get a well-rounded picture of our country," said Henry Clepper, tours committee chairman, "we have arranged these tours not only to show a slice of American forestry and forest industry, but a cross section of America itself."

Foresters taking any one of the tours will see a variety of forestry practices and will visit National and State forests and parks, private and industrial forests, forestry educational institutions, forest experiment stations and research centers, and forest products industries.

The tours will be made by bus except for an air trip to Alaska. Travel routes are scheduled through agricultural and woodland areas, and through small towns and large cities so visiting foresters may see Americans living, working, and using their land for many purposes.

One of two precongress tours will cover a large part of New York State and New England. The second will be a 1,200-mile trip from Los Angeles to Seattle through one of America's most interesting and heavily forested regions.

The five postcongress tours will carry visitors from St. Paul to Milwaukee in the Great Lakes region, Memphis to New Orleans in the South, Spokane to Salt Lake City in the Rocky Mountain region, Phoenix to the Grand Canyon in the Southwest, and from Seattle to Sitka in southern Alaska. The Canadian trip offered by the British Columbia Forest Service will include a trip to Vancouver and to several private and public forestry projects.

Short tours during the Congress will include visits to experimental forests, State and private nursery and seed operations, the Seattle watershed, and lumber, plywood, and paper industries in the Seattle area.

Of particular interest to foresters will be a 180-mile trip to Snoqualmie National Forest, administered by the U.S. Department of Agriculture's Forest Service, an outstanding example of multiple use in land management. Visitors to Snoqualmie will see logging roads and active logging operations, patch cutting of Douglas-fir, slash disposal, regeneration by seeding and planting, recreational areas, emergency airstrips, and facilities and equipment for managing and protecting forest resources.

Medical Research Funds

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. HARRISON A. WILLIAMS, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, May 31, 1960

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. President, Federal efforts in medical research have already yielded results of incalculable value to the overall strength of the United States and to the health of its citizens. This year, as we here once again prepare to consider this research effort, we have for our guidance a report by nongovernmental research authorities who have given serious thought to the aims and scope of the Federal program. Dr. Howard A. Rusk, in the May 29 issue of the New York Times, has written an illuminating summary of the consultants' committee report, and the arguments which have been made on this issue in recent months.

Mr. President, Dr. Rusk's article clearly indicates the need for an even greater effort than we have had in the past. I ask unanimous consent to have the article printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

MEDICAL RESEARCH FUNDS—Appraisal of Ex-PERTS' RECOMMENDATION THAT THE FEDERAL OUTLAY BE INCREASED

(By Howard A. Rusk, M.D.)

This week the Senate Appropriations Committee will act on the appropriation for the coming fiscal year for the Department of Labor and for the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

The committee now has before it a study in which a group of nongovernmental research authorities have recommended that the administration-proposed appropriation of \$400 million for medical research in the National Institutes of Health be increased to \$664 million.

The 12-member consultants' committee issuing the report was headed by Dr. Boisfeuillet Jones, vice president and administrator of health services at Emory University in Atlanta. Its members were all distinguished authorities in research and health services.

PROPER LEVEL DISPUTED

The consultants' committee was appointed a year ago in an attempt to resolve a controversy between Congress and the administration over the proper level for medical research expenditures. In each of the last several years, Congress has consistently appropriated more funds for medical research than the President has recommended.

In signing the appropriations bill for the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare last August, President Elsenhower publicly expressed concern that Congress had voted more funds than he had requested. He sald, "There is a limit to the rate at which medical research can grow and yet grow soundly."

It has been said that in private he used much stronger language in protesting the congressional action.

In answer to the President, the consultants' committee pointed out that although the level of medical research expenditures of the National Institutes of Health was increased by the Congress from \$294 million in fiscal year 1959 to \$400 million in fiscal year 1960, there still existed a backlog of \$23 million in scientifically approved, but unpaid, application for research grants.

Last January, the President recommended that appropriations for the National Institutes of Health for fiscal year 1961, which begins July 1, be kept at \$400 million. Following the pattern of recent years, the House of Representatives increased the appropriations to \$445 million. The consultants' committee has recommended to the Senate that it further increase the amount to \$664 million.

The committee did not pull this figure out of a hat. Its carefully documented report points out:

- 1. "The present cost of disease and disability to our Nation is estimated as at least \$35 billion a year. Only through medical research and the application of its findings can these losses be reduced."
- 2. The percentage of our gross national product going into Federal medical research has not increased substantially. Of an estimated gross national product of \$500 billion for fiscal year 1960, only \$380 million, or .076 percent, is being spent for Federal medical research.

Compared with \$400 million appropriated this year for medical research to protect Americans against death and disability from disease, the Government will spend approximately 100 times that amount to protect us

against death and disability from possible military attack.

The failure of the summit meeting and the comments in President Eisenhower's nationwide television report Wednesday evening indicated that the latter amount would not be decreased in the future.

Nor does \$400 million or even \$664 million for medical research seem excessive when compared with the more than \$300 million we spend each year for chewing gum or greeting cards the more than \$6 billion spent for tobacco products and the more than \$10 billion that goes for alcoholic beverages.

SHARP DISAGREEMENT

The group also disagreed sharply with the administration's argument that a substantial expansion in research would result in diversion of physicians needed for teaching and clinical care of patients.

It termed this fear unjustified and pointed out that the percentage of physicians participating in teaching and research has risen from 2 percent in 1940 to 3 percent in 1959.

During this period Federal support of medical research has increased 16 times.

The committee noted that physicians and dentists made up about half the professional personnel in medical research, and that this percentage was declining as our national supply of nonphysicians with doctoral degrees in the physical and life sciences increases.

The issue would seem to be one of dollars versus lives. Experience, however, has shown that Federal investments in medical research pay rich dividends in both lives and dollars.

Your Money's Worth, by Sylvia Porter

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. SILVIO O. CONTE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 31, 1960

Mr. CONTE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article which appeared in Sunday's Washington Star by Miss Porter, which illustrates the growing concern among intelligent journalists with the threat to cuts in our mutual security program:

[From the Washington Sunday Star, May 29, 1960]

How You Can Help Now (By Sylvia Porter)

Since the summit collapse, surely many Americans have wondered "What can I do to help now?"

One thing you can do is to make clear to Congress that you want no backtracking on our mutual security program.

If Congress does vote these funds quickly and decisively, it will tell our allies that in this key area of our foreign policy, we have a firm course and we're following it.

It will assure underdeveloped and uncommitted nations that we recognize how desperate is their struggle for advancement and that we intend to continue to help them achieve higher living standards without sacrificing their independence.

BEST NEXT STEP

It will bring home to Russia the message that we know she is fighting an intensifying economic war with us all over the globe and that we are ready and prepared to fight back.

It will support our critical alliances in the North Atlantic and Asia, help maintain the unity which is imperative for survival.

It will be the best next step we could take after Paris—one big step forward after the dismaying series of steps backward.

The mutual security program, authorizing the spending of \$4 billion for foreign economic and military aid in the year starting July 1, on our law books. But, as I emphasized on Thursday, the authorization is meaningless unless Congress also appropriates the money to back up the authorization. Before the summit, influential Members of Congress were saying plainly that they planned to slash the appropriation 25 percent or more under the \$4 billion authorized.

And while President Eisenhower in a Private letter sent to around 100 top citizens of the country has just urged "a crusade" to prevent this, and while this past Monday Vice President Nixon made the unusual move of publicly asking each GOP member of the House Appropriations Committee to prevent it, it is far from sure the pleas will be heeded.

Why is the opposition so strong?

One reason is the admitted maladministration of the program in many instances. Some of the bungling has been abominable.

But the way to correct maladministration of a law is not to cripple the law to be ad-The commonsense move is to get the machinery into operation, then to act with determination to make the machinery more efficient and put more efficient men in control.

POLITICS CHARGED

A second argument against the law is that, if we can't "afford" to spend millions to aid such depressed areas of our own as West Virginia, we can't "afford" to spend billions to aid foreign areas.

This argument is cockeyed and loaded with obvious politics. We do not further aid to our depressed areas by cutting foreign aid and this is definitely no time to be playing politics with our foreign policy.

A third reason is the feeling of disenchantment with the results of the program, the belief that foreign aid is not being adjusted to today's world.

Here again, it seems to me that the way to find a new program is not to sabotage the only one we have.

Imperfect as the foreign aid program is, it is at the heart of our foreign policy. You can help your country by making your support known now.

Radio Address by Hon. Alexander Wiley, of Wisconsin, Over Station WGN, Chicago

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. ALEXANDER WILEY

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Tuesday, May 31, 1960

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, in the aftermath of the Paris meeting, the World is now trying to find ways and means to promote real peace—ways, perhaps, that cannot be torpedoed by the antipeace tactics of a single participant, for example, in a conference.

As we recognize, the furor over the U-2 flight by Mr. Khrushchev was deliberately overplayed and utilized by Mr. Khrushchev as an excuse for blowing up the conference.

Although this propaganda balloon has just about become deflated, the free world must be careful not to allow this "side show scene" by Mr. Khrushchev to serve as a coverup, diversionary tactic for troublemaking elsewhere in the

Today, there are a great many danger points-including Western Europe, the Middle East, Korea, Indonesia, Taiwanthreatened one way or another by com-

While the world spotlight has been focused on Paris, and now on the United Nations, we can be sure that the Communists are not asleep elsewhere. Instead, they are continuing to carry on their subversive propaganda, espionage, sabotage and other activities, according to their master plan of world domination.

Recently, I was privileged to comment over radio station WGN, Chicago, on "fronts" elsewhere in the world where we need to be alert, as well as to strengthen our policies.

I ask unanimous consent to have excerpts of the address printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the excerpts were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WILEY WARNS AGAINST COMMUNIST DIVER-SIONARY TACTICS OVER U-2 FLIGHT TO START TROUBLE ELSEWHERE IN THE WORLD

(Excerpts of address prepared for delivery by Schator Alexander Wiley, Republican, of Wisconsin, senior Republican, Senate Foreign Relations Committee, over radio station WGN, Chicago)

The world today is experiencing crosswinds of differing national policy, cultural, economic, and ideological systems.

In a complex age, we, the people of the United States, must attempt not only to find our way, but also to act as a leader in promoting peace and stability on the globe.

As we are well aware, the new Communist "hard line"-demonstrated by Khrushchev at Paris, and Gromyko at the United Nations has increased tensions and fears of war in the world.

As President Eisenhower stated upon his homecoming, "We can be watchful for more irritations, possibly other incidents that can be more than annoying-sometimes creating real problems."

However, the "hot air" is just about gone from the propaganda balloon floated over the U-2 flight by the Soviet Union.

The hullabaloo at Paris and at the U.N.,

of course, is just part and parcel of the overall Communist master plan for global troublemaking and carrying out its aims of world domination.

However, the Communists-you can bet your boots-are not focusing entirely on the U-2 incident. From past experience, we can expect that they are busy as beehives in other countries around the world with espionage, subversion, spying, and other nefarious activities.

Particularly, Communist aggression by propaganda continues to violate-in spirit, as as in letter-a climate of peace in which nations deserve the right to live together on the globe and seek self-determined

Consequently, we must not be diverted by Mr. Khrushchev's attempt to make a mountain out of a molehill on the U-2 flight, and thus divert, to a large degree, the attention of the world. Instead, we must be alert to the fact that communism is "on the go" elsewhere around the globe.

REVIEW OF GLOBAL CHALLENGE

Briefly, now, let's take a quick look at the upcoming challenges and review all possible free world efforts to cope with them. The topics will include: "The Status of NATO"; "Coping With Special Economic Problems Among European Countries, Including the So-Called Inner Six and Outer Seven": "Further Improving Inter-American Relations"; "Outlook for Reduction of Armaments": "U.S. Attitude Toward the Newly

Emerging Nations"; and "Other Aspects of the International Scene.'

COMMUNIST "TOUGH LINE" STRENGTHENS NATO First of all, let's' take a look at NATO.

Fortunately, the revival of Mr. Khru-shchev's "tough line" at Paris—although a threat to peace—had the positive effect of strengthening the compact of NATO nations.

The task now is to assure that this "closing in the face of danger-is accomranks" plished not just in word, but in reality.

What needs to be done?

Among the tasks to be accomplished are the following:

1. More strongly welding together the NATO nations in the face of danger through improved channels for multilateral consultations on challenges confronting NATO:

2. Equipping this "free world shield" with the most modern weapons system necessary as a deterrent to aggression;

3. Promoting greater "identity of interests" in cultural and social—as well as economic, military, and political fields; and

4. Finally, keeping the respective govern-ments and their peoples alert to the reality that the struggle against communism will be a long-range-not a short-range battle.

SPECIAL ECONOMIC PROBLEMS OF INNER SIX AND OUTER SEVEN

Within NATO, there are, of course, special economic problems. These relate to the trade, tariff, and other problems arising out of the development of the European Eco-nomic Community (the so-called Inner Six) and the signatory countries of the European Free Trade Area Convention (the Outer Seven)

At this time, the governments of these nations are assembling detailed, factual information relating to problems, as well as their possible solution.

Generally, the United States has supported the development of the European Community of nations, both for political and economic reasons.

However, we have also encouraged them to adopt liberal, low-tariff policies toward the United States and other nonmember nations. We do not, in effect, want discrimination against U.S. goods.

Overall, however, the creating of strong Western, free economic and political blocs, we feel, will help to counterbalance the monolithic Communist bloc-directed by, and controlled from, Moscow-aimed at solidifying economic, political, military, social, and cultural interests of Eastern European na-

OUTLOOK FOR REDUCTION OF WORLD ARMAMENTS

Now, turning to another international problem: What is the outlook for realistic, safeguarded agreements for reducing arma-

As I understand it, the Communists are still willing to proceed with the 10-nation

meeting at Geneva, Switzerland.

In the light of Mr. Khrushchev's belligerence at Paris, however, there is serious doubt as to whether good faith agreements-safeguarded, of course-can be obtained at all.

In practice, we find that the Communists give lip service to the cause, yet ceaselessly attempt to blockade every effort to reach any realistic agreements.

The purpose of reduction of armaments, of course, would be:

1. To lessen the possibility of a nuclearmissile war that would destroy vast portions of the earth;

2. To reduce nuclear testing threatens to further contaminate the air with a dangerous degree of radioactivity; and

3. The world suffers from the need for turning these vast manpower, brainpower, and national resources now going into armaments, to production of the good things of life to provide better standards of living, eliminate poverty, starvation, illiteracy, and other humanitarian purposes.

Significantly, however, Mr. Khrushchev, in a speech delivered shortly after his visit to the United States, said:

"We must fight resolutely and consistenly for our ideas, for our way of life, for our socialist system. * * We consider that this struggle should be economic, political, and ideological, but not a military one."

Consequently, the Soviets continue to attempt to pursue their goals through diplomacy, trade, economic aid, and international subversion.

As yet, however, it is not possible to assess what the new hard line displayed by Mr. Khrushchev at Paris will mean in terms of efforts at "missile-power politics" or blackmail threats. In essence, however, the primary objective still remains—for the Communists, at least—as formulated by Lenin many years ago: "Who will vanquish whom?"

In coping with the Communist challenge, a major task—and that of our allies—is to maintain sufficient military strength to deter the Communist bloc from moving the Communist-freedom struggle into the military arena; or even successfully employing threats of military force.

Second only to this, however, we must preserve and strengthen our economic and, in cooperation with our allies, our international economic position. A strong economy is the keystone to our own strength and our ability to play our necessary role in world affairs.

Recognizing that peace must be established around the conference table—not on the battlefield—we must of course continue diligently, relentlessly, and in a dedicated way, to find a reasonable solution to East-West differences.

If we had our way, we would like to beat our swords into plowshares, to channel great resources, skill, and human ingenuity of our country and the world into farm machinery, hospitals, homes, schools, roads, food for the hungry, books and teachers for the millions in the world who cannot read or write; more electric and atomic power for factories, homes, and farms, and other goods of peace.

IMPROVING UNITED STATES-LATIN AMERICAN

In further reviewing our relations with other countries of the world, we cannot—and must not—ignore the need for continued efforts to improve contacts with the friendly

countries of Latin America.

Currently, the Communists are attempting to make inroads into the Western Hemisphere through trade routes; cultural exchanges; planting Communist troublemakers to capitalize upon economic difficulties confronting these nations; and other devious tactics.

Now, what steps can be taken to further improve inter-American relations?

These include, I believe, the following:

A greater effort to provide technical and administrative assistance to needy areas now striving for greater development and progress:

Encouraging stability to attract more U.S. private investments in these countries—where there is an ever-growing need for development and improvements.

Encouraging private business engaged in commerce, trade, manufacturing, mining, or other fields, to carry on more enlightened public relations programs among private citizens of Latin America:

And finally, continue to explore, better utilize, and, as appropriate, increase support for, international lending institutions, regional proposals for common markets, and other measures designed to help solve the economic problems throughout the hemisphere.

BOLE OF NEWLY EMERGING NATIONS IN WORLD
APPAIRS

Now, turning to a new aspect of international relations: Let's take a hard look at U.S. policy relating to the newly-emerging nations of the world.

Today, the globe is in ferment—politically, economically, socially, and spiritually.

In Africa and Asia particularly, nations

In Africa and Asia particularly, nations and peoples are striving for independence and for a right to seek, under self-determined forms of government, their destinies,

Why are these newly emerging nations significant? For this reason: Representing hundreds of millions of people and vast land and natural resources, these nations—if war can be averted—may contribute to determining the "balance of power" in the world for the years ahead.

As a leader, the United States, I believe,

As a leader, the United States, I believe, must play a significant role in assisting and, as possible, guiding these nations to their appropriate role in world affairs. The ob-

jectives of such efforts include:

1. Recognizing the inherent rights of people and nations to attain a self-deter-

mined destiny;

2. Eliminating breeding places of unrest and instability which nations—"under the thumb" of other countries—will continue to be; as well, such dominated courties—literally seething for independence, are major targets also for Communist activity; and

3. The millions of people and their resources, if developed fully, can make a contribution toward world betterment.

Consequently, an enlightened policy toward these newly emerging nations actually is not only humanitarian, but in our own self-interest, as well as essential for the peace and security of the world for the future.

CONCLUSION

This, then, is a brief look at the world scene.

In times past, the needs for you and me as citizens in the hinterlands of America to be concerned with these global challenges—would have been seriously questioned.

Today, however, what happens in Paris, at the United Nations—yes, at such far-off places as Indonesia, India, China and elsewhere—affects our security, taxes, the economy of our country, the outlook for our future.

As citizens of a leading nation in the world, therefore, you and I have a special responsibility, not only for being informed on, but also for attempting to constructively deal with, challenges in our local communities, of a national scope, and on the world scene.

Now, I want to express my appreciation to you for giving me this opportunity to discuss these national and international problems and challenges with you.

Payment-in-Kind Program Proves To Be Popular

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. CHARLES B. HOEVEN

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 31, 1960

Mr. HOEVEN. Mr. Speaker, on February 25, 1980, I introduced H.R. 10672, to provide for a payment-in-kind program for corn. This bill would reduce corn surpluses, decrease storage costs, and improve farm income. The bill, among other things, sets up a 3-year payment-in-kind program for corn farmers who voluntarily take their corn acreage out of production.

Public sentiment throughout the country is heavily in favor of this type of a

payment-in-kind program. It is contended by many students of agriculture and dirt farmers that such a program is the only real solution to the surplus problem. The Lee Vogel radio broadcasts over NBC, Chicago, have given wide publicity to the proposal, and there has been a most favorable response. On May 3, 1960, Mr. Lee Vogel told his radio listening audience that the best solution to the farm problem would be to retire land from production and pay the farmer from Government surplus stocks for the retired acreage. Following this 1 broadcast, Mr. Vogel received 242 communications from interested listeners in several Midwestern States, all of whom stated they were in full accord with the payment-in-kind program. The list of those who responded to the broadcast is as follows:

On a radio broadcast, on the Lee Vogel program, NBC, on May 3, 1960, on which the people were told the best solution to the farm problem would be to retire land from production and pay the farmer from Government surplus stock, for the retired acreage; this list of names, as follows, will indicate 100-percent approval of this plan:

Lillian Ellingson, Nakomis, Ill.; Peter Schmitt, Milwaukee, Wis.; E. Hendricks, Chicago, Ill.; Richard K. Dompke, Chicago, Ill.; G. Kettering, Rock Island, Ill.; W. W. Hardy, Hindsdale, Ill.; Edward Anyerman, Duluth, Wis.; Harry Christensen, Chicago, Ill.; Bernard Kruse, Chicago, Ill.; C. Hobbs, Chicago, Ill.; Milliam H. Koch, Milwaukee, Wis.; William Irish, Peoria, Ill.; Rev. Peter Sankey, Chicago, Ill.; M. Kimling, Chicago, Ill.; Harvey Wilhelm, Milwaukee, Wis.; William Wills, Milwaukee, Wis.; Mathilde Nielson, Guiliver, Mich.; Stanley E. Ford, Evanston, Ill.; Howard Hampter, Ottowa, Ill.; J. H. Hummel, Flora, Ill.; Thomas H. Marshall, Chicago, Ill.; Charles L. Bazemore, Mishawauke, Ind.; I. A. Fritz, Galesburg, Ill.; S. M. Schwartz, Chicago, Ill.; Ella P. Gustafson, Chicago, Ill.; Marvin D. McCavit, Elkhart, Ind.; Edward Kirstein, Rochester, N.Y.; Ethel West Gridley, Galesburg, Ill.; Joseph Schatz, Chicago, Ill.; Myrtle M. Tucker, Clark Lake, Mich.; C. H. Mings, Galesburg, Ill.; Frank F. Maro, Chicago, Ill.; Henry W. Ellis, Madison, Wis.; Steve Koehler, Chicago, Ill.; Henry E. Becker, Chicago, Ill.; Henry W. Ellis, Madison, Wis.; Henry F. Drews, Milwaukee, Wis.; D. R. Gualano, Chicago, Ill.; Marcus J. Gumz, Baraboo, Wis.; Joseph A. Lev, Chicago, Ill.; Paul Bensman, Sheboygan, Wis.; Leo J. Palecek, Sheboygan, Wis.; Fred Wagner, Sheboygan, Wis.; Allan Senkbell, Sheboygan, Wis.; Edward Stock, Chicago, Ill.; Ingerid H. Olsen, Evanston, Ill.

Jack Stewart, Halliday, N. Dak.; James G. Ferne M. Reichert. Ross, Shorewood, Wis.; Milwaukee, Wis.; K. M. Sherman, Skokie, Ill.; M. O. Hultgren, Andover, Ill.; L. M. Kohlbeck, Muskegon, Heights, Mich.; Vincent A. Kuaternik, Chicago, Ill.; Clara Parlopino, Chicago, Ill.; Clarence W. Spann, Chicago, Ill.; M. Byron, Chicago, Ill.; R. J. Schauer, South Milwaukee, Wis.; S. Henthorn, Georgetown, Ill.; Edward J. Caldavio, Chicago, Ill.; town, Ill.; Edward J. Caldasio, Chicago, Ill.; Fred Wills, Milwaukee, Wis.; F. Bauers, Milwaukee, Wis.; R. J. Schauer, South Milwauwhitkee, Wis.; R. J. Schauer, South Miller, Seerge Rela, Aurora, Ill.; Okla H. Clugis, Shelbyville, Ill.; A. Alman, Chicago, Ill.; Oscar Backus, Kewaskum, Wis.; John Tershowole, Ottowa, Ill.; Rose Stanek, Ladysmith, Wis.; Mary Ann Ernst, Chicago, Ill.; Florence Wiegner, Chicago, Ill.; Mortimer Middleton, Winetka, Ill.; Archie J. MacLeod, Evanston, Ill.; Henry Kops, Muskegon, Mich.; Hobbs, Evanston, Ill.; E. Magiel, Chicago, Ill.; Walter Taylor, Bonesteel, S. Dak.; Anna M. Horton, Chicago, III.; Howard L. Barham, Champaign, Ill.; R. L. Knott, North Rockford,

N. Dak.; Mildred Mosher, Wateska, Ill.; A. C. Goers, La Grange Park, Ill.; J. L. Pointer, Munden, Kans.; Charlotte M. Dasklewicz, Mishawaka, Ind.; Art Bluer, Ottowa, Ill.; Mike Meyer, Sheboygan, Wis.; Vernon J. Arenez, Sheboygan, Wis.; Diane Wagner, Sheboygan, Wis.; Elizabeth Herber, Sheboygan, Wis.; Arnold F. Blake, Sheboygan, Wis.; G. Herber, Jr., Sheboygan, Wis.; Jack G. Allan, Chicago, Ill.; Donald W. LaRue, Jr.,

gan, Wis.; Arhold F. Biake, Sneodygan, Wis.; G. Herber, Jr., Sheboygan, Wis.; Jack G. Allan, Chicago, Ill.; Donald W. LaRue, Jr., Paw Paw, Mich.; Larry Okray, Madison, Wis. J. R. Mattson, Fransboro, N. Dak.; Jo Lee Rogers, La Follette, Tenn.; Victoria Grych, Chicago, Ill.; Linda Piccinini, Chicago, Ill.; Linda Piccinini, Chicago, Ill.; Dianes Maschi, Chicago, Ill.; Albany Wiesen. Dianee Mocchi, Chicago, Ill.; Albany Wiesen, Albany, Ill.; Alice Yound, Chicago, Ill.; Ed-Ward M. Adams, Chicago, III.; Florence Ideen, Niles, III.; Helen Sullivan, Chicago, Ill.; George Trczewitz, Milwaukee, Wis.; Alma J. Erickson. Story City, Iowa; Gertrude E. Witte, Collingsville, Ill.; Elizabeth Baker. Chicago, Ill.; Linda Wiese, Danville, Ill.; A. J. Sieracki, Lake Villa, Ill.; A. Habina, Berwyn, Ill.; William Demchus, Dundee, Ill.; J. Samuel J. J. Shattan Name College Lat. Samuel J. J.L. Shelton, New Orleans, La.; Samuel J. Cohen, Chicago, Ill.; Merrill J. Sauriol, Chi-cago, Ill.; Grant T. Elling, Chicago, Ill.; Paul Schwin, Chicago, Ill.; Don Brinkman, Chi-Cago, Ill.; Robert Perry, Chicago, Ill.; E. I. Vacha, Peoria, Ill.; Richard H. Walters, Cham-Ill.; Frank T. Baker, Chicago, Ill.; Rudolph Kellogg, Sleepy Eye, Minn.; John T. Beatty, Chicago, Ill.; Dr. August Eich, Chicago, Ill.; Fern Jaquay, Hot Springs, Ark.; Joseph Schatz, Chicago, Ill.; Leona Ludwig, Beloit, Wis.; Robert W. Fuller, Fort Wayne, Ind.; J. F. Schurmuster, Linton, N. Dak.; Dr. Marvin S. Cochrane, Indianapolis, Ind.; Stanley Dorszynski, Milwaukee, Wis.; L. Grace Huff, Chicago, Ill.; Anastasia Holshan, Chi-

Paul W. Farnsworth, Watseka, Ill.; Wayne Hill, Aurora, Ill.; Ted Sankey, Dundee, Ill.; L. D. Morrison, Chicago, Ill.; Laura Foley, Chicago, Ill.; Louis F. Filas, Cicero, Ill.; Leo Mackiham, Madison, Wis.; Lois Costello, Joliet, Ill.; Jeanne Newmeyer, Chicago, Ill.; Lewis Duffil, Chicago, Ill.; B. Andersen, Chicago, Ill.; Laura E. Wine, Richmond, Ind.; Bruno Lundgreen, Holland, Mich.; A. Chrt, Berwyn, Ill.; M. S. Cohen, Chicago, Ill.; Edna Griffin, Minneapolis, Minn.; Camille Halina, Berwyn, Ill.; Francis H. McFarland. Lima, Ohio; M. Bart, Chicago, Ill.; F. E. Beecher, Park Ridge, Ill.; William C. Sullivan, Chicago, Ill.; Foyd A. Mackey, Chicago, Ill.; William Gerard, Chicago, Ill.; Gray Barry, Chicago, Ill.; Aaron Olfert, Mountain Lake, Minn.; Le-Roy J. Wagner, Chicago, Ill.; Arnold Perling, International Falls, Minn.; Marilyn Schert, Park Ridge, Ill.; Loren E. Trueblood, Nilwood, Ill.; E. T. Schroeder, Rockford, Ill.; George Young, Chicago, Ill.; Marvin Grove, Chicago, Ill.; Ella Ryan, Delavan, Ill.; Nathan Shorr, Aurora, Ill.; Ross McCoy, Peru, Ill.; Edith LaVine, Chicago, Ill.; Charles D. Frye, Indiana, Pa.; Clarence A. Hahn, Evanston, Ill.; Eleanor McHokon, Chicago, Ill.; John J. Hagel, Gary, Ind.

J. V. Hall, Chicago, Ill.; Ann Stewart, Chicago, Ill.; Donna Betlach, Sun Prairie, Wis.; Mrs. J. M. Burger, Wheeling, W. Va.; Mr. and Mrs. J. M. Burger, Wheeling, W. Va.; Mr. and Mrs. H. F. VanHouse Brookfield, Wis.; Marie Fischer, Beaver Dam, Wis.; Mr. and Mrs. Joseph P. Gangel, Westmont, Ill.; Mr. Adam J. Augustin, St. Louis, Mo.; Loren E. Trueblood, Nilwood, Ill.; Henry G. Meyer, Milwaukee, Wis.; Louise Meilert, Chicago, Ill.; Henry Rosse, Streator, Ill.; W. Glass, Milwaukee, Wis.; Mrs. F. Edward Kaula, Chicago, Ill.; Mr. and Mrs. W. D. Schroeder, Clinton, Iowa; Mr. and Mrs. Joseph E. Henry Clinton, Iowa; Mr. and Mrs. Ernest Clippenger, Clinton, Iowa; Mr. and Mrs. Ernest Clippenger, Clinton, Iowa; Mr. and Mrs. Bernard Carlson, Clinton, Iowa; Mabel Hall, Chicago, Ill.; Andrew Betlach, Sun Prairie, Wis.; Mr. and Mrs. P. Huntsinger; Weederburg, Ind.; William J. Murray, Chicago, Ill.; Anna Schroeder, Elmwood Park, Ill.; Mr. and Mrs. K. Waechter, West Bend, Wis.; Mr. and Mrs. DeRose, St. Louis Mo.; Ray Langly, Fox Lake, Ill.; Jess

Shipp, Nilwood, Ill.; Florence Wymer, Chicago, Ill.; Robert T. Ripley, Kenosha, Wis.; Mr. and Mrs. Boudreau, Chesterton, Ind.; Mr. and Mrs. Carl Warner, Milwaukee, Wis.; Harry Casper, Chicago, Ill.; Mrs. Wilbur Kirby, Clinton, Iowa; Mr. and Mrs. Al Weeden, Clinton, Iowa; Mr. and Mrs. Daniel Campbell, Clinton, Iowa; Mr. and Mrs. Wm. Lawson, Clinton, Iowa.

Mr. and Mrs. George D. Blinkinsop, Clinton, Iowa; Mr. and Mrs. Marti, Donahue, Iowa; Mr. and Mrs. Elmer E. Carson, Clinton, Iowa; John Weiss, South Bend, Ind.; Mrs. Willard T. O'Connor, Janesville, Wis.; Evelyn Wood, Chicago, Ill.; Katherine Compton, Chicago, Ill.; E. Levinson, Chicago, Ill.; Mrs. Ralph Love, Chicago, Ill.; Nora Ann Marx, Chicago, Ill.; Ray Robinson, Fond du Lac, Wis.; Elivra Stiedely, Belton, S. C.; Martin Swintik, Chicago, Ill.; Rose Shaffer, Chiago, Ill.; Rev. Wilbur M. Kirby, Clinton, Iowa; Myryle Buerge, Clinton, Iowa; Mr. and Mrs. Donald Kenney, Chicago, Ill.; Mrs. Henry Kops, Muskegon, Mich.; J. Weinstein, Peoria, Ill.; Mr. and Mrs. Glenn C. Wilson, Oak Park, Ill.; Mr. and Mrs. Fred Voelker, Peoria, Ill.; W. Merriman, Chicago, Ill.; Nick M. Marx, Chicago, Ill.; Arthur Teller, Jefferson, Wis.; L. Russow, Chicago, Ill.; Mr. and Mrs. Joseph Knoll, Milwaukee, Wis.; Cleo L. Waggle, Chicago, Ill.; Mr. and Mrs. Emil Acciarl, Chicago, Ill.; Mr. and Mrs. Emil

Service Unification: Communications

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. THOMAS B. CURTIS

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 31, 1960

Mr. CURTIS of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, during the House debate on May 5 on the military appropriations bill I commended the committee which had studied this measure for its efforts to bring about the integration of the Department of Defense communications system in line with the provisions of the amendment to the Reorganization Act of 1958 which I sponsored along with the distinguished gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. McCormack]. This amendment is designed to foster economy in the Defense Department by bringing about integration of the various service functions common to all of the military: this integration of the communications system, as was pointed out at the time of the debate, permitted an \$84.3 million cut in the costs of operating and maintaining the Department of Defense communications system.

The efforts of the committee and of the many others interested in this question of saving money in our defense establishment have met with success in this case. The announcement, as it appeared in the New York Times of May 13 follows:

MESSAGE CONTROL UNIFIED BY GATES—A COM-MUNICATIONS NETWORK FOR ALL SERVICES WILL BE UNDER JOINT CHIEFS

Washington, May 12.—Secretary Thomas S. Gates, Jr., today ordered all long-distance communications services of the Defense Department pulled into a single communications agency under the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

The order was regarded as a major step in the Defense Secretary's effort to achieve unification at the Pentagon. The military services have jealously guarded their communications controls as important aspects of command responsibility. Under the new Gates orders, outlined in two directives, the Joint Chiefs will for the first time have a day-to-day operations responsibility.

The Chiefs were originally devised as a planning and consultative body. In the past, arguments against unification have revolved around the idea that it would be wrong to permit centralized operations under the Chiefs.

Secretary Gates is understood to have overcome some of the objections of the services, particularly those of the Navy, over which he once presided as Secretary, by excluding local and self-contained tactical communications from the latest unification orders.

Despite this and other exclusions, the combined communications net will encompass 79 major relay stations throughout the world, representing a plant investment of \$2 billion.

The announcement said that it would take 9 months to effect the reorganization. The orders authorized the creation of a defense communications system to be headed by a military officer of flag or general's rank.

Effect on Jobs in the United States of Rubber Footwear Imports

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. THOMAS J. LANE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 23, 1960

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I include some very enlightening figures on rubber footwear imports which have been submitted to me by the Converse Rubber Co. of Malden, Mass.:

EFFECT ON JOBS IN THE UNITED STATES OF RUBBER FOOTWEAR IMPORTS

The number of pairs of rubber footwear produced annually per man was estimated in the "Census of Manufacturers," Department of Commerce's report on the rubber footwear industry in 1958 at 5,500 pairs per man. Whether this figure was or is completely accurate is not known. Assuming that anywhere from 4,000 to 5,000 or 5,500 pairs of rubber footwear are now being produced annually per man in the industry the following alarming facts are disclosed as a result of rubber footwear imports in 1959:

In 1959 imports totaled 52,880,000 pairs.

On the basis of annual production of 4,000 pairs of shoes per worker such imports replaced 13,000 full-year jobs in the United States in 1959.

On the basis of annual production of 5,000 pairs of shoes per worker such imports replaced 10,500 full-year jobs in the United States in 1959.

On the basis of annual production of 5,500 pairs of shoes per worker such imports replaced 9,600 full-year jobs in the United States in 1959.

Even more alarming facts are disclosed as a result of rubber footwear imports in the first quarter of 1960.

In 1960 first quarter imports totaled 30,-379,000 pairs.

On the basis of annual production of 4,000 pairs of shoes per worker such imports in the first quarter alone replaced 7,500 full-year jobs in the United States in 1960.

On the basis of annual production of 5,000 pairs of shoes per worker such imports in the first quarter alone replaced 6,000 full-year jobs in the United States in 1960.

On the basis of annual production of 5,500 pairs of shoes per worker such imports re-

placed 5,500 full-year jobs in the United States in 1960.

In 1960 full-year imports of 121,500,000 pairs projected on basis of first quarter imports of 30,379,000 pairs.

On the basis of annual production of 4,000 pairs of shoes per worker such imports will replace 30,000 full-year jobs in the United States in 1960.

On the basis of annual production of 5,000 pairs of shoes per worker such imports will replace 24,000 full-year jobs in the United States in 1960.

On the basis of annual production of 5,500 pairs of shoes per worker such imports will replace 22,000 full-year jobs in the United States in 1960. Note.—(1) The 1958 Census of Manufac-

turers reported 17,596 production workers in this industry. Thus 1960 imports could replace all production workers in the industry.

Note .- (2) The reliability of using first quarter imports of rubber footwear to forecast full-year imports is indicated by the actual experience of imports in 1959. While imports of rubber footwear in the first quarter of 1959 showed an increase of 132 percent over imports in the same period in 1958, full-year imports of rubber footwear in 1959 showed an increase over full-year imports in 1958 of 172 percent.

Rubber footwear imports

	All countries		Japan	
	Quantity (pairs)	Volume	Quantity (pairs)	Volume
No. 2031000 Rubber boots:	13.5			
1st quarter, 1960	647, 307	\$2, 265, 812	465, 995	\$1,622,430
1st quarter, 1959	389,072	994,069	215, 206	540, 810
1st quarter, 1958	101,774	351,551	17, 816	47, 041
1st quarter, 1937	112, 504	407, 760	14,647	52, 013
No. 2031100 Rubber shoes and overshoes:			The state of the s	
1st quarter, 1960	23, 578, 124	8, 208, 579	23, 274, 513	7, 892, 368
1st quarter, 1959	6, 645, 439	2, 368, 152	6, 497, 540	2, 191, 641
1st quarter, 1958	3, 526, 237	1, 505, 708	3, 452, 445	1, 415, 639
1st quarter, 1957 No. 2632000 Rubber-soled footwear with fabric uppers:	432, 432	215, 000	385, 219	148, 030
No. 2032000 Rubber-soled footwear with fabric uppers:			-	
1st quarter, 1969.	6, 133, 733	6, 920, 234	5, 492, 067	5, 902, 189
1st quarter, 1959	3, 013, 345	3, 755, 492	2, 386, 918	2, 664, 063
1st quarter, 1958. 1st quarter, 1957.	768, 677	594, 683	423, 326	242, 251
1st quarter, 1957	210, 339	225, 48E	124, 152	137, 652
Tetal, rubber footwear imports:	1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1	The state of the s	200000000000000000000000000000000000000	700 000 000
1st quarter, East 1st quarter, 1959.	30, 379, 164	17, 304, 625	29, 232, 575	15, 416, 987
Ist quarter, 1959	10, 047, 856	7, 117, 713	9, 099, 664	5, 396, 513
1st quarter, 1928	4, 336, 688	2, 451, 942	3, 893, 587	1, 704, 931
1st quarter, 1957	755, 275	818, 811	524, 018	337, 698

Source: Bureau of Census, FT Series,

Rubber footwear, domestic shipments

1st quarter, 1900	28, 216, 583		
Canyas	24, 226, 803		
Waterproof.	3, 989, 780		
1st quarter, 1959	27, 218, 903		
Canvas	23, 165, 035		
Waterproof	4, 053, 958		

Expansion of Community "Do-It-Yourself" Programs To Promote Economic Progress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON, ALEXANDER WILEY

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, May 31, 1960

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, in a world of promise, danger, and challenge, we recognize that Uncle Sam-responsible for national defense as well as a wide variety of domestic national-scope programs-is shouldering a terrific burden.

Consequent, I believe the Nation, and our people, could benefit from a greater "do-it-yourself" community effort for dealing with economic problems of a

local nature.

I am well aware, of course, that it is far more popular to say to the home folks: "If you have a need for utilities, roads, and other projects-go to Uncle Sam for the money." With the load being carried by the Federal Government, however, I believe there is serious question as to whether any more hands should be reaching for Uncle Sam's pockets. To the contrary, I believe a great many communities could examine their manpower, resources, and other potentials to determine whether or not by "do-it-yourself" community efforts, progress could be made toward strengthening the local economy.

Having commented on this recently in a broadcast over Wisconsin radio stations, I ask unanimous consent to have excerpts of my remarks printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the excerpts were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WILEY URGES DO-IT-YOURSELF PROGRAMS FOR COMMUNITY PROGRESS; URGES EXPANSION OF TOURIST TRADE TO IMPROVE ECONOMY IN WISCONSIN

(Excerpts of address prepared for delivery by Senator ALEXANDER WILEY, Republican, Chippewa Falls, over Wisconsin radio stations)

Friends, I welcome the opportunity to chat with you once again on major problems confronting us as a State and a Nation.

Today we are living in a world of danger, promise, and of challenge.

The "switch" in Communist policy to the old, Stalinist "hard line" of threat, bombast, propaganda, will have a serious impact not only on world affairs but on life right here in Wisconsin. As yet, however, it's not possible to assess the drastic change in Soviet policy.

Nevertheless, the major tasks before us continue to be (1) carrying on-in the face of the noncooperative Communist attitudeefforts to promote peace and prevent a third world war, and (2) maintaining a sound economy at home. At this time, I'd like to discuss with you

prospects for meeting the second challengethat is, further strengthening the economy.

In considering such efforts, a question of-ten automatically evolves; that is, "Well, what is Uncle Sam going to do about it?"

However, there is an alternative questionstriking close to home—that is, what can we, as citizens, do about it, to provide a sounder, more effective, stronger economy right here in Wisconsin?

NEEDED: COMMUNITY DO-IT-YOURSELF PROGRAMS

Now how can this be accomplished? Frankly, I would like to see more do-ityourself community programs for dealing

with economic problems of a local nature. I recognize, of course, that it is far more popular to say: "If you have a need-for utilities, schools, roads, or other projectsgo to Uncle Sam for a grant."

With the tremendous burden already on the Federal Government-particularly for defense-there is serious question as to whether there should be any more grabbing hands reaching for Uncle Sam's pocket.

Consequently, communities—large and small—I believe could well conduct a real stock taking to possibly unveil new local resources and potentials which, if better utilized, would help bolster the economy. Now, how can we go about accomplishing this objective? Such a program, I believe could well include the following steps:

- 1. Establishing a do-it-yourself development committee for the community.
- 2. Undertaking a complete review of manpower, natural, financial, and other resources.
- 3. Conduct a study on the needs of a community for services, products, transportation. housing, as well as the potential within the community for meeting its own needs.

In addition, we need to:

- 4. Review local tax systems and public utilities services to encourage industrial and business development.
- 5. Stimulate interest of local citizens to invest in local projects.
- 6. Assess improvements necessary in retail and service business, as well as to plan for and provide adequate schools, playgrounds, recreational facilities, transportation, police and fire protection and other services.
- 7. Obtain available State and/or Federal assistance on special technical problems, such as community planning, industrial zoning, and planned industrial districts.
- 8. And, finally, we must stimulate citizens' interest in making their community a better place in which to live.

EXPANDING "TOURISM" IN WISCONSIN

In recent years, also, a new industryand economic opportunity—has emerged, that is, "tourism."

Today, tourism is one of the fastest developing businesses in the United States. Annually, tourists in this country spend between \$15 and \$20 billion.

As of now, tourism is Wisconsin's third largest industry. However, I believe we can cut, for our Badger State, an even larger slice of this economic pie.

To attract tourists, a community-say the experts-does not need gold-plated hotels, multimillion dollar airports, or Grand Canvons.

In a complex, sometimes hectic age, a great many people on vacation try to find a place where they can get away from it all-to find comfort, change, amusement, pleasant environment, food and accommodations at reasonable prices, to experience a rejuvenationphysically, mentally, spiritually.

WISCONSIN-A TOPNOTCH VACATION LAND

As you and I know, friends, Wisconsin, a topnotch vacation land, offers a wonderland of such opportunity.

About 8.676 lakes and 10.000 miles of

streams for excellent fishing.

Seven State forests and three State parks. providing a great many wonderful opportunities for sightseeing, boating, camping out of doors, and traveling through our scenic countrysides.

Over 161 museums and many other his-

torical sites and places of interest.

In 1958, over 6 million travelers visited the State park and forest areas of our State.

The opening of the St. Lawrence Seaway also promises an influx of more and more visitors to Wisconsin and the Great Lakes region, from Canada and all over the other parts of the world, as well as from many other States of the Union.

The challenge is for each of the communittes—with tourist potential—to transform itself into a haven for vacationers, then effectively tell its story. How? By publicizing: What your community is; how does a vacationer get there; what are its special activities; and other highlights to lure the

The promotion of tourist trade can bring benefits not only for today-but for the future. Nationally, our people face the prospects of shorter workweeks, better pay, faster transportation to everywhere—all of these factors indicate that the future of the tourist business is wide open. For 1960, the tourist season is just ahead.

Our job, then, is not only to cash in on the benefits; but to provide more people of America and the world-in addition to the million who now visit us-to see, and enjoy, the hospitality, and friendly, scenic environment of Wisconsin.

FEDERAL ASSISTANCE FOR "BOOTSTRAP" OPERATIONS

Now, I well recognize that a local community may not be able ot successfully carry out by itself a do-it-yourself development program for expanding tourism, industrial development, and other goals. To help make such improvements, there are Federal programs, for example, available, including the following:

The Department of Agriculture provides technical assistance and consultation through Federal extension, forest, and soil conservation services, as well as financial assistance from such agencies as the Farm Home Administration, REA, and other pro-

The Department of Commerce is carrying on a splendid program of technical assistance and consultation for industrial development as well as other projects for improving the economy.

The Housing and Home Finance Agency also has a variety of programs that can be helpful to communities—both small and large—attempting rehabilitation programs. These include guidance and, in some cases, Anancial assistance under the Community Facilities Administration, FHA, Urban Renewal, and other such agencies.

In addition, the Small Business Administration offers technical guidance, administrative advice, as well as loans to local businesses in a community.

For the most part, these are not new programs. However, they can be of tremendous help to a community in carrying on a "bootstraps" operation to promote progress and improve the economy.

CONCLUSION

As we look to the future, then we recognize that the economy of each local com-munity will continue to be closely integrated With that of the State and Nation, In this cooperative complex, however, the local community must stand ready-willing-and-as

it is able-to bear its fair share of the burden. Similarly, it can expect to reap a proportionate share of the rewards.

Again, I want to express my sincere appreciation for the opportunity to discuss these problems of mutual interest with you. Thank you very much for listening.

Memorial Day Services, Altoona, Pa., May 30, 1960

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES E. VAN ZANDT

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, May 31, 1960

Mr. VAN ZANDT. Mr. Speaker, under the auspices of the War Veterans Council the annual Memorial Day observance was held at Altoona, Pa., Monday, May 30. The program included a parade through the downtown business district terminating in the Fairview Cemetery where I was privileged to deliver the following address as part of the memorial services:

MEMORIAL DAY ADDRESS BY REPRESENTATIVE JAMES E. VAN ZANDT OF THE 20TH DISTRICT OF PENNSYLVANIA AT THE FAIRVIEW CEME-TERY, ALTOONA, PA.

Memorial Day is distinctly an American institution.

It is a deeply significant, sentimental custom established by our people more than 90 years ago.

It is not only observed in every community across our Nation, but in many foreign lands and upon the high seas.

This special day is the brief moment we set aside from our busy lives to pause before the resting places of our departed loved ones—to remember them and to eulogize the honored dead.

When we have concluded our short ceremonies here and turn back to our daily tasks we shall leave with the dead our tributes, expressed in words and with flowers.

But of even greater importance is the fact that we will have gained new spiritual and mental enlightenment through this experience.

Memorial Day is not a day for sadness.

In fact, when we consider all of its facets we find that Memorial Day has great beauty and that it has truly inspiring depths.

There are the colors of our flag and flowers

for the eve to admire.

There are the carefully chosen words of prose, poetry, song, and prayer for the ear to

All of these, together, touch our hearts and minds and our conscience.

They reawaken in us a new realization that we are influenced, in large measure, by those who have gone before us, and by their contributions to our lives.

It does not matter who we are, nor the differences between our religious thinking or racial stock.

The principles presented by this Memorial Day are the same to each of us-because we are all Americans.

Following the same line of thought when we honor the dead we do not weigh the stations they held in life.

It does not matter whether they were rich or poor, young or old, or whether they were intellectuals, craftsmen, students, or laborers.

As the poet John Ingalls expressed it-"In the democracy of the dead, all men at last are equal"-there is neither rank nor station nor prerogative in the republic of the grave.

Now it may be a little difficult for us who are gathered here to realize that we are part vast, worldwide commemorative service on this special day.

We are but a small portion of the living-

who are honoring the dead.

And those souls to whom we are directing our immediate attention are but a very few of the total number of American honored dead around the world.

What we are doing here is actually symbolic.

Our contribution to the overall Memorial Day observance is being duplicated by millions of other people throughout our land and in several foreign countries.

To make that point clear let us consider the following facts:

There are more than 1 million names on the honor rolls of the American war dead.

Those are the men who have fought and died for our country since this Nation was founded some 185 years ago.

What we say here today expresses our tribute to all of those honored ones.

The praise we give the other departed war veterans of our personal acquaintance isin reality-praise for all who have served in the Armed Forces of our Nation.

We cannot return the dead-therefore the only remaining course is to extend tribute to them through sincerity and the beauty of our memorial services.

That is what Americans are doing today at home and abroad.

Therefore, on this Memorial Day 1960 let us for a moment visualize the memorial tributes being accorded our honored dead.

Throughout the United States and in some 25 American military cemeteries beyond our shores the mortal remains of some 400,000 Americans who gave their lives in World War I, World War II, and the Korean conflict are buried, or they are recorded as missing in action.

On this Memorial Day special ceremonies are being held at 8 American military cemeteries or special memorials in France, England, and Belgium where nearly 31,000 World War I dead are buried.

Similar services are being held for 76,000 World War II dead at 14 other American cemeteries in England, France, Belgium,

Luxembourg, Holland, Italy, and Tunisia, Also, special services are being held for more than 90,000 other World War II and Korean dead, buried or recorded as missing at American cemeteries in Puerto Rico, Hawaii, Alaska, and the Philippines.

In addition special services are being held for the war dead at the Tomb of the Unknowns-and some 99,000 other war dead buried at Arlington National Cemeteryacross the Potomac River from Washington.

Most of those final resting places are a long way from us-but in reality they are very close to our hearts.

In the American military cemeteries overseas there are graves and chapels, pools and gardens, statues and-most impressivethe walls of the missing.

All of those material tributes to the honored dead are creations of our best talent in architecture and landscaping, and in poetry and prayer.

The oversea cemeteries and memorials are in charge of the American Battle Monuments Commission and the Department of the Army.

In order to see everything more clearly let us-with our eyes closed and in deep silence-form these mental pictures.

We see acres and acres of white marble headstones.

Alined in rows they are of two designsthe Star of David for those of the Jewish faith and the Latin Cross for all others.

Those markers identify the remains of the known American war dead.

The number of these markers is startling.

There are more than 60,000 in France and 13,600 in Belgium.

Another 17,000 are in the Philippines with

13,500 in Hawaii.

There are some 12,000 in Italy, more than 8.000 in Holland, 5,000 in Luxembourg, 4,000 in England, and 2,000 in Tunisia of north Africa, and so on around the globe.

These overseas cemeteries are the resting places of only some of our known American

war dead.

Yes, there are others to be counted.

Close to rows of marked graves stand the walls of the missing.

These are tremendously imposing struc-

One of them-on the south coast of Eng-

land is 472 feet long.

And upon those walls of the missing are inscribed the names-the ranks-the combat organizations-and the home States of American servicemen presumed to be dead but whose remains have not been recovered or identified.

On those walls of the missing there are nearly 56,000 names of our honored dead.

The inscriptions upon the walls of the missing tell us that "here are recorded the names of Americans who gave their lives in the service of their country and who sleep in unknown graves—grant unto them, O Lord, eternal rest."

On the 472-foot wall in south England—there are 5,175 names of men from every State in the Union and the District of Co-

lumbia.

At Manila in the Philippine Islands more than 36,000 missing men are recorded.

Along with the graves and walls there are

memorial buildings and chapels. Inside these structures are recorded the

histories of the conflicts in which the known-the unknown-and the missingfought and died.

Sculptured figures and poems and prayers are inscribed in stone.

Typical of the tributes paid the men is the inscription in the Normandy American cemetery.

This cemetery is high on a cliff overlooking the English Channel-170 miles west of Paris-and just above Omaha Beach-where many died in the Allied D-day invasion of France in June 1944.

There are 9,386 marked graves in the Normandy cemetery-and on the wall of the missing there are 1,557 additional names

Inscribed upon the Normandy cemetery memorial buildings are these words:

"This embattled shore, portal of libera-tion, is forever hallowed by the ideals, the valor and the sacrifices of our fellow men.

Some strange circumstances are illustrated at this cemetery-as in other American cemeteries-because here we will find the final resting places of a father and son-lying side by side.

In addition-in 30 instances two broth-

ers are buried-side by side.

A part of every American military cemetery is the stone-engraved prayers.

The poetic expressions-deep from the heart-represent every religious faith.

Typical of these prayers are the following quotes:

"Take unto thyself, O Lord, the souls of the valorous that they may dwell in their

Also the Biblical quotation-St. John-10th chapter, 28th verse:

"I give unto them eternal live and they shall never perish."

Then there is this Jewish inscription beside the Star of David and Tablets of Moses: "Think not only upon their passing. Remember the golry of their spirit."

Upon each of the oversea cemetery memorial buildings there is a simple dedication by the Government of the United States.

That inscription reads:

"In proud remembrance of the achievements of her sons-and in humble tribute to their sacrifices—this memorial has been erected by the United States of America."

Here in the United States-some 170,000 World War II dead have been returned for burial in home cemeteries.

Impressive memorial services are being held for them on this day—as we are doing here.

And in the cities of New York and San Francisco memorials are being erected to commemorate many thousands of Americans who gave their lives while on war duty off the coastal shores of North and South America.

And there are other memorials-created by fellow citizens-for the war dead lost at sea.

Thus the picture is revealed of worldwide tributes to the known American war dead and to those recorded as missing in action.

It is a significant fact that the sun never sets upon all of them.

And finally, above these hallowed grounds flies the Stars and Stripes-the flag of our

It is the flag which says: "These were my defenders."

They were your defenders.

Their patriotism and their valor-were proved on the fields of battle.

Let their achievements and their sacrifices be your inspiration forever.

Ladies and gentlemen, this is the message for each of us on this Memorial Day of 1960as we pay honor to the departed ones of all

May they rest in eternal peace.

Today it is our fervent prayer that our thoughts-our words-and our deeds shall always fulfill the high ideals for which the brave have made the supreme sacrifice.

At this time let each of us recognize the obligation we have to make certain that the honored dead shall not have died in vain.

In seeking to fulfill this obligation let us fervently pray:

Lord-God of hosts-be with us yet. Lest we forget! Lest we forget!

The Privilege of Knowing

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. HARRISON A. WILLIAMS, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, May 31, 1960

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. Mr. President, an eloquent editorial in the Trentonian, Trenton, N.J., of May 24, 1960, said this:

Americans have a right to the burden and the privilege of knowing;

It also said:

We are not ready to be protected from our

The editorial, of course, discussed the problem of secrecy in government. It told of the important work now under way by the distinguished Senator from Missouri, Thomas C. Hennings, Jr. whose Senate Constitutional Rights Subcommittee has been conducting a survey on Federal departmental information prac-

Mr. President, the editorial discusses matters of importance to all those who believe that citizens in a democracy have the right to know what their government is doing. I ask unanimous consent to have the article printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE PRIVILEGE OF KNOWING

Democracy is not a very tidy form of government. It is, on the whole, a rather risky business. It has neither the security of Iron Curtain secrecy nor the neat, convenient controls of a closed-skies, closedvoiced totalitarianism. It cannot edit its truths into fairy tales to be fed, happy ending by happy ending, to a rapt and captive This is the cost-if it is a costaudience. of government by, rather than government in spite of, the people. When America made the choice for freedom it also had to make the choice for the risks of freedom. And we must continue to affirm that the value far outweighs the price.

The right of the American people to know what goes on in their government has al-ways been a cherished thing. That right is basic, and to infringe upon it unnecessarily for any reason or in any name is both dangerous and inexcusable. For any overcautious attempt to diminish the insecuritics of open government can only succeed in diminishing the freedoms on which that government is founded.

In an effort to determine the extent to which restrictions on freedom of information may be infringing on the constitutional rights of the American people, a Senate Constitutional Rights Subcommittee has been conducting a year-long survey on Federal withholding of information from the public and press. Headed by Senator THOMAS C. HENNINGS, JR., Democrat of Missouri, the subcommittee questioned 96 Federal departments, agencies, and bureaus on their practices in this area.

A number of agencies confess to uncertainty about their authority to withhold or to disclose information to the public and press. and many, deplorably, continue to cite the vague doctrine of "executive privilege." Over and over appears the assertion that information is classified and withheld in the name

of national security.

The question is, In what does the national security finally lie? And we can only answer, not in illusion, not in half-truths, not in a pampered ignorance, but by clearly stating that the essential need for national self-protection must be coupled with the maintenance of an informed and mature, and thus an involved and prepared, people.

Forwarding one of the sanest perspectives on this issue in his committee's 1956 report to the Secretary of Defense, Charles A. Coolidge, classified information chairman, warns against an overcautious and confused classification system. He prescribes a dual objective for the Federal Government-"to give the public full information up to the point beyond which national security will be dam-

aged, and to protect beyond that point."
We second this strongly. Americans have a right to the burden and the privlege of knowing. Leave the Russians to their tidy-secretive and impoverished brave world-We are not ready to be protected from our freedoms.

Thanks, Mr. Khrushchev

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. CHARLES E. CHAMBERLAIN

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, May 31, 1960

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I Wish to include in the Appendix of the RECORD, an excellent editorial by David Lawrence entitled "Thanks, Mr. Khrushchev." The article appears in the current issue of U.S. News & World Report and because so many have expressed their views regarding the value of summit conferences. I believe Mr. Lawrence's editorial is very illuminating.

The editorial follows:

THANKS, MR. KHRUSHCHEV (By David Lawrence)

Sometimes from unexpected quarters we are handed a benefit. Hence we often say tha "it is an ill wind that blows no good."

Nikita Khrushchev may be surprised to learn the true consequences of his reckless action in Paris recently as he torpedoed the summit conference and publicly insulted the President of the United States.

We are, indeed, indebted to the Soviet Premier for the following consequences:

1. The credulous, naive attitudes adopted by various groups among us in their ad-Vocacy of summit conferences were revealed as hopelessly impractical. No longer will we listen to the argument that these meetings can override the historic ways of diplomacy, supersede the United Nations and leave it to four men to settle the disputes which threaten the world with nuclear war.

2. The appeasers, who have thought that the way to get peace is by making concession after concession to the enemy, now have been proved illogical, misguided and with-

out persuasive influence.

3. The leaders of thought who have urged that America maintain its strong defenses and place its reliance on the maintenance of deterrent strength have been vindicated and will now have an increasing influence with

American public opinion.

4. The tactics of the Soviet Government, as it has sought to divide the Western allies, weaken NATO and cause a crumbling of morale in the West, have been successfully thwarted. The Western alliance today has a redoubled strength—it has faith in the rightness of its cause and in its military power to deter war.

5. The world has at last been told many unpublished facts in the story of Soviet esplonage. The opportunity to do this might never have been forthcoming if a countermeasure, undertaken by the United States, had not been detected and exploited by Mr. Khrushchev when the U-2 was forced to land.

6. The knowledge of what really is going on in the cold war may have come as a shock at first to the peoples of the West, but slowly they are beginning to understand the realistic truth. They now will read and be induenced by the facts revealed about Communist infiltration as well as aggression.

7. Publication by the United States of the list of Soviet spies arrested within our own territory as they sought military information has exposed the hypocrisy of the Soviet protestations concerning the plane piloted by Prancis Powers. For Powers was merely taking pictures. His plane was unarmed and clearly marked with the initials of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration, well known as a civilian agency of our Government. Is flying 12 miles or more above any country really a violation of international law? If so, then why have the Soviets launched space vehicles which can take photographs of U.S. territory?

8. Attention has been dramatically focused on picture taking from the skies. In 1955 President Sisenhower made his open-skies proposal to the Soviet Union as a means of providing "against the possibility of great surprise attack." He proposed that the two countries give each other a complete blue-print of their military establishments from one end of our countries to the other, and

then provide ample facilities for aerial reconnaissance and picture taking of each other's territory. This plan was rejected out of hand by the Soviet Government and generally attracted little interest. Now, however, the world has been made aware of the importance of the plan and of the satellites already in orbit which can take pictures at great heights.

9. Emphasis has been placed on the surprise attack issue. It has been difficult for the Western governments to arouse world opinion on this contingency even though everyone knows the West would not strike the first blow. The world now has had brought forcibly to its attention the vital necessity of preventing or intercepting sur-prise attack. The House of Representatives, prise attack. The House of Representatives, through one of its appropriations committees, has given formal sanction to such a policy.

10. The outcry of the Soviet Government

about aggression and spying must inevitably cause the world to ask when the Soviets will withdraw their agents from Cuba and other Latin American countries, as well as from Europe, Asia, and Africa, and really cease

their aggression.

11. Last but not least, the Soviet chieftain has asserted a right to tell the American people the kind of administration he wants to see elected in this country in November. Let's grant him that privilege on the condition that free elections be held in the Soviet Union and that our radio messages no longer be jammed as we exercise a similar right to tell the Soviet people whom they shall choose as their ruler

Yes, we can say, "Thanks, Mr. Khrush-chev," for having opened not only our eyes but the eyes of free peoples everywhere to the simple fact that there can be no safety for any country as long as an arbitrary, auto-cratic regime, with the power to make sudden war, rules in Moscow.

Inspiring Tribute to the Spirit of Brotherhood

EXTENSION OF REMARKS . OF

HON. KENNETH B. KEATING

OF NEW YORK

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Tuesday, May 31, 1960

Mr. KEATING. Mr. President, in view of its timely character, I wish to draw attention to an excellent editorial, entitled "Keep Our Beliefs, Bury Our Hatchets," which appeared in the White Plains Reporter Dispatch of May 21, 1960. This editorial was written as a tribute to the splendid record of the recently created Westchester Division of the National Conference of Christians and Jews. The dynamic and fruitful work of this fine organization in the cause of brotherhood is a matter of national knowledge and national pride.

The Westchester Division has chosen, as exemplars of this spirit of brotherhood, three outstanding persons: Mrs. Clara M. Tead, President of Briarcliff College, Surrogate John J. Dillon, and Carl H. Pforzheimer, Jr., a regent of the University of the State of New York.

In paying tribute, therefore, to the accomplishments of the Westchester Division of the National Conference of Christians and Jews, it is fitting that a special accolade of honor be accorded these three community leaders who represent a living dedication to the spirit of brotherhood. Mr. President, because of the significance of the editorial to which I have referred, I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the White Plains Reporter Dispatch, May 21, 1960]

KEEP OUR BELIEFS, BURY OUR HATCHETS

Seldom has any organization in Westchester County been given such a warm welcome in its infancy as has the National Conference of Christians and Jews. Its opening program on a countywide scale-one designed, and deservedly so, best to portray organization's views—was an outstanding success. Some 300 Westchesterites turned out to applaud the aims of the conference and to do honor to three county residents who received brotherhood awards.

The unit's first choice of honorees certainly was received with acclaim. Mrs. Clara M. Tead, president of Briarcliff College, Surrogate John J. Dillon, and Carl H. Pforz-heimer, Jr., a regent of the University of the State of New York, have through their professional and personal lives dedicated themselves to the full meaning of brotherhood.

The growth of the Conference of Christians and Jews would seem assured by the warm feeling it engendered in its first program.

In particular, we liked the statement of the dinner's keynote speaker, Robert Greene, who said:

"Interfaith does not mean to bury convictions; it rather means to bury the hatchet.

'It does not mean to demolish boundaries: it rather means to remove barriers and to establish a sort of intellectual free trade between religions."

Promotion of such understanding and mutual respect will be good and wholesome and will do much to make of any community, not Westchester alone, a happier place in which to live.

Auto Fumes: Why They Must Be Controlled

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. KENNETH A. ROBERTS

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, May 31, 1960

Mr. ROBERTS. Mr. Speaker, interesting news has come out of the Air Pollution Control Association's annual meeting in Cincinnati about controlling automobile exhaust fumes by a cheap and simple device.

Earlier this year, the Subcommittee on Health and Safety held hearings on this subject. As chairman of this subcommittee, I am heartened by the fact that automobile manufacturers have recognized the need for such a device in smoggy areas of California and will install these devices in cars in that State. At the same time, I am puzzled and distressed by the fact that no announcement has been made that all cars will be equipped with these air-cleaning devices. Certainly air pollution does not stop at the State boundaries.

Under leave to extend my remarks T wish to include the following article

on May 25, 1960:

TESTS SHOW BIG ROLE OF "BLOWBY" IN POLLUTION

CINCINNATI, May 24 .- The Public Health Service said today that extensive tests have confirmed the importance, from a national standpoint, of one source of automobile fumes that can be controlled by a cheap, simple device.

Although the report was a technical one, it unavoidably revived the argument over whether the device should be factory installed on all new cars or merely on those manufactured for smog-ridden California.

The tests were conducted at the Robert A. Taft Sanitary Engineering Center here. 13 cars used were recent models produced

by the industry's Big Three.

In their report to the annual meeting of the Air Pollution Control Association, Andrew H. Rose said the Taft center wanted to determine the air-pollution importance of "blowby"; that is, the mixture of air and raw gasoline hydrocarbons that slips unburned past the piston rings and is vented into the atmosphere from the crankcase.

Excluding evaporation from the carburetor, Rose reported that "blowby" accounts for an average of 24 percent of the total hydrocarbons emitted by six-cylinder engines and 33 percent of those discharged by eights.

Although the differing rate is a new finding—possibly accounted for by the eights' generally higher compression ratios—the PHS report substantially confirms an accidental discovery and followup by four General Mo-

tors Corp. engineers.

PHS has cautioned against regarding "blowby" control as a panacea even if fully effective devices come into universal use. Apart from the probability that its benefits could be canceled out by the expected surge in motor vehicle registrations the hydrocarbons in "blowby" are not those that are suspected cancer producers. The suspected carcinogens are created in the combustion process, as are the bulk of the hydrocarbons that figure in the sunlight-triggered smog reaction.

That is why the PHS has said that the need will remain for much more costly afterburners, or purifiers, that hydrocarbons from the exhaust steam along with polsonous car-

bon monoxide.

Devices that route "blowby" back into the engine to be burned are not new, are of varying designs and cost and are routinely used many foreign cars. The Automobile Manufacturers Association has settled on one that, it has said, will cost "probably under \$10" factory installed and will be standard equipment on all cars made for the California market, starting no later than the 1961 models.

The late Senator Richard L. Neuberger, Democrat, of Oregon, was probably the first to protest publicly the industry's decision not to put the device on all new cars. He raised the issue in January on the Senate floor and in a letter to association president L. L. Colbert. In February a House Com-merce Subcommittee headed by Representative Kenneth A. Roberts, Democrat, of Alabama, held 2 days of hearings on the question.

The association's Carl A. Richards argued that the unburned hydrocarbons the device eliminates had been shown to be villains in Los Angeles but nowhere outside California.

He said that the industry will offer the device as optional equipment to individuals or to localities outside California in which it is determined that it is needed or wanted.

Arguing the auto-caused air pollution is a problem in all metropolitan areas, Arthur S. Flemming, Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, said the device should be built into all new cars. He warned the industry that if this is not done voluntarily, legislation making such installation compulsory may follow.

which appeared in the Washington Post The Second Avenue United Brethren Church, Altoona, Pa., Honors the Nation's War Dead

> EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. JAMES E. VAN ZANDT

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 31, 1960

Mr. VAN ZANDT. Mr. Speaker, among the many Memorial Day services in the central Pennsylvania area was one conducted by the members of the Second Avenue United Brethren Church, Altoona, Pa., on Sunday morning May 29.

It was my privilege to deliver the following address as part of the Memorial

Day program:

Memorial Day, 1960, Address by Representa-tive James E. Van Zandt, Member of Con-gress, 20th District of Pennsylvania, at THE SECOND AVENUE UNITED BRETHREN CHURCH, ALTOONA, PA., MAY 29, 1960

Memorial Day is truly a day of reverence. Of all our great national holidays, Memorial Day is the most sacred, the most solemn, and the most beautiful.

When we assemble on the Fourth of July we meet to celebrate our independence.

It is the Nation's birthday party, and is rightly and properly an occasion for festivity and rejoicing.

But Memorial Day which precedes it partakes of something quite different:

It has been well called the most beautiful and sacred of our national holidays.

May it ever remain so.

And if I know my countrymen as well as I think I do, it will so remain.

Long ago, on the eve of his own supreme sacrifice, it was said by one who knew the secret of every trembling heart that "greater love hath no man than this, that a man lay

down his life for friends." I am happy to think that loyalty and en-during gratitude are to be numbered among the more endearing traits of the American

character. We have our faults-we are not yet angels and archangels, to be numbered among the hosts above.

I do dare assert, however, that as a people, both individually and collectively, we are not a nation of ingrates.

Nor as a people are we insensible to the needs and sufferings of our fellow beings of other lands.

Where, in the recorded history of mankind, can there be produced such a record of the outpouring of medical, financial, and material assistance to the stricken peoples of the earth?

Wherever the Four Horsemen have galloped over the earth, leaving fire, flood, pestilence, and starvation in their wake, American doctors and nurses, American dollars, American grain, and medical supplies have followed.

If there are blots on our shield, if we as a Nation have made our mistakes, surely American kindliness and American generos-Ity have gone far to atone for our faults.

Meanwhile, it is pleasant to reflect that on Memorial Day year after year, decade after decade, yes for nearly a century now, the American people have assembled in their towns and villages.

They have gathered together in their great cities, in the lonely, isolated little communities scattered over the vast prairies, everywhere, all over this broad land, they have set aside this day to pay loving and reverant tribute to those who once laid down their lives that this Nation might

How beautifully Theodore Roosevelt expressed it when meditating upon the loss of his youngest son, who himself had made the supreme sacrifice, he wrote:

"Only those are fit to live who do not fear to die; and none are fit to die who have shrunk from the joy of life and the duty of life.

"Both life and death are part of the same

great adventure.

"Never yet was worthy adventure worthily carried through by the man who put his personal safety first."

The official origin of Decoration Day, or as we now term it, Memorial Day is to be found in a directive issued May 5, 1868, by Gen. John A. Logan, the first commanderin chief of the then recently organized Grand Army of the Republic.

In a general order designating May 30 thenceforth as a day of memorial to union dead of the great war so lately brought to a close, General Long penned

these eloquent words:

"We are organized, comrades, as our regulations tell us, for the purpose, among other things, of preserving and strengthening those kind and fraternal feelings which have bound together the soldiers, sailors, and Marines, who united together to suppress the late rebellion.

"What can aid more to assure this result

than by cherishing tenderly the memory of our heroic dead, who made their breasts barricade between our country and its

"Their soldiers lives were the reveille of freedom to a race in chains, and their deaths the tattoo of rebellious tyranny in arms.
"We should guard their graves with sacred

vigilance.

"All that the consecrated wealth and taste of the Nation can add, to their adornment and security, is but a fitting tribute to the memory of her slain defenders.

no wanton foot tread rudely on

such hallowed grounds.

"Let pleasant paths invite the coming and going of reverent visitors and fond mourners.

"Let no vandalism or avarice or neglect, no ravages of time, testify to the present of to the coming generations that we have forgotten, as a people, the cost of a free and undivided republic."

General Logan continued by saying:

'If other eyes grow dull, and other hands slack, and other hearts grow cold in the sol-emn trust—ours shall keep it well—as long as the light and warmth of life remain to

"Let us, then, at the time appointed, gather around their sacred remains, and garland the passionless mounds above them with the choicest flowers of springtime;

"Let us raise above them the dear old flag they saved from dishonor;

"Let us, in this solemn presence, renew our pledges to aid and assist those whom they have left among us—a sacred charge upon a nation's gratitude-the soldier's and sailor's widow and orphan."

Thus spoke Gen. John A. Logan, the first commander in chief of the Grand Army of

the Republic.

As we in the North observe Memorial Day. our Southern brethren observe various dates of their own, according to the birthday anniversaries of various Confederate heroes.

Behind this inception of a day of national tribute lies an interesting and, to me a very moving little story, which I should like to repeat to you.

On April 6-7, 1862, was fought the great Battle of Shiloh—the bloodiest up to that time ever fought on American soil.

The Union losses in that battle in killed, wounded, and missing were over 13,000 and

Confederate nearly 11,000.

After the battle, the bodies of some 1,500 of the Confederate fallen were brought to Columbus, Miss., then a small town.

With the Confederate dead were also brought the bodies of 100 Union soldiers.

All were buried in a plot of land originally purchased by the local Odd Fellows but now taken over for a more serious purpose.

On April 26, 1866, just a year after the great conflict had ceased, a group of Columbus ladies met and in solemn and reverent procession marched to the little buryingground and there laid flowers on the graves of Union and Confederate dead alike.

Thus, on that first local Memorial Day at Columbus, Miss .- 94 years ago-the graves of Union soldiers were decorated by ladies of

To me there is something intensely sym-

bolic in this gracious gesture.

It was a gesture made a century ago by these gentle ladies who were sitting even then in the shadow of defeat and humiliation.

I like to think that in that act—so simple in itself and yet so far-reaching in its implications-is embodied for all time the best of America-and of American womanhood.

The book which recorded the names of Confederate and Union dead who were laid to rest in this corner of the Deep South has long since disappeared.

Yet onetime friend and foe sleep peacefully beneath the magnolias of the little Mississsippi graveyard now fittingly called

Friendship Cemetery.
Originally termed "Decoration Day," with the passing of time and the thinning of the ranks of the GAR, more and more the occa-

sion tended to be observed as a day dedicated to American dead of all wars.

At last, on September 18, 1915, the War

Department issue a ruling that:
"The objects of this day, as understood by the War Department, are not only to decorate the graves and honor the memory of those officers and enlisted men who served as volunteers in the Civil War and in the war with Spain, but also those who served in the Regular Army, irrespective of whether such service was rendered in time of war, or time of peace."

As the years passed, and the Grand Army of the Republic gradually melted away, the day became known as a memorial day to all the war dead.

Since the original purpose was to decorate the graves of the soldiers who had fought to preserve the Union, the formal observance always dignified and reverent—was given a military aspect from the very beginning.

For many years the public ceremonies of the day were in charge of the GAR post of every community.

Throughout the Northern States the pattern was much the same, whether in great cities, small towns, or country villages.

Most of us are quite familiar with the observance of Memorial Day.

There was the procession to the cemetery, to the accompaniment of bands playing patriotic airs.

Then the formal ceremonies, consisting of the singing of appropriate songs, the reading of the Gettysburg Address, the singing of the national anthem, and, finally, the climaxthe delivery of a memorial address composed for the occasion.

A flag and flowers were always placed on each serviceman's grave—a custom that is

Iollowed reverently today.

Gradually it has likewise become the custom for individual families to decorate the graves of their dead-irrespective of military service.

On Armistice Day, November 11, 1921, the body of the soldier of the First World War-"known but to God"—was reverently laid to rest in the beautiful national cemetery on the banks of the Potomac River at Arlington, Va.

In 1958 the bodies of the unknown of two other conflicts—the Second World War and the Korean conflict—were laid, one on either side of the first unknown soldier.

The term "soldier" was not inscribed on the tombs of these last-since the bodies were selected from those who might served in any capacity, military or civilian.

So on the heights of beautiful Arlington—

at the heart of our most sacred national shrine—with the Lincoln Memorial, the Washington Monument, and the Jefferson Memorial just across the river—and the great dome of the Capitol looming up in the distance—the three unknown will sleep in peace until the last reveille.

On this Memorial Day of 1960-we must ask ourselves once more—how we, the liv-ing—can best honor and, in a measure, repay-the deathless sacrifice of these honored dead

The answer, is to fix our eyes upon the problems immediately confronting us— whether within our own borders or pressing upon us from the world withoutthese problems steadily and to see them

Surely we can best honor those-who, gave their lives for their country-by looking present world facts in the face, and squaring up to them accordingly.

Let us remember that the truth itself

never hurt anybody.

We must be on guard against those who, through wishful thinking would bring America to the brink of disaster by their thoughtless conduct.

They are—what Theodore Roosevelt used to call "the foes of our own household."

They are-in their way-every bit as dangerous-even if unintentionally so-as the sinister forces of communism.

The failure of the summit conferencethrough the despicable conduct of Khrushchev—is added reason why Russia's pro-fessed desire for peace is highly question-

Many competent observers are of the opinion that the outrageous conduct of Khrushchev was a demonstration-on his part-to impress the Russian people-millions of whom are reported to be in a rebellious mood over the iron-fisted rule of the Kremlin,

Meanwhile, until universal peace is assured there could be no more wicked folly than to lower our guard and relax our watchfulness.

Even were we willing to abandon eternal vigilance and thus assume so terrible a risk for our own generation-we have no right to expose our children, and their childrento a future of unspeakable possibilities.

On the evening of May 19, 1953, President Eisenhower—after 4 months in office addressed the American people and told them bluntly:

'I believe firmlyand I think the Soviets realize-that the United States, if forced to total mobilization today, could meet and win any military challenge.

I believe no less firmly that we must see and meet the full nature of this danger immediately before us.

"For the nature of this danger indicates the nature of the defense we summon.

"This defense must, first of all, be one which we can bear for a long-and indefinite-period of time.

'It cannot consist of sudden, blind responses to a series of fire-alarm emergencies, summoning us to amass forces and material with a speed that is heedless of cost, order and efficiency.

"It cannot be based solely on the theory that we can point to a D-day of desperate danger, somewhere in the near future, to which all plans can be geared.

"The truth is that our danger cannot be fixed or confined to one specific instant.'

In closing President Eisenhower said: "We live in an age of peril.

"We must think and plan and provide-so as to live through this age in freedom-in ways that do not undermine our freedom even as we strive to defend it."

My friends, these plain words, spoken 7 years ago, by President Eisenhower are equally as true today.

I have seen two world wars and the Korean conflict.

I do not wish to see World War III.

I do not wish my boy to see so terrible a conflict as an all-out nuclear war.

Ladies and gentlemen, there is one waybut one way-under providence, to avert it. Surely that way is plain enough.

We must keep our faith clean, our judgment clear, our nerves steady, and our powder dry.

Therefore, on this Memorial Day, in the year 1960, we should do well to remind ourselves, that "eternal vigilance is the price of liberty."

Address by Senator Wiley Over Radio Station WIND, Chicago

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ALEXANDER WILEY

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Tuesday, May 31, 1960

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, the new tough line adopted by the Soviets, requires, I believe, a new look at the adequacy of U.S. defenses: as well, it reaffirms the need for a strong mutual security program.

Fortunately, the Soviet propaganda blast-off on the U-2 flight over Soviet territory is losing amplitude. Why? Because it cannot keep airborne on used-over fuel.

As yet, it is not possible to assess just how far reaching will be the impact of this switch in Communist tactics. In the light of the toughening policy, however, I believe that we need to take a new look at our defenses.

In addition, I believe this situation again reaffirms the essentialness of maintaining a strong mutual security program-for which appropriations still need to be considered by Congress.

Recently, I was privileged to comment on both these aspects of our security in a broadcast over radio station WIND, Chicago. At this time, I ask unanimous consent to have excerpts of my address printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the excernts were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ADDRESS BY SENATOR ALEXANDER WILEY, RE-PUBLICAN, OF WISCONSIN, SENIOR REPUB-LICAN ON THE SENATE FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMITTEE, OVER STATION WIND, MAY 29, 1960

Friends, I welcome the privilege to discuss with you once again major problems confronting us, our Nation, and the world.

On the global scene, the Soviet renewal of the tough-line policy requires:

First, time for assessment of its real impact and significance for world affairs and

Second, a determination of its effect upon our security, defense and domestic economy.

Fortunately, the majority of people around the globe saw through the thinly veiled propaganda over the U-2 flight which Mr. Khrushchev used for an excuse to torpedo the summit conference.

In the light of the tougening policy line by Mr. Khrushchev, however, the question now is:

Just how rocky will be the road ahead? NEEDED: NEW LOOK AT OUR DEFENSE

In reviewing the reflections these international developments have upon our do-mestic life, we need to ask: "What impact will the toughening policy have on our defenses?"

Currently, the appropriations for the fiscal year 1961 are before the Appropriations Committee of the Senate. As I understand it, the President has also made guideline recommendations to the Defense Department for carrying on outlays at about \$41

billion for 1962. What does our defense provide us? Among other things, the following:

Military strength of about 2.5 million men and women in the active forces.

Eight hundred and seventy thousand men in the Army.

Eight hundred and seventeen active ships. Six hundred and nineteen thousand men

in the Navy. Three divisions of the Marine Corps and

3 Air Wings with 170,000 men; and an Air Force of 91 combat wings with about 825,000 men.

In addition, the nation has an ever-growing arsenal of missiles—capable of hitting a target with nuclear warheads—including intercontinental, intermediate range and other types of missiles. For the future, the timetable of defense planning calls for creating ever-greater nuclear-missile firepower.

The objective: a farflung defense system of manpower, planes missiles, ships, gunsoperating from strategically located basesto act as a deterrent to a would-be aggressor.

Overall, I am confident that our defense is strong, adequate—a tremendous deterrent to be reckoned with, especially since the Midas-21/2-ton missile-is in orbit. it functioning, we don't need a U-2 or openskies arrangement.

In the light of the renewal of a tough line policy by the Communists, however, we may well need to take a new look at our defenses-to make any necessary adjustment for these challenging times.

NEEDED: STRONG MUTUAL SECURITY PROGRAM

Now, let's take a look at the global free world security systems. Through the years, the U.S. mutual security program has proved to be the backbone of allied defense—helping to hold the line against Communist aggression in Greece, Turkey, Iran, Laos, Korea, and Taiwan.

How does it strengthen our defense? By the following means:

Binding together our people and resources in a chain of defense against Communist aggression.

Supplements U.S. forces by millions of men and greater firepower in guns, missiles, jet planes, ships, and other armaments.

Providing strategically located bases on the periphery of the Communist camp.

The U.S. contribution to the program—largely spent in this country for goods and equipment-also creates over one-half million jobs for our workers.

In addition, the economic, technical assistance, and other programs—as well as availability of loans—enable the less developed countries to lift standards of living; wipe our poverty, starvation, disease; and generally promote economic progress. Eliminating the reasons for ferment and unrest is ultimately essential-if peace and stability are to be established in the world. In addition, these areas serve as targets for Communist activ-

Recently, the Congress passed a bill to itv. authorize an additional \$1.3 billion, raising the ceiling for the program to over \$4 billion. However, the actual appropriations-that is, 'opening the purse strings"-have not yet been approved by Congress.

Overall, the mutual security program-a good investment in peace, defense, and sta-bility—fulfills a national self-interest of greater security as well as strengthens our

role as a world leader.

PROGRESS FOR DOMESTIC PROGRAMS

Now let's take a look at the home front.

We recognize, of course, that it is absolutely essential that Congress enact the necessary legislation to enable Uncle Sam to carry out his proper role in supporting programs for domestic progress.

In view of the load of past obligationswell as high costs of defense-these are difficult budgetary problems.

Let me, now, give you an example of the kind of question which your Senators and Representatives in Congress will be faced with in the days ahead. These include, for example:

Do we want a Federal aid-to-education bill? If so, should it be restricted to school construction, or should it be allocated for teachers' salaries and other educational needs?

If you do not want additional Federal aid, are our citizens—and this means you and me-willing to assure, by community effort, adequate schools, facilities, and teaching staffs to meet the ever-increasing enrollments of students.

Overall, this is the type of question that will need to be faced in such significant fields as: Public works, including river and harbor development; agriculture; housing; hospitalization benefits and care for senior citizens; conservation; and many other areas of domestic progress.

According to Budget Director Stans, for example, the country in the past— by adopting programs with future obligations—is now saddled with a long-range debt of \$730 billion.

Currently, a "hopper full" of bills in Congress would, if enacted, cost an additional \$325 billion in the next 5 years. The total would be over a trillion dollars.

With this realistic long-range picture, Congress has a great responsibility to the taxpayer to keep spending down to essentials.

We recognize, of course, that this is an election year. As always, this encourages the proposal of supposed vote-getting legis-

However, the American taxpayer, today, is already saddled with a heavy burden. Consequently, a major battle on the "home front" may well involve counter-effort to front" may well involve counter-effort to "hold the line" on excessive spending to prevent further burdening our taxpaying citizens.

Overall, our major task is to establish a priority system for support of necessary programs both on the domestic and international fronts. The output of our Nation has reached a peak of over \$500 billion annually. If we act wisely and prudently-and not lose our heads-I am confident that we can provide the financing—from private sources as well as local, State, and Federal govern-ments—to meet the challenges ahead.

CONCLUSION

These, then are a few of the major decisions which we in Congress will be required to make prior to adjournment. A big ques-tion is: What do you, the people of America, want? This is your Government. The Congress is responsive to your will. If you speak en masse, you will be heard. Now, I want to express my deep appreciation for the oppor-tunity to discuss these issues with you.

Crossroads Africa

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. SEYMOUR HALPERN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Friday, May 27, 1960

Mr. HALPERN. Mr. Speaker, in the summer of 1958, a group of 60 carefully selected students-59 Americans and 1 Canadian-together with their leaders undertook an exciting adventure of faith and freedom in 5 countries of West Africa where historical forces are sweeping toward a new destiny which may well determine not only the future of Africa, but also profoundly influence the future of the entire world.

The Africa student study and work camp project called Crossroads Africa. involved a bold venture of person-toperson relationship in depth. It took 2

years in the making.

It was organized as a pilot program to test theoretical and ideological concepts about Africa; to develop relationships with this rapidly emerging continent on the basis of a practical first-hand experience and personal confrontation, and to evolve plans for effective assistance to Africa in the problems facing her in the present, and toward the fulfillment of her future historic role.

It was a tremendously successful en-

The students were selected from 41 educational institutions in the United States and represented every one of the religious, racial and social groupings of our Nation. They were united by a common desire to help share future relationships with Africa and to prepare themselves to shoulder responsibility for that area of the world in an intelligent manner. The adventure they sought was with people and events rather than places and things.

When they returned to America the students carried on extensive activities making known thier work and their reactions to the program and to the possibilities for American-African relations.

Through discussions with African leaders and with the man in the street and through work camps where they cleared jungle and constructed schools and water supply systems, the students sought to demonstrate our respect for Africans as individuals and our desire to work with them and understand them better in a world which is rapidly becoming one neighborhood which demands increased mutual respect and responsibility among all peoples.

In Ghana the students constructed a village school at Safo in the heart of Ashantiland. The original goal of the project was a two-room school building-When the progress of the work exceeded all expectations, the local chief called a meeting of his elders and people and asked them to raise money for enough materials to build a seven-room school instead. The villagers responded with contributions of an additional \$2,000 and the project was enlarged. When the group constructed a school in Liberia they were beseiged by delegations from other villages asking that similar projects be initiated there. In Sierra Leone the students accomplished an almost impossible task of building a water supply system through the jungle and using equipment that had been brought in for the job much earlier and had been lying around in deteriorating condition.

Reaction from the students, from African leaders, and from United States leaders was highly favorable. As a symbol of concern by Americans for the World in which they live, Crossroads Africa was a smashing success. Knowledge, relationships, and understanding between peoples separated by thousands of miles of ocean were tremendously improved. Foundations for future relationships were laid and American educators and leaders were afforded the opportunity to garner knowledge and ex-Perience to serve in cementing American-African ties. Through that new knowledge they can eventually evolve those economic, educations, political, religious, and intercultural relationships which will accrue to the greatest mutual benefit of both Africa and the United States and thus strengthen the free world.

Mr. Speaker, it is significant to note that another Crossroads Africa project is being undertaken—this time reaching to 10 countries in West Africa. Onehundred and ninety students will participate and, like the previous venture, this one will be under the outstanding direction of Dr. James H. Robinson.

Dr. Robinson, pastor of the Church of The Master in Manhattan, was the pioneer and stimulus of the first trip. He is one of the great spiritual leaders in the Nation, and is well-known as an author and lecturer. His greatest recognition has perhaps come from his magnificent Work in the field of human relations, and he is noted as one of the most effective unofficial good will ambassadors the United States has ever had.

I am particularly proud that Dr. Robinson's associate director in both the previous and forthcoming ventures is a resident of my district, Dr. Israel Mowshowitz. Rabbi Mowshowitz is not only the minister of the Hillcrest Jewish Center, in Queens, which is one of the Nation's Outstanding religious congregations, but he is also chairman of the International Affairs Committee of the New York Board of Rabbis and is actively engaged in the splendid work of the National Conference of Christians and Jews.

His excellent work in community projects and in the good fight for brotherly love and the dignity of man has earned him the deep affection and respect not only of the people of Queens but of all Who have come to know him or his works.

To Dr. Robinson, Dr. Mowshowitz and to the organizers and students who are engaged in this wonderful venture in human relations, I want to express my Warmest congratulations and commendations.

Dr. Kandle Commends Cape May Freeholders on Public Health Setup

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. HARRISON A. WILLIAMS, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Tuesday, May 31, 1960

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. Mr. President, the New Jersey State commissioner of health, Dr. Roscoe P. Kandle has given well merited praise to the Cape May County Board of Chosen Freeholders for establishing a new position intended to improve health services in that county. A news release, issued by Dr. Kandle, explains the significance of the new position, may be of interest to other officials who may be contemplating similar action elsewhere in the Nation.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have the release printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the release was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

DR. KANDLE COMMENDS CAPE MAY FREEHOLDERS ON PUBLIC HEALTH SETUP

TRENTON, May 19 .- Dr. Roscoe P. Kandle, New Jersey State commissioner of health, has commended the Cape May County Board of Chosen Freeholders for establishing the position of county public health coordinator and on its prompt appointment of a qualified licensed health officer to fill the position.

The Board of Chosen Freeholders of Cape May County has announced that Joseph Pack, formerly employed by the New Jersey State Department of Health, will begin work as the county public health coordinator on

In a telegram to Lawrence M. Lear Director of the Cape May County Board of Chosen Freeholders, Dr. Kandle said:

"I congratulate and commend the Cape County Board of Chosen Freeholders on its creation of the post of county public health coordinator and on the prompt appointment of a qualified licensed health officer to fill the position.

"By these actions, you have shown that you are concerned with protecting the health of residents of the county and visitors to the

"I am sure that officials in other counties will watch developments in Cape May County with a great deal of interest.

"This department will cooperate in every way possible with your board and with the county public health coordinator in the development of good local public health

The freeholders created the post of county public health coordinator by resolution on March 1. A grant-in-aid contract between the State department of health and the board of chosen freeholders provides for financial assistance to the county from the State at the outset. Since March 1, the board had interviewed several candidates for the position.

Dr. Kandle said this is the first time in the history of local public health administra-tion in this State that such a position has been created by a board of freeholders.

Pack, who holds a New Jersey health officer's license, has a bachelor of science degree from the University of Denver and the degree of master of science in public health from

the University of North Carolina. He has done graduate work at the University of Arizona and at Yale University. He served for a time as supervisor of food sanitation for the Arizona State Department of Health. that capacity he was responsible for supervising the State's program for eating and drinking establishments, the development of food handler training courses, restaurant rating surveys, and the administration of pure-food laws. Earlier, he had served as senior sanitarian in several counties in Arizona and Colorado.

While with the New Jersey State Department of Health in the last 3 years, Pack has been involved in activities relating to community water supplies, sewage disposal plants, industrial waste treatment plants, and stream pollution control.

Dr. Kandle said that, "While the department is sorry to lose the services of Joseph Pack, we are pleased that he will still doing public health work in New Jersey. The Cape May opportunity is a challenging one. We understand that among his duties will be enforcement of the State sanitary code and local public health ordinances and codes in those municipalities in the county which designate him as health officer. He will work to develop and strengthen the recognized public health activities which all New Jersey boards of health are required to carry on by April 1, 1961.

We in the State department of health are pleased that the steps taken by the Cape May County Board of Chosen Freeholders have received the approval of the Cape May Medical Society, the Cape May County Health Council, the Cape May County Chamber of Commerce, the Cape May County League of Municipalities, Cape May County Regional Health Commission, and many individual mayors and local boards of health.

We look upon the creation of the posiwe look upon the creation of the posi-tion of county public health coordinator as one approach to the strengthening of local health services. New Jersey is noted for the ingenuity shown by local communities in devising patterns of services to meet local needs. We assume there will be other pat-

terns in other areas."

Pack, who is 30, and his wife Margit and three daughters, Rebecca, 10, Dinah, 8, and Jessica, 2, have been making their home in the Trenton area (Ewing Township). Mr. Pack said he and his family plan to live in Cape May County.

News Release From the Chamber of Commerce of the United States

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. SILVIO O. CONTE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, May 31, 1960

Mr. CONTE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following eloquent and well-reasoned plea for mutual security by one of America's most respected institutions, the Chamber of Commerce of the United States:

Washington, May 18.—President Arthur H. Motley of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States today issued the following appeal for national support of mutual secu-

rity:
"The unyielding and hostile posture of
the Soviet Union at the summit conference

makes it essential that the United States and its allies stand up to the threats of Communist power with full confidence in

their unity and strength.

"Such unity and strength depend, per-haps as never before, on the support of a united American people for a strong and effective mutual security program, which faces the possibility of a heavy congressional cut at this critical time.

"Foreign aid is costly, but vital to our security. We cannot afford to relax our support of indispensable defense establishments and arrangements throughout the non-

Communist world.

"The Congress will soon have to decide what level of mutual security appropriations is necessary to fully support the foreign policy of the United States. There is a great danger, however, that the people and the Congress will become so preoccupied with some deficiencies in foreign aid that we as a nation will fail to support its basic and essential purposes: to strengthen the free world and thus provide security against Communist aggression.

"I, therefore, appeal to all citizens-as individuals and as groups—to make known to Congress their support of an efficiently administered and hard-hitting mutual security program that will effectively contribute to our defense and to the overall strength of our allies and friends abroad."

The Russian Trawler's Visit

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, HARRISON A. WILLIAMS, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Tuesday, May 31, 1960

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. Mr. President, the cold war is not fought with the same intensity as a shooting There are still occasions when, on a people-to-people basis, the friendly instincts of human beings manage to appear. In Atlantic City recently, one such incident occurred, and it occurred at a time of great strain between this Nation and the Soviet Union. An editorial in the May 24 edition of the Atlantic City Press discusses that incident and draws some interesting conclusions

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the article be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Atlantic City Press, May 24, 1960] THE RUSSIAN TRAWLER'S VISIT

The natural curiosity with which people from different parts of the world regard each other was clearly evidenced during the weekend stay here of the Russian trawler.

The 120-foot boat was fishing off the coast when it requested, and was granted, permission to make an emergency landing of a sick person in this resort.

As was to be expected, naval, Coast Guard, and port authorities made a thorough check of the vessel, but there was no thought of detaining her.

The ailing crewman, a 26-year-old Soviet technician, was taken to Atlantic City Hospital where he is receiving the best of care.

While docked here, the trawler and its complement of 22 men and 2 women proved

an attraction for thousands of visitors from near and far. Although the crew was restricted to shipboard, there was a good deal of gawking and waving of greetings on both

Newsmen and coast guardsmen who could get near enough indulged in some swapping of cigarettes and coins with the Russians.

Despite the strained relations between the two countries, there was no mistaking the display of people-to-people friendship.

The incident also served to point up the

fact that in the area of health there is international cooperation and desire to do all possible to carry on the traditions of succor.

Where means of destructiveness are concerned, there is secrecy and the necessity for spying. Where capacity for cure of disease is concerned, there is no secrecy and no

need for spying. Medical advances, miracle drugs are made available to all. For example, Dr. Albert Sabin, of Cincin-nati, is a celebrity in the Soviet Union, even though his name may not ring a bell with many Americans. Four years ago he developed a live-virus vaccine that can be taken orally for poliomyelitis. The Russians have been using the vaccine effectively even though it has yet to be licensed by the U.S. Public Health Service for general use in this

For what it's worth, we have the word of a grateful Russian patient in our local hospital:

"If anything should happen to an American like happened to me while he was in Russia, I know the Russians would treat him

Workers Support President in Summit Crisis

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. WILLIAM G. BRAY

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, May 31, 1960

Mr. BRAY. Mr. Speaker, one of the gratifying aspects of the serious international tension of this month has been the clear-cut indication of American unity. Whatever hopes the Communists entertained of splitting the people of the United States were shattered as we replied with one voice to the taunts and jeers the Soviet Premier directed out at our President.

An example of how America's workers backed the President is found in the following article from the May 27 issue of the official publication of the Indiana State Building and Construction Trades Council, the Leader:

U.S. WORKERS "BEHIND IKE" IN SUMMIT CRISIS

Here is the text of a statement issued by AFL-CIO President George Meany in support of President Eisenhower following destruction of the Paris summit conference by Premier Nikita Khrushchev of the Soviet

"Soviet Russia has now demonstrated the bankruptcy of her position on peace.

"Khrushchev has destroyed the hopes of the free world that the tensions of the cold war could seen be eased.

"Clearly Khrushchev sought to create political division in America by his intemperate and insulting denunciations of President Eisenhower.

"His attack on the President will have the opposite effect. It will unite America.

"The workers of this country stand behind President Eisenhower. Their confidence in the honesty of the peaceful intentions of the United States is matched only by their thorough mistrust of the intentions of Soviet Russia.'

Development of Nuclear-Powered Aircraft

SPEECH OF

HON. SILVIO O. CONTE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, May 24, 1960

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H.R. 12326) making appropriations for civil functions administered by the Department of the Army, certain agencies of the Department of the Interior, the Atomic Energy Commission, the Tennessee Valley Authority, and certain study commissions, for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1961, and for other purposes.

Mr. CONTE. Mr. Speaker, recent events have made it more evident than ever before that we cannot rely on diplomacy alone to maintain our position of eminence as a world power. It has become more obvious than ever that the only way to negotiate with the Kremlin is from a position of unquestioned strength. The President has stressed the fact time and again that our defenses are based on the maintenance of a balanced military potential. One of the integral factors in such a balanced military system, we have been told by the experts, is the existence of a strong manned aircraft program, and it is becoming ever clearer that the need for such a program will be with us for years to come. We have heard convincing arguments made for the advantages of manned planes which can be projected far into the future-antisubmarine patrol, airborne alert, super high level reconnaissance are only a few.

Our decision must be whether or not to continue in full force a program which will have a direct and important bearing on the future success of our manned aircraft arm and which may well have a tremendous significance in areas of military technology not yet even imaginable. Only last week Deputy Chief of Staff, Lt. Gen. Mark E. Bradley, told an Armed Forces Day audience in Hartford. Conn.:

The primary reason for the continued use of the bomber is, of course, their capability for launch and recall, as well as their capability for airborne alert.

Noting that he was not directing his remarks to any specific type of aircraft. he said:

It could be a nuclear type of plane, a mark III type such as the B-70 or something else—if something else is feasible. But whatever its shape and performance, the case for the next generation-manned bomber is obvious. This Nation simply cannot abandon the development of military aircraft.

For Congress to take a chance on anything less than a wholehearted effort in the direction of operational nuclear powered aircraft would have been unthinkable.

I have no doubt that those who opposed continuation of this project were convinced that their action to strike these funds was in the best interests of the Nation's taxpayers. I feel that we have a strong responsibility to look hard at this program to evaluate its efficiency, but I also feel we have been unrealistic in our insistence on demanding to know exactly where and in exactly what fashion the nuclear plane will be used.

General Bradley, you will notice, ad-

mittedly said:

A nuclear type of plane-or something else.

It may be the something else will be more feasible. But if the nuclear type of plane does prove to be the one on which we must depend I would not dare to be on record as having held up the program to develop that plane for one day.

The record shows that this program has been one of starts and stops, of concentrations and cancellations, and Congress has not been blameless in this regard. This may have been unavoidable, but it also seems unavoidable to me now that we must maintain this project. It has been said often before, but it seems to me to have never been more appropriate, that if we must err, at least let us err on the side of strength.

In closing I would like to cite statements made by three eminent authorities on the subject of the nuclear pow-

ered aircraft.

Gen. Thomas D. White in a recent issue of the Air University Quarterly stated:

The military exploitation of airborne nuclear propulsion will provide a significant increase in our future deterrent capability, an increase which must be realized if this capability is to remain effective.

In the same issue of the Air University Quarterly, Lt. Gen. Roscoe C. Wilson, Deputy Chief of Staff, Development, USAF, in writing on aircraft nuclear propulsion, stated:

The possibility of missions of several days duration permits the effective utilization of as high as 50 percent of the force on air alert. The use of the manned nuclear bomber in a high-endurance weapons system on air alert permits flexible and positive timing, control and target assignment.

Lt. Gen. Robert M. Lee, vice commander of the Air Defense Command, in a speech before the American Ordnance Association on December 2, 1959, in New York City stated:

Long-range aircraft with great endurance are a needed element of our diversified aerospace force. Many continuing and new roles for manned aircraft can be foreseen. They may be based on airborne missile launching techniques; attack against previously unlocated, hard to locate and movable targets, reconnaissance requirements, and possible participation in local wars.

From an address from General Thomas D. White, before the Institutional USAF Conference on Air Force ROTC Affairs at Maxwell Air Force Base December 9, 1959. Speaking on the Hound Dog and other modern airlaunched missiles, General White stated:

Perhaps of more importance, such weapons when carried by our present bombers and someday by nuclear-powered aircraft of practically unlimited range and endurance will provide our country with the highest degree of flexible and mobile striking power ever achieved. Far-ranging aircraft armed with these weapons will be able to conduct patrols at hundreds of miles per hour. They would be comparable in air coverage to that of a police squad car as measured against a cop on the beat. Such forces would be virtually invulnerable to surprise attack.

From remarks by Lt. Gen. Roscoe C. Wilson, Deputy Chief of Staff, Development, USAF, before the American Ordnance Association meeting in New York City, December 2, 1959. In speaking of the atomic-powered aircraft, General Wilson stated:

This airplane is still some years in the future, but the promise of unlimited range and resulting operational flexibility keeps us extremely interested in obtaining a capability with this type of propulsion.

General Wilson in a speech before the Aviation Writers Association convention in Washington, D.C., on May 15, 1959, stated:

Nuclear power will enable us to penetrate enemy territory at low altitudes and high speeds undetected by long-range radars and thus relatively secure from interception by enemy fighters.

The Story of Chief Joseph: From Where the Sun Now Stands

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. WALT HORAN

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Friday, May 27, 1960

Mr. HORAN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my own remraks in the Appendix of the Record, I wish to present to the readers of the Congressional Record, a story of Chief Joseph, leader of the Nez Perce Indian Tribe, one of the most remarkable Americans who ever lived.

This story, authored by my good friend, Mr. Bruce A. Wilson, editor of the Omak Chronicle, Omak, Wash., provides an excelent chronology of the last year of the Nez Perce's struggle for their hereditary freedom. Mr. Wilson's article takes exception to several long-standing assumptions regarding Chief Joseph. For instance, Mr. Wilson points out that rather than being "the Red Napoleon," noted for his military prowess, Chief Joseph was more comparable to Abraham Lincoln, a man of sound judgment and peaceful motives.

Mr. Wilson's article, which has received wide acclaim, relates that the Nez Perces were traditionally people of peace. This story tells how the tribe resisted conflict to the last until, finally, they declared war upon the "white soldiers."

It was only then that the Nez Perce proved themselves to be fighters without equal. Only because of overwhelming numbers of soldiers and after a year of bitter fighting did the Nez Perces surrender and were sent to the Colville Indian Reservation located in the 5th Congressional District of Washington which I represent.

On September 21, 1904, Chief Joseph died at Nespelem, the headquarters of the reservation. Today, there are about 4,300 enrolled members of the Colville Confederated Tribes. The 216 Nez Perces affiliated with the Colville Tribes are not many more than the 150 Chief Joseph led to the Colville reservation 75 years ago.

The story is too lengthy for inclusion in a single copy, hence I will have it included in parts for several successive days:

THE STORY OF CHIEF JOSEPH: PROM WHERE THE SUN NOW STANDS

(By Bruce A. Wilson) FRIDAY, OCTOBER 5, 1877

Slowly the great chieftain rides up the gentle slope. The freshly fallen snow has been painted a sullen orange by the sun low on the western horizon. Silence hangs sluggishly over the battlefield. It is broken only by the muffled beat of the pony's hoofs and the shuffling of tattered moccasins worn by four young warriors walking beside their leader's mount.

Chief Joseph wears no feathered headdress. His scalp lock is tied by otter fur. The rest of his hair hangs in two thick black braids on either side of an impassive face. A desultory wind plucks at the worn gray blanket thrown across his shoulders, and lays chilling palms on his buckskin leggings. Joseph holds a Winchester across the pommel in front of him. But this gun, after 1,300 miles, has falled him as he knew it would.

The pitiful cluster of Indians comes to a halt before an uneasy lineup of blue-uniformed officers near the crest of the hill. Heavily, Joseph swings off his pony. He pulls the blanket closer about him, steps forward, and with a sudden gesture offers his rifle to bushy bearded Gen. Oliver Howard, commander of the Department of the Columbia. Howard motions toward another man, Col. Nelson Miles, nervously stroking a thick black mustache. Joseph hands the gun to Miles.

Gray fingers of dusk slide across the snow as Joseph, shifting his blanket to leave his right arm free, turns back to Howard and speaks in the soft guttural of the Nez Perce language.

"Tell General Howard I know his heart,"

Interpreting is buckskin-clad Arthur Chapman, a French halfbreed from Idaho, serving as a volunteer scout with Howard's forces.

"What he told me before I have in my heart. I am tired of fighting."

Miles fondles the rifle. Joseph speaks slowly. A young lleutenant, Charles Erskine Wood, scribbles on a paper pad as Chapman translates:

"Our chiefs are killed. Looking Glass is dead. The old men are all killed."

The last touch of sunset glows against Joseph's bronze checks. From ragged hills behind the officers, army campfires flicker through the twilight. Some of the Nez Perces, shivering under their tattered robes, already are drifting toward them.

"It is the young men who say no or yes. He who led the young men is dead."

This refers to Ollokot, Joseph's younger brother, who was shot while firing from behind a boulder 4 days before.

"It is cold and we have no blankets. The little children are freezing.'

Joseph pauses; the interpreter falls silent. A momentary turmoil mixed of the thunder of battle, the moonlit sheen of Wallowa Lake, the heartache of surrender and the blue-lipped children grips Joseph's mind.

Many years and many miles have brought

him to this place.

In the beginning, which is to say when Lewis and Clark stumbled across them on the Clearwater River the Nez Perces were a strong, handsome tribe scattered through a vast mountainous area now encompassing north central Idaho and portions of Washington and Oregon. They were a vigorous people who won the unrestrained admiration of virtually every white they met until it came time to relieve them of their lands.

Even then a majority of the Nez Perces, conditioned by more than half a century of peaceful relations with trappers and early homesteaders, accepted the boundaries of a reservation which pretty well coincided with their natural habitat. But five bands living outside the reservation, reluctant to donate their lands, became involved in war. During the explosive summer of 1877 less than 200 warriors fought four pitched battles and many lesser engagements against an aggregate of more than 1,400 regular army troops and volunteers. Burdened by their women and children, their sick and wounded, the Nez Perces retreated some 1,300 miles, constantly out-maneuvering strong combat troops, and failed by an easy 2 day's march

to reach the sanctuary of Canada. Chief Joseph was the leader of one of these bands. He was not the red-skinned military genius so frequently portrayed. Only 37 during the summer of the campaign, he shared in military councils but accepted the strategy decisions of older chiefs and of the great tribal warriors who had crossed Bitterroots to hunt buffalo and kill Blackfeet. These were the real leaders of

the Nez Perce campaign.

Though he fought as a line soldier in at least two battles, Joseph's usual role was to safeguard the village. He was a man who loved peace. Almost alone among the chiefs, he knew Indians in the end could not stand off the white armies. He was a man of dignity and wisdom beyond his years, and of compassion and a deep-rooted concern for his people. Far more comparable to Lincoln than to Napoleon, Joseph in the twilight of his life became also, historically, the most famous person ever to reside in Okanogan County. That is why we have written this

The trail which led Joseph to his surrender near Montana's Bear Paw Mountains began in the Wallowas of northeastern Oregon. The Wallowas are as beautiful a country as any on earth. Had you approached them from the north, anytime before highways and fences slashed up the landscape, you would have passed through a sweeping ocean of gently rolling bunchgrass which, to the south, seemed to wash against a long, low. black ridge. As you drew closer, the ridge would appear to spring alive. Forested hill-sides would leap above the plain. Still higher, sweeping slide areas flanked by granite outcroppings would rise to meet the snowfringed summit lines of the Wallowa mountains. As you reached their base, a lake would spring out to meet you, its green waters curving gently from the last of the rolling bunchgrass into the sharply rising slopes of the mountains. Within the Wallowas' jumbled battlements, sunlit streams cascaded then as now across grassy slopes to slip into the shadows of pine and tamarack forests.

Here in a veritable paradise lived Old Chief Joseph, young Joseph's father, and his band of Nez Perces, perhaps 60 adult men who with their women and children numbered something less than 300. In spring, summer, and fall their buffalo-skin tepees could be found clustered along the lake shores or pitched on higher slopes. Their thousands of horses, representing the band's wealth, grazed through the luxuriant bunchgrass. Squaws gathered the sweet root of camas, and aiseth, spatlam, poh-poh and mesini. They filled skinbags with berries in the fall and smoked venison and salmon, continually hoarding foodstuffs for the winter they would spend in the low, sheltered valley of the Imnaha.

The older boys and men tended and broke their speckled, white-rumped ponies. They hunted and fished, splashed in the lake, and kept an eye on their beef cattle. Occasionally some of old Joseph's band joined other Nez Perces in crossing Lolo Pass for buffalo hunting in the Yellowstone River country of Montana. While the Nez Perces lived in peace with their close neighbors, the Montana forays usually inspired entanglements with the Blackfeet or Crows, or allied with the Crows against the Snakes Sloux. Except for the Comanches, the lithe, wonderfully-mounted Nez Perces had no equals as warriors among all the Indians of North America. Stripped to breechcloths and moccasins, they fought splendidly with bows and arrows, knives, lances, and rawhide shields, rocks tied to the end of wooden warclubs, and a scattering of flintlock

Early in the last century the first of the fur traders drifted into the northwest. But the Nez Perces, having open-handedly wel-comed the Lewis and Clark expedition as it stumbled on half-rations out of the rocky fastness of the Bitterroots, continued to greet whites with an unconcerned good will. In 1837 they gave a tumultuous welcome to tall, dour Henry Spaulding, a Presbyterian missionary who settled at Lapwai in central Idaho.

Hundreds of Nez Perces stumbled over each other in a wild rush to embrace Christianity. They did this with no thought of purifying their souls, but because it seemed sensible that adopting the white man's religion was step No. 1 toward benefiting from his other virtues-namely, beads, cloth, iron cooking utensils, matches, and repeating Winchesters. Before long perhaps two-thirds of the Nez Perces sketchily professed themselves to be Presbyterians. Old Joseph was

one of Spaulding's first converts.

By the middle 1850's the scattering of fur traders had been succeeded by a swelling torrent of farmers, miners and tradesmen. Settlements blossomed into small Newly created Washington Territory sprawled from Puget Sound to the Rockies. Its first Governor, flamboyant Isaac Stevens, promptly set about clarifying relations between Indians and purposeful whites who wanted the same land. After a whirlwind round of treaty-making with coastal Indians, he headed in late-May of 1855 for the lush meadows where Walla Walla now stands to settle with the interior tribes.

The first natives to arrive at Stevens' council were the Nez Perce-2,000 warriors, naked. plumed and painted, flashing their shields and chanting their songs, sweeping into the meadows astride belled and beaded horses smeared with vermilion and white clay, The white stared awesomely at these fabled mountain tribesmen, the most powerful na-tion in the northwest. Soon their conical tepees sprang up among clumps of cotton-Later the Cayuses, Walla Wallas, Umatillas and Yakimas rode in. Spouting oratory on every hand, the conference began,

Stevens wanted the Indians to sell part of their lands to the U.S. Government. The rest would be set aside as reservations. Often condemned as robbery, reservations actually were the only answer to an intolerable situation which saw the Indians' roving hunting economy usurp too much land in the face of pressures from a stronger agricultural society. Misunderstanding, corrupt agents, and whites unwilling to wait were to cause most of the trouble.

The misunderstanding began immediately The Indians could not conceive of selling land like a bolt of calico. No one owned earth. It was provided to live on. When man died, he relinquished its use. The parley soon slipped into an empty-worded abyss:

General Palmer, Oregon Indian commissloner: "Why do we offer so much for your Because our Great Father told us to take care of his red people."

Young Chief, of the Cayuses: "I wonder if the earth is listening to what is said."

Palmer: "Your people have sometimes done wrong. Our hearts have cried. But if you will try to do right we will try to forget, etc., etc."

Owhi, Umatilla chief: "Shall I give the land which is a part of my body and leave myself poor and destitute, etc., etc."

At length Stevens induced a number of chiefs to sign his treaty. A tremendous area from the Bitterroots to the Wallowas was set aside as a Nez Perce reservation. Since his homeland was included, Old Joseph signed. For the rest of the land, Stevens promised annuities of about 10 cents an acre. Congress ratified the treaty but failed to appropriate funds. Anyway, the peacemaking had come too late. Irritations between In-dians and whites increased. Three months after the Walla Walla parley, the Northwest was aflame with Indian war. After bitter fighting, the military's better organization and longer range rifles crushed the revolting natives. Among the treaty tribes, only the Nez Perces refused to take up arms against This was because of their tradithe whites. tional friendship and (more important) because their lands were as yet unmolested. But it meant that in the end, they would have to fight alone.

The beginning of the end occurred one sweltering afternoon in the summer of 1860 when a white man, sneaking into the Nez Perce Reservation, panned colors from "Oro Fino" creek. As though a dam had burst, miners poured into the Snake River country. Lewiston sprang up with a brawling popula-tion of 1,200. At about the same time, the first few settlers drifted into the Wallowas. Responsive politicians saw immediately the Ncz Perce Reservation was far too large. In 1863 a second council was called at Lapwai.

By now the great Nez Perce Nation was sharply divided. About a third, led by a chief named Lawyer, were willing to deal with the Government because they already lived within the smaller reservation now proposed—an area in north central Idaho less than one-sixth the size of the 1855 reserve. Most of them were Christians. The rest of the Nez Perces would have to leave their ancestral homes. Moreover, many of them had become "Dreamers"-adherents to a newly sprung religion based on a mystic spiritual fusion with the soil. More violent tenants foresaw cataclysmic eruptions and an overwhelming resurrection of all dead Indians combining to wipe out the whites and restore all lands to their native owners.

At Lapwai the Dreamer chiefs, one by one, refused to surrender their homes. Old Joseph, who thought in 1855 he had saved his million high grassy acres forever, re-fused in time even to listen to the white commissioners. He had abandoned Christlanity. With his heir-apparent, Young Joseph, now a strapping 23, he led his band back to the Wallowas even as Lawyer, promised \$1,500 and a framehouse, approved the reduced reservation on behalf of all the Nez Perces. This procedure, as even the whites understood by now, was poppycock. Each Nez Perce band was entirely independent. One Nez Perce chief could no more sign away another's land than he could sell horses owned by Modocs in southern Oregon.

So a decade passed. Old Joseph's band continued living in its mountain paradise, the young braves racing their ponies along the shores of Wallowas Lake within sight of the closest white stockmen. In 1873 President Grant agreed the Indians had never relinquished title to the Wallowas. He set them aside as hunting grounds for the "roaming Nez Perce." Two years later he corrected this mistake. The Wallowas again were opened to entry.

Friction increased between the Joseph band and the settlers whose outraged protests had clarified the President's thinking. Perhaps 20 or 30 Indians were murdered by whites. Not once did the Nez Perces retaliate. Old Joseph had died in 1872; his son, becoming chief, knew white juries would laugh at Indians seeking justice in court. Night raids outside the law promptly would bring in troops to deprive the band of what few rights it had left.

In November 1876, the younger Joseph was summoned to confer with a five-man commission at the Lapwai agency. Only 5 months previously Custer's command had been wiped out at the Little Big Horn. Settlers' greed for Indian land and their fear of bloody reprisals had boiled into a pressure even the most understanding white officials could not withstand. After hearing Joseph's dignified oratory the commission recommended that all the nontreaty bands (those which had not signed the treaty of 1863) be removed, by force if nec-

essary, to the reduced reservation.

The following spring, most of these bands Were called again to Lapwal. They found the Army had taken over negotiations previously handled by the Indian Bureau. In charge of getting things done was a high-ranking Civil War veteran, Gen. Oliver Howard, who had lost his right arm at Four Oaks. Howard was a man who attracted both derision and respect by studying his Bible under a sputtering candle until late at night in his campaign tent. Now he made it clear the Great White Father's patience had drained away. All of the Nez Perces would have to move onto the reservation. Somewhat surprisingly, the nontreaty chiefs gave in. They loved their homelands. But even more they disliked the idea of becoming involved in a full-scale war against white armies.

The chiefs rode about the Idaho reservation, selecting sites, and just before leaving were stunned by an order to return on a permanent basis within 30 days. To Joseph, who had the largest herds to round up and the longest distance to travel, this came as a particular shock.

Some of the younger orators in Joseph's band urged resistance. But their troubled leaders saw no course except bowing to the inevitable. For the last time his braves rode through their beloved Wallowas, from the glacial valleys below Eagle Cap to the sheltered breaks of the Grand Ronde and Imnaha, searching for horses and cattle. They had time to collect only a fragment of their herds. Whites helped themselves to the rest. Dozens of horses and virtually all the remaining beef cattle were drowned as the band struggled across the rushing brown torrent of the Snake River at the peak of its springtime fury.

Only a day or two before Howard's deadline. Joseph's village joined several other nontreaty bands just outside the reservation boundary. Resentment was running high. Younger braves talked openly of war. But most of the chiefs would have none of it. "In a day or two," they said, "we will move into our new homes."

But first, Wahlitits of White Bird's band had a score to settle. Three years earlier a white settler had shot his father in an argument over land. Now, on the morning of June 13, 1877, Wahlitits and two companions slipped out of camp to avenge the murder. The suspect was not at home. The three braves, bearing the destiny of 700 Nez Perces, rode about much of the day. That evening they approached a Salmon River cabin occupied by Richard Divine, an elderly farmer who also had killed a Nez Perce, and frequently sicked his vicious dogs on others. The Indians shot Divine. A few hours later they ambushed three whites wondering whose horses had suddenly appeared in their hayfield.

As soon as word of all this reached the Nez Perce camp, 16 more braves hungry for revenge boiled out to join the original 3. The party killed a few whites, then found some whisky and got rough. They killed more whites, raped several women, plundered some stores, and finally hammered victoriously back into camp. Joseph had been butchering beef across the Snake. He was back now, but too late. All the chiefs knew their self-appointed task force had gone too far. Soon troops would arrive to punish the entire tribe. In fear and confusion, the nontreaty Nez Perces turned away from the reservation, moving south to pitch their tepees not far from the Salmon River at White Bird Canyon.

Meanwhile, stark terror gripped the white settlements in central Idaho. The slightest cloud of dust might be raised by Indian war ponies. Farms by the score were abandoned. As refugees whipped their mules into barricaded towns. James W. Poe, of Mount Idaho, wrote the Governor of Idaho that two or three hundred Indians were continuing their bloody raids. J. P. Vilmar, of Lewiston, informed the mayor of Portland: "They have massacred 30 or 40 men. women, and children; for humanity's sake * * * send arms with ammunition."

While actually 19 Indians had claimed about 16 victims, the letter-writers' wild-eyed excitement was matched by General Howard's cool underestimate of the situation as from Lapwai he dispatched Capt. David Perry with 99 cavalrymen to deal with the outbreak, and informed his superior: "Think we shall make short work of it."

Alexander Miller

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. CHARLES S. GUBSER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 31, 1960

Mr. GUBSER. Mr. Speaker, Stanford University and the Nation has lost one of the great theologians in contemporary America in the death of Prof. Alexander Miller at the age of 51. He was greatly loved in the Stanford community and throughout the Nation. As President J. E. Wallace Sterling, of Stanford, said:

His scholarship was of high quality, his interest in undergraduate education and in the lives of the students was lively and constructive. His sympathy for his fellow man was ready and warm. His resources of friendship were abundant and were brightened by gifts of wit and speech.

Under leave to extend my remarks I submit herewith an editorial from the Stanford Daily:

ALEXANDER MILLER

It is difficult to write a tribute befitting Alexander Miller, for one does not know where to begin. His life was filled with an eager interest in students, a constant striving for academic knowledge, a heartfelt desire to make friends and a clear devotion to his faith.

to his faith.

His many friends and acquaintances at Stanford and all over the world will retain a warm memory of a man whose life was well spent and intelligently directed.

President Wallace Sterling has expressed an extremely appropriate encomium to Alexander Miller:

"His contributions to the Stanford community were manifold. His scholarship was of high quality, his interest in undergraduate education and in the lives of the students was lively and constructive. His sympathy for his fellow man was ready and warm. His resources of friendship were abundant and were brightened by gifts of wit and speech. Stanford's strength as a university has been diminished by his passing. Stanford men and women have suffered a personal loss."

Observance of Armed Forces Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. CHARLES E. CHAMBERLAIN

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 31, 1960

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. Mr. Speaker, the 11th observance of Armed Forces Day was recently celebrated here in the United States and people throughout the country were given an opportunity to visit many of our military bases and view our highly trained military personnel. I feel we in America can be justly proud of the men and women serving in our armed services and in this respect I wish to include an appropriate editorial which appeared recently in the Flint Journal entitled "Observe Armed Forces Day by Resolving To Keep Faith." The article follows:

OBSERVE ARMED FORCES DAY BY RESOLVING TO KEEP FAITH

Saturday is Armed Forces Day, a time to pause to remember the many Americans who have died in war and the many who today are serving in uniform to help make sure their lives were not given in vain.

Most of us find it difficult to realize that 15 years have passed since the World War II

shooting stopped in Europe.

We are now farther from that fighting than older Americans were from World War I when Franklin D. Roosevelt first took office as President in March 1933.

There are some 40 million more Americans than there were on VE-day in 1945. In many places the face of the Nation has almost been made over. Millions of new homes stretch the limits of our urban areas to constantly wider dimensions. Factories have expanded and new businesses mushroomed.

At the end of World War II, only 22 million passenger cars traveled our streets and highways. Today the total is close to 57 million and our country is crisscrossed with an ever-growing network of superhighways.

All of this growth and development has brought with it new economic, social, and political problems. We grow unevenly and lag is apparent in many essentials such as schools, sanitation, roads, housing, and hospitals. Crime besets us in frightening volume.

But looming larger than all of these things on this Armed Forces Day is the tragic fact that we have not realized the

kind of peace we thought we earned in World War II. While we are not engaged in a shooting war, we live in constant fear of one. In 1945 we talked hopefully of going back to 20 billion dollar budgets, but today our national defense budget alone costs 41 billion yearly.

In major areas we do not even have peace

In major areas we do not even have peace treatles, and in some cases where we do they

have not been honored.

We and the Russians, our World War II allies, stand opposite each other building the weapons of disaster for all mankind. Never have our two countries been at such odds. Seldom in the last 15 years has the threat of war hung so heavily over our heads as it has this week.

This does not call for pessimism and despair. Rather it is time to take a realistic look at our position as the leader of free peoples everywhere and to pledge ourselves to an even more determined effort to preserve that freedom wherever it exists.

We must continue to strive for a peaceful settlement of our differences. The alternative is too grim to do otherwise. But we have a sacred trust to insist upon an honorable peace that insures freedom as we know it.

In World War II we crushed tyrants and militarists in Germany, Italy and Japan. But into the European vacuum left by the German-Italian collapse rushed the Soviet Union. And in Asia, Red China fashioned another totalitarian triumph from the raw materials of corruption and human discontent.

The war that was fought to save freedom did indeed preserve it here and in many other places. Yet 15 years afterward, haif the world's population moves in bondage behind the iron barriers of communism.

The 400,000 Americans who died in World War II did not die in vain. But every American today, from the President to the youngest citizen, must work with energy and purpose to assure that we survive a greater threat than the one they put down with their lives.

To this end should we dedicate ourselves this Armed Forces Day.

Long Beach Federal Savings & Loan Association Versus the Home Loan Bank Board

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. CRAIG HOSMER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 31, 1960

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Speaker, I call attention to a bitter struggle that has been going on in my constituency for some 14 years between the Federal Home Loan Bank Board and the Long Beach Federal Savings & Loan Association. The matter has received widespread local publicity. It has caused constituents of mine who have confidence in the local institution and its management, as well as the general public, considerable worry and annoyance. Certainly, a controversy carried on this long, and in the manner in which it has been conducted, does not reflect credit on the Federal agency involved.

For the second time in 14 years this savings firm has been seized by action of the Home Loan Bank Board. The first seizure was condemned by a congressional committee as a "vicious abuse of power" and 20 months later, after changes in the Bank Board, the association was returned to its local management. However, many outstanding issues created by the original seizure have never been settled. They have dragged through the courts for years at great litigation expense and continued uncertainty. If anything, this course of events has compounded rather than clarified the situation.

A feeling has generated that the Board's recent reseizure of the institution stems more than anything else from a continuously increasing hostility by Bank Board personnel growing out of frustrations stemming from repeated setbacks by rulings of the courts. The reasons given by the Bank Board supporting exercise of emergency powers to seize the institution for the second time appear to bear out such an assessment of its actions. These allegations, some 17 in number, were each matters which, if the Board were on its toes, doing its job. would have been corrected administratively in regular course rather than being allowed to accumulate. The fact that such regular action in due course was not taken by the Board lends credence to the association management's contentions that there is nothing to them and that it is being subjected to harassment. Whatever the actual situation may turn out to be, the Board cannot escape responsibility either for nonaction when it should have been acting, or for acting in an emergency way when it had no cause for so doing.

Currently the association's management is in court seeking to force the Home Loan Bank Board to bond the supervisory representative it placed in the institution in an amount reasonable to the value of the assets involved in the seizure. In ruling on a question of who should be of counsel in the case, California Superior Court Judge John F. McCarthy made the following philosophical observation:

The court is a representative of our way of life in a very real sense. It is the means whereby our Constitution and our laws of all kinds are enforced. They are enforced as against individuals. They are enforced as against the public and all agencies of the public. In other words, whatever the law is, it is the duty of the court to enforce it, and that it must do impartially and as accurately as possible, of course. The courts are entitled to respect only if they see to it that the law is enforced and that the founts of justice aren't corrupted.

Now, I think that the other branches of government have a duty of fairness, obeying the law, and seeing to it that our laws are not violated or evaded. I don't think that any public organization should ever place itself in the position so that its motives can be subject to any criticism, and the courts should be in the same position.

The following story in the Long Beach Independent newspaper for May 19 explains the question as to who should properly be of counsel in the case that was under consideration, together with Judge McCarthy's ruling on it against the Home Loan Bank Board and favoring the association's deposed management:

SEIZED L. B. FEDERAL SAVINGS WINS STATE COURT SKIRMISH—JUDGE RULES FIRED COUNSEL STILL ON JOB

(By Don Maddock)

An alleged attempt by Federal agencies to control both sides of long-standing multi-million-dollar litigation involving Long Beach Federal Savings & Loan Association was blocked in superior court Wednesday.

Judge John F. McCarthy ordered C. E. Ault, supervisory representative in charge of the firm since it was seized April 22, made a party to the litigation, and also refused to exclude attorney Charles K. Chapman from representing the firm, although he was fired by Ault April 29.

by Ault April 29.

"It seems perfectly clear to me that the Federal Home Loan Bank Board has the power to completely dominate activities of the San Francisco Home Loan Bank (plaintiff in the lawsuit involved) and also those of Mr. Ault," Judge McCarthy observed.

"I am not ascribing to the board or San Francisco bank any improper motives. However, both of them are public bodies, and should conduct themselves in a manner that their motive cannot be subject to any just criticism."

Judge McCarthy ordered Ault included both as a codefendant in the San Francisco bank's action against the local firm, and as a cross-defendant in Long Beach Federal's counter-action.

Chapman sought the order. Atty. Sylvester Hoffman, representing the San Francisco bank, answered that Chapman had no standing to make the motion.

Hoffman pointed out that Ault has succeeded to all powers of officers and managers of the local firm, and that Ault had dismissed Chapman.

"There are a few technical reasons why this relief should be denied," Judge McCarthy answered.

"But in court the skids are not supposed to be greased. Both sides are entitled to have their cases presented.

"If there is a good defense (by the local firm) and because of this seizure this defense is not urged, would it not be a fraud on the court?

"Inherent powers of the court to see that every party has his day in court demand that Mr. Ault be brought in, and demand that something be done to see that merits of the cross-complaint (filed by Long Beach Federal) are fully and vigorously presented.

"The bank board should not be placed in the position of telling the association it may not act, and then refusing to act itself.

"This ruling is not an accusation of any kind, but the case poses a situation which should not exist.

"It comes a little too close to a case of a plaintin suing himself. I think it is the duty of this court to see that no such possibility shall exist, whether the threat be real or not."

The San Francisco bank mainly seeks confirmation of its foreclosure of about \$7 million in Government bonds, matured interest coupons and cash of the Long Beach firm.

The association, in return, seeks redemption from the foreclosure and damages, totaling about \$10 million.

The dispute arose after the bank board, in 1946, appointed a conservator for the local firm.

Notes he signed in the local firm's name, and its bonds, deposited with the San Francisco bank as security were bases of the counterclaims. Spying and Blundering

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. AL ULLMAN

OF OREGON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, May 27, 1960

Mr. ULLMAN. Mr. Speaker, my colleagues may be interested in the following editorial which appeared in the Wallowa County Chieftain, a weekly newspaper published at Enterprise, Org. It it further evidence that the people of this Nation have questions they hope to see answered regarding the recent U-2 incident:

SPYING AND BLUNDERING

The business of international spying has been going on for a long time, but it is doubtful whether any country has ever bungled in the field quite as badly as the United States did in handling the recent espionage case involving the shooting down of one of our intelligence planes in Russia. We could hardly have made more of a mess out of the situation if we had tried.

In the first place it is doubtful whether any new information which Lt. Francis Powers, the pilot, could have obtained would have warranted the risk involved in view of the imminent summit conference at Paris to iron out some of the worst threats to Peace in the relations between this country and its allies' and Soviet Russia. If spying was necessary it might have been stopped long enough so that no unnecessary road-blocks would have been thrown in the way of peaceful talks at this summit meeting.

Espionage is always a dirty business and is carried on outside the moral law and the national and international codes. The only crime in the business is in being caught. But generally spying is of the cloak-and-dagger type which is carried on by civilians in such a way that the government involved can disclaim knowledge of the act. In the Powers case, however, the Government of the United States was caught redhanded.

Khrushchev, by delaying announcements of the capture of Powers and the recovery of his equipment, was able to lead the U.S. State Department into some silly statements which compounded the crime and our embarrassment. At first it was officially reported that probably an American weather observing plane had strayed across the border. But when Khrushchev came up with the reconnalssance plane the official version was changed to indicate that Powers may have had an oxygen failure in his equipment and fell unconscious as the automatic pilot took him deep into Russian territory against his wishes.

Then Khrushchev finally came forward with the plane, its equipment, and even Lieutenant Powers' version of the flight and the stories and make believe had to be dropped and the spying openly admitted. But by this time Khrushchev had turned the whole epizode into a neat bit of propaganda.

The State Department's lame statement that we had to send spies into Russia because they wouldn't tell us their secrets, came as about the weakest part of the whole ridiculous business. No country is giving out its military secrets, and it is absurd to say the Russians are responsible for the spying because they hide things.

Finally, when the U.S. State Department had demonstrated a perfect record for putting its foot in its mouth every time it opened it for a statement, it kept its blundering status complete by announcing that appling by means of planes over Russia had

been going on for a long time and would continue. This statement served no purpose other than to further inflame the Russians and to give our allies the jitters.

If the Powers flight originated in Pakistan and was to end in Norway as the Russians claim, and if this was arranged without the knowledge of Government officials in either Pakistan or Norway, then we were certainly not playing fair with these two countries. It is hardly a good-neighbor policy to use the home of a friend as a base for illegal operations without that friend's consent or knowledge.

Probably a lot of lies will be found in Khrushchev's statements about the case. It is already being questioned whether a flight from Pakistan to Norway with a plane of the U-2 type was possible, whether the plane could have been tracked by radar, and whether it could have been shot down from 12 miles up with a single rocket and the pilot and all his photographic equipment remain intact after plummeting to earth from this height. There may have been a lot of faking going on by the Communists, but the mistakes of the United States will not be covered up by this Soviet fakery.

The average person may excuse the spying (although baffled at the timing) but he will wonder why it wouldn't have been better to have made a simple admission of it without elaboration and without lying.

Congressman Chester Bowles of Connecticut Interviewed on "Meet the Press," May 8, 1960

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JOHN BRADEMAS

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, May 18, 1960

Mr. BRADEMAS. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent I include in the Record the transcript of a television program on which our distinguished colleague, the Honorable Chester Bowles, of Connecticut, was interviewed.

Congressman Bowles appeared on the National Broadcasting Co. program, "Meet the Press," on May 8, 1960, and was questioned by Peter Lisagor of the Chicago Daily News, Chalmers Roberts of the Washington Post, John Steele of Time-Life, Inc., and Frank Bourgholtzer of NBC News. Moderator was Ned Brooks

The transcript follows:

TRANSCRIPT FROM "MEET THE PEESS"

Announces. Now "Meet the Press," produced by Lawrence E. Spivak. Ready for this spontaneous, unrehearsed conference are four of America's top news reporters. Their questions do not necessarily reflect their point of view; it is their way of getting a story for you.

Mr. Brooks. Welcome once again to "Meet the Press." Our guest today is Congressman Chestra Bowles, of Connecticut. He recently was chosen as the chairman of the committee which will write the platform for the 1960 campaign. Work on the platform already has begun with a series of regional meetings. Republican leaders this past week opened an attack on the makeup of Congressman Bowles' committee. They said it is dominated by radicals of previous campaigns. Congressman Bowles has been

mentioned as a possible dark horse candidate for President, but he has declared his support for Senator John Kennedy. He is serving as an adviser to Senator Kennedy on matters of foreign policy.

Congressman Bowles was the wartime Administrator of Government price controls. He later was elected Governor of Connecticut, and he served as our Ambassador to India. He was elected to Congress in 1958. His books and articles on both foreign and domestic affairs have been widely quoted.

Mr. Bourgholizer. Mr. Bowles, if you were foreign policy adviser to a President, rather than to a candidate, in this situation where an American pilot has been shot down by the Russians and has admitted being a spy, would you advise just admitting that he was a spy as has been done?

Representative Bowles. You have asked

Representative Bowles. You have asked a very tough one. It seems to me that the administration did about all they could with a very, very difficult, very unpleasant and highly embarrassing situation. It is pretty clear that Mr. Khrushchev knew what was going on. He appears to have the evidence with which he could confront the world and presumably persuade the world. I think it would have only made a bad situation—and I think it is a very bad situation—worse if we had tried to cover it up.

Mr. Bourgholtzer. On the same question

Mr. Bourgholtzer. On the same question there are a lot of aspects, but I am wondering particularly what your viewpoint would be, thinking of the upcoming administration, on the point of the President being unaware of such an activity, as apparently is the case in this incident. Do you think the President should be kept purposely unaware of certain Intelligence operations?

Representative Bowless. Let's start with the

Representative Bowles. Let's start with the fact that I believe this will go down in history as probably the most embarrassing and in some ways shocking, occurrence in the last 7 or 8 years. It is terribly embarrassing, difficult; it has put us in a very bad situation before the world. We are going to hear a lot more of it.

I wish I were talking about it 2 or 3 days from now when perhaps we will have a bet-ter chance to settle down and think it through, and certainly anything I say I want to be sure is very responsible and thoughtful, because no one has any desire to make this worse, certainly not for partisan reasons. But it seems to me the whole situation has placed the State Department in the position of having deliberately told a falsehood. We assumed they did not know the actual facts. that these facts were simply given them. As you go on to say, the President himself is placed in the position of not appearing to know a very major development in regard to our foreign policy. The Soviet Union was encouraged to be suspicious of us. They are already very suspicious on this whole matter of controls inspection. They have always charged that the reason we want this inspection is for spying work and espionage generally. They also have been granted a beautiful opportunity to use this, and they will use it certainly very adroitly to embarrass us and to weaken our already weak position as we approach the summit. And the whole world has been given a very deep contrast between our apparent desire for peace, our desire to try to negotiate a peace, while carrying on this kind of activity almost simultaneously. I think it is a very bad situation.

Mr. Steele. I want to get one thing straight. Are you criticizing the activities of the plane, or are you criticizing the pilot getting caught?

Representative Eowers. Let me say this: that I don't think any one of us, as simply an outsider and a newspaper reader, as I am, can know what is essential here in the way of espionage. We all are realists. We all know that this is a difficult and complex

world. We know we are at a disadvantage. that the Soviet is a closed police state and has certain very great advantages over us. However, it seems to me that that is not really the point here. The point is the This may be necessary under certain circumstances, depending, of course, on the technical problems, of how great our lack of knowledge really is. But the point is, we are preparing for a summit meeting. The whole history of the world may depend upon our ability to negotiate with the Soviet Union, to talk with them on a basis of mutual trust, or at least some greater degree of mutual trust. By timing this par-ticular excursion at this particular time, we have certainly gone a long way to undermine that hope.

Mr. STEELE. Let's see if I understand. You mean these activities are all right except when we have an international meet-

ing, is that correct?

Representative Bowles. I don't know that they are all right at all, because I don't know the inside story of how much information we have or what we lack or what risks should be required to get it. I would assume that we should not do this sort of thing for a marginal gain. Only if the gain was so very, very vital to our security that it could be justified on the basis of our national security to the utmost degree. But the point is that here we are in a very delicate position, and certainly this would be a time to be far more circumspect than obviously these people have been. I think they have committed a very gross case of misjudgment, and I think it is highly reckless, and I think it is dangerous and hurtful.

Mr. STEELE. You are the fereign policy adviser to Senator Kennery and presumably will become Secretary of State if he is

elected President.

Representative Bowles. I wouldn't presume that for one minute.

Mr. STEELE. You would not presume it? Representative Bowles. No. There will be

lots of possibilities.

Mr. Steele. There has been talk of keeping the candidates informed about developments in foreign policy. Have you been kept informed as to these flights, either as Senator Kennedy's foreign policy adviser or as a member of the House Foreign Affairs Committee?

Representative Bowles. No, I have not heard of them, I have not been kept advised in any way, and I doubt that he has. I am very sure that none of us have.

Mr. ROBERTS. I would like to turn to politics for a minute. Everybody says you are a darkhorse in the Democratic outlook. It seems apparent or possible that the convention may be deadlocked in Los Angeles for some time. If that happened, and if there was a turn to you as a possible compromise candidate, would you accept? Representative BOWLES. I think this talk

Representative Bowles. I think this talk of my being a darkhorse is rather farfetched. I am grateful for the friends I have had around the country who have advanced it, and I have been flattered by it, and naturally it is pleasant to know that what I have been trying to say over a long period of years has at least taken hold with some people. However, I have never taken it seriously. I have done all I can to discourage it. I am for Jack Kennedy, first, last and always. I am sticking right thoroughly with him, and I think he is going to get nominated.

Mr. ROBERTS. As you would say, if I was a witness on the Hill, that is not a responsive answer. Can't you tell me yes or no, if

drafted would you accept?

Representative Bowles. It is such an impossible situation I can't even visualize it. I was brought up under F. D. R. He said never answer questions that have that much "if" in them. They are too far and too remote.

Mr. ROBERTS. Let me turn it around the other way: Will you make a Sherman statement that you wouldn't accept it if it were offered?

Representative Bowles. I think I would look very silly and presumptuous if I did.

Mr. Lisacon. I would like to ask you in connection with an earlier question, do you think the Democrats ought to be kept informed on basic foreign policy developments, specifically on the nuclear test suspension talks? Won't the Senate have to ratify any treaty we might agree to, and do you think the Senate members, the Democratic members, the important ones, are being taken interest accountil authors any other accountils authors any other accountils.

to those councils sufficiently—
Representative Bowles, No. I don't. think it is very bad. Let's go back to 1918: In October 1918 Woodrow Wilson made a very partisan appeal for the election of a Democratic Congress. He got instead a Republican Congress elected in the bielection, the off-year election, of 1918. He then left 3 weeks later for the peace conference in Paris taking with him only one Republican who was so far down the line in Republican circles that people didn't even know he was While I am a tremendous a Republican. While I am a tremendous admirer of Mr. Wilson, and I feel he is one of the really great Americans of all times, I think that was an abysmal political mistake. It led the way to a good deal of the misunderstanding and challenge and difficulty and final frustration in the U.S. Senate when we falled to get the Treaty of Versailles and the League of Nations through. I might say that I think this administration is making the self-same error.

Mr. Lisagor. Would you say that they ought then to take Democratic Senators to

the summit conference?

Representative Bowles. I certainly think they should. I think they ought to be kept more carefully informed. We have not had honest bipartisanship in these last 7 or 8 years. I think it is dangerous not to have it. I think the Democrats under the circumstances have behaved with a good deal of responsibility, in the absence of real bipartisanship.

Mr. Lisagor. On another point, in Milwaukee last night I believe you made a speech blaming a good deal of Mr. Khrushchev's bitter blasts at the United States recently on what you called China and the extreme rightists within the Soviet Union, suggesting, according to the accounts I read, that these people want to torpedo a summit conference. How do you square that kind of a statement with the general belief here in Washington that Mr. Khrushchev needs peace and needs certain relaxation in order to get his 7-year plan to work?

Representative Bowles. My statement as it was quoted—I haven't seen the paper—that wouldn't be quite accurate if that is the way

it appeared.

What I asked was the question, How much influence have the Chinese had in this situation; how much influence does exist among the old Stallnist regime within the Soviet Union? I asked that as a question, and I think it is a very proper question, too. Chinese have always timed a lot of their in-transigence in the Far East, Quemoy and Matsu and the rest, for just the periods when we were trying to negotiate and talk with the Soviet. It is my guess that Mr. Khru-shchev would really like to try to develop an easier atmosphere, here. I felt this strongly when I saw him and talked with him a little over 3 years ago in Moscow. I had a long 3-hour talk with him, and I came out of it quite convinced that he wanted a détente: he wanted to see the situation ease; he felt the need of it for his own country, but he was highly suspicious and feeling his way. It would seem to me clearly that this is not in the interests, necessarily of the Mao Tsetung government in Peking. They naturally want to keep the cold war between the

Soviet Union and the United States, just as active and vigorous as they possibly can, because this assures them of a flow of material and loans and all the things they need from the Soviet Union. I would assume that there is quite a clash here, at least a potential clash, between Chinese Communist interests and the Kremlin's interests.

Mr. Lisagor. But do you not believe that Mr. Khrushchev is secure enough today in Russia so that he can move on toward relaxation if he so chooses at a summer conference?

Representative Bowles. I don't think we really know. I hope so, I visited Esignade this November. I wanted to go there to talk to some of the Yugoslavs who often follow pretty much the Soviet line. For instance, in regard to Berlin, their line is almost identical with the Soviet. But they do have some insight on what is going on in the Soviet Union and also in China. I wanted to try to probe this question with them. There is the general feeling there that Mao Tse-tung's government in Peking had some contacts and some hope for support of an extreme position from certain elements in the Soviet military. I don't think they knew it for a fact, but they are inclined to feel that this was the case.

Mr. Bourcholtzer. I'd like to ask a question, Mr. Bowles, directed to your role as chairman of the platform committee. You have spoken in many of your speeches about the challenge of Soviet economic ability and their production and so on. In translating this into an American program, would you suggest that the Russians have developed the art of economic planning to a point that we should perhaps copy their planning methods?

Representative Bowles. I don't think that is necessary. I am concerned about our slow lack of growth. Indeed, if you were to ask me what I thought was the single most important question before the American people today it would be our capacity to grow at a much faster rate without inflation, with stable prices. I feet if we can develop our growth rate to around 5 percent or 41/2 percent without rising prices—I think we can do all of these things: We can build up our defenses adequately; we can tackle questions of foreign aid; we can build the schools we need; we can get rid of our slums; we can build this country as the dynamic. positive force it should be in world affairs. And if we don't grow fast enough, we can't. I think the interesting thing is this: The Soviet Union is growing at a rate of about 7 percent annually. But so is capitalistic Germany. So is capitalistic Mexico. So is capitalistic Japan. Indeed, I think the average growth rate in western Europe is around 6 percent, all under capitalism. There is nothing wrong with our system. It is simply that the system is now in the hands of rather timid people who are thinking timidly, and I just don't think they have enough confidence in the dynamism of this economy.

Mr. BOURGHOLTZER, You would say that it doesn't require a greater degree of Federal

planning, then?

Representative Bowles, I would think that the question of national goals is related to this, and I would certainly favor this. Mr. Hoover originally suggested it back in 1930. I have talked about it, and so have many other people since. I think it would be a very good thing to hold hearings every summer, let's say, before a com-mittee or board of very highly respected Americans, representing all qualities and areas of our economy, and talk out and plan to see what our goals should be in housing, and schools, and roads, and urban renewal and defense, and all these other facets of our economy. But I don't think the plans should have any particular bite to them in the sense that they are totalitarian or any thing of that kind. I think we simply set the direction in which we like to go, and

familiarize Congress and the American people fully with where we can go and where we need to go if we are going to do what we have to do in this next 10 years.

Mr. Brooks. Congressman, you are going to have to cover a great many domestic subects in the platform. I am wondering to what extent the South is going to be recognized in the drafting of the platform?

Representative Bowles. The South is certainly going to have its big chance to be heard as is the East and the West and the North. All sections are. My own views on all these questions are pretty well established. I have written and spoken a lot on them, but I am simply one member of an 110-man-and-woman committee.

Mr. BROOKS. The next question that comes out of that: are you ready to risk a walk-out of some of the southern delegates if you write a civil rights plank which is not acceptable to them?

Representative Bowles. Some people have gone so far as to become very annoyed with some of our Democratic brethren to the south and have said, "What if they do walk out; let's do whatever is required even to see that they do walk out." I simply can't accept this. I would like to see this Democratic Party remain a united party. We are the only national party, and I think this is a great advantage. It also carries with it certain problems; because it is a national party, our Whole difficulty of getting a consensus is obviously much greater, but my guess is that We can work this out. There are lots of good, forward-looking groups of people in South, who I know understand this world we are living in, who believe in the dignity of man and are willing to accept the word of that great Virginian, a former Governor of Virginia, Thomas Jefferson, who asserted in our Declaration of Independence that all men are created equal. I think we can handle this, and I think our Republican friends, I suppose, are hoping we can't, but I am very confident that we can.

Mr. Steele. A couple of your Republican friends the other day, Senator Goldwater and Congressman Miller, chairmen of the Senate and House campaign committees, said that your whole committee was masterminded by a few radicals with leftover ideas. Is this correct?

Representative Bowles. I saw that, and I was very intrigued because he simply listed the people who have written the various council reports, the advisory committee of the Democratic Party. I know all these people very well. I think they are remarkably fine men, and many of them are my very good friends, and I admire them very greatly So here you have definitely guilt by association on my part. But I would like to call Your attention to the fact that on this very day, Mr. GOLDWATER also teed off against Mr. Eisenhower who, he said, was dabbling in socialized medicine, and he also accused Mr. Flemming of going in for a "dime store New So, I'm in highly respectable company.

Mr. STEELE. One of the gentlemen from your own State, Schator Bush, on a somewhat different line, had a proposal that each platform plank carry a price tag, how much it was going to cost. You are Chairman of the Democratic Platform Committee. Do you think this is a good idea?

Representative Bowles, I would be delighted to do that. I don't think it is very practical because I don't think we can always tell just what it will cost, but I think it is perfectly fine to know what it costs. I also think we ought to know what it will cost not to do some of these things. What are our slums costing us today? What is an inadequate military costing us? What is insequate foreign aid costing us? What is inadequate education costing us? Let us know the cost of not doing things as well as the cost of doing them.

Mr. ROBERTS. I was reading a magazine article you have written about the China problem recently, and one thing struck me. The man you are supporting, Senator Kennedy, has said publicly that if he were elected he would do something about ending the American commitment to Quemoy and Matsu, the offshore islands. But I notice you avoided that question, or did not mention it. Do you disagree with him on this?

Representative Bowles. No. I think we are very wrong to stake the future of our American prestige and strength on two islands just off the coast of China. I also feel it would be a great mistake to get off those islands under fire and under pressure. I think that is the difficulty. When there is no pressure, I agree that we should try to negotiate our way off them, neutralize them, find some way to neutralize this thumb that we have that is sort of sticking in the Communist's eye.

Mr. ROBERTS. Do you expect in the platform this year that for the first time the Democrats will come out in favor of a two-China policy?

Representative Bowles. I don't know, because, of course, I can't speak for this committee, but I do feel very strongly that the recognition question is pretty much a dead-end street. If we could visualize our Government calling up Mr. Mao Tse-tung and saying, "Look, we have decided to recognize you people," I think he'd get a very fast answer back which would be "Do you recognize our sovereignty over the island of Taiwan or Formosa?" And we would say, "Of course not, we will defend Formosa," as, of course, we must. I think Mr. Mao Tse-tung would then hang up the telephone and that would end the conversation. I think our China policy really ought to start with that point. What we need is a China policy that goes beyond this narrow debate, this rather sterile debate on recognition and goes to the question of how we can make some contacts with the Chinese people. I think we have something to learn from the question of the Soviet Union. From 1918 to 1933 we did not recognize the Soviet Union. We had all kinds of contacts with the Russian people, however. We sent our newspapermen there; many of them went there; many Russians came here, tradesmen, and engineers, and doctors, and people from universities, and we had contacts with China

I happen to think that China is probably the biggest question, the biggest challenge that we are going to meet in these next 20 years. I think China is inherently aggressive in many of the situations that exist there. It has too little land, too many people, too few resources, and worse still, politically and economically and militarily soft neighbors, which almost invite aggres-We are not coping with this problem. I don't think we have a plan for what we would do if the Chinese started to move into southeast Asia. I think we should have a plan, a comprehensive one, a military plan, a political plan, an economic plan. I think that there is some hope here-it may be a very farfetched hope—that we may have some situations here where our interests cross with the Russians. It is conceivable that they are as frightened of this possible development as many of us are.

Mr. Lisagor. You have written that there

Mr. Lisagor. You have written that there is a national consensus in this country on foreign policy. Do you still believe that?

Representative Bowles. I believe it very deeply, and I have been all over the United States in the last many months, traveling from one end to another, talking to all kinds of people, and I feel an extraordinary feeling of oneness to a degree with all kinds of audiences.

Mr. Lisacor. Doesn't that bring us down to the fact that you are really going to vote on personalities then in this election insofar as foreign policy is concerned? It isn't a question of which man you choose is better qualified to lead you?

Representative Bowles. I hate to disagree when we are so close to the end of this program, but I will have to disagree with that. I do feel the approaches, what the two parties say they are for, are quite similar. They are both for peace; they are for negotiation; they are against colonialism; they are for foreign aid, and so on. When you begin to examine the way these two parties go after these objectives, you find a tremendous difference. First of all, the Republicans. I think, accept this world of chance with great unhappiness. They would like to see everything frozen—if everything would only stand still, if only Africa would stand still and Asia and Europe and Latin America.

I think we Democrats recognize that we are in a revolutionary world of great change, enormous potential. That this revolution is not something we should be frightened of; it is something we should welcome, something we should try to influence and positively, creatively push in the direction of greater human dignity.

I think there is a tremendous difference here. Emerson once summed it up in saying that wherever there is politics you will find people grouping around two ideas, one associated with memory and the other associated with hope. I think our party is the party of hope.

Mr. Lisacor. Could I be a little more specific: How then do you disagree with Vice President Nixon basically on foreign policy?

Representatives Bowles. I think we disagree on approach, largely. I think his approach would be more expedient. I think his military aid program would probably be much more expedient than ours. I think it would be less creative. I think there will be less emphasis on the initiative—not necessarily because Mr. Nixon himself feels that way, but after all, he is tied to Mr. Halleck, and I might also say he is tied to Mr. Goldenters, who has been brought already into this particular broadcast. He has to settle with those people.

Mr. Brooks. Gentlemen, I am sorry to have to interrupt. Thank you very much, Congressman Bowles, for being with us.

Foreign Cotton Trade

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. WILLIAM B. WIDNALL

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 26, 1960

Mr. WIDNALL. Mr. Speaker, one of my constituents who is a cotton and commission merchant in New York City has told me many times that the cotton trade in foreign countries expresses bewilderment over the manner in which our cotton situation has been handled. He recently sent me a letter from Smith, Coney & Barrett, cotton and general produce brokers of Liverpool, England. To those of us who are wrapped in the mystic maze of present farm legislation and operation, I believe the letter will prove informative and helpful.

The letter follows:

SMITH, CONEY & BARRETT,
COTTON AND GENERAL PRODUCE BROKERS,
Liverpool, England, May 2, 1960.
Messrs. Robert Moore & Co.,
New York.

DEAR SIR: We thank you for cotton comments of April 29, 1960.

What you write regarding the effect of U.S. farm policy of the New York cotton market is even more true of Liverpool. whole mechanism built up so beneficially during 100 years' trading has been ruined and the policy which has ruined it has brought nothing to anyone except hordes of bureaucrats and possibly some politicians. That it should happen in the United States of America is the most astounding thing of all. In Russia it would be in line with national policy. How on earth Americans reconcile it with their belief in free enterprise is beyond us. Yet there would seem to be no longer any hope that it can be ended and thus we shall shortly see the demise of all the futures markets.

From the Liverpool end we see also the growing tendency to ship cotton inferior to that contracted for and a large stock of undesirable and unsalable cotton has accumulated here. Added to the other problems which will face United States of America in the future is this unreliability of quality. Much of the recent cotton shipped has no character and we foresee an increasing disinclination on the part of spinners to use American cotton. In this market and others. such as Bombay, this tendency is already clear. It probably started with mechanical picking and has been latterly accentuated by recent ginning methods.

Now with an estimated acreage of 17,500,-000 for the next crop, we face the proability of a reversion to an increasing unsold surplus in the hands of the CCC, and all the uncertainty of a variable export bonus.

It is quite certain that more and more drastic measures will have to be taken to ensure America's so-called historical share of the export market.

The whole thing is crazy and apparently hopeless.

Yours faithfully,

SMITH, CONEY & BARRETT.

Washington Report

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. BRUCE ALGER

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 2, 1960

Mr. ALGER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following newsletter of May 28, 1960:

WASHINGTON REPORT

(By Congressman BRUCE ALGER, Fifth District, Texas)

Federal "aid" to education, labeled "School Construction Assistance Act of 1960", approved by the House this week 206 to 189. Before passage, the program was expanded (from 3 to 4 years), the Powell amendment barring use of funds for segregated facilities was added, and an amendment aimed at channeling the greatest aid to areas of greatest need was defeated. At the outset, the bill aserts that despite local efforts immediate Federal action is required to eliminate classroom shortages. Inadequate financial resources in many communities is the reason stated. Money is allocated to the States in direct ratio to the number of school-age children and without regard to need. Then, following 15 pages of regulations concerning certification, matching funds, labor standards, etc., the disclaimer is made against any Federal controls to accompany these grants-in-aid. Against this Alice-in-Wonderland approach, let's examine some facts.

First, is there a problem? No, not of the sort being pictured. Educational plants across this Nation generally are excellent and though schoolroom shortages exist, school construction rates have soared by more than enough to eliminate deficiencies—all without Federal intervention. Where local limits on bonded indebtedness delay new construction, it is by the choice of those most concerned as taxpayers and parents. And this business about "lack of local financial resources" would be funny if the joke weren't a bitter one. "Local taxpayers" are the ones who pay all the Federal taxes, too. But once sent to Washington, less of their money can find its way back in "aid" because of the overhead costs of Federal bureaucracy. Moreover, Federal officials-not local taxpayers-would determine how those tax dollars might be spent. bill is bad enough to set many speculating over the real motive behind it. At the least, it's a foot in the door to ultimate Federal domination of our schools. I voted and spoke against it, reminding my colleagues of a resolution against Federal "aid" sent to all Texas Congressmen by our State legislature.

The Public Works appropriation bill provided money for civil functions of the Army Corps of Engineers, the Atomic Energy Commission, and TVA-and included funds for public works projects throughout the Nation. totaling \$3,914 million. In addition to continuing all unfinished projects, there are 39 new construction starts, 5 of them outside the budget (added by Congress); also, 26 unbudgeted surveys and 15 unbudgeted project plannings. The bill passed 387 to 18. I voted against it. In my view, the world situation and our far-flung essential expenditures require that we curtail nonessential spending. The way to start is to cut down public works and welfare spending. Already we have a 20-year backlog of approved public works projects at the current rate of spending-and still we dream up more. Where's the money coming from?

The Korean "emergency" taxes will be continued for another year if the House follows the Ways and Means Committee vote-not because the taxes are right, but because the big spenders force the continuance of high wartime taxes. Either we pay our way or resort to deficit financing, which waters the value of our money and charges it to following generations. For example, those who telephone and transportation excise taxes reduced and want a reduced rate of income tax had better start checking the record to see who is spending their money in Congress, requiring continuation of high taxation. Next, assuming a small surplus, should we pay down the debt first or give ourselves a tax cut? No citizen should evade a personal decision on this.

The President laid it on the line with his talk about the summit conference. Yes, we spy in many ways, to be forewarned against surprise attack. We remember Pearl Harbor and Korea. Yes; we tried to protect pilot and plane by a covering statement before we knew his fate and the facts. Yes; we know that even negotiation (again remembering Pearl Harbor) can be used for duplicity, so why should we terminate our intelligence activities before a summit conference? we are continuing our intelligence efforts, most recently with the addition of the spy satellite. Would the critics have us give up spying, apologize to Russia, accept a surprise attack, and dig our own grave? There is no substitute for military vigilance and retaliatory strength since we won't attack first. I do not condemn criticism, but I do condemn partisan politics for its own sake in the defense field. This is no subject for personal aggrandizement or for deliberate confusion or distortion of facts for partisan advantage. More than any, those seeking our highest offices should be well grounded in knowledge and responsible in their statements.

Jobs After 40

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. CRAIG HOSMER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, May 31, 1960

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Speaker, convincing facts and compelling arguments were presented for hiring workers over 40 in the Personnel Management Bulletin of the Commerce and Industry Association of New York, Inc. Describing utilization of the skills and knowledge of middle-aged and older jobseekers as "economically desirable as well as a business must," the article is as follows:

WISDOM AND NECESSITY

Hiring older jobseekers is sound business. It is also fast becoming a business necessity. This is the conclusion being reached every

day by increasing numbers of employers. A cold hard look at known facts about older workers on the job, and about America's manpower future, has persuaded many that it is economically desirable—and indeed inevitable-for employers to consider carefully such jobseekers when deciding whom to hire.

BUSINESS NECESSITY

For a good many years to come, there simply is not going to be enough young manpower entering the labor force to supply the growing employment needs of our economy. This makes it imperative for employers to look more and more to the older jobhunter. The following somewhat startling statistics obtained from the U.S. Department of Labor confirm this proposition beyond peradventure of a doubt.

How is our working population changing? On the basis of projecting relevant current trends, our country can reasonably expect to have a total labor force of 79.2 million by 1965, an increase of 10.3 million over 1955. Less than a million of this 10.3 million increase will occur in the 25 to 44 age group. while those 45 and over will rise by almost 5 million. That is, for every increase of 2 workers in the age group traditionally considered the most eligible for employment, there will be 11 new workers in the 45-plus age group.

How fast is our economy growing? The gross national product in 1955 stood at \$391 billion-or \$2,370 for each of our then 165 million people. In recent years the per capita gross national product has been increasing about 2.3 percent each year. If this rate of increase is to continue, by 1964 the gross national product will have to stand at about \$560 billion.

What size labor force will be needed to produce all these goods and services? 1955, with an average of 63 million in the labor force, \$391 billion GNP was renderedor \$6,190 per workers. Over the past 25 years output per worker (calculated on this basis) has increased 2.8 percent per year. If the output per man-hour continues increasing at this rate, the average output per worker should be about \$7,500 by 1965 (after in-cluding a possible 6 percent decrease in average annual hours worked).

It would take a labor force of 74 million producing at this average rate to render a \$560 billion GNP in 1965. Add to this 2.8 million members of the Armed Forces (roughly the present level) and 2.4 million unemployed (about the same percent of the total labor force as at present) and the anticipated labor force of 79.2 million will be totally absorbed.

These facts about the Nation's future manpower prove what many employers have suspected: Finding enough people to fill growing jobs needs apparently won't be possible without making fuller utilization of America's older workers.

AND BUSINESS WISDOM

Despite the apparent necessity of making fuller utilization of America's older manpower if our economy is to continue to grow, some doubts about the economic feasibility

of following this course persist.

Now, to be sure, employer reluctance to hire older workers is not based entirely upon fancy. Unquestionably, in some instances there are factors which rationally militate against such applicants. Often, too, some adjustments are called for in company personnel programs. However, the experience of employers who are hiring older applicants shows that many of these obstacles are more illusory than real.

Productivity: A 1954 University of Illinois study of 3,077 workers in the plus-60 age category shows only 20 percent turned out than their younger brethren. As to quality of work, only 7 percent were subpar.

In 1951 National Association of Manufacturers polled 3,000 employers with 21/2 million people on the payroll. The work for older workers was rated as equal or superior to younger employees by 93 percent of the respondents.

Abstenteeism: A 1956 U.S. Labor Department study of 16,500 male employees working in 109 manufacturing plants, showed older workers to have a 20 percent better attendance record than younger employees.

Accident rates: A 1956 U.S. Labor Department study of 18,700 employees showed employees 45 and over had 2.5 percent fewer disabling injuries and 25 percent fewer non-

disabling injuries than those under 45. Turnover: A 1956 U.S. Labor Department study of seven labor market areas showed separation rates are relatively low for older workers. While workers 45 and over held about 35 percent of the jobs among the 2,000 employers surveyed, they accounted for less than 25 percent of the separations which occurred during the survey year.

Pension costs: Whether or not a private pension plan poses a cost barrier depends upon its terms. If it includes age limits on eligibility for participation, or if benefits are geared to length of service, the plan need not be a major cost obstacle.

A somewhat more self-conscious basis for the pension obstacle exists, however. It is the feeling among many an employer that an unsavory community relations problem may be created if he hires an older applicant now, only to retire him a few years later on an inadequate pension.

This view is held on questionable logic. The public does not "expect" all employers to provide substantial pension benefits retirees. Less than one-fourth of all Working people are covered by private plans. The basic economic protection of the plus-65 already exists in the form of benefits under the Federal Social Security Act. The general employer community, on the other hand, may be subject to a good deal more public opprobrium for refusing to hire older jobscekers, than particular employers ever will be for retiring with a minimal pension those Workers whom they have hired only a few years earlier.

Group insurance costs: Here, as in the case of pensions, whether hiring older applicants will push up costs depends on the nature of the plans involved. Generally, however, a modest number of older applicants can be brought into group life and health insurance plans without substantially increasing overall employer costs.

Job skills: Except possibly for certain unusual specialties, the older worker is more likely to possess more skills, training and job know-how than younger employees. While 40 percent of the 160,000 job hunters included in the 7-city study were 45 or over, this group contained 58 percent of all the skilled persons looking for work.

Personality factors: Some of the common theorizing about older workers is that they are inflexible, unimaginative, and have trouble getting along with fellow employees. Practical experience indicates that the personality factor has more positive than negative features.

In the seven-city study, 57 percent of the older workers placed by State employment service offices accepted jobs in what to them were new industries, 39 percent in new occupations. The University of Illinois study of "plus-60" employees found that in the opinion of their supervisors, 32 percent of the oldsters got along better with their fellow employees than did younger workers; while only 9 percent got along worse.

More positively, older workers often pos-

ss a number of desirable personality traits, often found lacking among less mature employees. Stability, loyalty, reliability, will to work steadily, sense of responsibility, stabilizing influence on younger workers, serious attitude toward the job, are some of the special plus characteristics found among older workers.

Profitmaking, private employers are notand should not be-eleemosynary institutions. Hiring older workers, however, is not essentially a matter of charity. No responsible voice would suggest than an older applicant be hired except where he is ready, willing and able to pull his own weight The chances are he will do just that-and more. Any balm to the conscience of an employer who hires on the basis of competency rather than age is unimportant compared with the payoff which will occur in his profit-and-loss statement.

Address by Louis S. Dennis

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. FRANK M. COFFIN

OF MAINE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, May 31, 1960

Mr. COFFIN. Mr. Speaker, it is both an honor and a pleasure for me to insert in the RECORD an address of unusual excellence which was given yesterday in Maine by Louis S. Dennis, the Director of the Division of Veterans Affairs for the State of Maine. Mr. Dennis has long been highly regarded for his painstaking and conscientious work on behalf of the veterans in our State. I am sure that the thoughtful remarks of Mr. Dennis will be read with appreciation by many throughout the Nation:

My fellow Americans, on this, the 30th day of May, we of the State of Maine, together with patriotic Americans everywhere, gather to pay reverent tribute to our honored warrior dead, here at home and at their final resting places throughout the globe.

It is with heartfelt humility and with deep gratitude that we here recognize the measureless sacrifices of these brave men and women and the sense of loss borne by their families and their friends. It is right and fitting that we should set aside this special day to decorate with flags and flowers the last resting places of our dead comrades in arms. These rites are but a token of the profound love and respect we bear for those who gave their lives that we might continue to live in honor and in freedom.

We, the living, cannot live entirely in the present. From time to time it is appropriate that we draw upon our country's rich and colorful history for a vision of what has gone before us, a vision of the selfless patriotism and limitless sacrifice that have erved to make this Nation the bastion of liberty and the hope of the free world.

In the pages of history we find the spiritual heritage of our Nation, our dearly won traditions, our American credo of love of

God and country.

The birth of Memorial Day came about shortly after the end of the Civil War, still to this day the bloodiest, most savage conflict that this or any other nation ever en-dured. But the Nation did endure.

The end of the Civil War brought peace but no great happiness to the small town of Columbus, Miss. Columbus had stood in the path of many stormy campaigns. Of the hundreds of brave men who marched away from Columbus to fight for the cause they felt was just, only a few returned alive. town cemetery held hundreds of Confederate soldiers, as well as some 40 men who had worn the blue. The women of Columbus, grieving for their soldier dead, decorated with flowers the graves of their loved

Though the war had been a bitter experience, in a gesture of generosity, the women also placed flowers on the bare and halfforgotten graves of the Union soldiers buried there. The idea of a day of remembrance for the Civil War dead spread from town to town and swiftly caught the imagination of the people of the reunited Nation.

The incident also gave inspiration to a northern man who wrote the beautiful poem-

tribute, "The Blue and the Gray."

In May 1868, Union veteran Gen. John A. Logan, commander in chief of the Grand Army of the Republic, issued a proclamation that every GAR post should hold ceremonies decorating the graves of their dead com-rades. He declared: "The 30th of May 1868, is designated for the purpose of strewing with flowers or otherwise decorating the graves of comrades who died in defense of their country; we should guard their graves with sacred vigilance; let no wanton foot tread rudely on such hallowed grounds. Let no vandalism or avarice or neglect, no ravages of time, testify to the present or to the coming generations that we have forgotten as a people the cost of a free and undivided republic.

"If other eyes grow dull and other hands slack, and other hearts cold in the solemn trust, ours shall keep it well as long as the light and warmth of life remain to us."

Now, it is nearly a century since that first Memorial Day, and we cannot help but be stirred by much the same feelings expressed by General Logan. Once again we are reminded of our hero dead who have emblazoned their battle flags with names like Valley Forge and Yorktown; Bladensburg and New Orleans; Contreras and Chapultepec; Gettysburg and Appomattox; Santiago and San Juan Hill; Chateau Thierry and the Argonne; Pearl Harbor, Guadalcanal and Normandy; and finally Pork Chop Hill and Heartbreak Ridge.

The cost of war in human sacrifice is staggering. But it is a price in blood that the defenders of this Nation have paid again and again with reservation.

Total deaths in World War I were more than 116,000. In World War II, 405,000. In Korea, 54,000. It may come as something of a surprise to some of you when I tell you that more Americans died, on both sides, fighting the Civil War than in World War II and the Korean conflict combined. And the nearly 500,000 deaths in that fratricidal war between brothers approaches the 522,000 deaths in World Wars I and II.

Let me turn for a moment to that most monumental and tragic experience from which came the rebirth of this Nation. I

speak of the Civil War.

I said earlier that hundreds of brave men marched away from Columbus, Miss., to fight for the cause they held just. In the same way, hundreds of men marched away from Lewiston and Wilton and Bangor and Augusta and from the small farms and the logging camps of the State of Maine to fight

for the cause they held just.

And later, at Antietam battlefield, and at Gettysburg, Fredericksburg, the Wilderness, Petersburg, and North Anna, the sturdy, husky men from Maine were to meet in deadliest combat the lanky, tough men from Mississippl. And so the war went on from battle to battle and campaign to campaign, until to one famed veterain Maine volunteer infantry regiment, the 20th Maine, on Palm Sunday, April 9, 1865, there came the final stillness at Appomattox Courthouse, Virginia. Lee had surrendered. The Civil War was over.

The 20th Maine was raised from the coast, the farmland, and the "big woods" country of Maine, and it truly represented our great

State

The State of Maine sent more than 70,000 of its sons to fight in the Civil War, and nearly 10,000 of these men were to give their lives for their country. I should not have used the word "sent," for every one of these Maine men was a volunteer. Maine's contribution to the war was indeed an outstanding gesture, with 70,000 men fighting for the Union.

From an aggregation of independent-minded recruits, the 20th Maine was forged in the fires of battle into one of the most distinguished regiments in the great Army of the Potomac. Its casualties were among the highest of any of the regiments of the Union Army. Curiously enough, a brother Maine regiment, the 1st Maine Heavy Artillery, fighting as infantry alongside the 20th at Petersburg, Va., suffered the greatest loss of any regiment in a single action in the Union Army. The 1st Maine lost more than 72 percent of its men in a mere 7 minutes of fighting.

At Gettysburg, the 20th Maine was the extreme left flank regiment holding the key position of Little Round Top. Though hit hard by twice its numbers, and having had its flank turned back upon itself, the 20th Maine men fought back to back and shattered

the Confederate attack.

When the time came for Lee's surrender at Appamatox, the 20th was one of the dis tinguished regiments chosen to be present at the occasion. drawn up in parade rest, the brave survivors of the 20th could count 19 battle 'honors, representing 19 major en-gagements, emblazoned on their State of Maine colors.

Many of these Maine men returned to their homes, alive but shattered in body and broken by disease and hardship. A grateful Nation did what it could to help rehabilitate their shattered lives, as this Nation has al-ways endeavored to help the veterans of all

wars return to useful careers.

This is but simple justice, and flows logically from the dictum that veterans' readjustment and rehabilitation programs are in reality but a delayed cost of conducting war. For thousands of veterans the war did not end when the guns fell silent. For many veterans, the war will never end. So, as we here pay homage to our noble war dead, let us not forget those still living who have borne the battle that the Nation might live.

I think it is interesting to note too that, expressed as a percentage of our yearly gross national product, Federal expenditures for veterans' programs have remained almost constant for nearly three-quarters of a century, even though the veteran population has grown greatly during that time.

When the tremendous issue of the preservation of the Union broke out in civil war, there was no apathy upon the part of the American people. Half a million war dead mutely testify to that simple fact.

But today, as we cope with the monu-mental issues involved in the cold war with the Communist world, there seem to be certain segments of our population that have lapsed into indifference and apathy, and this in the face of what is perhaps the greatest threat this Nation has ever encountered.

The cause of freedom never remains completely won. It must be defended constantly and continuously in peacetime, wartime, and

cold war time.

So, in one sense, our citizens in uniform today in the Armed Forces are veterans of the cold war, and they serve their country with the high purpose that this cold war with the Communist conspiracy shall not break out into an international holocaust for mankind.

In these times of dread uncertainty, it is fitting that we take stock of ourselves as Americans to weigh the question of whether we will remain to be worthy of the magnificent example set for us by the brave generations of Americans who have served our Nation in its wars.

So, on this 94th anniversary of the first Memorial Day gesture in Columbus, Miss., in 1867, we solemnly pause in silent tribute to our honored American dead. We reverently pray that never again will American manhood go to war, but we also firmly resolve that if another conflict should come upon us, we of the present generation will be worthy of the noble heritage that has been handed down in sacred trust.

With the wartime President, Abraham Lincoln, we too here highly resolve that these honored dead shall not have died in vain.

A Carefully Planned Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. THOMAS J. LANE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 2, 1960

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include a very interesting editorial which appeared in the National News, official newspaper of the Veterans of World War I of the U.S.A., Inc., issue of May 1960:

A CAREFULLY PLANNED PROGRAM

The drafting and execution of a comprehensive legislative program calls for meticulous and careful planning.

Unfortunately, in years past the Veterans of World War I, as an organization, has not had the necessary funds, the experienced personnel or the required continuity of policy to set up and maintain an effective program.

The situation at the present time serves to point up the glaring defects in the mode

of operation in past years.

This is an election year. The national conventions of the two major political parties will be held in July. At the present time the Democratic national platform committee is holding a series of panel hearings to receive the viewpoint of different organizations and groups throughout the Nation on the subject matter that will go into the party platform that the Democratic nominees for President and Vice President must present to the voters. The Republican national platform committee will meet in Chicago next month to listen to representatives of labor, industry, farmers, and other segments of our Nation give their suggestions as to the ideas that will be incorporated in the Republican program.

Thus far, representatives of the Veterans of World War I have appeared at panel meetings in Philadelphia, Minneapolis, and Detroit. They have urged the inclusion in the Democratic platform of a pension and hospital resolution for the benefit of those men who served in 1917 and 1918. They have submitted forceful and intelligent statements setting forth the crying need for assistance to their aging comrades now. Plans have been formulated calling for further appearances at the other cities in which panel hearings will be held. Representatives will go to Chicago to testify before the Republican Platform Committee.

This is an important step in the right direction. However, all of the groundwork for this election year should have been instituted 2 or 3 years ago. A real grassroots organization should have been developed that would have been set up at the county committee level, seeking to have pension and hospital resolutions adopted by those bodies. Then, on up to the State committees which would in turn seek inclusion in the platforms of both political parties the type of resolution that would grant some measure of relief to our buddies. As stated previously, these vital things were impossible of accomplishment by our organization due to lack of funds and the absence of a definite legislative policy that would carry over from one administration to another

It should be remembered that the ultimate fulfillment of a legislative goal, and particularly one as controversial as ours, is only accomplished by minute planning, the use of delicate tact, long hours of plodding through the halls of Congress and a dogged determination to see the thing through. It is no bed of roses and the National Legislative Executive Committee is entitled to the fullest cooperation, which is not always forthcoming, from each and every member of our organization.

Regardless of the outcome of our program this year, plans should be inaugurated in every State to carry this fight to the very top. It should be remembered that it is much easier for a candidate to defend an item that it incorporated in the platform of his party than to attempt to sell an idea that has not gained general acceptance within his party.

We should and must take every step that will aid us in our fight for our needy com-

rades.

Responsible Rebuttal

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. CHARLES E. CHAMBERLAIN

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 31, 1960

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I include an editorial which appeared in the May 26 issue of the State Journal of Lansing, Mich. The article entitled "Responsible Rebuttal," adequately expresses my opinion regarding President Elsenhower's conduct of the U-2 incident and I feel the American people can be proud of our President's mature leadership and responsible statesmanship concerning the ill-fated summit conference.

The editorial follows:

RESPONSIBLE RESUTTAL

The American people have good reason to be proud of the dignity with which President Eisenhower stated to his countrymen and the rest of the world America's position with respect to the events leading to the col-

lapse of the summit conference.

Lesser men might have replied in kind to the insulting personal attacks by Soviet Premier Khrushchev. Refusing to engage in personalities, Mr. Eisenhower calmly discussed the issues and answered each of the criticisms directed at administration policy by Khrushchev and by some Americans.

President Eisenhower again evidenced his deep devotion to the cause of a just peace by making it plain that he would not be deterred by the collapse of the summit meeting or Khrushchev's hostility from continuing America's quest for peace and safeguarded agreements on disarmament and a nuclear test ban through negotiation with the Russians and the leaders of other countries.

Mr. Eisenhower also made it clear that the Soviet premier's attacks upon him and the United States would not cause this country to terminate cultural contacts between Americans and the Russian people. On the contrary, Mr. Eisenhower called for improvement in such contacts.

While the President was dignified and calm, he also was firm when he stated this country's intentions of maintaining strong defenses. He was firm, too, in speaking of this country's necessary efforts to guard

against surprise attack.

While Khrushchev seized upon one of the U.S. reconnaissance flights, which he said he had known about at least since last fall, to wreck a conference which presented an opportunity for progress toward peace, President Eisenhower responded by renewing his proposal for an "open skies" inspection system which would provide safeguards for all countries. The Chief Executive added to that proposal an offer to donate U.S. reconnaissance aircraft to the United Nations for aerial surveillance for protection of all nations.

If the Russian people had been able to hear President Eisenhower, Premier Khrushchev might find that his position at home had not been improved by the sharp contrast between his insulting and provocative diatribes and the content and manner of delivery of Mr. Eisenhower's speech Wednes-

day night.

Regardless of the judgment the Russian people may form on the basis of what their government permits them to hear, there is abundant reason for confidence that President Elsenhower's stature as a statesman devoted to peace has been greatly increased while that of Premier Khrushchev has been greatly impaired in the eyes of peoples who do not blindly follow their Communist leaders.

Logical Pattern Appears in Russian Actions

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. WILLIAM G. BRAY

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tucsday, May 31, 1960

Mr. BRAY. Mr. Speaker, millions and millions of words have been poured into many, many volumes in attempting to analyze the actions of the Soviet leaders, especially when they reverse their field and start to run in the opposite direction. I think we sometimes find much more motive than actually exists in such actions.

One of the most logical approaches to understanding the zigzag course of Russia's attitudes toward us is found in an interpretation which formed the basis for an editorial in the Indianapolis Star of May 28, 1960:

BUT ARE WE DOGS?

There is one thing that the Soviet Union did discover before all of the rest of the world. It was a discovery made by Russian Physiologist Ivan Pavlov. Pavlov proved long ago that "one of the surest ways of breaking down the nervous stability of a dog is to give a trained but anxious animal a random series of positive and negative conditioned stimuli, producing uncontrollable neurotic excitement which may later lead to hysteria and submissive behavior."

Pavlov would give food to dogs and then snatch it away just as they were about to eat their next meal. He would stimulate them into expecting something good and then suddenly introduce something bad. This way he drove the dogs nuts. They would become so confused that they would

do whatever he wished.

Look back. Has this not been the exact method that the Soviet Union has used in dealing with the West for the past 15 years? First they threaten us with danger. Then they suddenly propose all sorts of peaceful programs like total disarmament. Then suddenly the war clouds gather over Berlin. And right after that Khrushchev is talking about holding another summit conference after the American elections.

Just as we gird ourselves to face the moment of decision, they turn on the smiles of coexistence and we relax until the next threat. The recent summit conference is a good case in point. Khrushchev did his best first by threat and then by cajolery to get the allied powers to the summit. Then suddenly he kicked the whole thing apart just when our leaders began to hope that something good might really come of a summit. Yet even as he brutally torpedoed the summit, he left the door open for the next Pavlov treatment—another meeting 8 months or so from now.

The Soviet Union has one weapon to use against us and this is it. It is the weapon of psychology and propaganda. They lift us up with hope. They set us down hard with threats. Why do we continue to fall for it? Why do we respond like dogs to these alter-

nating stimuli?

Why don't we act like men instead of dogs? Dr. William Sargant, an eminent London psychologist, last week pointed out that Khrushchev applied these positive and negative pressures to the allies so skillfully at the summit that "some of the British and American press and public alike became, temporarily, just as suggestible as Pavlov's dogs." They became hysterical. They became submissive. Anything to end this constant upness and downness. Peace, peace, peace is the cry and they forget what is far more important to human beings, liberty, justice, honor courage.

How should we reply to these alternating threats and cajolery? Says Dr. Sargant, act like human beings, not dogs. "Deliberately ignore the signals and stop trying to make any sense of them." If we understand what the Soviets are trying to do we will no longer fear or even respond to these tricks.

Americans must realize that the Soviet method is to confuse, divide, and frighten us into accepting their aims and claims when there is no real reason why we should do so. Step by step, year by year they try to wear down our nerves until we will finally say wearily, "All right, we have had enough. Go ahead and do with us as you will." The slogan will become, "I'd rather be Red than dead," and we will be willing to lead a dcg's life.

But are Americans no better than dogs? Are you?

Petition From a Plain People

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JOHN BRADEMAS

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, May 18, 1960

Mr. BRADEMAS. Mr. Speaker, there are several thousand people in our country today who, because of conscience or religious belief, are opposed to taking part in the Federal social security program. Among these people are the men and women of Amish faith.

Last month I received a petition signed by 17 Amish bishops in 12 States urging Congress to provide exemptions from the social security program for those opposed to such participation on religious

grounds.

This petition was sent to me by Bishop Henry N. Miller, of Middlebury, Ind., with whom I have corresponded on this problem since early last year when I introduced legislation (H.R. 4252) to provide exemption from social security participation for those who, because of their religious beliefs, do not wish to take part in the program.

We all respect the rights of Americans to follow the dictates of their religious faith. I hope that the relatively small number of people who are interested in the passage of my amendment to the Social Security Act will not be deprived of these rights simply because they do not represent a larger and more vocal group.

Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, I include at this point in the Record, the following article, "Petition From a Plain People," which was published in the May 18, 1960, issue of the Goshen (Ind.) News:

PETITION FROM A PLAIN PEOPLE

A rather startling petition was presented to Congress recently. It bears the signatures of 17 Amish bishops in a dozen states. What they want is freedom from social security for themselves and their flocks. It violates the Amish faith, according to their appeal.

At their request, Representative Paul B. Dague, Republican, of Pennsylvania, is sponsoring a bill to "allow anyone to decline social security benfits on conscientious grounds." Many members of the Amish and Mennonite faiths live in Pennsylvania's Lancaster County, which forms half of Representative Dague's constituency.

"They are known locally as the plain people, and they enjoy the respect of their neighbors because of their industry, their peaceful habits and their unshakable religious faith." he told Congress.

"If it is right and proper to grant exemption from military service for religious reasons, we should accord the same relief to those who refuse to accept handouts from Government because of qualms of faith."

Social security payments can scarcely be called handouts. Rather, they come from a Government insurance program which is compulsory under Federal law,

But the plain people want no part of it. Their bishops' petition spoke thankfully of "a nation wherein a people can live according to the dictates of their consciences."

They summed up the history of their beliefs, and said that social security "is abridging to our faith and doctrine, which is older than this Government."

They and their followers are a relatively small band scattered among the nearly 180 million people of this Nation. Certainly their views on social security aren't shared by most of their fellow citizens. On the contrary, their petition comes at a time when the cost of living has raised massive demand for increasing the meager pension provided by social security to our senior citizens

But why force this money on persons who have religious scruples against accepting it? We hope Congress can find a way to grant the Amish petition.

Implications of the Explosion of Technology

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. JOHN W. McCORMACK

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, May 31, 1960

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, an outstanding officer who has dedicated his life to the service of our country, a scholar, particularly in the important field of science and technology, and one whose views are worthy of deep consideration, is Lt. Gen. Arthur G. Trudeau, Chief of Research and Development of the Department of the Army. It is fortunate that we have men like General Trudeau as officers of the service branches that constitute our Department of Defense, and to whom we must look, in the event of war, for our country emerging as the victor.

On April 26, 1960, at the Asilomar National Strategy Seminar at Pacific Grove, Calif., General Trudeau made remarks entitled "Implications of the Explosion of Technology" that is most informative and challenging and should be widely read and analyzed, which remarks of General Trudeau I include in my extension:

> IMPLICATIONS OF THE EXPLOSION OF TECHNOLOGY

General Binns, General Cannon, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen, fellow Americans, on July 4, 1960, the U.S. Army will not have one antiaircraft gun operational in the whole North American air defense system.

Less than 7 years ago, following the Korean armistice, 1,000 of those guns-90's, 120's and sky-sweeping 75's-girded our continental defense against foreign attack.

Through two wars and a quarter century of time, they were a main reliance. Today they are an anachronism, in an age when Nike missiles ring our centers of population and great industrial power and we labor unceasingly to perfect our defense umbrella against Communist threats of a nuclear hallstorm hurled through space.

This is but one illustration of the implications of a technology which on all fronts is currently revolutionizing man's concepts

of peace and war.

America is poised at a crucial moment of history-at a vital crossroad where two fastmoving phenomena are colliding in time. The enigma of the moment is on whose side is time? Without resort to discussion,

I believe we would agree that time allys itself with whoever uses it most effectively.

One of the phenomena of the moment is the growth and spread of the vast international conspiracy-world communism-that alien ideology dedicated to gaining unlimited power and domination over the globe. The challenge of communism, as comprehensive as it is critical, spans the economic, social, and political areas of action as well as the military.

The second phenomenon—the explosion in science and technology-is drastically reshaping our world, and in the past two decades has propelled mankind farther along the path of material progress than in any comparable period of recorded history. Hardly a field in the physical, life and social sciences is not changing today-and changing rapidly.

In the last 100 years-2 percent of recorded time-mankind has achieved 90 percent of his technological progress. In the last 100 years out of 5,000 we have leaped 90 percent of the way technologically. The speeds of transportation and communication have increased by 3-to-4 magnitudes. Of all the men who have ever been trained in science and technology, it is estimated that 90 percent of them are alive today.

The implications of this exploding technology are truly fantastic. Every day brings new evidence of growth in knowledge and its application—challenging our imagination, our ability, and our judgment to utilize it wisely. The acceleration is so great, our sense of values are becoming confused, per-

haps hopelessly so.

For the United States, there is both great danger and great opportunity in this trend of events. We must recognize and make the most of these revolutionary implications. We must use technological progress, to the maximum extent, to meet and beat the Communist challenge.

Today, Russia is racing to advance a materialistic ideology with a concentration of resources approached only in wartime. Though we sought it not, we are committed to a vicious contest and we dare not fall behind. The Soviets are resolved to surpass us technologically because by so doing they can surprass us economically. Russia continues to increase its industrial growth at a rate at least twice as fast as ours. The Russian effort is supported with more annual capital investment and with twice as many scientists and engineers as our own. In space technology they continue to advance significantly, and in the area of conventional war power they out produce us and their equipment is topflight.

The Red-written record is clear. has been starkly clear since the first unfurling of the banner raised by Marx and Engels and Lenin against God and man. Make no mistake: Since that convulsive event, Christian civilization and communism have been locked in a struggle to the finishand wiser heads have realized it.

Like you, I view this situation with some trepidation, but I am more shaken by the fact that many-many of our people do not. They are too complacent, too beset with seeking final solutions to world problems through such hopeful policies as containment and status quo, as they are lulled by the siren of peaceful coexistence and languor in the lap of luxury and domestic prosperity.

Our people must come to the realization that the tides of history cannot be contained and that there is no such thing as maintaining the status quo. Unless we have the urge to push onward and upward, we shall be thrust back. To rest is to rust. I can find in history no periods which mankind views with real pride except those in which heroic efforts usually accompanied by great sacrifices were made to advance. There is inspiration and growth in the path of progress; there is only

atrophy of the spirit in fancied security and The great illusion of the invincirepose. bility of American power needs to be carefully reexamined in the cold light of a new

There can be no doubt in any wellinformed mind that a rapidly expanding Soviet technology with all its sinister facets, poses the greatest threat in our day to the peaceful and productive evolution of mankind. With all our energy and resourcefulness we must counter this threat but it can't

be done by ignoring it.
Within this context, I speak to you today. The implications of an exploding technology increase daily in number, nature, and diversity. Truly, this is an age demanding unprecedented exertion and imagination as we face the task of conquering our terrestrial environment, and of exploring the depths of the sea and the boundless regions of celestial

But an exploding technology in itself can be a benefactor and a monster-a Jekyll and Hyde. As it surges forward to give mankind the beneficial fruits of science, it creates in its wake tremendous problems that man seems unable to solve in a timely manner.

Let's consider first the beneficial-the Dr. Jelevil side.

Here, the golden rein of exciting new ap-plications of scientific discovery promise to raise the world's standard of living-to give the world's hungry masses more food, better shelter and other necessities of life. We are making tremendous strides in the control of disease and improving our biological environment. We are also beginning to learn how to control our physical environment.

New sources of energy are steadily feeding the growing appetite of industry for power and increasing man's productive ability and his comforts. New machines, soon to be in production, will provide several times more mechanical and electrical energy than present models with great reduction in size and weight. Think about some of the fantastic promises of technology glimpsed through electronics and automation. Through automation, technology promises more of the necessities, comforts, and luxuries of life if we can only learn to utilize and distribute them in an acceptable manner.

New advances in transportation, munication, shelter, and utilities should make it possible for more people to break away even more from large, urbanized areas or isolation and live a better community life.

The future is challenging in every respect. New developments in metallurgy-the creation of new alloys with amazing characteristics capable of withstanding the extremes of temperatures and pressures we are encountering in this missile and space ageopen new vistas for exploration not only in outer space but in the ocean depths and the bowels of the earth. Their application to commerce and industry will reshape our pattern of living in the decades that lie ahead. New chemical and thermodynamic developments of high-energy fuels, plastics and power sources will redound to commercial advantage as well as to military use.

The discoveries that we shall reap through satellites and manned space vehicles probing the universe are truly impossible to predict. We must not lose our sense of balance. But the impact of space on our daily lives will be staggering as the end of our century approaches. Satellites with radio beacons operating on solar batteries will serve as navigation aids. They will also keep the world's weather under observation and greatly assist in improving world-wide communications. We must be sure they become a boon and not a threat to our security and our survival.

Electronics is another startling field. Consider only the microminiaturization of electronic components and their important ap-

plication in space vehicles and computers. The potential use of computers may involve hundreds of new applications-such as practically automatic control of factory operations, flight calculations, navigation, banking, marketing and the like, Whereas automation promises to replace some of man's muscle; computers promise to replace much of man's mind in the repetitive recording and evaluating skills.

The implications of all these technologysparked advances are staggering beyond imagination, but they give us hope and promise for a dynamic future, if we have

the capacity to use them wisely.

From Dr. Jekyll comes the vista of better health, longer life, increased production, new sources of energy and materials, and the hope of peace and betterment for all mankind. Yet, we must be constantly aware of the dangers inherent in revolutionary technological progress. For, to its twin character as a shadowy, sinister Mr. Hyde, modern tech-nology has unleashed world-wracking evils based upon overconsumption of natural resources, overpopulation, obsolescence, im-balance, and the power of vast destruction and annihilation.

Today, a single, nuclear-tipped missile can equal in destructive power all the devastation created during World War II. This startling development has caused great fear in all parts of the world that this terrible power will, by design or miscalculation, break loose and wreak havoc upon nations

and peoples.

Today, the Soviets seek to disarm and divide the free world—in their efforts to establish decisive superiority in the military and economic fields. Working unceasingly to create superior weapons systems and equipment of all types, the Soviets seek to limit us to a choice between burial and peaceful coexistence with all that it entails. They picture mighty military power, capable of attacking under the shield of an all-out nuclear offensive, and every success they achieve technologically sharpens the edge of the weapons race and enhances the effectiveness of their other related means of conflict-political, sociological, psychological, and economic.

In other areas the vicious Hyde aspect of an exploding technology is apparent.

Through new advances in medicine, sanitation, and food supply, technology has created an explosion in the human population. 'The world's population is now growing at the high rate of 2.5 percent a year. Demographers tell us by the turn of the century there will be some 6 billion people on this earth. Today, there are only about half of that number. The effects of this population growth are comparable to a chain reaction, but like chain letters this reaction is unlikely to expand according to mathematical computation.

The vast multitudes of tomorrow and the day after tomorrow will increasingly require more developed land for living, more food for sustenance, more natural resources for production, and more opportunities for Work-demands that can only be met by still greater technological progress. Incidentally, while Latin America can't supply her own food today, future development of land and water resources alone could feed the entire world's population.

Such problems in supply and demand are challenging and will tax the ingenuity and resources of all nations. These problems must be solved by technological and social progress-by new developments in agricultural processes, exploitation of the oceans, better land utilization and soil conservation-by creation of new industries-and by utilization of new energy sources to replace the prospective depletion of fossil fuels. This burgeoning host will also require ade-Quate water supplies for consumption and ir-

rigation, probably to be secured through desalination of sea water and the settlement of presently unpopulated areas.

As if these problems were not enough, the complex solutions to them will tend to magnify the rivalry between nations; even between allies. This rivalry may be typified by the growing quest for land-both for living space and food and for raw materials to feed an ever-accelerating technology.

We are becoming more aware of the problems of Latin America.

The Hyde aspect also creates truly significant problems in those vital areas of Africa and Asia, now known as the "uncommitted world." These people are all part and parcel of the technological contest between Russia and the free world. They are determined to secure industrial progress and richer lives through technology. Even if communism were a dead issue, the awakened ethnic nationalism in the vast underdeveloped areas of the world would constitute the greatest challenge man has faced in centuries. people-diseased, undernourished, illiterate, impoverished-call for an improved standard of living, which they themselves, are incapa-ble of developing. They look to see which ble of developing. They look to see which existing system—the free world or communism-can best help them secure the economic necessities of life-and which system can do it more rapidly.

As Father McCluskey reported in a recent

issue of America magazine:

"A year ago in October, the people in what was then French Guinea voted to secede from the French Overseas Community and to make their Wyoming-sized country on the west coast of Africa an independent republic. The morning after the French administrators had taken their leave of Conakry, the capital city, the exuberant populace climbed aboard the public buses and became indignant when the usual attempts were made to collect fares. After all, had not Guinea And didn't this now achieved democracy? mean that in a people's democracy all things were controlled by the people.

After a few days trial, a village of natives on the other side of Africa, in the Bukavu region of the Belgian Congo, moved out of their new government-built cottages of cement blocks and corrugated tin roofs and moved in their goats and cattle. They built mud-and-thatch huts alongside for themselves, explaining that they found their own housing cooler by day and warmer by night.

Both incidents tell dramatically of the rudeness of the African soil in which the transplanted shoots of Western-style democracy-and so much else of our Western civili-

zation-are struggling to grow."

In 1945 there were only four independent countries on the African Continent. Now there are 14. With the pressures generated today, this total is likely to rise to 30 in the next decade. If and when this occurs they will be the commanding bloc in a United Nations Assembly of 102 members. Here is really food for thought, gentlemen.

Unfortunately, there are many other aspects of Mr. Hyde.

In industry, today, obsolescence follows closely behind invention. Consider, for example, how rapidly television replaced radio as a near-universal household fixture-almost within the short span of 5 years. The impact of early obsolescence has particular meaning in such sensitive industries as missiles and chemicals. Here, high-cost machines and products must be amortized within 3 or 4 years before the production technique or the product itself is outmoded.

Obsolescence has real meaning to us in the military. While the horse and lance remained a major weapon system for over 2,000 years, military versions of the fixedwing aircraft, first flown by the Army in 1909, will last less than a century as a major military weapon. Supersonic fighters may end

their usefulness in less than my lifespan. They are now about 10 years old. Today, experience is proving that some of our operational weapons are hardly off the production line before they are obsolescent. Significant, too, is the fact that in its Mr. Hyde character, technology obsoletes some weapons in development long before they ever get into production. This has caused more misunderstanding and criticism of the Armed Forces than any other aspect of our peacetime programs. I can assure you that we all try to avoid this seeming waste of time. effort, and money by the closest possible military-industry-science teamwork, but nevertheless some early obsolescence does plague us. I subscribe only to the theory that it is a lot safer and, in the long run, cheaper to build weapons and not use them than it is to need weapons and not have

Mr. Hyde is also thrusting many new and tremendous social problems on us faster than we are able to cope with them. This snowballing effect is changing our family. community, racial, and national concepts and influencing even our biological environment. Consider, for example, the problems we face as powerful new insecticides destroy garden variety pests. We do not know what new terrors will confront us by other insects or rodents no longer controlled by the very pests we ourselves destroy. There is order in the universe-balance among all speciesuntil mankind destroys or upsets it.

In other ways, social progress lags behind technical progress. As the physical sciences outstrip the social, more must be known about why man acts and reacts as he does. How to bring order and reason out of the in-ternational Tower of Babel in which we live is the primary problem today. We are in grave danger from some of our new machines. Like a car speeding along the highway, we will outrun our headlights unless there is better built-in man-machine compatibility.

Modern technology even strikes hard at our family and community relationships. Technology and trade thrive upon dense or easily accessible populations. As they rapidly expand, they create even denser populations of workers. The future portends that millions more will be concentrated in new urban and suburban areas, reflecting greater needs for housing, transportation, communication, health, and welfare facilities unless greater decentralization can be effected.

But more important to me is the evidence that the products of an exploding technology increasingly tend to obscure the importance of the only philosophy which gives real meaning to life itself, the spiritual. "Ill fares the land * * * where wealth accumulates and men decay."

We have been so blessed in this favored segment of the world that material comforts now threaten to become the opiate of our people. Growing up in an educational atmosphere and environment where many of our citizens avoid consideration of or scorn the moral and spiritual values so vital to our children and our civilization, it is no wonder that we seem to be approaching the fatal point where we are unable to differentiate between our standard of living and our way of life.

My friends, the amazing resourcefulness

of Dr. Jekyll can and must win out over Mr. Hyde as modern technology drives forward, outpacing our very imagination. The certainty exists that human life will be more complex in the future and more complex measures will be required to solve mankind's desire for peace and prosperity but unless enlightened trade policies and distribution techniques are developed, our civilization is in dire danger.

Technology must be made the sound and solid key to economic growth, industrial progress, better health, and richer livestruly the yeast that expands all other resources—but the development of a willingness and a system to better distribute the necessities and some of the comforts of life to impoverished peoples and areas is fundamental in this new era of mankind and this will likely entail some sacrifice of the luxuries to which a few favored peoples have become inured.

Technology is also the key to national security. Technology provides the high-quality weapons and equipment we need on a continuing basis to defend our homeland and to protect our national interests around the world. We must not lose sight of the diplomatic advantage which comes from military strength and the impossibility of negotiating successfully from a position of weakness. Diplomatic dealing without powerful cards is always bluff at best and usually gets "called".

I cannot stress too strongly that as our technology continues to accelerate, emphasis must increase on the critical importance of research and development—basic research for new scientific knowledge; applied research and development for new hardware items and research in the humanities and social sciences to better utilize the fruits of man's efforts. Truly, our ability to compete in world markets or on world battlefields in the 1960's and 1970's will be determined, to a great extent, by the R. & D. effort that is underway today and tomorrow.

We must face the question now of whether

We must face the question now of whether the world's trade by the turn of the century is to be conducted on a basis of four rubles to the dollar or four dollars to the ruble if

we hope to solve it favorably.

One of the serious implications of an exploding technology is the ever-increasing dependence on more and more research. A recent issue of IBM's magazine Think depicted this need in these colorful words:

"We are still hatching the golden eggs laid some time ago, without real thought concerning where they came from but with only what grows out of them, which is the present spectacular and ominously shaky technological society—the goose that lays the eggs is gradually becoming starved to death, with no prospect of replacement."

Yet, today our research effort is not advancing as rapidly as it should and in some areas it is at a relative standstill. Consider, for example, the important fields of meteorology. oceanography, and seismology, where research is relatively sterile for lack of better

facilities and adequate funds.

Significant, too, is the need for a balance between basic research on the one hand, and applied research and development, on the other. In the past and even today we may have overemphasized the technological structure—applied research and development—at the expense of its scientific foundation—basic research.

Basic research is the tool of science which looks into the future for a 12- to 20-year period—as an example, toward the markets or the battlefields of 1975. Technology's great reliance upon basic research is most readily illustrated in my mind in the field of military weapons. At the close of World War II, Dr. Vannevar Bush well-described this dependence when he wrote: "We've used up 50 years of basic research in 5 years of war."

Applied research and development depends upon the continual acquisition of new scientific facts and knowledge. In this area, we take a shorter look into the future—say 5 to 8 years—and seek to develop new components—or ways and means to make them cheaper and better—and in the military field, we seek to fashion new weapons systems and equipment of radically new or improved design.

In today's market for capital goods the most dynamic force is applied research and development—or new technology. Consider, for example, that 75 percent of the drugs on sale in our stores today were not even known 10 years ago. And 15 years ago, more than 50 percent of the chemical products we now market were only a gleam in the chemist's

These illustrations show how critical is the dimension of time in the development of new products. We are particularly concerned with this "leadtime" factor because it has a tremendous impact on the development of new military weapons and equipment. In many respects, I can assure you, time here is worth more than wealth. In fact, any stretchout in the time of development costs real money. Furthermore, a review of the history of warfare highlights the enormous advantage accruing to nations which first develop new weapons, accurately appraise their potential, and incorporate them into their military structure and doctrine.

I should like to show you now a short film illustrating a few of the Army's latest developments. This film includes ground and air vehicles and the latest advances in firepower—rockets and guided missiles:

GOER VEHICLE

For movement of large tonnages, a large wheel, positive wagon-steer, all-wheel-drive vehicle, known as a Goer, is in the testing stage. Here is a demonstration showing how this prototype Goer vehicle can maneuver through a mud lane, 30 inches deep. concept, which is a new approach to logistical carriers for use in highly mobile Army forces is an outgrowth of recent developments in heavy earth-moving equipment. The Goer is rugged and reliable and exceeds any other wheeled vehicle I know of in real off-road mobility. In addition, it can carry its own weight and has good amphibious characteristics. The 15-ton Goer in this picture was built by Le Tourneau-Westinghouse, and has the lift capacity of six 2½-ton trucks. [Pause to obstacle course.] Here it is going over large obstacles-a series of sandy hogbacks-which as you can see stop conventional trucks.

DOAK

The Doak test bed is designed to take off and land like a helicopter but operates in the air like a conventional airplane. Doak uses rotatable ducted fans as its source of propulsion. Here you see it taking off with the fans at about a vertical position. Notice now that the propeller ducts are rotated to the full forward position permitting normal flight characteristics of the aircraft. [Pause.] To land, the engines are returned to the vertical.

PIASECKI FLYING PLATFORM

This test bed is commonly called the Piasecki flying jeep. It is one of two models which we have under development. The flying jeep employs ducted fans for its source of propulsion and has conventional-type helicopter controls. The operation at this stage of research is cumbersome, as you can see. Much work remains to be done before stability and control reach the level desired, but the feasibility of this type of air movement has been established.

SURVEILLANCE DRONE

In the surveillance field, here is the SD-2, our newest drone system for gathering information of the enemy in the battle area. It is launched from a standard Army trailer. Jet boosted into flight, the SD-2 is radio controlled to survey enemy positions. Its sensory compartment accommodates phototransmission systems, infrared, radar, or other new electronic devices which transmit or bring back data. Here, it is being recovered by its own parachute. [Pause.] Development is underway on a family of drone systems for employment by the various command echelons of the field Army.

LITTLE JOHN

The first project in the firepower area is the improved or tactical Little John. Notice the battlefield mobility of this weapon now being developed to provide an atomic punch for our Strategic Army Corps. This version of Little John has improved accuracy and will give us a firepower capability to meet our special requirements.

LACROSSE

Now for Lacrosse, another close-support guided missile of extreme accuracy. In this sequence you'll see it fired at a stake several thousand yards away. [Pause.] Notice how it homes on the target. Lacrosse is highly mobile—it can be fired from a launcher mounted on a standard truck, and it can be carried by a helicopter.

SERGEANT

Now let us look at Sergeant. This is the weapon that will supersede Corporal, and like Corporal can carry an atomic warhead to about a 75-mile range. It is smaller, more efficient—a solid propellant rocket. It provides much easier, faster, and simpler handling in the field. This is under advanced testing and should soon go into production. These weapons, as you can envisage, will carry a variety of warheads.

PERSHING

Remember the first Pershing firing in the early part of March. Here is its test in which America's newest ballistic missile completely satisfied all test objectives. The Pershing is a solid propellant replacement for the Redstone which now is operational as a field Army support missile. It is much smaller and lighter than its predecessor, will have considerable greater range than the Redstone, and is designed to be a rugged, reliable, mobile, quick reacting missile system.

There was no hold on the countdown, and this testifies to the good reliability and short reaction time we seek in this weapon. Significant, too, is the fact that this first Pershing was fired from a tactical prototype transporter-erector-launcher which is ground maneuverable by tracked vehicle and air transportable by Army helicopter or Air Force aircraft.

HAWK

Now look at this air-defense weapon—"the bullet with the brain." It is called "Hawk." It provides a low-level air-defense capability. It is the counterpart of the Nike-Hercules. Here you'll see it reach and destroy an F-80 drone at a low altitude. This missile carried a high-explosive warhead. You will see how accurate it is when the missile comes up and destroys the drone that is just entering the screen. Hawk has intercepted targets below 100 feet and up to 50,000 feet in altitude. Hawk battalions now in training are expected to be operational within months.

[Film off.]
This new equipment is evidence of the technological progress which we as a nation must continue to enjoy on a broad basis if we are to meet and beat the Communist challenge. It is a product of money, materials and facilities, combined with the dedication and accomplishments of intelligent, ingenious and highly educated men. The key to our continued technological growth is research progress.

Certainly we must take steps to encourage more of our students to enter the scientific and engineering fields. We should also take steps to insure that the nontechnical professions know more about science and technology. To my mind, there is as much reason for knowledgeable people in the humanities knowing more about science and technology as there is for knowledgeable people in the technical fields knowing more about the humanities. In all fields, we need to develop the talent and genius native in our people to their maximum potential.

Here, we cannot overlook the real challenge of Soviet education. The Soviets are graduating today 2½ times as many engineers and scientists as we are producing in

American universities. The implications, here, are awesome. If the Soviets could break through the thought barriers of science and technology ahead of us regularly, our position would be precarious at best.

Consider, for example, the advantages which would accrue to the nation that first perfects a defense against the ICBM or possible threats from satellites. That nation would have enormous advantages in defense and security unknown to the rest of the world. Any enemy superiority in offensive weapons would be negated.

What then is needed is a plan of action to insure a dynamic future—to continue our growth and prosperity-to keep our lead in the technological race with the Communists-to advance our civilization in the interests of the peoples of the world as well as

Ourselves.

To do this, I believe that we must arouse our people from their complacency and we, as a Nation, must awaken more fully to the dangers confronting us. We must take positive steps to crystallize a counterstrategy against Communist plans for domination of this earth. Here, it is important that we resurrect the spirit and determination of our forefathers.

On the international scene, our leaders must seize, retain, and exploit the initiative in all fields of human endeavor. We must unmask the false image communism is projecting to the world—the image of a winning movement-inevitably riding the rising wave of history. We must use the fruits of our free enterprise technology to counter

and disprove this Soviet claim.

An obvious example of this initiative is the need for greater concentration of technological effort in Asia and Africa in order to bolster fledgling and underdeveloped countries now reaching out from centuries of backwardness toward the promise of political liberty, economic freedom, and material improvement. In this uncommitted part of the world, we have some influence, and we should have; but we should not confuse our affluence at home with our influence abroad. To have luxuries is one thing; to have comforts is another; and to have the necessities of life is a third. What are luxuries to others are considered necessities by us. It is high time now for Americans to differentiate between these separate and profoundly different human requirements and possessions and reassess our values from a mature and modern viewpoint.

The populations of the Middle East and Latin America share a common awareness of the problems in Asia and Africa and a passionate conviction that they can offset the great divergence between their living standards and those of the West. If peace and stability are to be maintained in this shrinking world of ours, their aspirations must be recognized and their needs met to a greater de-To the extent we can assist, we should, in the interest of both humanity and of international peace. As I said, if the threat of world communism were removed tomorrow, the problems caused by ethnic nationalism so rampant in all the underdeveloped areas of the world would still challenge our best

efforts for the next century.

Next, there are some economic actions we can with great profit throw into a powerful offensive punch against our opponent. We must increase the overall U.S. industrial growth rate to 5 percent and better; spend Whatever is clearly necessary for vital national programs, domestic and foreign; promote all facets of our vital, productive free-enterprise system; place foreign trade, credit and aid policies on a sensible competitive and long-term basis; and maintain a monetary structure strong at home and sound abroad.

Pinally, plan in coordination with our sister nations of the free world for the establishment of international policies to solidify the peoples of the free world and repulse the advance of communism. Success in this field will test the human virtues of sacrifice and selflessness to a degree never before equalled.

Lastly, but most important, we must redouble our efforts to guard and advance our American way of life—a life based on a belief in the dignity of man, faith in God, and freedom and justice for all. Our standard of living, enhanced by an exploding tech-nology, is something else altogether. It is contributory to this goal but must not be controlling.

Today, I have given you some of my thoughts on the implications of an exploding technology and on a forward strategy to marshal the potential of America to cope with this challenge.

Do we have the national courage and anpreciation of our objectives to meet the critical challenge before us? This is a fundamental question which probes the very soul and policies of our Nation.

Listen to the inspiring words of Theodore Roosevelt, who was a soldier and a man of strong convictions, high character and endowed with outstanding qualities of dynamic

leadership:

We know there are dangers ahead, as we know there are evils to fight and overcome, but, stout of heart, we see, across the dangers. the great future that lies beyond, and we rejoice, as a giant refreshed, as a strong man girt for the race. The greatest victories are yet to be won, the greatest deeds yet to be done. There are in store for our people and for the causes we uphold grander triumphs than have ever yet been recorded." Strong words from a strong man and how they make us think.

We must realize in this age of great change that time is of the essence and that faith. not fear and courage, not complacency, will

be the keys to our survival.

Our readiness to meet the technological as well as the political, economic, social, and military challenges of communism in our time must be of the highest order. This means a nationwide effort to reevaluate the Communist multiple threat against us and the development of a dynamic, comprehensive and vigorous counterstrategy to defeat

I can think of no better way to assert what I believe our national spirit should be today, than to echo the challenging words of Daniel Webster-inspiring words which are in-scribed on the wall above the Speaker's chair in our House of Representatives in Washington:

"Let us develop the resources of our land. call forth its power; build its institutions, promote all its great interests and see whether we also in our day and generation may not perform something worthy to be remembered."

Thus, the heavy mantle of free world leadership, now resting precariously on our shoulders, will drape itself more securely and more gracefully about us if we not only guard it against the ominous pressures of today but guide the way of mankind to an enlightened and happier tomorrow.

I thank you very much.

Lung Cancer in Birmingham

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. KENNETH A. ROBERTS

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, May 31, 1960

Mr. ROBERTS. Mr. Speaker, as chairman of the Subcommittee on

Health and Safety, I have had it demonstrated to me over and over again that air pollution is a national health problem. It is not confined to the generally thought of smog areas such as in California. It concerns us every one.

During the Air Pollution Control Association Conference in Cincinnati, it was pointed out that new evidence shows air pollution to be a prime cause of lung cancer. One of the cities cited is in my own State, in Birmingham.

The complete story appeared in the Washington Post of May 26, 1960, and I wish to insert it at this point in the

RECORD:

CANCER LAID TO AIR POLLUTION (By Morton Mintz)

CINCINNATI, May 25 .- New evidence pointing to air pollution as a prime cause of lung cancer-and deemphasizing the role of cigarette smoking-was reported today by Dr. W. C. Hueper of the National Cancer Institute.

His research was hailed as a landmark by Dr. Richard A. Prindle, medical air pollution chief of the Public Health Service,

Dr. Hueper said his study shows the rate of lung cancer in Birmingham, Ala., triple the national average, corresponds closely with the level of benzpyrene in its air.

Birmingham is thus indicated to be like the British industrial cities that have a similar correlation and also burn coal in large quantities.

BENZPYRENE IN AIR

Last month PHS said benzpyrene was in all the air samples it collected in 103 cities. The concentrations were puzzling—Washington's, for example, was higher than industrial Pitts-

Dr. Hueper told the Air Pollution Control Association today that benzpyrene was found to be a reliable index to the cancer danger in the air only in Birmingham.

It was found in lesser amounts in the other cities studied-Atlanta, Cincinnati, Detroit, Los Angeles, New Orleans, Philadelphia, and San Francisco. But it had no correlation with the potency of other cancer-producers in their air or with their lung-cancer rates.

Benzpyrene, also found in cigarette smoke. is only one of many airborne pollutants that cause cancer in laboratory animals and are suspected to cause it in man.

VARIATIONS IN CITIES

Dr. Hueper concluded that the "atmospheric carcinogenic spectrum" in American cities is of almost incredible individuality, varying with local conditions and not susceptible to any uniform analysis. Only a massive assault can pinpoint the air's cancer potential, he said.

Air samples were collected in the eight cities, which have different types and causes of air pollution, and separated into extracts by E. C. Tabor and Eugene Sawicki of the PHS Robert A. Taft Sanitary Engineering

Center here.

The extracts were "roughly representative" of the air during the month-long sampling period. All can be created when any fuel is burned or distilled in many industrial processes. They were injected under the neck skin of thousands of mice at the Cancer Institute in Bethesda and at the University of Southern California.

The Birmingham extracts, Dr. Hueper said caused an incidence of tumors related to the rate of human lung cancer there.

He said the pollutants other than benzpyrene in the extracts from all eight cities produced tumors in the mice.

And, he said, the evidence "makes it likethat pollutants of these types "have played an important role in the progressive increase of the frequency of lung cancers during recent decades."

As to cigarette smoking, Dr. Hueper ridiculed claims that it causes between 60 and 96 percent of all lung cancers in males.

He conceded that quite likely it plays both a direct and indirect role. But, he said it cannot have overwhelming importance in the face of such factors as:

A lung cancer rate much higher among urban than rural smokers.

An upswing in European lung cancers be-

fore cigarette smoking was common.

A much greater rate of lung cancer among Britons who emigrated to New Zealand and South Africa than among the nativeborn who smoke as much.

Aid: Appropriation Still Needed

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. SILVIO O. CONTE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 31, 1960

Mr. CONTE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include another excellent article by one of America's most reputable and respected newspapers which points clearly to the fact that our mutual security program is of most vital concern:

[From the Christian Science Monitor, May 23, 1960]

AID: APPROPRIATION STILL NEEDED

Year after year attention has to be called to the difference between "authorization" and "appropriation" in connection with providing funds for the U.S. mutual security program.

Congress on May 12 completed passage of the Mutual Security Act of 1960 authorizing appropriation of \$1,366 million for defense support, technical cooperation, special assistance, and other programs in addition to \$2,720 million of authorizations for military assistance and the Development Loan Fund carried over from previous years.

The uninitiated might assume that this made the money available. But not so. Actually not one cent of this money can be spent until it is included also in an ap-propriation duly passed by both Houses of Congress, after consideration by their committees, and signed by the President.

When President Eisenhower signed the authorization bill he expressed a hope that Congress would show the same high degree of responsibility in voting the appropriations for which it had paved the way.

Two weeks earlier he told a dinner gathering in Washington that trends were developing in this connection which were profoundly disturbing. He referred to groups strategically situated in Congress, notably in the Appropriations Committee of the House of Representatives, which have proclaimed it as their purpose to slash these foreign aid appropriations by more than a billion dollars.

This would mean a 25-percent cut in a program that corresponds to approximately one-tenth of the national defense budget or one-twentleth of the total Federal budget. Even much lesser cuts, the President implied, would raise grave problems.

Today it is being reported that sentiment in Congress since the breakdown of the intended summit conference at Paris inclines toward a strengthening of American de-fenses. This could easily become a mistake if it took forms which conveyed an impres-sion that the United States was becoming more warlike or aggressive.

It could also become extravagantly expensive if it concentrated on armaments to be built and operated by the United States alone. But the mutual security authorizations include \$2 billion of carryover for military assistance to countries allied with the United States. This money, often multiplied many times over by the contributions of those countries to their own defense, assists them in keeping their military establishments up to date.

In addition, there is defense support for exposed nations carrying a heavier defense load than their resources will sustain. And technical assistance which expresses America's friendship even to nonallied countries whose understanding means much in the free world's contest with communism.

Altogether, it would be difficult to see where America, through Congress, can make a better investment in security and good will than by making full appropriations for the aid program that Congress has authorized.

Resolutions Adopted by the Congregational Christian Conference at Fort Dodge, May 3, 4, 5, 1980

> EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. LEONARD G. WOLF

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 11, 1960

Mr. WOLF. Mr. Speaker, I wish to congratulate the Congregational Christian Conference of Iowa on its forthright resolutions adopted during its conference at Fort Dodge, May 3, 4, and 5.

The text of the resolutions follow:

CONGREGATIONAL CHRISTIAN CONFERENCE OF TOWA, Grinnell, Iowa, May 25, 1960.

The Honorable LEONARD G. WOLF, House of Representatives,

Washington, D.C.
DEAR MR. WOLF: The following resolutions adopted at the 121st annual meeting of the Congregational Christian Conference of Iowa held at Fort Dodge, Iowa, on May 3, 4, and 5, are self-explanatory and I have been authorized to submit them to you:

"RESOLUTION 1

"Whereas mankind has devised nuclear weapons capable of human annihilation; and

"Whereas the future of civilization as we know it is dependent upon persistent and continued exploration of means for resolving the tensions existing between nations:

"Resolved, That our conference go on record as urging the United States to persist in the effort to reach multilateral agreement on cessation of all kinds of nuclear weapons testing and continue negotiations in good faith for general reduction and control of armaments.'

"RESOLUTION 2

"Whereas a global community necessitates the strengthening of international institutions to deal effectively with problems arising between constituent nations; and

"Whereas the World Court has been weakened by the limitation placed upon its jurisdiction by the Connally amendment;

"Whereas our President has advocated its repeal: Be it

"Resolved, That the State conference go on record as favoring the repeal of the Connally amendment to the U.S. treaty adherence to the World Court."

I trust that you will give these resolutions your consideration and support.

Sincerely,

JUDSON E. FIERIGER. Superintendent.

Graduates of 1960 and Job Outlook

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. KENNETH A. ROBERTS

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 31, 1960

Mr. ROBERTS. Mr. Speaker, what do today's seniors face? Two outstanding editorials in Fourth Alabama District newspapers recently offered some answers to this question.

One of these, from the Talladega Daily Home, is entitled "The Graduates of 1960," the other comes from the Anniston Star, and is entitled "Job Outlook Cheering."

Under unanimous consent, I include both these articles in the RECORD:

[From the Talladega Daily Home] THE GRADUATES OF 1960

This week belongs to the graduates-this week and a world that is neither as bold nor

as new as it used to be. Graduation time is, and should be, bright

with happiness for those who graduate and for the members of their families who have given unstintingly that they might arrive at the magic moment.

But foolish indeed would be any attempt

to gloss over the grim darkness of the world into which these young people are about to venture.

If there were not wars and rumors of wars. this would be the best time in all history to be young and beginning the great ad-

Technological advances have brought man into an era when living should be at its best-when the wonders of science are compounded in gifts to smooth our way.

But, tragically, those same wonders have combined to shadow all humanity with the menace of the nuclear weapon.

Today's seniors must face that fact, but within them is the strength of youth and it will not unduly weigh them down.

The greatness of the challenge but builds the greatness of the opportunity ahead of them. May they see and understand and thus avoid the mistakes of their elders. May the guidance of providence lead them to give to their own poeterity a world bright with all of the good of modern civilization and unclouded by its fears.

[From the Anniston (Ala.) Star, May 24.

JOB OUTLOOK CHEERING

With the arrival of another commencement season, it is being proved anew that the young person with a trained mind enjoys a big advantage in the job market.

Competent observers are predicting that virtually every 1960 college graduate who wants to work will find a job, and that the pay is likely to be at an alltime high for a beginner.

Estimates on salaries run from 2 to 3 percent higher than last year at Columbia University to 3 to 5 percent, as suggested by a Business Week survey.

Again the search is particularly for job candidates with scientific training, prefer-

ably at the graduate level.

The Georgia Institute of Technology, replying to this year's annual questionnaire from a leading life insurance company, said: "Calls for Ph. D.'s are so numerous as to be unrealistic-far more than the available supply are wanted at \$850 to \$1,000 a month."

Columbia reported a while back that representatives of 200 companies were seeking mechanical and electrical engineers from s total possible supply on the campus of 20 mechanical and 40 electrical engineering graduates

The University of Minnesota emphasizes a familiar note when it cites a literal short-age of accountants, with firms coming back to the campus a second time seeking more

fiscal apprentices.

Other surveys almost uniformly show a demand for more liberal arts graduates than in previous years, though Business Week calls 1960 openings for other than technical students "adequate but unspectacular during a normal good year."

Recruiters have yet to return to "stock-Piling" college talent for future training, as was true in the midfifties. But competition is keen, especially among representatives of aircraft and missiles manufacturers.

General Electric sought 25 percent more technical recruits than last year, and Du Pont, which last year hired 300 college graduates, was in the market for 1,000.

The automobile industry is said to be back hunting for men in a big way, and steel and other metalworking industries are extremely active. Retail chains are hiring liberal arts graduates for on-the-job training leading to executive positions.

Even so, two surveys by the American Management Association, reported in February, showed disappointment among both employers and college placement officials With recruiters who put too little emphasis on general education and who are afraid of students who may appear too "different."

Liberal arts and business graduates can expect salaries in the range of \$425 to \$450 a month, though the scale will extend as low as \$300 for graduates with poor academic records. A B.S. is worth an additional \$100 or so a month.

As for the distaff side, any young woman who wants to take a job-and a great many of them don't-can be pretty sure of making it this year. Marriage is, of course, an alternative with a great deal of appeal.

Scalping Still Goes in Railroad World

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. ROBERT W. LEVERING

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, May 26, 1960

Mr. LEVERING. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include, for the consideration of our colleagues concerned with th plight of our railroads, an article which appeared in the May 26 edition of the Wooster Daily Record, by my friend and constituent Doyle Ditmars, entitled "Scalping Still Goes in Railroad World."

The article follows:

INDIAN ATTACK: SCALPING STILL GOES IN RAILROAD WORLD

(By Doyle Ditmars)

Mitchell, the modern "Indians" attacking

the railroads and news of the return of the circus train are used in this article through the courtesy of the Louisville and Nashville Railroad of which the author is a great admirer and satisfied customer.)

On May 10, 1869, the first transcontinental railroad was completed at the ceremony of driving of the golden spike at Promentory Point in Utah. On that date, bands of steel joined the East and the West and rail transportation was begun from the Atlantic to the Pacific.

In those early days and for some years afterwards, hostile Indians attacked builders of this great railroad and others which followed. The crews laid steel with one hand and threw hot lead with the other at the savages who impeded civilization and tried to drive the railroads out of business before they began.

That was 90 years ago. Strange, to say, today, even with all our great progress, "hostile Indians" still snipe at the heels of modern railroad progress and try to drive the most efficient form of transportation out of the hills of business enterprises and off the plains and prairies of agricultural pursuits.

A "friendly Indian" recently pointed out

to an observer as the two stood upon "Observation Rock," that hostile tribes yet on the warpath are these: "The Bureaupatros, who are armed with tons of obsolete regulations and miles of redtape; (needless to say, these Indians pitch their tepees down on Capitol Hill.) The Assessioux, who constantly swarm over railroad installations, seeking to lift scalps off all taxable assets at double the value of other private property; (we believe this tribe also camps somewhere down along the Potomac); and the Spendakotas, who shovel out tax money so collected to subsidize competing motor carriers, waterways and airlines."

Some of this tribe of "Indians" live among Every 2 years we elect a few of their number to the Halls of Congress. But they seem to forget (when they go to Washington) that their constituents send them there to represent the entire country and the interests of its people not a select few business concerns to which they see fit to give handouts at the expense of an older form of transportation which, collectively, is the backbone of national defense.

The old saying: "The only good Indian is a dead Indian," is not true. But to be a good Indian, one must first be a good American. This "friendly Indian" knows his wampum, what it means and how it can work to the advantage of some and to the disadvantage of others.

Secretary of Labor James P. Mitchell re-cently remarked: "Rail unions and management must realize that the field has widened; that the railroad industry finds itself one part of a competitive transportation system." He called for an overhauling of the ICC so that "Federal regulation produces equality of competition and not an index to the competition of yesterday."

Secretary Mitchell pointed out further as to how the Government actually impedes railroad progress and development. He

"The Government subsidizes building of ships and losses of American flag lines. It deepens and develops inland waterways. subsidizes airlines through construction of terminals and carrying mail. It has subsidized truckers through building of public

"The railroads remain the great unsubsidized portion of America's transportation system. I suggest that we seek gradual elimination of all Government subsidies in transportation and consider introduction of user charges so that each mode of transportation carries its fair share of burden of public expenditures from which they now profit unequally."

The Secretary is the kind of "friendly Indian" which this county needs tribes of, instead of just a chief. The "Bureaupahos," the "Assessioux," and the "Spendakotas" are all in alliance—knowingly or unknowinglyworking at the elimination of the American railroads for the sake of progress and convenience. We the people sit by or comfortably ride our Fords, Plymouths, Chevies, Chryslers—and can't af-Fords—across the country, little caring what happens to the iron horse, who feeds it or just how it gets its

Seems that we rightfully belong in the tribe of the Don't carachees, continually traversing our own Maumee Trails while applying the tomahawk, Modoc fashion, to the form of transportation which actually built form of transportation which actually built the country. Sitting Bull in his day was a piker, by comparison, to modern Americans for attacking and trying to wreck our railroads.

However, in the face of all these discouraging activities of both individuals and the Government which we support, there is a happy note of good news for youngsters—ages 1 to 100—coming down over the rails.

Quoting from the L. & N. magazine, May issue, "The Circus Train Is Coming Back."

"Conspicuous by its absence for several years, the circus train will again this year be a familiar sight to many American towns and cities. Ringling Brothers and Barnum & Bailey—the last big circus to motorize—after 3 years of battling flat tires, traffic jams and red lights, gave up its trucks and went back to the railroads. Its long-familiar cars have been overhauled and repainted and are now once again a welcome part of the American scene."

Perhaps the youngsters-and oldsters Wooster and vicinity will again be thrilled and entertained watching this great circus unload on the familiar Pennsylvania sidings down by the depot. Happy days are here

Real Aid for Distressed Areas

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. THOMAS J. LANE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, May 25, 1960

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD. I include an editorial on a very timely issue, which appeared in the Christian Science Monitor for May 26, 1960:

REAL AID FOR DISTRESSED AREAS

Without a test in the House of Representatives, the effort to override President Eisenhower's veto of the \$251 million bill to aid distressed areas has failed in the Senate. Though falling well short of the required two-thirds, the vote showed that a majority in the Senate favor more liberal aid of this sort than the administration's original \$53 million proposal.

Indeed, Republican Senators since the veto have introduced a measure carrying authorization for a \$180 million program, and this might well become the basis of a reasonable

compromise.

The important points to be reconciled. however, are not merely a difference in figures after the dollar sign but also and especially the formula by which a depressed industrial area would be identified for assistance.

The vetoed bill would have permitted use of revolving loan funds to stimulate new industry in any regions where current unemployment was 6 percent or more of the labor force and where 12 percent had been idle during the preceding 12 months, or 9 percent during 15 of the last 18 months, or 6 percent during 18 of the last 24 months.

By this standard 40 major areas and 103 smaller areas of the United States, including Detroit, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, Buffalo, and Louisville, would have qualified for aid. This is approximately twice the area the Senate a year ago proposed to cover with \$390 million. The \$53-million administra-tion proposal would have concentrated on the 16 major areas and 48 smaller ones hardest hit by persistent joblessness.

There is a great deal to be said for the contention of such sponsors as Senator Paul H. Douglas, of Illinois, that investment in rehabilitation and retraining programs for depressed areas is one of the best ways of supporting national economic growth. One may sympathize also with the argument of another Democrat that the bill is "an effort to help our own people in a way that other countries are getting help now from our

agencies."

Yet probably the most effective parts of such a program are the least expensiveauthorizations of \$6 million for vocational training and technical assistance. most controversial, perhaps, is an authorization of \$35 million in grants for public facilitles in depressed areas. And the most questionable probably is an extension of the 1949 Housing Act to make an undetermined amount of urban renewal funds available for

commercial or industrial redevelopment.

The shotgun approach of blanketing in the greatest number of potential beneficiary areas would enable more congressional candidates this fall to say from the campaign platform, "Look, I got something for you." But there is great validity in the President's criticism that the measure passed "would make eligible for Federal assistance areas that don't need it."

Division on the bill has not been wholly along party lines. Yet the principal hazards to some effective action seems to be political. If opposition leaders in Congress are genuinely interested in helping the depressed areas—and not merely needy candidates for office—they will get behind a compromise measure that can gain White House approval and that will tackle the problem where it is most severe.

GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS FOR SALE

Additional copies of Government publications are offered for sale to the public by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D.C., at cost thereof as determined by the Public Printer plus 50 percent: Provided, That a discount of not to exceed 25 percent may be allowed to authorized bookdealers and quantity pur-chasers, but such printing shall not interfere with the prompt execution of work for the Government. The Superintendent of Documents shall prescribe the terms and conditions under which he may authorize the resale of Government publications by bookdealers, and he may designate any Government officer his agent for the sale of Government publications under such regulations as shall be agreed upon by the Superintendent of Documents and the head of the respective department or establishment of the Government (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 72a, Supp. 2).

CHANGE OF RESIDENCE

Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the RECORD.

LAWS AND RULES FOR PUBLICATION OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

CODE OF LAWS OF THE UNITED STATES

TITLE 44, SECTION 181. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD; ARRANGEMENT, STYLE, CONTENTS, AND INDEXES .- The Joint Committee on Printing shall have control of the arrangement and style of the CONGRES-SIONAL RECORD, and while providing that it shall be substantially a verbatim re-port of proceedings shall take all needed action for the reduction of unnecessary bulk, and shall provide for the publication of an index of the Congressional RECORD semimonthly during the sessions of Congress and at the close thereof. (Jan. 12, 1895, c. 23, § 13, 28 Stat. 603.)

TITLE 44, SECTION 182b. SAME; ILLUS-TRATIONS, MAPS, DIAGRAMS.-No maps, diagrams, or illustrations may be inserted in the RECORD without the approval of the Joint Committee on Printing. (June 20, 1936, c. 630, § 2, 49 Stat. 1546.)

Pursuant to the foregoing statute and in order to provide for the prompt publication and delivery of the Congressional Record the Joint Committee on Printing has adopted the following rules, to which the attention of Senators, Representatives, and Delegates is

respectfully invited:

1. Arrangement of the daily Record .- The Public Printer will arrange the contents of the daily RECORD as follows: First, the Senate proceedings; second, the House proceedings; third, the Appendix: Provided, That when the proceedings of the Senate are not received in time to follow this arrangement, the Public Printer may begin the RECORD with the House proceedings. The proceedings of each House and the Appendix shall each begin a new page, with appropriate headings centered

2. Type and style.—The Public Printer shall print the report of the proceedings and debates of the Senate and House of Representatives, as furnished by the Official Reporters of the Congressional Record, in 71/2-point type; and all matter included in the remarks or speeches of Members of Congress, other than their own words, and all reports, documents, and other matter authorized to be inserted in the RECORD shall be printed in 61/2-point type; and all rollcalls shall be printed in 6-point type. No italic or black type nor words in capitals or small capitals shall be used for emphasis or prominence; nor will unusual indentions be permitted. These reunusual indentions be permitted. These re-strictions do not apply to the printing of or quotations from historical, official, or legal documents or papers of which a literal reproduction is necessary.

3. Return of manuscript.-When manuscript is submitted to Members for revision it should be returned to the Government Printing Office not later than 9 o'clock p.m. in order to insure publication in the RECORD issued on the following morning; and if all of said manuscript is not furnished at the time specified, the Public Printer is authorized to withhold it from the RECORD for 1 day. In no case will a speech be printed in the RECORD of the day of its delivery if the manuscript is furnished later than 12 o'clock midnight.

4. Tabular matter .- The manuscript of speeches containing tabular statements to be published in the RECORD shall be in the hands of the Public Printer not later than 7 o'clock p.m., to insure publication the following

morning.

5. Proof furnished .- Proofs of "leave to print" and advance speeches will not be furnished the day the manuscript is received but will be submitted the following day, whenever possible to do so without causing delay in the publication of the regular proceedings of Congress. Advance speeches shall be set in the RECORD style of type, and not more than six sets of proofs may be furnished to Members without charge.

6. Notation of withheld remarks.-If manuscript or proofs have not been returned in time for publication in the proceedings, the Public Printer will insert the words "Mr. - addressed the Senate (House or Committee). His remarks will appear hereafter in the Appendix," and proceed with the printing of the RECORD.

7. Thirty-day limit.—The Public Printer shall not publish in the Congressional Record any speech or extension of remarks which has been withheld for a period exceeding 30 calendar days from the date when its printing was authorized: Provided, That at the expiration of each session of Congress the time limit herein fixed shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee.

8. Corrections .- The permanent Record is made up for printing and binding 30 days after each daily publication is issued; therefore all corrections must be sent to the Public Printer within that time: Provided, That upon the final adjournment of each session of Congress the time limit shall be 10 days. unless otherwise ordered by the committee: Provided further, That no Member of Congress shall be entitled to make more than one revision. Any revision shall consist only of corrections of the original copy and shall not include deletions of correct material, substitutions for correct material, or additions of new subject matter.

9. The Public Printer shall not publish in the Congressional Record the full report or print of any committee or subcommittee when said report or print has been previously printed. This rule shall not be construed to

apply to conference reports.

10. Appendix to daily Record.-When either House has granted leave to print (1) a speech not delivered in either House, (2) a newspaper or magazine article, or (3) any other matter not germane to the proceedings, the same shall be published in the Appendix except in cases of duplication. In such cases only the first item received in the Government Printing Office will be printed. This rule shall not apply to quotations which form part of a speech of a Member, or to an authorized extension of his own remarks: Provided, That no address, speech, or article delivered or released subsequently to the final adjournment of a session of Congress may be printed in the Congressional Record.

11. Estimate of cost.—No extraneous matter in excess of two pages in any one instance may be printed in the Congressional Record by a Member under leave to print or to extend his remarks unless the manuscript is accompanied by an estimate in writing from the Public Printer of the probable cost of publishing the same, which estimate of cost must be announced by the Member when such leave is requested; but this rule shall not apply to excerpts from letters, telegrams, or articles presented in connection with a speech delivered in the course of debate or to communications from State legislatures, addresses or articles by the President and the members of his Cabinet, the Vice President, or a Member of Congress. For the purposes of this regulation, any one article printed in two or more parts, with or without individual headings, shall be considered as a single extension and the two-page rule shall apply. The Public Printer or the Official Reporters of the House or Senate shall return to the Member of the respective House any matter submitted for the Congressional RECORD which is in contravention of this paragraph.

12. Official Reporters.-The Official Reporters of each House shall indicate on the manuscript and prepare headings for all matter to be printed in the Appendix, and shall make suitable reference thereto at the proper place in the proceedings.